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LANCEA PUGNATORIA E *MINORES SUBARMALES*.
CONTRIBUTO ALL'ESEGESI LINGUISTICA
DI *TAB. LUGUVAL.* 16 (*AE* 1998, 839)

Maurizio Colombo

col I.

Dociḷịṣ Augurino praefecto
             suo saḷu[*tem*]
ita ut praecepisti ḷạṇçịạṛọṛ[*um*]
quibus lanciae deessent ọṃ-
ṇịa nomina subiecimus aụṭ
quị ḷancias pugnatorias aụṭ
quị ṃịnores sụḅarmales aut
qui gladia [*i*]*ṇṣṭ*[*i*]*ṭụta non*
hab[*e*]*ḅaṇṭ turṃạ* [*s*]*ẹṇịo*[*r*]*is*
Ǵ[*e*]*ṇịalis* [*Ve*]*r*[*e*]*çụndus ḷạṇçịam*
[*pu*]*g̣*[*n*]*ạṭ*[*o*]*ṛịạṃ* [*item*] *subarmales ḍụas*

col III

Ḍ[*o*]*çça ṣubarṃạḷẹṣ ḍụạṣ turṃạ*
[*Do*]*ci*[*li*]*ṣ Ḅaṣṭor subạrṃạles ḍu*[*as*]
Felicio lanciam [*pug*]*natoriam*
turṃa Ṣọḷḷẹṃṇiṣ [*4–5*]*atus*
lanciam pugnatoriam item subar-
males duas turma Mansueti
[*6*]*s lanciam pugnatoriam*
Ṿictọrinus [*6–7*]*rae lanciam*
pugnatoriam turma Martialis
[*4–5*]*so lanciam pugnatoriam*
turma Genialis Ḟestus subar-
males duas Ṃạịor subarmales
                                [*d*]*ụas*

Una *tabula* di Carlisle contiene una *relatio* del *decurio* Docilis al suo *praefectus alae* Augurinus; questo documento, insieme ad altri rinvenuti nella medesima località, è stato edito e commentato da Roger S. O. Tomlin.[1] Il testo di apertura riproduce fedelmente la sua lettura delle colonne I e III, poiché esse risultano essere le meglio conservate delle quattro colonne originali e le più pertinenti al presente studio. Tomlin ritiene che *lanciarii* fosse un semplice sinonimo di

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[1] R. S. O. Tomlin, "Roman Manuscripts from Carlisle: the Ink-written Tablets", *Britannia* 29 (1998) 31–84 (la *relatio* di Docilis: 55–63 nr. 16).

equites, la *lancea pugnatoria* avesse la funzione primaria di asta da urto e le *minores subarmales* venissero usate come armi inastate da lancio;[2] egli identifica il reggimento di Docilis con l'*ala Gallorum Sebosiana.*[3] L'introduzione e il commento al testo suffragano validamente questa esegesi citando un buon numero di fonti letterarie, documentarie e iconografiche; ma entrambe le parti trascurano dati e argomenti, che avrebbero offerto basi ancora più solide a tale studio. Michael P. Speidel ha recentemente contestato l'interpretazione di *lanciarii* e di *minores subarmales* da parte di Tomlin. I *lanciarii* rappresenterebbero soltanto una parte degli *equites* distinta dal resto delle *turmae* in base al peculiare armamento, ovvero la lettura di Tomlin *lanciaror*[um] potrebbe essere corretta in *conalar<i>or*[um]; i *minores subarmales* sarebbero semplicemente i due corsetti, uno interno di lana e l'altro esterno di cuoio, indossati dai cavalieri sotto l'armatura.[4]

Le critiche e le differenti spiegazioni di Speidel sono strettamente connesse alla sua teoria circa l'esistenza della "legionary light infantry", che corrisponderebbe ai *lanciarii* delle fonti letterarie e documentarie; essi sarebbero stati equipaggiati con un tipo più leggero di armamento difensivo e con armi inastate da getto, le *lanceae*, le quali sarebbero state più leggere del tradizionale *pilum* e dotate di una maggiore portata.[5] Si noti che la precisa e ufficiale distinzione tra due generi di *lanceae*, uno adibito principalmente ad arma inastata da urto, l'altro specificamente usato come arma inastata da lancio, mina questa tesi alle stesse fondamenta, dato che risulta logico e naturale identificare l'arma dei *lanciarii* con la *lancea pugnatoria*, cioè con il tipo primario e propriamente

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[2] Ibid., 55–57 e 59–62.

[3] Ibid., 55 e 74–75 nr. 44.

[4] M. P. Speidel, "The Missing Weapons at Carlisle", *Britannia* 38 (2007) 237–39.

[5] M. P. Speidel, *The Framework of an Imperial Legion*, Cardiff 1992, 14–20 e id., "The Framework of an Imperial Legion", in R. J. Brewer (ed.), *Birthday of the Eagle. The Second Augustan Legion and the Roman Military Machine*, Cardiff 2002, 129–30. Questo punto di vista discende direttamente dalla dottrina tradizionale sulla *lancea* e i *lanciarii*: J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, II, Leipzig 1876, 576; R. Grosse, Artt. "lancea" e "lanciarii", *RE* XII 1 (1924) 618–19 e 621–22; F. Lammert, "Die römische Taktik zu Beginn der Kaiserzeit und die Geschichtschreibung", *Philologus* Suppl. 23 H. 2 (1931) 23–33 e 60–62. In tale senso anche S. Link, Art. "Lancearii", *DNP* 6 (1999) 1091–92. Alcune attestazioni di *lancea* nelle fonti antiche: *ThlL* VII 2, 917, 11–918, 2 (soprattutto 917, 31–70). Si noti che la concezione tradizionale dei *lanciarii*, per quanto riguarda la fanteria legionaria, è recepita anche da Tomlin (n. 1) 59–60.

detto di *lancea*, piuttosto che con le *minores subarmales*, variante secondaria e derivatoria del modello-base anche a livello nominale.

　　Abbiamo cinque attestazioni di *subarmalis* con l'accezione di 'corsetto';[6] in questi casi la parola deriva chiaramente dalla locuzione *sub armis*, dove *arma* assume il valore metonimico di *lorica*.[7] Quattro volte *subarmalis* è un aggettivo sostantivato, due volte sicuramente maschile; una sola volta esso ha la funzione di semplice aggettivo e qualifica una *vestis*. Le quattro occorrenze dell'aggettivo sostantivato menzionano esplicitamente o implicano evidentemente l'uso di un solo *subarmalis*; Anon. *De r. bell.* 15,2–4 non descrive due corsetti separati, ma uno solo, il *thoracomachus*, fatto di due strati sovrapposti. I due corsetti di Speidel non trovano nessun fondamento o riscontro nei testi da lui stesso citati.

　　Un recente articolo ha trattato le armi inastate dell'esercito romano sotto gli aspetti reciprocamente connessi dell'analisi lessicale, dell'esegesi testuale, dell'iconografia, dell'archeologia e della storia militare.[8] A beneficio dei lettori riassumerò qui molto brevemente dati e argomentazioni del suddetto studio. Nei testi latini il vocabolo *lancea* è sinonimo colloquiale della parola letteraria *hasta*; esso denomina genericamente le armi inastate degli *auxilia* e della cavalleria, soprattutto il tipo prevalente di asta da urto. L'identificazione dei *lanciarii* con una presunta "legionary light infantry" scaturisce da errate interpretazioni delle fonti letterarie, dei documenti e delle testimonianze iconografiche. Qui sarà sufficiente esporre tre casi esemplari. I λογχοφόροι di Arriano e i bassorilievi funebri della *II Parthica* ad Apamea sono citati spesso a questo riguardo; ma i λογχοφόροι, che insieme ai κοντοφόροι ('legionari armati con aste da urto') formavano la fanteria legionaria sotto il comando di Arriano, erano legionari dotati del normale *pilum*, mentre le cinque armi inastate dei monumenti siriaci trovano pieno riscontro in due passi di Vegezio, che attribuisce appunto cinque *martiobarbuli* o *plumbatae* a ciascun legionario, e rappresentano la prima attestazione dei *martiobarbuli* in campo iconografico. I *lanciarii* delle legioni in

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[6] Speidel (n. 4) 238 con nn. 74–75 e 77: HA, *Sev.* 6,11; *Claud.* 14, 8; *Aurel.* 13,3; Mart. Cap. 5,246; *Tab. Vindol.* II 184, r. 38. Inoltre si rammenti che *subarmalis* o *subarmale* designava anche una cintura di pelle: *CGL* III, 21, r. 25; 194, r. 21; 273, r. 15; 284, r. 48.

[7] Per l'esegesi di Tomlin v. n. 33.

[8] M. Colombo, "La lancea, i lanciarii, il pilum e l'acies di Arriano: un contributo alla storia dell'esercito romano", *Historia* 60 (2011) 158–80, cui rinvio per le testimonianze antiche sulla *hasta/lancea*.

realtà erano fanti di armatura pesante equipaggiati con una *hasta*/*lancea*, che veniva usata come arma inastata da urto; la loro genesi risale ai λογχοφόροι, che ai tempi di Flavio Giuseppe, affiancando *pedites* ed *equites singulares* tratti dagli *auxilia*, provenivano dalle legioni e componevano la guardia personale dei *legati*. Poi l'evoluzione tecnica e tattica dell'esercito altoimperiale, partendo dalla ristretta scorta dei generali, portò alla formazione di corpi scelti nel seno delle singole legioni; essi, armati con una *hasta/lancea* a differenza dei comuni legionari, costituivano il nucleo dei reparti destinati ad affrontare i *cataphrac-ti equites* dei Parti e dei Sarmati. I κοντοφόροι di Arriano rappresentano appunto una testimonianza fondamentale sul cambiamento delle tattiche romane nell'ambito della fanteria pesante sotto Traiano o Adriano. Circa per due secoli e mezzo dopo Arriano la grande maggioranza dei legionari proseguì a usare prima il *pilum* propriamente detto, poi la sua versione aggiornata, lo *spiculum*; i ritrovamenti archeologici e l'iconografia militare, così come le fonti letterarie, suffragano abbondantemente questa conclusione. I *pila* frammentari o integri presenti nei *castra* o in altre località (ora possiamo aggiungere anche i due fer-ri di *pilum* rinvenuti presso Kalefeld) fino all'ultimo quarto del III secolo e la riproduzione del *pilum* nei rilievi funerari dello stesso periodo, così come la raffigurazione dello *spiculum* in sculture e affreschi del IV secolo, da un lato provano la lunga vita del *pilum*, dall'altro evidenziano la compatta continuità tra i due tipi di arma inastata da lancio. Ammiano Marcellino, quando menziona i *pila* dei soldati romani, adibisce un arcaismo lessicale a fini stilistici, ma concede spazio anche al nome corrente dell'arma, *spicula*; egli dunque attesta che il diretto discendente del *pilum* faceva ancora parte dell'armamento legionario nella seconda metà del IV secolo.

Il terzo esempio concerne l'aspetto linguistico. Gli autori greci rendono molto liberamente i nomi latini delle armi inastate, come si desume facilmente dai significati totalmente diversi della parola λογχοφόροι in Flavio Giuseppe e Arriano; la necessità di rispettare i canoni linguistici e le norme stilistiche del greco letterario li porta a traduzioni largamente arbitrarie e spesso incoerenti di *hasta*/*lancea* (λόγχη, κοντός, δόρυ, ἀκόντιον) e di *pilum* (ὑσσός, ξυστόν, ἀκόντιον, δοράτιον, δόρυ, λόγχη), benché le due armi differissero profonda-mente non soltanto nell'aspetto, ma anche nella funzione principale. La *hasta/lancea* era soprattutto un'asta da urto, ma all'occorrenza veniva usata come arma da lancio; invece il *pilum* assolveva il ruolo primario di arma da lancio, ma in

caso di necessità poteva essere impiegato come asta da urto. Qui è opportuno aggiungere che le oscillazioni lessicali dei prosatori greci nel campo delle armi inastate trovano ulteriore riscontro nell'apparente divergenza tra Ios. *B. Iud.* 3,96 e Arr. *Tact.* 4,8 circa l'arma bianca della cavalleria romana; infatti Flavio Giuseppe la definisce anacronisticamente μάχαιρα μακρά, mentre Arriano la chiama propriamente σπάθη μακρὰ καὶ πλατεῖα.

Questo documento fornisce l'occasione di approfondire ulteriormente l'esame delle armi inastate in età altoimperiale. Ora esaminiamo i punti cruciali della *tabula*, cioè i genuini significati di *lanciarii*, di *lancea pugnatoria* e di *minores subarmales*. Arr. *Tact.* 4,7–9 considera armi principali degli *equites* i κοντοί e le λόγχαι; le σπάθαι sono il modello regolare di arma bianca, mentre una minoranza delle truppe a cavallo è equipaggiata anche con accette ovvero mazze da guerra (πελέκεις μικροὺς [...] πάντοθεν ἐν κύκλῳ ἀκωκὰς ἔχοντας). Arr. *Ect.* 21 distingue ulteriormente i vari generi degli *equites* in base alle armi principali: ὅσοι μὲν ἱπποτοξόται [...] ὅσοι δὲ λογχοφόροι ἢ κοντοφόροι ἢ μαχαιροφόροι ἢ πελεκοφόροι. Gli ἱπποτοξόται sono le *turmae* della *cohors III Ulpia Petraeorum miliaria equitata sagittariorum*, di una *cohors Ityraeorum sagittariorum equitata* e della *cohors III Augusta Cyrenaica sagittariorum equitata* (*Ect.* 1). I κοντοφόροι, dato che *Tact.* 44,1 considera tali anche i Κελτοί, corrispondono ai cavalieri della *cohors I Germanorum miliaria equitata* (*Ect.* 2); i μαχαιροφόροι devono appartenere all'*ala I Ulpia Dacorum* (*Ect.* 8), che continuava a impiegare l'arma tipica dei Daci, la *falx*.[9] I πελεκοφόροι molto probabilmente erano gli *equites* delle *cohortes I Raetorum equitata* e *IV Raetorum equitata* (*Ect.* 1).[10] I λογχοφόροι di Arriano equivalgono perfettamente ai *lanciarii* del *decurio* Docilis; essi possono essere identificati con tutti gli altri *alares* e *cohortales equites* agli ordini dello storiografo bitinico: *ala II Ulpia Auriana*, *ala I Augusta Gemina Colonorum*, *cohors I Italica voluntariorum equitata*, *ala II Gallorum* (*Ect.* 1 e 9). In altri termini, i cavalieri dell'*ala Gallorum Sebosiana* potevano essere chiamati con due differenti nomi, il polivalente *equites* o lo specifico *lanciarii*: l'uno descriveva genericamente la loro funzione, l'altro dava preminenza tecnica all'arma principale.[11] Arriano fa lo stesso, adoperando

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[9] M. Colombo, "Due note danubiane", *Maia* 59 (2007) 350–51.

[10] Hor. *carm.* 4,4,17–21.

[11] A questo proposito cfr. Tomlin (n. 1) 60.

sia il generico ἱππεῖς sia appellativi specifici nella Ἔκταξις κατ᾽ Ἀλανῶν (*Ect.* 1–2; 4; 21; 27; 31) e nella Τέχνη τακτική (*Tact.* 4,2 e 7).

Il raro aggettivo *pugnatoria* (< *pugnator*) qualifica l'uso primario della *lancea*, cioè la *pugna*, e trova riscontro non soltanto nel *gladius pugnatorius* di Claudius Terentianus,[12] ma anche nel valore metaforico o proprio, che le fonti letterarie conferiscono a tale parola.[13] L'aggettivo *pugnatorius* qui svolge un ruolo distintivo, che molto probabilmente circoscrive il significato di *pugna* all'ambito del combattimento ravvicinato. Il sostantivo *pugna* e il verbo *pugno* spesso assumono questa accezione anche in assenza dell'avverbio *comminus* o di altre parole con simile valore; il *Corpus Caesarianum* sembra attestare che tale significato provenisse dall'ambiente militare.[14] Anche le due occorrenze dell'aggettivo nel latino letterario sono implicitamente legate all'ambito del corpo a corpo, dato che esso qualifica da un lato il *mucro* dell'eloquenza polemica, dall'altro gli *arma* connessi con il verbo gergale e fortemente espressivo *battuo*, che apparteneva al *sermo gladiatorius*.[15] Le occorrenze propriamente belliche di *pugna*, *pugnator* e *pugno* negli altri autori rispecchiano questa tendenza a livello semantico.[16] L'uso assoluto di *pugna* nel senso di 'duello',[17] così come con la valenza di 'combattimento tra due gladiatori',[18] corrobora tale esegesi. Perciò pare legittimo concludere che la *lancea pugnatoria* fosse soprattutto una *hasta*,

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[12] *CEL* I 141, r. 19.

[13] Sen. *Contr.* 2, *praef.* 2 *Deerat illi oratorium robur et ille pugnatorius mucro*; Suet. *Cal.* 54,1 *battuebat pugnatoriis armis*.

[14] Ad esempio, cfr. Caes. *Gall.* 1,25,3; 2,21,4. 25,1. 26,2. 27,1; 3,21,1; 4,37,3; 5,33,2. 37,4–5. 51,5; 6,40,7; 7,86,2; *civ.* 1,80,5; 3,73,5. 93,8. 99,2; *B. Alex.* 40,1 e 3; *B. Afr.* 75,3 e 82,3; *B. Hisp.* 12,5; 15,2; 31,7; Hirt. *Gall.* 8,23,6.

[15] M. G. Mosci Sassi, *Il linguaggio gladiatorio*, Bologna 1992, 82.

[16] *ThlL* X 2, 2539, 17–2541, 20; 2548, 33–75; 2552, 39–2553, 28 e 2553, 44–2554, 19. Talvolta la connessione con il combattimento corpo a corpo è sottolineata in modo esplicito: Cic. *Verr.* 2,5,28 *nonnumquam etiam res ad pugnam atque manus vocabatur* e Liv. 2,46,3 *pugna iam in manus* [...] *venerat*.

[17] Cic. *Pis.* 81 e *Tusc.* 4,49; *B. Hisp.* 25,5; Liv. 1,25,7 e 9; 6,42,5; 7,10,14; Verg. *Aen.* 12,216 e 506. Claud. Don. *Aen.* 1,455 (Georg 92, 30) è molto eloquente: *bellum* [...] *quod inter plurimos geritur, pugna quae inter duos agitatur*.

[18] Una breve selezione di esempi è sufficiente: *CIL* II² 7, 356; III 8825. 8830. 8835. 14644; IV 1182. 1421–1422. 2508. 4294. 4870. 8969. 10236; V 563. 2884. 3459. 3465–3466. 3468. 4506; VI 10180; VIII 10891; X 4920; XII 3330; XIII 1997; *AE* 1988, 24; 1989, 64; 1991, 851.

cioè un'arma inastata da urto.[19] Il confronto tra le espressioni *gladia instituta* e *gladius pugnatorius* corrobora tale interpretazione; esso dimostra che i due aggettivi avevano valore interscambiabile: perciò la *lancea pugnatoria* era anche la *lancea instituta*, cioè la *lancea* 'regolamentare',[20] che aveva la funzione primaria di *hasta* e contraddistingueva gli *equites* di Docilis come *lanciarii*. Flavio Giuseppe, per ottenere la medesima caratterizzazione delle armi inastate sul piano delle diverse funzioni, adopera termini adatti a distinguere implicitamente i differenti scopi del loro uso, cioè κοντός e ἄκοντες.[21] Arriano invece utilizza soltanto λόγχαι, ma ne differenzia esplicitamente gli impieghi: καὶ ἀκοντίσαι μακρόθεν [...] καὶ ἐγγύθεν ἐκ χειρὸς ἀπομάχεσθαι.

Prima di affrontare l'esegesi dell'espressione *minores subarmales*, è necessario esaminare bene il puntuale contesto. La lista di Docilis possiede un'evidente e pragmatica coerenza, che sfugge totalmente a Speidel; infatti la formula introduttiva elenca tutte le armi offensive degli *equites* e le nomina per ordine di importanza in rapporto allo specifico appellativo di *lanciarii*: *lancea pugnatoria* = arma inastata da urto, *minores subarmales* = armi inastate da lancio, *gladia* = arma bianca da corpo a corpo. In tale contesto, dove le tre categorie, *aut quị ḷancias pugnatorias aụṭ quị ṃịnores suḅarmales aut qui gladia [i]ṇṣṭ[i]ṭụta non hab[e]ḅanṭ*, danno i dettagli specifici e concreti della voce generica *quibus lanciae deessent*, i presunti *subarmales* = 'corsetti' di Speidel risultano totalmente alieni, dal momento che essi non sono armi; invece la menzione dei *gladii*, che certamente non rientrano nella categoria delle *lanceae*, si spiega proprio attraverso la loro appartenenza all'insieme generale dell'armamento offensivo. Ios. *B. Iud.* 3,96 e Arr. *Tact.* 4,8–9 nominano le armi offensive degli *equites* in ordine differente e con parole diverse, ma descrivono sostanzialmente il medesimo equipaggiamento della *relatio* e concordano nell'attribuzione di più armi inastate da getto agli *equites* romani: l'uno τρεῖς ἢ πλείους ἄκοντες, l'altro

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[19] A questo proposito cfr. Varro *ling. Lat.* 5,89 *hastati dicti, qui primi hastis pugnabant*. Un'opinione analoga viene espressa da Tomlin (n. 1) 60–61.

[20] Tale significato emerge anche in Char. *Gramm.* GLK I, 77, 21 = 98, 10 Barwick. Tomlin (n. 1) 61 dà una differente interpretazione dell'aggettivo *pugnatoria*, ma omette di notare la sovrapposizione semantica degli aggettivi *pugnatorius* e *institutus*.

[21] Il parallelo con Flavio Giuseppe anche in Tomlin (n. 1) 56 e 62.

un numero indefinito di λόγχαι al fine di ἀκοντίσαι μακρόθεν in battaglia, ovvero tre o quattro durante la fase armata degli ἱππικὰ γυμνάσια.[22]

La sola differenza tra i due autori e la *relatio* consiste nel numero preciso di armi inastate da lancio; a questo riguardo due spiegazioni appaiono ugualmente probabili. Il numero poteva variare da un reggimento all'altro per tradizioni etniche o da una provincia all'altra per esigenze locali; forse per l'una o l'altra ragione le truppe dislocate in Oriente facevano un uso maggiore di armi inastate da getto rispetto alle guarnigioni occidentali: le esperienze personali di Flavio Giuseppe e di Arriano, entrambi venuti a diretto contatto soprattutto con l'apparato militare delle province orientali, sembrano suffragare fortemente questa soluzione. Altrimenti la sostituzione statale delle armi inastate da lancio richiedeva che la loro perdita raggiungesse i due terzi o la metà della normale dotazione; a quel punto gli ufficiali inferiori segnalavano i nomi degli *equites* per le relative trattenute sullo *stipendium*. Perciò le due *minores subarmales* possono rappresentare sia il regolare equipaggiamento dell'*ala Gallorum Sebosiana* sia una parte dello stesso.[23] Le stele funerarie degli *equites* renani assegnano perlopiù una sola *lancea* ciascuno al defunto e al suo *calo*;[24] ma almeno due rilievi attribuiscono significativamente una *lancea* al defunto e due *lanceae* al suo *calo*.[25]

L'aggettivo *subarmalis* qui deriva non da *arma*, ma piuttosto da *armus*, che "in quadrupedum cruribus prioribus superiorem significat partem pertinentem usque ad dorsum".[26] La descrizione di Ios. *B. Iud.* 3,96 θυρεὸς δὲ παρὰ πλευρὸν ἵππου πλάγιος, καὶ κατὰ γωρυτοῦ παρήρτηνται τρεῖς ἢ πλείους ἄκοντες è molto chiara: lo scudo e la custodia erano entrambi collocati lungo il fianco del cavallo. Perciò le (*lanceae*) *minores subarmales* erano poste in un

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[22] Arr. *Tact.* 41,2–4 e 42,2–4.

[23] Tomlin (n. 1) 62 pensa alla prima opzione.

[24] W. Boppert, *Militärische Grabdenkmäler aus Mainz und Umgebung* (CSIR D II 5), Mainz 1992, 136–39 nrr. 32–33 e tavv. 30–31, 141–44 nr. 35 e tav. 33; id., *Römische Steindenkmäler aus Worms und Umgebung* (CSIR D II 10), Mainz 1998, 86–91 nrr. 50–52 con tavv. 53–54 e 56; B. Galsterer – H. Galsterer, *Die römischen Steininschriften aus Köln. IKöln²*, Mainz 2010, 301–02 nr. 362.

[25] Boppert (n. 24) 133–36 nr. 31 e tav. 29; M. Mattern, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Stadtgebiets von Wiesbaden und der Limesstrecke zwischen Marienfels und Zugmantel* (CSIR D II 11), Mainz 1999, 69–70 nr. 10 e tav. 6. Cfr. anche Tomlin (n. 1) 57 e nn. 98–99.

[26] *ThlL* II, 622, 47–48.

contenitore appeso *sub armo*, cioè sul fianco anteriore del cavallo sotto la sua spalla ovvero in prossimità della stessa, poiché la preposizione *sub* può esprimere entrambe le collocazioni;[27] l'*armus* del cavallo costituiva il punto naturale di riferimento e di derivazione per il nome gergale delle armi inastate da lancio. L'aggettivo comparativo *minores* ha un rapporto implicito con il termine logico di paragone, cioè la *lancea pugnatoria*; anche Ios. *B. Iud.* 3,96 allude chiaramente alle differenti dimensioni degli ἄκοντες, οὐκ ἀποδέοντες δὲ δοράτων μέγεθος, in confronto al κοντὸς ἐπιμήκης. La scelta delle parole da parte di Flavio Giuseppe è ben ponderata: la cavalleria romana usava una *lancea* da urto più lunga delle sue *lanceae* da getto e delle normali *lanceae*.[28] Il genere femminile del numero cardinale, *duas*, prova che *subarmales* è aggettivo attributivo di un sottinteso *lanceas*; l'omissione del sostantivo *lanceas* rispecchia anche la tendenza generale del latino all'ellissi, ma dipende soprattutto dalla presenza simultanea di due aggettivi, che risultavano già pienamente capaci di contraddistinguere il secondo modello di *lancea* sotto gli aspetti tecnici delle dimensioni (*minores*) e della collocazione (*subarmales*).

L'uguaglianza dell'aggettivo sostantivato *subarmalis* < *sub armis* e dell'aggettivo *subarmalis* < *sub armo* nasce dal concorso casuale di tre fattori: 1) l'ingannevole somiglianza delle radici; 2) la presenza della stessa preposizione in funzione di prefisso e con analogo valore sul piano semantico; 3) l'uso del medesimo suffisso, che esprime perlopiù appartenenza o pertinenza. L'esistenza simultanea di due aggettivi omografi e omofoni, che derivavano da due distinte radici e avevano due differenti significati, trova un parziale parallelo. In campo militare gli stessi aggettivi possono assumere due diverse accezioni secondo il contesto; a questo proposito gli aggettivi *sagittarius* e *scutarius* offrono due esempi perspicui: *sagittarius* significa 'soldato armato di *sagittae*, arciere' ovvero '(soldato) fabbricante di *sagittae*',[29] *scutarius* indica 'un (soldato) fabbricantew

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[27] J. B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (HdA II 2, 2), München 1972[2], 279.

[28] Altrove egli usa incoerentemente δόρυ proprio per la *hasta/lancea* della cavalleria romana: Ios. *B. Iud.* 5,313.

[29] *Dig.* 50,6,7 (Taruttieno Paterno): cfr. Colombo (n. 8) 188–89.

di *scuta*'[30] ovvero 'un cavaliere portatore di *scutum*, un soldato a cavallo della Guardia Imperiale'.

La differenza tra *umeri* e *armi*, gli uni propri degli esseri umani, gli altri peculiari dei quadrupedi, rimase chiara fino al termine della Tarda Antichità; le poche eccezioni sono circoscritte quasi tutte alla lingua poetica.[31] La formazione dell'aggettivo *subarmalis* da *armus* nell'ambiente militare è pienamente congrua ai dati disponibili sulla vitalità del nome anatomico fuori della lingua letteraria. Gli *armi* dei cavalli sono menzionati anche in epoca tarda da autori aperti alle forme linguistiche del *sermo cotidianus* (Veg. *Mulom.* 2,45,1 e 4–8; 3,1,2. 2,2. 3) o chiaramente influenzati dal *sermo vulgaris*, i quali o rispettano la pertinenza del sostantivo alla II declinazione (Pelagon. 34. 43–46. 270. 330. 332; Chiron 442. 580–581. 583–584. 586) o lo declinano ora come un nome neutro della III declinazione (Chiron 19. 241. 580), ora come un nome maschile della IV declinazione (Chiron 442). Infine la forma e il significato dell'aggettivo *subalaris*,[32] che fa simile riferimento a una parte anatomica, conferma l'ipotesi che nella *relatio* di Docilis l'aggettivo *subarmalis* esprimesse la posizione delle *minores lanceae* rispetto all'*armus* del cavallo.[33]

Due colonne su tre di una *tabula* recentemente rinvenuta a Vindolanda sembrano concernere gli *equites* della *cohors I fida Vardullorum equitata cR*.[34] Questo testo riporta i loro acquisti di vari oggetti, comprese le *lanceae*, che sono prive di ulteriori qualificazioni. I prezzi variabili delle *lanceae* (1 *denarius*, 2 *denarii*, 5 *denarii*) e la loro menzione sempre al plurale suggeriscono che esse

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[30] *ADBulgar* 384; *Tab. Vindol.* II 160, A, r. 4 e 184, r. 21; *AE* 1926, 3 = *CEL* I 26 e 2009, 754 = A. R. Birley, "Some Writing-tablets Excavated at Vindolanda in 2001, 2002 and 2003", *ZPE* 170 (2009) 278–83.

[31] Plin. *Nat.* 11,243; Serv. *Comm. in Aen.* 11,644 (Thilo–Hagen II, 552); Isid. *Etym.* 11,1,62. Per le occorrenze e le accezioni del termine cfr. *ThlL* II, 622, 66–623, 73 (le eccezioni ibid., 623, 74–82 e 624, 10–19).

[32] Nep. *Alcib.* 10,5; *Edict. Diocl.* 10,10 (*CIL* III, p. 833 = Giacchero 158); HA, *Heliog.* 19,9.

[33] Tomlin (n. 1) 62 propone un'etimologia alquanto strana per l'aggettivo: "Weapon and garment [scil. il *subarmalis*] must both derive their meaning from the adjective's primary sense of 'under the arm' [...] the *subarmalis* may be taken as a weapon easily carried under the (left) arm". Ma *armus* come sinonimo di 'arm' è un uso assai raro (ad esempio, Lucan. 9,831); inoltre il ragionamento di Tomlin tralascia le caratteristiche materiali del *subarmalis*, che copriva interamente il torace a partire dalle spalle.

[34] Birley (n. 30) 281–82.

facessero parte di categorie diverse per tipo e funzione. Le tariffe sono perfettamente compatibili con questa ipotesi e possono essere applicate a tre combinazioni: 1 *denarius* = due *lanceae* da esercitazione prive del ferro,[35] 2 *denarii* = quattro *lanceae* da esercitazione prive del ferro o due *lanceae subarmales*, 5 *denarii* = quattro *lanceae* da esercitazione prive del ferro o due *lanceae subarmales* + una *lancea pugnatoria* (una *lancea* da esercitazione priva del ferro = ½ *denarius*, una *lancea subarmalis* = 1 *denarius*, una *lancea pugnatoria* = 3 *denarii*). Un termine di paragone per queste cifre è fornito da *AE* 1925, 126: sotto il regno di Domiziano ad Antiochia di Pisidia un *modius* di grano costava abitualmente 8 o 9 *asses* (8 *asses* = 2 *sestertii* = ½ *denarius*), ma raggiunse il prezzo calmierato di 1 *denarius* durante una carestia. L'impiego indistinto di un solo termine, rispetto alla *relatio* di Docilis, è dovuto al differente scopo dei due documenti. La *tabula* di Vindolanda riguarda esclusivamente l'aspetto finanziario, cioè registra soltanto le singole voci di spesa e il relativo costo; qualora essa non avesse carattere ufficiale, ma riportasse transazioni commerciali con un fornitore privato, l'assenza di nomi specifici sarebbe ancora più giustificabile.

Se poi accettiamo l'integrazione di *CEL* I 141, rr. 19–20 *gladiu*[*m pu*] *gnatorium et l*[*ance*]*am et d*[*o*]*la*|*bram et copla*[*m*] *et lonchas duas quam optimas*,[36] abbiamo un altro caso di differenziazione lessicale tra l'arma inastata da urto e le armi inastate da lancio. A difesa della lezione *l*[*ance*]*am* si può dire che nell'ambiente culturale e linguistico della *classis Alexandrina* i *classici milites* operavano questa distinzione tramite sostantivi identici sul piano semantico, ma pertinenti a sottoinsiemi separati della lingua latina; rispetto alla *relatio* di Docilis e all'*ala Gallorum Sebosiana*, la parola genuinamente latina *lancea*, un vocabolo originariamente proprio del *sermo cotidianus* e poi accolto anche dalla lingua letteraria, era applicata alla *lancea pugnatoria*, mentre il grecismo *lonchae*, una mera traslitterazione, designava le *minores subarmales*. Il termine *lancea* aveva un'origine sicuramente celtica, dato che esso risulta attestato sia nel dialetto gallico sia nella lingua dei Celtiberi.[37] Al principio del II secolo

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[35] Arr. *Tact.* 34,8.

[36] L'integrazione *l*[*ance*]*am*, scartata dai precedenti editori e adottata da Cugusi, è accolta anche da S. Strassi, *L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis* (APF Beih. 26), Berlin – New York 2008, 14–18 nr. 1. Tomlin (n. 1) 61 n. 117 cita questo passo, ma non approfondisce l'argomento.

[37] Diod. Sic. 5,30,4 Προβάλλονται δὲ λόγχας, ἃς ἐκεῖνοι [scil. Γαλάται] λαγκίας καλοῦσι; Varrone in Gell. 15,30,7 *'lanceam' quoque dixit non Latinum, sed Hispanicum verbum esse*. Cfr.

d.C. la sua provenienza era ormai un fatto remoto e un dettaglio irrilevante per i *classici milites* di una provincia ellenofona, poiché il latino letterario aveva ammesso la parola già dai tempi della tarda Repubblica e le aveva accordato diritto di cittadinanza anche nella poesia a partire dall'età augustea.[38]

Un persuasivo riscontro per le armi inastate degli *equites* e dei *classici milites* è offerto dalle *cohortes* appartenenti alla fanteria leggera d'assalto, le quali erano solite usare *missilia* sui campi di battaglia; anche gli *auxiliares pedites* erano equipaggiati con una *hasta*/*lancea pugnatoria* come arma inastata da urto e con due *minores lanceae* quali armi inastate da getto.[39] Le tre armi sono fedelmente riprodotte in un bassorilievo dei *castra* a Mogontiacum.[40] Almeno quattro stele funerarie di *auxiliares pedites*, rinvenute nella parte settentrionale della *Germania superior*, ritraggono il defunto con due *lanceae* nella mano destra;[41] come abbiamo visto, la medesima oscillazione del numero figura nelle stele renane degli *equites*.[42]

La mia esegesi dell'espressione *minores subarmales* trova conferma indiretta nell'iconografia monetale degli imperatori romani. Sylviane Estiot, studiando sette ritratti del dritto sotto Probo e dieci nel periodo da Diocleziano a Massenzio, è arrivata a credere che le tre armi inastate nelle mani degli imperatori, una brandita con la destra e due tenute con la sinistra, debbano essere identificate con tre *mattiobarbuli* o molto più spesso con una "haste" e due *mattiobarbuli*.[43] Facendo riferimento al dritto di due monete esaminate anche dalla

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inoltre A. Walde – J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, I, Heidelberg 1938[3], s. v. "lancea", 757–58.

[38] Colombo (n. 8) 161–62.

[39] Ibid. 162–65.

[40] H. G. Frenz, *Bauplastik und Porträts aus Mainz und Umgebung* (CSIR D II 7), Mainz 1992, 62 nr. 8 e tav. 7, che però identifica erroneamente il soldato con un "Legionär".

[41] É. Espérandieu, *Recueil général des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule romaine*, VIII, Paris 1922, 212–14 nrr. 6207 e 6209; M. Mattern, *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Stadtgebiets von Wiesbaden und der Limesstrecke zwischen Marienfels und Zugmantel* (CSIR D II 11), Mainz 1999, 65–66 nr. 7 e tav. 4; W. Boppert, *Römische Steindenkmäler aus dem Landkreis Mainz-Bingen* (CSIR D II 14), Mainz 2005, 89–93 nr. 49 e tav. 24.

[42] V. nn. 24–25.

[43] S. Estiot, "Sine arcu sagittae: la représentation numismatique de plumbatae/mattiobarbuli aux IIIe–IVe siècles (279–307 de n. è)", *NZ* 116–17 (2008) 177–201 (soprattutto 181–187 e figg. 1–17); V. Drost – S Estiot, "Maxence et le portrait militaire de l'empereur en Mattiobarbulus", *RN* 166

Estiot, George C. Boon aveva già proposto una teoria molto simile, che indivi-duava nelle tre armi inastate uno *spiculum* e due *martiobarbuli*.[44] È opportuno precisare che la prima attestazione dei *martiobarbuli*, come ho accennato in apertura, risale all'iconografia militare della dinastia severiana, più precisamente ai rilievi funerari della *II Parthica* nel cimitero militare di Apamea. Il numero delle presunte *lanceae*, con cui l'opinione comune identifica le armi inastate dei defunti, corrisponde perfettamente non soltanto alla dotazione normale di cin-que *martiobarbuli* per ciascun legionario secondo Vegezio, ma anche ai cinque λόγχια di Paniscus in età tetrarchica; l'insolita forma a foglia delle punte trova pieno riscontro nei tre *martiobarbuli* rinvenuti a Pityus/Pitsunda.[45] Ma la rico-struzione della Estiot, come è stato già provato in merito a una serie monetale di Diocleziano,[46] è priva di fondamento. Il motivo iconografico delle tre armi inastate rielabora una rappresentazione molto più antica di Probo e dotata di valore tradizionale.

L'imperatore, quando assume il ruolo attivo di combattente, è raffigurato quasi sempre come *eques*, che attacca i nemici alla testa delle sue truppe o solo, brandendo una *hasta/lancea* a mo' di giavellotto o come un'asta da urto. Per il motivo dell'*impetus* equestre insieme ai soldati basta citare il Grande Fregio di Traiano;[47] il verso delle monete da Vespasiano al regno congiunto di Carino e di Numeriano fornisce numerosi esempi della carica solitaria.[48] Nell'iconografia

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(2010) 435–45 (soprattutto 439–441). I presunti "plombs" di Estiot, ibid., 188 nr. 2 e 196 fig. 2 in realtà sembrano essere semplicemente le dita delle mani o imperfezioni accidentali della matrice.

[44] G. C. Boon, "Martiobarbuli Coins", *AntJ* 71 (1991) 247–50.

[45] Colombo (n. 8) 160–61. Cfr. anche Boon (n. 44) 248.

[46] Colombo (n. 8) 165 in relazione a RIC V 2, 234 nr. 140 (Diocleziano) e 277 nr. 500 (Massimiano Erculio). Ciò vale anche per Estiot (n. 43) 188 nr. 2 e 191 nr. 11.

[47] G. M. Koeppel, "Die historischen Reliefs der römischen Kaiserzeit III. Stadtrömische Denkmäler unbekannter Bauzugehörigkeit aus trajanischer Zeit", *BJ* 185 (1985) 173–181 nr. 9 con figg. 13–16. Cfr. anche RIC IV 2, 151–52 nrr. 115 e 121 (Massimino); F. Gnecchi, *I medaglioni romani*, III, Milano 1912, 68 nr. 61 con tav. 157 nr. 6 (Probo).

[48] *RIC* II, 77 nr. 523 (Vespasiano), 86 nr. 613, 89–90 nrr. 632, 639, 642 (Tito), 187 nr. 257, 190 nr. 284, 194 nr. 317, 197 nr. 344, 199 nr. 361 (Domiziano), 258 nrr. 208–09, 282 nrr. 534–45 (Traiano); III, 257–59 nrr. 543–45, 549, 567, 321 nrr. 1362–63, 324 nrr. 1402–07 (Lucio Vero), 402 nr. 299 (Commodo); IV 1, 109 nr. 146, 121 nrr. 231 e 238, 125 nr. 269, 153 nr. 463 (Settimio Severo), 229–30 nrr. 113 e 118, 234 nr. 155, 283 nr. 431, 284 nr. 438, 285 nr. 443, 286 nr. 449, 299 nr. 526 (Caracalla); IV 3, 51 nr. 327 (Gordiano III); V 1, 137 nr. 88, 158 nr. 312, 177 nr. 529, 178 nr. 538,

monetale l'imperatore tiene la *hasta/lancea* soprattutto come un giavellotto; il confronto con Arr. *Ect.* 17 e Mauric. *Strateg.* 12 A 7, rr. 58–59 chiarisce che l'impugnatura della *hasta/lancea* εἰς ἀκοντισμόν permetteva un duplice impiego della stessa, cioè asta da urto o arma da lancio.[49] La rappresentazione scultorea dei *gregarii milites* a cavallo rispetta la medesima gestualità. Le due varianti del gesto compaiono con pari frequenza nei rilievi della Colonna Traiana e del Grande Fregio;[50] invece le stele funerarie delle province manifestano la stessa prevalenza delle monete, ma danno spazio anche all'impugnatura εἰς προβολήν.[51]

Dagli anni Settanta del I secolo agli anni Ottanta del III secolo l'imperatore quale *eques* lanciato alla carica contro i nemici raggiunge la massima frequenza sul verso delle monete di Probo.[52] È lecito dedurre da questo dato che l'iconografia monetale proprio sotto il suo regno abbia sperimentato una variazione allusiva del tema, per adattarlo abilmente alle convenzioni figurative del dritto e sottolineare ulteriormente la partecipazione personale dell'*Augustus* alle imprese belliche; infatti i busti di Probo impugnano significativamente le armi inastate, che caratterizzavano gli *equites* dell'esercito romano militanti nella cavalleria leggera d'urto: una *lancea pugnatoria* e due *minores subarmales*.[53] Quattro medaglioni bronzei di Probo riproducono anche l'impugnatura εἰς

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183 nr. 593 (Gallieno), 230 nr. 227 (Claudio II), 270 nr. 42 (Aureliano); V 2, 42 nr. 233, 46 nr. 286, 66–67 nrr. 447 e 451–55, 81 nrr. 604–05, 104 nrr. 806–07 e 809, 106 nrr. 817–19, 113–14 nrr. 877–83, 115 nr. 889, 116 nr. 900, 118 nr. 912 (Probo), 194 nrr. 398–99 e 401 (Numeriano).

[49] Colombo (n. 8) 172.

[50] S. Settis – A. La Regina – G. Agosti – V. Farinella, *La Colonna Traiana* (Saggi 716), Torino 1988, tav. 28 scena XXIV, tav. 50 scena XXXVII, tav. 54 scene XXXVIII–XXXIX, tav. 62 scena XL, tav. 262 scene CXLII–CXLIII, tavv. 266–267 scene CXLIV–CXLV. Per i rilievi del Grande Fregio v. n. 47.

[51] R. Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique et l'occupation militaire de l'Afrique sous les empereurs*, Paris 1892, 297 tav. s. n. fig. 3; Boppert (n. 24) 126–28 nr. 27 e tav. 26; RIB I 201 con tav. 5.

[52] V. n. 48. Cfr. anche Gnecchi (n. 47) 68 nr. 58 con tav. 157 nr. 5.

[53] Estiot (n. 43) 178, 187 nrr. 1–3 e 196 figg. 1–3 pensa che in un *denarius* di Probo, in un *aureus* di Massimiano Erculio e in un medaglione bronzeo di Severo per Massimino Daia *Caesar* le dimensioni ridotte e la posizione inconsueta dell'arma inastata nella mano destra obblighino a identificarla con un terzo *martiobarbulus*. Ma anche in questo caso l'arma è una *hasta/lancea*, dato che il carattere innovativo e sperimentale della rappresentazione giustifica entrambe le anomalie; i *monetarii* di Probo, per fare posto a tre armi inastate sul dritto, sacrificarono il realismo dei dettagli secondari allo spazio disponibile. Per le occorrenze successive v. più avanti nel testo e n. 58.

ἀκοντισμόν tipica del verso.[54] Un'altra variazione dello stesso motivo utilizza un'allusione ancora più perspicua: sul dritto il busto armato di Probo tiene un cavallo per la briglia.[55]

I membri della prima Tetrarchia si erano formati alla scuola di Aureliano e di Probo.[56] La propaganda monetale di Diocleziano e di Massimiano Erculio in quattro emissioni, databili una al 290/292 e le altre al 288/290,[57] riprese consapevolmente un tema peculiare di Probo mirando a un duplice scopo: da un lato evocare la connessione dei due imperatori con Probo, defunto pochi anni prima, dall'altro enfatizzare i meriti militari di entrambi attraverso la raffigurazione allusiva con le armi inastate degli *equites*. Questa interpretazione è suffragata anche dalla legenda del dritto, che celebra sempre la *virtus* di Diocleziano e di Massimiano; la legenda del verso nelle monete di Probo, quando esso raffigura l'imperatore come *eques* combattente, glorifica appunto la sua *virtus*.[58]

Roma

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[54] Gnecchi (n. 47) 68 nrr. 54 e 59 con tav. 157 nrr. 2 e 4; Estiot (n. 43) 178, 189 nrr. 4–5 e 197 figg. 4–5.

[55] *RIC* V 2, 38 nr. 189, 84 nr. 627, 85 nr. 634, 105 nr. 812; Gnecchi (n. 47) 67 nr. 48 con tav. 156 nr. 21 e 70 nr. 75 con tav. 157 nr. 11. Il prototipo generico è una moneta di Claudio II: P. Bastien, *Le buste monétaire des empereurs romains* (Numismatique romaine 19), II, Wetteren 1993, 547 e tav. 112 nr. 7.

[56] Aur. Vict. 39,28: cfr. anche HA, *Prob.* 22,3.

[57] Estiot (n. 43) 188 e 191.

[58] Le posteriori vicende del busto con le tre armi inastate trovano una spiegazione elementare. I due medaglioni e le quattro monete di Severo (306/307), così come la serie isolata di Massenzio (310/311), furono tarde e meccaniche riproduzioni di modelli legati alle figure prestigiose di Probo e dei due *seniores Augusti*; la definitiva scomparsa del motivo dopo Massenzio dipese unicamente dalla sua rarità sotto Probo e dalla sua marginalità nel sistema iconografico della prima Tetrarchia. Contra Estiot (n. 43) 186–87 e Drost – Estiot (n. 43) 441–42.

THE JEWS IN NORTH AFRICA. FIVE NOTES. [1]

Jaime Curbera

1. The text of this inscription is known from three copies made between 1830 and 1850 in Cuicul (today's Djemila, Algeria), ca 60 km from the sea in the fertile mountains of Eastern Numidia. All are reproduced in different volumes of the *CIL* VIII – one by the Prussian officer von Grabow (left), another found in a "manuscrit d'inscriptions africaines" owned by Charles Lenormant (middle), and a copy made by A. H. A. Delamare[2] (right). The last is the best one, as it not only transcribes the words, but also the shape of the individual letters. The text has been republished by Hans-Georg Pflaum, *Inscriptions latines de l'Algérie* II 3 (2003) no. 7828.

ϹΛΛΟΥϹ	ϹΛΛΟΥϹ	ϹΛℛΛΟΥϹ
Ϲ ΛϕΡΙΚΑΝ	Ϲ ΑϕΡΙΚΑΝ	Ϲ ΑϕΡΙΚΑΝ
ΠΑΤΡΡΠΑ	ΠΑΤΡΡ ΠΑ	ΠΑΤΡΡΠΑ
ΙΟΝΥ · Κ · ΗΜΗΔΙΙ	ΙΟΝΝΝΗΜΗΔΙΙ	ΙΟΝμΝΗμΗΔΙ
ΗΟΝϹΕΥΑΟΡΙΑ.	ΗΟΝΙϹΕΥΟΛΟΡΙΑ	ΗΟΝΙϹΕΥΛΟΡΙΑ
CIL VIII 1 p. 708	*CIL* VIII 10895	*CIL* VIII 20140

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[1] Critical overviews on the Jews of North Africa can be found in: Y. Le Bohec, "Inscriptions juives et judaïsantes de l'Afrique romaine", *AntAFr* 17 (1981) 165-207; id., "Juifs et judaïsants dans l'Afrique romaine. Remarques onomastiques", ibid. 209-29; id., "Bilan des recherches sur le judaïsme au Maghreb dans l'Antiquité", *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma* 6 (1993) 551-66; H. Solin, "Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt", *ANRW* II: 29.2 (1983) 770-79, and "Gli Ebrei d'Africa: una nota", *L'Africa Romana* VIII (1990) 615-23; J.-M. Lassère, *Ubique Populus*, Paris 1977, 413-26, and "Judaïsme", *Encyclopédie Berbère* XXVI (2004) 3939-951.

[2] Adolphe Hedwige Alphonse Delamare (1793-1861); on him see now M. Dondin-Payre, *Le capitaine Delamare. La réussite de l'archéologie romaine au sein de la commission d'exploration scientifique d'Algérie*, Paris 1994.

Theodor Mommsen integrated line 3 as πατρὶ πατρίδος and concluded that this was the inscription of a Roman emperor; the name Ἀφρικανός in the second line made him think either of Gordian I or his son and colleague Gordian II, emperors for 20 days in 238 AD.[3] That is very unlikely, if only because (as we know today) *Sallustios* was not one of Gordian's names. Mommsen's view has been nevertheless accepted by Pflaum ("il s'agit des deux Gordiens père et fils, qui portent ici le gentilice *Salloustios* au lieu de *Sempronios* et son qualifiés de pères de la patrie"), but it was doubted by Arthur Stein, *PIR*² A 833 ("vehementer dubito"). In fact this is a different kind of inscription. In line 4 editors of *CIL* VIII recognized the word μνήμη. With a small change in l. 5 (Γ instead of P) we can read the following text:

Σαλλούσ[τιο]-
ς Ἀφρικαν[ὸς]
πατὴρ πα[τέ]-
ρον· μνήμη δικ-
ήον ἰς εὐλογία[ν].

The formula μνήμη δικαίων εἰς εὐλογίαν (Prov. 10, 7) and the office of πατὴρ πατέρων are well-documented in Jewish inscriptions of the Diaspora (cf. *JIWE* I pp. 328 and 332; II 538 and 540) leave no doubt that this is the epitaph of a Jew. The date cannot be determined with certainty, but the lettering, language (η = αι, ι = ει, ο = ω) and the onomastics are compatible with the third or fourth cent. AD. To find a Greek Jewish epitaph in Cuicul, a city where Latin, Punic and probably also a native Libyan language were the spoken languages, is remarkable, but does not lack parallels in Africa. In Tripoli (Oea) we have the Greek epitaph of the local Jewish presbytera Μαζαυζαλα, a Libyan or Berber name,[4] and in Volubilis (Mauretania Tingitana) we have the Greek epitaph of a pater synagogae (III-IV AD): ὧδε κοιμᾶτε Καικιλιανὸς ὁ προτοπολίτες πατὴρ τῆς συναγωγῆς τῶν Ἰουδέων ἠτῶν με΄ μένας η΄ ἐμέρας γ΄ (*AE* 1969-70, 748). Due to the use of Greek some scholars have thought Caecilianus to be a foreigner,[5] but ono-

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[3] Th. Mommsen, "Die Namen des Kaisers Balbinus", *Zeitschr. Num.* 8 (1881) 26-28.

[4] K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, 83-91 and XIII: "normally this element (*mas-*) is explained as a noun to be compared to Touareg *mess*, master".

[5] Thus E. Gonzalbes Gravioto, "Los judíos en Mauritania Tingitana", *Studi Magrebini* 11 (1979)

mastics contradict this, for the names *Sallustius, Africanus* and *Caecilianus* are common in the African provinces.[6] Contrary to what scholars once believed, Latin was not the only language of African Jews.[7] Interestingly enough, these three Greek inscriptions (from Oea, Cuicul and Volubilis) are the only epitaphs of local Jewish officials in Africa we know of.[8] Although Latin (judging from the inscriptions) was the everyday language of African Jews, Greek was the language of the cult and liturgy. As a sacred language, it was more prestigious than Latin and it is only natural that the epitaphs of Jewish local officials were written in Greek. A practical implication is that the use of Greek in Africa may indicate Jewishness. Thus, I would not be surprised if the inscriptions from Thuburnica (Numidia) *CIL* VIII 25739 Τ. Σαλλούστιος (same family name as the πατὴρ πατέρων of Cuicul) and the intriguing 25736 πόλεως εὐχὴ ἐπὶ Διφίλου ἀρχάρχοντος (sic) turned out to be Jewish as well.[9]

2. This epitaph from Carthage, found "vers la mer dans le quartier du Forum", was first published by Alfred-Louis Delattre, *Cosmos* 159 (1888) 297 n. 159 (= *AE* 1888, 38; *Dict. Arch. Chr. Lit.* VIII 231) and *L'épigraphie chrétienne à Carthage* (Paris 1891) 11 n. 5, and later on by J. Schmidt, *CIL* VIII 14191 (Diehl, *Incr. Lat. Chr. vet.* 4947A) and by A. Merlin, *Inscriptions Latines de la Tunisie* (Paris 1944) n. 948.

151; H. Z. Hirschberg, *A History of the Jews in North Africa* I, Leiden 1974, 68.

[6] Cf. *CIL* VIII Suppl. 5 p. 80; A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire I: Afrique*, Paris 1982, 165-80. *Sallustius* is documented for Jews in Rome: *JIWE* II 553 *Sallusti Libianus et Iuda*.

[7] Cf. J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'Empire Romain* I, Paris 1914, 367: "en Afrique, à l'époque chrétienne (...) les Juifs parlent tous latin et leurs inscriptions sont toutes en latin sans aucun mélange de grec."

[8] An *archosynagogus* and a *pater synagogae* are mentioned in the Latin epitaphs of their sons: *CIL* VIII 12457 b (Naro) and *CIL* VIII 8423 (Setifis).

[9] On these inscriptions see also Lassère, *Ubique Populus* 67 and 124. On 25736 cf. H. Dessau's comment in the *CIL*'s edition: "mira omnia, tam πόλεως εὐχή, quo votum publice a Thuburnicensibus significare vix credi potest, quam ἀρχάρχοντος vocabulum, hoc fortasse e Punico versum."

Despite its brevity, the text has caused difficulty – "non intellego" (Diehl), "explicatio prorsus incerta" (*CIL* VIII Suppl. 8, 5 p. 109), "cura parentium?" (Heraeus, *ThLL* X 1, 96), "sens mystérieux" (Merlin). The right interpretation was suggested by Jean Juster (II 231), who saw here a translation of Hebrew *Malkha* (= Lat. *Regina*)[10] and compared it to the name Κυραπαντώ in the Jewish inscription from Arcadia *IG* V 1, 1349 Κυραπαντὼ θυγάτηρ Μαρωνίου. Indeed, *Quira* is only a transcription of Greek κυρία / κυρά (for Latin *qui* = Greek κυ, cf. *Anquira, quiminum, Quirilus,* etc.),[11] whereas *Painton* is most likely a scribal error for Greek Πάντων. One can compare misspellings such as *probaimus, curaivit, nuntiaibat, taim* or *paitrum* in Livius' Codex Vindobonensis (late 5th cent. AD).[12] We have therefore the epitaph of a woman called Κυρὰ Πάντων or Κυραπάντων, 'Mistress of all'. This name is not only documented in Arcadia but also in six Greek papyri from Egypt ranging from the 5th to the 7th cent. AD.[13] Interestingly, there is an exact parallel of this name in a later period. The Genizah of the Synagogue in old Cairo (founded AD 882) has preserved a vast collection of documents (most of them written in Arabic with Hebrew characters) that have shed light on the life of the Mediterranean Jewry from the 10th until the 13th centuries. In his discussion of the names of women in the Geniza documents, Shlomo D. Goitein draws our attention to a curious phenomenon: "The third, and most surprising aspect of the female Geniza nomenclature is the prevalence in it of the ideas of ruling, overcoming, and victory. Most of these names are composed with the word *sitt*, "mistress", "female ruler", originally an honorary title added to a name, which became the personal name of a girl given to her at birth (...) A most common female name in the Geniza is *Sitt al-Kull*, "She who Rules over Everyone," paralleled by *Sitt al-Jamī*, which means the same, *Sitt al-Nas*, "Mistress over Mankind", *Sitt al-Zamān*, "Mistress of her Time", and *Sitt al-Aqrān*, "Ruling over her Peers."[14] The names *Sitt al-Kull* and

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[10] For the Hebrew names of these meaning see J. J. Stam, "Hebräische Frauennamen", in *Hebräische Wortforschung. Festschift W. Baumgartner*, Leiden 1967, 326-27.

[11] F. Biville, *Les emprunts du latin au grec: approche phonètique* I, Louvain 1990, 279-83.

[12] Collected by Hugo Schuchardt, *Der Vocalismus des Vulgärlateins* I, Leipzig 1866, 191*.

[13] See H. Cadell, "Papyrologica", *CdÈ* 42 (1967) 192-193, and J.-L. Fournet and J. Gascou, "À propos de PSI IX 1061 descr.", *ZPE* 135 (2001) 147-48.

[14] S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society. The Jewish Communities of the Arab world as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza* III, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1978, 316.

Sitt al-Jama, one can see, correspond literally to Greek Κυρία Πάντων and confirm a certain Jewish predilection for this name. But the name was used also by Christians (*PSI* 183, *P. Harris* I 88, *POxy* 1042, *PLond* 113), just as *Sitt al-Kull* and *Sitt al-Jamī* were used by Muslims. We note that the feminine Πάντων in the Christian epitaph *SB* IV 7321 (Κ(ύρι)ε ἀνάπαυσον τὴν δούλην σου Πάντωνα) originated after the first part of the name was interpreted as a title (as in κυρὰ Μαρία, κυρὰ Ματρώνα, etc.) and the last part (originally a plural genitive) as a simple name This is a known phenomenon. Thus *Sitt* is often omitted in the Geniza texts and strange forms of female names result, such as Muluk, "Kings", or names of countries, cities, or peoples. The same phenomen is documented for Spanish female names such as *(María de los) Reyes* or *(María de los) Dolores*.

3. An ethnic Νευθηνός is documented in an 3rd – 4th cent. epitaph from Carthage (Jewish necropolis of Gammarth), published by Jean Ferron, *Cahiers de Byrsa* 6 (1956) 116: Ἀγάπις υἱὸς Ἀννιανοῦ Νευθηνοῦ. Because of the use of Greek and the ending -ηνός (as in Περγαμηνός, Λαοδικηνός, etc.), the first idea is that the deceased's father came from the East (even if so far no candidate is available),[15] but this not the only possibility. On the one hand, the use of Greek among African Jews does not necessarily point to a foreign origin, as we have seen. On the other hand, although Greek ethnics in -ηνός are characteristic for the Greek East, a similar suffix is also documented for Africa. The ethnic of *Byzacium* is *Byzacenus*. That of *Sabrata* is usually *Sabratensis*, but *Sabratenus* for a bishop of c. 450 AD;[16] that of *Thabraca* (Numidia), normally *Thabracensis*, is documented as Θαβρακένος in Rome (*JIWE* II 508); In some cases we may have a rendering of the Italic suffix -*īnus* (cf. *Hadrimetinus, Thevestinus*, etc.), but in other cases it is doubtless a different suffix, cf. App. Probi 48 *byzacenus non byzacinus*. There is no African place name in Νευθ- (or Νεφθ- in late Greek pronunciation) from which an ethnic Νευθηνός can be regularly derived, but, interestingly, two are vaguely similar. Present-day Nefta, ancient Nepte, is an oasis settlement and a caravan centre on the way from Thelepte to Tacapa. The known ethnics so far are *Neptensis*, *Neptitanus* and *Nebbitanus* (Mesnage

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[15] Cf. J. and L. Robert, *Bull.ép.* 1962 n. 372: "nous ne serions pas trop étonnés si l'ethnique Neuthénos se retrouvait en Syrie ou Palestine."

[16] J. Mesnage, *L'Afrique Chrétienne*, Paris 1912, 136.

op. cit. 125) but Νευθηνός (for *Neptenus or Neptinus?), could be a further variant.[17] The second possibility is that this is the ethnic of Leptis Magna. The Chronicle of Hippolytus (§ 216) and works that rely on Hippolytus mention the Νεβδηνοί as one of the five Ἄφρων ἔθνη. The Liber Generationis, also relying on Hippolytus, has Lebdeni (v.l. Lepdini, Lepteni), an indication that in all these cases the ethnic of Leptis was intended.[18] The form Νεβδηνοί is probably not a corruption, but rather a vulgar variant of Lebdeni, as shown by the similar case leptis (for neptis, fem. of nepos) at CGL V 307 and 370. Thus, Νευθηνός in Carthage could be a testimony of the different local forms of the place name Leptis. Until a clear solution is found for the homeland of Ἀννιανός, the possibility that he was from Africa should remain open.

4. The Acta Marcianae (Acta SS Ian. I 569) tell us how, during the reign of Diocletian (284 - 305), an archisynagogus from Caesarea (today's Cherchel, Algeria) called Budarius incited the mobs against the Christian Marciana – and how he was punished by God. The name Budarius (v.l. Bindarium, Baudarium) is new but it is correctly formed on buda, which means a kind of sedge (Typha augustifolia L.) and mats made with it (CGL V 212, 39; 586, 39). Augustine (ep. 88, 6 and ep. 105, 3) mentions a rough garment of buda (buda vestitus) in which the catholic Restitutus was dressed after he had been beaten by Donatist clerics (in another version of the same story Augustine uses the expression amictus iunceus).[19] This is an African loanword in Latin, as indicated by the fact that it is mainly used by African authors; it is present in African place-names such as Tabuda (Tab. Peut.) and Θαβουδίς (Ptol.); and is still used today in Northern African dialects.[20] Budarius is the term (missing from our dictionaries) denoting

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[17] On Nepte / Nefta see A. Pellegrin, Essai sur les noms de lieux d'Algérie et de Tunisie, Tunis 1949, 122, and P. Trousset, "Nefta", Encyclopédie Berbère XXXIII (2012) 5378–5380. In 1931 Nefta had a Jewish community of 154 members: R. Attal – C. Sitbon, Regards sur les Juifs de Tunisie, Paris 1979, 294.

[18] MGH aa IX 109 § 211. Cf. R. Helm, Hippolytus Werke IV, Berlin 1955, 36 ad loc. ("das richtige ist Λεβδηνοί, Lebda ist die arabische Ausprache für Leptis"); J. Desanges, Catalogue des tribus africaines, Dakar 1962, 129.

[19] On Restitutus see A. Mandouze, Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas Empire I, Paris 1982, 972.

[20] On buda see the discussion by H. Schuchardt, "Zur Wortgeschichte", ZRPh 33 (1909) 347-51; V. Bertoldi, "Metodi vecchi e nuovi nella ricerca etimologica", Arch. Glott. Ital. 36 (1951) 15-20; S. Lancel, "La fin et la survie de la latinité en Afrique du Nord", REL 59 (1981) 293; J. N. Adams, The

the maker of garments or mats of *buda,* here used as personal name. A related term *budinarius* found in a letter of Cyprian (*ep.* 42), the 3rd cent. bishop of Carthage, is formed on the adjective **budinus* ('made of buda'), just as *porcinarius* is formed on on adjective *porcinus, -a, -um*. Reed-manufacturing has been an important industry over the centuries in the African marshlands. These products (which are mentioned in the documents of the Cairo Genizah) are still made today.[21] The name of the unlucky archisynagogus Budarius is a further testimony for this industry.

5. We know very little about the leader (βασιλεύς) of the Jewish revolt of 115-117 AD in Cyrene and Egypt.[22] Eusebios of Caesarea (c. 260-339 AD), the main source for the revolt, gives Λουκούας as his name. Authors relying on Eusebios have banalized the name as *Luca* (Rufinus) or Λούκιος (Nikephoros). At Dio Cassius (Xiphil.) 68,32 his name is Ἀνδρέας, probably because (as Ulrich Wilcken pointed out) he had a double name – Ἀνδρέας ὁ Λουκούας or something similar. Wilcken's short comment is telling: "Der Name Λουκούας ist jedenfalls ungriechisch. Wahrscheinlich ist er semitisch. Freilich wird sich, wie Hr. College S. Fränkel[23] mir freundlichst mittheilt, eine schlagende etymologische Ableitung aus einer semitischen Wurzel kaum finden lassen. Der Möglichkeit sind mehrere".[24] Unfortunately no indigenous name (Punic or Libyan) comes even remotely close.[25] A purely formal explanation is that Λουκούας could be based on the stem of Latin *Lucius* with the same ending as Ἀγαθούας in Scythia or Ἀπφούας in Egypt (expanded forms of Ἀγαθοῦς and Ἀπφοῦς), but this is perhaps pushing Greek morphology a little too far: this ending (a suffix conglomerate) is not at all common, it has so far not been found with Latin stems, and is not documented in Cyrene. An alternative, as yet unconsidered, possi-

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Regional Diversification of Latin, Cambridge 2007, 522-28.

[21] Goitein, l.c. IV (1983) 127; A. Trutter, *Flora economica della Libia*, Roma 1925, 123 with plate 58 ("capanna-telaio per l'intreccio delle stuoie di giunchi").

[22] Eusebios, *hist. eccl.* IV 2, 3-4 (p. 302 Schwarz). Cf. A. Stein, *RE* XIII (1927) 1802–1803, and M. Pucci Ben Teev, *Diaspora Judaism in Turmoil 116/117 CE*, Leuven 2005, 143-90.

[23] The Semitist Sigmund Fränkel (1855-1909).

[24] U. Wilcken, "Ein Aktenstück zum jüdischen Kriege Trajans", *Hermes* 27 (1892) 464-80 esp. 480.

[25] For indigenous names in Roman Africa, see G. Camps, "Liste onomastique libyque", *AntAfr* 38-39 (2002-2003) 211-57.

bility is to see the adaptation of a Latin name, a case similar to Ἀγρικόλαος
(= *Agricola*), Κράτιος (= *Claudius*), Τραγιανός (= *Traianus*), or Σατορνῖλος
(= *Saturninus*).[26] Λουκούας may indeed be a mangled form of Latin *loquax*,
'talkative' (also 'eloquent'). The stem was at some point identified with that of
Lucius ~ Λούκιος (Λουκᾶς, Λουκιανός, etc.), a widespread name (cf. Λούκιος
ὁ Κυρηναῖος *Act. Apost.* 13, 1), but this was a false etymology by someone who
did not know the Latin word – either the copyists of Eusebios or the Cyrenaean
and Egyptian rebels. The ending has been adapted to Greek morphology, but
the change was probably favoured by the shift *-x* > *-s* in spoken Latin, as in
mordas < *mordax* or *simples* < *simplex*.[27] The same spelling, in any case, is
found in Αὔδας = *Audax* at Diod. Sic. 33,21 (acc. Αὔδακα at Appian., *Hisp.* 74
§ 313). Despite these differences the overall shape of Λουκούας still hints at
Latin *loquax* rather than a Greek or a Latin name. This hypothesis assumes that
Λουκούας ~ *Loquax* was born or grew up in a Latin-speaking environment and
supports Wilcken's idea that his official name was Ἀνδρέας and Λουκούας a
nickname. It could also give weight to Wilcken's attempt to identify Λουκούας,
the king of the Jews, with a person mocked as "the king of the stage and the
mime" (τὸν ἀπὸ σκηνῆς καὶ ἐκ μείμου βασιλέα) in an edict of Marcus Rutilius
Lupus, the prefect of Egypt during the Jewish uprising.[28]

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[26] See Th. Eckinger, *Die Orthographie lateinischer Wörter in griechischen Inschriften*, Munich 1900, passim.

[27] Cf. V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966, 65. For the examples from African inscriptions see *CIL* VIII 5, p. 312 (*innos* = *innox*, *Simples* = *Simplex*, *subornatris* = *subornatrix*, *Felis* = *Felix*.).

[28] H. Musurillo, *Acta Alexandrinorum*, Leipzig 1961, IX col. I = *CPJ* II nr. 158 *a* I (with the editors' commentary).

PAINTING THE NEW REALITY:
COLOURS IN NEO-LATIN

Šime Demo

Neo-Latin was developed during the Italian Renaissance in an attempt to restore the ancient form of the language after the medieval period, which was perceived by the Humanists as one of linguistic corruption in Latin.[1] Extensive quantity of Neo-Latin texts, their geographical and chronological expansion and the wide range of topics they cover make the most recent period of Latin a very interesting area of research.[2] This is especially true for the field of Neo-Latin vocabulary and phraseology.[3] While conforming to the classical usage, Neo-Latin writers also acted pragmatically and eclectically, making extensive use of medieval and non-Latin material as well.[4]

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* An early version of this paper was presented at the Colour Language and Colour Categorization Conference (Tallinn, June 2013).

[1] The term 'Latin' is, somewhat inaccurately, often used interchangeably with Ancient or even Classical Latin. Note the term 'Late Latin', referring to the stage of Latin immediately preceding the Middle Ages, as if no Latin existed after it. I use the term 'Ancient Latin' for all Latin produced from the beginning of Latin literacy up to the beginning of the Middle Ages, and 'Classical Latin' for the language of the literary authors writing roughly from 200 BC to 100 AD whose works provided a linguistic model for the Neo-Latin writers.

[2] The number of Neo-Latin texts considerably surpasses the quantity of medieval Latin texts, which are in turn much more numerous than extant ancient Latin writings. For example, the *Index Thomisticus*, a collection comprising only the works attributed to Thomas Aquinas and related authors, is almost double the size of the entire corpus of available Classical Latin texts (Bamman – Crane 2009).

[3] One of the most recent overviews is given in Helander (2014).

[4] See IJsewijn – Sacré (1998, 382). Benner – Tengström (1977, 62) describe such approach as "tolerant classicism".

Colours and Latin

The present study aims to detect the main trends of colour language in Neo-Latin. Much has been written about colour terms in Ancient Latin.[5] The seminal book by André (1949) and a more compressed, but still ample, article by Baran (1983) provide a rich descriptive frame. More recent work discusses the system of basic colour terms in ancient Latin works, with heavy emphasis put on Classical Latin, supporting either a universalistic (Berlin – Kay 1969, Kristol 1980, Kay 1999, Oniga 2007) or a relativistic (Eco 1985, Lyons 1999, Bradley 2009) theoretical position. According to the universalists, biological conditions play a crucial role in colour naming, while the relativists assert that culture influences colour perception (Bornstein 2007).

Apart from the neologisms, which have most frequently attracted the attention of linguistically oriented Neo-Latin scholars, the present analysis will also deal with more subtle aspects of colour naming. Although generalisations that establish sharp divisions are not possible here, it can be said, in agreement with the main thesis set forth by Lyons (1999) and Bradley (2009), that a general difference exists between the ancient Roman and modern views on colour. In the antiquity, on the one hand, colour was frequently connected with the object itself – its texture, original pigment, use, and cultural symbolism. On the other hand, in our modern use, colour is perceived more 'abstractly', set free from ties with objects, although still often burdened with symbolical meaning. This change is mirrored not only in the choice of vocabulary and semantic structure but also at several other linguistic levels.

Colour Language in the Early Modern Period

Generally, Neo-Latin writers did their best to use the Latin they encountered in the writings of the 'best' ancient authors. However, changes in the historical context modified their Latin (Ramminger 2014). Most of scientific writers were

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[5] To the best of my knowledge, there have been no linguistic studies of Neo-Latin colour terms published so far.

open to all ancient lexical resources, as well as medieval and foreign vocabu-laries.[6]

Medieval theories of colour were always a philosophical endeavour, heavily relying on Aristotelian model and making colours a part of larger systems of knowledge with theology embracing the whole.[7] However, Middle Ages brought some important advances: in the 13th century Robert Grosseteste (c. 1175–1253), although still an Aristotelian, presented the first new colour system after Aristotle, arranging colours in a three-dimensonal space (Smithson et al. 2012);[8] additionally, he heralded a wave theory of light. A few decades later Ramon Llull (c. 1232–c. 1315) included colour system in his geometrical combinatorics of the universal science (Baumann 2011). Renaissance writers, like Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), although still not questioning Aristotle, began to be interested in practical use of colours in art, openly avoiding the philosophical discourse.[9]

Seventeenth century empirical science brought the synthesis of theoretical and practical approaches. Findings by Kepler, Descartes, Newton, and others gradually superseded many old beliefs: that there are 'real' and 'fake' colours, that mixing lightness and darkness gives rise to colours,[10] that black and white are colours, that two types of light exist (*lux* and *lumen*), and so on. Apart from that, the awareness developed that in the antiquity everybody used to speak about pigments, and now they were talking about abstract colours.[11] The ever-growing need for precision in describing reality fostered the coinage of new colour terms and revision of the ways of talking about chromatic phenomena,

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[6] See Ramminger (2014, 22–23), discussing Flavio Biondo's rather eclectic rules for Neo-Latin style. Just like Helander (2014), I will not try to single out possible medieval sources for each Neo-Latin colour expression. A much more comprehensive analysis could sort out most cases.

[7] Examples of those accepting Aristotle's theory of colour include 13th century philosophers Bartholomeus Anglicus, Roger Bacon and Tomas Aquinas.

[8] I wish to thank prof. Galina Paramei for having drawn my attention to the work by Smithson's research group about Robert Grosseteste's *De colore* (mid-1220s).

[9] "Let us omit the debate of philosophers where the original source of colours is investigated (...) I speak here as a painter. " (Alberti 1966, 49).

[10] This is an old Aristotelian idea (*Sens.* 442a), taken up even by some early modern authors, e.g. J. C. Funck, H. Faber, or W. Meurer.

[11] Even in the Middle Ages people were perceptively more tied to material than to abstract colours (Gage 1993, 28–36).

especially in Latin, as it was the main language of colour literature (Plümacher 2007, 61–84).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, entire systems of colour naming were developed in order to meet the needs of clothing industry, biology and geology (Gage 1993, 170). Among those who tried to systematise colour terms the most significant were Linné, Wiedemann, Illiger, Bernhardi, and Hayne.[12]

Hayne's book from 1814 represents an extreme example of such strict categorisation of colour terms as abstract categories. His system is based on eight basic colours, which can be combined to each other and non-hue terms to yeald millions of complex colour terms. (e.g., *parellino-cyaneus*). Hayne's work is an example of how technical nomenclature can arise from language to take on a life of its own. In fact, any language (or an artificial set of signs) would have been able to take over the role of Latin in such a nomenclature.[13]

Research corpora

The present analysis is based on two corpora: I refer most frequently to a dozen Neo-Latin technical works dealing with colours that were published between 1548 and 1814.[14] Some additional examples, especially in the section dealing with literary influences, come from a five-million-word corpus of Neo-Latin works written by authors related to Croatia and stored in the digital collection *Croatiae Auctores Latini* (*CroALa*). The first subcorpus is interesting due to the frequency and variety of colour language in it, and the latter presents a slice of thematically randomised texts that are unbiased regarding colour language, although geographically limited.[15] The digital corpus of Latin texts published in the third edition of the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina* (*BTL*) CD-ROM and

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[12] On the liveliness of the Neo-Latin word formation in the fields of botany, zoology and anatomy see Benner – Tengström (1977, 51) and Helander (2014, 42–43).

[13] Exacctly this eventually happened in the 20th century with colour models such as RBG and CMYK, where colours are encoded by tuples of numbers.

[14] Because of the frequent referencing, technical Neo-Latin works in the analysed corpus will be abbreviated acording to the list given in the Appendix.

[15] Wil is peculiar in that it is a poem, but also a technical work. Some works in *CroALa*, e.g. didactic epic poems of R. Bošković and B. Stay, have a similar character.

the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* were the main tools for controlling ancient Latin colour vocabulary.

Talking about colours in Neo-Latin

Classifying colours

Following advances in science, Neo-Latin scientific writers were actively employed in new ways of classifying reality – a process that brought about many lexical developments.[16] Although Newton and his predecessors demonstrated that all colours are equally primary because each has its own degree of reflection (Gage 1993, 168),[17] some authors continued to use hierarchical colour divisions, inherited from medieval and early Renaissance colour theories, where colour systems were based on several basic colours to which various properties were assigned.[18] Most of the terms employed by them in this way did not have the hierarchical use in ancient texts,[19] but were generally known to the Middle Ages: *primarii* and *secundarii* (FuncS 7); *extremi* and *medii* (Lam 1; PorL 32; Pri 41, or *intermedii*); *primigeni* (Wil 8);[20] finally, *cardinales* (Val 9, for *albus*, *ruber*, and *niger*).[21]

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[16] See Helander (2014, 45–47). This tendency is implied, for example, by the expression *colorum regnum* (Soy 57), taken from biology.

[17] *... mediique dicuntur, non quod constentur ex extremis – simplices etenim ac illi sunt – sed ob aliquam ad extremorum alterum similitudinem et analogiam* (Pri 41).

[18] The notion of primary colours is an old Aristotelian idea taken up from the medieval tradition by Renaissance scholars such as L. B. Alberti (Bomford 1995, 12).

[19] When I say that something is not an ancient or classical word or expression, I mean that it has not been *attested* in our corpora, which cover a great deal of the preserved texts. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that ancient Romans in fact used it. Still, it means that a medieval or a Neo-Latin author must have come up with the word or expression independently of the ancient sources accessible to us.

[20] Applied to *niger* and *albus*. The word *primigenus* is a hapax in the antiquity (Lucr. 2,1106) and does not have a chromatic meaning.

[21] For example, medieval authors Johannes de Bado Aureo and Bartolo da Sassoferrato (both 14th century) use the terms *colores principales*, *medii* and *submedii* (Huxtable 2011, 200).

The same holds for the division into 'real, stable' and 'fake, transient' colours.[22] Several inventive expressions appear in our texts. A natural and permanent colour is described as *primi generis* (Soy [V], not an ancient phrase), *genuinus* (PorL 147, Jun 3)*, naturalis* (Por 147)*, permanens* (Soy [V]), *positivus* (Pri 112),[23] *realis* (Lam 15); or by the phrase *colorum veritas* (Jun 10).[24] For artificial and unstable colours the authors use a range of novel terms: *adulteratus* (Pri 47–51),[25] *apparens* (Por 14; Pri 16, Soy [V]; Wil 14)*, artefactus* (Lam 6), *artificialis* (Por 99), *emphaticus* (Soy, [V]*), fictus* (Pri 16), *praeternaturalis* (Val 8, in physiological use), *spurius* (Wil 14), *non verus* (PorL 25).

Alongside a number of inherited terms expressing aesthetic classifications and evaluations,[26] post-ancient period contribute various new ones: *concinnus* (Doe 11), *[coloris] lenitas* (Pri 19), *deformis* (Val 11), *suaviter [rubicundus]* (Soy 24), *elegans [viror]* (Soy 64).[27] In addition, our ancient texts do not contain expressions such as *colorum concordia* 'chromatic harmony' (Pri 51–52) and *colores consentanei aut dissentanei* 'matching or clashing colours' (Soy 9).

Intensity of colour

In the early modern period it became important to distinguish precise tones and shades within a hue. In the seventeenth century, people used to devise the so-called *scalae (rubedinis / nigredinis / flavedinis...)*, which means that brightness and saturation started to be taken account of in the hue system. The first author to do this was Sigfrid Forsius (in 1611). The first to do it systematically was Francis Glisson (in 1677), who offered divisions from *simplex albedo* to

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[22] *... trita ista in scholis divisio colorum in reales et veros, vel apparentes; quod si rem exacte perpendamus, omnes colores reales et veros dicendos esse apparebit* (Jun 9).

[23] Referring to black and tagging it as a philosophical term; PorL 46 says *ut hodie loquimur, positivus*.

[24] *Verus color* (PorL 14, 25; Pri 112, 143; Soy [V]) is ancient.

[25] But Plin. *nat.* 14,68,8 has *saporem coloremque adulterat*, 'falsifies the taste and the colour', not in exactly the same sense.

[26] According to the *TLL*: *amoenus, blandus, bonus, deterior, egregius, eximius, gratus, informis, insignitus, iucundus, lectissimus, malus, mirus, obsoletus, pretiosus, rarus*.

[27] Hay 12–14 even has *pulchritudinis gradus* ('the level of beauty') as one of his parameters of colour classification. His subdivisions are: *excellens* (prächtig)*, suavis* (lieblich)*, obsoletus* (verschossen)*, foedus* (widrig)*, sordidus* (schmutzig).

satura rubedo and from *simplex albedo* to *simplex nigredo* without naming the intermediate shades (Gage 1993, 166). Building upon medieval systems where non-hue qualities such as brightness and saturation were more central than they are now in post-Newtonian context,[28] Neo-Latin developed a large number of innovative terms denoting non-hue qualities. The wish for accurate description and stylistic richness encouraged technical writers to dip into the treasuries of Ancient Latin in search of words to express the presence or lack of various kinds of intensity within a hue.[29]

Categorial nouns marking these properties are *intensio* (FuncG C4r, Soy 18, 77),[30] *mediocritas* (Pri 19), *sinceritas* (PorL 150), *quantitas* (FuncG C3v), *vivacitas* (PorL 104; Soy 93), and *vividitas* (FuncG C4r – not an ancient word), none of them having appeared in the antiquity in a similar meaning.

Intensity of a shade within hue is most commonly expressed by adjectives and adverbs. Apart from the most general terms found in the corpus (*intensa rubedo*, Soy 56; *intensissima rubedo*, Soy 47; *color intensior*, FuncG C3v),[31] non-ancient semantic extensions producing expressions of high intensity of colour are based on a variety of colour conceptualisations that range from purely physical properties such as luminosity and purity to metaphorical ideas such as liveliness, abundance and fullness to evaluative concepts such as perfection and distinction. In black-and-white books lacking pictures the authors used these concepts in an attempt to transmit the idea of the exact shade to the reader. Here is a selection:

- luminosity (the principal shade within a hue is perceived as the brightest one): *coruscus color* (Lam 4), *fulgida nigredo* (Soy 14), *splendide ruber* (Soy 91)

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[28] "There was a closer association between a bright red and a bright blue than between a pale red and a pale blue" (Woolgar 2006, 157). Robert Groeesteste's system is based non on the hues, but on the oppositions *clara-obscura [lux]*, *multa-pauca [lux]* and *purum-impurum [perspicuum*, i.e. medium*]* (Smithson et al. 2012, A347).

[29] The terms are listed here without making difference among properties such as brightness, saturation, luminosity, chroma and lightness. A more comprehensive research could distinguish between mere stylistic embellishments and strict technical use, as well as determine exact meaning when possible. Also, nouns and adjectives are presented in a nominative singular form.

[30] The phrase *lucis intensio* (Soy 3) is not attested in Ancient Latin in description of colour, though Sen. *nat.* 1,3,12 has *color intensus*.

[31] The use is medieval: Albertus Magnus has *intensa viriditas* (Gage 1993, 166).

- purity (the colour is evaluated according to the absence of impurities): *emaculatus candor* (Pri 59), *meracior niger* (PorL 55), *pure* (Hay with every basic colour term)
- liveliness (the most intense shade is perceived as having a vital force): *vegetus color* (FuncG C4r; Lam 4; *halurgus vegetus*, Lam 10; *purpura vegeta*, Pri 122*; ruber vegetus*, Pri 76), *vivax albus color* (Wil 4; *vivax radius*, Wil 3; *vivacissima rubedo*, Soy 46), *vivaciter ruber* (Soy 38; *vivaciter rubicundus*, Soy 68),[32] *vividus fucus* (Pri 84; *color vividior*, FuncG C3v)
- abundance and fullness (main shade has the highest number of features of the hue): *ampla umbra* (Wil 3), *impense candidus* (Soy 10), *omnino ater* (Lam 5), *oneratus color* (Doe 9),[33] *plene rubet* (PorO 55),[34] *prorsus albus* (Lam 18; *prorsus niger*, PorL 83), *satura rubedo* (Soy 27),[35] *saturate* (Hay 12–14 with various colour terms – not an ancient adverb), *summa nigredo* (FuncG A4r, PorL 53; *summus nigror*, Soy 56)
- perfection (the central shade is the most perfect and definite form of the hue): *absolutus color* (Soy 108; *nigredo absoluta*, Soy 49; *color absolutissimus*, Doe 9), *determinate purpureus* (Soy 72 – the word first appears in Boethius), *exacta nigredo* (Lam 9; PorL 130), *perfecta rubedo* (FuncS 13; *perfecta albedo*, PorL 184), *perfecte ruber* (FuncS 2, 8; *perfectius candescit*, Soy 59)
- distinction (the principal shade has a special eminence if compared to other shades): *excellens albedo* (Val 8),[36] *eximiae notae color* (Pri 113),[37] *exquisite niger* (PorL 99; *exquisite splendidus*, PorO 58),[38] *insigniter niger* (Soy 10; *insigniter denigrat rem*, Lam 6), *primae notae niger* (Lam 3; Por 61), *vera nigredo* (Val 14; *vera et sincera purpura*, Doe 14).[39]

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[32] *Vivaciter* is found in late antiquity, and it is used exclusively with verbs, never chromatically.

[33] A possible loan translation from French: "... *quem Francogalli dicunt* couleur chargée".

[34] *Plenus color* appears in late ancient *Historia Augusta* (Capitol. *Alb.* 5,3).

[35] Verg. *georg.* 4,335 and Plin. *nat.* 37,170,11 have *satur color*.

[36] Plin. *nat.* 34,178,2 has *color excellens*, but the adjective does not appear with basic colour terms in the antiquity.

[37] *Eximiae notae* does not exist as a phrase in our ancient corpus; but Plin. *nat.* 9,135,3 and 24,160,4 has *eximius color*, and 21,23,3 *candor eximius*.

[38] Adverb *exquisite* is never used with colours in the antiquity, and it generally always comes with verbs.

[39] Some of these strongly aesthetical evaluations of colour can be traced back to medieval theories

Lack of intensity is likewise specified in novel ways, expressions being again motivated by various ideas:

- opacity (contrary to the brightness of an intense shade): *obscure inest aquilus* (PorO 52), *umbrosus albus* (Lam 3)
- impurity (expressing opposition to a pure colour): *impurus* (PorO 26)
- moderatenes (a shade is not dominant within a hue): *mediocris albus* (Lam 3), *subtilis rubedo* (Val 10)
- weakness (a non-intense shade lacks strength or focus): *dilute* (Hay 12–14 with various colours), *infirmatus niger* (Lam 11), *prope citrinus* (Lam 19), *remissus color* (FuncG C4r), *remisse albus* (Lam 18)
- indefiniteness (pointing to a shade that is not specified, using an indefinite pronoun): *nescio quid cinerei* (Soy 2), *quid fuscedinis* (Soy 70), *nonnihil rubedinis aut potius flavedinis* (Soy 19), *aliquid punicei* (PorL 150)
- harshness (expressing an emotional reaction evoked by a gloomy shade): *austerum glaucum* (Pri 50).

Colour on an object

Apart from describing individual colours, various expressions designate the relationship between an object and its colour. If the topic is the mere existence of the colour on an object, then the relationship is static. Despite its generally constant tendency to reproduce the collocational properties of the Ancient Latin, Neo-Latin is revealed as innovative here as well. Apart from many ancient phrases, we find some fresh ones, whether they express state (*caret colore*, PorL 97; *constans color*, Soy 76; *fixus color*, Soy 75; *insidet color*, Lam 5, PorL 81, 84; *perdurant pili ... ruffi*, Por 165) or action (*emicat color*, Lam 3, PorL 16, 60, 77, 134; *emittit colorem*, PorL 53, 86;[40] *exhalat colorem*, PorL 86; *exhibet colorem*, Soy *passim*, Lam 15; *tuentur unum colorem*, PorL 137).

A change of colour is linguistically even more productive. Colour is most often imagined as an abstract entity that behaves as an object in a space, able to be produced, mixed, attached to something and moved away. Here, too, in our corpus of Neo-Latin techinical works we find multiple wordings for expressing

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that saw in the colour an effect of light, which was identified with God and perceived as reflecting ultimate beauty (Spicher 2015).

[40] Plin. *nat.* 2,90,1 has *radiis, quos ... emittit.*

such concepts. Below is a sample of such expressions, distributed by the type of process and morphologically uniformed:

- generating (colour is conceived as something created): *conciliat novum colorem* (Soy 93; *conciliat nigrorem*, Soy 56), *constitutio coloris* (Soy 78), *generat colorem* (PorL 14, 15; *generatur color*, PorL 51; *generatio coloris*, PorL 61), *nascitur [color]* Pri 87–99; Soy 63; Lam 3)[41]
- forwarding (colour is conceived as something brought to prominence): *consurgit violaceus* (Soy 11), *exaltat rubrum* (Soy 94), *resultat color* (Soy 38, 58; *resultat candor*, Soy 45);
- disappearing (colour is thought of as something vanishing): *degenerat in colorem obscurum* (Soy 10; *in atram scoriam degenerabit*, Soy 47; *ex aliis coloribus in alios degenerant*, PorL 127, see also 133; about objects: *lachryma ... in puniceum degenerat*, PorL 134, Lam 9);
- giving / receiving / losing (colour is viewed as something attached to an object or removed from it): *accedit color* (PorL 128, 133, 196), *adipiscitur perfectum colorem* (PorL 145), *abiicit nativum colorem* (Soy 14), *acquirit [colorem]* (Lam 10), *nigredinem asciscit sibi* (Soy 13; *colorem sibi asciscit*, PorL 6, Lam 8), *imbibitur color* (PorL 104, 105; *imbibit minus coloris*, Lam 7), *invehit colorem* (PorL 87), *suggerit colorem* (PorL 160, Lam 12);
- mixing (colours are seen as mixed entities): *combinat rubrum et caeruleum* (Soy 2), *complicantur colores* (PorL 131), *contemperatio colorum* (Val 9),[42] *colorum unio* (Pri 4).[43]

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[41] Expression that a colour is born (*nascitur*) out of another colour (implying an abstract idea of colour) does not exist in our ancient Latin corpus. An example can illustrate how a wish for variety affected the language. In the most famous ancient treatise on colours, pseudo-Aristotelian peripatetic Greek *De coloribus*, which was written in a monotonous technical slang, the most frequent word for colour appearance or generation is γίνομαι. In a 1548 translation into Latin by Portius (PorL), renderings of the word run like his: *evado, efficior, fio, sum, gignor, cernor* (the derivative ἐπιγίνομαι: *accedo*). Other words are also variously translated by him (e.g. Greek φαίνομαι, Latin *appareo, sum, cernor*).

[42] *Contemperatio* is a late ancient word for adjusting colours (the author qualifies it as a painters' word: *ut ita pictoris vocabulo utar*).

[43] 'Union' is a Christian meaning of *unio*, and never used with *color* in the antiquity (although there is *unitas colorum* in Colum. 7,3,2,4).

Colour in an abstract space

When colours are conceived as abstract entities, people tend to view them as ordered in an abstract space, similar to the one on a palette. Although colours and abstract space had been routinely connected since the antiquity throughout the Middle Ages (Aristotle conceptualised the realm of colour as a one-dimensional space – a line from white to black), and although three-dimensional colour space has been proved to have existed at least from the thirteenth century on (Smithson et al. 2012), Neo-Latin technical works considerably expanded the range of expressions describing the arrangement of colours in such a space.

Apart from the classificatory adjectives that we have already seen, such as *extremi* and *medii* (Lam 3, 6; Pri 40; Soy 5),[44] there are some nouns that suggest an organisation of colours in a mental space: *affinitas colorum* (Hay 18; *affines colores*, Soy 9), *basis colorum* (Wil 14), *continuatio colorum* 'arrangement of colours' (Hay 18), *series [colorum]* (Soy 47).

Various verbs express positions of colours in an abstract space. Verbs of motion indicate not only a change of colour: *abludit a priori colore* (Soy 11),[45] *commeat in colorem lividum* (Soy 100), *commigrat ex ruffo* (PorL 129), *terminantur colores in nigrum* (Por 132), but also non-altered colours: *accedit ad flavedinem* (FuncS 7; see also Doe 14; Lam 18; PorL 32, 98), *attolluntur colores medii in albo et deprimuntur in nigro* (Soy 9), *tendens ad nigredinem* (PorL 53), *vergens ad nigritiem* (PorL 53; see also 99, 114, 129; Doe 7).

Synaesthetic expressions

Colours are sometimes described synaesthetically, being connected with other domains such as temperature, density, emotion, and herbal properties. Neo-Latin does not have many new synaesthetic colour expressions. However, differently from the situation in Ancient Latin, synaesthetic colour expressions in our corpus do not necessarily preserve a close connection of a colour with the object bearing it. In other words, Neo-Latin describes synaesthetically abstract colours as well, which is a property that has not been observed in our ancient corpus; for

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[44] *Medii colores* is a late ancient expression (appearing in Pomponius Porphyrio, Martianus Capella and Boethius).

[45] The word is a hapax in our ancient corpus (Hor. *sat.* 2,3,320).

example: *accenditur ruber* (Pri 77), *spissa rubedo* (Val 14), *viror frondens* (Soy 52; see also PorO 55; Val 11).[46]

Naming colours in Neo-Latin

New terms: lexical innovation

Latin was constantly enriching its chromatic vocabulary during the antiquity (Baran 1983, 404). Post-classical Ciceronian Latin – despite having purism as one of its main features – acquired further lexical material by either borrowing or building on existing Latin words by derivation or semantic modification. The greatest number of terms listed below comes from Hay, a representative of rich biological classification of colours, who brought the system to its utmost. However, non-ancient words can also be found sporadically in other works from the sample corpora.[47]

As expected, the most numerous category is adjectives. The majority of the new items were produced by derivative suffixes already used in the antiquity (André 1949, 211–212):[48]

> *-aceus*: *coraciaceus*, *cycaceus*, *endiviaceus*, *glandaceus*, *laureolaceus*, *ochraceus*, *olivaceus*, *pisaceus*, *pomaceus*, *ranunculaceus*, *schistaceus*, *sibiaceus*, *ureaceus*;
> *-inus*: *amianthinus*, *basaltinus*, *betulinus*, *capparinus*, *cascarillinus*, *charmesi-*

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[46] Cf. in Ancient Latin *accendit lumina Vesper* (Verg. *georg.* 1,251), *ardens purpura vestit* (Iuv. 11,155); *ardens color [solis]* (Plin. *nat.* 2,79,9). According to the *TLL*, the following adjectives are used synaesthetically with colour tems in the antiquity: *adustus, ardens, austerus, callidus, excoctus, frigidus, hilaris, igneus, ignitus, intentus, liquidus, percoctus, pinguis, tener, torridus, vivus*.

[47] All Hayne's colour terms are found on pages 8–14 of his booklet. In this section, terms found therein are not referred to as such. Unless otherwise stated, the terms listed do not appear in the *BTL* corpus.

[48] This was the usual routine for the majority of the Neo-Latin authors – it mattered for them more whether the word had a regular ancient affix than whether it is found in the ancient texts (Helander 2004, 65).

nus (Por 77),[49] *cinnabarinus, citrinus* (Lam 18),[50] *cramoesinus* (Pri 50, 57), *crepusculinus* (FuncG C4r), *eborinus, foeninus, guaiacinus, iridinus, ligurinus, lilacinus, linotinus, morinus, mulatinus, myrtillinus, parellinus, persicinus, pruninus, roborinus*; *saphirinus* (Pri 97 – medieval), *strychninus, Turchinus, Turcus* (Pri 44), *t(h)urcinus* (Pri 97);

-*eus*: *aerugineus* (Pri 105), *azureus*,[51] *bismutheus, brunneus, carmineus, carneus* (Pri 43 – late ancient, but not chromatic), *castaneus* (Soy 11 – Late ancient, non-chromatic), *chalybeus, cinammomeus, lazuleus*,[52] *orichalceus, ruffeus* (Doe 7), *spadiceus, stramineus, zinceus*;

-*atus*: *capreolatus, fumigatus* (Apul. *met.* 11,22, *apol.* 58, not chromatic), *incarnatus* (Soy 11 – late ancient Christian, not chromatic), *infumatus, leonatus* (Pri 70, Soy 66);

-*us*: *aurantius* (Soy 2), *baius* (PorL 54), *bronsus* (PorL 108),[53] *brunus* (Por 52),[54] *castagnus* (PorO 52),[55] *diaphanus* (FuncS 24, Jun 12, PorO 22), *halurgus* (Por 52, Pri 45);[56]

-*icus*: *auranticus, chloriticus, haematiticus, indigoticus, malachiticus, margariticus, vitricus*;

-*itius*: *lateritius, cineritius* (PorO 54 – *cinericius* is ancient Christian);

-*lus*: *caesiusculus* (PorO 40), *nigrellus* (K. Vičić, *Iesseis* 11,29,29);[57]

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[49] Here I can mention that Por divides *purpureus color* in three nuances, all of which have non-ancient names, borrowed from modern languages and with idiosyncratic forms: *carmesis* ('carmine', of Arabic origin, on p. 125 he calls it *charmesinus*), *paonazzo* (kind of violet, from Italian) and *scarlata* ('scarlet', from Persian).

[50] Appears in medieval *Liber de sensu...* (Gage 1993, 165).

[51] Medieval *azurus* (Gage 1993 166); *azurrus* (Pri 97).

[52] A. Pontacus (16th c.), *In Eusebio-Hieronymianum et S. Prosperi Chronica apparatus, castigationes et notae*, in PL 27, 741A; *lazulus* is medieval (appearing in *Liber de sensu...*, Gage 1933, 166).

[53] Taken from Italian ("qui vernaculo nomine nuncupatur"), but of uncertain ultimate origin (Medieval Latin variation: *bronzius*).

[54] Latinised Italian word: *colorem aquilum esse putarim; quem Neapoli dicimus brunum quemque nonnulli fuscum appellant*; see also Jun 16.

[55] Another Italian word, introduced thus: *colorem ... quem hodie castagnum clarum vocant*.

[56] Greek χαλουργός; the word is not attested in the Latin of the antiquity.

[57] Non-abbreviated Latin works can be found online at *CroaLA*. Although the names of the authors can be given in their Latinised form (and they are usually so in the original editions), the Croatian form was used because that is how they are referred to in *CroALa*.

-*osus*: *githaginosus*, *tenebricolosus* (PorO 57);
-*iacus: ardesiacus*.

One may notice a relatively frequent use of Greek vocabulary, which is another general feature of scientific Neo-Latin (Benner – Tengström 1977, 57–61).

Regarding forms produced by prefixes, our sample contains only one non-ancient form, *impellucidus* (Hay), which balances *pellucidus* (Plin. *nat.* 37,61,6 has *non tralucidi*).

Colour naming by compounding was never absent from Latin, but in the antiquity it was either confined to the language of agriculture and craft or modelled according to Greek usage (André 1949, 230–231; Bradley 2009, 131). Some innovative examples can be found in Neo-Latin:[58] *atropurpureus* (Soy 46), *alboruffus* (PorL 159), *ceruleo-lucidus* (A. A. Barić, *Statistica Europae 1792*: 2, 204), *flavicomus* (D. Pir, *Cato Minor* 16,2,18,1; R. Kunić, *Homeri Ilias Latini versibus expressa* 9,553 and 11,463, found also in late antiquity), *nigrifer* (F. Božićević, *Carmina* 19,142), *toticolor* (PorL 158).

For ancient Romans, colour verbs are most frequently inchoatives (André 1949, 243–244). In Neo-Latin, where terminological neologisms in verbal form are infrequent (Benner – Tengström 1977, 55), this group is represented at least by *ruffesco* (in participle, PorL 194) and *citrinesco* (Soy 26).[59] Suffix -*ic*- (André 1949, 242) does not seem to be productive in our corpus.

Sometimes verbal syntax is changed: PorO 52 uses *opaco* as an intransitive verb ('to be dark'), contrary to the exclusively transitive ancient use. There are also instances of increased morphological possibilities: while the comparative of *color* exists in ancient technical works, there are no preserved instances of the superlative *coloratissimus* (PorL 17) from the antiquity.[60] The same applies to *albissimus* (Lam 6; PorL 99), *luridissimus* (B. A. Krčelić, *Annuae sive Historiae* 423); *subnigrior* (Wil 9; comparing prefixed colour adjectives is a medieval innovation); there is also *albior* in Croatian Renaissance authors M. Marulić (*De institutione bene vivendi per exempla sanctorum* 3,631) and M. Vlačić (*Clavis scripturae sacrae* 2,1068).

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[58] I leave out Hay, who has countless hyphenated compounds of mechanically attached terms that he needed for his system.

[59] Hay, again, mechanically derives participles in -*cens* from each of his fundamental colour terms: of these, *coerulescens, fuscescens*, *lutescens* and *viridescens* are not ancient.

[60] The earliest appearance I was able to find is in John of Seville's (13th c.) *Commentarius in Nahum prophetam* 46, in *PL* 96, 727C.

New colour nouns are few: most of the slots in the system for ordinary ancient suffixes (*-or, -tudo, -ties, -edo*; André 1949, 236–237) had already been mostly taken. However, the less frequent *-itas*, which was productive in post-ancient period (Helander 2014, 43), yielded only *atritas* and *viriditas* in the antiquity but allowed for the Neo-Latin *ruffitas* (PorL 189) and *diaphaneitas* (Soy 14, 18, Val 11).[61]

Existing terms: semantic shifts

In the present section, those post-ancient developments in colour naming that used unchanged ancient lexical material are discussed. Some words existed before the Middle Ages but did not receive chromatic meaning until much later. Such semantic expansion can be seen in the following examples (Table 1):

Term	Ancient meaning	Neo-Latin meaning
citreus	'of citrus tree'	'light red' (FuncS 9 – also, citrius, Pri 69, 70)
galbaneus	'smelling like galbanum'	'a kind of yellow' (Soy 66)
icterus	'a [yellow] bird'	'a kind of yellow' (Soy 66)
lividulus	'envious'	'bluish' (F. Božićević, Carmina 42,32)
lactesco	'to turn to milk'	'to be white' (Pri 3, 67)*
ovinus	'of sheep'	'sheep-coloured' (PorO 52)
papavereus	'of poppy'	'poppy-coloured' (B. Stay, Philosophiae recentioris versibus traditae libri decem 1,147, Pri 44)
populeus	'of poplar tree'	'dark green' (Hay 10)
regius	'royal'	'a kind of yellow' (Soy 66)
sapphirinus	'of sapphire' (late ancient)	'sapphire-coloured' (PorL 85)
stanneus	'made of tin'	'tin-coloured' (Hay 12)
terreus	'of earth'	'earth-coloured' (Pri 44)
umbratilis	'private'	'shady' (Val 7)
vinosus	'drunk, having the taste or flavour of wine'	'a kind of red' (Soy 66, PorL 55, 68)
vitellinus	'of a calf'	'brownish-yellow' (Hay 10)

Table 1. Examples of semantic shift toward the chromatic meaning.

* The earliest chromatic use (and only one that is possibly pre-medieval) that I was able to identify is from Anth. Lat. 893,91.

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[61] The suffix is typical for medieval Scholastic philosophy. See also the nouns *albificatio* (M. Vlačić, *Clavis scripturae sacrae* 2,784), *subrubedo* (PorO 55) and *glaucedo* (PorO 26, 28, for an eye disease).

In several cases, cultural changes caused a certain shift in balance: chromatic meanings became marginal, and non-chromatic ones started to dominate. Thus, *denigro* and *dealbo* had mostly chromatic meanings in the classical antiquity. However, the influence of Biblical language brought about the prevalence of non-chromatic meanings, *denigro* ('to defame, to denigrate'),[62] and *dealbo* (very frequently meaning 'to purify [of sins]'), along with many instances of *sepulchrum dealbatum* and *paries dealbatus*. Further examples come from the political domain. For Romans, the verb *candido* meant 'to render white', and its participle *candidatus* meant 'dressed in white'. The meaning 'candidate' comes from the time when those aspiring for public office used to wear white togas. Gradually, the word and its derivatives (like *candidatio*) were detached from its chromatic root and in our corpus they are most frequently used without references to whiteness. Finally, *rubrica* meant 'red earth, red writing matter' and also 'law, rubric', because in the antiquity, red chalk was used to write ordinances. This derived meaning preponderated in *CroALa*, no matter the colour used.[63]

Just like colour language in general, some ancient colour terms developed more abstract meanings, being detached from the objects they were tied to in the antiquity. Here are several exaples in addition to those from the Table 1. Late ancient *murinus*, meaning 'grey like a mouse', was always used for the colour of horse coat (André 1949, 73). However, B. Stay, *Philosophiae recentioris versibus traditae libri decem* 7,2283 and 7,2299, uses it twice, always simply as an abstract colour, without reference to an object. *Coccineus* is always used for the colour of cloths, except for Plinian technical language (André 1949, 117); on the other hand, Soy 66, B. Stay (*Philosophiae recentioris versibus traditae libri decem* 9,579 and 9,795) and M. Vlačić (*Clavis scripturae sacrae* 2,538) employ it in a wider range of contexts. For the Romans, *purpura* had consistent connection to the expensive pigment (Bradley 2009, 191–192), but the eighteenth century poets Stay, Bošković, and Kunić used the term normally in the pure wavelength-related sense, without connection to dye or cloth, or social meaning, or even the object bearing the colour.

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[62] In *CroALa*, 10 out of 16 instances are non-chromatic.

[63] Even derivatives such as *rubricalis* appeared regularly (see B. Krčelić, *Annuae sive Historia* 138, 161).

A more subtle type of the same process is evidenced by the cases of marginal colour expressions employed as basic colour terms. Such terms include *puniceus* (from Greek φοινικός, in PorL and Lam a basic colour term for 'red'), *aureus* (used by Newton as a basic term for 'orange'; Gage 1993, 232), and *glaucus* (Greek γλαυκός, used often as a basic colour term for 'blue'). This was not a uniform shift in general use but rather the choice of individual authors.

The conceptual switch toward an abstract notion of colour, detached from its object or pigment, prompted a more creative use of the existing nouns pertaining to the semantic field of colour.[64] Apart from various new usages within spatial conceptualisations (see above, sections "Colour on an object" and "Colour in an abstract space"), one can note other characteristic trends. Using the noun *color* in the plural to connote a family of shades within a hue is not attested in ancient texts: e.g. *colores nigri* 'set of black-like colours' (Val 13; *rubri viridesque colores*, B. Stay, *Philosophiae recentioris versibus traditae libri decem* 8,839; see also Doe 14; Soy 4). In addition, Neo-Latin has colour nouns that appear with colour verbs or participles, marking the affinity between colours: e.g. *color flavescens* 'colour that approaches yellow' (Soy 21; see also Soy 68, 89), *pullus nigricans* 'dusky black' (Doe 7; *rubens magis rutilat* 'red is more glowing', Soy 9; see also Soy 45). Some phrases are attested in the antiquity only with adjectives, but Neo-Latin expands this to nouns; e.g. *rubedo ignea* (Val 11)[65] *nigredo pulla* (Val 10).[66] Finally, situations where a colour echoes an object bearing it, such as *color violis aemulus* 'colour that imitates violets' (Wil 3, 7), are not found in our ancient corpus – it contains only cases where a thing matches another by its colour.[67]

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[64] In the Middle Ages and early Renaissance it was common to discuss colours as inherently tied to physical objects and their properties such as moistness and temperature (Woolgar 2006, 156).

[65] 'Red' adjectives occur in the antiquity with *flamma / flammeus / ignis / igneus*, but not noun *rubedo*.

[66] 'Black' adjectives occur in Ancient Latin with *pullus*, but noun *nigredo* never appears with other colour terms.

[67] See e.g. Plin. *nat.* 25,8,6; Apul. *met.* 1,19; Auson. *epist.* 16,15–16.

Literary influences

For most Neo-Latin authors, especially poets, imitating the ancient models was a stylistic requirement. Apart from that, efficient Latin instruction in school infused an assortment of set phrases that were employed by the ancient authors. This is one of the elements that significantly affected the setup of their chromatic language.

The prince of Latin poets, Vergil, had the strongest influence on Neo-Latin versifiers. In our corpus we find, among others, the following Vergilian chromatic phrases: *albi dentes* (*Aen.* 7,668, 11,680; 4x in R. Kunić's Vergilian *Homeri Ilias Latinis versibus expressa*), *candor nivalis* (*Aen.* 3,538; it gave 9 instances in *CroALa*, of them 5 in Kunić's translation of the *Iliad*),[68] *lactea colla* (*Aen.* 8,652 – repeated by Silius Italicus, Statius and Martial; *CroALa*: 8x in 7 different poets), *picea caligo* (*georg.* 2,309 – but also Ov. *met.* 1,265, 2,233; 3x in *CroALa*) and *roseae quadrigae* (*Aen.* 6,535; generated 7 instances in *CroALa*). Of other authors, Ovidian presence is exemplified with *eburnea colla* (*met.* 3,422, *am.* 3,7,7; 5x in *CroALa*) and Propertian by *nivea manus* (3,6,12; 6x in *CroALa*). The Ennian *caeli caerula* became a stereotype in the antiquity and was repeated by Lucretius and Ovid (Baran 1983, 339); Neo-Latin epic poets adopted it as well (in *CroALa*: 8x).

Some pre-classical colour terms were not taken up by classical poets but were revived later. Such expressions include *exalbesco* (Enn. *trag.* 20,[69] Cic. *ac.* 48,7; in *CroALa*: 1x), *luror* (before Apuleius only in Lucr. 4,308; in *CroALa*: 1x) and *nigror* (exclusively in pre-classical poetry: Pacuvius, Lucilius, Lucretius; in *CroALa*: 4x).

At a more general level, some features characteristic of individual ancient genres seem to reappear in neo-Latin works. Epic poetry is particularly distinguished for its own stylistic choices. For example, the Vergilian and Ovidian connection of *croceus* with the mythological image of the morning sky was very popular Croatian Neo-Latin epics (8x in *CroALa*, mostly epics); *nigrans*, an epic word, appears in *CroALa* four times as often as in *BTL*, mostly in epics;

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[68] However, while Vergil uses it for horse coat, Neo-Latin authors from our corpus do not – they took over the set phrase, but not the context.

[69] Quoted by Cic. *de orat.* 3,218,7, *fin.* 5,31,5 and *Hortensius* 122,2 (according to Prisc. *gramm.* 6,250,9).

and *ater* is dominant over *niger* in ancient as well as in Croatian Neo-Latin epic poetry (André 1949, 99).[70]

On the other hand, Neo-Latin poets sometimes seem to allow ancient colour terms not attested in ancient Latin poetry. The source can be an admired prose author, such as Cicero, e.g. *miniatulus* (*Att.* 16,11,1; D. Pir, *Cato Maior*, "Ad Vincentium Gilianum" 5,7),[71] or technical literature: *nigrico* (Plin. *pluries*; J. Čobarnić, *Dioclias* 1,83; Ferić, *Fabulae* 2,38,10) and *nigritudo* (hapax in Plin. *nat.* 10,107,4; Ferić, *Fabulae* 1,39,2).

Finally, as in many other areas, Christian writers also contributed to the Latin chromatic vocabulary. Thanks to them, some words and phrases (rare or nonexistent in Ancient Latin) permeated Neo-Latin literature and became normal, especially – but not exclusively – in theological literature. To give a few examples: *dealbo* (90x in *CroALa*), *rubeus* (42x), *albedo* (30x), *viror* (26x), *nigredo* (18x), *caerula ponti* (17x), *rubedo (*13x).

Conclusions

The extended use of dyes and pigments in early modern Europe, as well as new ways of theorising about optical phenomena and uncertainty regarding the ancient meanings of colour terms, put Latin, then the principal language of the sciences, at the forefront of a great challenge. Not only was an extension of its chromatic vocabulary urgent, but it also had to operate more precisely with the existing terms, and order them into systems that were being formed at the time. To meet these needs, the authors used late ancient and medieval linguistic resources, and when these were not sufficient, they were prompted to pave the new paths of expression.

Just like the authors describing other domains of human life, those writing about colours made profuse use of ancient derivative affixes and word meanings. This resulted not only in numerous lexical extensions and semantic

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[70] Curiously, the ratio between *ater* and *niger* is strikingly similar: 59,5%:40,5% in *BTL* and 58,7%:41,3% in *CroALa*. Of course, as the corpora are not balanced, this overlap can very easily be incidental; however, it shows a certain tendency.

[71] Referring to *cerula*, just like Cicero. It appears in Neo-Latin oratory, too (see, e.g., J. Dragišić, *Oratio funebris habita pro ... Iunio Georgio* 1r).

shifts but also in the expansion of the collocational potential of many words. Neo-Latin authors maintained medieval ideas of the hierarchical arragement of colours, which resulted in a series of non-ancient colour classifying terms. In distinguishing shades within hue ranges, writers used many innovative expressions that verbalised ideas of colour intensity and its absence. Although communicating a full idea of individual colour was unachievable by just using words, the authors made use of concepts such as luminosity, purity, abundance, liveliness, perfection and distinction to get the liveliest picture of a shade possible.

Our corpus has shown that various kinds of relationships between a colour and its object (existence, generating, forwarding, disappearing and so on), and between individual colours were described in Neo-Latin by a much broader range of expressions than in the preserved ancient texts.

The vocabulary of colour naming was greatly extended, firstly in the Middle Ages, but especially in Neo-Latin period. New colour names were produced by both derivation and compounding, and existing terms were semantically modified, with a general trend of advancing from a tight connection to the object toward an abstract notion of the colour. Other processes include a culturally motivated increase in the prevalence of non-chromatic meanings in some cases (e.g. *denigro*, *candidatus*, *rubrica*), forwarding less used colour expressions as basic colour terms, and a more extensive use of colour nouns (including the noun *color* itself) as bearers of an abstract idea of colour.

The analysis has included a short discussion of the colour language in literary context, especialy in that of the formally strict realm of poetry. Using the example of Croatian Neo-Latin authors it has been shown that chromatic expressions make part of the repertoire transmitted by the genre tradition, but also that the poets occasionally admit non-poetic chromatic expressions. On the other hand, as it could have been expected, theological works inherited much of their colour terms from Christian literary tradition.

The analysis of the corpus of Croatian Neo-Latin writers has not shown any developments that can be assigned to diatopical variation. Nevertheless, as the works digitised in *CroALa* belong to 'high' literature, the possibility still remains that more interesting details could be found in substandard writings such as notarial records and canonical visitations, because these are more inclined to vernacular influences and even linguistic hybridisation and might reveal some

traces of the native linguistic backgrounds of the authors.

Further analyses, for example studies of Neo-Latin translation lit-erature (comprising translations either from Ancient Greek or from modern languages), could be expected to multiply evidence in support of the claim that there is yet much to be discovered about the linguistic structure of the final stage of Latin.

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Appendix: Abbreviations of primary sources

Abbreviations of technical Neo-Latin works:

Doe = Fridericus Guilelmus Doering, *De coloribus veterum*, Gotha 1788.
FuncG = Johannes Caspar Funccius, *De coloribus coeli in genere*, Lipsiae, 1705.
FuncS = Johannes Caspar Funck, *De coloribus coeli in specie*, Ulm 1705.
Hay = Friedrich Gottlob Hayne, *De coloribus corporum naturalium, praecipue anima-lium vegetabiliumque*, Berlin 1814.
Jun = Iohannes Christophorus Junge, *De coloribus, objectis coloratis non inexistentibus*, Kiel 1703.
Lam = Henricus Lamparter, *Disputatio philosophica de coloribus*, Dilingen 1632.
PorL = Simon Portius, *De coloribus libellus*, Florence 1548.
PorO = Simon Portius, *De coloribus oculorum*, Florence 1550.
Pri = Salomon Priezacus, *Dilucida de coloribus dissertatio*, Paris 1657.
Soy = Casparus Soyer, *Coniectura de coloribus*, Ingolstadt 1698.
Val = Iacobus Vallan, *Disputatio physico medica inauguralis: De coloribus tamquam signis morborum*, Utrecht 1698.
Wil = Ignatius Wilczek, *De coloribus carmen*, Frankfurt – Leipzig 1776.

BTL = Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina, 3rd edition 2004. CD-ROM, Version 3.0, P. Tombeur (ed.), München – Leipzig – Turnhout – Strombeek – Bever.
CroALa = Croatiae Auctores Latini: Collectio Electronica, N. Jovanović (ed.) (http://www.ffzg.unizg.hr/klafil/croala/ , accessed 19 June 2014)
PL = J. P. Migne - D. Vallarsi - S. Maffei (eds.) 1844–1864. *Patrologiae cursus completus ... Series Latina*, Paris.

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FROM PERSIUS TO WILKINSON: THE GOLDEN LINE REVISITED

Seppo Heikkinen

Introduction

The golden line is the term used for an arrangement of words within a Latin hexameter line where the finite verb is surrounded by two hyperbata of noun and adjective, preferably in such a way that the adjectives precede their noun heads with the first adjective agreeing with the penultimate noun and the second with the final one (abVAB). The golden line has been taught as a particularly elegant stylistic device in English schools of the modern age, and, possibly as a result of this, it has also been adopted as a tool in the study of classical hexameter verse. Recent studies, most notably Kenneth Mayer's 2002 article,[1] have argued that the golden line is more properly a post-classical stylistic feature and that its central role in classical scholarship in the Anglophone world is the result of a long tradition of medieval scholarship originating with the Venerable Bede. This article focuses on an early presentation of the golden line in the late antique *Ars grammatica* of Diomedes and its telling misquotation of a metrical parody by the Silver-Age satirist Persius, arguing that the golden line was acknowledged as a stylistic device already in the classical period, although by no means universally appreciated.

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[1] K. Mayer, "The Golden Line: Ancient and Medieval Lists of Special Hexameters and Modern Scholarship", in C. Lanham (ed.), *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: Classical Theory and Modern Practice*, London 2002, 139–79. The current English-language Wikipedia entry on the golden line relies extensively on Mayer's paper.

The golden line and its definitions

The golden line is a stylistic device of Latin verse that has received much atten-
tion in twentieth-century scholarship, at least in the English-speaking sphere. Al-
though there is considerable variation among its various definitions, the golden
line can, broadly speaking, be defined as a line of verse where a verb is framed
by a double hyperbaton, that is, two noun-adjective pairs where each adjective
attribute has been separated from its noun head. The golden line presumably has
a long history as a technique taught in Latin verse composition classes, but it has
also become a popular tool of classical scholarship. The most frequently quoted
definition of the golden line is the one given by John Dryden in the preface to
his 1685 *Sylvae*, where the device is described as "that verse which they call
golden, of two substantives and two adjectives with a verb betwixt them to keep
the peace".[2] Today, Dryden's take on the golden line is probably better known
than the bulk of his poetry, mainly owing to its citation in L. P. Wilkinson's work
Golden Latin Artistry, which has gained the standing of a classic.[3] Wilkinson,
however, posed a set of further restrictions on the structure, apparently in keep-
ing with how the feature was traditionally taught in the English-speaking sphere.
After stating that "conjunctions, prepositions etc. can be ignored", he goes on:
"Let us restrict the term, as is generally done, to lines in which the epithets and
nouns appear in the corresponding order, that is, a b C A B: as in *grandia per
multos tenuantur flumina rivos*."[4] Wilkinson, in other words, implicitly speci-
fies that adjectives must precede their noun heads and that the first and second
adjectives correspond with the penultimate and final nouns in the line (*grandia
– flumina, multos – rivos*). Tellingly, Wilkinson's phrase "as is generally done"
implies that this is how the golden line had traditionally been taught in the Eng-
lish classroom, and, indeed, Wilkinson essentially follows the description given
in S. E. Winbolt's 1903 *Latin Hexameter Verse*, which enjoyed the stature of
the standard work of reference on hexameter style.[5] To accommodate other line

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[2] J. Dryden, *Sylvae: or, the Second Part of Poetic Miscellanies*, London 1685, reprinted in E. N.
Hooker – H. T. Swedenburg (eds.), *The Works of John Dryden, Volume I: Poems, 1649 – 1680*,
Berkeley – London 1961, 6.

[3] L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry*, Cambridge 1963, 215.

[4] Ov. *rem*. 445.

[5] S. E. Winbolt, *Latin Hexameter Verse: An Aid to Composition*, London 1903, at pp. 219–21,

types that would fit Dryden's looser definition, Wilkinson postulated what he jokingly called a "silver line", where the noun-adjective pairs were placed chiastically (as in Verg. *georg.* 2,540; **impositos** <u>duris</u> *crepitare* <u>incudibus</u> **ensis**) and even a "bronze line" where the line is framed by a single hyperbaton (as in Verg. *Aen*. 6,137; **aureus et foliis et lento vimine ramus**).[6] Although Wilkinson probably meant his typology to be taken with a grain of salt, it was adopted as such at least in Panhuis's 2006 Latin grammar.[7] When it comes to the definition of the golden line in the strictest sense, however, there seems to have been a fairly general consensus, at least from the seventeenth century onwards, regarding its basic structure. The earliest extant source to actually employ the term "golden" is a fairly obscure Latin grammar by Edward Burles from 1652, and his description is consistent with those of Winbolt and Wilkinson.[8] As the grammar never had a wide circulation and has only survived in four copies,[9] it is improbable that the work had any influence on subsequent definitions of the term; rather, it is probable that the golden line was firmly established as part and parcel of verse composition in the English classroom by his time, and Burles was merely

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also cites Dryden, but Winbolt's definition of the golden line corresponds with Wilkinson's: "The perfection [of this separation] produces what is commonly known as the 'golden line,' which consists of two adjectives at the beginning and two nouns in the end, with a verb in the middle; as a rule, the first adjective agrees with the first noun, and the second adjective with second noun." Winbolt's work was a standard textbook in the instruction of Latin verse composition in British schools and constitutes Wilkinson's probable frame of reference as to how "is generally done". At pp. 222–3, Winbolt discusses "nearly golden" lines, which more or less correspond with Wilkinson's "silver" and "bronze" lines, but does not attempt to impose a similar system of classification on them.

[6] Wilkinson (above n. 3) 216–7.

[7] D. Panhuis, *Latin Grammar*, Ann Arbor 2006, 206. Panhuis's bronze line, however, differs from Wilkinson's in being simply a verse that contains "one or two hyperbata with the scheme abBA".

[8] E. Burles, *Grammatica Burlesa*, London 1652, facsimile ed. R. C. Alston, Menston 1971 (English Linguistics 1500-1800. A Collection of Facsimile Reprints. No. 307), 357: "*Epithets* are elegantly set before their *Substantives*, and if the *Verse* doe consist of two *Adjectives*, two *Substantives* and a *Verb* only, the first *Adjective* agreeing with the first *Substantive*, the second with the second, and the *Verb* placed in the midst, it is called a *Golden Verse*; as, *Lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercae. Pendula flaventem pingebat bractea crinem.*" The first of Burles's examples is from Ovid (*met.* 1,147); the latter is anonymous but appears somewhat earlier in C. J. Clarke, *Manuductio ad Artem Carmificam seu Dux Poeticus*, London 1633, and seems to be a well-circulated classroom example; see Mayer (above n. 1) 166.

[9] Mayer (above n. 1) 139.

stating the obvious. This would imply that Dryden's looser characterisation of the golden line is merely a poetic aside to his readers whom he expects to be thoroughly familiar both with the term and with its meaning.

Although there appears to have been a general consensus as to the structure of the golden line, and English-language authors generally treat it as the hallmark of sophisticated classical hexameter style, the whole concept seems to have been, until quite recently, unknown outside the English-speaking sphere. Mentions of the golden line in non-English sources generally seem inspired by Wilkinson and acknowledge it to be a term of English scholarship.[10]

How classical is the golden line?

Mayer's 2002 article displays remarkable scepticism in its stance on the traditional (English) perception of the golden line. As the feature has until recently been virtually unknown outside the Anglophone world, it is plausible to think that it may really not constitute as central a feature of classical hexameter verse as Winbolt, Wilkinson *et al*. have led us to believe. Firstly, the structure is not discussed, with one possible exception to which we shall return, in any antique source on grammar or poetic style. Secondly, the statistics compiled by Mayer[11] indicate that, at least during the Augustan period, the golden line was not nearly as common as some modern scholarship would have us believe; rather, it seems to have evolved into a metrical mannerism during Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages, and to present the golden line as the crowning achievement of "Golden Latin artistry" is wide of the mark.

Mayer's statistics are based on a deliberately looser interpretation of the abVAB structure, as defined by Wilkinson, counting silver lines (abVBA) as a separate category.[12] Word orders where the noun comes first (AbVaB, aBVAb and ABVab for golden, aBVbA, AbVBa and ABVba for silver lines) are included. Prepositions, interjections and relative pronouns are allowed but extra verbs, nouns or adjectives are not. Centrally positioned participles count as verbs except when they agree with one of the nouns, and attributively used participles

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[10] Mayer (above n. 1) 139.

[11] Mayer (above n. 1) 161–2.

[12] Mayer (above n. 1) 159.

count as adjectives. Using these criteria, Mayer has created statistics that give a good cross-view of the major classical and post-classical poets and some medieval works.

Mayer's statistics reveal that the use of golden word order prior to the Silver Age was very limited indeed: the author with the highest frequency of golden lines is Catullus (4.41% golden and 2.45% silver lines in Catull. 64).[13] That the golden line may indeed have been a neoteric affectation is reflected by the still relatively high frequency in Vergil's *Eclogues* (1.81% golden and 0.84% silver lines) but considerably lower one in his *Aeneid* (0.34% golden and 0.26% silver lines). The figures for other Augustan poets are negligible[14] and, indeed, make it questionable whether the golden line ever played a central role in classical hexameter technique. The Neronian age shows a considerable surge in the use of golden word order, and the feature seems to have become a virtual mannerism in late antique verse, with high figures in the verse of Ausonius (3.73% golden and 0.83% silver lines in the *Mosella*) and Claudian (3.58% golden and 1.08% silver lines in his *Panegyricus*) as well as the Christian poets Sedulius (3.93% golden and 0.23% silver in his *Carmen paschale*), Corippus (2.46% golden and 0.26% silver lines in his *Iohannis*; 3.57% golden and no silver lines in his *In laudem Iustini minoris*) and, above all, Ennodius (11.54% golden and no silver lines in his *Itinerarium*). That the surge in the number of "pure" golden lines is not paralleled by a similar development in the popularity of silver lines indicates that, in the schools of the late empire, the golden line was singled out as a particularly desirable arrangement of words, while other combinations of hyperbata did not acquire a similar status.[15] One factor that may have contributed to the popularity of the golden line may be that is its frequent concomitant

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[13] Mayer (above n. 1) 161. That other poets of the period made less use of the structure does not, of course, necessarily mean that they did not use it deliberately.

[14] Horace's *Satires* and *Epistles* have 0.35% golden and 0.10% silver lines, whereas the figures for Ovid's *Metamorphoses* are somewhat higher (1.05% golden and 0.23% silver lines). The figures for *Culex* (4.35% golden, 1.21% silver) and *Ciris* (4.99% golden, 2.22% silver) from the *Appendix Vergiliana* show frequencies comparable to Catullus, but the precise dating and provenance of these works is, of course, uncertain.

[15] Mayer (above n. 1) 163. This is, of course, more properly a feature of Late Latin verse. Prior to Sedulius, poets who make free use of golden lines also more use of the silver line. The latter is always less frequent of the two, but that may be the natural result of metrical pressures, as it would often require that a word with a short final syllable agrees with a word with a long one.

is primitive leonine rhyme: if, in the abVAB sequence, the noun and its attribute share the same case ending, this results in homoeoteleuton between the portion preceding the caesura and the ending of the line. Roman attitudes to rhyme seem to have varied with the times: Quintilian, among others, dismissed it as jingle,[16] and it seems that several classical authors actually went out of their way to avoid it.[17] In the verse of Sedulius, on the other hand, the connection of golden word order and monosyllabic rhyme is apparent: this was even recognised by Bede who used the same Sedulian verse as an example of golden word order in his *De arte metrica* but as an illustration of homoeoteleuton in its companion work *De schematibus et tropis*.[18] It is probable that the Late Antique propensity for rhyme is connected to the use of the golden line, as this is not paralleled by a similar popularity of the non-rhyming, chiastic silver line.[19]

Statistics do not, of course, tell us the whole truth, and much of the information provided by Mayer was already anticipated in Winbolt's textbook on hexameter composition. Winbolt, too, notes that Vergil does not use the perfect golden line often but "apparently adopts it only where he evidently wishes his style to be particularly ornate and elaborate", going on to observe that "the Egyptian Claudian has golden lines to the verge of monotony" and that "Catul-

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[16] Quint. *inst*. 9,4,73.

[17] Wilkinson (above n. 3) 33; S. J. Harrison, "Discordia Taetra: The History of a Hexameter Ending", *CQ* 41 (1991) 138–49 discusses specifically the avoidance of placing two words with an identical ending next to each other. It is, of course, conceivable that hyperbaton was employed specifically to avoid such a conjunction. On Sedulius's prominent use of rhyme, see B. Gładysz, *De extremis quibus Seduliana carmina ornantur verborum syllabis inter se consonantibus*, Lwów 1931 (Eus supplementa 17); D. Norberg, *Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, trans. J. C. Roti – J. de la Chapelle Skubly, ed. with an introduction by J. Ziolkowski, Washington, D. C. 2004, 31–2.

[18] Sedul. *carm*. *pasch*. 1,63, *pervia divisi patuerunt caerula ponti*, cited at C. B. Kendall (ed.), "De arte metrica et de schematibus et tropis" in C. W. Jones (ed.), *Bedae Venerabilis opera: opera didascalica 1*, Turnhout 1975 (Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina 123A), 59 – 171, at 113 and 149. The term "homoeoteleuton" can, in this context, be understood as synonymous with rhyme. The word "rhyme" and its cognates in the modern languages are probably a corruption of Medieval Latin *rhythmus* (*rithimus*, *riddimus*, *rismus* etc.) and reflect the use of regular end-rhyme as a central feature of medieval rhythmic verse; see E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance*, Leipzig 1898, 825; P. Klopsch, *Einführung in die Mittellateinische Verslehre*, Darmstadt 1972, 49.

[19] Mayer (above n. 1) 165.

lus uses them somewhat too freely".[20] What comes across even in Winbolt's presentation, however, is the impression that, at least for Vergil, golden word order was merely one among countless ways to arrange the words in a line of verse and that the Augustan age, if anything, represents a slump in its popularity.

How, then, did the golden line come to enjoy its current prestige in the study of classical verse? For a probable answer we must turn to its early theoretical presentations.

The golden line in medieval scholarship

The earliest creditable description of the golden line can be found in the Venerable Bede's treatise *De arte metrica*, composed in Northumbria in the early eighth century.[21] In his handbook on prosody and metre, Bede relied to an unprecedented degree on the authority of the Christian epic poets, supplanting where possible the traditional citations from Vergil and Horace with ones from such late antique Christians as Sedulius, Arator, Juvencus, Prosper of Aquitane, Paulinus of Nola and Venantius Fortunatus.[22] His particular favourite appears to have been Sedulius, who seemed to assume the stature of something approaching a "Christian Vergil". It is therefore no wonder that, in his short chapter on poetic style *Quae sit optima carminis forma*,[23] Bede relied on Sedulius's example to a high degree. Bede's chapter is remarkably sparse and has obviously not been intended as an exhaustive style guide, presenting merely a handful of stylistic devices that the author found particularly pleasing. The chapter opens with an introduction to the enjambment of hexameter lines, illustrated not with a Vergilian quotation, as one might expect, but a lengthy citation from Arator. After that Bede moves on to what is the first unequivocal presentation of the golden line. Given both Bede's admiration of Sedulius and Sedulius's (even statistically corroborated) fondness for golden word order, it is no wonder that the illustrations have all been taken from his *Carmen paschale*.

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[20] Winbolt (above n. 5) 220–1.

[21] Kendall (above n. 18).

[22] S. Heikkinen, *The Christianisation of Latin Metre: a Study of Bede's* De arte metrica, Helsinki 2012, esp. at 13–6.

[23] Kendall (above n. 18) 111–6.

Optima autem versus dactylici ac pulcherrima positio est, cum primis penultima ac mediis respondent extrema, qua Sedulius frequenter uti consuevit, ut:

    Pervia divisi patuerunt caerula ponti

et

    Sicca peregrinas stupuerunt marmora plantas.[24]

[The best and most beautiful arrangement of a dactylic hexameter verse is when the next to the last word agrees with the first word and the final word agrees with a word in the middle, an arrangement which Sedulius was accustomed to use frequently, as in:

    Pervia <u>divisi</u> patuerunt **caerula** <u>ponti</u> (Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1,136)

and

    Sicca <u>peregrinas</u> stupuerunt **marmora** <u>plantas</u> (Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1,140).][25]

Bede does not seem to have been particularly dogmatic regarding this observation, as he also gives several examples that do not quite correspond with his previously stated definition but merely have agreement of a word in the middle with one at the end.[26] Conspicuously, he also does not specify the placement of the verb. Bede's discussion of the golden line reflects its high popularity in early Insular Latin verse, particularly the *Hisperica famina* and the hexameters of his immediate Anglo-Saxon predecessor Aldhelm; this, too, is probably largely attributable to the influence of Sedulius, whose works enjoyed a central role in the monastic curriculum and were widely studied and emulated.[27] In Aldhelm's

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[24] Kendall (above n. 18) 113.

[25] Trans. C. B. Kendall (ed.), *Bede. Libri II De arte metrica et de schematibus et tropis: The art of Poetry and Rhetoric*, Saarbrücken 1991 (Bibliotheca Germanica: Series Nova 2), 103–5.

[26] Bede cites *Edidit* **humanas** <u>animal pecuale</u> **loquelas** (Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1,162) and *Dignatus* **nostris** *accubitare* **thoris** (Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1,2), which have only a single hyperbaton, as well as **Rubra** *quod* <u>adpositum</u> **testa** *ministrat* <u>holus</u> (Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1,16), which has the golden abAB arrangement, although the verb has been placed between the two nouns.

[27] M. Winterbottom, "A Celtic Hyperbaton?", *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 27 (1977) 207–12, at 210–1; N. Wright, "The *Hisperica Famina* and Caelius Sedulius", *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 4 (1982) 61–76. On the golden line in Aldhelm, see A. Orchard, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, Cambridge 1994, 96–7. According to Mayer's statistics, Aldhelm's hexameter hagiography *Carmen*

verse, the golden line had become a gratuitous mannerism, and it is possible that Bede had this in mind when he stated that this word order should not be overused:[28] *Nec tamen hoc continuatim agendum, verum post aliquot interpositos versus. Si enim simper uno modo pedes ordinabis et versus, tametsi optimus sit, status statim vilescit.*[29] ("However, this should not be done constantly, but only after intervals of several lines. For if you always arrange your feet and verses in the same way, even if it is the best way, your composition is at once cheapened.")[30]

Bede's chapter on good poetic style ends with the recommendation that adjectives should preferably precede their noun heads and his reiterated observation that, favourably, they should be separated:[31]

> *Studendum est praeterea metricis, quantum artis decori non obstitit, ut mobilia nomina fixis nominibus praeponant, sed nec concinentia nomina coniunctim ponant, verum interposita qualibet alia parte orationis, ut:*
>   *Mitis in inmitem virga est animata draconem.*[32]

> [Poets should also strive, so long as it does not interfere with the grace of their art, to place adjectives before their nouns, but not to put nouns and adjectives that are in agreement with each other side by side, but rather to interpose some other word, as:
>   **Mitis** in <u>inmitem</u> **virga** est animata <u>draconem</u> (Sedul. *carm. pasch.* 1, 132).][33]

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de virginitate has 6.47% golden and 0.49% silver lines. The figures for the *Hisperica famina* are even more striking: 23.53% golden and 0.16% silver lines; see Mayer (above n.1) 162.

[28] N. Wright, "The Metrical Art(s) of Bede", in K. O'Brien O'Keeffe – A. Orchard (eds.), *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, vol. I, Toronto 2005, 167.

[29] Kendall (above n. 16) 113–4.

[30] Trans. Kendall (above n. 25) 105.

[31] Roman verse has a universally acknowledged tendency to place adjectives before their noun heads; see Winbolt (above n. 5) 153; E. Norden (ed.), *Aeneis Buch VI*, Leipzig 1916, 400–2; Harrison (above n. 17) 138.

[32] Kendall (above n. 18) 114–5.

[33] Trans. Kendall (above n. 25) 105.

It is therefore easy to see the probable origin of the "Burlesian" or "Wilkinsonian" golden line. It is the conflation of Bede's two stylistic guidelines: his commendation of the *ABAB* arrangement of noun-adjective pairs and his observation that adjectives should come before nouns. Mayer's studies on the successive discussions of the golden line in medieval treatises on poetics seem to indicate that this is indeed the case and that the early modern definition of the golden line is the result of an evolution that had Bede's seminal textbook as its starting point.[34]

Diomedes and the *versus teres*

In her *La metrica Latina en el Siglo IV*, Castillo pointed out a passage in Diomedes's fourth-century *Ars grammatica* that discusses what the author calls *versus teres*, or, in Mayer's translation, a "rounded verse" but, for all practical purposes seems to describe a golden line. Diomedes's *versus teres* is merely one of the various "special" hexameters discussed in his treatise, and the passage had previously escaped the notice of scholars owing to its considerable ambiguity; indeed, were it not for the hexameter line used as its illustration, we would have no idea of what the author was aiming at. Castillo herself concedes that "the definition does not narrow down its verbal composition as concretely as the current definitions",[35] which is putting it very mildly indeed, if we look at what Diomedes actually writes:

> *Teretes sunt, qui volubilem et cohaerentem continuant dictionem, ut*
> *Torva Mimalloneis inflatur tibia bombis.*[36]

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[34]   Mayer (above n. 1) 165–6, has traced the gradual fusion of the two principles presented by Bede through Jacob Wimpfeling (1484), Conradus Celtis (1486), Jean Despauterius (1521) and John Clarke (1633), Burles's immediate precursor, who, however, does not use the term "golden line".

[35]   M. del Castillo Herrera, *La metrica latina en el Siglo IV: Diomedes y su entorno*, Granada 1990, 133: "la definición no precise su composición verbal tan concreta como las definiciones actuales"; English trans. Mayer (above n. 1) 152.

[36]   *Gramm*. I,499,20–2.

[Rounded verses are those that conjoin a fluent and contiguous phrase, such as
Torva Mimalloneis inflatur tibia bombis.][37]

Diomedes's illustration of his *versus teres* is apparently a misquotation of Persius 1,99 (*Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis*), which, however, is itself a golden line. As we can see, Diomedes's example has the adjective-noun pairs (*torva – tibia, Mimalloneis – bombis*) framing the central verb in a strict abVAB formation, although Diomedes's "fluent and contiguous phrase" leaves much room for interpretation. The statement, indeed, eluded most scholars of the Renaissance and modern periods,[38] including no lesser a figure than Scaliger, who assumed that Diomedes meant a line where words do not end with feet (with the obvious exception of the fourth foot, where a word break takes place after *inflatur*, as Scaliger was quick to point out).[39] I find it, however, plausible that Diomedes's *volubilis et cohaerens dictio* implies a line that is syntactically self-contained, a feature that is typical of golden lines in their purest form, and indeed, the misquotation in Diomedes is, if anything, even more so than its original. The main difference between Diomedes's *Torva Mimalloneis inflatur tibia bombis* and Persius's *Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis* is, apart from the substitution of *tibia* for *cornua* and the verb *inflo* for *impleo*, the use of the passive voice: Diomedes's *tibia* "is blown with the Mimallonean booms" whereas Persius's line implies an external "they" who blew on their horns. The line, as it appears in Diomedes, works better in isolation than the original, and I find it possible that Diomedes's anonymous source had adapted Persius's line into a form more suitable for classroom use.[40]

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[37] Trans. Mayer (above n. 1) 152.

[38] Mayer (above n. 1) 153–4.

[39] J. C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem*, Stuttgart 1964, 71–2 (facsimile of the Lyon 1561 edition with an introduction by A. Buck). Scaliger´s uncharacteristically muddled commentary on Diomedes's equally enigmatic discussion has been discussed at length in Mayer (above n. 1) 167.

[40] The substitution of *inflo* for *impleo* is probably attributable to the fact that *inflo* is more obviously associated with wind instruments. The substitution of *tibia* for *cornua*, on the other hand may result from contamination through Catull. 64,264 (*barbaraque horribili stridebat tibia cantu*), which itself is a golden line. *Tibia* also has stronger eastern, or bucolic, connotations than *cornu*, which was also an instrument of the Roman military; see *TLL*, s.v. 'cornu'.

Diomedes's list of special hexameter types pertains to a tradition that apparently came about in the Silver Age: Martial, Quintilian and Gellius, among others, speak disparagingly of such trickery, mentioning, in particular, hexameter lines that, when read backwards, become sotadeans and hexameters where each word is longer than the previous one.[41] Several Late Latin grammarians inevitably reflected on this vogue, incorporating in their otherwise matter-of–fact works metrical trivia on unusual hexameter lines and their respective merits and demerits. The list of "special" hexameters in Diomedes's *Ars grammatica*, however, is particularly curious, as it has virtually no counterpart in any of the other lists that appear in the late antique grammarians. Diomedes lists twelve *optimi versus* and five *pessimi*, and, as Mayer has noted, the lists are conspicuously disparate. The list of *optimi versus* is probably of Roman origin, for, although Diomedes also gives Greek names for each of his examples, Mayer asserts that they are calques from their respective Latin names and have no counterparts in similar Greek lists of unusual hexameters.[42] Furthermore, they are amply illustrated with examples from Latin verse, whereas Diomedes's list of "bad verses"[43] seems to have been wholly compiled from Greek sources: Diomedes does not even attempt to give Latin examples for them but, rather, recycles old quotations from Homer, frequently in corrupt readings.

Of Diomedes's *optimi versus*, a few have counterparts in other Latin grammarians: Diomedes's "foot-divided" line (*partipes*) is a line type that corresponds with what appears in the *Ars Palaemonis* (traditionally attributed to Victorinus) as well as Audax's *Excerpta de Scauro et Palladio* as *versus distric-*

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[41] Mart. 2,86; Quint. *inst*. 9,4,90; Gell. 14,6,4; see also Mayer (above n. 1) 140–1.

[42] *Gramm*. I,498,23–28: *Optimi versus dena proprietate spectantur, principio ut sint inlibati iniuges aequiformes quinquipartes partipedes fistulares aequidici teretes sonores vocales. Itaque et Graeci suos nuncupant* ἀπληγεῖς ἀζυεῖς πενταμερεῖς ποδομερεῖς συρόποδες ἰσόλεκτοι κυκλοτερεῖς ἠχητικοὶ φωναστικοί. ("Verses are considered the best owing to ten characteristics, depending on whether they are intact, detached, equal-shaped, five-part, foot-divided, pipe-like, even-worded, rounded, resounding, or vocalic.") – Trans. Mayer (above n. 1) 144. Mayer's assumption that the list is of Roman origin does not, however, explain why the terms are alphabetised according to their Greek names.

[43] *Gramm*. I,498,28–30: *Sic vero hac in appellatione inprobantur ut quinque speciebus designentur: mutili exiles ecaudes fragosi fluxi; et hos* Graeci ἀκέφαλους λαγαροὺς μειούρους τραχεῖς κογοβούς *appellant*. ("But words are condemned if they fall into five types: truncated, scanty, tailless, rough, flabby.") – Trans. Mayer (above n. 1) 145.

tus, referring to a type of line where all the word endings coincide with the ends of feet.[44] It is also discussed in Aphthonius's *De metris omnibus*, but not as a good verse type, rather as one of the worst.[45] Diomedes's "pipe-like" verse (*fistularis*), a line where each word is longer than the previous one, is mentioned by the name "rhopalic" (*rhopalicus*/*ropalicus*) by several antique sources, although by no means with uniform enthusiasm.[46] The few "special" hexameter lines that do appear unequivocally outside Diomedes's work demonstrate the total artificiality of his list, as both the "foot-divided" and "pipe-like" verses violate the basic principles of Latin hexameter composition, and seem to have had little impact on verse composition. Diomedes's list of "bad" verses is arguably even less useful, as it pertains to the Greek tradition of listing metrically anomalous hexameter lines, or, that is to say, lines with missing syllables or the like, rather than ones that are merely aesthetically objectionable.[47]

As one might expect from such a concoction as Diomedes's list of good and bad hexameter verses, it had little or no effect on medieval scholarship, although the Middle Ages saw the emergence of similar lists, adjusted to the evolution of medieval verse, which took into account such quintessentially medieval phenomena as rhyme. Diomedes's presentation did not become an object of serious study until the renaissance, and even then it was poorly understood.[48]

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[44] *Gramm*. VI,214,29–215,1; *gramm*. VII,340,6–23. The two presentations are virtually identical and also form the basis for the discussions of hexameter caesurae in Aldhelm's *De metris* and Bede's *De arte metrica*; see R. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi Opera*, Berlin 1919 (Monumenta Germaniae historica: auctores antiquissimi 15), 93; Kendall (above n.18) 116. Apart from Diomedes, both late antique and medieval sources emphasise that a proper hexameter line should normally have a caesura (which is absent in the "foot-divided" verse).

[45] *Gramm*. VI,71,25–9.

[46] See Gell. 14,6,4; Sacerd. *gramm*. 6,505–6; Serv. *gramm*. IV,467. "Pipe-like" or rhopalic verses are impracticable in Latin hexameter verse, as in classical and post-classical hexameters the final word is almost invariably disyllabic or trisyllabic (Greek loans being the major exception, see e.g. D. S. Raven, *Latin Metre*, London 1965, 99–100). Sacerdos confesses to being unable to find a Latin example of the verse type and takes the liberty of composing one (*quae quarum facie pulcherrima Deiopea*) by tampering with a Vergilian line (*Aen*. 1,72). However, Ausonius, who was notorious for his love of metrical trivia, composed his entire *Oratio* in rhopalic verses. Isolated cases can be found in other late antique poets; see Mayer (above n. 1) 150; L. Müller, *De re metrica poetarum latinorum praetor Plautum et Terentium*, Petersburg – Leipzig 1894, 580.

[47] Mayer (above n. 1) 145.

[48] Mayer (above n. 1) 143–4. Mayer cites such authors as Jodocus Badius Ascensius (1462 – 1535),

Persius and Diomedes's *versus teres*

That Diomedes's example of a *versus teres* (*Torva Mimalloneis inflatur tibia bombis)* is obviously a misquotation of Persius (1,99) apparently eluded Scaliger, who cited it in the form given by Diomedes.[49] The origin of the line has however, been duly noted in Keil's edition, and Mayer mentions this in passing. Mayer does not discuss the original line's context in Persius, and this is indeed striking, as, although Persius provided the model for what Diomedes deemed an *optimus versus*, his own opinion seems to have been the very opposite. Namely, the line is from a passage in Persius (1,99–102) that criticises, and mercilessly lampoons, what the poet considered the effeminate and degenerate style of the poets of his day:

> *Torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis*
> *et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superno,*
> *Bassaris et lyncem Maenas flexura corymbis*
> *euhion ingeminat, reparabilis adsonat echo.*

> [Harsh were the horns they filled with Mimallonian booms,
> and Bassarid, removing proud bull-calf's severed head,
> and Maenad, with corymbi manoeuvring a lynx,
> ingeminate Evoe; Echo chimes in, resumptive.][50]

The preceding passage[51] castigates contemporary readers who prefer such nonsense to Vergil, and, after producing his piece of parody, Persius concludes that this would not be the case if the Romans "had any balls like their ancestors did" (*testiculi vena paterni*).[52] Although the passage is over the top in its Graecistic portrayal of Bacchiac revelry, Persius's editor W. Barr, with some support from L. Morgan, contests that the only feature of Persius's parody that cannot

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Johannes Sulpitius Verulanus, Johannes Murmellius (1480 – 1517) and last, but not least, Scaliger, but even he seems to have made little headway with Diomedes's presentation.

[49] Scaliger (above n. 39) 72.

[50] Trans. G. Lee, in G. Lee – W. Barr, *The Satires of Persius*, Liverpool 1987, 19.

[51] Pers. 1,92–7.

[52] Pers. 1,103–4.

be found in Vergil as well is the total absence of elision.[53] This, however, is arguably not an entirely accurate assessment of the deliberate accumulation of contrived stylistic features in Persius's poetic parody. Firstly, there is the golden word order of line 99, penthemimeral, "leonine" rhyme in 99 and 100 (*Mimalloneis – bombis*; *vitulo – superno*), and the "bucolic" diaeresis after the fourth foot in 99 and 102, all of which, together with the overuse of Greek names and loan words[54] and the general content of the passage call to mind Catullus 64,254–64. As Barr has stated, the passage cannot be read as a one-on-one parody of Catullus's style, as many of the archaic features that are also typical of Catullus are absent: obviously, they would not fit with Persius's complaint that the lines lack *testiculi vena paterni*.[55] It has been suggested that the verbal decadence of such poetic parody in Persius is intended to reflect its content, emphasising their air of (Eastern) sensuous overindulgence as opposed to (Roman) rigour: the passages are "too sweet" and "too rich" and are intended to justify Persius's assertions that the Romans had "emasculated the virility of their language by mixing in Greek terms".[56]

Persius's rant is quite in character with the basic ethos of the Roman satire since Lucilius. The birth of Lucilian satire has been seen as a form of cultural protest: Lucilius's employment of the hexameter, the "lofty" metre of Homer and Ennius and a relatively new import in Roman literature, in the composition of what is ultimately a mundane literary form can be interpreted as an irreverent reversal of the metre's traditional role as well as an attempt to fight the encroachment of Roman culture by foreign influences.[57] Correspondingly, the Hellenistic tradition represented by the *epyllion* of Catullus and the neoteric school,

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[53] W. Barr, in Lee – Barr (above n. 50) 81–2; L. Morgan, *Musa Pedestris: Metre and Meaning in Roman Verse*, Oxford 2010, 329.

[54] *Mimalloneis* seems to be Persius's own invention, as it is only attested here. Only the noun *Mimallonis* has been documented before (Ov. *ars* 1,5541), and it is reasonable to expect that Persius's reader would have recognised its artificiality. Also note the (deliberately) inane pleonasm created by the synonymous *Bassaris* and *Maenas*. See R. A. Harvey, *A Commentary on Persius*, Leiden 1981, 46.

[55] Lee – Barr (above n. 40) 81–2; Catullus's free use of alliteration and coinage of compound adjectives (e.g. *raucisonus* at Catull. 64,263) are conspicuously absent from Persius's parody.

[56] Pers. 1,95; S. Bartsch, *Persius: A Study in Food, Philosophy, and the Figural*, Chicago – London 2015, 159–60. Bartsch cites the scholiast *ad* 1,95.

[57] See Morgan (above n. 53) 310–6.

together with bucolic poetry, must be considered the aesthetic and ideological opposite of Lucilian satire. When he affected a poetic style that approximated some features of spoken Latin in contrast to the studied artfulness of the hexameter epic, Lucilius prided himself in having "thrown speech into verse".[58] Obviously, this had elements of inverted snobbery, and even Lucilius acknowledged that it was something of an effort: if anything, Roman satirists were the opposite of Molière's *bourgeois gentilhomme* who was unaware that he spoke in prose.

One hallmark of satirical style was its free use of elision, which is acknowledged to have been a feature of spoken Latin but the use of which had already been limited by Ennius, particularly in his epic.[59] Although the accomplished – and generous – use of elision is generally considered a central feature of Vergil's verse, this is probably an innovation inspired by satire: by infusing the style of his *Aeneid* with certain features of the Roman satire, he made it more rugged and "Roman".[60] The exaggerated smoothness of Persius's verse parody is partly due to its total absence of elision, and as this constitutes its most marked difference not only to the usual style of satire but also that of Vergilian epic, it is obviously one of the most pronounced metrical features that are attacked in Persius's caricature. Persius's most apparent target, as far as the content of his piecce is concerned, is the bucolic verse of the Silver Age, and statistically, they also exhibit strikingly infrequent use of elision, in particular the Neronian Calpurnius Siculus.[61]

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[58] Cf. Lucilius's famous description of his verse paraphrase of the auctioneer Granius's wit at lines 448–9 W: *conicere in versus dictum praeconis volebam / Grani*. ("I wanted to throw into verse the speech of the auctioneer Granius").

[59] Elision in Ennius's *Annals* is very rare indeed, occurring only in 19% of the lines, which is below average for Latin hexameter verse. In the fragments of Ennius's *Hedyphagetica*, elision is twice as common. Although it is plausible that this is simply due to its early date, it may equally well be due to its lighter, non-epic content. See J. Soubiran, *L'Élision dans la poésie latine,* Paris 1966, 607; O. Skutsch, *The Annals of Q. Ennius*, Oxford 1985, 3–4 and 52–3.

[60] Vergil's use of elision in his Aeneid (in 53.31% of the lines) is unparalleled by any other Roman hexameter poet. The difference to his earlier Eclogues (27.23%) is striking. See L. Ceccarelli, *Contributi per la storia dell'esametro Latino*, vol. II (Rome, 2008), 104. For Vergil's motives, see N.-O. Nilsson, *Metrische Stildifferenzen in den Satiren des Horaz*, Uppsala 1952, 8–10; F. Jones, "Juvenal and the Hexameter", in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XIV*, Brussels 2007, 348–64, at 361–2; Morgan (above n. 53) 329.

[61] In the *Eclogues* of Calpurnius Siculus, elision is virtually non-existent, occurring in only about 1.72%. In his avoidance of elision, Calpurnius comes second only to the *Laus Pisonis* (at

      If we compare Mayer's statistics on the golden line with the data on elision we have from Soubiran and Ceccarelli,[62] we can see that the frequency of the golden line in classical and Silver Latin seems to have almost an inverse correlation to the frequency of elision: if the latter was a hallmark of "Romanness", most eagerly embraced by satirists and the emulators of Vergilian epic, the golden line was associated with the excessively smooth, "Greek" style of the neoterics and their acolytes. Apart from Vergil's idiosyncratically high ratio of elision, one end of this spectrum is, unsurprisingly, satire, which is characterised by frequent elision as well as the conspicuous absence of golden lines.[63] The other extreme would, obviously, be bucolic verse. Although Mayer's data on the genre is limited to Vergil's *Eclogues*, the appearance of the golden line in Persius's mock-bucolic sample would lead us to expect that we might also expect the device to be typical not only of Catullus and Vergil's *Eclogues*, but also Silver Latin bucolic poetry. It has, indeed, been noted by some writers that Calpurnius Siculus favours a strict golden word order,[64] but, unfortunately, Mayer has not included him in his statistics. I have therefore taken the liberty of analysing Calpurnius's *Eclogues* with Mayer's criteria, with the purposes of gaining figures that are compatible with his findings. And, indeed, the following statistics would seem to confirm this hypothesis:

0.77%), which, however, has also been attributed to Calpurnius; see Ceccarelli (above n. 50) 105. Interestingly, the frequency of golden lines in the *Laus* is also an incredibly high 6.13%; see Mayer (above n. 1) 161.

[62] Mayer (above n. 1) 161; Soubiran (above n. 59); Ceccarelli (above n. 60).

[63] According to Mayer, Persius has 0.92% golden and 0.92% silver lines in his *Satires*. Mayer gives no figures for Juvenal, but, according to my observation, his first five *Satires* have fourteen golden lines and a single silver line (1.41% and 0.20% respectively). Although marginally higher than Persius's, the figure is probably inflated by parody, as in the deliberately effeminate 2,91 (*talia secreta coluerunt orgia taeda*) or the fishmonger Crispinus's words to Domitian on presenting him with a turbot at 4,68 (*et tua seruatum consume in saecula rhombum*) in "sentiments that are high-flown and redolent of the return of the Golden Age." See Juvenal, *The Satires*, ed. and trans. J. Ferguson, London 1979, 165.

[64] See, e.g., N. W. Slater, "Calpurnius and the Anxiety of Vergilian Influence", *SyllClass* 5 (1994) 71–8; F. N. Antolín (ed.), *Lygdamus: Corpus Tibullianum III.1 – 6: Lygdami Elegiarum Liber*, Leiden 1996, 201–2.

	Verses	Gold	Silver	%G	%S	%G+S
Calp. *ecl.* 1	94	8	1	8.51%	1.06%	9.57%
Calp. *ecl.* 2	100	8	3	8.00%	3.00%	11.00%
Calp. *ecl.* 3	98	3	0	3.06%	0.00%	3.06%
Calp. *ecl.* 4	169	7	0	4.14%	0.00%	4.14%
Calp. *ecl.* 5	120	5	1	4.17%	0.83%	5.00%
Calp. *ecl.* 6	92	2	0	2.17%	0.00%	2.17%
Calp. *ecl.* 7	84	4	0	4.76%	0.00%	4.76%
Total	757	37	5	4.89%	0.66%	5.55%

At 4.89 per cent, the frequency of golden lines in Calpurnius's *Eclogues* is conspicuously high, surpassing even Catullus and Sedulius, although still dwarfed by Ennodius and Aldhelm. One can also observe that the frequency of golden lines is the highest in the first two *Eclogues*, with a subsequent drop (although there is a minor surge in the last *Eclogue*). This observation seems consistent with what we know about the use of golden word order in the work of poets who favoured the technique: they seem prone to invest most of their effort in the opening of a poem, with a subsequent decline in its frequency.[65] Possibly apart from the second eclogue, there does not seem to be a similar attempt to cultivate silver lines.[66] In this respect, Calpurnius's technique seems closer to the poets of late antiquity than that of Catullus. Calpurnius's use of the golden line seems deliberate and studied, an overall effect that is, if anything, underscored by his enhanced use of the device in the beginning of the work where he clearly strives to impress his reader. We can assume with some safety that the golden line constituted a feature of his poetic style, and of the genre he represented, that his contemporaries found conspicuous enough for parody.

As other surviving examples of Roman bucolic verse are, admittedly, fairly scant, it may be illustrative also to present my statistics on the *Eclogues* of the third-century Nemesianus.

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[65] See Wright (above n. 27) 74–6 (on Sedulius and the *Hisperica Famina*); Orchard (above n. 27) 95–6 (on Aldhelm); Mayer (above n. 1) 163 (especially on the medieval Walther of Speyer).

[66] This does not, of course, mean that they are not used deliberately where they do appear, as in Calp. *ecl.* 2,81, **mille** <u>renidenti</u> *dabimus tibi* <u>cortice</u> **Chias** ("I shall give you a thousand Chian figs with shining skin"). However weak a joke this may seem to the modern reader, I find it plausible that the author tried to pun on the phonetic association of chiasmus and *Chias*.

	Verses	Gold	Silver	%G	%S	%G+S
Nemes. *ecl*. 1	87	1	0	1.15%	0.00%	1.15%
Nemes. *ecl*. 2	90	2	0	2.22%	0.00%	2.22%
Nemes. *ecl*. 3	69	2	2	2.90%	2.90%	5.80%
Nemes. *ecl*. 4	73	2	1	2.74%	1.37%	4.11%
Total	319	7	3	2.19%	0.94%	3.13%

As we can see, Nemesianus's use of golden lines is reasonably moderate, although well above the classical average; on the other hand, his use of silver lines is more generous. Of course, Nemesianus postdates both Persius and Calpurnius, his probable target, considerably, and personal stylistic differences are not necessarily always attributable to stylistic conventions. One must also remember that, by Nemesianus's time, golden word order had probably come to be perceived as something closer to a "standard" technique, rather than a primarily bucolic mannerism.

Conclusion

Contrary to what Mayer seems to imply, it seems that the golden line was recognised as a stylistic feature already in the classical period. However, it was not one that was universally admired, being in essence a genre-specific feature associated with bucolic verse and – correspondingly – denigrated as such by Persius. Its increasing popularity in the late imperial period and beyond has been attributed to a role it had gained in the instruction of verse composition in the imperial schools.[67] Although plausible, this development is, unfortunately, poorly documented. Prior to Bede, we have little to go on except the obvious increase in its use by several poets and one oblique statement in Diomedes's obscure and often erroneous presentation of "special" hexameter verses. What seems certain, however, is that, in the late imperial period, its bucolic associations ultimately disappeared, which probably accounts for the fact that what Persius intended as an example of contrived and effeminate verse wound up as

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[67] Mayer (above n. 1) 163: "The golden line may have been taught in the schools as a quick way to elegance, which poets used with increased moderation as their experience grew."

an example of metrical elegance in Dionysius' treatise. We know that grammar-
ians were rarely astute when it came to intertextuality or genre parody,[68] but I
also find it plausible that Diomedes did not necessarily known the line's origin,
and that he was merely citing a well-circulated (mis)quotation employed in the
teaching of verse technique.

Structurally, the double hyperbaton of the golden line was virtually the
opposite of the loose and quasi-prosaic diction of Roman satire. Being over-
elaborate and excessively smooth, its stood for all that was inimical to the ethos
of Lucilian's followers. Its use also frequently resulted in rhyme between the
two halves of the line, a feature that contributed to its air as something contrived
and "kitchy". Tellingly, in Persius's bucolic parody, not only the golden line at
1,99 (*torva Mimalloneis implerunt cornua bombis*) but also the following one
(*et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superno*) have rhyme.

Another contestable feature of golden word order is that it effectively
produces lines that are syntactically self-contained. The paucity of golden lines
in Vergil's *Aeneid* is probably at least partly due to its ambitious enjambment
of verses.[69] Aldhelm's overuse of golden word order has been associated with
his generally short-winded and end-stopped style, where clauses rarely extend
beyond their endings;[70] a feature that Bede probably tried to counteract by com-
mending both enjambment and hyperbata in his discussion of poetic style.[71]

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[68]   Cf. the claims, based on Horace's *ridiculus mus* (*ars* 139), according to which verse-final
monosyllables are particularly suited for the portrayal of small animals in Quintilian (*inst*. 8,3,18–
20) and Servius on Verg. *Aen*. 8,83 that do not even take into account the possibility of parody. See
J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le monosyllable dans l'hexamètre latin: essai de métrique verbale,* Paris 1964,
64; C. Galboli, "On Horace's Ars Poetica 139: Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus", in L.
Sawicki – D. Shalev (eds.), *Donum grammaticum: Studies in Latin and Celtic Linguistics in Honour
of Hannah Rosén*, Leuven 2002, 65–76, at 65–6.

[69]   Cf. Winbolt's observations on Vergil's use of "nearly golden" lines; Winbolt (above n. 5) 222–3.

[70]   See Orchard (above n. 27) 96–7.

[71]   Bede's verse technique in his hagiographical *Vita Metrica Sancti Cuthberti* (ed. W. Jaager,
Leipzig 1935) demonstrates that he effectively fused the principles of enjambment and golden word
order, usually by transposing the predicate verb into the beginning of the following line, a technique
not dissimilar from Vergil's "nearly golden lines". That Bede does not discuss the placement of the
verb in golden lines may reflect his looser application of the device. See Wright (above n. 27) 163–6;
Heikkinen (above n. 22) 89.

Diomedes, or his source, on the other hand, seems to have noted this feature of the golden line with approval, lauding its *cohaerens dictio*.

To recapitulate: although far from being the pinnacle of "Golden Latin artistry", as Wilkinson understood it, the golden line seems to have been recognised as a stylistic device already in the Late Republican and Augustan periods, at least sufficiently so to merit being parodied by Persius. In its purest form, however, it was a feature that seems to have been understood as particularly typical of bucolic poetry, as opposed to Vergilian epic or satire. This distinction became meaningless in subsequent centuries, which saw the golden line's unprecedented proliferation, probably through the influence of Sedulius and his Insular admirers. It is this development that earned it the place it enjoys today in classical academia.

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NEULESUNGEN RÖMISCHER NAMEN
AUF GRIECHISCHEN INSCHRIFTEN[1]

Urpo Kantola

1. Römer auf delischen Inschriften

Bei der Materialsammlung für meine Forschung über römische Namen in griechischen Quellen in der Zeit der römischen Expansion sind mir 50 delische Inschriften aufgefallen, deren Lesungen in *ID* oder in *EAD* mir problematisch erscheinen. Im späten April 2015 habe ich 18 von diesen Inschriften gefunden, und hier beschäftige ich mich mit acht von diesen. Bei den Resten von zehn Inschriften ist bei acht die Lesung in Ordnung,[2] und bei zweien sind meine Neulesungen von wenig Bedeutung.[3]

1. *ID* 1445
B.10: ἀνάθεμα Μά[ρ]κ[ο]υ Λολλίου → Μα[ά]ρκ[ο]υ Λολλίου
B.15: ἀνάθεμα Μ[άρ]κου Λολλίου → Μ̣[αά?]ρκου Λολλίου

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[2] *EAD* 30, 256; *ID* 1731, 1762, 2347, 2349, 2457, 2830 und 2857.

[3] *ID* 1760: Z. 6 Ἀλέξανδρος Βαβύλλιος Λευκίο[υ]. Z. 10 ΛΥ.̣. bleibt unklar. *ID* 2616: Z. 1.21 [Γ] άιος Τουτ(ώ)ριος: Es lässt sich nicht endgültig entscheiden, ob es sich um ο oder ω handelt. Z. 2.72 Αὔδιος. Z. 3.56 Νώνιος. In der dritten Kolumne ist die letzte sichtbare Zeile 3.62 mit Ἀ̣πολ[---]; das untere Fragment fehlt (vielleicht befindet es sich irgendwo im Lager?).

Diese Person ist sechsmal in zwei anderen Inschriften belegt,[4] wo die erhaltenen Namensformen immer mit -αα- geschrieben sind. In der Z. B.10 ist die Lesung α[α]ρ zweifellos, dagegen bleibt in der Z. B.15 unsicher, ob der Raum zwischen den erkennbaren Buchstaben für -αα- ausreicht. Da die Schreibweisen beim Vornamen eines M. Sabinius in anderen Tempelinventaren schwanken,[5] kann auch hier -α- nicht ausgeschlossen werden.

2. **ID** 1763: Z. 2 *ID*: [---]ΙΟ[---]\ΙΟΣ Λευκίου Δίκαιος[6] → [Λεύ]κιος(?) ᵛ(?) Β[α]β[ύλ]λιος Λευκίου Δίκαιος. Dieser Freigelassene der *Babullii* trug wahrscheinlich auch den Vornamen *Lucius*, der unter den delischen *Babullii* verbreitet erscheint.[7]

3. **ID** 1764: Z. 2 *ID*: [---] Βαβύλλιος [---]:[8] auch bei diesem *Babullius* scheint die Filiation Λευ[κίου] zu sein.

    Z. 6: Μάαρκος Πακώνιος Τίτου Μ[---]:[9] Nach der Filiation lese ich ΜΑΘ[.]Λ̣[. .]Σ̣, kann aber den Namen nicht identifizieren. Vielleicht Μαθ[θ]-α̣[ῖο]ς̣?

    Z. 15: Καίου → Γαίου. Die sehr seltene Schreibweise /g/ > ⟨κ⟩ kommt jedenfalls in einer anderen delischen Inschrift im Namen eines *Gabinius* vor.[10]

4. **ID** 1842 Z. 4: Λεύκιο[ς] Βαβύλλιος [Τ]ιβ[ερίου].[11]
Ich lese Λεύκιος Βαβύλλιος [Τ]ιβ[ερίου]. Die Auffälligkeit ist hier das erste ι in der Filiation, weil dieser Vorname sonst Τεβέριος vor der Mitte des 1. Jh. v.

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[4] *ID* 1442 B.62 und 63; *ID* 1452 B.4, 12 und 20. Ferrary et al. 2002, 200 *Lollii* 1.

[5] *ID* 1432, A.1.b.44 Μάρκου; *ID* 1450 A.90 Μαάρκου; [*ID* 1429 A.2.19]. Ferrary et al. 2002, 212 *Sabinii* 1.

[6] Ferrary et al. 2002, 226 Nr. 87.

[7] Ferrary et al. 2002, 190.

[8] Ferrary et al. 2002, 190 *Babullii* 6.

[9] Ferrary et al. 2002, 207 *Paconius* 12.

[10] *ID* 1450, A.74 Μάαρκος Καβίνιος. Ferrary et al. 2002, 197 *Gabinii* 1. Für Κάιος statt Γάιος ist auch der nächste bekannte Fall bei *IGR* I 1332 (Dodekaschoinos, Nubien; 81 n. Chr.) mit Κάιος verdächtig; McCrum – Woodhead 1961, Nr. 186 hat Γάιος (doch ohne weitere Informationen).

[11] Ferrary et al. 2002, 190 *Babullii* 4.

Chr. geschrieben wurde.[12] Ich kann das β und das vorangehende σ gut erkennen, und der Raum dazwischen würde schwerlich für die beiden Buchstaben τε ausreichen. Obschon das ι selbst schwach erhalten ist, scheint die Lesung plausibel zu sein.

5. ***ID* 1844** (Abb. 1)
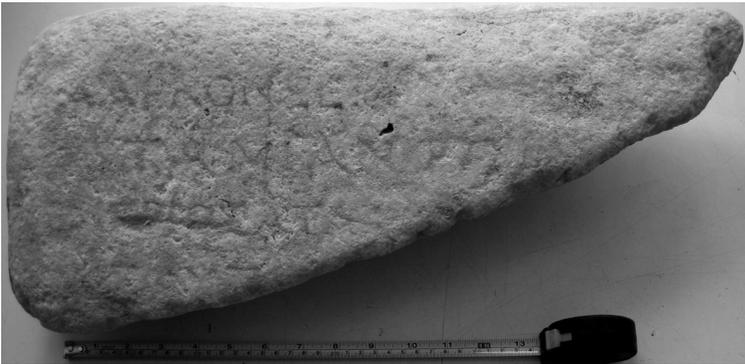
Abb. 1: *ID* 1844.

ID: Μᾶρκον Σε– – – | ταμίαν Ῥωμ[αίων] | ‥ΡΙΟΣΑΤΑ– – –.[13]

Z. 1: Eher [Μ]ᾶαρκον: der erste sichtbare Buchstabe ist Λ-förmig (vgl. die senkrechten Füße des μ in der Z. 2), und der Querstrich ist auch sichtbar. Von dem Gentiliz sehe ich nach den zwei ersten Buchstaben σε noch Spuren von zumindest einem Buchstabe mit einem Vertikalstrich links.

Z. 3: […]Γ̣ΡΙΟΣΑΤΑ‥ [-c.15?-]. Das γ könnte auch ein ε sein, und nach dem letzten α kommen noch zwei unerkennbare Buchstaben.

Z. 4: [‥].ΑΥ̣.[---]. Die Inschrift zeigt noch Spuren einer vierten Zeile. Der Buchstabe vor dem α und der nach dem υ haben einen Querstrich oben. Neben einem υ wäre die einzige mögliche Alternative ein χ.

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[12] Es gibt neun Belege von Τεβερ-; fünf davon sind delisch. Diese und verwandte Schreibweisen werde ich anderswo ausführlich studieren (s. Eckinger 1893, 34–36). Die Datierung unserer Inschrift ist 147 oder 134 v. Chr. nach dem geehrten, Scipio Aemilianus.

[13] Der Geehrte: Broughton 1952, 476 "M. SE—", undatiert.

In der Z. 3 sollte der Errichter erwähnt worden sein, und die Reste in der Z. 4 könnten auf eine Ehrenformel mit einer Dedikation wie [τὸν] ἑαυτ[οῦ φίλον / εὐεργέτην - - - Ἀπόλλωνι] hinweisen.[14] So wäre [-3-]ΓΡΙΟΣ in der Z. 3 wahrscheinlich das erste Element in der Namenformel der Errichter und ΑΤΑ.[---] der Anfang des zweiten Elementes. Weil die bekannten griechischen Namen sowohl mit -γριος/-εριος als auch mit Ατα- selten sind, könnte es sich um einen Römer handeln: vielleicht [Τεβ]έριος Ἀτάνι[ος ---].[15]

Die Schreibung -αα- liegt hauptsächlich in der Zeit vor c. 70 v. Chr. vor;[16] dazu ist im delischen Kontext eine Datierung vor der Zerstörung von Athenodoros (69 v. Chr.) wahrscheinlich.[17] Andererseits wäre die Ehrung eines römischen Quästors vor dem frühen 2. Jh. kaum vorstellbar. Außer einem M. Sergius Silus ist kein Quästor mit passendem Namen in diesem Zeitraum bekannt.[18] Da auch dieser nur bei einer Münzprägung im Westen auftritt, muss die Frage nach der Identität unseres Quästors mangels weiterer Informationen offen bleiben.

> [Μ]άαρκον Σε.[........15?........]
> ᵛ ᵛ ταμίαν Ῥωμ[αίων vacat?]
> [Τεβ?]έριος Ἀτάνι[ος? ....13?...]
> [τὸν?] ἑαυτ[οῦ? - - - Ἀπόλλωνι?]
>   − − − − − ?

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[14] Vgl. die anderen delischen Ehrungen für römische Beamten als φίλοι: *ID* 1843, 1845, 1854, 2000 & 2004(?) sind von Griechen errichtet und *ID* 1842 & 1846 von Römern. Vgl. besonders die Anordnung der Zeilen (impaginazione) der letzten Inschrift: Πόπ[λιον -5-]νιον ἀγ[τι-] | [τα]μίαν Ῥωμαίων | Αὖλος Φάβιος Λευκίου Β[---] | τὸν ἑαυτοῦ φίλον | [Ἀπό]λλωνι. Allerdings würde ich die Lesung gerne noch durchsehen.

[15] Vgl. Ferrary et al. 2002, 188 *Atanii* 1. Für die Ergänzung des Vornamens vgl. oben bei *ID* 1842.

[16] Die Chronologie dieser Schreibung ist von Eckinger (1893, 8–9) großzügig dargelegt worden, aber ich werde sie noch in einer anderen Untersuchung präzisieren: sie kommt sehr selten zwischen c. 60–20 v. Chr. und kaum danach vor.

[17] Nur relativ wenige delische Inschriften sind sicher nach 69 v. Chr. zu datieren: s. Bruneau 1968, 695, der 70 Inschriften einträgt. Darunter ist *ID* 1737 später in 115 v. Chr. datiert worden (*AE* 2006, 1365).

[18] Crawford 1974, 302 Nr. 286 rev.: "Horseman l., holding sword and severed head in l. hand; before, Q; below, M · SERGI; in exergue, SILVS." Über die Quästoren als Münzpräger siehe *ibid*., 599 & 603. Über diesen M. Sergius s. *ibid*., 302, Broughton 1952, 13 & 617 und Broughton 1986, 193.

6. **ID 2257** (Abb. 2)

Z. 1–2 *ID*: [---]ΟΣ[---] | Γαίου Ῥωμαῖος ὑπ[ὲρ].[19]

    In der ersten Zeile lese ich Λεύκιος Σίλλιος. Trotz schwer abgetragener Buchstaben ist der Vorname ohne Zweifel als *Lucius* zu identifizieren. Obgleich das Gentiliz noch schlechter erhalten ist, sind das erste σ und das zweite λ unverkennbar. Auch weil ein Sillius bereits auf Delos bekannt ist,[20] halte ich diese Lesung für wahrscheinlich.

Abb. 2: *ID* 2257.

7. **ID 2612** (Abb. 3)

Kolumne 1   Kolumne 2   Kolumne 3

Abb. 3. *ID* 2612.

Z. 2 *ID*: [τῆς Ἰτ]αλικῆς π[αστάδος].

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[19] Ferrary et al. 2002, 229 Nr. 131 mit Anm. 125: "Il est impossible de déterminer si les lettres ΟΣ sont la fin d'un *praenomen* ou appartiennent à un gentilice."

[20] *ID* 2622, 13: [---]ος Σίλλιος. Ferrary et al. 2002, 215 *Sillii* 1.

Ph. Bruneau (1995, 48) kommentiert die Ergänzung πα[λαίστρας] von N. Rauh (1992, 308–10):[21] "Rauh écrit ΠΑ[alors que les ID ne donnent que Π[— , mais selon A. Farnoux et J.-Ch. Moretti qui ont bien voulu revoir la pierre, on ne distingue assurément que le Π."[22] Jedoch erkannte ich bei der Autopsie im Abstand, wo man den nächsten Buchstaben nach dem π erwartet, einen Schrägstrich, der nichts anderes als ein Fuß eines α bzw. eines λ sein kann. Also lese ich πα̣[, nehme aber keine Stellung zur Ergänzung. Jedenfalls müssen die ersten zwei Zeilen links länger gewesen sein, als die Ergänzung in *ID* andeutet, weil hier der Text ungefähr in der Mitte des ganzen Steines gebrochen ist.[23]

Z. 1.8–9 *ID*: [Μαρ]αῖος Γεριλλα[νὸς] τ′ | [Λε]ύκιος ΑΡΜ.ΙΟΣ τ′.[24]

Diese Lesungen sind problematisch wegen der ursprünglichen Breite der ersten Kolumne, die links gebrochen ist. In den anderen Zeilen gibt es griechische Namen, von denen das Patronym und das Ethnonym erhalten sind; also fehlen links die Personennamen. Die zwei anderen Kolumnen sind ebenso breit, und in jeder Zeile gibt es Raum für 25±2 Buchstaben. Ohne Zweifel ist auch die erste Kolumne ebenso breit gewesen, somit sollten in diesen zwei Zeilen 1.8–9 links ungefähr 13 Buchstaben fehlen.

Somit werden jedoch die Namenformeln "Vorname + Gentiliz" problematisch, wenn sie mit den Römern der anderen zwei Kolumnen verglichen werden: Größtenteils haben sie "Vorname + Gentiliz + Filiation", außerdem sind einige Brüder oder Freigelassene einer Person mit καὶ gekoppelt und haben das Gentiliz im Plural und die Filiation mit dem Pluralartikel οἱ.[25] Nur ein Τίτος Φαβρίκιος Σύμμαχος (Z. 3.8) hat ein griechisches Cognomen, aber keine Filiation, und ein Πόπλιος Πετρώνιος (Z. 2.9) hat weder ein Cognomen noch eine Filiation. Weiter ist es zu bemerken, dass fast alle Personen in den zweiten und dritten Kolumnen römische Bürger sind.[26] Demgegenüber sind in der ersten

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[21] S. auch *SEG* XLII 740 und *SEG* XLV 1048.

[22] Eigentlich weist Rauh (1992, 309) auf der Ergänzung in *ID* hin als "π[αστάδος]", aber gibt in der Majuskeltransskription "ΠΑ[".

[23] Über die Breite der Inschrift s. u. bei der Z. 1.8–9.

[24] Ferrary et al. 2002, 197 *Gerillani* 2 & 222 Nr. 7.

[25] Auch in den Angaben des Patronus der Freigelassenen in den Z. 2.20 und 3.16–17.

[26] Sonst gibt es nur vier Griechen in den Z. 2.4, 2.11, 3.9 und 3.13, und vielleicht auch einen fünften in der Z. 2.3. Auch Ἀπολλώνιος Μέμμιος in der Z. 2.13 ist natürlich kein römischer Bürger.

Kolumne alle erkennbaren Personen Griechen (außer diesen zwei in den ZZ. 1.8–9).

Wenn man vermutet, dass in den beiden Zeilen tatsächlich ein Vorname und ein Gentiliz erhalten sind, wären die wahrscheinlichen Ergänzungen [(Vorname) καὶ Μαρ]αῖος und [(Vorname) καὶ Λε]ύκιος. Dann sollten auch die beiden Gentilizien im Plural stehen. Von den beiden Namenformeln würden auch die Filiationen fehlen, weil es keinen Raum für sie in den folgenden Zeilen gibt. Diese Lösung finde ich etwas unattraktiv, aber nicht ausgeschlossen wegen der Namenformel ohne Filiation in der Z. 2.9. Andere Möglichkeiten sind jedoch immerhin schwierig zu finden.

In der Z. 9 sind die c. sechs Buchstaben des vermutlichen Gentilizes nach dem ersten α schwer erkennbar. Der zweite könnte ρ sein, und der dritte wirkt Λ-förmig, hat aber auch Züge eines σ. Es könnte sich dabei um den Namen Ἄρσιος handeln: das Gentiliz *Arsius* ist bekannt, doch nicht auf Delos. Mit ΑΡΛΙΟΣ würde es sich um ein unbelegtes Gentiliz handeln: *Arlius*?

Z. 2.6–9 *ID*: — — — | — — — | Πόπλιος Τύκκ[ιος] Λευκίου ξ′ | Πόπλιος Πετρώνιος ν′.[27] Die ZZ. 2.6–7 sind in der Mitte verloren und auch links schlecht erhalten. Rechts gibt es nichts zwischen den gut sichtbaren Hilfslinien der Steinmetze, und an den Zeilenenden fehlen die Zahlwörter. Es ist unklar, ob hier etwas geschrieben worden ist, aber der eventuelle Inhalt könnte nicht zu der Namenformel der vorigen Zeile gehört haben, weil die Z. 2.5 mit dem Zahlwort ρ′ endet.

Z. 2.8: Τύκκ[ι]ος. Von dieser Zeile fehlt das Zahlwort, aber in der Z. 2.9 gibt es ξ′ statt ν′.

Z. 2.23 *ID*: Γάιος Οὐικέριος \⎺ [---].[28] Nach dem Gentiliz finden sich Reste von vier Buchstaben, die zu einer Filiation gehören sollten: wahrscheinlich Λευκ[ίου].

Z. 2.24 *ID*: Λεύκιος ΡΟΥ/⎴[---]. Ferrary et al. 2002: Λεύκιος Ῥου[μ ?-- -].[29] Das Gentiliz zeigt nach ρο drei schwer leserliche Buchstaben, möglicherweise ΡΟΥΛΕ oder ΡΟΣΑΤ. Mit denen wären immerhin nur zwei *hapax*-Namen

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[27] Ferrary et al. 2002, 218 *Tuccii* 1 & 209 *Petronii* 2.

[28] Ferrary et al. 2002, 220 *Vicirii* 1.

[29] Ferrary et al. 2002, 224 Nr. 50.

zu erkennen, *Rūleōnius*[30] (Ῥουλε[ώνιος]) oder *Rusatius*[31] (Ῥοϲά̣τ[ιοϲ]). Infolgedessen muss die Lesung offen bleiben.

8. *EAD* 30, 349: Γάιε Σαλούϲι | Διοϲκουρίδη χρηϲτὲ | χαῖρε. In Ferrary et al. 2002 als Γάιοϲ Σαλούϲ⟨τ⟩ιοϲ Διοϲκουρίδηϲ; das Gentiliz ist als ein korrupter *Sal(l)ustius* oder *Sal(l)uvius* betrachtet worden.[32]

Am Ende des Gentilizes steht ein ε, also ΣΑΛΟΥΣΙΕ. In der Z. 2 ist das ϲ in χρηϲτὲ klein und unten zwischen η und τ geschrieben; vielleicht hat der Steinmetz es erst vergessen. Das Gentiliz bleibt ohnehin noch unklar, besonders weil keine von den vorgeschlagenen *gentes* auf Delos belegt ist:

1) Σαλούϲ⟨τ⟩ιε (*Sal(l)ŭstius*): die Schreibweise ⟨ου⟩ für das kurze lat. /u/ in betonter Position ist in der späthellenistischen Zeit noch selten und somit zweifelhaft.[33]

2) Σαλόυ{ϲ}ιε (*Sal(l)ŭvius*) oder Σάλου{ϲ}ιε (*Salvius*): die Schreibweise ⟨ουι⟩ ist sowohl für lat. /uu̯i/ als auch für /u̯i/ nach /r/ bzw. /l/ in dieser Zeit belegt.[34]

3) Σαλου´ή˙ιε / Σάλου´ε˙ῖε (*Salvēius*): Der Name könnte auch zu einem Gentilizen mit *-ēius* zu korrigieren sein, wobei -ηιοϲ die gewöhnliche Schreibweise wäre. Jedoch zeigen u. A. einige delische Inschriften, dass diese Endung im Griechischen mit -ιοϲ, also vermutlich mit einem langen [ι], vermischbar

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[30] *CIL* IV 2262*; CIL* XI 6082 (s. Solin – Salomies 1994, 156). Weil die Namen mit *-onius* häufig ein langes *ō* haben, ist es wahrscheinlich, dass das *e* kurz ist. Der Vokal der ersten Silbe von *Ruleonius* könnte auch kurz sein, aber hier würde die Schreibung ⟨ου⟩ eher auf einen langen Vokal hinweisen. Dagegen dürfte der erste Vokal von *Rusatius* kurz sein.

[31] Siehe Solin – Salomies 1994, 156.

[32] Ferrary et al. 2002, 212 *Sal(l)ustii ?* mit Anm. 57: "Il y a certainement une faute de gravure sur le gentilice, mais la correction n'est pas assurée : on pourrait aussi penser à un Sal(l)u(v)ius."

[33] Dreimal sicher in der voraugusteischen Zeit: Ῥούβριοϲ in zwei Kopien von einem *senatus consultum*, *RDGE* Nr. 12 Z. 21 und *IK* 24,1 589 Z. 29 (das *senatus consultum* ist 129–100 v. Chr. datiert, aber die beiden Inschriften sind in der Mitte des 1. Jh. v. Chr geschrieben), und *IG* V 1, 1146 (Gytheion; nach 71/0 v. Chr.) Φούλβ[ι]ον πρεϲβευτάν. Fünf Fälle sind in 2.–1. Jh. v. Chr. datiert (*IK* 58, 260, *IThéspies* 1236, *IVelia* 45, *SEG* XXIX 930 & 931). Zum Vergleich: vor Augustus gibt es sieben Fälle mit ⟨υ⟩, aber ⟨o⟩ ist die weitaus häufigste Schreibweise mit 85 Fällen.

[34] Bis zum Ende der augusteischen Zeit ist das intervokalische /u̯/ zwischen kurzem /u/ und /i/ bzw. /e/ elfmal belegt, und neun Fällen zeigen die Schreibweise ⟨ουι⟩ oder ⟨ουε⟩, unter denen zweimal auch *Salluvius* (*IG* XIV 1121 und *IGR* IV 482). Dagegen kommt ⟨οι⟩ zweimal in Sizilien vor: Λανοῖοϲ (*SEG* XXVI 1123) und Λανόϊον (*SEG* LII 888).

war.[35] Dementsprechend könnte das lange ι mit ⟨ει⟩ geschrieben worden sein, besonders zumal σ und ε leichter zu vermischen sind.[36] Nichtsdestoweniger ist der Name *Salvēius* nur einmal in Alba Fucens belegt.[37]

4) Σαλούσιε: Die Lesung des Names könnte auch in Ordnung sein, sodass der Name anderswo unbekannt wäre:[38] *Sal(l)ūsius*?

2. Zwei andere delische Inschriften

Hier nutze ich noch die Gelegenheit, zwei Inschriften ohne römische Namen zu behandeln. Ihre Lesungen haben sich später, als ich meine Photos studierte, als irrtümlich herausgestellt.

9. **ID 1663** Z. 8: καὶ δικαιοσύνης Ἀπόλλωνι → καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ εὐσεβείας Ἀπόλλ<u>ωνι</u>.

10. **ID 2042**: Von den in *ID* publizierten Fragmenten mit leserlicher Schrift steht ein Block, in *ID* das linke Fragment des "épistyle 3", heutzutage merkwürdigerweise zwischen dem "épistyle 1" und dem linken Fragment des "épistyle 2". Das rechte Fragment des "épistyle 2" war schon früher verschollen; darüberhinaus fehlt jetzt auch das rechte Fragment des "épistyle 3".

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[35] *Alicii*: *ID* 2618 b.II.18 und 34 Ἁλικήιος; **Aliceius* ist nicht bekannt. *Allēius*: *ID* 1771 Πρέπων Ἄλλιος Μαάρκου = *Prepon Alleius M. s.* (Ferrary et al. 2002, 187); eher Ἄλλῐος zu akzentuieren. *Volusii*: *ID* 1739 [Ο]ὐολοσήιο[ς], *ID* 2248 Ὀλοσσ[ή]ιος, *EAD* 30, 276 Οὐολόσιε (Ferrary et al. 2002, 221). Da *Volusēius* auch ein bekanntes Gentiliz ist, könnten die Obengenannten vielmehr zu dieser *gens* gehören; also wäre der letzte Οὐολοσῖε. Jedenfalls ist der Geehrte in *ID* 1624, *cos. suff.* 12 v. Chr., ein *Volusius*. Diese Schwankung geht grundsätzlich auf die wohlbekannten griechischen Lautveränderungen der [η] und [ει] zurück. Überdies ist dabei nicht nur eine mögliche Variation in lateinischer Aussprache zu berücksichtigen, sondern auch die Zweideutigkeit der lateinischen Schreibweise ⟨ei⟩ besonders in republikanischen Inschriften: ⟨eius⟩ weist zwar öfters auf *-ēius* hin, aber die Schreibweise schließt nicht ⟨ei⟩ für /i:/ aus.

[36] Bei römischen Namen wäre ⟨ει⟩ für ein kurzes /i/ in der hellenistischen Zeit noch unwahrscheinlich. Im delischen Material erscheint es nur in einem vermutlich korrupt überlieferten Namen Φλουειος (*Fulvius*?), *IG* IV² 2, 1216 (= *EAD* 30, 186).

[37] *CIL* I² 3278.

[38] Ein *Sallusius* in *CIL* VI 8208 ist von einem *monumentum libertorum Q. Sallusti* bekannt, also zweifellos ein *Sallustius*, und in *CIL* VIII 16177 ist die Lesung *Sallusia* unsicher.

Z. 2[ἐπιμ]ελητοῦ τῆ[ς]→ [ἐπιμ]ελητοῦ τῆς
[Κολ]ωνο[ῦ]→ [Κο]λωνοῦ
Z. 3Ν[ικ]ἀρχο[υ τοῦ]→ Ν̱[ικ]ἀρχου τ̱[οῦ]
Z. 4[ἱερέ]ως τοῦ→ [ἱερέω]ς δὲ τοῦ
Ἀν[αφλυστίου]→ Ἀνα̣[φλυστίου]

3. Zwei Bürger mit *tria nomina* auf Thasos und Thera

11. *SEG* XXXI 768

Unter die Inschriften von Thasos sind mir die Namen in *SEG* XXXI 768 (1. Jh. v. Chr.)[39] aufgefallen. Die Inschrift ist ein Graffito auf dem Stylobat eines der zwei Tempel in Aliki, und laut der Lesung sollten die Namen zu drei Personen gehören: Δέκμε, Βασί- | λιε, Ἑρμογένη, | χαι[- - -].[40] Diese Lesung ist in *LGPN* genommen worden, und Βασίλιος ist als Βασίλειος interpretiert.[41]

Dagegen finde ich wahrscheinlich, dass es sich um einen römischen Freigelassenen mit *tria nomina*, also *D. Basilius Hermogenes*, handelt. Dies basiert auf zwei Beobachtungen: Erstens kommt Βασίλειος als griechischer Personenname schwerlich vor der späteren Kaiserzeit vor: neben dieser Person auf Thasos hat *LGPN* 21 andere Belege, von den einer aus den 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr. und drei ungenau aus der Kaiserzeit sind, und die restlichen Fälle sind vom 3. Jh. n. Chr. bis zur byzantinischen Zeit datiert.

Zweitens ist das Gentiliz *Basilius* belegt,[42] besonders oft in Nordafrika, aber auch in Rom in *CIL* VI 13519, mit der Erwähnung von zwei Freigelassenen: *D. Basilius D. l. Alexander | patronus | Basilia D. l. Nice*.[43] Sowohl auf Thasos als auch in Rom haben wir also ein seltenes Gentiliz in Verbindung

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[39] Datierung von *SEG*; Laut J. Servais (1980, 49) ist sie nicht zu bestimmen.

[40] Mit dieser Interpunktion in *SEG*, aber ohne sie bei Servais 1980, 48 Nr. 8 (mit *fig.* 56). Ob Servais die Namen für zur drei Personen oder einer gehörend hält, klärt sich nicht. Die frühere Lesung in *IG* XII 8, 597 lautet: Δέ[κμ]ε Βασίλε[ιε] | [Αἴ]λιε Ἑρμ[ο]γένη | χα[ίρετε].

[41] *LGPN* I Δέκμος 8, Βασίλειος 2 und Ἑρμογένης 53. Βασίλειος 3 mit Verweisung auf *IG* XII 8, 597 und Βασίλειος 2 sind dieselbe Person; ohnehin ist Nr. 3 kaiserzeitlich datiert.

[42] Solin – Salomies 1994, 32; s. auch ähnliche Namen *Bassilius*, *Basselius*.

[43] Nach Solin 2003, 194 & 473 aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr.

mit dem relativ seltenen Vornamen *Decimus*[44], damit irgendwelche Beziehung zwischen diesen *Basilii* in Rom und auf Thasos wahrscheinlich erscheint. Aufgrund dieser Beziehung, der Namenformel und der Buchstabenformen ist die Datierung in *SEG* wohl plausibel, doch könnte die Inschrift auch zur frühen Kaiserzeit gehören.

12. *IG* XII 3, 741

Auf Thera gibt es einen ähnlichen Fall in der Inschrift *IG* XII 3, 741 (Säulchen, kaiserzeitlich[45]): Τίτος. | Αἴθριος. | Εὐδᾶς.[46] Auch hier finde ich eher einen Freigelassenen mit tria nomina, also einen *T. Aetrius Eudas*. Schon W. Schulze hat diesen Namen Αἴθριος für ein Gentiliz gehalten.[47]

Als ein griechischer Personenname wäre dieser Αἴθριος der einzige Beleg auf Griechisch.[48] *Aet(h)rius* seinerseits ist ein wohlbekanntes Gentiliz, und in sieben Inschriften aus Italien finden sich auch *T. Aetrii* oder deren Freigelassene, vier von der letzten republikanischen Zeit bis zum 1. Jh. n. Chr;[49] außerdem ist der Name im Osten meines Wissens dreimal in der Kaiserzeit belegt.[50]

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[44] Salomies 1987, 28.

[45] Weder die Funktion des Gegenstandes noch der Datierungsgrund sind klar, jedoch würden der Inhalt sowie der Gegenstand auf ein Grabdenkmal hinweisen. In *IG* ist die Inschrift ohnehin unter der Kategorie *nomina hominum* anstatt *tituli sepulcrales* geordnet worden.

[46] *LGPN* I Τίτος 5, Αἴθριος 1 und Εὐδᾶς 1.

[47] Schulze 1904, 268; auch Hiller, *IG* XII *Suppl.* S. 89.

[48] Im Lateinischen findet sich doch *Aethrius* zweimal als *cognomen* in *CIL* VI 687 & 32451 (1. und frühes 2. Jh. n. Chr.) sowie ein *Aetrius* in *CIL* VI 23008 (2. Jh. n. Chr.). Zum Vergleich: Αἰθέριος ist einmal in *LGPN* IV und dreimal in *LGPN* Vb belegt, alle nicht früher als 3. Jh. n. Chr., und von Akarnanien (*LGPN* IIIa) ist eine hellenistische Αἰθρία bekannt; außerdem verfügt Αἴθρα über fünf zeitlich und geographisch abgesonderte Belege. Über diese und verwandte Namen s. Solin 2003, 1204; vgl. 574.

[49] In Rom *CIL* VI 37942 (1. Jh. n. Chr. nach Solin 2003, 473); in Sentinum (Umbrien) *CIL* XI 5763 und 5767; in Venetien *IRConcordia* 102. Die späteren drei Inschriften sind *CIL* VI 22600 (2. Jh. n. Chr. nach Solin 2003, 910) & 32520 (159–161 n. Chr.) aus Rom und EDR073479 (= *AE* 1941, 96; 50–200 n. Chr.) wieder aus Sentinum.

[50] Zwei lateinische Inschriften: Rizakis 1998, Nr. 98 (Patrai; 2.–3. Jh. n. Chr.), *IGLS* VI 2966 (138–161 n. Chr.); eine griechische: Delplace – Yon 2005 166 Nr. V.06 (Palmyra; 198–207 n. Chr.). In der letztgenannten ist das Gentiliz mit τ geschrieben.

Das θ des Gentilizes muss natürlich auch betrachtet werden. Eine interessante Parallele ist das Gentiliz *Ant(h)istius* bzw. *Ant(h)estius*, der auf Griechisch in allen fünf voraugusteischen Inschriften Ἀνθε-[51] und erst seit der spätaugusteischen Zeit manchmal Ἀντι-[52] geschrieben ist.[53] Auch später kommt Ἀνθε- in Inschriften und besonders in Papyri am häufigsten vor (s. Tabelle unten). In lateinischen Inschriften schwankt die Schreibweise hauptsächlich zwischen *Antisti-* (564 Belege) und *Ante-* (99), welche sich schon in der republikanischen Zeit finden.[54] Die seltenen Belege von *Anthi-* (7) bzw. *Anthe-* (2) sind frühestens aus der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.

Andere, weniger oft belegte Parallelen sind *St(h)enius* und *Atalius*. Στένιος kommt nur einmal vor, aber schon in 113 v. Chr. in einer Bilingue mit *Stenius*, und Σθενι- ist viermal von der augusteischen Zeit ab belegt.[55] Drei lateinische Inschriften haben *Stheni-* (alle kaiserzeitlich),[56] aber *Steni-* ist jedoch die gewöhnliche Schreibweise mit 32 Belegen.[57] Demgegenüber findet *Atalius* sich in lateinischen Belegen nur mit *Ata-*, aber der einzige griechische Beleg heißt Ἀθάλιος.[58]

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[51] Fünf Inschriften bis zum Tod des Augustus: *IK* 24,1 589 Z. 32 & 46 (Adramytteion, 129–100 v. Chr.); *SEG* XXXVI 583 (Amphipolis, 67/6 v. Chr.); *ICret* II 11, 3 Z. 14, 20, 25 (Diktynnaion, 25–1 v. Chr.); *IG* II/III² 4145 (Ende 1. Jh. v. – Beginn 1. Jh. n. Chr.); *R. gest. div. Aug.* 16,2.

[52] Die drei Belege aus der augusteischen Zeit sind: *IPergamon* 423 und *TAM* V 2, 922 (Thyateira) (beide 2–4 n. Chr.); *SIG*³ 785 (Chios, 4/5 n. Chr.).

[53] In den literarischen Quellen: Ἀνθέστιος Diod. Sic. 15,51,1; Ἀντίστιος Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 4,57,1, 2 & 4.

[54] Ich gebe hier nur überschlägige Zahlen, weil manche Lesungen unsicher sind. Vier Inschriften zeigen die beiden Formen. Von den beiden Schreibweisen kenne ich sieben vorchristlichen Belege: *Antestius CIL* I² 78, 1482, 3286, 3491ab1 & 3491ab2; *AE* 1993, 1008; *AE* 1995, 145; *Antistius CIL* I² 1206, 1312; *CIL* VI 2170; *EE* VIII 206; *IIt* XIII 4; EDR132296 (= *AE* 1986, 130); *AE* 1991, 137.

[55] Mit τ: *ID* 1753 Z. 6. Mit θ: derselbe M. Stenius auf Kos in *IG* XII 4,1 365 (11 v. Chr) und *IG* XII 4,2 674 (14–29 n. Chr.), vielleicht auch *IG* XII 4,2 462 Z. 1?; *SEG* LIX 1203 (Iasos, 37? n. Chr.); *IGR* III 497 (Oinoanda, c. 220 n. Chr.).

[56] *CIL* III 8643 (Spalatum?) und EDR000428 (= *NSA* 1916, 100 Nr. 46b; Rom; 1–150 n. Chr.); *CIL* XI 2451 (Clusium) mit *d(is) m(anibus)*.

[57] Zumindest zwei vorchristliche Belege: die oben erwähnte Bilingue und *CIL* I² 1689 (Tegianum). Über *Stenius* als Vorname und über die Belege mit *h* in literarischen Quellen s. Salomies 1987, 92 und 2008, 35.

[58] *IGR* IV 684 (Sebaste, Phrygien, 88/9 n. Chr.).

Für das θ in Ἀνθέστιος gibt es verschiedene Erklärungen: Th. Eckinger stimmt der "Volksetymologie" zu; E. García Domingo glaubt, dass die römischen Familien ihre Namen "hellenisierten"; L. Threatte schlägt (doch mit Vorbehalt) vor, dass die lateinische Phonologie die Aspiration der lateinischen Konsonante ([c], [p], [t] → χ, φ, θ) verursachen würde; W. Schulze kommentiert Ἀνθέστιος nicht, erklärt aber den Αἴθριος durch eine etruskische Herkunft.[59] Ich halte die volksetymologische Alternative für die attraktivste, weil die Aspiration nur in wenigen Namen zu beobachten ist,[60] und weil es offensichtliche Gegenstücke für Ἀνθέστιος, Αἴθριος sowie Σθένιος gibt.[61] Außer Einzelfällen wie Μᾶρχος[62] kommt allerdings in früheren Zeiten Σολφίκιος dreimal vor, dessen φ sich nicht gleicherweise erklären läßt.[63]

Jedenfalls scheint es zweifellos, dass in der hier behandelten Inschrift *IG* XII 3, 741 Αἴθριος für *Aetrius* in der Namenformel eines Freigelassenen steht. Ohne weitere Informationen ist die genaue Beziehung zu den anderen bekannten *T. Aetrii* festzulegen, besonders weil die Datierung dieser Inschrift sehr vage ist; vielleicht sollte der Gegenstand von neuem untersucht werden.

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[59] Eckinger 1893, 99; er deutet hier auch auf eine Αντισθεια Πιστη (*IG* XIV 1397 = *IGUR* 346) hin, aber die Inschrift ist auf Latein in griechischen Buchstaben geschrieben. García Domingo 1979, 75; vgl. jedoch Leumann 1977, 162f. Threatte 1980, 469. Schulze 1904, 268; s. auch 89 Anm. 1 (*Sthenios*) und 124 Anm. 1 (*Anthestios*).

[60] Auch z. B. *Domesticus* (vgl. Threatte 1980, 469) kommt (wenn nicht abgekürzt) meistens, in 25 Inschriften und in 25 Papyri, als Δομέστικ- bzw. δομέστικ- vor: immer im Westen (7), in Kyrenaika (1), in Ägypten (25) und in Syrien (3), fast immer in Anatolien (13; einmal mit χ) und einmal in Griechenland in Lakonien. Die Schreibweise mit χ findet sich in acht Inschriften: auf den ägäischen Inseln (2) und in Griechenland in Attika (3) und einmal in Böotien und in Makedonien.

[61] S. oben Anm. 48, Eckinger 1893, 99 und Salomies 1987, 92. Beim Σθένιος ist auch zu berücksichtigen, dass es sich in 11 von 12 Belegen in *LGPN* I, II, IIIA und IIIB um einen homonymen griechischen Individualnamen handelt.

[62] *IGLPalermo* 21 (Lilybaion, spätes 1. Jh. v. Chr. – frühes 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

[63] *IG* II/III² 4237 (augusteisch), *IG* IX 2, 836 (Larisa, 1. Jh. v. Chr.?) und *IG* XII 5, 39 (Naxos, 1. Jh. v. Chr.). Σολπ- kommt zehnmal bis zur augusteischen Zeit vor, und danach wird Σουλπ- die gewöhnliche Schreibweise. Eine Ausnahme ist Σουλφιγιανοῖς in *IK* 10,2 1330 (Nikaia, kaiserzeitlich).

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SLEEPING CULTURE
IN ROMAN LITERARY SOURCES

Laura Nissin

Introduction

Understanding the social significance of sleep is fairly recent. The questions of sociological sleep research —how, when, where and with whom people sleep— were first phrased by B. Taylor in 1993 and the premises for sociological sleep study – "*How* we sleep, *when* we sleep, *where* we sleep, what *meanings* we attribute to sleep, *who* we sleep with, are all important socially, culturally and historically variable matters" – have been later refined by S. Williams as well as S. Arber from The Sociology of Sleep group at The University of Surrey.[1]

Historical sleep research, a discipline introduced by Robert Ekirch, attempts to shed light on the "dormant third" of past lives. Ekirch asserts that premodern European sleeping cultures are characterized by dividing sleeping into intervals instead of confining sleep to one solitary block in the night.[2] Whether this phenomenon, called "segmented sleep," can be seen in the Roman evidence, is tackled in this study.

In earlier scholarship on Roman cultural history, sleeping is mentioned occasionally.[3] Groundbreaking work concentrating on ancient Roman night and sleeping as phenomena has been done especially by T. Wiedemann and K. Dowden,[4] and the case of the *cubiculum* (bedroom) has been examined by An-

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[1] Taylor 1993, 463-71, 465; Williams 2005, 1; Williams 2008, 641; *The Sociology of Sleep group* at the University of Surrey: *www.sociologyofsleep.surrey.ac.uk*.

[2] Ekirch 2005, 300-2.

[3] Friedländer 1910, e.g., 335 (in context of medication) and 388-94 (*salutatio*); Veyne 1987, 73.

[4] Wiedemann 2003; Dowden 2003. See also Scioli – Walde 2010. In anthropological research, e.g., Galinier *et al*. 2010.

drew Riggsby and Anna Anguissola.[5] Despite these studies much of the Roman sleeping culture still remains unexplored. I aimed to fill some of these gaps in my previous articles, which concentrate on the uses of *cubicula*, the aspects of privacy in Roman sleeping arrangements and on the sleeping arrangements in an archaeological context.[6]

In this article I pursue a new, cross-disciplinary approach to the social aspects of Roman sleeping culture. I apply the premises introduced in sociological sleep research by asking the research questions -how, when, where and with whom Romans slept, and which social and cultural factors determined these arrangements- drawing on the historical evidence from Latin literature. Sleeping is fundamentally important to the well-being of humans; in order to solve the sleep related problems, it is crucial to understand how sleeping is arranged in different societies past and present. The results of my study will then be useful in several contexts: not only in the field of Classical Studies, but also more generally in research on sleep and sleeping. Even though inspiration for this work comes from sociological sleep research, the methods of the social sciences cannot be applied in historical research as such, due to the scattered nature of the evidence available.

I have gathered relevant texts on sleep and sleeping by using *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (henceforth *TLL*) as well as digital databases such as Brepolis *Library of Latin Texts* widening the net of evidence from studying only one space (*cubiculum*) to general sleeping and resting.[7] In the data mining process, I focused especially on passages which tell us about the actual sleeping habits in the Roman *domus* in urban Roman Italy. Therefore, mythological and philosophical texts, for example, as well as the ones relating to the military are included only rarely, mainly if they reveal some general aspects of the Roman sleeping culture, such as attitudes toward sleeping.[8] Late Republican and (early) Imperial texts are in the majority, but the overall time frame is wide, ranging

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[5] Riggsby 1997 and Anguissola 2010. In social history as well as archaeological research, see, e.g., Leach 1997 and 2004; Wallace-Hadrill 1994; Zaccaria Ruggiu 1995; Carucci 2007; Dickmann 2010.

[6] Nissinen 2009; Nissinen 2012; Nissin 2015.

[7] Walter de Gruyter, Berlin: *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* (*TLL*) *Online* (degruyter.com/db/tll), and Brepols Publishers, Turnhout: *Library of Latin texts* (clt.brepolis.net/llta).

[8] In addition, I have used such sources as *Historia Augusta*, Pseudo-Quintilian's Declamations and Apuleius' Metamorphoses, even though the (historical) accuracy of these texts is doubtful. I believe, however, that these can be used as sources conveying ancient attitudes towards sleeping.

from archaic plays to Late-Antique legal texts with the presumption that ter-
minology and the main aspects of sleeping culture remained for the most part
unchangeable in this time period. Some of these elements might have changed
in Late Antiquity and the possible changes in sleeping culture in Late Antiquity
moving towards the Middle Ages, would need a separate study. However, the
investigation of *cubicula* in Late Antique texts, carried out by K. Sessa, shows
that the early Christian *cubicula* were identified as secluded places for spiritual
intimacy[9] which, to my mind, seems to suggest certain continuity for the role of
the *cubiculum* as a secluded space inside the Roman *domus*.

     Certain themes come up repeatedly, such as moralistic views on sleeping
habits, while other subjects remain marginal. In addition, the sources do not treat
all inhabitants of the Roman world evenly. As has always been the problem for
Roman social historians, the literary sources are written by (elite) men mainly
about (elite) men. However, through their eyes at least some kind of evidence
can be found even on the more marginal groups - women, slaves and children-
and a careful reading of the texts brings forth the secrets of bedrooms and beds,
or as Ausonius puts it, *cubiculi et lectuli operta prodentur*.[10]

     In the first part, I discuss *where Romans slept* by examining what the
sources reveal of the physical surroundings of sleeping and how the settings for
sleeping were formed: bedrooms, beds, furniture and other conditions for sleep-
ing. Then I move on to the users of bedrooms, aiming to answer the question
with whom Romans slept. The scheduling of sleeping, *when Romans slept*, and
some of the more abstract issues on *how Romans slept* and how sleeping as a
phenomenon was seen among Romans form the third part. The privacy provided
for the sleepers, or the lack thereof, is observed as well.[11] The factors behind
these arrangements are further outlined in the conclusions.

     In recent scholarship, a certain consensus on the use of space and the
multifunctionality of Roman houses seems to prevail. This view maintains that
the spaces in Roman houses were multipurpose and no clear function-based
division can be seen. According to the underlying theoretical approach to sleep-
ing, setting aside private, individual and permanent spaces for sleeping was not

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[9] Sessa 2007, 172, 180, 187.

[10] Auson. 358,5 p. 215.

[11] Cf. Riggsby 1997, 44: *cubiculum* as a room for secret activity. Pondering of the privacy and
the use of space in Roman houses, see, e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1988 and 1994, as well as articles in
Laurence – Wallace-Hadrill 1997; Leach 1997; Dunbabin 1994; Hales 2003; Carucci 2012.

a phenomenon pertaining to ancient Roman culture, sleeping could take place wherever one felt like it and beds and bedding were moved around the house.[12] However, based on literary evidence on sleeping and theories of space, there is room for a dissenting view as well, as I argue throughout this article.[13]

The main emphasis of this study is on the private lives of the Romans and the functioning of domestic space in everyday (-night) life, and sleeping forms the core; other bedroom activities play only a minor role. The philosophy of sleep and dreams in ancient thought is also a subject which falls outside the scope of this study.[14]

Where Romans slept: beds and bedrooms

Cubiculum is usually translated as bedroom, even though a somewhat wider role for the room has been proposed. Riggsby claims that *cubicula* do not have one well-defined function.[15] The most important activities taking place in *cubiculum* were rest and sex, and Riggsby further points out that murders and suicides also occurred in *cubicula*.[16] Receiving guests is one of the main functions associated with the *cubiculum*, yet the prevalence of this function has been debated in research.[17] In my opinion, however, there are certain key elements which define *cubicula* and distinguish them clearly from other spaces in the Roman *domus*. Firstly, activities which need a bed form the core of the function of this room. What is important to note is that resting or sexual activities are usually the backdrop for the violent scenes depicted as often taking place in bedrooms. Even while receiving guests, the use of the bed is essential: in many cases the host is bedridden, usually due to illness. Beds also served for seating and for conducting literary activities.[18]

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[12] Outlined especially in Allison 2004, 167. See also other scholars touching the subject: Nevett 1997, 290-1 and 297; Riggsby 1997, 40; Leach 2004, 50; Dickmann 2010, 71; Veyne 1987, 73.

[13] For these questions in archaeological material, see also Nissin 2015.

[14] In Roman material from Cicero's *De Divinatione* to Tertullian (especially *anim*. 43). Recent approaches to the subject, see, e.g., Harris 2009 and Harrisson 2013.

[15] Riggsby 1997, 42.

[16] Riggsby 1997, 37-9, 42; Nissinen 2009, 88-9.

[17] See, e.g., Nissinen 2009, 89-90.

[18] See Nissinen 2009, 89-90 for more on reception as well as note 61 for beds serving as seating,

Secondly, in addition to being used for activities closely related to each other, Roman sleeping areas were also linguistically differentiated. In the light of theories of space, as we know from S. Kent, these are features closely connected to the segmented organization of space, typical of complex societies.[19] Vitruvius' well-known and frequently cited passage 6,5 reveals how the spaces in the Roman house were terminologically distinguished and divided into two opposing categories, *communia* (common, public) and *propria* (one's own). According to Vitruvius, those areas where one could enter without an invitation were *vestibula*, *atria* and peristyles. The *cubiculum* belongs to the latter alongside baths (*balneae*) and dining rooms (*triclinia*). In the literary evidence, a *cubiculum* is often connected with spaces which served for feasting.[20] However, there is a clear distinction between *cubicula* and *triclinia*, further corroborating the linguistic as well as functional differentiation of these spaces. This is notably revealed in texts which contrast noisy feasting and entertainment with peaceful bedchambers,[21] or which hint that the dining room was not the customary place to sleep: people were carried or led from dining room to bedroom after dinner, especially if they were no longer in a condition to continue dining.[22]

Thirdly, the Roman bedchambers were designed for peace, quiet and even secrecy.[23] The juxtaposition of public and private is displayed through the use of the *cubiculum* in the literature; the secluded and secure *cubiculum* is the place for informal dress, unlike the busy city life, which needs a suitable outdoor

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n. 175-6 on convalescent hosts and the section "Burning the midnight oil" for literary activities in bedroom. In addition, see Plin. *epist.* 5,5 for working in bed and Aur. Fronto p.85 v.d.H, hinting the same.

[19] Kent 1990, 127-52.

[20] Riggsby 1997, 37. Ancient sources, e.g. Sen. *epist.* 47,7. See also Sen. *epist.* 95,24. Cf. Zaccaria Ruggiu 2001, 59-101 for a hypothesis that the close connection between *cubicula* and *triclinia* can also be seen in archaeological material.

[21] Varro *Men.* 319 and 337.

[22] Diners escorted to bedroom: Liv. 1,58,1; Cic. *Deiot.* 21; carried: Hist. Aug. *Ver.* 4,8; staying in the dining room contrary to custom: Petron. 85-6; see also note 37 below for the distinction between beds and dining room couches.

[23] Plin. *paneg.* 83; secret activities in a *cubiculum*: Quint. *decl.* 316,16; Apul. *met.* 3,15; a seemingly solitude *cubiculum*: Tac. *ann.* 4,69; connecting secrecy and *cubiculum:* Aug. *serm.* 139; cf. Varro *ling.* 5,162 (separating spaces) and Ov. *ars* 2,617 (secrecy of *thalamus*); see also the section "Security matters: control and protection of sleeping areas" as well as notes 77-8 below.

wear.[24] In the same vein, sleeping was considered a private action (*singularis*).[25] It can be thus concluded that *cubiculum* was a separate, even private bedroom of (elite) *domus*.

Of the other words meaning bedchamber in Latin texts, the closest synonym for *cubiculum* is *thalamus* from Greek. It is the word of choice for poets (mainly for metric reasons), used especially for the room reserved for the bridal bed, the marriage bed itself and as a figurative expression for marriage or engagement,[26] and was a separate and secluded room similar to a *cubiculum*.[27] A room used for resting somewhere other than inside the *domus* or only temporarily, needed a more general term. *Conclave*, which refers to a structure (closed with a key) −just as *cubiculum* implies activity (reclining)−[28] could be used for this purpose. *Conclave* appears as a provisional bedroom, the bedroom in a roadhouse, or as a word for infirmary.[29] *Cella* is the word used for the sleeping area of slaves and the poor.[30]

Even though wealthy Romans had secure bedchambers (and beds), sometimes it was necessary to sleep on the ground and even outside. Sleeping rough was either considered to be brutish or virtuous, depending on the context: the same manner was admirable if it testified to the worthiness of the Roman forefathers or mythical superheroes but deplorable if done by savages and other outsiders to the Roman world.[31] Some writers admired the modest and austere

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[24] Aug. *c. Iulian. op. imperf.* 4,44. Cf. references to suitable attires for different occasions Cic. *fin.* 2,77; Suet. *Vit.* 8; Suet. *Aug.* 73.

[25] Cic. *inv.* 1,40,27.

[26] Riggsby 1997, 37; Leach 1997, 68; Lewis – Short s.v. *thalamus* (ancient sources, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 6,91-4 and 7,92-101).

[27] Cf., e.g., Ov. *ars* 3,223-30: keeping secret behind closed door of *thalamus*; Ov. *ars* 2,260 (a guard / servant in front of the door); Ov. *ars.* 2,617.

[28] Leach 1997, 59.

[29] Ter. *Haut.* 895-907 (temporary bedroom); Cic. *div.* 1,15 (travel); Hist. Aug. *Diad.* 4 (parturition). What is notable is in the medical writings (e.g., Cels. 3,4 etc.), *conclave* seems to be the choice of word for infirmary rather than *cubiculum*, which in this sense is only used by both Pliny the Elder and Pliny the Younger: Plin. *nat.* 30,52; Plin. *med.* 2,13 (however, as the place of sickbed in a private house, *cubiculum* is mentioned often).

[30] *TLL*, vol. III, p. 759, lin. 74 (Sen. *contr.* 7,6,4; cf. Sen. *epist.* 100,6; Cic. *Phil.* 2,67).

[31] Heroic: Heracles in Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 28; Caesar in Suet. *Iul.* 72. Virtuous: Sil. 15,101-12. Brutish: Ov. *met.* 1,628-38; Plaut. *Truc.* 276-80. Barbaric: Tac. *Germ.* 46.

living -including a bed on ground- of ideal ancestors, and opposed it to their own age. [32] However, the seemingly modest manner of life could also be criticized if it revealed fake self display or parsimony.[33] In addition, sleeping outside also appears in military contexts.[34]

Physical aspects of sleeping arrangements

The quintessential piece of bedroom furniture is obviously the bed.[35] In Roman houses, there were different types of household furniture -including beds as well as bedding- for different and specialized purposes. The Roman paraphernalia for sleeping and reclining was very elaborate and versatile and the beds (and bedding) varied from the most luxurious to very humble and poor.[36] All beds were not made the same, and there is a difference between the beds/couches used in bedrooms and the ones used in dining rooms.[37] However, there are no indications that bunk beds or other similar solutions were used.

Beds had many names, which are more or less used interchangeably, but *lectus* (and diminutive *lectulus*), *grabatus* (and its variants) and *torus* refer usually to concrete objects, whereas cubile can also denote more generally a place of rest.[38] *Lectus* is the bed used by real people in a real *domus*, while *cubile*

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[32] Sen. *dial.* 12,10,7; Iuv. 6,1-10.

[33] Sen. *epist.* 5,2; Hor. *sat.* 2,1,117-19.

[34] Liv. 21,4; Sall. *Iug.* 85,34; Sil. 7,292 (cf. opposite Sil. 11,396-414). Cf. also Don. *vita Verg.* 17: sleeping outside in the context of agrarian occupations such as herding.

[35] Of bed and identity, see Aubert – White 1959, II,14. The typology of Roman beds and couches in archaeological contexts has been examined in several extensive studies, see especially Ransom 1905 and Mols 1999.

[36] Of the versatility of beds: Varro *ling.* 5,166–8, 8,16 and 9,45; Isid. *orig.* 20,11. Extravagant and luxurious beds: e.g., Iuv. 6,593-97; Mart. 12,66 and 14,85; Hist. Aug. *Ael.* 5,6-10; humbler: Iuv. 3,190-211 and 11,76-99; Mart. 5,62. For bedding, see section "Bedding and bedroom furniture" below.

[37] Difference in forms, use and terminology: Varro *ling.* 8,16; Rut. Lup. 2,7; Hist. Aug. *Heliog.* 20,4. Cf. *stibadium*, which seems to denote purely a couch used for dining (e.g. Mart. 14,87). Couches elsewhere, e.g., in Cic. *de orat.* 3, 17: *exedra*.

[38] E.g., *cubile* in context of animals: Liv. Andr. *trag.* 33; Liv. 26,13.

could be found in a more imaginary setting.[39] In addition, *cubile* often appears in a military connection.[40]

Grabatus was a humble camp bed which could be used for temporary needs. The distinction between *lecti* and *grabati* was used in literature to symbolize the disparity between the wealthy and the poor.[41] *Graba(t)tus* also appears several times in a Biblical context and it is the choice of word for the portable bed in the well-known passage in the Vulgate "Get up, pick up your pallet and walk."[42] However, the Roman *grabatus* had legs.[43] It is possible that some mats and pallets were used for sleeping in Roman Italy as well, especially by slaves, but the evidence is wanting.[44]

Bed was not just an object for the Romans, it carried certain connotations. In literature, bed was also used metaphorically, especially as symbol of partnership and love;[45] this connection is common to *lectu(lu)s*, *torus* and *cubile*.[46] *Grabatus* seems to have been too humble for an allegory of marriage. An empty bed was used to emphasize loneliness.[47] A Roman bed could be used in literature to represent chastity[48] as well as debauchery.[49] In addition, beds, similarly to bedrooms, were meant for rest, quiet, *otium* and even *secretum*.[50]

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[39] Cf. Ov. *ars* 2, 475; mythological texts: Sen. *Herc. O.* 1440; Verg. *Aen.* 6,268-84. See also Fest. p. 348.

[40] E.g. Liv. 9,37, 25,9 and 25,24.

[41] Forms *grabatus* (*grabattus*), *grabatum* (-*ttum*): *TLL*, vol. VI 2, p. 2127, lin. 75 - p. 2129, lin. 16. Role of *grabatum/-us*: Cic. *div*. 2,129; Varro *ling.* 8,16,32; Moret. 1; Sen. *epist.* 18,7,55 and 20,9,63; Mart. 4,53, 6,39 and 12,32. Other such words for bed as *cama* (*TLL*, vol. III, p. 200, lin. 36 - p. 200, lin. 40) and *scimpodion* (Gell. 19,10,1), were however excluded from this study, since they occur so rarely.

[42] Vulg. *Ioh*. 5,8.

[43] Mart. 12,32.

[44] Mats: Mart. 6,39 and 9,92; Iuv. 6,117.

[45] Connected to marriage: e.g. Mart 4,13 and 4,22; cf. Mart. 10,38 (bed as witness of marriage); Ov. *met.* 1,353; Prop. 4,11,85 (new marriage).

[46] Marital beds were called, e.g., *lectus / torus genialis*, *matrimonialis lectulus* (Cic. *Cluent.* 14; Ps. Quint. *decl.* 1,13; Plin. *paneg.* 8).

[47] Lucan. 5,799-810; Ov. *am.* 2,10,17. Cf. Catull. 66,15-20.

[48] Verg. *Aen.* 8,412; Val. Fl. 2,137.

[49] Iuv. 6,21-2; Prop. 3,20,25-6; Catull. 6.

[50] Center of repose: Catull. 31,1-25; Cic. *Catil.* 4,2; *otium*: Mart. 10,30,17; Plin. *epist.* 9,7,4;

Bedding and bedroom furniture

Elaborate bedding was used mainly by the elite, but not limited only to them. Covers, pillows and bolsters were varied and the vocabulary reflected this diversity.[51] The verb for preparing a bed is *sterno*, which in many cases seems to be used in the context of preparing couches for reclining at dinner,[52] implying that the dining room couches were not furnished with covers/pillows other times of the day. On the other hand in the context of a bedroom, it seems to denote a bed made purposefully for someone.[53] Beds made for certain occasions -such as death beds- may have been more elaborately made than the nightly berths.[54] Decorating a bed with, for instance, leaves, was not unknown.[55] Bed coverings were also suitable gifts.[56]

Even though austerity in sleeping arrangements was considered a virtue, and the moralist voices were raised against opulence,[57] comfortable, even luxurious furnishings were favored. Lavish sleeping arrangements are not surprising in imperial context or in the houses of the elite, and fine bed / couch covers were even used as a means of showing off.[58] However, relatively comfortable furnishings could have been found occasionally in humbler locations.[59]

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secretum: Sen. *epist.* 72,2 (yet, from him we learn the opposite as well, a bed made for display: Sen. *dial.* 9,1,59).

[51] E.g., words just for a cushion: *cervical*, Isid. *orig.* 19,26; Mart. 14,150; *culcita*, Suet. *Claud.* 35; *pulvinus*, Suet. *Otho* 11,1; Ov. *epist.* 18,195; *pulvillus*, Apul. *met.* 10,20; or for bed covering: *cadurcum*, Iuv. 7,221; *cubicularia polymita, gausapina*, Mart. 14,150; *lodix*, Mart. 14,146-8; *pallium*, Prop. 4,8; *stragulum*, Suet. *Claud.* 35; Plin. *nat.* 8,226; Suet. *Nero* 47,3; *stroma*, Hist. Aug. *Ver.* 4,9; *tapete*, Liv. 40,24,7; *vestis*, Petron. 26. etc.

[52] E.g., Plaut. *Stich.* 2,2,33; Cic. *Mur.* 75.

[53] Ter. *Haut.* 5,1,902-3; Plin. *epist.* 7,27,4.

[54] Val. Max. 2,6,8 (set in Greek context).

[55] Plin. *nat.* 20,152 (medical purposes); Plin. *nat.* 24,59 (Greek custom); cf. Hist. Aug. *Car.* 17,3.

[56] Mart. 14,146-62.

[57] Hist. Aug. *Aur.* 2,6; Amm. 22,4,6; Cic. *Phil.* 2,67.

[58] E.g., Hor. *epod.* 8; Mart. 10,14,6; Hist. Aug. *Ael.* 5,6-10; Hist. Aug. *Heliog.* 19,1 and 20,4-9 (Catull. 64); showing off: Mart. 2,16.

[59] Cic. *Phil.* 2,67; Suet. *Vit.* 16.

Other Roman bedroom furniture consists mainly of seats, which seem to have been easily movable and placed in rooms when needed.[60] Beds also served for seating.[61] Other pieces of furniture were different kind of repositories (keeping one's personal and valuable objects in the bedroom is also known in the literature), lamps[62] and chamber pots (*matellae*) which were not necessarily present in bedchambers, but brought in by slaves, summoned by snapping fingers,[63] and possibly footstools of different sizes as well as tables and tableware.[64] Riggsby also claims that *cubiculum* was an appropriate place for display of art works,[65] and while certain sources do confirm that decorating bedrooms was not unknown, some of the literary passages suggest that hiding precious art in private chambers was actually frowned upon.[66]

As I have argued already earlier, the Roman use of elaborate beds and bedding resemble the characteristics of sleeping habits attributed to modern societies in anthropological research.[67] This evidence also challenges the proposition by Ekirch, who claims that European beds developed from pallets and mats during the 15th and 17th centuries.[68]

Surroundings of sleep

One of the research questions is how the quality of sleep is affected by the environment, the temperature, lighting and sounds.[69] The literary evidence reveals

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[60] Cato *agr.* 10,4; Sen. *clem.* 1,9,7; Val. Max. 2,5,2.

[61] Suet. *Dom.* 11,1; Cic. *rep.* 1,17.

[62] See below, n. 73.

[63] Storage, e.g., Plin. *epist.* 2,17; Suet. *Tib.* 43; cf. Ps. Quint. *decl.* 1,3; Tac. *ann.* 15,55 and Prop. 3,6; see also Riggsby 1997, 42, n. 40. Books in bed, Hor. *epod.* 8 and Hist. Aug. *Ael.* 5,6-10 (cf. Suet. *Tib.* 43-4). Pots: Mart. 14,119 and 6,89; cf. bedwetting theme in a Pompeian inscription: *CIL* IV 4957.

[64] Footstools are known especially in the context of dining, Varro *ling.* 5,35,167; Ov. *ars* 2, 211 and evidence for tables comes from Apuleius (*met.* 2,15).

[65] Riggsby 1997, 38.

[66] E.g. Plin. *nat.* 34,62; Suet. *Nero* 19,3 and 25.

[67] Nissinen 2012, 3, 9; Worthmann – Melby 2002, 106.

[68] Ekirch 2005, 274. Whether there was an actual discontinuation in the use of real beds in the Middle Ages, would be an interesting research question for a Mediaevalist.

[69] Galinier *et al.* 2010, 823.

that Roman sleeping areas were designed to be dim, but placed so that natural light could be used in the mornings.[70] *Caecum* (blind), *opacum* (shady) and *obscurum* (obscure) were words associated with *cubicula,*[71] yet light might enter through a window or the cracks in the shutters.[72]

Artificial light, provided by lamps and torches as well as wax and tallow candles, was used to continue the day into the night.[73] If only theses lamps could speak to us, they would also shed light on the actions taking place in bedrooms.[74] Bringing light into a dark room is a recurring theme in literature;[75] suspense can be created by an interplay of light and dark; the secrets of darkness are revealed by the flickering light.[76]

In addition, the wealthiest Romans preferred peaceful bedchambers and demanded silence in sleeping areas.[77] *Cubicula* were designed for quietude, contrasting the busy and noisy public life and demands of such social duties as hosting banquets.[78] This, in my opinion, further confirms that Romans desired privacy, but also underlines the fact that it was achievable mainly by the elite members of society.

Even though, for some, the chosen sleeping areas were quiet, sleep could be interrupted in numerous ways; noisemakers included barking dogs, slaves and even schoolmasters.[79] A wealthy houseowner could require the servants to quiet down, yet unsolicited intimacy was created even in elite living quarters, as attested by Cicero who heard his neighbor snoring in the night! And as he states,

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[70] Instructions on locating bedrooms: Vitr. 1,2,7 and 6,4,1. References to dimness: Tac. *ann.* 14,8; Hist. Aug. *Tac.* 4,7; Iuv. 7,105; Plin. *epist.* 5,6,22.

[71] Varro *ling.* 9,58; Plin. *epist.* 7,21; Sen. *epist.* 82,14. The *obscurum* in Suet. *Tit.* 1,1 seems to be figurative.

[72] Pers. 3,1-2; Prop. 1,3.

[73] Apul. *met.* 4,19 (see also Apul. *met.* 2,24-6 and 10,20). Sources closer to Roman Italy, e.g., Cic. *div.* 1,79 and 40; Mart. 14,39; Prop. 2,15.

[74] Mart. 10,38; Amm. 25,4,6.

[75] E.g., Tac. *ann.* 14,44; Ps. Quint. *decl.* 2,19; Val. Max. 1,7,7; Ov. *fast.* 2,352-3.

[76] Phaedr. 3,10,25-30.

[77] Plin. *epist.* 2,17, 22-5; Sen. *epist.* 56, 6-7. Cf. Hermen. Celtis *coll. (M)* 12.

[78] Varro *Men.* 319 and 337; Varro *ling.* 9,58; Hist. Aug. *Tac.* 4,7.

[79] Dogs: Iuv. 6,415-23 (cf. Ov. *am.* 2,19,35-45); a slave: Petron. 68; schoolmaster: Mart. 9,68. On Martial's attitude to schoolmasters, see, e.g., Henriksén 2012, 285. See also Prop. 2,19 (shouts in the night). Cf. Iuv. 9, 101-10, for desire for peace and privacy left wanting.

we do not cease hearing even in sleep.[80] The *Lex Iulia Municipalis* suggests that rattling carts produced a noisy nighttime environment.[81] Many city dwellers decided to leave the capital city in search of peace,[82] but the humbler residents had to settle for disturbed night.[83]

Seasonal changes were taken in consideration especially in the building schemes of wealthy villa owners who could boast of having heated bedrooms for winter use.[84] However, in some cases, even the rich and powerful suffered from the cold in their bedrooms.[85] Not only cold but also heat troubled sleepers; ways of dealing with it were for example sleeping with the bedroom doors open, sleeping outside and fanning.[86]

Security matters: control and protection of sleeping areas

The degree of seclusion in Roman sleeping areas was high, as is revealed by the many references to doors and closing in texts.[87] Bedrooms could and should be and indeed were closed to maintain privacy. An invitation was, in many cases, needed for getting into a bedroom[88] and entering bedchambers without permission seems to have been disapproved.[89] Admittance was usually based on famil-

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[80] Cic. *Att.* 4,3,4; Cic. *nat. deor.* 2,143-4.

[81] Lex *Iul. munic.* 64 (see also 52).

[82] Hor. *epist.*1,17,6 and 2,2,79; Mart. 12,57.

[83] Iuv. 3,232-41.

[84] Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 3,1,2; Plin. *epist.* 2,17 and 5,6,23.

[85] Aur. Fronto p. 85 v.d.H.

[86] Suet. *Aug.* 82.

[87] See Nissinen 2009, 91; Plaut. *Stich.* 308-10; Apul. *met.* 1.7-15; Catull. 66,15-20; Verg. *Aen.* 4,134-5; Ov. *ars* 3,223-30; Hist. Aug. *Heliog.* 14,5-7: curtain.

[88] Vitr. 6,5; Nissinen 2009, 91. In addition, neutral verbs (*perventum*: Verg. *georg.* 4,374), implying invitation (*ducitur*: Ov. *met.* 10,456-60), violent (*inrumpunt*: Verg. *Aen.* 6,515-30). Slightly more ambiguous are such expressions as *invado* (Verg. *Aen.* 6,623) or *offendo* (Gell. 19,10,1). The same word could be used for a familiar person rushing into a bedchamber or as evidence of forcing a way as in Suet. *Claud.* 37: *Narcissus .... patroni cubiculum inrupit / inrumpere Appius nuntiatus. Intro* could be used either in the neutral sense of entering or for a forcing way in (see, e.g., Liv. 7,39). Forceful entries in, e.g., Petron. 11; Tac. *ann.* 1,39 (also Apul. *met.* 1.7-15, 4,18-9).

[89] Hier. *epist.* 22; cf. Ov. *ars* 3,223-30 hinting how a closed bedroom provided seclusion for sleepers even if there were others awake in the house.

iarity, and it seems that family members had easy access to each other's rooms.[90] Nonetheless, the elaborate closing systems and physical security of houses were not always enough to keep intruders away and forceful entries were known to take place. The possibility of falling victim to murder was a real one; several texts reveal murders and manslaughter taking place in the night and even in the assumed safety of one's *cubiculum*.[91] In addition, fires and apartments made of flimsy materials made sleeping dangerous for the less affluent Romans and appealing for neighborly help was used as a way of safeguarding sleepers.[92]

Boundaries were also needed to regulate love affairs and to keep eager lovers outside.[93] Slaves and servants might have helped lovers by assisting in moving about the bedrooms as well as with the regulation of space by announcing visitors, carrying messages and guarding.[94]

With whom the Romans slept

Cosleeping adults

One of the main aims in sleep research is to figure out the relationship between solitary sleeping and cosleeping and clarify the ways of cosleeping: do children and their parents share a bedroom, are partners sleeping together or are other types of solutions, for example, several adults sharing a sleeping area, employed. As has been shown in previous scholarship, cosleeping with one's partner was typical for Romans but separate sleeping occurred in certain specific situations.[95] Based on the evidence, it can be asserted that urban Romans, especially members of the upper class, chose their bedfellows carefully, and communal sleeping as such was not practiced in the *domus*.

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[90] Cic. *Sull.* 52 (cf. Nep. *Dion* 9 in non-Roman setting); Suet. *Nero* 34; Ov. *epist.* 12,62 (mythological setting).

[91] Riggsby 1997, 39-40.

[92] Iuv. 3,5-10, 3,190-211 and 15,151-59.

[93] Hor. *carm.* 1,25; Ov. *am.* 2,19; of this "shut-out lover" motif, see more in Canter 1920, 355-68.

[94] Tac. *ann.* 13,44; Ov. *epist.* 21,19-20; Petron. 129.

[95] See Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 113; Anguissola 2010, 43; Nissinen 2012, 17-8.

The chosen bedfellow for a Roman was the spouse or lover.[96] Other types of cosleeping arrangements are also known, for instance, adult family members and even in-laws occasionally shared a bedroom.[97] These accounts are often used to emphasize the virtuous nature of certain people, e.g., an adult daughter sleeping aside with her mother is displayed as a model of filial duty and a widow who refuses to remarry and decides to share the bedroom with her mother-in-law embodies the moral model for a Roman woman (*univira*[98]). Sometimes the bed is shared with a dog. This habit is not a modern concept, but already known in antiquity.[99] Otherwise, adult humans might have shared sleeping areas in such special contexts as the military or traveling, or possibly even in a temple attending a service of god.[100]

Sharing a bed usually reveals an intimate relationship between the users.[101] Lovers even share narrow beds[102] and some texts hint that preferred sides were established.[103] Moreover, the bed might become more crowded when a couple shares not only the bed, but also a lover.[104]

Couples might have slept separately in order to follow religious rites and to obtain purity.[105] This practice seems to have vexed the lovers who were thus left alone.[106] Accounts of spouses or lovers sleeping apart reveal a variety of

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[96] E.g. Iuv. 6,114-24; Mart. 4,13, 8,44, and 10,38; Plaut. *Amph.* 513; Prop. 1,8B.

[97] Hier. *epist.* 108, 27-8 (adult daughter and mother); Val. Max. 4,3,3 (in-laws); Cic. *S. Rosc.* 65 (father and his adolescent sons).

[98] See more, e.g., in Lightman – William 1977, 19-32.

[99] Mart. 1,109; Prop. 4,3.

[100] Cf. Nissinen 2012, 5 for military. Travels, e.g., Mart. 3,91; Apul. *met.* 1.6-15 and 1.7-15; in Cic. *inv.* 2,14-15 and 2,43, two men decide to share a bedroom in an inn, since they have made friends during the journey. Suet. *Aug.* 94: matrons gathered for attending a service of Apollo. Of "incubation", see more, e.g., in Graf 2015.

[101] E.g., in Plaut. *Most.* 320-30; Plaut. *Poen.* 695; Plaut. *Amph.* 806-8 (cf. *Amph.* 513).

[102] Prop. 1,8b,33 (see also Prop. 3,10 and 3,21).

[103] Lucan. 5,809-10. Cf. Prop. 4,3; Hor. *epod.* 3,22; Ov. *am.* 2,10; Mart. 3,91.

[104] Mart. 12,91.

[105] Tib. 1,3,25-6; cf. Ov. *am.* 3,9,34 and 3,10,1-16; Ov. *fast.* 2,328; Liv. 39,10; Prop. 2,33.

[106] Prop. 1,12,14; cf. Prop. 2,33c.

marital problems, such as quarrels and unwanted partners,[107] and remind us how personal preferences have played their part in sleeping arrangements as well.

The Roman *domus* were inhabited by large *familiae*, which included not only the nuclear family, but servants, slaves and free(d), as well.[108] According to the social sciences, certain normative rules dictating sleeping areas can be detected.[109] For instance, Schwartz argues that among families, individuals are often assigned a place to sleep corresponding to their authority.[110] Based on the sources,[111] I contend that the hierarchy within families and the social status of the inhabitants played a part in Roman sleeping arrangements as well; it seems reasonable to assume that the head of the household had the final say in the matter.

In earlier research, a *cubiculum* has been interpreted as a space used not only by the elite members of the household, but populated by the servants of the house as well,[112] even though certain scholars do acknowledge the relative privacy of *cubicula*.[113] Slaves were obviously allowed in *cubiculum* to perform their duties[114] but dismissed when privacy was needed.[115] What is important to note, is that that household slaves on duty at night seem to have been stationed *outside* the master bedroom (but within earshot), rather than sleeping inside,[116]

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[107] Disregard: Cic. *Att.* 5,1; Suet. *Tib.* 7; possibility of adultery: Catull. 61,101-5; unattractive partner: Mart. 11,23. Nocturnal quarreling: e.g., Iuv. 6, 34-5.

[108] Cf. *contubernium* in TLL, vol. IV, p. 791, lin. 52 - p. 794, lin. 11 and *contubernalis* TLL, vol. IV, p. 789, lin. 64 - p. 791, lin. 46. On the nature of *contubernales* in Pliny, see, e.g., Gibson – Morello 2012, 140 and on the social status of, e.g., wet nurses, see Bradley 1986.

[109] See especially Aubert – White 1959, 13-15.

[110] Schwartz 1970, 496.

[111] E.g., Cic. *Verr. II* 5, 93-4; Cic. *div.* 1,59 (see also Sen. *epist.* 56, 6-7).

[112] See, e.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1988, 78.

[113] Riggsby 1997; Anguissola 2010.

[114] E.g. Cic. *Verr.* 2,5,27; Cic. *rep.* 1,18; Suet. *Dom.* 17; Val. Max.1,7,7 and 3,2,15; Hermen. Celtis *coll. (M)* 2 for servant(s) assisting a child with morning routines.

[115] Sen. *dial.* 6,22,6; Sen. *clem.* 1,9,7; Plin. *epist.* 1,12.

[116] Ov. *ars* 2,260; Apul. *met.* 2,15; Ps. Quint. *decl.* 1,3; Sil. 1,66 and Ov. *met.* 10,380-5 (servants staying on threshold); Plin. *epist.* 6,16,13 and *Dig.* 29,5,3,2 (slaves are in reach of their masters, but do not sleep in the same bedroom). Cf. also a special watch-keeping duty of the so-called *excubiae* (lying down outside while on guard); in an imperial and regal context: Curt. 8,6,18 and 8,6,22; Suet. *Galba* 10,3; in a private house: Tac. *ann.* 14,4,4. Cf. also accounts where force is necessary

which, in my opinion, yet again attests to the desire for privacy on the part of the
Roman masters, overlooked in earlier research. Slaves were expected to keep
silent if so ordered,[117] demonstrating how peace and quiet in bedchambers were
sought after by the elite masters.

Persons who could be found in the vicinity of the master and his bedroom
were his doctor and chamberlain (*cubicularius*) and it seems that the *cubicu-
larius* might have been in control of access to the master and was expected to
guard his master.[118] However, the full role of a *cubicularius* remains somewhat
uncertain; the name is seldom mentioned in Republican texts and later, in the
imperial era, *cubicularius* and similar terms derived from *cubiculum* were used
for imperial functionaries rather than servants in a private household.[119] The
texts do not really give away whether the *cubicularius* actually slept *inside* the
bedroom with his master.

Servants had, unsurprisingly, less freedom to decide their sleeping ar-
rangements and their sleeping conditions varied, being sometimes really un-
comfortable.[120] In many cases, the movement and living quarters of slaves were
tightly controlled and the opportunity of choosing a bed fellow was limited.[121]
Ideal slaves should remember their duties even in their sleep.[122] Illness seems to
have been a suitable excuse for slaves to stay in bed, at least if Plautus[123] is to
be believed and slaves who slept well were even favored by some masters.[124] A
topos of insouciant and carefree slaves, who sleep well no matter what troubles

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for entering the bedroom: Ps. Quint. *decl*.2,19; Bell. *Afr*. 88. Summoning a slave: Mart. 14,119 and
6,89; Plin. *epist*. 9,36.

[117] Sen. *epist*. 56; Hermen. Celtis *coll. (M)* 12.

[118] *TLL*, vol. IV, p. 1265, lin. 35 - p. 1266, lin. 25 (of the role of a *cubicularius*, especially Char.
gramm. I 76, 21, Alf; *Dig*. 50, 16, 203; Cic. *Att*. 6,2,5); cf. *ostiarius* in Hermen. Celtis *coll. (M)* 12 6.

[119] Rolfe 1963, 35 and *TLL*, IV, 1267, 68 (e.g. Suet. *Dom*. 16; Amm. 14,10,5 and 16,7; Cod. Theod.
6,8,1, 11,18,1 and 10,10,34). See also a rare occurrence in a private house: Quint. *decl*. 328.

[120] See, e.g., Colum. 1,6; Hor. *sat*. 1,8,8; Nissinen 2012, 13, 22.

[121] E.g., in villas, see Cato *agr*. 5: everyone had their own place to sleep and the overseer kept watch.
See also Colum. 8,11 and 8,14; Varro *rust*. 1,13,2. In Cato *agr*. 13 free servants slept on a shared bed
in the pressing room and slave slept with oil-pressers.

[122] Plaut. *Aul*. 591.

[123] Plaut. *Cas*. prologus 35-40.

[124] Plut. *Vit. Cat. Mai*. 21.

might disturb the master, is not uncommon.[125] Totally contrasting stories are the ones which tell of slaves who are murdered in private houses or are killed in their master´s stead.[126]

Sleeping arrangements for children

It seems that the best place in a Roman house to rear newborns was assessed case-specifically; a place for an infant was prepared in a room which best met the requirements outlined by the medical authorities. According to Soranos, the sleeping area for an infant should be warm enough, but well ventilated and protected with mosquito nets.[127] In addition, Soranos claims that in order to avoid suffocation, babies should not sleep in the same bed with their carers, but in a crib which should be placed alongside the nurse's bed, so that the child is as close to the adult as possible - a view on cosleeping which is later repeated by some of his modern counterparts. Otherwise, he gives instructions to furnish cribs with moderately soft mattresses, depressed in the middle, in order to keep the baby from rolling out, and to stuff mattresses with leaves to yield a nice scent.[128]

Roman babies slept in cribs called *cunae* and (*in*)*cunabula*, which could be uses as synonyms.[129] *Cunae* were movable objects; the rocking was important, as we know, for example, from the instructions to nurses.[130] Wickerwork baskets (bassinets) were used as well, as is attested by certain works of art.[131] *Incunabula* also seem to denote a specific area for rearing children (nursery),[132] though the word clearly appears more often metaphorically as the origin or beginning of things or as symbol of infancy. Infants were guarded by the appropri-

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[125] Ps. Quint. *decl.* 2,19; Mart. 9,92. See also Plaut. *Asin.* 430.

[126] Cic. *Cluent.* 64,179; Val. Max. 6,8,5-6.

[127] Sor. *Gyn.* 2,16.

[128] Sor. *Gyn.* 2,37. E.g., The American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP) recommends room-sharing without bed-sharing (Task Force on Sudden Infant Death Syndrome 2011).

[129] *Cunabula*, *TLL*, vol. IV, p. 1388, lin. 40 - p. 1389, lin. 64, *cunae, TLL*, vol. IV, p. 1389, lin. 65 - p. 1390, lin. 52, *incunabula*, *TLL*, vol. VII 1, p. 1077, lin. 62 - p. 1078, lin. 59.

[130] E.g., Sor. *Gyn.* 2,40; cf. Fest. p. 194; Plut. *Mor.* fr. 96.

[131] Coulon 1994, 47-8. See also Sorabella 2007, 353-72.

[132] Cic. *fin.* 5,20; cf. *nutrimentorum locus* in Suet. *Aug.* 6.

ate goddess *Cunina*, and crying babies were soothed by lullabies.[133] Children might have been taken care of by nurses rather than their mothers - a practice disdained by certain noblemen- even though also mothers are known to be the primary carers of infants.[134]

In wealthy families infants slept in luxurious furnishings and were visited by close friends of the family.[135] It has been suggested in some studies that only the wealthiest families had separate beds for infants (cradles) and in poorer families children slept with their parents or nurses.[136]

Albeit the evidence is sparse, it seems to me that the older children of affluent families as well as the imperial children could have slept in separate bedchambers. They were also assisted by teachers/carers in the mornings when they were expected to go and greet their parents.[137] On the other hand, cosleeping between parents and their children[138] as well as among siblings is known from some sources.[139] On some occasions older children were sleeping under the watchful eyes of their parents,[140] and sometimes without any supervision whatsoever.[141] *Paedagogium* is a word used for the sleeping quarters of young slave boys, even though the term is fairly rare.[142]

In the light of this evidence, it can be argued that children were taken into consideration in arranging sleeping in the Roman domestic space, which

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[133] Lact. *inst*. 1,20,36; Aug. *civ*. 4,8; Pers. 3,18; cf. Cic. *Cato* 83; Arnob. *nat*. 7,32: *nenia*.

[134] Suet. *Aug*. 94 (*nutricula*); Auson. 164, 9 (mother). On the moralist judgments regarding mothers not nursing and rearing infants themselves, see especially Tac. *dial*. 28,4: *Nam pridem suus cuique filius, ex casta parente natus, non in cellula emptae nutricis, sed gremio ac sinu matris educabatur, cuius praecipua laus erat tueri domum et inservire liberis* and Gell. 12,1: *Quod est enim hoc contra naturam inperfectum atque dimidiatum matris genus, peperisse ac statim a sese abiecisse… non alere nunc suo lacte*. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 10 and Rawson 2003, 216.

[135] Iuv. 6,88-9; Ov. *Pont*. 2,3,72. Cf. Rawson 2003, 108-9.

[136] Coulon 1994, 47-8.

[137] Tac. *ann*. 11,11 and 12,68,2 (imperial context); Quint. *decl*. 328 (adolescent brothers); Hermen. Celtis *coll. (M)* 2 (private house, assisting servants).

[138] Sen. *contr*. 7,5,1.

[139] Cic. *Cael*. 36; Plin. *epist*. 7,27,12-5 (servile context); Apul. *met*. 4,26 (among cousins, relevance to Roman sleeping arrangements is doubtful).

[140] Phaed. 3,10,21; cf. Aug. *serm*. 105A 774,12.

[141] Petron. 86,5-6.

[142] Plin. 7,27,13.

coincides well with the idea on recent research of Roman families, especially done by B. Rawson who affirms that children were welcome, valued and visible in Roman society.[143]

When Romans slept: scheduling sleep

Morning

Societies without alarm clocks have relied on cockerels to announce the dawn.[144] Humble farmers as well as servants of wealthier houses were aroused from sleep and set to work by the crowing of the cocks. Servants had the duty to wake up their masters and assist in the morning rituals, which consisted mainly of the toilette and dressing.[145] Other morning activities could include reading and writing.[146]

Even though slaves were ordered to wake up their masters, in Roman thinking it was the noble men who were given credit for rising early.[147] Sleeping late was scorned and stories which emphasized the indolence of masters were use as means of vilifying opponents.[148] Regulating the sleeping schedule in houses depended on the wishes and needs of the master. Augustus is said to have found the early rising displeasing, especially if he had been interrupted in the night (he often stayed awake at night, and preferred to have company at that time), he liked to sleep a bit later in the morning, yet even he is said to have confined his hours of sleep to seven at most. If he had some duties to perform early in the morning, he would stay overnight at some friends, who lived close to where he was heading in the morning.[149] A good father -according to Seneca-

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[143] Rawson 2010, 1.

[144] E.g., Cic. *Mur*. 22; Lucr. 4,710-1.

[145] On farm: Moret. 1. Slaves in private houses: Hermen. Celtis *coll. (M)* 2, 12 (especially, *in galli cantu excitate me*). For the discussion of the origins of this collection of bilingual school books known as *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, see Dickey 2012. Ablutions and toilette, e.g., Prop. 3,10; Ov. *ars* 3,223-30.

[146] Aur. Fronto p.61-62 v.d.H.

[147] Dowden 2003, 140-50.

[148] Cic. *Att*. 10,13; cf. Pers. 3,1-11.

[149] Suet. *Aug*. 72 and 78. Cf. Schwartz 1970, 493 on sleeping "under another roof". See also Cic.

ordered that his children be woken up early, so they would not waste time in taking up their studies.[150] Sleeping until daybreak was a pleasure for some, but it could not always be achieved in the busy capital city. Horace, for instance, acknowledged the burdens which came along with ambition and enjoyed the fact that he did not have to get up early.[151]

One special feature of Roman society was the *salutatio*, a ritualized morning greeting where free Roman citizens visited their wealthy patrons. The nature of this institution and the *patronus-cliens* relationship has been debated in numerous studies.[152] The importance for sleep research of looking at this custom is to find out how this practice shaped the use of space in the early mornings.

It has been debated whether a *cubiculum* was a place for reception in general. The evidence for bedrooms being used during morning greetings is indefinite.[153] There are certain passages which do seem to imply the existence of this practice, e.g., the elder Pliny's (*nat.* 15,38) otherwise ambiguous mention of *virorum salutatorium cubiculum*.[154] It seems, however, that the whole household was not always up when the greetings took place.[155]

Salutatio occurred in the early morning in the first hours of the day or even before sunrise to the displeasure of some.[156] The poet Martial especially found the early rising a nuisance, and wished to be able to sleep late instead of waking up and toiling to get to his patron(s), sometimes only to find his efforts in vain.[157] He ended up leaving Rome to escape the stressful life of a client. It

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Verr. II 5, 93-4 for regulating the schedule.

[150] Sen. *dial.* 1,2,5.

[151] Hor. *sat.* 1,6,115-32; cf. Hor. *epist.* 1,17,6. Cf. Tac. *dial.* 13,6.

[152] Recent approaches, e.g., Goldbeck 2010 and Speksnijder 2015.

[153] On differing views in earlier research, see e.g. Nissinen 2009, 89-90, cf. also Goldbeck 2010, 143-4 on *cubicula* during *salutatio*.

[154] See also Cic. *off.* 3,112 (also Val. Max, 5,4,3 and Liv. *perioch.* 7) for a possible, yet uncertain account of morning *salutatio*.

[155] However, the evidence for this is meager, see Hier. *epist.* 22.

[156] Mart. 4,8 and 12,29; Iuv. 3,127-30. On the duration of *salutatio* see, e.g., Laurence 1994, 125.

[157] Mart. 4,26 and 5,22.

is quite clear what he wished to do instead: *Quid concupiscam quaeris ergo? dormire*.[158] The desire for rest is a recurring theme in his writings.[159]

On the other hand, uncaring patrons also appear in the sources. Seneca and Cicero for example moralize on the patrons who, due to sleep, self-indulgence or impoliteness avoid their clients or let them wait long time only to greet them half-asleep and hungover from yesterday's feasting, if they show up at all.[160]

Daytime resting: siesta and convalescence

Climate and seasonal changes played an important role in the Roman sleeping arrangements. The practice of siesta[161] or biphasic sleeping culture is known, for instance, in warm Mediterranean countries.[162] The habit of daytime napping in ancient times has been questioned by T. Wiedemann in his article *The Roman Siesta* where he discusses whether people actually slept or not during the siesta.[163] However, even if people did not always sleep during the siesta, it does not speak against the siesta culture as a midday resting period, which is clearly attested in the Latin texts.[164] The language of midday napping derived from the word *meridies* (midday) and consists of such terms as *meridio* and *meridiatio*.[165]

Daily routines differed according to season as, for instance, Pliny's letters reveal.[166] During summer, he was engaged in literary activities during most of the day in his villa, but has nap in the afternoon. His schedule is otherwise the same in wintertime but he needs less sleep both in the daytime and at night. Climate had an impact on napping: daytime rest is especially connected to the hot summertime. From Pliny we also learn the differentiation between *cubicula*

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[158] Mart. 7,39; Mart. 12,18 and 12,68; Mart. 10,74.

[159] Mart. 7,42, 1,71 and 10,47 (cf. 2,90).

[160] Sen. *dial.* 10,14,3-4; Cic. *Planc.* 66.

[161] Cf. Spanish *siesta*, derived from Latin *sexta (hora)*, sixth (hour).

[162] Cf. Brunt – Steger 2003, 16-20.

[163] Wiedemann 2003, 130-1.

[164] E.g., Cic. *de orat.* 3,17; Suet. *Aug.* 78; *Domit.* 16.

[165] Suet. *Nero* 6,4; Cic. *div.* 2,142,2; Catull. 32.

[166] See Gibson – Morello 2012, 118 for a more detailed timetable and discussion on the models for Pliny the Younger's daily routines. See also Varro *rust.* 1,2,6.

diurna and *nocturna*. Whether these diurnal *cubicula* were meant for napping, receiving guests or both is unfortunately left open.[167]

It was not necessary to sleep during the siesta, but other activities, such as bathing could take place then, as R. Laurence points out.[168] Literary activities and conversations could also take place on siesta time, as well as sexual encounters.[169]

Daytime sleeping was not always part of a respectable siesta regime. The Roman writers pay special attention to disgraceful behavior and condemn the carousers who doze off during the daytime, or pass out at dinners.[170] Moreover, though dining rooms were not meant for sleeping, partygoers passing out on dining couches were not an uncommon sight.[171] Sleeping (even feigned) in public could also be used as a means of avoiding unwanted social interaction.[172]

Otherwise daytime sleeping occurred during convalescence, when resting was necessary. As a peaceful and silent space, a *cubiculum* was most suitable place for the sick.[173]All of the abovementioned terms for beds, *lectulus, lectus, grabatus* and *cubile* as well as *torus*, could be used for a sickbed.[174] Descriptions of medical experts as well as friends and family members attending the bedside are also fairly numerous. One specific context is a visit to a sick friend or colleague,[175] which is yet another topos or cultural phenomenon in the Roman world, expressing the liminality between public and private. Even

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[167] Plin. *epist.* 1,3, 9,36, 7,4 and 40.

[168] Laurence 1994, 128-31 (ancient sources e.g. Suet. *Dom.* 16,2; Iuv. 11,205; Mart. 10,48).

[169] Conversation: Aur. Fronto p. 62, 19-20 v.d.H; erotic: Catull. 32.

[170] Hor. *sat.* 1,3,15-20; Iuv. 8,9-12; see also Quint. *inst.* 4,1,73 (nodding judge); Suet. *Cal.* 38,4 (customer at an auction).

[171] E.g., Plaut. *Curc.* 358-68; Mart. 3,82.

[172] Ov. *am.* 2,5,13; Ov. *ars* 3,767; Ov. *rem.* 499; Ov. *epist.* 21,199 (see also n. 237 below).

[173] Plin. *epist.* 1,12,7, 1,22,4 and 3,16; Suet. *Claud.* 35; Suet. *Aug.* 98-100; Tac. *ann.* 15,45; Apul. *flor.* 23; Apul. *met.* 6,1 and 6,21; Aug. *serm. ed. Mai* 1, pag. 469, linea 23; Ps. Quint. *decl.* 8,22. Cf. Riggsby 1997, 37.

[174] Rhet. Her. 3, 20, 33; Val. Max. 5,2 ext.4; Cels. e.g. 1,3; Aur. Fronto p. 82 v.d.H; Plaut. *Cas.* 38; Varro *Men.* 44; Ps. Quint. *decl.* 8,7 (cf. *scimpodion* in Gell. 19,10,1).

[175] Doctors: Apul. *flor.* 23; Aug. *serm. ed. Mai* 229,3; cf. *Dig.* 38,2,14,7; friends and family: Hieron. *epist.* 108, 27-8; Ps. Quint. *decl.* 8,7; Hor. *sat.* 1,80; visiting: Val. Max. 2,5,2; Plin. *epist.* 1,12,7; Suet. *Claud.* 35; Gell. 19,10,1; cf. Suet. *Nero* 34.

emperors might receive guests while lying ill in bed, as did Vespasian, showing how duties trumped the needs of the body.[176]

Night-time

Fear of the dark is a universal phenomenon, and the Romans also had an adverse attitude towards it. The diverse perils of the Roman night were known to be numerous. Darkness veils secrets, smoothes the path for dark deeds, making sleepers especially vulnerable victims to either real dangers or supernatural ones.[177] The special nature of nocturnal activities was acknowledged even in (archaic) Roman legislation.[178]

In private houses, soothing rituals and routines were part of preparing for the night. Romans regarded that the safest bed to sleep in was the one that the sleeper was accustomed to.[179] Certain rituals helped in going to bed; we know that, for instance, guardian deities were placed in Roman bedrooms. Walking alone before going to bed could also have served as a soothing mechanism.[180]

Rituals and confining oneself in the customary bed both point to the need of routines and permanence[181] and, as I have argued earlier, it is very likely that the Romans had permanent sleeping spots in the houses,[182] in contrast to what some scholars seem to suggest.[183]

Other, more mundane, tasks of preparing for the night could include ablutions and changing into nightdress. Roman ladies had their own beauty treat-

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[176] Suet. *Vesp*. 24.

[177] Iuv. 3,268: *diversa pericula noctis*. Magic and divine powers, e.g., Ov. *met*. 1,671-3 and 1, 713-9.

[178] Lex XII tab. 1,9, 8,12 and 26. See also Galinier *et al*. 2010, 833.

[179] E.g. Cels. 1,3,9; cf. Ov. *trist*. 3,3,39.

[180] "Going to bed": cf. Plaut. *Most*. 486: *abimus omnes cubitum*; Mart. 10,84 *dormitum ... eat*; Cic. *fam*. 9,26: *me dormitum conferam*; Hor. *sat*. 1,6,119: *eo dormitum*; rituals: Suet. *Aug*. 7; Suet. *Dom*. 21.

[181] See Steger 2004, 415 for the universal elements which facilitate the security of the sleeper. Williams 2008, 642 on facilitating rituals.

[182] Nissinen 2012, 11, see also n. 103 above for possible preferred bed sides.

[183] E.g., Riggsby 1997, 40; Veyne 1987, 73; Dickmann 2010, 71.

ments and makeup routines.[184] The evidence for Roman sleepwear is scarce.[185] It seems that in some earlier periods there was no difference between clothing worn day and night, but later on changing into night clothes was recommended.[186] Suetonius mentions that domestic attire could also be worn in *cubiculum* and Augustine remarks how sleeping half-naked was suitable in bedroom. *Dormitoria*, a word for night clothing is mentioned in the Roman schoolbook known as *Colloquia Monacensia*, but is otherwise rare.[187]

R. Ekirch introduced the idea that in premodern societies, sleeping was divided into intervals called first and second sleep, with a short waking period in between, and that in the ancient Roman context this could be seen in the expression *concubia nocte* for the so-called first sleep.[188] This expression appears in the writings of several Roman authors, yet it seems rather to correspond to the expression "in the dead of night," than to indicate dividing sleep into segments. For instance, in the story found in Cicero (*div.* 1,57), a traveler retires after a dinner. In the dead of night, after a short period of sleep, his friend appears to him in a dream pleading for help. The man wakes up, but not because was be part of his natural sleeping pattern, but because he is startled and frightened by the nocturnal vision.[189] Several of these passages mentioning *concubia nocte* appear in military context,[190] when people were expected to stay awake at night, as while safeguarding the city of Rome.

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[184] Mart. 9,37; Ov. *ars* 3,223-30.

[185] As Olson (2003, 201-10) points out, the texts are not very explicit in this matter. See also Prop. 3,21; cf. Prop. 2,29b; cf. Isidore's word for a nightgown, *camisia* (*orig.* 19,22,29), which he connects to a small bed, *cama* (orig. 20,11), see above n. 41.

[186] Varro *frg. Non.* 541,2; Mart. 9,62 (yet, the interpretation is slightly ambiguous).

[187] Suet. *Vit.* 8. See also Suet. *Aug.* 73 for the *vestis domestica*; Aug. *c. Iul. op. imperf.* 4,44; Hermen. Celtis *coll. (M)* 2; see also Dickey 2012, 141.

[188] Ekirch 2005, 300-1, 137.

[189] Cic. *div.* 1,57: …*Qui ut cenati quiescerent, concubia nocte visum esse in somnis ei…. eum primo perterritum somnio surrexisse; dein cum se collegisset idque visum pro nihilo habendum esse duxisset, recubuisse.* See also Val. Max. 1,7,7; Tac. *hist.* 3,69 (Sen. *contr.* 7,1).

[190] E.g., Enn. *ann.* 165; Sisenna *hist.* 93; Liv. 25,9,8. The first silence of the night in Liv. 7,12 seems to refer to early night, *quies prima* in Ps.Quint. *decl.* 10 seems to denote beginning of the night rather than "first part" of a segmented night, the same as *prima ... nocte* in Petron. 112. Nor do the couple of references to *primo somno* reveal a segmented sleeping pattern (Prop. 1,3,3; Verg. *Aen.* 1,40; Phaedr. 3,10,31).

To look deeper into the division of the times of the day, Varro's treatise on Latin Language offers a thorough overview of the vocabulary. *Crepusculum* is the liminal hour between night and day: *id dubium tempus noctis an diei sit* (*ling.* 7,77-8). The dead of night would be called *nox intempesta*, which falls between the appearance of the evening star and the sun: *Inter vesperuginem et iubar dicta nox intempesta* (*ling.* 6,7). *Concubium* is given as a synonym to this expression (since it is the time when people are generally sleeping) alongside *silentium noctis* (since it is the silent hours) and *conticinium*, from *conticesco*, to fall silent. The repeated meaning of *concubium*, *nox intempesta* and *conticinium* is the time of doing nothing except for resting: *tempus agendi est nullum, quod alii concubium appellarunt* (*ling.* 6,7) and *nox intempesta, quo tempore nihil agitur* (*ling.* 7,72). *Concubium* is the time for sleep in general: *concubium sit noctis priusquam ad postremum perveneris. / Concubium a concubitu dormiendi causa dictum* (Varro *ling.* 7,78). In addition, the Roman night was divided into four three-hour periods, *vigiliae*.[191]

The Roman night as a whole was indeed divided into segments, which is reflected in the language, including a variety of expressions for different parts of the night as well as the division of the night into *vigiliae*. However, the vocabulary is used to describe the time-use of those awake at night for one reason or another while others are sleeping, rather than revealing an established system of dividing sleeping into two nocturnal segments. Therefore, even though there are certain sources which seem to better correspond to Ekirch's theory,[192] I must conclude that the segmented nightly sleeping pattern does not appertain to ancient Roman society. Instead, in my opinion, the evidence confirms that the Roman sleeping culture was biphasic, consisting of two main segments: midday resting period and one bout of sleep in the night. The latter, however, could be postponed until a late hour, by working by the lamplight (*lucubratio*).

Burning the midnight oil

Lucubratio refers to the practice of working, with an emphasis on conducting literary activities at night in the light of a lamp. Quintilian suggests finding a peaceful place without distractions where it would be easy to concentrate on

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[191] See, e.g., Laurence 1994, 123 on the division of time; ancient sources: Hier. *epist.* 140; Plin. *nat.* 7,60,212-5.

[192] Especially Verg. *Aen.* 8,407 (*prima quies*).

writing. According to him, a closed bedchamber in the silence of night would be suitable for this and *lucubratio* was the best kind of privacy.[193] Several other Romans are also known for burning the midnight oil.[194] As Ambühl points out, the sleepless night spent in working by lamplight became an almost a necessary element of writing process of Latin poetry.[195] Scribes or other servants might have assisted in the writing process, even though authors are also known to do their own writing, withdrawn alone in the closed chamber.[196] K. Dowden calls lucubration "high-status sleep deprivation" and J. Ker emphasizes the displays of frugality in the depictions of nocturnal labor by the light of a humble lamp.[197] In my opinion, this very special Roman cultural phenomenon attests to temporal privacy. As the texts -especially the Quintilian's instructions which refer to the silence, seclusion and privacy provided by practicing *lucubratio*- convey, the night could be considered one's own, free of social duties.

Working by lamplight was not reserved only for virtuous Roman men. Women, primarily the ideal Roman matrons could display their worthiness too by continuing their work after nightfall and engaging in such female activities as spinning.[198] In contrast, *lucubratio* could also be used in a pejorative sense, meaning evening entertainment for old ladies.[199] A moderate need of sleep was also among the desirable qualifications for women of more modest status, for example, the female overseers of farms.[200] Furthermore, the enemies of Rome could even be described as virtuous in respect to their austere sleeping habits (Liv. 21,4).

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[193] Quint. *inst.* 10,3,26-8: *Ideoque lucubrantes silentium noctis et clusum cubiculum et lumen unum velut erectos maxime teneat ... Est tamen lucubratio, quotiens ad eam integri ac refecti venimus, optimum secreti genus ... silentium et secessus et undique liber animus ut sunt maxime optanda.*

[194] E.g., Cic. *div* 2,142; Cic. *parad.* 5; Cic. *Brut.* 312; Varro *ling.* 5,1; Suet. *Aug.* 78; Suet. *Tib.* 19; Suet. *Cal.* 53; Aur. Fronto p. 62 v.d.H; Amm. 25,4,4-6; Aug. *ord.* 1,8; Hier. *c. Vigil.* 17; cf. Lact. *inst.* 3,26,10.

[195] Ambühl 2010, 259-84.

[196] Cf. references to writing process in bedrooms with and without secretary in Plinius: Plin. *epist.* 3,1,7 (*se cubiculo ac stilo reddit*) and *epist.* 9,36 (*notarium voco et ... dicto*).

[197] Dowden 2003, 141, 150-4; Ker 2004, 209-42.

[198] Liv. 1,57; Verg. *Aen.* 8,407; Tib. 1,3,84-9.

[199] Cic. *nat. deor.* 1,94,6.

[200] Colum. 12,1,1-3; cf. Cato *agr.* 5 for the similar qualifications of *vilicus*.

However, not everybody in the Roman world considered this kind of labor virtuous. In the eyes of Martial, the diligent people working by the light of lamp seemed miserable (Mart. 8,3). An irregular rhythm of life was not always regarded as salutary; lack of sleep was considered counterproductive,[201] and instructions were given on how to correctly practice lucubration.[202]

Outside elite circles and the Roman *domus* and apart from performing the military or guarding duties, a sleepless night could have been spent in a variety of activities, some of which were not suitable for daylight.[203] Even though there were restrictions on nocturnal meetings,[204] curfew does not seem to be known in Roman context. The evidence of *Lex Iulia Municipalis* (64) on cart driving restrictions suggests that certain groups were up and about on their legitimate business during the night. It is reasonable to assume that, for instance, farmers bringing their merchandise into the city as well as bakers and other people with similar occupations used the wee hours of the morning for working.[205]

How Romans slept: sleep-related problems, views and the meaning of sleep

Sleep-related problems

Even though the narrative of the Roman night is largely concentrated on the discomfort of darkness,[206] the positive aspects of resting peacefully were by no means disregarded. Reviving one's strength was considered important and fatigue was understood to be detrimental and sleep-related problems were actively remedied. Sleep relaxed tired minds and bodies,[207] night was ruled by

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[201] Sen. *contr*. praef. 16-7; Quint. *inst.* 10,3,27.

[202] Cels.1,2,4-5.

[203] E.g., gaming: Iuv. 8,9-12; story-telling: Lucan. 4,196-202; feasting: Iuv. 14,45-46; Rut. *Lup*. 2,7; Iuv. 15,41-6; arranging rendezvous for lovers and other clandestine meetings as well as in illicit actions: Petron. 85-7; Iuv. 3,10-20; Ov. *am.* 2,19; Plaut. *Trin*. 861-5; Ov. *met.* 10,368-430.

[204] Cf. Lex XII tab. 8, 26 and *CIL* I²,581: *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus.*

[205] See also Mart. 12,57: *nocte pistores*.

[206] See section "Views on sleep" below.

[207] E.g., Liv. 3,2,10; Tert. *anim*. 43; Ov. *met.* 10,368; Sil. 7,280-90; Lucr. 4,453; Verg. *Aen.* 6,515-30, 8,26 and 9,224-5; Cic. *div.* 1,44; Catull. 63,35-40. Nature-themed metaphors expressing the need

sleep and silence,[208] yet vivid dreams could be a source of inspiration.[209] Even such writers as Cicero and Seneca, who otherwise tended to emphasize how little they needed sleep, had to admit that sleeping was necessary for restoring one's energy.[210]

On the other hand, sleeplessness troubled Romans; sleep deprivation as well as nightmares and restless dreams are recurring themes in texts[211] and various cures were introduced. Explanations for the reasons behind the disorder are also offered. The negative effects of sleeping disorders were well understood and sleeplessness was considered harmful and even used as a means of torture.[212]

Life style choices such as drinking and overeating were considered reasons for both lack of sleep and bad dreams.[213] People stayed awake due to uneasiness of mind [214] and insomnia was linked with insanity[215] and lovesickness.[216] Night brought out the worries and according to the principles of the Stoics, one could sleep only with settled, honest mind.[217]

According to Juvenal (3,232-41), the impoverished people of Rome suffered seriously from insomnia, and he was not incorrect in his reasoning, since the lack of sleep has been connected with a negative impact on health.[218] Sleep deprivation cut across class distinctions, but entered even the beds of

for rest: Ov. *ars* 2,351; Verg. *georg.* 4,184-90.

[208] Cf. figuratively in Sil. 10,337-57.

[209] Aur. Fronto p. 7 v.d.H.

[210] Cic. *fin.* 5,54, Cic. *Att.* 9,7,7; Sen. *epist.* 56.

[211] *Insomnium* referring to restless dreams: Sil. 10,358 and 11,102; Verg. *Aen.* 6,893-9; cf. also Sen. *contr.* 7,7,15. For nightmares see below, n. 243.

[212] E.g., Liv. 22,2,7-9; see also Mart. 9,68; Plaut. *Merc.* 370-5 (sleeplessness among other hardships); Stat. *Theb.* 3,324-32. Sleep deprivation as torture: Gell. 7,4; Val. Max. 9,2.ext. 1; cf. Williams 2005, 133-6.

[213] E.g., Cic. *Cato* 44; Cic. *div.* 1,60-5; cf. Pers. 3,52-62; Plaut. *Merc.* 225.

[214]   Hist. Aug. *Did.* 3,10; Iuv. 13,215-20; Liv. 40,56; Lucan. 2,234-45; Ov. *trist.* 3,8,25-8; Sen. *contr.* 7,8; Val. Fl. 2, 135-46; Catull. 50; Cic. *S. Rosc.* 65 (implies that one cannot sleep with guilty conscience).

[215] Caec. *com.* 166; Cels. 2,7,23-6.

[216] Hor. *carm.* 3,7; Prop. 1,5 and 2,17; Ter. *Eun.* 216-22; Tibul. 1,2,75-8.

[217] Sen. *epist.* 56,6-7.

[218] This has been attested in numerous studies, see, e.g., Alhola – Polo-Kantola 2007, 553-67.

the wealthy.[219] Well-to-do Romans could, however, flee from the noisiest city streets, either to a suburban villa, the countryside or further away to the provinces.[220]

Sleeplessness was treated in many different ways, starting from Cato's (*agr*. 157) suggestion of eating cabbage (*brassica*) to more effective herbalism, mainly usage of poppies,[221] as well as other plants.[222] The sleep inducing qualities of the opium poppy (*papaver somniferum*) were already known long before the Romans.[223] Understanding the importance of sleep to one's health also becomes clear in medical writings, for example, in Celsus, who introduces several, elaborate treatments and states that wakefulness itself causes illnesses.[224]

Sopor was a word also used for deep sleep,[225] while *edormio* was a word meaning to sleep off intoxication.[226] Deep sleep could be a product of traveling[227] or worries.[228] Persons sound asleep snore, some even disturbingly loudly.[229] Snoring (*stertere*) was used as metonym for sleeping[230] or as a sign of looking the other way and feigning sleep.[231] Snoring had a stigma, and it was often connected to deep sleep induced by weariness, heavy labor, hardship or

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[219] E.g. Mart. 9,92.

[220] Mart. 1,49, 4,64 and 12,18.

[221] Verg. *Aen.* 4,486; Sil. 10,337-57 (cf. Sil. 10,350-9); Macr. *Sat.* 7,6.

[222] Other sleep inducing remedies (*somnifica*) and sleeping draughts (*sopor*) were, e.g., anise (Plin. *nat.* 20,186), cinnamon (Plin. *nat.* 23,93) saffron and mandrake, etc. (Cels. 3,18) as well as wine (Gell. 9,12; Mart. Cap. 1,81-2).

[223] E.g., Askitopoulou – Ramoutsaki – Ioanna – Konsolaki 2002, 23-9.

[224] See, e.g., Cels. prooemium, 52; Cels. 2,1,17 and 3,4.

[225] E.g., Liv. 1,7,5; Sen. *epist.* 53,7-8.

[226] *TLL*, vol. V 2, p. 112, lin. 16 - p. 112, lin. 29.

[227] Cic. *rep.* 6,10.

[228] Verg. *Aen.* 6,515-30.

[229] Cic. *Att.* 4,3,5.

[230] Aur. Fronto 63,7 v.d.H; Cic. *div.* 2, 129.

[231] Ov. *am.* 2,2,24; Petron. 85.

drinking, [232] as well as to certain grave illnesses.[233] Snoring, alongside yawning, could even indicate a slack lifestyle.[234]

Snoring could be used to pretend to sleep and covering one's head was a cue for wanting to be in peace and withdraw from the world.[235] One of the sociological discoveries is that sleeping is used as an excuse to avoid the demands of social life.[236] Romans also used sleep as a means of refraining from unwanted social interaction, such as receiving guests, or in order to turn blind eye to disgraceful behavior.[237]

Sleepers were pestered also by such nuisances as lice, bedbugs, scorpions and other such vermin, with which Roman bedrooms were infested,[238] and insects that shun the light (*blattae lucifugae*) were connected to the dark bedrooms.[239] The bug-infested beds were connected with poverty and stinginess; the poor could not even afford a bug-ridden bed.[240] Certain measures against the vermin for example herbal pesticides such as fleawort and cucumber were recommended and used in bedchambers.[241] As maintained by I. Montijn, in some later cultures, good housekeeping is often connected with high moral standards and such signs as fleabites could reveal slackness in housekeeping and thus slackness in morals.[242] In comparison, this moralistic view is not evident in ancient Roman texts, possibly because the subject of housekeeping is too mundane for the elite writers to discuss.

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[232] Plaut. *Asin.* 872; Hor. *epist.* 2,2,26-31; Pers. 3,1-5; Apul. *apol.* 59,3; Apul. *met.* 1,11; Quint. *inst.* 4,2,123-4. Snoring as unwelcome trait in a person: Petron. 68. Cf. Williams 2005, 93.

[233] Cels. 2,8,25.

[234] Pers. 3,3,56-60; cf. meanings of yawning (*oscito*) other than just tiredness, e.g., mental drowsiness (Cic. *Cluent*. 71, Cic. *orat.* 2,144), or the sign of an unskilled orator (Cic. *Brut.* 200).

235 Petron. 85; Hist. Aug. *Aur.* 28.

[236] E.g., Schwartz 1970, 489-90 and Taylor 1993, 470.

[237] Mart. 9,6(7); Cic. *fam.* 7,24; cf. Plut. *Amat.* 16; Plaut. *Mil.* 251.

[238] Sightings of bugs were already recorded in the early instances of Latin literature, namely in Liv. Andr. *com.* 1: *Pulices ne an cimices an pedes*. See also Mart. 11,56,3; scorpions in bed: Aur. Fronto p.73 v.d.H.

[239] Verg. *georg.* 4,240-46; Aug. *c. Faust*. 19,24,525; cf. Aug. *mor. eccl.* 63; Aug. *in epist. Ioh*. 1,15; Isid. *orig.* 12,8,6.

[240] Hor. *sat.* 2,3,115-20; Mart. 11,32.

[241] Varro *rust*. 1,2,25-6; Plin. *nat.* 20,155, 20,171-2 and 22,49.

[242] Montijn 2008, 75-92.

Not only physiological sleep disorders and real-life nuisances such as vermin disturbed the Romans, but supernatural powers tormented them as well. Omens were commonly seen in dreams and phantoms haunted vulnerable sleepers.[243] As W. Harris explains in his detailed study on dreaming in Classical Antiquity, finding out whether Romans believed in dreams is not a straightforward question to solve; the attitude towards dreams was not consistent and universal, and the circumstances of dreaming played a role in whether one was inclined to believe in them.[244] Spaeth discusses nocturnal terrors, including the *incubus*, which refers to a nightly apparition of an evil creature who forces himself upon sleeping women.[245] This specific type of nightmare already appears in ancient texts, though the physiological reasons behind this parasomnic episode (i.e., sleep paralysis) have been understood only very recently.[246] Another example of how physiology influences cultural phenomena is introduced by Galassi and Ashrafian who attribute Caesar's bad dreams to cardiovascular disease and repeated cerebrovascular events.[247]

What I would like to add to the scholarship of Roman nightly visions is the notion of the meaning of the visitations of ghosts, which Harrisson classifies among anxiety dreams.[248] In my view, these stories could be used (apart from being just dramatic entertainment), to deal with certain difficult issues, such as a bad conscience; victims haunted their killers in their dreams and murder victims' spirits sought justice.[249] Sometimes the apparitions were loved ones and

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[243] Ancient sources on night visions and premonition dreams, e.g., Cic. *div.* 1,45-57, 121; Cic. *nat. deor*. 2,166; cf. Liv. 1,39; Suet. *Claud*. 37; Apul. *apol*. 63,9-64,1; Apul. *met*. 6,30; cf. Priap. 32,1; Plaut. *Merc*. 225; Plin. *epist*. 1,18; Aug. *civ*. 18,18. On the idea of souls deserting the body during sleep: Tert. *anim*. 44. Cicero's skeptical attitude towards ominous dreams and dreams as day residue which stem from our own waking experiences: Cic. *div*. 2,139-40; cf. Cic. *div*. 1,58, 1,71, 2,119-26, 2,147-8, 2,88 and 2,10; dreams in decision-making: Liv. 8,6. In addition, very common in biographical *opera* such as Suetonius to Historia Augusta (e.g., Suet. *Iul.* 7 and 81; Suet. *Aug.* 91, 94; Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 25; Hist. Aug. *Hadr.* 26,6-10 etc.). Fortune tellers expiating dreams: Cic. *div.* 2,129, cf. Cic. *div*. 1,45; Mart. 7,54, cf. Mart. 11,49.

[244] Harris 2009, 125-6, 132.

[245] Spaeth 2010, 238.

[246] Aug. *civ*. 15,23; Tert. *anim*. 44; apparitions of a sexual nature in Cels. 4,28.

[247] Galassi – Ashrafian 2015, 1521-2.

[248] Harrisson 2013, 156.

[249] Amm. 14,11,17; Plaut. *Most*. 484-95; Plin. *epist*. 24,17,81; Val. Max. 1,7,7.

relatives, which could be considered soothing sights and a psychological coping mechanism for the bereaved. [250]

Views on sleep

Sleeping is not and has never been only a physiological phenomenon. The views on sleeping in different cultures rely on and reveal the mindset of the surrounding society. Metaphors for sleep and sleeping and night in proverbs can also reveal interesting cultural conceptions. As Ken Dowden already pointed out, wakefulness was considered virtuous in Roman thinking.[251] When reading the passages on Roman night, one cannot avoid running into the negative and moralistic attitudes Romans had towards sleep and night more generally; the testimonies are abundant.

As stated before, Romans perceived sleeping and drowsiness in many instances as negative, even related to death.[252] Drunken sleep mostly is described in unflattering tones.[253] And even if staying up was regarded a good thing, one had to be vigilant in order to receive glory; wasting the night was disdained.[254] Cicero is especially vocal on the moral inferiority of "others," which is expressed in their debauched habits of drinking and sleeping.[255] In his rhetorical compositions, juxtapositions are common, and for him, sleeping is to a vigil and inebriation to sobriety is the same as stupidity to intelligence.[256] Interestingly enough, he also sees these topics – wine-drinking and sleeping alongside insanity – in a slightly more positive light, as sources of subconscious realizations (Cic. *top*. 75).

Not only was drunken sleep scorned, but sleeping was on a more general level connected to such deplorable things as drowsiness, laziness and ignorance,

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[250] Prop. 4,7; Ps. Quint. *decl*. 10.

[251] Dowden 2003, 149-50.

[252] Verg. *Aen.* 6,278 (*consanguineus Leti Sopor*); cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6,390-91 and 6,520-5.

[253] E.g., in Liv. 9,30, 25,24 and 29,34.

[254] Iuv. 8,9-12.

[255] E.g., in Cic. *p. red. in sen.* 13,7,30; Cic. *har. resp.* 55,114; Cic. *Verr. II* 5,94.

[256] Cic. *Catil.* 2,10.

with Cicero again as the beacon of the moralists.[257] In addition, a sleeping audience was a sign of bad rhetorical skills or of badly written verse.[258]

Since sleeping had negative connotations, sleeplessness and managing with little sleep was considered a virtue.[259] When a crisis arises, one should not sleep.[260] Alertness was required particularly in a military context[261] and it was also a virtue worth mentioning in the biographies of great men. Descriptions of sleeping habits could, however, be used to underline one's shortcomings.[262] There was, however, room for debate on the meaning and importance of wakefulness and sleep in antiquity, as becomes evident in the correspondence between Marcus Aurelius and Fronto, where the former speaks for wakefulness and the latter defends sleep.[263]

Concluding remarks: factors behind Roman sleeping arrangements

In this study, I have aimed at clarifying the main historical aspects of Roman sleeping culture, *how*, *when*, *where* and *with whom* Romans slept and to find out the factors behind these arrangements. The social status of the inhabitants in an elite *domus* was one of these factors. The heads of households seem to have had the final say in the arrangements for the whole *familia*. Children and slaves were definitely taken into consideration in arranging domestic space. It seems, however, that slaves had little power over their sleeping arrangements, even though

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[257] E.g. Cic. *Catil.* 3,16 (condemning lethargy); Cic. *sen*. 36 (vices of sluggish old age); Cic. *fin*. 5,55 (constant repose unnatural). Among other writers, e.g., Hor. *ars* 359 (nodding Homer); Pers. 5,132-35 (lazy snoring); Ter. *Eun*. 1075-80 (sluggishness); Plin. *epist*. 1,2 (Pliny calls himself lazy, but whether he means it or just tries to appear modest, see, e.g., Hoffer 1999, 79).

[258] Cic. *Brut*. 278; Hor. *ars* 105; cf. Suet. *Vesp*. 4,4.

[259] Dio Cass. 73,5; Sil. 15,101-12; Vell. 2,41 and 2,88,2. Boasting of frugal sleeping habits: Sen. *epist*. 83,6; Plin. *epist*. 3,5,7-9.

[260] Cic. Phil. 3,34.

[261] Amm. 31,7,8-9. Watchful guards appear in historical as well as mythological texts (e.g., Amm. 18,2,10 and 31,7,9; Ov. *met*. 9,190; Lucan. 4,552); cf. Liv. 23,18.

[262] E.g., Suet. Calig. 50-1; Suet. Claud. 33; Hist. Aug. Ver. 4; Hist. Aug. Heliog. 28,5-6; cf. Hist. Aug. *Aur.* 10,6-9.

[263] Aur. Fronto p. 5,22 v.d.H and p.8,9-p.9,15 v.d.H.

Roman literature also brings up the topos of insouciant slaves, who sleep well no matter what troubles are bothering the master.

The evidence testifies to how an urban lifestyle, which determined and reciprocally was shaped by the needs and demands of the city dwellers, contributed to sleeping arrangements: in the town houses (*domus*) sleeping areas were clearly defined, linguistically differentiated and the degree of control over closed bedrooms was high. Unlike some approaches to sleeping in recent scholarship have suggested, a desire to be left alone in peace and quiet, withdrawing from the social demands (even by feigning of sleep) and other signs of wanting privacy are traits that can be found in connection with upper class Roman sleeping arrangements. The bedroom was also was the place for informal dress and the antithesis of the busy life in the *fora*. It was also the locus of withdrawal, where there was limited access without an invitation, and admittance was usually based on familiarity (although sometimes forceful entries to bedrooms took place). Receiving guests in the bedchamber was often connected with the illness of the host, revealing how in a society where medicine is underdeveloped and illnesses are commonplace, there is need to reconcile bodily impediments with the demands of social duties.

The paraphernalia of sleeping was diverse; the Roman bed was a multifunctional piece of furniture and bedding was elaborate. Mere mats for sleeping seem to have been less popular, even though they may have been used by slaves.

If and when the bed(room) was shared, the chosen bedfellow was usually the spouse or lover, yet in some cases other adult family members could share a bedroom. Communal sleeping as such was not practiced in the *domus*, but a certain flexibility in sleeping arrangements comes up in special contexts, such as traveling and especially in the military, where unrelated adults shared the sleeping area. Ritualistic traditions could have an impact on sleeping: certain rites needed purity and abstinence and thus required couples to sleep apart. In addition there is some evidence for nocturnal religious services where the attendees might have slept in temples.

Moralistic concerns shaped Roman sleeping as well. Sleeping was, in many ways, viewed in a negative light and the night-time space use and sleeping arrangements -or at least their representations in literature- were colored by moralistic judgments. As has already established in previous research, in Roman thinking, sleeping had many negative connotations and it was seen as a sign of indolence and dullness. Respectively, managing with little sleep and getting up

early were considered merits reserved for the ambitious noblemen. To a modern observer, the double standards are evident since the masters were actually woken up by their slaves. A similar way of thinking is discernible elsewhere in texts, for example sleeping outside and on the ground was considered either uncouth or virtuous, depending on the context: it was admirable if it testified to the worthiness of Roman ancestors or mythical superheroes but deplorable if done by savages and other outsiders to the Roman world.

The perils of the Roman night were diverse and fear of the dark influenced the nocturnal space use as well; the special character of night was even recognized in the (archaic) Roman law. Dangers of the Roman night also came from the unreal world, phantoms menaced vulnerable victims and (bad) omens were relayed in dreams. Ghost stories were used -apart from just entertainment purposes- as a means of dealing with certain sensitive issues, such as a bad conscience.

Despite the negative attitudes, the importance of restoring one's strength with sound sleep was well understood. Unsolicited sleeplessness troubled Romans and elaborate cures were offered and sleep-related problems were actively remedied. City life was considered too busy and noisy by many, and the lack of sleep in the capital was understood as causing even health problems, which could be eased by moving away to the countryside.

Certain of the findings of modern sociological sleep research are also detectable in the Roman material, revealing how many elements of sleeping cultures can be considered universal. Among these are the stigma of snoring, using sleep as a means of avoiding social interaction and using sleep deprivation as a means of torture. Soothing rituals, which assist in dealing with the dangers associated with unconsciousness and the vulnerability of a sleeper, can be observed in the Roman sleeping habits. One's customary bed was considered the safest and even preferred sides of beds were established, attesting to the permanence in Roman sleeping arrangements.

The Roman sleeping rhythm was biphasic, including segments of sleep both at mid-day ("siesta") and at night. Sleep could be postponed until late in the night, especially among elite writers, by indulging in literary activities (*lucubratio*). However, the phenomenon of so-called segmented sleep, introduced by Ekirch, was not as eminent form of slumber in Roman antiquity as it appears to have been in later periods in European history. Resisting sleep by toiling in the night was grounds for praise, even for women and enemies of Rome.

Lucubration can be seen as evidence of temporal privacy. However, Roman sleeping habits also reveal how climate dictated sleeping arrangements as well. A resting period in the hottest hour of the day and working in the cool night as well as changing sleeping areas according to the seasons were practices in Roman Italy. On the other hand, the damp Italian winters require real beds with legs and this might explain why references to using only mats for sleeping are relatively rare in Roman literature. The Biblical references to using pallets for sleeping tell a story of warmer a climate and there have clearly been differences in the sleeping habits in the different parts of Roman Empire. This, however, is a matter for further studies.

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VISUAL LANGUAGE OF LATIN
BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS.
THE CASE OF NORTH AFRICA*

ARI SAASTAMOINEN

Introduction

The value and importance of inscriptions understood as material and visual objects has considerably increased lately among epigraphists as reflected by growing number of studies[1] devoted to the theme and, of course, above all, by the most recent *Congressus Internationalis Epigrahiae Graecae et Latinae*, where these topics formed the theme of the entire congress.[2] Thus, it might be interesting to analyse visual aspects of Latin[3] building inscriptions by studying

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[1] See, for example, E. Morlock – E. Santin, "The inscription between text and object", in S. Orlandi – R. Santucci – V. Casarosa – P. M. Liuzzo (eds.), *Information Technologies for Epigraphy and Cultural Heritage. Proceedings of the First EAGLE International Conference*, Rome [forthcoming]. For more studies, see the reference in the next note.

[2] W. Eck – P. Funke (eds.), *Öffentlichkeit – Monument – Text: XIV Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, 27. - 31. Augusti MMXII - Akten*, Berlin 2014. On the importance of this theme, see, for example, S. Mitchell, "Epigraphic Display and the Emergence of Christian Identity in the Epigraphy of Rural Asia Minor", ibid. 276: "The interplay of text, monument and display … has become a crucial part of the analysis of public inscriptions of the Roman imperial period."

[3] This discussion is limited to Latin inscriptions only; bilingual (Latin and Neo-Punic) inscriptions are too few (nine) and too fragmentary to allow a fruitful analysis. It can be only said that Neo-Punic versions are always subordinated to Latin ones. They are carved below them and are often shorter and/or are carved in smaller letters. Cf. the internet article *Worth a thousand words: A new approach*

various ways of framing the epigraphic field and by examining their layouts.[4] This article is the continuation of the one that analysed various types of supports (architraves, panels, slabs etc.), their material (various types of rock), their measurements and their letters.[5] Both articles employ the same dataset, viz. a collection of 1002 building inscriptions from Roman North Africa the diction of which was analysed in my Ph.D. thesis.[6]

It was already noted in my previous article how insufficiently or vaguely recorded data complicates analysis of this kind. Shifting editorial conventions followed by earlier publications cause problems in studying layouts. For example, although editors of *CIL* did try to imitate the original, they are too inconsistent to be used as a source material.[7] Thus, after careful consideration, I decided

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to the development of monumental inscriptions at Ephesus during the early Imperial period* by A. Graham (see http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/classics/staff/graham/rae_article-finalversionult. pdf), for comparisons between Greek and Latin inscriptions at Ephesus.

[4] Cf. Graham (above n. 3) 3–6.

[5] A. Saastamoinen, "Physical and Visual Characteristics of Latin Building Inscriptions. The Case of North Africa", *Arctos* 47 (2013) 219–42. All the data collected for this paper is published in a searchable Internet database created by me, see https://sites.google.com/site/africanbuildinginscriptionsdb Databases and digital epigraphy have also enjoyed increased interest. See, for example, G. Bodard – S. Mahony (eds.), *Digital Research in the Study of Classical Antiquity*, Burlington 2010; for a survey on the current situation and bibliography, see T. Elliot, "Epigraphy and Digital Resources", in C. Bruun – J. Edmondson (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Epigraphy*, Oxford 2014, 78–85; for a very brief survey on the current situation, see J. Bodel, "Introduction", in Eck – Funke (above n. 2) 501–3.

[6] A. Saastamoinen, *The Phraseology of Latin Building Inscriptions in Roman North Africa*, Helsinki 2010. The descriptions and measurements of the monuments are mostly given according to the publication that was used as a principal source in my thesis. For example, the inscription number 317 in the appendix of my thesis (p. 447) was based on *ILAlg.* II 7751 and the description of the monument is based on that same source. The term 'Roman North Africa' refers here to the following four provinces: Africa Proconsularis, Numidia, Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana.

[7] Cf. e.g. S. Panciera, "La produzione epigrafica di Roma in età republicana. Le officine lapidarie", in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.-6. sept. 1991 habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 334: "le trascrizioni tipografiche del *CIL* non sono sempre sufficientemente affidabili…". See, for instance, *CIL* VIII 26552, the layout of which seems to be justified margins. In reality, at least its last line is centred. See the photograph in M. Khanoussi – L. Maurin (eds.), *Dougga, fragments d'histoire. Choix d'inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées (Ier- IVe siècles)*, Bordeaux 2000, 157. Another example: the same inscription was published both in *CIL* VIII 28046 and in *ILAlg.* I 2963. According to *CIL*, the layout is mostly justified margins but according to *ILAlg.*, mostly aligned left.

to base my analysis only on those inscriptions whose photographs I have been able to see.

The epigraphic field

The surface of the monument that was destined to have a text carved on it – the so-called epigraphic or writing field – is usually poorly documented in epigraphic publications. The nature and quality of finishing of the surface of the field is only rarely described, its measurements are seldom recorded, and even the presence or absence of frames bordering the epigraphic field is mostly left unspecified. That being the case, this article is confined to only two aspects of the epigraphic field: the nature of its framing and the measurements of completely preserved epigraphic fields. However, because older epigraphic publications did not systematically record frames,[8] I thought it best to base my survey solely on photographed inscriptions.[9]

The nature of the epigraphic field was definable in 353 cases (uncertain cases are omitted). The epigraphic fields can be divided into three main groups:

[8] For example, *CIL* VIII 17842 and *CIL* VIII 17843 belong to honorary arches. The former is reproduced without any reference to frames and the latter has simple lines drawn around the text marking frames. In reality, both were framed by a *tabula ansata*; see the drawings in E. Boeswillwald – R. Cagnat – A. Ballu, *Timgad. Une cité africaine sous l'empire romain*, Paris 1905, 143, 127. This carelessness is by no means restricted to *CIL*; see, for example, *IRT* 913 that does not refer to the frames at all but a photograph published in R. Rebuffat, "L'Arrivée des Romains à Bu Njem", *LibAnt* 9–10 (1972-73) planche XLVII reveals that the inscription was indeed framed by a simple border. Then, *ILAfr.* 551 does not offer any description of the epigraphic field. It exists, however: the epigraphic field is recessed and framed by a carved *tabula ansata* (see *DouggaFrag* 126). Finally, *AE* 1968, 593 does not describe the nature of the epigraphic field at all. The inscription was originally published by A. Beschaouch, "Mustitana. Recueil des nouvelles inscriptions de Mustis, cité romaine de Tunisie", *Karthago* 14 (1968) 200–2, n. 19, who refers to "champ épigraphique dans un cartouche à queues d'arondes", but is only the photograph in page 201 that shows that the *tabula ansata* in question was a carved one.

[9] There are two main sources for the photographs: the principal publication itself and the above mentioned four internet databases. These all have been systematically explored. I have also surveyed systematically several other corpora, such as *ILAfr.*, *ILTun.*, *DouggaFrag* or *Uchi* 1 and employed my own photos. The number of photographed inscriptions I found is 403 but there remain additional cases as there are publications that I was not able to check, most notably many periodicals on which *AE* is based.

1) the epigraphic field is not separated by frames from the rest of surface (106 cases); 2) the epigraphic field comprises a separate area such as frieze or architrave (61 cases); 3) the epigraphic field is bordered by frames, by far the most common alternative (186 cases).

It is known that the framing of epigraphic fields was a habit whose popularity fluctuated with time. During the Republican period few inscriptions had frames but they became general only during the imperial period.[10] It is interesting to compare this general development with the one visible in African building inscriptions. Chart one below shows that African building inscriptions followed the general trend rather closely: the number of cases datable to the first century BC is very small, just four; these four are equally divided into two framed and two unframed cases. During the first century AD, the framing increases in popularity while unframed cases show decline. During the second century, the number of recorded cases reaches its maximum but the share of unframed cases declines still; by contrast, separated surfaces are more popular than ever. During the third century, the number of recorded cases decline and so does the share of unframed cases. It is only in the period of fourth and fifth centuries when this development is reversed: the number of framed cases decreases strongly but that of unframed is nearly unchanged. It is difficult to say what occasioned these changes; at least they were not directly related to the changes in types of support – as we shall soon see, employing or omitting the frames did not depend on the support on which it appeared.

Although unframed surfaces (106 cases) do appear on various types of supports, for instance, on altars, bases, blocks, and lintels, they are especially often attested on panels (36 cases). The large number of panels is hardly surprising, because that type of support was the most frequently employed medium for building inscriptions in general.[11]

Unframed inscriptions that appear on entablatures, or, occasionally, on tympana are separated into a category of their own on the grounds that those architectural elements form in themselves separate epigraphic fields of sorts. This division is admittedly a somewhat arbitrary one – the difference, for example, between a frieze sandwiched between an architrave and a cornice on the one hand and a stem of an altar inserted between a plinth and a top on the other is not

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[10] Panciera (above n. 7) 329–31 on inscriptions in general.

[11] See Saastamoinen (above n. 5) 225.

Chart 1: The temporal variation in epigraphic fields
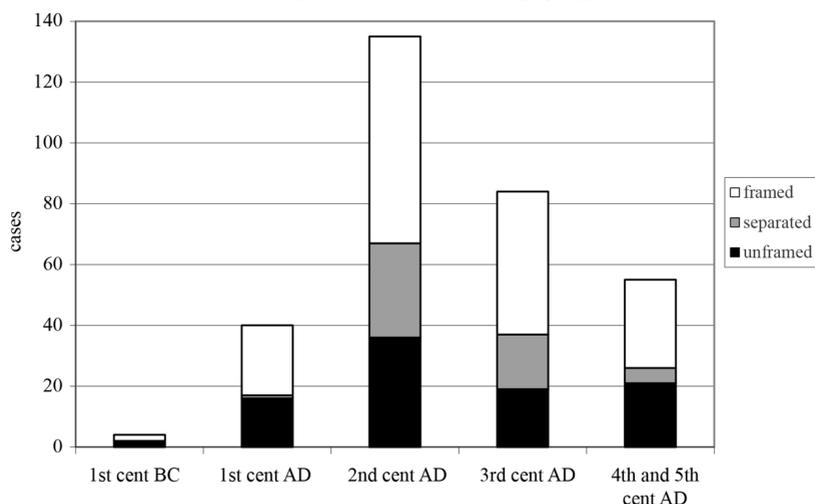
great. In any case, the number of epigraphic fields that are classified as separated is 61. The frieze is recorded 47 times and is, of course, the most frequently attested alternative by far, followed by ten architraves, one frieze combined with an architrave,[12] one tympanon of a miniature building (*aedicula*),[13] and two other exceptional cases.[14]

The third and largest main group of epigraphic fields (186 cases) is the framed ones. The descriptions of various types of frames are typically terse in epigraphic publications, and usually consist of laconic comments such as "cadre", "cadre mouluré", "encadrement", "inscribed within a moulded border" and so on. Following this practice three main classes are created for these frames:

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[12] *IRT* 232a.

[13] *ILAlg.* I 3991 (only the first two words are carved inside a sculpted garland that is inscribed on the tympanon and the rest are carved on a band below). Cf. the following two cases for which I was not able to find photographs: *ILAlg.* I 184, which is mostly carved, according to the editors, inside a cartouche that is inside the tympanon, and *ILTun.* 868b, which is a later addition in pediment while the original building inscription, *ILTun.* 868a, was carved on the band below.

[14] *ILAlg.* II 7959 (a cartouche in a mosaic); *CIL* VIII 11319 (the inscription is carved on the attic of an honorary arch and is framed from below by a cornice).

1) simple borders; 2) moulded borders; 3) *tabulae ansatae* (either moulded or not).[15]

Simple borders appear in 39 inscriptions. To this class belong supports in which the epigraphic field is framed by carved border[16] or is recessed as compared with higher and undecorated edges[17] but also some frames which are not decorated by mouldings but by grooves,[18] or by sculpted ornaments.[19] In regard to the type of support, there are no clear favorites. Most frequently simple borders decorate panels (seven cases), blocks (six cases), and lintels (six cases). It is noteworthy, however, that only one entablature is recorded having simple borders[20] and that many types of smaller architectonic elements are never decorated by them.[21]

The moulded border is overwhelmingly the most frequently reported type of frame; it is recorded in well over half of the cases (117 attestations). Although several architectonic elements are not attested,[22] the variety of supports that were decorated by moulded borders is wide and includes all major types: altars, architraves, bases, blocks, cornices, entablatures, friezes, lintels, panels, pillars, steles and even stone counters.[23] As was the case with simple borders,

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[15] For more on *tabulae ansatae*, especially on their function – to direct attention – see G. Pani, "Segno e immagine di scrittura: la *tabula ansata* e il suo significato simbolico", in *Decima Miscellanea greca e romana*, Roma 1986, 429–41, esp. 429, 435. Cf. id. "Forma, linguaggio, e contenuti delle dediche epigrafiche nei *tituli ansati* (IV-IX sec. d. C.)", in A. Donati (ed.), *La terza età dell'epigrafia. Colloquio AIEGL-Borghesi 86 (Bologna, ottobre 1986)*, Faenza 1988, 169-94.

[16] See, for instance, *AE* 1968, 590.

[17] See, for example, *IAM* 2, 377.

[18] See *AE* 1982, 961 (the epigraphic field is not recessed); *ILAlg.* II 7878.

[19] *AE* 1997, 1725; *AE* describes these simple ornaments as a "bordure d'oves et de pirouettes". For an especially rich decoration, see *CIL* VIII 2661.

[20] *ILPBardo* 211.

[21] Lacking simple frames are, e.g., benches, doorsills or jambs. Also, faces of rock or pavements are without them.

[22] Moulded borders are not recorded, for example, in benches, doorsills, jambs or keystones. As with simple borders, they are also absent from faces of rock or pavements.

[23] It is interesting to note that in funerary inscriptions (at least in Thugga) the situation was completely different: stelai were seldom provided with frames, unlike cippi that had them often. See M. Khanoussi – L. Maurin (eds.), *Mourir à Dougga. Recueil des inscriptions funéraires*, Bordeaux – Tunis 2002, 63.

it is again panels that are the most frequently attested type of support, but this time with a wide margin: no less than 45 cases. The blocks hold the third place with 14 cases. The second most common context is unexpected. Sixteen moulded borders appear in entablatures: in architraves (five cases),[24] in friezes (five cases),[25] in cornices (once)[26] or in monolithic entablatures (five cases).[27] This number is surprisingly high. Entablatures are, after all, by themselves already clearly separated from the rest of the monument. Thus, it most probably was the decorative function that explains the use of the moulded borders there. This presumption seems to be confirmed further by the fact that only one entablature carried a simple border (see above).

Among the frames there are 30 that can be classified as *tabulae ansatae*. They are divided into three groups: 1) carved *tabulae ansatae*; 2) moulded *tabulae ansatae*; 3) *tabulae ansatae* without borders (an epigraph field is either recessed or embossed). The first group consists of only six cases that belong to either lintels or panels.[28] Although the second group is larger – there are 24 moulded *tabulae ansatae* – the selection of supports on the surfaces of which they appear is not much wider: an architrave and several blocks, lintels, and panels. The third group is exactly as large as the first – six attestations that pertain to a block, lintels, and a panel.

The measurements of epigraphic fields are seldom recorded (73 cases), and even smaller is the number of framed fields that are completely preserved, just 36 cases.[29] The very limited number of examples weakens the reliability of statistical figures and they can only be taken as suggestive indications. At any rate, the recorded minimum length of the field is 26 cm and the recorded minimum height is 5 cm; the maximum recorded length is 435 cm and the maximum

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[24] *CIL* VIII 2388; *CIL* VIII 2652; *CIL* VIII 2658; *CIL* VIII 15446; *CIL* VIII 17845.

[25] *AE* 1987, 1061; *CIL* VIII 4209; *CIL* VIII 26559; *ILAlg.* II 7801; *IRT* 273.

[26] *ILAlg.* II 7859.

[27] *AE* 1939, 37; *CIL* VIII 4598; *ILAfr.* 141; *ILAlg.* II 7648; *ILAlg.* II 7784.

[28] *AE* 1959, 172 (lintel); *ILAlg.* II 7670 (panel); *IRT* 533 (panel); *ILAfr.* 551 (lintel); *AE* 1968, 593 (lintel). See also *CIL* VIII 21531 (unidentified stone).

[29] Some modern publications do record the size of the epigraphic field also when it is not separated and thus identical with the whole surface, but that seems pedantic and potentially misleading and these few cases have been excluded from statistics.

recorded height is 215 cm; the averages are 105 cm and 54 cm, respectively; the median length is 77 cm and the median height is 45 cm.[30]

The layout of building inscriptions

The various stages of *ordinatio* of inscriptions have aroused a lot of scholarly interest[31] and one can also find several studies devoted to the results of those operations.[32] Epigraphic corpora, too, offer a good deal of material for analysing the question: modern publications usually provide photographs (internet databases also offer numerous photographs) and many older ones, such as *CIL*,

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[30] The field with the minimum length is executed on a cippus (*ILAlg.* II 7914) while the minimum field height appears in several exceptional monuments, stone counters (*IRT* 590a-d and *IRT* 590e-f). The maximum length occurs in a huge panel (*IRT* 308) and the recorded maximum height in a massive stele (*AE* 1963, 124). The smallest surface is 779 cm^2 (a small block, *ILAlg.* II 3576) and the largest is 25600 cm^2 (a lintel, *IRT* 323).

[31] To begin with the studies by Mallon, see J. Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*, Madrid 1952; id., "Pierres fautives (1)", *Libyca* 2 (1954) 187–203; id., "Pierres fautives (2)", *Libyca* 2 (1954) 435–59 (a good summary of these two articles is id., "L'ordinatio des inscriptions", *CRAI* (1955) 126–37); id., "Une inscription latine incomplètement gravée"*, Libyca* 3 (1955) 160 (also published in J. Mallon, *De l'écriture. Recueil d'études publiées de 1937 a 1981*, Paris 1982, 248). For more recent studies, see A. Buonopane, "Un caso di *ordinatio* graffita in una iscrizione funeraria atestina (SupplIt, 537)", *Epigraphica* 50 (1988) 226–34; a useful overview is J. Edmondson "Inscribing Roman Texts: Officinae, Layout, and Carving Techniques", in Bruun – Edmondson (above n. 5) 111–30; S. Panciera, "La genesi dei documenti epigrafici secondo Mallon. A proposito di una nuova iscrizione metrica", *RAL,* ser. 8, 22 (1967) 100–8, esp. 100–5 (now published with bibliographical addenda as "Dalla minuta all'incisione. Una nuova iscrizione metrica dall'agro pontino", in: S. Panciera, *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti. Scritti vari editi e inediti (1956-2005) con note complementari e indici*, II, Roma 2006, 1809–1815); G. Susini, *Epigrafia romana*, Roma 1982, 60–87; G. Susini, *Il lapicida romano. Introduzione all'epigrafia latina*, Bologna 1966, 7–69.

[32] See, for example, I. Di Stefano Manzella, *Mestiere di epigrafista. Guida alla schedatura del materiale epigrafico lapideo*, Roma 1987, 121–34 (that is chapter 12 on "Impaginazione e incisione del testo"); A. Gordon – J. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1957, 149–56; Panciera (above n. 31); A. Sartori, "L'impaginazione delle iscrizioni", in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.-6. sept. 1991 habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 183–200; A. Sterrett-Krause, *The Impacts of Private Donations on the Civic Landscapes of Roman Africa Proconsularis* (University of Cincinnati e-thesis 2012), 25–27.

imitate the layout of the inscription by the layout of the published text itself; unfortunately, however, this imitation is too often executed in a summary way.

In order to present as clear a picture as possible I decided to base my analysis on layouts solely on photographed inscriptions with two exceptions: the letter height and line division because both are carefully recorded in epigraphic publications. The letter heights will be analysed at the end of this section, but first a few words on line division. If we take into account all 1002 inscriptions we can count that the text of an average building inscriptions is divided into six lines; that figure diminishes to five if only 304 non-fragmentary inscriptions are taken into account. The number of lines varies from one to 32.[33]

The layout of the inscription was definable in 186 cases. If some irregularities are overlooked,[34] the layouts can be divided into five main types that are very unequally represented. The most frequently attested layout is justified margins (52 cases), but the elegant centred format (43 cases)[35] is a rather close second; if aligned left is only slightly less popular (37 cases),[36] aligned right is nearly nonexistent (just two cases). The fifth alternative is a single line of text (24 cases).[37] There are 28 'irregular' inscriptions that do not fit into this scheme.

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[33] *AE* 1963, 124 (on a stele). In *AE* 1995, 1641 there are 33 lines but most of them are versified. In *CIL* VIII 18328 there are 31 lines.

[34] For instance, the distances of the ends of the lines from the edges in the layouts classified as 'centred' are often unequal. Cf. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 151: "The stones classified as centered… rarely show each line perfectly centered, but usually have a limited number of indentations of the left margin with a kind of pattern of indentation."

[35] The reason for the popularity of this layout might be that it is, as Sartori (above n. 32) 196 has noted, not only aesthethically pleasing but also capable of attracting attention.

[36] In Thuggan funerary inscriptions the situation was completely different. Aligned left was by far the most common layout and it was followed by centred. See Khanoussi – Maurin (above n. 23) 63. Perhaps this difference can be explained by the fact that the easiest layout to make is aligned left (see Sartori [above n. 32] 196) and it was for that reason preferred in funerary inscriptions that needed to be produced in great quantities.

[37] Perhaps due to their different and heterogeneous source materials (376 Republican inscriptions from Rome (cf. Panciera [above n. 7] 320–1) and a selection of 173 various datable inscriptions from Rome and its environs during the period Augustus-Nerva (A. Gordon, "The Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions. An interim report of work in progress," *Actes du deuxième congrès international d'épigraphie grecque et latine. Paris 1952*, Paris 1953, 193) both Panciera and the Gordons offer a scheme that differs from the one presented above. They do not mention justified margins as a principal layout (it *was* included, however, in the earlier study on the same material by A. Gordon [ibid.

The 'single line' is the only type of a layout that is clearly typical of certain supports, as it is only found in entablatures and in lintels (17 cases), in a pavement, and in some small architectural elements such as stone benches. The other types, (centred, justified margins, and aligned left) appear in roughly equal proportions in panels, in blocks and in entablatures/lintels.[38] There seems, however, to be some preference for justified margins in panels and for centred in entablatures/lintels.[39] This slightness is, at least from a modern person's point of view, quite surprising because entablatures were placed below the pediment and had as a result a natural central axis. Obviously, the persons who created the layouts often did not pay attention to the specific nature of the entablature but employed various layouts freely. All in all, as in the case of letter sizes, most layouts were not thought to be limited to certain specific supports.[40]

197]). Panciera (above n. 7) 333 states that there are three principal layouts: aligned left, aligned left with few lines jutting out from the left margin, and centred. Similarly, according to Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 151 the principal layouts ("plans of arranging texts" as they call them) in their epigraphic material were "(i) the straight left margin, (ii) paragraph form, accomplished by protrusion or extension of the first word of the unit beyond the otherwise straight margin, and (iii) centering…there are 129 … texts here…eleven of them provide no evidence…of the remaining 118, I classify 26, or 22 per cent as paragraphed; 72, or 61 per cent, as centered; 11, or 9.3 per cent, as having straight left margins; and 9, or 7.7 per cent, as not falling quite into any of these patterns."

[38] In a similar manner Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 153: "The 72 centered stones, by far the largest class in the period Augustus-Nerva, are spread pretty evenly throughout the period and cover all types of inscriptions." On the possible shifts in the popularity of various layouts, see ibid. 154 and 214.

[39] The statistics are: centred, used in panels 11 times, in blocks 8 times and in entablatures/lintels 17 times; justified margins, used in panels 18 times, in blocks four times and in entablatures/lintels seven times; aligned left, used in panels seven times, in blocks five times and in entablatures/lintels 12 times.

[40] A further indication of the relative unimportance of the layout is the fact that a group of identical inscriptions can include different layouts. For instance, once there were four inscriptions (*IRT* 914; *IRT* 915; *IRT* 916; *AE* 1976, 697) placed over the gates of a fortress at Bu-Ngem. One of them (*AE* 1976, 697) is aligned left; one is justified margins (*IRT* 914); one is mostly justified margins (*IRT* 916) and the remaining (*IRT* 915) is fragmentary and unclear (there are many other differences as well, for example, in their line divisions or in the sizes of the supports; for more about them, see R. Rebuffat, "Les inscriptions des portes du camp de Bu Njem", *LibAnt* 9-10 [1972-73] 99–120). See also *CIL* VIII 17842 and *CIL* VIII 17843, identical inscriptions with different layouts from the gates of Thamugadi.

    The temporal spread of these major layouts is shown in Chart two be-
low.[41] We can see that the centred layout is the most popular during the first and
second centuries AD, whereas the most common layout, justified margins, has
its peak of popularity during the third century. Aligned left also has most attesta-
tions during the second and third centuries, but its peaks of popularity occur dur-
ing the first century BC and during the fourth and fifth centuries when it domi-
nates over the other types. Finally, single line is rare at all periods, but slightly
more popular during the second and third centuries. In a simplified manner these
fluctuations can be presented like this: during the first century BC, the dominant
layout is aligned left; during the first and second centuries AD, centred; during
the third century, justified margins, and, during the fourth and fifth centuries,
again aligned left. Do these patterns result from the random survival of inscrip-
tions? It impossible to know for sure, but at least the shift from centred to justi-
fied margins seems to reflect the real situation because it is based on dozens of
attestations. What then caused these potential fluctuations? It cannot be related
to changes in types of support as we just saw that layouts were not confined to
certain specific supports. Perhaps these fluctuations were just changeable trends
of fashion or taste, no more, no less.[42]

    These main types also include mixed layouts in which one or more lines
do not fit the dominant schema.[43] The frequency of these deviations varies ac-
cording to the dominant layout. In the case of the centred layout, such lines were
probably thought to break the harmony of a symmetrical setting as the ratio of
deviant lines is 7:43, and among these seven cases there are two only examples

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[41] The statistics are as follows: the first century BC: 2 cases, aligned left: 2; the first century AD:
28 cases, centred: 17, aligned left: 2; justified margins: 4, one line: 5; the second century AD: 51
cases, centred: 17, aligned left: 11; justified margins: 16, one line: 7; the third century AD: 44 cases,
centred: 5, aligned left: 12; justified margins: 19, one line: 8; the fourth and fifth centuries: 16 cases,
centred: 2, aligned left: 7; justified margins: 5, one line: 2; undatable: 15 cases, centred: 2, aligned
left: 3; justified margins: 8, one line: 2.

[42] Cf. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 154 on changes in the popularity of layouts.

[43] Cf. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 151: "The stones classified as paragraphed include those (i)
which have a centered title or first line followed by a paragraph form, (ii) which have a true para-
graph form except for a short centered final line …Those with straight left-hand margins include two
… in which the last and first lines, respectively, are centered."

Chart 2: Principal layouts
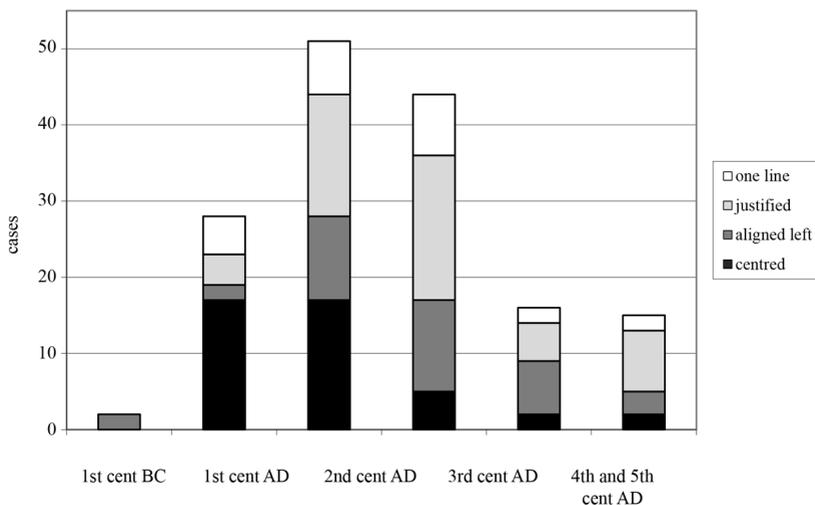
where the alignment clearly differs from the rest.[44] In only two cases these deviations highlight meaningful sections (they mention builders).[45]

Deviations are three times more common in layouts that are mostly aligned left as the ratio is 17:37. The majority of deviations are single centred lines, mostly the first,[46] or last,[47] but also the third one.[48] There are also several

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[44] In *CIL* VIII 26518 and in *CIL* VIII 2555a-c the last line is aligned left (in the latter, fourth and fifth lines are justified margins). In the other cases, deviant lines are justified margins: *IAM* 2, 377 (the first line); *ILPBardo* 345 (the last line); *AE* 1955, 135 (the first, second and final lines); *ILAlg.* II 3596 (the first, third, fourth, and seventh line); *ILS* 5579 (the second, third, fifth and seventh line justified).

[45] *AE* 1955, 135 and *ILPBardo* 345.

[46] *CIL* VIII 9010; *ILAfr.* 531 (this is an exception as the two last lines are slightly indented); *ILAlg.* II 7653; *ILAlg.* II 7881.

[47] *AE* 1948, 111; *CIL* VIII 25998; *IAM* 2, 404; *ILAlg.* II 6225; *ILAlg.* II 7783. Also in Thuggan funerary inscriptions that were mostly aligned left the first and last lines are often centred. See Khanoussi – Maurin (above n. 23) 63.

[48] *ILPBardo* 372.

justified margins, but with one exception[49] they do not appear alone but together with other deviant lines that can also be centred or even aligned right.[50] The function of these deviations may depend on their placement. The first centred lines can act as a sort of heading, a feature that can be emphasized by carving them in taller letters.[51] In other places, these centred lines seem just to enliven the layout as they seldom include groups of words that would form a separate entity to be highlighted.[52]

The largest number of deviations (30) occurs in layouts where the dominant alignment is justified margins (the ratio is 30:52). The most frequently attested alternative is: the last line is centred (seven cases).[53] In addition to this case, there are numerous scattered variants, such as: the last line is aligned left (two cases); the first and the last line are aligned left (two cases), the first line is aligned left and the last line is centred (two cases); the second line is centred (one case), and so on.[54] Over half of these lines do not include words that form a separate entity;[55] when they do, it is mostly question of the last line, first line or, occasionally, some other line. These first lines act as headings; the last lines record the main predicate or a funding and authorization supplement; the other lines typically record the name of the builder or refer to building project.[56]

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[49] *CIL* VIII 24106 (the first line justified).

[50] *AE* 1975, 953 (the second, fourth and fifth lines justified); *AE* 1991, 1643 (the first, second, fifth and third last line justified); *ILAlg.* II 7670 (the first line justified; the second line centred); *AE* 1968, 595 (the first four lines, and thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth lines justified; the last line centred); *AE* 1974, 690 (the first three lines are justified; the last line centred); *CIL* VIII 21665 (the seventh line aligned right; the last line centred).

[51] *ILAfr.* 531: *[P]ro salute [dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum)]*; *ILAlg.* II 7653: *Genio populi Cuiculitanor(um)* (the first line is emphasized by taller letters); *ILAlg.* II 7881: *Pro beatitudine principum maximorum.*

[52] The exceptions are *ILAlg.* II 7670; *AE* 1991, 1643 (but only the first two lines).

[53] *AE* 1985, 873; *CIL* VIII 20833; *AE* 1934, 40; *ILAlg.* II 7949-7950; *AE* 1902, 12; *CIL* VIII 26474; *IRT* 916.

[54] The last line aligned left: *ILAlg.* II 7914; *AE* 1908, 12; the first and the last line are aligned left: *AfrRom* 15, 1326; *CIL* VIII 26121; the first line is aligned left and the last line is centred: *ILPBardo* 244; *I.Altava* 67; the second line is centred: *ILAlg.* II 3574.

[55] *CIL* VIII 2579d; *CIL* VIII 2654; *CIL* VIII 23291; *AE* 1898, 109; *AE* 1903, 94; *CIL* VIII 23964 (records a signum); *CIL* VIII 23965 (records a signum); *CIL* VIII 27828; *ILAlg.* I 1241; *ILAlg.* I 2101 (uncertain).

[56] *ILAlg.* II 7914 (justified except the last line aligned left): *curavi*; *AE* 1908, 12 (justified except

CIL VIII 15514. Photo by author.

To move from these principal layouts to less frequently attested, there is one that deserves separate discussion, viz. the layouts where one or several lines extend slightly from the left margin. According to A. and J. Gordon, the function of this protruding line was to divide the inscription into paragraphs in a way that indentation does today. In their material – datable inscriptions from Rome and its environs – they frequently found this feature and considered it to be so important that they classified inscriptions including one or several protruding lines into a separate class of layouts.[57]

the last line aligned left): *curante re publica perfectum est*; *AE* 1985, 873 (justified except the last line centred): *D(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*; *CIL* VIII 20833 (justified except the last line centred): *fecit*; *AE* 1934, 40 (justified except the last line centred): *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*; *AE* 1902, 12 (justified except the last line centred): *d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(ecit)*; *CIL* VIII 26474 (justified except the last line centred): *sacerdos excoluit*; *CIL* VIII 17831 (justified except the first line centred): *Fortunae Aug(ustae)*; *CIL* VIII 1577 (justified except the first two lines centred): *Gor[d]iano Aug(usto)*; *ILPBardo* 22 (justified except the first line aligned left): *Pro salute Impp(eratorum) nn[[[n]]](ostrorum)*; *AE* 1989, 891 (justified except the eleventh line centred): *plateam stratam*; *CIL* VIII 2661 (justified except the fourth and fifth line aligned left): *perforato monte instituto etiam a | solo novo ductu Severinius Apronianus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) N(umidiae)*; *AE* 1955, 137 (justified except the fourth line centred): *refecit exornavitque*; *AE* 1955, 134 (the first two lines justified, third aligned left and fourth centred): they refer to the emperors' names and to *legio III Augusta*.

[57] See Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 154.

In regard to African building inscriptions, the situation is quite different. Although there are twenty-one cases where one line slightly jutted out from the left margin,[58] there were only thirteen examples of where the layout could be termed as paragraphed.[59] Whether the scarcity of the examples in my material is related to their type (it is noteworthy that there are no building inscriptions among the examples cited by the Gordons[60]) or to their African origin, is difficult to say. A further difference is that only seven inscriptions out of thirteen employ these lines to divide the text into meaningful paragraphs. Two examples can illustrate this practice. The first one appears in an inscription where the descriptions of the building projects start from the protruding second and fifth lines.[61] The second one occurs in an imperial building inscription: the protruding lines one, five and eight organize the imperial titulature: lines one to four comprise the genealogy of Septimius Severus; lines five to seven record his name and offices while from the line eight begins the titulature of Caracalla.[62]

In the remaining six cases the protruding line is either the first[63] or second[64] and it seems that the purpose of this protrusion was not to organize the text but to emphasize the line in question – and that is something that the Gordons described as unusual: "The paragraph form appears sometimes to be used as

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[58] Those layouts where the interference of this jutting is minimal have not been classified as paragraphed (see, for example, *CIL* VIII 26602: the layout is perfectly justified, only the first letter in the first line juts from the left margin). The following eight cases were thus also omitted: *AE* 1974, 690; *AE* 1989, 891; *CIL* VIII 2546; *CIL* VIII 2548; *CIL* VIII 2579e; *ILAlg.* II 531; *CIL* VIII 20833; *CIL* VIII 26602.

[59] *AE* 1894, 44; *AE* 1942-43, 81; *AE* 1968, 591; *AE* 1985, 879; *CIL* VIII 1406; *CIL* VIII 1574; *CIL* VIII 17831; *CIL* VIII 17858; *ILAlg.* II 36; *ILAlg.* II 6225; *ILAlg.* II 7805; *ILPBardo* 192; *Libyca* 1953, 240.

[60] Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 153–4.

[61] *ILAlg.* II 6225.

[62] *Libyca* 1953, 240. Similar cases are *AE* 1894, 44; *ILAlg.* II 36; *CIL* VIII 17858; *ILAlg.* II 7805. *AE* 1985, 879 also refers to the dedicating provincial governor.

[63] *AE* 1942-43, 81; *CIL* VIII 1406.

[64] *CIL* VIII 17831: *Fortunae Aug(ustae)* | *Anniae M. fil. Cara flaminica et Tranquilla statuam quam* | *testamento suo* etc. The purpose is clearly to emphasize the line where the builders are named. The other cases are: *AE* 1968, 591; *CIL* VIII 1574; *ILPBardo* 192.

a device for drawing attention to particular lines rather than for setting off … a proper paragraph unit."[65]

All in all, it seems to me that the potential for using deviating or protruding lines to organize the text was mostly overlooked and the former were often used for decorative purposes. Although the first lines do form headings to the texts, the other deviating lines are employed unsystematically, in a manner that resembles the use of punctuation marks.[66] One gets an impression that, at least in Africa, many *ordinatores* sketching layouts considered building inscriptions as surfaces to be decorated rather than texts to be logically presented.[67]

Yet another and a much more common way to distinguish certain sections of the text was to carve them in letters that clearly differ in size from their surroundings.[68] Incidentally, another apparently obvious method, employing a

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[65] Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 154.

[66] The use of punctuation marks was one of those visual aspects of building inscriptions that have not been analysed systematically, but even the quickest glance to corpora that record them is enough to show that they were not systematically employed. See, for example, *DouggaFrag* 24 (*ILAfr.* 520): interpuncts are placed between almost every word; *DouggaFrag* 28 (*CIL* VIII 26470): numerous interpuncts; *DouggaFrag* 34 (*CIL* VIII 26482): no interpuncts; *DouggaFrag* 36 (*AE* 1991, 1665): numerous interpuncts but some are missing; *DouggaFrag* 42 (*ILPBardo* 225): a couple; *Dougga-Frag* 57 (*CIL* VIII 26552): no interpuncts. Cf. however, Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 183: "Since its purpose is obviously to separate words in order to facilitate reading, there is punctuation regularly between words (or abbreviations) except at line ends." It might well be that the material analysed by the Gordons – the inscriptions of Rome during the early principate – was more carefully produced than the provincial ones we are discussing here. And even in the Gordons' material there were about 20 cases (out 159) in which interpuncts were used quite unsystematically or were lacking altogether (see ibid. 185).

[67] Interestingly enough, L. C. Evetts, *Roman Lettering. A study of the letters of the inscription at the base of the Trajan column, with an outline of the history of lettering in Britain*, London 1938, 10 seems to think that inscriptions were essentially decorative elements: "In arrangement, the lettering may either take the form of a decorative texture over the whole area of the panel…or be surrounded by a margin with the lettering so grouped that the attention may be the more easily focused upon it as a whole." Cf. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 152-53 who were also puzzled by the deviating lines. By contrast, Panciera (above n. 7) 335 affirms that during the imperial period "in epigrafia impaginare … significa anche … usare ogni opportuno artificio atto a farne risaltare la gerarchia interna." Cf. also C. Witschel, "Epigraphische Monumente und städtische Öffentlichkeit im Westen des Imperium Romanum", in Eck – Funke (above n. 2) 121–23.

[68] This device came into full use in Latin inscriptions only during the Imperial period. See Panciera (above n. 7) 336–7. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 155 discuss the topic very briefly and refer to

different font, seems to have been rare.[69] 'The difference in size' typically means that a section in question is carved in taller letters than the other parts of the text.[70] With few exceptions – more about them below in this article – the taller letters were employed to emphasize a complete line or lines rather than individual words.

There are 168 inscriptions where taller letters were employed to highlight a passage. The overwhelmingly most frequently attested instance (102 cases) is that the first line is carved in taller letters. When unclear cases are omitted, 84 remain. In great majority of cases (63) the first line acts as a sort of heading[71] and forms an entity – a dedication to gods, an honorific expression towards the emperor (either the whole imperial titulature or the most essential part of it), both of them, or, occasionally, a name of a community or an individual.[72] There are also

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"the use of taller lines to pick out names" but without analysing other possibilities; Graham (above n. 3) also notes this phenomenon (see, e.g. p. 28).

[69] To take two examples: in *AE* 1959, 172 the first line is emphasized by tall lapidary capitals; the following two lines have much smaller capitals and the remaining lines are carved with rustic capitals of uneven size; in *IAM* 2, 310 the three first lines are carved with beautiful capital letters but the last two lines are narrow rustic letters; unlike in the previous case, here the change does not indicate a divide between two sections. Cf. *ILAfr.* 558 where monumental capitals alternate with rustic ones in individual words.

[70] The sections carved in clearly smaller letters are typically later additions or corrections. Because these cases are rare, they will also be analysed in this section. The category 'taller letters' is vague and subjective one because the material was collected by using two different criteria: measurements recorded in epigraphic publications and the visual estimate of the size of letters in photographs. As a result, someone else would certainly exclude some cases that have been included and include some cases that have been excluded. Because of this vagueness, I have not ventured to analyse subtler aspects of these phenomena, such as gradual diminishment of the height of the lines from the beginning of an inscription to the end that can be often observed. According to M. Corbier, *Donner à voir, donner à lire. Mémoire et communication dans la Rome ancienne*, Paris 2006, 41 the purpose of this was often to create an optic illusion: for a reader who was looking upwards to the inscription the lines seemed to have an equal height. Cf. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 162 who note the frequency of the phenomenon but doubt that the reason for "progressive decrease" was a willingness to create such an illusion.

[71] Cf. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 162: "It seems most probable that the first line was larger than the rest because it usually contained the most important idea–gave the name of the god to be worshiped, of the doer of an important deed, or in an epitaph, the name of deceased person–and so was appropriately most prominent."

[72] **Dedications to gods**: *AE* 1951, 71; *AE* 1961, 71; *AE* 1968, 647; *AE* 1969-70, 649; *AE* 1969-70,

ILAfr. 271. Photo by author.

21 cases, where the line division is done differently, as the following example shows: *[Piis*?? *sanc*?*]tis invictissi[m]isque princi|[pibus toto or]be victoribus.*[73]

650; *AE* 1974, 690; *AE* 1988, 1119; *AE* 2001, 2077; *AE* 2002, 1681; *CIL* VIII 1310; *CIL* VIII 2654; *CIL* VIII 12228; *CIL* VIII 12332; *CIL* VIII 17329; *CIL* VIII 18227 (with a name of a community); *CIL* VIII 23282; *CIL* VIII 23859; *CIL* VIII 26121; *CIL* VIII 26471; *CIL* VIII 26493; *CIL* VIII 27769; *ILAfr.* 551; *ILAlg.* I 1028; *ILAlg.* I 1109; *ILAlg.* II 6225; *ILAlg.* II 7653; *ILAlg.* II 7677; *ILPBardo* 338; *ILPBardo* 343; *ILPBardo* 345; *ILPBardo* 2, 7; *ILTun.* 20; *ILTun.* 246; *IRT* 269; *IRT* 308; **hon-orific expressions to the emperor**: *CIL* VIII 98; *CIL* VIII 1406; *CIL* VIII 2554; *CIL* VIII 4204 (as the subject); *CIL* VIII 4212; *CIL* VIII 20602; *CIL* VIII 20816 (as the subject); *CIL* VIII 20836; *CIL* VIII 27775a-c; *IAM* 2, 377; *ILAfr.* 268; *ILAlg.* I 1256; *ILAlg.* I 2048; *ILAlg.* I 2107; *ILAlg.* II 7818; *ILAlg.* II 7841; *ILPBardo* 289; *IRT* 346; *IRT* 347; **combined type**: *AE* 1933, 233; *AE* 1968, 596; *ILAlg.* II 7644; **communities**: *CIL* VIII 12036; *CIL* VIII 18498; *CIL* VIII 18511; **private inviduals**: *CIL* VIII 23964 (*signum*); *CIL* VIII 26484.

[73] *ILAlg.* I 472. This example is exceptionally clumsy. Cf. Panciera (above n. 7) 336: "una delle peg-giori violazioni che si possa fare alle norme dell'impaginazione epigrafica è costituita dalla divisione di parole su due righe."; Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 150: "As for dividing words at line ends… it seems…that during the period Augustus-Nerva it was considered proper only in reasonably long, narrative-style inscriptions containing complete sentences and set up in paragraph form."; in their material such divisions were attested in 22 cases (out of 159) and 10 belonged to the Records of the Arval Brethren (see ibid. 206-7). Most other first lines are less clumsy (but see *ILAlg.* I 2102: *Pro tanta felicitate tempo[rum invictissi]|morum principum*). The other cases are: *AE* 1899, 3; *AE* 1948,

The second most common alternative is that the first two lines (24 cases, omitting unclear cases) are carved in taller letters. By their contents they do not differ from the previous type: most include an honorific expression towards the emperor or a dedication to gods. It is noteworthy, however, that number of cases where the lines do not form an entity is much higher.[74] This seems to strengthen the idea that it was essentially the very first line that was understood as the heading of an inscription.

The cases where three first lines are in taller letters constitute the third most common alternative, although their number is limited, mere eight instances.[75] The remaining cases are only sporadically attested: the first four (two cases[76]), five (two cases[77]) or even seven lines (one case[78]) are carved in taller letters.

111; *CIL* VIII 8777; *CIL* VIII 17842; *CIL* VIII 21514; *CIL* VIII 24106; *CIL* VIII 26607; *ILAlg.* I 472; *ILAlg.* I 1091; *ILAlg.* I 1255; *ILAlg.* I 2102; *ILAlg.* II 7777; *ILAlg.* II 7805; *ILAlg.* II 7824; *ILPBardo* 359; *ILPBardo* 362; *IRT* 323; *IRT* 324a; *IRT* 908; *AfrRom* 15, 1326.

[74] **Dedications to gods**: *CIL* VIII 12058 (a clumsy line-division); *AE* 1992, 1815; *ILAlg.* I 184; *IRT* 273 (the dedicator is also mentioned); **honorific expressions to the emperor**: *CIL* VIII 16441; *AE* 1968, 599; *CIL* VIII 2652; *CIL* VIII 2718; *ILAfr.* 520; *IRT* 330a; *IRT* 330b; *IRT* 331; **combined type**: *CIL* VIII 1574; **communities**: *BCTH* 1925, 287 (the principal part of the whole inscription). **The lines do not form an entity**: *CIL* VIII 2630; *ILAlg.* II 34 (names of a private person in the beginning); *ILAlg.* II 40 (names of private persons open the inscription); *ILAlg.* II 531 (a clumsy line-division); *CIL* VIII 14851; *CIL* VIII 23689; *CIL* VIII 26126 (a clumsy line-division); *CIL* VIII 26518; *ILAlg.* I 1032; *ILAlg.* I 1232 (a clumsy line-division).

[75] **Dedications to gods**: *AE* 1999, 1781 (a private individual is also mentioned); **honorific expressions to the emperor**: *AE* 1995, 1641; *CIL* VIII 100 (includes a long description of the building process); *ILAlg.* II 3596; **combined type**: *AE* 1968, 595; **communities**: *CIL* VIII 2555a-c (the principal part of the whole inscription). **The lines do not form an entity**: *AE* 1989, 891; *IRT* 895.

[76] *ILAlg.* I 3032 is fragmentary, but it does not seem to form an entity. In *ILAlg.* II 7794 just the beginning of an imperial titulature is carved in taller letters.

[77] *AE* 1963, 124 is a stele where the first five lines are emphasized by taller letters (3.5 cm) than the rest (1.5 cm) and they form a separate unit also by their layout; they record the essential facts (cf. *CIL* VIII 2555a-c and *BCTH* 1925, 287 for a similar structure). *ILAlg.* II 7793 is a basis where a whole imperial titulature is carved in taller letters.

[78] *AE* 1898, 108 is an exceptional inscription carved on a semicircular recess, so-called *schola*. The building inscription proper is carved in taller letters and only an addition (a decision by the members of a military club) is carved in smaller letters. The additional feature is that in the fourth line, i.e. in the middle, two verbs *conferunt fecerunt* are centred and in an emphasized position.

The most interesting, however, are the ten exceptional inscriptions where the first line(s) are emphasized together with the last or with some other line(s).[79] One can see that in these cases some trouble has been taken to select and to emphasize the few most essential lines in often lengthy inscriptions. In most cases, the emphasized lines in the beginning or in the middle of the inscription record the name of the builder whereas the last line refers to the authorization or to the funding, as in the following example where the first two lines and the last line are emphasized by taller letters: *C. Caecilius Q. f. Gal(eria) Gallus hab(ens) | equum pub(licum) aed(ilis) hab(ens) iur(is) dic(tionem) q(uaestoris) pro | ... | s(ua) p(ecunia) f(acienda) c(uravit)*.[80]

There are also four examples of the use of *smaller* letters in the first lines. Two of them are rather enigmatic,[81] but the remaining two are easier to interpret. In the first example, the reason for their use seems clear, a willingness to empha-

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[79] Cf. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 164: "A few inscriptions deviate from the pattern of diminution, or equal lines, or a larger first line plus equal or nearly equal lines…"; 165: "the number in which emphasis on names is explanation for increase in line height within a text … nearly a half. Accidents, carelessness, or miscalculation, on the one hand, sense or balance, on the other, seem to share the other half fairly equally." Cf. also far too optimistic Sterrett-Krause (above n. 32) 26: "The layout of the inscription helped the reader to grasp the most important elements in the text while allowing his eyes to pass quickly over the whole in the blink of an eye. Thus words, letter sizes, punctuation, images, abbreviations, and other elements were all carefully deployed to allow the reader the fullest understanding of the text in a single look."

[80] *ILAlg.* II 36. The other cases are: *AE* 1967, 565 (the first three and the eight and ninth lines: an honorific expression towards the emperor; the name of the dedicator); *CIL* VIII 842 (the first and the last line: the name of the builder; the building project); *ILAlg.* II 487 (the first two and the last line: a dedication to gods; the name of the builder; a reference to the authorization); *ILAlg.* II 569 (the first two and the last line: an honorific expression towards the emperor; a reference to the authorization); *ILAfr.* 558 (the first and third line: an honorific expression towards the emperor; the name of the builder); *ILAlg.* II 10 (the first and sixth lines: a dedication to gods; the name of the builder); *ILAlg.* II 4711 (the first two and last line: the name of the builder; a reference to the authorization); *IRT* 357 (the first and fourth line: an honorific expression towards the emperor; the name of the builder); *Libyca* 1953, 240 (the first, the fifth and the eight lines: the names and titles of the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla appearing as builders; as we saw above, these very same lines were also accentuated by making them to protrude from the left margin).

[81] In *CIL* VIII 23291, the obscure first line, *AES*, is framed and carved with much smaller letters than the rest; in *ILAlg.* I 1241, the dedication to gods and an honorific expression is carved in slightly smaller letters.

sise the role of the private benefactor.[82] The first four lines contain a dedication to the imperial genius carved in slightly smaller letters than the ones used in the following line recording the name of the builder. The second example is an opposite case as the first line records the name of the builder in smaller letters: *L. Cosinius L. f. Arn(ensi) Primus | fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit*.[83] This seems to be merely an accident. The composer of the inscription probably tried to write the name of the builder in letters as large as possible and even displaced the title of the builder to the second line.[84] The solution is hardly successful, however. The first line is still written in smaller letters, although it contains the most important information. It would have been more logical to divide the text into three lines as there is enough space for that on the stone.[85]

The last line is seldom the tallest (8 cases). When this tallness does not result from the setup where the height of lines gradually increases from top to bottom,[86] the last line forms a separate entity, and includes valuable information that is understandably presented in an emphatic manner: a signum of the builder, the main predicate describing the building activity, a reference to the funding or to the authorization or to the dedicating provincial governor.[87] A partial explanation

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[82] *CIL* VIII 16368. This solution is in all its bluntness very rare and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that the builder was a certain *L. Annaeus Hermes*, a tribal leader who was not necessarily aware of all niceties of this genre. Or, perhaps, he just did not care about the rules?

[83] *ILAlg.* II 7938.

[84] Cf. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 163: "Nos. 117 and 136 both show a pattern of diminution from top to bottom, but in both the last line is slightly larger than the one before it. The explanation for no. 117 is probably that the ordinator, under the necessity of crowding the next to the last line, found that he could not use letters of the size he had planned if he was to get it all in …".

[85] *Primus* alone could have occupied the middle line; this arrangement would have nicely emphasized the cognomen that was the most important name. Cf. a contemporary inscription from Mustis, *AE* 1968, 587, where a rather similar and brief text is elegantly divided into three centred lines.

[86] *ILAlg.* II 2000; *ILAlg.* II 7238. But *ILAlg.* II 550 is an exception, as the last line forms an entity: it describes the whole building process.

[87] The separate entities are: *CIL* VIII 4253 (the builder's signum); *ILAlg.* II 3576 (the main predicate; carved below the framed epigraphic field; the line division is very clumsy overall); *IRT* 318 (the main predicate and a reference to the funding); *ILAlg.* II 7796-7797 (the name of the dedicator). *CIL* VIII 14394 is fragmentary but is probably an exception as it does not seem to form a separate entity.

ILAlg. 2, 7805. Photo by Lea Stirling.

 for the added height of these last lines might also be a desire to balance the
inscription.[88]

On the other hand, the opposite case, a last line carved in letters that are
clearly smaller than those used elsewhere in the given inscription, often has
nothing to do with the logical presentation of the text. When six overly fragmen-
tary cases are set aside, there remain 17 analysable lines. Although half of them
do contain a separate entity,[89] half of them do not, and their line division is just

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[88] See Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 165: "This increase at the end gives a certain balance to the
inscription...it seems likely that in a number of other inscriptions this accounts for increase in size of
final lines. … In no. 140 [however]… this larger last line does aid in giving balance, but emphasis
of the names must be the real reason." Cf. also Sartori (above n. 32) 198–99 and Fig. 7 where one
can observe "bilanciamento ciclico", that is, the first and last line are the tallest and the second and
the penultimate are the second tallest.

[89] *AE* 1933, 47 (a minor building project); *AE* 1982, 961 (the main predicate, but carved over the
border); *AE* 1992, 1769 (the building project itself, but carved over the border); *AE* 2002, 1670 (the
main predicate etc.); *CIL* VIII 2670 (an exclamation); *CIL* VIII 17845 (the dedicating provincial

awkward.[90] This is not surprising because some of these lines are later additions[91] or result from careless planning[92] as in AE 1982, 961 where the last line has smaller letters (3.5 cm) than the previous ones (5 cm) and is partly written over the border that frames the epigraphic field.[93]

However, there is at least one case where the seemingly haphazard layout may be justified by aesthetic considerations. In ILAlg. 2, 7949-7950, the last line contains only the end of the very last word of the inscription: …*dedi|cavit*. This line differs from the rest (the heights of which vary between 9.5-10 cm) not only by its smaller letters (5.5-6 cm) but also by its alignment: it is centred while the other lines are justified margins. So it seems likely that this line was essentially added to enliven the layout – if the carver would have only wanted to fit the final word in the admittedly crowded line he could have used the common abbreviation *ded(icavit)*.

In addition to the numerous first and occasional last lines, taller letters were occasionally employed in other individual lines as well (four cases). Apart from one obscure and one overtly fragmentary case, these highlighted lines either record the name of a provincial governor[94] or the emperor.[95]

Lastly, something must be said about the cases where the passage carved in significantly taller or smaller letters is shorter than one line. These were typically not planned as part of the original layout: the use of smaller letters results

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governor); *CIL* VIII 18510 (as in the previous one); *ILAlg.* II 7884 (the dedicator); *IRT* 341 (the building project itself).

[90] *AE* 1968, 596; *CIL* VIII 210b; *CIL* VIII 26518; *ILAlg.* I 2035; *ILAlg.* II 496; *ILAlg.* I 1241; *ILAlg.* I 2128 (in this and in previous two the line division is clumsy); *ILAlg.* II 7949-7950.

[91] *CIL* VIII 2241 and perhaps also *CIL* VIII 26187 (both are otherwise too fragmentary to be analysed).

[92] Cf. Rebuffat (above n. 40) 113 on the stone-cutter carving inscriptions over the gates of the fortress at Bu Ngem: "… il suit son modèle dans la disposition générale des lignes, et …il travaille ligne par ligne en résolvant à mesure tant bien que mal les difficultés qu'il rencontre. Cette imprévoyance d'ensemble n'est pas favorable à l'idée qu'il ait, avant d'écrire chaque ligne, prévu la place de chaque lettre."

[93] Cf. Gordon – Gordon (above n. 32) 150: "Occasional miscalculation necessitated unusual remedies, and we find letters cut partly outside a border or in the molding."

[94] In *ILAlg.* II 7806 it is the thirteenth line recording the name of the legate that is carved in taller letters (6 cm) than the previous lines (3.5 cm).

[95] In *IRT* 427 the eleventh line recording the name of the emperor Caracalla is carved in taller letters.

from later additions[96] and the use of taller letters results from recarvings of the erased text.[97] There is one exception, however, a text in a mosaic, where the first word is over twice as high as the following ones, that are divided into two lines.[98] It is perhaps significant that the medium in which this item appears is an unusual surface for a building inscription.[99] It might be that *ordinatores* generally thought that using larger letters in sections shorter than one line would break the harmony of the inscription.[100]

Conclusions

This article has analysed some visual aspects of prose building inscriptions found in Northwest Africa. It needs to stressed that the source material is lacunose and the following conclusions are based on *available recorded* facts and could well be altered if we would have all information at our disposal.

The nature of the epigraphic field was definable in 353 cases. There were 106 cases where the epigraphic field was left undistinguished from the rest of the surface; such surfaces belong to altars, bases, blocks, lintels and, above all, panels (36 cases). There are 61 epigraphic fields that are classified as separated and they are most often friezes or architraves. The frames border 186 epigraphic fields. It seems that the use of the frame increased steadily until the third century AD when it reached its maximum popularity and then declined.

The frames appear in all kinds of supports and they can be divided into three groups: 1) simple, undecorated borders (39 cases) appear mostly on panels, blocks and lintels; 2) moulded borders (117 cases) appear very commonly

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[96] In *ILPBardo* 239 the correction *'divi Hadr(iani) adnepot(is)'* is inserted between the first and second line and it is made by much smaller letters (1.5 cm) than elsewhere in the inscription (7.5–5.5. cm); to *CIL* VIII 23283 were later added the last five words that are carved less carefully and by different and smaller (3 cm) letters than the previous ones (5–4 cm).

[97] In *CIL* VIII 757 the lines in *litura* are carved with taller letters (7 cm) than the rest (5.5 cm). Cf. *CIL* VIII 2659 where only the last word has survived from the original inscription and all others are carved in *litura* in smaller letters.

[98] *ILAlg*. II 7959.

[99] See Saastamoinen (above n. 5) 229.

[100] Cf. Gordon (above n. 37) 196 on efforts to make the inscription as a whole pleasing to the eye. See also ibid. 198–99 for interesting criticism on slightly flawed layouts.

on panels; 3) *tabulae ansatae* (30 cases). *Tabulae ansatae* are in most cases moulded although some are carved. Unlike other frames, they decorated a limited selection of supports, most often lintels and panels.

The layouts of building inscriptions can be defined in 186 cases, and they can be divided into five main types that are very unequally represented. The most frequently attested layouts are justified margins (52 cases) and centred (43 cases). Aligned left is slightly less popular (37 cases) but aligned right is nearly nonexistent (just two cases). The cases where a text runs on in one line are attested in 24 cases; they are the only type of a layout that is clearly typical of certain contexts, as it is found only in entablatures, lintels, in pavement and in some minor architectural elements such as stone benches. The other types, namely, centred, justified margins and aligned left, appear about equally often in panels, in blocks, in entablatures or in lintels. It seems that these layouts were often not thought to be confined to certain supports.

In addition to these main types, there are also numerous mixed layouts in which one or more lines do not fit the dominant schema. The frequency of these deviations varies according to the dominant layout. In the case of the centred layout, such lines were probably thought to break the harmony of a symmetrical setting as there were only few exceptions. Deviations – mostly a centred line – occur more often in layouts that are aligned left. The largest number of deviations appears in layouts where the dominant alignment is justified margins. The most frequently attested alternative is that the last line is centred. Although deviating first lines do function as headings, the other deviating lines are often decoratively used.

There are also cases where a single line protrudes from the left margin: its purpose is either to organize the text into paragraphs or to draw attention to that line.

Yet another and much more common way (168 cases) to highlight certain sections of the inscription was to carve them in letters that are taller than the rest. The most common instance (84 unambiguous cases) is that the first line is carved in taller letters. For the most part the line division is done in such a way that the first line forms an entity – a dedication to gods, an honorific expression towards the emperor, both of those together, or, occasionally, a name of a community or an individual. In numerous building inscriptions it is not only the first line but the first two (24 cases), or three or even several lines that are carved in

taller letters. In most cases these lines too have been reserved for dedications to gods and/or for honorific expressions directed to the emperors.

The most interesting, however, are ten inscriptions where the first (or the first two) and some other line(s) are emphasized by taller letters. It is evident that in these cases some trouble has been taken to select and to highlight the few most essential lines.

The last line is seldom the tallest. When it is, it most often forms a separate entity and includes valuable information that is presented in an emphatic manner: for instance, a reference to the funding or to the authorization or to the dedicating provincial governor.

In addition to the numerous first and occasional last lines, taller letters were exceptionally employed in other individual lines as well. These highlighted lines were typically used to record the name of a provincial governor or the emperor.

Taken as a whole, there is an aura of serial production in this material. First, few attempts were made to take the specific inscriptional context into account: same layouts, same letter sizes and same frames were used irrespective of the type of support. Second, although most layouts were competently prepared they lack signs of innovation and the attempts towards accentuating key aspects of the message of the inscription through visual means are, if not nonexistent, quite feeble. The potential of deviating lines to organize the text was mostly missed and they were often used for decorative purposes. In a similar manner, emphasizing lines by carving them in significantly taller letters was mostly employed mechanically to first lines and virtually never to the passages shorter than one line. It seems that visual special effects often have a decorative function as if building inscriptions were surfaces to be decorated rather than texts to be logically presented.

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MAKING SENSE OF A *TABULA PATRONATUS* FROM AMITERNUM OF AD 325 (*AE* 1937, 119)

OLLI SALOMIES*

During the Roman Empire, patronage agreements between municipalities and individuals were often recorded epigraphically in bronze "tablets" of which there seem have been two versions, those which were offered to the patron and were meant to be hung up on the wall in the *domus* of the patron, and those order to document the patronage.[1] There are two main types of *tabulae*; there is a shorter type which consists in the main of a part recording the choice of someone as patron (e.g., *coloni coloniae ... Proculum ... cooptaverunt*, *CIL* VI 1687), and of a part recording the confirmation of the establishment of the patronate by the person who had been approached in the matter (e.g., *Proculus ... colonos coloniae ... in [fi]dem clientelamque suam ... recepit*, in the same tablet). The other type of *tabulae* recording patronage agreements, also attested in the case of patronage agreements between individuals and *collegia*,[2] contains a longer text which includes a quotation of the decree pertaining to the election of someone as patron; this type, attested only in Italy and only from the time of Domitian onwards,[3] often ends with a formulation of the wish of the decurions that the

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* Thanks are due to the two (unnamed) referees of this article.

[1] See below at n. 106. For a very full recent bibliography on the *tabulae patronatus* and on the patronate in general, see E. Cimarosti, *SEBarc* 10 (2012) 288, n. 1.

[2] For a selection of patronage agreements between individuals and *collegia* see *ILS* 7216ff. As these documents have much in common with the patronage agreements between municipalities and individuals, many of them will be referred to in the following as parallels.

[3] The earliest *tabula patronatus* of this type seems to be *CIL* VI 31692 = *ILS* 6105 of AD 82. As *tabulae* quoting municipal decrees are apparently attested only in Italy, this type is sometimes called "Italian" (J. Nicols, *ANRW* II 13 [1980] 561; Cimarosti [above n. 1] 290). L. Harmand, *Le patronat*

person chosen as patron accept the election, and the text normally ends at this point and does not include a reference to the chosen person's reaction to his election as patron.[4] It is a document of the latter type that is the topic of this article.

Until about the Severan period, the tablets recording patronage, both those between individuals and municipalities and those between individuals and *collegia*, are usually written in an understandable Latin and do not include a large number of errors, whether those of the person who drafted the text or those of the person who engraved the tablet;[5] and even a *tabula* of AD 242 from Peltuinum seems beyond reproach.[6] But from about this time onwards, the *tabulae* start to contain more and more errors of all possible kinds and passages intelligible only with difficulty,[7] and by the fourth century there are not many *tabulae* that can be read and understood with ease. In fact, very many of the *tabulae* of this period seem to contain passages whose contents one can only try to guess. That this is the case seems to depend on two factors. On the one hand, it is ob-

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sur les collectivités publiques des origines au Bas-Empire, Paris 1957, 336 thinks that *tabulae* of this type "ne sont pas de vraies tables de patronat", but I fail to see the exact point of this assertion.

[4] Obviously one had to be grateful for the election in a polite letter; for an example of a letter of this type observe the letter of Servilius Diodorus to the *dendrophori* (who had elected him patron), quoted among other documents in *AE* 1998, 282, V from Lavinium in AD 228 (note the reference here of Diodorus to his *consacerdotales*, also keen on being elected patron: *optantib(us) a vobis honorem patronatus*).

[5] Although it must be admitted that there are several errors, e.g., in the *tabula* of AD 206 from Fidentia, *AE* 1991, 713; for instance, note *vir eximiae indolis praeditus* (apparently the author of the text had in the beginning thought of describing the prospective patron by using the genitive of quality, but had then, on second thoughts, added *praeditus* without remembering that he should have changed the genitive into an ablative); *tam larga et ultro semper obferentia cumulor(um) eius innumerabilia beneficia* (here one must read <*se*> *obferentia* or *oblata*, and *cumulor(um)* remains unclear); *cuius titulus ... gloriam n(ostri?) consensus declaret* also seems strange, as this text seems to imply that the *fabri* asserted that their *consensus* brought *gloria* to themselves rather than to the patron.

[6] *CIL* IX 3429 = *ILS* 6110. Note, e.g., the correct orthography and that the writer can distinguish between *suus* and *eius*, a distinction not necessarily observed in this period.

[7] Cf., e.g., *CIL* XI 5748 = *ILS* 7220 from Sentinum in AD 260, where for instance some verbs seem to be missing. For the evolution of the *tabulae patronatus* in later Antiquity see B. Díaz Ariño, "*Patrono suo dedicavit*. La evolución de las tábulas de patronato en época tardía", in A. Duplá Ansuategui et al. (eds.), *Miscelánea de estudios en homenaje a Guillermo Fatás Cabeza*, Zaragoza 2014, 227-34.

vious that those who engraved the tablets must by this period have been either extremely uneducated or incompetent or (rather) both. On the other hand, the language and the structure of the tablets of this period very clearly also point to the conclusion that those who wrote the texts must have had very great difficulties in trying to say what they thought they should be saying. The tablets can, then, be used as evidence for the "decadence" of both the knowledge of Latin in the "classical" sense and of "culture" in general.

Keeping this in mind I now turn to a document from Amiternum dated December 7, AD 225. As is the case with many inscriptions of this period, this document has been published and commented upon by archaeologists and historians rather than by philologists, and this has resulted in the fact that there seem to remain some passages which could in my view gain from some emendation and/or elucidation. My approach is almost purely philological; according to a referee of this article, I am not "serving my cause well by limiting the discussion to the philological", but I think there is a point in trying first to make sense of the text and only then moving on to a discussion of its historical implications.

The *tabula* I am about to discuss in this article was published (not very competently) by G. Annibaldi in *NSA* 1936, 94-104 (whence *AE* 1937, 119). It has later been republished and discussed by M. Buonocore in *MGR* 9 (1984) 235-41, with an Italian translation (this contribution was registered in *AE* 1984, 280) and in Id., *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano* III (Roma 1992) n. 47; by S. Segenni, *Suppl. It.* 9 (1992) Amiternum 34 (cf. Ead., *SCO* 55 [2009] 275f.); and by C. J. Goddard, in *MEFR* 114 (2002) 1027-31, with a French translation. There is a transcription of this document, of no real use, also in the mediocre publication by R. K. Sherk, *The Municipal Decrees of the Roman West* (*Arethusa Monographs* 2, Buffalo 1970) no. 21, and it has of course been reproduced and referred to in numerous other studies mentioned, if needed, below in the notes.

In the following, the contributions Annibaldi, Segenni and Goddard will be referred to as "Annibaldi", "Segenni" and "Goddard", whereas the two contributions of Buonocore will be referred to as "Buonocore 1984" and "Buonocore 1992".

In the same volume of the *Notizie degli scavi*, Annibaldi also published another *tabula* from Amiternum pertaining to the son of the man whose patronate is the subject of the *tabula* discussed here (*AE* 1937, 121 = S. Segenni,

Suppl. It. 9 Amiternum 35, AD 335). It was originally my aim also to deal in this article with this latter document; however, this will have to happen in another context, as the AD 325 document already offered more than enough material for an article. But this later document, obviously of some interest from the point of view of our text, will be referred to several times in the following (as "*AE* 1937, 121" but also, e.g., as "the other tablet from Amiternum").

The text of this *tabula* of December 7, AD 325 runs as follows. I present here Goddard's text, although with a number of slight modifications and corrections (e.g., *Iovianus* instead of "*Iovanius*", which is a simple mistake), most of them explained in the notes. Goddard's text is in the main based on those of his predecessors, so that a reference just to his text (e.g., " *Septi{a}miana* Goddard" in n. 8) does not mean that a certain feature would not be found in the earlier editions of this document. Note that errors (or "errors" in the case of *atcrescere*, etc.) of the type *abendi* for *habendi*, *atcrevisse* for *adcrevisse*, *aetiam* for *etiam*, *onorem* for *honorem*, *ededit* for *edidit*, etc., common in inscriptions of this period, have been indicated thus, "*(h)abendi*", rather than being "corrected" with square brackets (e.g., "*<h>abendi* ") or furnished with a "*sic*"; forms such as *aetiam* and *ededit*, easily understood and common in this period, have been left as they are. A text incorporating the corrections and modifications to the text proposed in this article, some of them tentative, will be presented at the end of this article.

> *Paulino et Iuliano co(n)ss(ulibus) VII Idus Dec(embres). / Amiterni in curia Septimiana*[8] *Augustea anno die freq<u>entissimo, / cum frequentes numerus decurionum obvenissent ordinis (h)abendi / causa{usa}, scribundo adfuit Avidius Iovianus principalis, ibi /* [(5)] *Atrius Arrenianus et Vergilianus Albinus sen(atores)*[9] *principale<s> v(erba) f(ecerunt): /*

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[8] *Septi{a}miana* Goddard, but the reading is *Septimiana*, as the engraver Antistius Lucentius (l. 36), who in the beginning engraved *SEPTIA-*, later corrected the *A* to an *M*.

[9] That the abbreviation *sen.* should be understood as *sen(atores)* seems to be the opinion of all scholars who have dealt with this inscription (in addition to those mentioned above, e.g., P. Ginestet, *Les organisations de la jeunesse dans l'Occident romain*, Bruxelles 1991, 235f., n. 113). However, one wonders whether one could not understand *sen(ior)*, Albinus in that case being the father of a man of the same name; *sen.* for *senior* is not uncommon, and since Avidius Iovianus is referred to simply as *principalis* one could conclude that the term *principalis* does not necessarily have to be defined by the addition of *senator*.

ob honorem floridum[10] *ordinis n(ostri) et dignitatem patriae civium-/*
q(ue) sp<l>endorem atcrevisse confidemus, d(omini) c(onscripti), quod
aetiam vestrum / consensum accˇiˋre[11] *fidi sumus{umus}, pro humanitatis*
et laborum adque industriam / similem ex origine prisca cooptemus,
quod quidem nos olim[12] *fecisse oporˆ(10)tuerat ut omnes rogemus hunc*
(h)onorem nostrum conprobare / dignetur C. Sallius Pompeianus
Sofronius, pronepos Salli Procu/[l]i[13] *pat(roni), fil(ius) Sal(li) Proculi*
patroni pat(riae) ord(inis) Aveia{ia}tium Vest(inorum) patronum co-/
{h}optemus, si modo de eius dignatione testimonium perportemus quis
/ etenim immo ˋexultetˊ,[14] *et suam proferat volumptatem. Ideo*[15] *igitur,*
domini co(n)sˆ(15)cripti, quod ex origine prisca genus eiusdem patronatus
olim pro/cesserint et labores quantos [[et quantos]] et quales in nos
[[contulit]] / et patriam nostram contulit; quiq(ue) ex suis laboribus
munera patro/natus dena et sena magg(istratibus) filiorum suorum
sple<n>didissima[[e]][16] *civita/ti n(ostrae) cum favore ededit; Aquas*
Arentani, quas[17] *iam delaps(a)e fuerant, / ˆ(20) civitati n(ostrae) additis*

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[10] *florid{i}um* Goddard, but the *I* has been corrected to a *V*.

[11] The reading of the tablet is *accere* (accepted by some editors, see Goddard p. 1027), but what is meant is, of course, *accīre* (Annibaldi p. 97 and Buonocore 1984 and 1992 suggest *acc<ip>ere*, but *vestrum consensum accire* – "solliciter" in Goddard's translation – seems more plausible than *vestrum consensum accipere*). Note that "*acc[i]re*" in Goddard's text in fact means *accˇiˋre*.

[12] *olim[[n]]* Goddard (and others), but what one sees in the photo is that the engraver started engraving an *N* but then corrected it to an *F*, the first letter of *fecisse*.

[13] *Procu/[li]* Goddard, but one can see traces of the *I*. The earlier editors read *Procu/li*.

[14] This word has been engraved in small letters above this line, i.e. between lines 13 and 14.

[15] Goddard (following Buonocore and Segenni) prints *id[[o]]eo*, but the photo suggests that the engraver first engraved *IDO* and then corrected the *O* to *E* and then added another *O*.

[16] Goddard probably by mistake prints *sple<n>di{di}ssima[[e]]*, as if *sple(n)dissima* were the required reading. As for the *E* at the end, according to the photo the engraver began by engraving *SPLEDIDISSIMACIVITA/TI*, but then tried to make the *C* look like an *E*, the result being a sort of ligature of *E* and *C*. For the need to read *splendidissimae* and not *splendidissima* see below at n. 78.

[17] Of course, one has to understand *quae*. Whereas Buonocore 1984 adds a "(sic)", Goddard adds a footnote (p. 1029 n. 16) which says "*Id.*" which does not seem to refer to anything.

lacis castellisq(ue)[18] *salientes restituit; / thermas, quas*[19] *iam olim disperierant*[20] *antiquitus inpendiis et pecunia `sua´*[21] */ cum porticis novis factis et omni ornamento at*[22] *pulcri<tu>dinem restauravit / statuisque decoravit et nomine d(omini) n(ostri) Constanti beatiss(imi) Caes(aris) nata/le Idibus Nob(embribus) dedicavit, quarum dedicatione*[23] *biduum t(h)eatrum et dena Iuve/*[25]*naliorum spectaculis*[24] *exs(h)ibuit sub*[25] *pr(a)e-sentia Cl(audi) Urani v(iri) p(erfectissimi) corr(ectoris) n(ostri); cives et or/dinem n(ostrum) aepulis ex suis viribus*[26] *confrequentavit, ergo merito consen|{se}tiri*[27] *nos et C. Sallium Pompeianum patronum pr(a)e-*

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[18] Goddard, following Buonocore and Segenni, reads *c[[o]]astellisq(ue)*. But what one reads now is not *COAST-* but *CAST-*, where the engraver himself, who had in fact began to engrave *CO-*, has corrected the *O* to an *A*.

[19] Here, too, Goddard adds a footnote (p. 1029 n. 17) saying "*Id.*", referring to the previous footnote with the same contents.

[20] Goddard, following others, reads *disperier[[e]]ant*, but the reading is -*RANT* (not –*REANT*), where the *A* has been corrected from an original *E*.

[21] *sua* has been added in the space between two lines above *pecunia*. Since Annibaldi, all editors of the text have read `*sua´ pecunia*, placing *sua* before *pecunia*, but the fact that *inpendiis* precedes *pecunia* seems to advocate the reading *pecunia sua*, as *sua* can, as it must, in that case more aptly be referred also to *inpendiis*.

[22] *at* is of course the same as *ad* (cf. *at* = *ad* in l. 31, *atcrevisse* in l. 7 and, e.g., *set* for *sed*, common in inscriptions from the imperial period). I cannot understand Goddard's observation on this point (p. 1029 n. 19): "Pour A. Annibaldi [in *NSA* 1936] *at* a été confondu avec *ad*. Je préfère le conserver pour ma part."

[23] *dedicatio[[b]]ne* Goddard (following Buonocore and Segenni). Here again I would prefer just *dedicatione*, as this is the reading of the tablet, where, however, the *N* is the result of a correction, a *B* having originally been engraved by mistake.

[24] Goddard adds a footnote (p. 1029 n. 20) saying – correctly – that one should expect the accusative *spectacula*.

[25] *sub[[u]]* Goddard following Buonocore 1992 (Buonocore 1984 reads *sub pres-*) and Segenni, and the engraver has indeed engraved *SVBV*, but then corrected the second *V* to *P*, the first letter of *presentia*.

[26] *vi[[b]]ribus* Goddard, again following Buonocore and Segenni. But *VIB-* has been corrected to *VIR-* and what one reads here is, then, just *viribus*.

[27] Goddard reads *consen/{e}tir[e]*, but this is an error, as the first two letters in this line are *SE*. As for the rest of the word, the reading of the tablet is */SETIRI*; by writing –*tir[e]* and elaborating this in n. 21, Goddard implies that *consentire* should be the correct reading. However, *consentiri* seems acceptable (cf. below at n. 68).

ficiamus, / cuius defens{s}ionis auxilia concur`r´entibus[28] *bene{ne}ficiis*[29]
pluria / in nos conferri speremus. Q(uid) d(e) ea r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret),
universi i(ta) c(ensuerunt): / [(30)] *placet ius[[ius]]tae*[30] *allegationi Atri*
Arreni`ani´[31] *et Verg(iliani) Albini principa/lium ordinis n(ostri) recte at*
ordinem n(ostrum) referentibus consentiri nos,[32] */ et C. Sallium Sofronium*
patronum[33] *ordinis et patriae n(ostrae) praeficia/mus, qui meritus ex*
origine dignus hunc honorem ob{b}latum a {no} / nobis {su}suscipiat
patronatus aere inciso tabula hospiti[34] *et / ubi iusserit confrequentari*
praecipiat. / Scul(psit) Ant(istius) Lucentius.

Let us now have a closer look at this text, starting from l. 2.

 L. 2: *Amiterni in curia Septimiana Augustea anno die freq<u>entissimo*:
anno here seems out of place, on the one hand because the year has already been
indicated with the names of the consuls in l. 1 and on the other because *anno …
frequentissimo* – if we wish to understand *anno (et) die frequentissimo*, cf. the
translation of Goddard, "une année et un jour de grande affluence" – does not
seem to mean anything: the author of the text, although of course interested in
describing the circumstances of the very *day* of the passing of the decree, can

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[28] A second, very small, *R* has been added between the *R* and the *E*.

[29] *be[[s]]ne{ne}ficiis* Goddard, again following Buonocore and Segenni. However, the engraver
did engrave *BES-*, but then corrected the *S* to *N*, and in my view the result should be represented in
print as *bene{ne}ficiis*. From the photo one can see that someone has tried, although not with much
success, to delete the second pair of the letters *NE*.

[30] *ius[[ta ius]]tae* Goddard following Segenni (Annibaldi just writes *iustae*). Buonocore 1992 writes
"iustae" iustae (" " being equivalent to [[ ]]), Buonocore 1984 *placet[[i]] {ius}[[ta]]iustae*, but what
one does read in the tablet after the three initial letters *IVS* are, as correctly observed by Annibaldi,
three letters which were surely originally *IVS*, which Lucentius the engraver, having noticed his
mistake, had tried to correct to *TAE*, which he later, having made a mess of all this, tried to delete,
adding the letters *TAE* after the three deleted letters. As a result, we have thus either the reading
IVS[[IVS]]TAE or the reading *IVS[[TAE]]TAE*.

[31] *ANI* has been added between the lines above *ET V* in *et Vergiliani*.

[32] Goddard writes *no[s]*, but traces both of the *O* and the *S* seem to be visible.

[33] *patronu{a}m* Goddard following Buonocore and Segenni, but the reading is *patronum* with the
last letter corrected from *A*, originally engraved by mistake.

[34] *hospit<al>i* Goddard, whereas Buonocore and Segenni keep *hospiti* (i.e., *hospitii*); cf. below at
n. 103.

obviously not be expected to have expressed his opinion also on the character of the whole year. Perhaps the only solution is that proposed (with a questionmark) by Annibaldi (p. 100) and accepted by Buonocore 1984 (p. 239), namely correcting *anno* to *anni*; the author would then have wished to say that on this very day of this particular year the meeting of the town council attracted the largest number of decurions; but of course about the same thing is said in the next line.

L. 3f.: *cum frequentes numerus decurionum obvenissent ordinis (h)abendi / causa*. The *constructio ad sensum*[35] has, of course, been noted by about all those who quote this inscription, but whereas one can find parallels for this construction, the use of *obvenire* (noted by Annibaldi 99) in the sense required here and the use of *ordo* in the meaning "meeting" seems quite unparalleled. As for *obvenire* (which is also used in the document of AD 335, *AE* 1937, 121), it must mean about the same as *convenire*, a verb which is in fact used in similar contexts,[36] although from the third century onwards the more common expression seems to have been *adesse*.[37] As for *obvenire*, this verb is only very rarely used in contexts in which one or more persons are its subject.[38] The two *tabulae* from Amiternum are listed (as "NSc. 1936, p. 96" and "p. 105") in *TLL* IX 2, 311, 23-34 under the heading "respicitur notio veniendi, apparendi sim.", but of the four other instances cited there not one comes even close to the normal meaning of *convenire*.[39] One can thus conclude that the use of *obvenire* instead

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[35] Cf. *CIL* XI 5748 = *ILS* 7220 (Sentinum, AD 260), *cum … freque(n)s numerus coll(egii) fabr(um) Sentinatium convenissent*; *CIL* XI 5750 (also from Sentinum and also from AD 260), *coll(egium) centon(ariorum) cum … frequentes scribundo adfuissent*.

[36] *CIL* XI 3805 = *ILS* 6579 (Veii, AD 26; *centumviri … cum convenissent***);** *AE* 1998, 282 (Lavinium, AD 228; *cum ordo … convenisset*); *CIL* XI 5748 = *ILS* 7220 (Sentinum, AD 260; *cum … numerus … convenissent*).

[37] *CIL* XI 5750 of AD 260 (n. 35); fourth-century decrees from Paestum: *CIL* X 476 (*ILS* 6112, AD 337) and 477 (AD 347); *AE* 1990, 211 (AD 347). All these decrees use the phrase *cum … adfuissent* (perhaps one should read *[cum frequens adfuisse]t* – rather than *adesse]t* – *n(umerus) cent(onariorum)* also in the decree of AD 255 from Luna, *CIL* XI 1354 = F. Frasson, *Le epigrafi di Luni romana* I, Alessandria 2013, 105-11). It is only by a curious mistake that *cogere* is used in the same sense in another decree from Paestum, *CIL* X 478 = *ILS* 6114 = *I. Paestum* 108 of AD 344 (*cum cibes frequentes … coegissent*).

[38] See *TLL* IX 2, 310, 47ff. and 85ff. (of subordinates etc. being assigned to their superiors, e.g., quaestors to consuls); 311, 13ff. and 23ff.

[39] Note, e.g., Liv. 29,34,8, *Masinissam … hostem ad pugnam elicere iubet Scipio …; se in tempore pugnae obventurum.*

of *convenire* is without a single parallel. But if *obvenire* in the required sense seems odd, one can surely say the same thing about *ordo* being (apparently) used in the sense of "meeting of the *ordo*" ("séance de l'ordre", as translated by Goddard),[40] a sense for which I cannot to find any parallels in the *Thesaurus*.[41]

L. 6-10: *ob honorem floridum ordinis n(ostri) et dignitatem patriae civium/q(ue) sp<l>endorem atcrevisse confidemus, d(omini) c(onscripti), quod aetiam vestrum / consensum acc˙i˙re fidi sumus {umus}, pro humanitatis et laborum adque industriam / similem ex origine prisca cooptemus, quod quidem nos olim fecisse opor/tuerat*: this in many parts obscure clause Buonocore (1984, 239) translates as follows: "Per lo splendido rispetto del nostro ordine ed il credito della città e dei cittadini confidiamo che ne abbia aumentato il prestigio, o decurioni, e siamo certi, anzi, di ricevere il vostro unanime consenso; ed aggiungiamo alla benevolenza ed operosità anche une zelo di antica data, cosa che una volta ci è stato vantaggioso fare". Goddard again offers the following translation: "Pour l'honneur éclatant de notre ordre, nous espérons bien avoir accru et la dignité de la patrie et la gloire des citoyens. Messieurs les Conscrits: parce que nous sommes assurés qu'il sollicite encore votre accord, élisons (le) en raison de sa bienveillance et de ses travaux, et en vue d'une activité semblable (à celle qui fut déployée) depuis une ancienne origine". Both translations, with some more or less odd features, do seem to reflect the obscurity of the Latin, but, to say the least, do not in my view really correspond to what the *principales* or the writer of the text had wished to say; and both seem to be (again to say the least) misguided in details. It should, for instance, be obvious that the perfect infinitive *atcrevisse* must (as often) stand for the present infinitive *adcrescere*, for the point of the whole passage is surely to be an introduction to the motion of appointing Sofronius as patron. Moreover, there would, of course, be no point in referring to a past "increase" in the city's honour (based on what exactly?), for it is a characteristic of *tabulae patronatus* that they often refer to the positive *future* consequences of someone's election to patron, a theme taken up in this document also later (l. 28f.), although from the point of view of *auxilia* and *beneficia* expected to be delivered by the patron rather from that of the *honor*

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[40] For the decurions of a city being described as *ordo* see *TLL* IX 2, 961, 53ff.

[41] *TLL* IX , 951ff.; *ordo* in *ordo agendarum rerum* in the inscription from Tymandus *CIL* III 686 = *ILS* 6090 = *MAMA* IV 236 referring to the constitution of the *civitas* just means the "order" in which things should be done.

and *dignitas* of the city. Moreover, the *tabulae* also tend to stress the proposed patron's personal qualities and, in the case of descendants of patrons, his ancestors' merits. It should in any case be obvious that what we have here must have been intended to express thoughts along these lines.

Although it seems that what the *principales* had wanted to say cannot be determined in all its details, I would like to offer the following observations. First of all, it must be noted that the engraver Lucentius must have mistakenly left out an uncertain amount of text which figured in the original decree, for we can be certain that he has omitted at least the name of the person whose election is suggested. It is true that Pompeianus Sofronius is mentioned in l. 11, but in that passage the two *principales* express their hope that Sofronius would accept the honour of the patronate. In the passage discussed here, the suggestion that Sofronius be elected is put forward, and it is quite impossible to assume that this could have been done without any mention of his name. In other words, the verb *cooptemus* in l. 9, now missing an object, must have originally been preceded by its object, i.e. Sofronius (cf. Goddard's awkward translation, "élisons (le)", where "le" remains obscure to the reader who has not yet read the rest of the translation).[42] That is why I suggest adding $<$ *.... Sofronium patronum$>$* before *cooptemus* (the exact form, and location within the clause, of the name must remain uncertain). As for l. 6f., the *principales* can surely not have been referring to their *own* former accomplishments, as implied (if I understand the translation correctly) by the translation of Goddard "nous espérons bien avoir accru et la dignité de la patrie et la gloire des citoyens", where the transitive *accroître* ("to increase [something]") has been substituted for *accrescere*, attested (with one exception) only as an intransitive verb, as in Buonocore's translation[43] ("to increase in size", "grow larger", as defined by the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* under no. 1).[44] Instead, what the two *principales* say must have been meant to justify

[42]   In the translation of Buonocore, *industriam similem ex origine prisca cooptemus* has been translated as "aggiungiamo alla benevolenza ed operosità anche une zelo di antica data", a translation which in my view is very far from the original Latin.

[43]   See above; in his translation, "prestigio" must correspond to *sp<l>endorem*; Buonocore thus interprets *sp<l>endorem* as the subject of *atcrevisse* and the genitives *patriae civiumq(ue)* as defining *dignitatem* ("il credito della città e dei cittadini").

[44]   See *TLL* I 337f. The only exception noted in the *TLL* (p. 337 l. 56ff.) is Plin. *nat.* 11,112 *quae* (*uruca*) *adiectis diebus accrescit ... araneo accreta* ("(*i. aucta*)" being added here), *quam chrysallidem appellant*.

their proposition to elect Sallius Pompeianus as patron of the city, passages of this nature being normal in decrees dealing with the election of patrons. Because of the verb *confidemus* (which must, of course, be understood as the present *confidimus*, for the men cannot be referring to their future sentiments) it is clear, as already pointed out above, that the *principales* are here referring to what they think will follow from Sofronius' election.

As for the words *ob honorem* etc., whereas Buonocore has the nouns *honorem* and *dignitatem* depend on the preposition *ob*, but takes *splendorem* to be the subject of *atcrescere* (see n. 42), Goddard separates *ob honorem ... ordinis n(ostri)* (followed in his text by a comma) from what follows ("Pour l'honneur … de notre ordre, nous espérons bien avoir accru et la dignité … et la gloire …"). However, this translation does not seem to make much sense and the formulation *honorem ... ordinis n(ostri) et dignitatem patriae civiumq(ue) sp<l>endorem* in any case makes it clear that *honorem*, *dignitatem* and *sp<l>endorem* are all subjects of *atcrevisse* (note that in order to arrive at his translation, Goddard has to ignore the presence of *et* before *dignitatem*). What the *principales* wish to say is that as a result of Sofronius' election as patron the *honor* of their *ordo*, the *dignitas* of their *patria* and the *splendor* of the citizens will "increase".[45] The perfect infinitive *atcrevisse* must therefore, as mentioned above, stand for the present infinitive *adcrescere*.[46]

As for the preposition *ob* preceding *honorem*, perhaps it is permissible to assume that its presence here is due to some error either of the person who drafted the text or of the engraver. If it is an error of the former, perhaps one could assume that he had started to express his thoughts by a construction introduced by the preposition (i.e., by a construction of the type *ob honorem augendum* etc.) but that, having arrived at *splendorem*, he had already forgotten this and moved on to another construction.

In what follows (l. 7f.), *quod aetiam vestrum / consensum acc´i`re* (cf. n. 11) *fidi sumus*, the formulation *fidus esse* instead of *confidere* seems unparalleled;[47] perhaps one could assume that the author of the text, who had

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[45] Cf. below n. 94 for similar references to expectations as to what will follow from someone's election to patron.

[46] For perfect infinitives instead of present infinitives, see J. B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, München 1965, 351f.; cf. *fecisse oportuerat* in l. 9f.

[47] Although note that under *fidus* the *TLL* has a section "*i. q. fidens, fiduciae plenus*" (*TLL* VI 1, 706,

just used the verb *confidere* in the previous line, aimed at some variation (but he could have written, e.g., *pro certo habemus*). In any case, this clause does not seem to be in its intended position, for the *principales* can hardly have meant to say (as implied in Buonocore's translation) that they thought that the other decurions would agree that the *honor*, *dignitas* and *splendor* of the city and its citizens "had increased" or "would increase", as they have not yet clarified on what this "increase" would according to them be based. One could perhaps assume that this clause is meant to refer to what is going to be said in the following, but a more natural position for it would be after *cooptemus*, and in the tentative reconstruction of the whole passage below I have moved it to this position.

In l. 8f., the passage *pro humanitatis ... cooptemus* must have originally contained the proposition to elect Sofronius as patron; it is true that comparable documents do sometimes offer statements of a more general nature regarding the advantages of electing a prestigious person as patron at this point,[48] but in both texts cited in n. 48 these considerations are immediately followed by the transition to the name of the person whose election is suggested. To continue, this passage must have been preceded by a conjunction, and the expected conjunction is of course *si*, the *si* clause explaining what is needed in order to make the *honor*, *dignitas* and *splendor* of the city "grow"; this clause should, then, have taken the form *si Sofronium patronum .... cooptemus*. As for what precedes *cooptemus*, *pro humanitatis et laborum adque industriam similem*, I would prefer not to have to assume that the words clearly meant as genitives, *humanitatis et laborum*, should be simply taken as ablatives or rather, because of the accusative *industriam similem*, accusatives depending on *pro* (Buonocore apparently understands them as datives). Instead, something can be made of this passage if we delete *adque* and take the preposition *pro* to have been used with the accusative instead of the ablative (cf. *TLL* X 2, 1437, 13ff.) and the genitives *humanitatis* and *laborum* to define *industria*; in that case, one could assume that the author had wished to say that Sofronius should be elected because of

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21ff.), with one instance from Ammianus (16,12,24, *fidus ingenti robore lacertorum*) and several from the sixth-century author Gregory of Tours.

[48] *CIL* XI 1354 (AD 255?), *ess[e tutel(ae) i]n perpet(uum) coll(egio) n(ostro), si {eos} patr(onos) nobis coopt(emus) hon[oribus ill]ustr(ibus) praedit(os), bon(ae) vit(ae) mansuet[u(dine)] plenos*; *CIL* XI 5749 = *ILS* 7221 = *AE* 1992, 562 (AD 261) *cum sit oportunum crebris beneficiis et adfectionem amoris [erg]a n(umerum) n(ostrum) exhibentibus adsistere et munificientia(m) [eo]rum, sicut oportunitas testimonium perhiberet, [re]munerare.*

(*pro*) his *industria* in exercising his *humanitas* and *labores*.[49] Moreover, because *industriam* is followed by *similem* defined by *ex origine prisca*, where *origo prisca* is of course a reference to Sofronius' ancestors (cf. *ex origine prisca* etc. in l. 15, *ex origine dignus* in l. 33),[50] it seems clear that the author had wanted to say, although perhaps not with much success, that Sofronius' *industria* was similar to that of his ancestors. To conclude with this section, keeping in general the fourth-century style, but modifying, correcting and adding some details, one could arrive at the following reconstruction of what the author of the text might have said in the passage in l. 6-10 had he been more capable of expressing his thoughts in the right order in Latin: *honorem floridum ordinis n(ostri) et dignitatem patriae civiumq(ue) splendorem adcrescere confidimus, d(omini) c(onscripti), <si> pro humanitatis et laborum industria simili ex origine prisca < ... Sofronium patronum> cooptemus – quod quidem nos olim fecisse oportuerat –,*[51] *quod etiam vestrum consensum accire confidimus.*

As for l. 10ff., the preceding passage is followed by the words *ut omnes rogemus, hunc (h)onorem nostrum conprobare dignetur*, this again being followed by the full name of Sofronius in the nominative. Here the *ut* is odd,[52] for there is nothing in the text that precedes it that would require a following final clause; as for interpreting *ut* as consecutive, the only possibility, as far as I can see, would be to see it as somehow explaining *fecisse oportuerat* ("something we should have done long ago, namely to ask …"). But what is meant

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[49] Goddard, who says (p. 1028 n. 14) that it is "surprising" that *pro* is followed by genitives, in his translation (p. 1030) separates, in my view incorrectly, *humanitatis et laborum* from *industriam similem* ("en raison de sa bienveillance et de ses travaux, et en vue d'une activité semblable …").

[50] Buonocore's translation, "zelo [for *industriam*] – di antica data" is in my view incorrect. For the use of *origo* in late Antiquity in this sense when referring to ancestors, cf., e.g., *CIL* X 478 = *ILS* 6114 (*aequitas* etc. *ex origine propagata*) and *CIL* X 5349 (*ex origine patronatus*); for the terms *ex origine patronus* and *patronus originalis* see *TLL* IX 2 (1980) 987, 52ff. and 980, 19ff. R. González Fernández's article on the term *origo* in inscriptions, *Zephyrus* 68 (2011) 229-37, does not deal with this aspect of *origo*.

[51] In this clause, *quod* is without doubt the relative pronoun; but Goddard in his translation (p. 1030) takes it to be the coniunction "parce que" which produces a translation which does not really seem to correspond to what one assumes the Latin is meant to say ("parce qu'autrefois, en vérité – this seems to be a translation of *quidem* – , il avait importé de faire en sorte de demander tous cet honneur, le nôtre qu'il daigne l'accepter"). For the construction *nos fecisse oportuerat*, cf. *CIL* XIV 4570 (Ostia), *oportuerat te ... solli[ci]tudine(m) adhibuisse.*

[52] Interpreting *ut* as an equivalent of *et* (thus Buonocore 1984) does not seem to be of any real use.

by *fecisse* has already been made clear by the verb *cooptemus*, and so there is no need for further elaboration; and the verb in a consecutive clause depending on *fecisse oportuerat* should of course not be in the present subjunctive. Taking into account this and the fact that what one would expect here is *itaque* introducing the logical conclusion – *itaque omnes rogemus* – of what has been said in the preceding lines,[53] and furthermore the fact that there would be a suitable place for *ut* after *rogemus* (although an *ut* before *dignetur* is surely not indispensable)[54] one wonders whether one could not assume that the engraver has mistakenly replaced an *itaque* before *omnes* by an *ut* originally intended to be inserted between *rogemus* and *hunc*. The result would then be ⌐*itaque*⌐ *omnes rogemus, <ut> hunc (h)onorem nostrum conprobare dignetur*[55] *C. Sallius Pompeianus Sofronius*. The names of Sofronius are followed in the genitive by those of his great-grandfather, also patron of Amiternum (*pronepos Salli Proculi pat(roni)*),[56] and of his father in Goddard's text and in that of other

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[53] For *itaque* in a similar context, following on a description of a person's merits, cf., e.g., *AE* 1998, 282 (Lanuvium, AD 228); *CIL* XI 5748 =*ILS* 7220 (Sentinum, AD 260); *CIL* X 476 = *ILS* 6112 (Paestum, AD 337); *CIL* IX 10 = *ILS* 6113 (Neretum, AD 341); *CIL* X 477 (Paestum, AD 347). In the last three cases, the person whose merits are discussed is already patron, but has not yet received a *tabula*.

[54] Cf. *impetrent, dignetur* in *CIL* VI 1492 (cited in next n.).

[55] That *dignetur* depends on *rogemus* can in my view not be doubted, although Goddard (p. 1030 n. 24) seems to think otherwise (however, the reasons for this are unclear). Goddard (ibid.) also wants to separate *honorem* and *nostrum*, *nostrum* ("le nôtre"), according to him referring to Sofronius. But *noster* cannot be used in this way and *honorem* needs to be defined by *nostrum* ("the honour we are conferring"). As for *dignetur* (mistranslated by Buonocore 1984, 239 as "sia degno", this being continued by "eleggere"; in his 1992 text Buonocore puts a semicolon between *conprobare* and *dignetur*), *dignari* ("to deign to"; not *dignare*) is, of course, the expected expression in this context; cf. *CIL* VI 1492 = *ILS* 6106 (c. AD 101), *legatos ..., qui ab eo impetrent, in clientelam amplissimae domus sua municipium nostrum recipere dignetur*; *AE* 1998, 282 (Lavinium AD 228) *qui nos et in clientela sua recipere dignatur*; *CIL* IX 3429 = *ILS* 6110 (Peltuinum, AD 242); *CIL* XI 1354 (Luna, AD ?255); *CIL* XI 6335 = *ILS* 7218 (Pisaurum, AD 256); *CIL* XI 5748 =*ILS* 7220 (Sentinum, AD 260); *CIL* XI 5749 = *ILS* 7221 = *AE* 1992, 562 (Sentinum, AD 261); *CIL* X 476 = *ILS* 6112 (Paestum, AD 337); *AE* 1992, 301 (Larinum, AD 344); *CIL* X 478 = *ILS* 6114 (Paestum, AD 344); *CIL* X 477 (Paestum, AD 347); *Supp. It.* 2 Histionium 3 (AD 383); *CIL* VI 29682 = *CIL* XI 712a; *CIL* V 5815; *AE* 1975, 367 = *Suppl. It.* 2 Histonium 3 (AD 383). For *dignatio*, also sometimes used in similar contexts, see below n. 60.

[56] For this man of about Severan date, mentioned in several inscriptions (*CIL* IX 4206. 4207. 4208. 4399), see Harmand (above n. 3) 272; S. Segenni, *Suppl. It.* 9 (1992) 34 (on *CIL* IX 4206).

editors as follows: *filius Sal(li) Proculi patroni pat(riae) ord(inis) Aveia{ia}tium Vest(inorum)*. In the translation of Buonocore 1984, this is rendered as follows: "di *Sallius Proculus*, patrono di *Aveia* vestina", in that of Goddard as "patron de la patrie et de l'ordre des Aueatins et des Vestins".[57] Buonocore thus seems to ignore the words *pat(riae) ord(inis)* altogether, whereas Goddard refers *pat(riae)* to Amiternum and *ord(inis)* to Aveia. However, as we see from the description of the great-grandfather, *pat(roni)* or *patroni* would have been quite enough if one wanted to say that someone was patron of Amiternum, and although one could say *patronus patriae nostrae* to make things sufficiently clear (cf. *patronum … patriae n(ostrae)* in l. 32), I very much doubt whether *patronus patriae* (without the defining *nostrae*) would have been an acceptable expression. Moreover, the abbreviation *pat.*, in the description of the great-grandfather, was just used as an abbreviation of *patronus*, and if *pat(riae)* were a reference to Amiternum and *ord(inis)* to Aveia one would like to have an *et* (added in the translation of Goddard) between the two words. I thus wonder whether we could not assume that what comes after *patroni*, the description of Sallius Proculus the father, would be a description of Sofronius himself, i.e., that we would have to read *pat(ronus)* and that the text would be saying that Sofronius was, at the time when his election for patron of Amiternum was proposed, already patron of the *ordo* of Aveia, the patron of which city he certainly was ten years later in AD 335[58] and the patron of which his great-grandfather had been (see n. 56).[59] With

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According to the inscriptions cited above he was patron also of Aveia, Foruli and Peltuinum. On the Sallii from Amiternum in general, see S. Segenni, *SCO* 41 (1991) 395-401.

[57] The translation "et des Vestins" is not really correct, as the reference here is not to the Vestini in general (thus including also the people of Aufinum, Peltuinum, Pinna, etc.), but only to the *Aveiates*, described here, as often, as *Vestini* (the translation of Buonocore is thus correct). For the Vestini cf. E. Dupraz, *Les Vestins à l'époque tardo-républicaine: du nord-osque au latin*, Mont-Saint-Aignan 2010.

[58] In the *tabula* concerning his son *AE* 1937, 121 = *Suppl. It.* 9 Amiternum 35 he is said to be (in the genitive) *pat(roni) ord(inis) e[t] populi civitatum Amiterninorum, Reatinorum, Interamnatium Praetuttinorum* (sic) *et Ave<ia>tium*. If there is a difference between *patronus ordinis* and *patronus ordinis et populi* (cf. the descriptions of Sallius Proculus the great-grandfather as patron of Amiternum as *patrono decurionum et populi* in *CIL* IX 4206 and as *[patrono] … ordinis et populi* in *CIL* IX 4208), the patronate of the *populus* had been added sometime between 325 and 335.

[59] Possibly Sallius Proculus the great-grandfather had also first been elected patron of Aveia, for in *CIL* IX 4207 (*ILS* 5015) he is honoured only as patron of this particular city.

this interpretation, the mention of Aveia (in any case ignored in the case of the great-grandfather) would have a certain point. To conclude with this section, I think that a version of this passage which could come closer to what the *principales* wanted to say could have been something like this: *itaque omnes rogemus, ut hunc (h)onorem nostrum conprobare dignetur C. Sallius Pompeianus Sofronius*, *pronepos Salli Proculi pat(roni), fil(ius) Sal(li) Proculi patroni, pat(ronus) ord(inis) Aveiatium Vest(inorum)*.

   After the mention of Sofronius in the nominative, as the subject of *dignetur*, the text goes on with *patronum cohoptemus* (sic)*, si modo de eius dignatione*[60] *testimonium perportemus*[61] (l. 12f.). Here, too, something is clearly missing, for *cohoptemus* cannot stand without an object, i.e. Sofronius. And as this clause is obviously meant as a sort of recapitulation of what has been said earlier, an *igitur* would certainly not be out of the place here.[62] I thus suggest

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[60] The expression *dignatio* (cf. *dignari*, above n. 55) seems to have been misinterpreted by Buonocore and Goddard. Buonocore translates the words *de eius dignatione testimonium* as "qualche prova di questo suo credito presso di noi", Goddard as "témoignage de la considération dont jouit ce dernier". Now it is true that *dignatio* does have the meaning "[t]he fact of being esteemed, repute, honour" (*OLD* 2). But here this expression is without doubt used as the noun corresponding to *dignari* "to deign to" and, accordingly, in a different meaning, namely in that defined in the *TLL* (V 1, 1132, 14f.) as "*actio dignandi, abiit in sensum benevolentiae, gratiae, clementiae*" (for the latter nuance cf., e.g., *AE* 1990, 211 [Paestum, AD 347], *cum Aquilius ... nos municipes sua dignatione unice diligat*), which one could translate as "assent", "compliance"). The term *dignatio* is thus not used here to describe the feelings of the people of Amiternum towards Sofronius, but (as in other documents of a similar nature, for which see below) those of Sofronius himself; *dignatio* here expresses the benevolent compliance of Sofronius with the wish of his citizens to offer him the patronate. For other instances of the expression *dignatio* used of the disposition of patrons or future patrons, cf., e.g., *CIL* IX 3429 = *ILS* 6110 (Peltuinum, AD 242, with a reference to *dignatio benignitatis eius*); *CIL* XI 6335 = *ILS* 7218 (Pisaurum, AD 256); *CIL* IX 1681 = *ILS* 7219 (Beneventum, AD 257). In the tablet from Amiternum of AD 335 (*AE* 1937, 121 = *Suppl. It.* 9 Amiternum 35), the abstract expression *eius [digna]tio* is used to refer to the future patron himself (*petendumq(ue) sit de eius [digna]tione, ut hanc scripturam nostram ... suscipiat*).

[61] According to *TLL* X 1 (1998) 1655, 25-33, cf. 2786, 37f., *perportare* is extremely rare and, in addition to this inscription, attested only in *Tab. Vindol.* III 642 ii 5, in *P. Tjäder* 37, 35 of AD 591 and in *Gloss.* V 132,4.

[62] There is another *igitur* in l. 14 at the beginning of the enumeration of Sofronius' merits. For *igitur* in a similar context cf., e g., *CIL* XI 5750 (Sentinum, AD 260) *igitur si cunctis videtur, tabulam aeream continentem testimonium circa eum nostr(a)e adfectionis < ---- ? >*; *CIL* X 478 = *ILS* 6114 = *I. Paestum* 108 (344), *igitur Helpidio honestissimo viro pro dignitate sua patronatum offeramus*.

that the original form of this clause could have been of the type <*Pompeianum igitur Sofronium> patronum cohoptemus* etc. A translation of this passage could then be (taking into account the meaning of *dignatio* as explained in n. 60) "let us thus coopt Pompeianus Sofronius as patron, if only we could receive from him an assurance of his compliance (with our wish)".

The text now moves on to say that everyone would be extremely happy if Sofronius accepted the patronate being offered to him, this being formulated as a question (l. 13f.): *Quis etenim immo exultet, et suam proferat volumptatem?* In this form, this clause can surely not be correct, for because of the interpretation of *volumptas* as that of Sofronius himself (see below) a *non* must be missing – of course the writer of the text must be asking not "who would rejoice (if Sofronius gave his assent)?" but "who would *not* rejoice?" – and something should be done about *immo*. Now one of the main uses of the particle *immo* is to "introduce the correction of a preceding statement" (*OLD*).[63] It seems to follow that we need to postulate another verb preceding *immo*; as *ex(s)ultare* is a fairly strong expression ("to show unrestrained pleasure, exult" *OLD* 3), any verb with the meaning "to be glad, pleased", but less forceful than *ex(s)ultare*, would do. The verb *gaudere*, for instance, would be suitable, although one could also think about *laetari*; I would thus suggest that this clause could have originally been of the type *Quis etenim <non gaudeat>, immo exultet ...?* But there is one more detail, namely *voluntas* or, as the writer of the text puts it, *volumptas* (a common "vulgar" form).[64] Whose *voluntas* is meant? In Buonocore's and Goddard's translations, the *voluntas* seems to be attributed to the people of Amiternum.[65] But asking "and (who would not) show his approval?" *after* the question "who would (not) rejoice/exult?" seems extremely lame, and since the writer of the text has just said *si modo de eius dignatione testimonium perportemus*, it seems obvious to me that *voluntas* here must correspond to *dignatio* and is thus a sentiment that has to be attributed to Sofronius himself. What the writer wanted to

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[63] Cf. *TLL* VII 1, 478, 8ff., "*praevalet notio corrigendi i. q. 'atque adeo', 'vel potius'*".

[64] M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, 216f. (although Leumann mentions only manuscripts; for inscriptions cf. *CIL* XI 4095 = *ILS* 5696; *AE* 2010, 1294 = *Tituli Aquincenses* II 591).

[65] "che qualcuno certamente esprima la sua gioia e manifesti il proprio consenso" (Buonocore 1984); "qui, vraiment sursauterait et différerait son consentiment" (Goddard, who thus appears to take *proferre* "to display" to mean the same as *differre* "to postpone").

say is surely that everybody would be extremely happy once it became known
that Sofronius had given his consent –something like this must be the meaning
of *voluntas* here – to his election as patron. With this interpretation, *et* before
suam proferat must be changed to (e.g.) *cum*, but taking into account the state
of the text as inscribed this seems permissible. In conclusion, I think that this
passage should have approximately the following form: *quis etenim <non gaud-
eat,> immo `exultet´, ´cum` suam proferat volumptatem*.

       Now the *principales* move on to a detailed description of Sofronius'
merits which are indeed impressive, the whole being framed by the formula-
tion of their proposal – already expressed in l. 9ff., but repeated here – to elect
Sofronius as patron, presented to the representatives of the *ordo*: *Ideo igitur,
domini co(n)scripti* (l. 14f.) ... *ergo merito consen{se}tiri nos et C. Sallium
Pompeianum patronum pr(a)eficiamus* (l. 26f.). Here, too, some particulars may
have gone wrong. On the one hand, the combination of *ideo*[66] and *ergo*[67] seems
awkward (perhaps the writer, having arrived at the end of the list of Sofronius'
merits, had simply forgotten that he had started with *ideo*); on the other, there
is the infinitive *consen{se}tiri* (corresponding to *vestrum consensum* in l. 7f.),
and some have also raised a question about the *et* before *C. Sallium.* As for the
infinitive *consen{se}tiri*, because of some parallels (cf. below) it is probably
meant as an impersonal passive infinitive (cf. *TLL* IV 397, 39f.), although the
pronoun *nos* (combined with *consentiri* present also in l. 31) is in that case dis-
turbing (one thus wonders if the writer of the text might not have thought that
he is dealing with a deponent verb **consentior*, cf. *assentior*).[68] In any case,
an infinitive certainly comes somewhat unexpectedly at this point where one

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[66] For *ideo* in a similar context cf., e.g., *AE* 1991, 713 (Fidentia, AD 206), *et ideo cum sit Virius
... vir eximiae indolis* (sic) *praeditus ... placuit universis tabulam aeneam patrocinal(em) ei poni*;
CIL XI 2702 = *ILS* 7217 (Volsinii, AD 224), *et ideo Anchariam ... patronam ... cooptemus*; *CIL* XI
5748 =*ILS* 7220 (Sentinum, AD 260) *et ideo cum sit Coretius Fuscus splendide natus ... <placuit>
ei tabulam aeream ... offer(r)i*.

[67] For *ergo* cf. *CIL* XI 1354 (Luna, AD 255?), *ergo cu[m] sit L. Cot(tius?) Proculus vir splen[d(idus)]*
etc.

[68] However, seeing that in this period either those who wrote or those who inscribed inscriptions
often fail to differentiate between active and passive infinitives (e.g., *CIL* VI 29682, *placet ...
tabulam ... [ad]ferri deberi*; *CIL* IX 10 = *ILS* 6113 (Neretum, AD 341) *placet ... tabulam ... ei
offerre devere* (= *debere*), one should probably not overinterpret the reading *consentiri*.

would perhaps rather expect the subjunctive form *consentiamus*.[69] The explanation may, however, be this. The infinitive *consentiri* is in fact found both below (l. 31) in the very same document and in other similar documents, but not at this point, within the proposition presented (in this text by the *principales*) to the members of a group (here the decurions of Amiternum) expected to come to a decision in a certain matter, but in the section in which the decree is set out. Thus we find here (l. 30f.) *placet ... allegationi ... consentiri nos*, and in *CIL* XI 1354 from Luna of AD ?255, *placere ... relationi ... consentiri*. In this latter instance, the infinitive *placere* is to be explained by the fact that these sections are normally formulated as indirect speech; but this, again, takes us to the *tabula* of AD 261 from Sentinum, *CIL* XI 5749 = *ILS* 7221 = *AE* 1992, 562. In this text, the decree is also formulated as indirect speech, but without the introductory *placere* which, then, could in some cases be omitted (although one could perhaps assume that this expression has been omitted only by mistake): *qu(id) f(ieri) p(laceret) d(e) e(a) r(e), i(ta) c(uncti) c(ensuerunt): quod in praeteritum* etc. (reasons being given here for the *consensio*)*, adque ideo consentiri relationi* etc. This makes me wonder whether one could not assume that the person who wrote this text thought that it would be a good idea to use already in the proposition the phrasing, or at least parts of it, of the result of the proposition, namely the decree itself, especially as the formulations here (*consen{se}tiri nos et ... pr(a)eficiamus*) are in part identical with those in the decree quoted in l. 30ff. (*consentiri nos et ... praeficiamus*). There is, of course, the fact that in imitating at this point the decree the writer has omitted a dative indicating the object of the *consensus* (*allegatio* in the decree, l. 30), and perhaps also the verb *placet* or rather *placeat*; but this can surely not have bothered him too much. As for the *et* before *C. Sallium* etc., Annibaldi p. 98 and Buonocore 1992, p. 75 suggest that it should be corrected to *ut* (with the result *consentiri nos, ut pr(a)eficiamus*); but if the writer of the text is quoting here the decree where we have *et praeficiamus*, this correction is surely unnecessary. Finally, it should be observed that the expression *aliquem patronum praeficere*, also used in the decree proper in l. 32f. and in the *tabula* of AD 335, l. 16f., is otherwise without a parallel.

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[69] I cannot understand the point and meaning of Goddard's affirmation (p. 1031 n. 27) that this is "un infinitif d'exclamation".

But between the beginning of this section in l. 14f. (*ideo igitur* …) and its conclusion, just discussed, in l. 26f., there is in l. 15-26 a long list of Sofronius' merits, introduced in the beginning with the conjunction *quod*; however, the next merit is introduced by *quiq(ue)* and the other items in the list are simply enumerated without any introductory conjunctions or pronouns:

- (1) *quod ex origine prisca genus eiusdem patronatus olim processerint et labores quantos [[et quantos]] et quales in nos [[contulit]] et patriam nostram contulit* (l. 15-17);
- (2) *quiq(ue) ex suis laboribus munera patronatus dena et sena magg(istratibus) filiorum suorum sple<n>didissimae civitati n(ostrae) cum favore ededit* (l. 17-19);
- (3) *Aquas Arentani, quas* – i.e., *quae – iam delaps(a)e fuerant, civitati n(ostrae) additis lacis castellisq(ue) salientes restituit* (l. 19-20);
- (4) *thermas, quas* – i.e., *quae – iam olim disperierant antiquitus, inpendiis et pecunia sua cum porticis novis factis et omni ornamento at pulcri<tu>dinem restauravit statuisque decoravit et nomine d(omini) n(ostri) Constanti beatiss(imi) Caes(aris) natale Idibus Nob(embribus) dedicavit, quarum dedicatione biduum t(h)eatrum et dena Iuvenaliorum spectaculis* – i.e., *spectacula – exs(h)ibuit sub pr(a)esentia Cl(audi) Urani v(iri) p(erfectissimi) corr(ectoris) n(ostri)* (l. 21-25);
- (5) *cives et ordinem n(ostrum) aepulis ex suis viribus confrequentavit* (l. 25-26; however, this act must be a continuation of what was said under the preceding heading, cf. below).

In the first item in the list (*quod ex origine prisca genus eiusdem patronatus olim processerint* etc.), the *principales* observe that the family had furnished patrons of Amiternum for a long time[70] and that members of the family had offered numerous impressive *labores* ("benefici" Buonocore 1984; "travaux" Goddard) to the decurions and to the city in general. For *ex origine prisca* cf. the same formulation in l. 9, and *genus* in the meaning of *gens* is not unknown in late-

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[70] I am not sure whether this has been rendered correctly by Buonocore, who translates *quod … processerint* as "anche per il passato sarà stato ambìto tale patronato" (this seems in part to be based on what Annibaldi says on p. 101). In *TLL* X 2, 1502, 65f. the whole passage, quoted under the section "procedunt animantes", is described as being "syntaxi turbata".

Antique inscriptions.[71] As *genus eiusdem* must be the subject of this clause, *patronatus*, if this is the correct reading, should be either a genitive singular or a plural accusative and thus the object of *processerint*. But I cannot possibly see how interpreting it as a genitive could take us anywhere,[72] and there does not seem to be much that could be done with *patronatus* (acc.) *procedere*, this verb being intransitive and thus not in need of an object. That is why I suggest reading *patronatu{s}*, where *genus* would be the subject of *procedere*, the nature of which would, again, be defined by the ablative *patronatu*, *procedere patronatu* literally meaning, e.g., "to proceed with/by the patronate", but which could possibly be taken to mean something like "to hold the patronate continuously". As for the verb *procedere* itself, it may be worth noting that it is also used in other *tabulae patronatus*, although not in a similar context: in *CIL* XI 5749 = *ILS* 7221 = *AE* 1992, 562 (Sentinum, AD 261 it is hoped that *beneficia* would also in the future be *processura* from Coretius Fuscus, the patron of Sentinum the document is dealing with. In the *tabula* of AD 335 from Amiternum (*AE* 1937, 121 = *Suppl. It.* 9 Amiternum 35), this verb may also have been meant to have *beneficia* as its subject; in *CIL* VI 29682 its subject is unclear. As for the reading *processerint*, if *genus* is, as I suggest, the subject of this verb, then one would of course expect the singular, and correcting this reading to *processeri{n}t* has in fact been suggested.[73] However, the plural can perhaps be kept if one assumes that this is a *constructio ad sensum* of sorts, as *genus* does include several persons (cf. Goddard p. 1029 n. 15).

As for what follows (l. 16f.), in a clause introduced by *quod* one would of course not expect *labores quantos et quales* but *labores tantos et tales*, but Buonocore and Goddard may well be right in taking this passage to have been

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[71] Cf., e.g., the references to *genus eius* in the *tabula patronatus* of AD 260 from Sentinum, *CIL* XI 5750, and in the fourth-century honorific inscription from Abellinum, *CIL* X 1126.

[72] Goddard, however, who translates "parce que depuis longtemps ils ont tiré d'une ancienne origine la source d'un même patronat", does seem to take it as a genitive, and thus apparently a genitive depending on *genus*; but although *genus* can perhaps be translated in many ways, I fail to understand how it could end up meaning "source". Moreover, Goddard's translation seems to presuppose that *procedere* could be translated as a transitive verb meaning "tirer" ("to draw", "to pull"), which is not only in my view, but clearly also in that of the *Thesaurus*, not possible.

[73] This is the reading of Buonocore 1984 and 1992 and Segenni. Annibaldi and Goddard keep the plural.

intended as an exclamation;[74] note also that the expression *qu[anta] et qualia* (*beneficia*?) seems to have been used similarly in the document of AD 335 from Amiternum, line 16f.

In lines 17-9 we find the second reason for conferring the patronate on Sofronius, this being now introduced by *quiq(ue)*, namely that, in order to celebrate his sons' magistratures, Sofronius had paid for sixteen *munera* in each case,[75] this generosity having been received with enthusiasm (*cum favore*).[76] The expression *ex suis laboribus* is assumed to mean "among his achievements" (i.e., "(to mention one) of his achievements") both by Buonocore and by Goddard,[77] but because of the preposition *ex* (rather than *inter*) my impression is that by using this expression the writer of this text rather wanted to indicate the source of the funding of the *munera*, this phrase perhaps meaning something like "from his own resources". The abbreviation *magg.* must, as already seen by Annibaldi (p. 100), stand for *magistratibus*, this surely being a temporal ablative. For the reading *sple<n>didissimae*, see above n. 16; it is true that some scholars have preferred to read *sple<n>didissima*, taking this expression to define *munera*,[78] but the *munera* are described in a satisfactory way by *dena et sena*, whereas the expression *civitati* is, in addition to *n(ostrae)*, in need of a more specific characterisation, for which task the dative *splendidissimae* is of course perfect.

The list goes on with achievement no. 3 (l. 19f.), namely the rebuilding of an aqueduct known as *Aquae Arentani* (cf. Annibaldi p. 102). In this section, one observes the accusative *quas* instead of *quae* (*Aquas ..., quas ... iam delaps(a) e fuerant*), something which I would *a priori* prefer to attribute to the engraver – who had just engraved *Aquas* – rather than to the general "vulgar" and late tendency to substitute accusatives for nominatives. However, what makes one

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[74] "e quanti e quali sono stati i benefici che ha arrecato a noi ed alla nostra città!", Buonocore 1984, 240; "de travaux de quelle grandeur et de quelle qualité", Goddard p. 1031.

[75] Here the use of a distributive number is of course justified, whereas *dena* in l. 24 is clearly an error.

[76] "attirandosi, in questo modo, il consenso [di tutti]", Buonocore 1984, 240; Goddard (p. 1031) seems to leave this untranslated.

[77] "Tra le sue prestazioni", Buonocore 1984, 240; "Parmi ses travaux", Goddard p. 1031.

[78] Thus Annibaldi and Buonocore 1984 (who translates "grandiosi *munera*"; a translation of *civitati n(ostrae)* seems to have been omitted). Goddard correctly translates "à notre très splendide cité".

think is the fact that we find another *quas* for *quae* in l. 21 (*thermas, quas …
disperierant*). For the ablative *lacis* instead of *lacubus* cf. *porticis* in l. 22. [79]

Achievement no. 4 follows in l. 21-5. This longer section says that Sofronius had at his own expense (*inpendiis*) and with his own money[80] rebuilt the
baths, adding porticoes and all kind of decoration (*omni ornamento*) and also
statues,[81] this resulting in the *pulcri<tu>do* of the edifice. Furthermore, Sofronius had dedicated the baths "in the name of Constantius Caesar" on November
13, said to be the *natalis* of the same Constantius, to celebrate which occasion
he had offered two days of theatrical performances and ten performances (*spectaculis* having by a curious mistake been engraved instead of *spectacula*) of
Iuvenalia in the presence of Claudius Uranius, "our" *corrector*, i.e. *corrector*
of Flaminia and Picenum (*PLRE* I Uranius 4, apparently also mentioned in *CIL*
IX 4517). This is a notable passage which certainly merits some annotation. For
quas instead of *quae* cf. above; as for the verb *disperierant*, according to the
Clauss-Slaby database, this is the only certain instance of *disperire* in the whole
corpus of Latin inscriptions.[82] But what seems even more notable is that in the
whole corpus of Latin in general, or at least of pre-medieval Latin, there is not a
single other instance of *disperire* being applied to buildings, for the assertion in
the *Thesaurus*, under the heading "*de rebus corporeis*" (*TLL* V 1, 1405, 57ff.),
that Cassiodorus uses the verb *disperire* of *aedificia*, is based on a curious misunderstanding.[83] As for the time when the baths had "perished", it is defined by

[79] For *lacubus* in inscriptions dealing with aqueducts, cf. *ILS* 5764, 5777, for *lacibus* see *Suppl. It.* 4 Albingaunum 7. For further instances of second-declination forms of *porticus*, see *TLL* X 2, 1 (1980) 24, 45ff.

[80] For the reading *pecunia sua* (rather than *sua pecunia*), see n. 21.

[81] In the text as we have it, the statues are mentioned only after the *pulcri<tu>do* which one would assume to have been meant as a description of the final result, including the statues. I thus wonder whether the intended original wording could not have been *omni ornamento statuisque decoravit*; this would furnish a verb also for *omni ornamento*.

[82] It is true that *male dispereat* is read in the *defixiones CIL* I² 2520abcde = A. Kropp, *Defixiones* (Speyer 2008), no. 1.4.4/8-1.4.4/12, but only as the result of the correction of *disperdat* to *dispereat*.

[83] The passage cited in the *Thesaurus*, in *psalm*. 128,6, runs as follows (see the edition of M. Adriaen in *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina* vol. XCVIII [1958] p. 1184): *Solent aedificia deserta in cacuminibus caduca fena producere, quae ante tempus collectionis arefacta dispereunt, quia nulla firmissima radice viguerunt.* It should, of course, be obvious that *disperire* is here applied to *fena*, not to *aedificia*.

the adverbs *iam olim* and *antiquitus*, placed before and after the verb. There does not seem to be a single parallel for this combination of these adverbs.

The baths are said to have been dedicated *nomine d(omini) n(ostri) Constanti beatiss(imi) Caes(aris)*. This can hardly mean "in the name of Constantius Caesar", at least if this formulation is taken to imply that Sofronius had dedicated the baths meant to have been dedicated by Constantius Caesar himself. Instead, this expression probably rather means that the baths now bore Constantius' name, i.e., that they were now called, in the same way as bathing establishments in Limisa in Africa and Ephesus,[84] *thermae Constantianae*; this would also explain the fact that no name is given for the baths in l. 21, when they are first mentioned.

Although the genitive *d(omini) n(ostri) Constanti* already depends on one ablative, namely *nomine*, it clearly also depends – in a most awkward way – on another ablative, *natale*; surely it would have been preferable to say, e.g., *nomine d(omini) n(ostri) Constanti …, (die) natali eiusdem*. The expression *natale* is taken by all commentators of this inscription from Annibaldi onwards to refer not to Constantius' birthday but to the anniversary of his nomination to Caesar in 324 AD,[85] and perhaps there is no other possible interpretation, for Constantius, one of the sons of Constantine, is said to have been born on August 7,[86] whereas his nomination to Caesar is in our sources given as November 8, AD 324.[87] As our inscription speaks of November 13, the only question remaining would then be which of our sources has the correct date.[88] However, the fact

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[84] *AE* 2004, 1681; *CIL* III 14195, 28 = *ILS* 5704 = *I. Ephesos* 1314.

[85] Annibaldi p. 103, Buonocore 1984, p. 240 and Segenni p. 89: "nel giorno della sua nomina a Cesare" (all with the same words); Goddard 1031: "Le jour de son avènement". The same view is taken by W. Seston, *REA* 39 (1937) 197 (referred to by Segenni) and in *PLRE* Constantius 8.

[86] Thus in the *fasti* of Philocalus, *Inscr. It.* XIII 2, p. 253 and in those of Polemius Silvius, ibid. p. 271 (cf. A. Degrassi, *Inscr. It.* XIII 2, 492).

[87] Thus the *Consularia Constantinopolitana*, Th. Mommsen, in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores antiquissimi* IX p. 232 (cf. also ibid. the *Chronicon Paschale* on AD 325); the *fasti* of Philocalus, *Inscr. It.* XIII 2, p. 259 (speaking of *natalis*); Amm. 14,5,1 (dealing with AD 353), where *Octobres* must be corrected to *Novembres* (*diem sextum Idus Octobres, qui imperii eius annum vicesimum terminabat*).

[88] Seston (n. 85) and Segenni p. 89 accept the testimony of our inscription (and Seston in n. 1 adds that the date November 8 is an error). But other scholars seem to stick to the traditional date, thus assuming that the date mentioned in our inscription is wrong (thus Degrassi (above n. 86) 529; *PLRE*

is that *natalis* normally means "birthday", and this obviously raises the question whether *natalis* can have also had the meaning "anniversary". As this question does not seem to have been addressed in the earlier studies dealing with this inscription, it may be of some use if I quote some parallels taken from the fairly recent lemma "natalis" in the *TLL* (IX 1, 122ff.) which do seem to show that *natalis* could also have this meaning, although it must be said that the instances are rare.[89] This having been settled, we may conclude this section by observing that since the dedication of the restored baths took place on November 13 and the meeting of the decurions was held in December 7, the meeting took place not very many weeks after the dedication.

The fifth and final reason for the bestowal of the patronate is given in the following form (l. 25f.): *cives et ordinem n(ostrum) aepulis ex suis viribus confrequentavit*. As seen by Buonocore,[90] this must be a continuation of what was said under the previous heading, as the festivities mentioned there must have been concluded by a banquet. As for the formulations of this clause, the expression *ex suis viribus* must mean the same as *pecunia sua*, i.e. "from his own means" (perhaps the writer of the text, who had used *pecunia sua* in l. 21, aimed at some variation). There do not seem to be many parallels for the term *vires* being used in the sense of "means"; however, cf. *ILAlg.* II 7949/7950 from Cuicul, *qui … suis virib(us) propriaq(ue) pecunia instituit perfecit et … dedicavit* (the object of this building operation is unknown).[91] To continue, both the expression

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I Constantius 8, adding "not Nov. 13, as *AE* 1937, 119"; B. Bleckmann, in *Der Neue Pauly* 3 (1997) 146; D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle,* (Darmstadt 52011) 314.

[89] In Cic. *Att.* 3,20,1 of 58 BC, Cicero writes *natalem reditus mei cura, ut … agam tecum et cum meis*; *natalis reditus mei* here obviously cannot be translated otherwise than as "the anniversary of my return (i.e., from exile)". Further instances: *Paneg.* 6(7),2,3, *quamvis … ille felicissimus dies proxima religione celebratus imperii tui* (of Constantine) *natalis habeatur*; *Hist. Aug. Hadr.* 4,6 *Quintum iduum August(arum) diem legatus Suriae litteras adoptionis accepit, quando et natalem adoptionis celebrari iussit*; ibid. § 7 *Tertium iduum earundem, quando et natalem imperii statuit celebrandum, excessus ei Traiani nuntiatus est*; *Hist. Aug. Pert.* 15,5 *Circenses et imperii* (of Pertinax) *natalis additi, qui a Severo postea sublati sunt*; Pol. Silv. *fast.* Oct. 23 (*Inscr. It.* XIII 2, p. 273) *natalis Valentiniani purpurae* ("the anniversary of Valentinian's purple", i.e. of his becoming emperor in AD 424). Cf. also the Christian instances of the type *natalis martyrii* in *TLL* IX 1, 125, 47ff.

[90] This becomes clear from his translation, which begins with "a conclusione delle celebrazioni imbandì a sue spese banchetti".

[91] Cf. *CIL* VIII 4766 = 18700 (Macomades in Numidia, AD 293/305), *aquae ductum … lacum viribus*

epulis confrequentare and the verb *confrequentare* itself are also of some interest. This verb, in general a rare word but used in our document also in l. 35, is in epigraphical Latin according to the definitions of the *OLD* used in the sense "to visit frequently or in large numbers" and "to celebrate, keep (a festival, etc.); to keep in mind, maintain (the memory of the dead)"; it is in the first sense that it is used below in l. 35 (cf. below at n. 106). But in most epigraphical instances the use of *confrequentare* is either somehow related to graves and to yearly festivities such as the *rosalia* celebrated in memory of dead relatives, or to celebrations recurring each year such as birthdays, also after the death of the person whose birthday is celebrated.[92] As objects of this verb we find *natale/natalis*, *sacrificium*, *memoria quiescentium*, *rosalia, sollemnes dies*, *locus* (*aediculae*), *templa deorum* and perhaps also *sepulcrum* (see n. 92). But here we find this verb most strikingly used with *cives et ordinem n(ostrum)* as its object and defined by the instrumental ablative *aepulis* (this must mean something like "he provided the citizens etc. in a lavish way with banquets"). Possibly the writer of the text had the verb *frequentare* in mind, as this verb is also, as pointed out in *TLL* VI 1, 1309,23ff., used "de animantibus", sometimes accompanied by an instrumental or other ablative.[93] However, even with this verb it does not seem possible to find a parallel for the phrase used in our inscription.

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rei p(ublicae) ... Val(erius) Ant[oninus v(ir) p(erfectissimus) p(raeses) p(rovinciae) N(umidiae) ...]: it appears that the governor Antoninus had arranged for the reparation of the aqueduct, but that the work was paid for by the municipality (*viribus rei p(ublicae)*).

92   See the instances cited in *TLL* IV 254, 33-40. For celebrations at someone's grave note *CIL* VI 23363a, *rogo vos, ut eo loco post me sacrificium confrequentetis*; *CIL* X 2015 = *ILS* 8235 *ad confrequentandam memoriam quiescentium*; *CIL* III 7526 = *ISM* II 371 *rosalia confrequentavimus* (the author of this *TLL* article also suggests that the reading of *CIL* X 3147 = *ILS* 8268 should be *hoc sepulcr[um con]frequentent* instead of *frequentent*). Instances in which *confrequentare* is used in the sense "to celebrate (a birthday)": *CIL* X 107 = *ILS* 6466 (Croto) *ut ex usuris eorum quodquod annis* [i.e., *quotannis*] *VII Idus Apriles natale filiae meae epulantes confrequentetis*; *CIL* X 451 = *AE* 1989, 187 (Eburum), *ut quodannis natalis eius die III Iduum Decembr(ium) confrequentu[r]*; cf. *CIL* XI 2650 (Saturnia), *ex cuius usuris die VII Kal(endas) Martias natali eius ... confreq(uentatione) et spor(tulatione) [f]ungan[t]ur*. Celebration of other festivities: *CIL* XIV 4570, *Locus ... ad sollemnes dies confrequentandos*. In two cases the verb is used with an object indicating a place or a building of a religious nature: *CIL* VI 10234 = *ILS* 7213, *locum* (*aediculae* of the cult of the *collegium Aesculapi et Hygiae*); *CIL* VI 35769, *templa deorum*.

93   E.g. Tac. *ann.* 5,10 *iuvenis iam iuventutis concursu, iam publicis studiis frequentabatur*; ibid. 13,18 *ne coetu salutantium frequentaretur*; Suet. *Tib*. 12,2 *vitans ... praeternavigantium officia quibus frequentabatur assidue*.

We have now arrived at the proposal, discussed above, to elect Sofronius as patron as presented to the decurions (l. 26f.): *ergo merito consen{se}tiri nos et … Pompeianum patronum pr(a)eficiamus*. The proposal is followed, as in some other *tabulae*, by a remark of the *principales*, who suggest that the election may well result in further benefits, this suggestion surely being addressed to Sofronius himself no less than to the decurions:[94] *cuius defenssionis* (sic) *auxilia concurrentibus bene{ne}ficiis pluria in nos conferri speremus* (l. 28f.).[95] The expression *defensionis auxilia* seems unique to the two *tabulae* from Amiternum (for that from AD 335 see n. 95), but *defensio* and *defensus* often appear in similar contexts, and one can also produce parallels for *auxilium*.[96]

In l. 29 we have what Sherk (*Municipal Decrees* p. 68) calls "formula of transition" (i.e. from the "theme" to the decree proper), for the most part abbreviated, as was usual: *q(uid) d(e) ea r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret), universi i(ta)*

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[94] Cf. above at n. 45. For instances in similar contexts of references to expectations as to what will follow from someone's election to patron, cf., e.g., *CIL* VI 1492 = *ILS* 6106 (c. AD 101), *futurumque ut tantae virtutis vir auxilio sit futurus municipio nostro*; *CIL* IX 3429 = *ILS* 6110 (Peltuinum, AD 242), *patrona … quo magis magisque … dignatione benignitatis eius gloriosi et in omnibus tuti ac defensi esse possimus*; *CIL* XI 1354 = F. Frasson, *Le epigrafi di Luni romana* I (2013) 105-11 (AD ?255), *unde credim<u>s grandi cumulo repleri num(erum) n(ostrum), si eum nobis patron(um) cooptem<u>s*; *CIL* XI 5749 = *ILS* 7221 = *AE* 1992, 562 (Sentinum, AD 261), *quod in praeteritum … beneficia praestita susceperimus, nunc etiam in futurum non dissimilia, quae nunc sentimus, perpetuo ex domu{m} eorum processura pari adfectione{m} speramus*; *CIL* X 476 = *ILS* 6112 (Paestum, AD 337), *tabula patronatus …, quam cum suscipere fuerit dignatus, speramus for{t} e, quod et nos et patriam nostram in omnibus fobeat*; *CIL* X 478 = *ILS* 6114 (Paestum, AD 344), … *patronatum offeramus; credimus, quod in omnibus nos patriamque nostram fobere dignetur*. Cf. also, e.g., *CIL* X 477 and *AE* 1990, 211 cf. *AE* 1995, 74 (both from Paestum, AD 347); and C. Badel – P. Le Roux in M. Corbier – J.-P. Guilhembet (eds.), *L'écriture dans la maison romaine*, Paris 2011, 179.

[95] In the *tabula* of AD 335 from Amiternum pertaining to Sofronius' son, the same suggestion appears in a similar form: *unde spes magna et def[ens]i<o>nis auxilia beneficiis concurrentibus pluria [in nos] conferri speremus*. The expression *beneficia concurrentia* is attested only in these two *tabulae*.

[96] For *defensus, defensio* etc. ,cf., e.g., *CIL* V 532 = *ILS* 6680 = *Inscr. It.* X 4, 31 = *AE* 1975, 423 (Tergeste, AD 138-161) *uti patriam su[am] … ab omnib[us] iniuriis tutam defensamque praestaret*; *AE* 1991, 713 (Fidentia, AD 206); *CIL* IX 3429 = *ILS* 6110 (Peltuinum, AD 242), *in omnibus tuti ac defensi*; *CIL* IX 10 = *ILS* 6113 (Neretum, AD 341), *tutos defensosq(ue)*. For *auxilium*, see *CIL* VI 1492 = *ILS* 6106 (n. 94); and cf. the honorific inscription of the third century, *CIL* VI 41228 … *Archelao c(larissimo) v(iro) … Valerii … foti semper eius auxilis* (*fovere* is a verb which is often used to describe the activities of patrons; cf. above n. 94).

c(ensuerunt). In most decrees, *de ea re* is repeated after *placeret* (*quid de ea re fieri placeret, de ea re ita censuerunt ...*), but this shorter version is also attested.[97]

The decree follows in l. 30-35. Whereas decrees are more commonly formulated as indirect speech and thus normally begin with *placere*, here the decree appears as a quote from the "speech" from the decurions and thus as direct speech introduced by *placet* followed by the *accusativus cum infinitivo* construction *consentiri nos* (for the infinitive, cf. above at n. 68). There are several parallels for this.[98] This is another section characterised both by striking expressions and by striking errors. As for the former, *allegatio* in the sense of *relatio* ("proposal"), which is, of course, the standard expression, is without any parallel,[99] and the use of this particular expression is all the more striking when one considers that the writer of the text uses the appropriate verb *referre* in the next line and is thus, when he so wishes, perfectly aware of the correct vocabulary. (One wonders whether a possible explanation could not be that the writer, aiming at variation, wanted to avoid the repetition of words derived from the same root.) As for the *allegatio* being described here as *iusta* (and cf. the presenting of the proposal being described as having been done *recte*), there are some instances of a *relatio* being characterised by an adjective.[100]

In what follows (*placet ... allegationi ... principalium referentibus consentiri nos*), *referentibus*, pertaining to the two *principales*, is of course a mistake for the genitive; perhaps the writer had forgotten that he had written *allegationi* (*... consentiri*) followed by the names of the *principales* in the genitive, and was now under the impression that he was using the construction *principalibus referentibus consentiri*. As in the proposal of the *principales* in l. 21f., the writer

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[97] E.g., *AE* 1966, 607 = *IAM* II 307 (Sala in Mauretania) *quit de ea re fieri placeret, secundum sententiam Q. Cor(neli) Capellae c(uncti) c(ensuerunt)*; *CIL* XI 2702 = *ILS* 7217 (Volsinii, AD 224), *q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret), u(niversi) i(ta) c(ensuerunt)*.

[98] E.g., *AE* 1998, 282 (Lavinium, AD 228), *placet itaq(ue) universis ...*; *CIL* VI 29682, *ideo placet cuncto ordini n(ostro) ...*; *CIL* IX 10 = *ILS* 6113 (Neretum, AD 341), *placet itaque universo populo ...*; with perfect *placuit*: *AE* 1961, 156 = 1963, 155 = *ILN* 2 Digne 3 (AD 187); *AE* 1991, 713 (Fidentia, AD 206), *placuit universis*; *CIL* X 3698 = *ILS* 4175 (Cumae, AD 289), *placuit universis*.

[99] According to the Clauss-Slaby database, the only other epigraphical attestation of *allegatio* is in a Christian inscription of AD 534, *ICVR* 4116a (where it is used in its normal meaning).

[100] In *CIL* XI 970 = *ILS* 7216 (AD 190) we find *honesta*, in *CIL* XI 1354 (AD 255) *salubris*, in *CIL* XI 5748 = *ILS* 7220 (AD 260) *gloriosa*. Goddard translates *iusta* here as "pertinent".

now moves on to the hortative subjunctive *praeficiamus*, thus abandoning the *AcI* construction *placet ... consentiri nos*. In a notable way, the man who in l. 22 is called *C. Sallius Pompeianus* is now called *C. Sallius Sofronius* (but of course he did have both cognomina). The decree is rounded off by an articulation of the hope of the decurions that Sofronius accept the honour that is being offered to him (*hunc honorem obblatum a {no}nobis ... patronatus*),[101] formulated with a hortative subjunctive (*qui ... suscipiat*, l. 33f.), with a short reference to Sofronius' merits inserted: *meritus ex origine dignus*. One can, of course, understand the meaning of this, but one wonders if something – e.g., an *<et>* after *meritus* but perhaps even more – could be missing, for *meritus* ("well-deserving") seems singularly lame in this context (although it can of course be argued that Sofronius' merits have already been set out in detail). In any case, although *meritus* is common in the dative, accompanied by *bene* (or *optime*), its use in the nominative is (perhaps understandably) rare; in fact, the Clauss-Slaby database offers only 17 instances of *meritus* without *bene*, many of them either Christian or metric or both; and adding *bene* (22 instances) does not really change the picture. As for *ex origine dignus*, where *origo* stands for "ancestry", see above n. 50.

What follows in l. 34*, aere inciso tabula hospiti*, must be meant to explain that the *honor* consisted not only of the patronate but also of the bronze *tabula*. One way of making sense of this is to assume that this phrase is meant as an ablative absolute, where *inciso* is a mistake for the expected feminine form *incisa*, perhaps influenced by the preceding word *aere*; on the other hand, two fourth-century *tabulae* from Paestum also have the reading *(a)ere inciso* where one would expect the participle *incisus* to have been furnished with a feminine ending in order to have it accord with the feminine noun *tabula*.[102] I thus wonder whether it could not be assumed that *aere inciso*, which leaves the impression of being an ablative absolute, had by the fourth century somehow become a "fossilized" expression with the meaning "in bronze", which did not have to be adjusted to the syntax of the clause it was used in. As for *hospiti*, the expression *tabula hospiti(i)* (clearly to be understood as meaning the same as *tabula patronatus*) certainly seems acceptable, but the *tabula* from AD 335 speaks of a

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[101] *patronatus* is surely a genitive and must define *honorem* (cf. "honneur du patronat", Goddard), not *tabula* (l. 34), which is defined by *hospiti*.

[102] *CIL* X 476 = *ILS* 6112, *ut tabula(m) patronatus aere inciso ... offeramus*; *CIL* X 477, *ut tabulam patronatus ere inciso ... offerimus*.

tabula hospitalis, so that there is possibility that the reading of this inscription should also be *tabula hospit<al>i* (thus the text of Goddard).[103]

The text ends with another item familiar from *tabulae patronatus*, namely with an observation on the future location of the *tabula*. Normally, it is the *domus* of the patron that is mentioned as the place where the *tabula* will be hung up;[104] in a *tabula* of AD 206 from Fidentia it is said that the patron may himself choose the exact location of the *tabula* within his *domus*.[105] But the formulation here, *qui … ubi iusserit confrequentari praecipiat*, must mean something like "whom we ask to indicate where he orders [the *tabula*] to be frequented (or: visited frequently)", and this formulation seems to imply that the *tabula* was meant to be kept not in the *domus* of Sofronius but in a public space. As apparently for the first time observed by P. Sabbatini Tumolesi in 1990,[106] an observation which was developed by E. Cimarosti in 2012,[107] the *tabulae* as we have them, or least those issued by municipalities (as contrasted with *collegia*, etc.), must be divided into two groups: those meant to decorate the *domus* of the patron (the "copia domestica" in the terminology of Cimarosti) and those, not necessarily identical in wording with those of the former group but making the same point, meant to be kept on display in a public place (the "copia curiale"). Our *tabula* clearly belongs to the latter group. As its exact future location is left for Sofronius the patron to decide, it seems that we must conclude that there were several possible spaces in Amiternum in which a public document of this type could be displayed.

What is one to make of the Latin used in this *tabula*? On the one hand, it seems pretty clear that we may conclude that the person who drafted the text must have had serious difficulties in formulating his thoughts in understandable Latin, and thus we may see this text as documenting in an interesting way the

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[103] Badel – Le Roux (above n. 94) 182, no. 5 read *hospitali* without brackets.

[104] See Badel – Le Roux (above n. 94) 167-88, esp. 172-74.

[105] *AE* 1991, 713, *placuit universis tabulam aeneam patrocinal(em) ei poni in parte domus eius, qua permiserit*.

[106] P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *MGR* 15 (1990) 249f. In this article, the author was publishing a *tabula* (*AE* 1990, 211) from Paestum of August 1, AD 347 conferring the patronate to a certain Aquilius Nestorius, the same man to whom the patronate had been conferred on the very same day according to the *tabula*, also from Paestum, already published as *CIL* X 477.

[107] Cimarosti (above n. 1) 287-308.

"decay" of Latin, and even of the Latin that was used in a public document, in the fourth century. On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the author of this text did know at least the basic characteristics of the type of document he was trying to draft, for we find here many traces of the normal structure of a *tabula patronatus* including a reference to a decree and much of the normal vocabulary and also many of the normal abbreviations (*v(erba) f(ecerunt)*, *q(uid) d(e) ea r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret)*, etc.). More interestingly, the person who wrote the text does seem to display higher ambitions in his use of Latin and must have been surprisingly keen on choosing unusual and *recherché* expressions, for otherwise it seems difficult to explain his choice of expressions such as *obvenire* for *convenire* (l. 3), *floridus* to describe *honor* (l. 6), *consensum accire* (l. 8), *perportare* (l. 13), *disperire* "to be ruined" applied to a building (l. 21), *aliquem patronum praeficere* (l. 27 and 32f.), *concurrentia beneficia* (l. 28), *epulis confrequentare* (l. 26). Moreover, the writer of the text seems at places to try to aim at variation; at least this ambition may be indicated by the fact that, after having said *confidemus* in l. 7, he says *fidi sumus* in l. 8; or that he wrote, in l. 26, *ex suis viribus* which must mean the same as *pecunia sua*, an expression he had used in l. 21. Possibly he had chosen to use the term *allegatio* instead of *relatio* in l. 30, as he was going to use the verb *referre*, from which *relatio* is of course derived, in the next line (and cf. perhaps also *delabor* in line 19, where one would prefer *collabor*). Perhaps we may thus conclude that the man who drafted the text was a person of some modest literary ambitions; however, these are obscured by the fact that Lucentius the engraver (who re-emerges in the tablet from AD 335, but surprisingly as the *proc(urator)* of the vicani Forulani) seems to have been more or less unqualified for his job.

I conclude by presenting a text in which I have incorporated, indicated in bold, the suggestions made above. The text is followed by a very tentative translation which is purposely vague in many details.

> *Paulino et Iuliano co(n)ss(ulibus) VII Idus Dec(embres). / Amiterni in curia Septimiana Augustea ann˙**i**˙ die freq<u>entissimo, / cum frequentes numerus decurionum obvenissent ordinis (h)abendi / causa{usa}, scribundo adfuit Avidius Iovianus principalis, ibi /* [(5)] *Atrius Arrenianus et Vergilianus Albinus sen(atores)*[108] *principale<s> v(erba) f(ecerunt): /*

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[108] Or perhaps *sen(ior)*, see above n. 9.

{ob} honorem *floridum ordinis* n(ostri) *et dignitatem patriae civium/q(ue)
sp<l>endorem atcrevisse confidemus,* d(omini) c(onscripti), *quod aetiam
vestrum / consensum acc´i`re fidi sumus{umus},* **<si>** *pro humanitatis
et laborum {adque} industriam / similem ex origine prisca < ….
Sofronium patronum>* **cooptemus,** *quod quidem nos olim fecisse opor/*
(10)*tuerat;* ´**itaque** ⌐109 *omnes rogemus,* **<ut>** *hunc* (h)*onorem nostrum
conprobare / dignetur C. Sallius Pompeianus Sofronius, pronepos
Salli Procu/li* pat(roni), *fil(ius)* Sal(li) *Proculi patroni,* **pat(ronus)**110
ord(inis) *Aveia{ia}tium* Vest(inorum); **<Pompeianum igitur Sofronium**
(?)**>** *patronum co/{h}optemus, si modo de eius dignatione testimonium
perportemus; quis / etenim* **<non gaudeat** (?)**),>** *immo* ´**exultet´,** ´**cum** ⌐111
suam proferat volumptatem. Ideo igitur, domini co(n)s/(15)*cripti, quod
ex origine prisca genus eiusdem* **patronatu{s}**112 *olim pro/cesserint et
labores quantos [[et quantos]] et quales in nos [[contulit]] / et patriam
nostram contulit; quiq(ue) ex suis laboribus munera patro/natus dena
et sena* magg(istratibus) *filiorum suorum sple<n>didissimae civita/ti*
n(ostrae) *cum favore ededit; Aquas Arentani, quas* (sic) *iam delaps(a)e
 fuerant, /* (20) *civitati* n(ostrae) *additis lacis castellisq(ue) salientes
restituit; / thermas, quas* (sic) *iam olim disperierant antiquitus inpendiis
et pecunia* `sua´ */ cum porticis novis factis et omni ornamento at
pulcri<tu>dinem restauravit / statuisque decoravit et nomine* d(omini)
n(ostri) *Constanti* beatiss(imi) Caes(aris) *nata/le Idibus* Nob(embribus)
dedicavit, quarum dedicatione biduum t(h)*eatrum et dena Iuve-/*(25)
naliorum spectaculis (sic) *exs(h)ibuit sub* pr(a)esentia Cl(audi) *Urani*
v(iri) p(erfectissimi) corr(ectoris) n(ostri); *cives et or/dinem* n(ostrum)
*aepulis ex suis viribus confrequentavit; ergo merito consen|{se}-
tiri nos et C. Sallium Pompeianum patronum* pr(a)*eficiamus, / cuius
defens{s}ionis auxilia concur'r´entibus bene{ne}ficiis pluria / in nos
conferri speremus.* Q(uid) d(e) *ea* r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret), *universi* i(ta)
c(ensuerunt): / (30) *placet ius[[ius]]tae allegationi Atri Arreni`ani´
et* Verg(iliani) *Albini principa/lium ordinis* n(ostri) *recte at ordinem*

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109 Cf. above at n. 55.

110 Cf. above at n. 58.

111 Cf. above at n. 65.

112 Cf. above at n. 72.

n(ostrum) referentibus (sic) *consentiri nos, / et C. Sallium Sofronium patronum ordinis et patriae n(ostrae) praeficia/mus, qui meritus <et?>ex origine dignus hunc honorem obblatum* (sic) *a {no} / nobis {su}suscipiat patronatus aere incis˙a* ˙[113] *tabula hospiti et / ubi iusserit confrequentari praecipiat. / Scul(psit) Ant(istius) Lucentius.*

During the consulship of Paulinus and Iulianus, on the 7th day of the Ides of December; when, on the most frequented day of the year, at Amiternum in the *curia Septimiana Augustea* an abundant number of decurions had gathered in order to have a meeting, the secretary[114] being Avidius Iovianus the *principalis*, the *principales* Atrius Arrenianus and Vergilianus Albinus senior proposed the following motion: "We are confident, gentlemen fellow decurions, that the glorious honour of our order, the dignity of our city and the splendour of our citizens will increase, and we are sure that we will obtain your approval for this, if, because of his diligence in exercising his humanity and industry, similar to that of his ancestors of ancient origins, we coopt …. Sofronius as patron, something which we ought to have done a long time ago; therefore let us all request that C. Sallius Pompeianus Sofronius, great-grandson of Sallius Proculus our patron, son of Sallius Proculus our patron, patron of the senate of Aveia of the Vestini, deign to approve of this honour conferred by us. Let us thus coopt Pompeianus Sofronius as patron, if only we could receive from him an assurance of his compliance (with our wish). Who would not be pleased, or rather rejoice, when he pronounces his assent? Therefore, gentlemen fellow decurions,

because his family has provided patrons going back to a distant past and has conferred so many and so great benefactions on us and on our city;

and who has from his own resources to great applause offered to our splendid city sixteen gladiatorial shows apposite to a patron in each case at the occasion of the terms of office of his sons;

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[113] Cf. above at n. 102, where, however, I also observe that *aere inciso tabula* could possibly be correct.

[114] Normally *scribundo adesse*, of course, means "to act as witness"; and Buonocore accordingly translates "fu presente in qualità di testimone". However, the fact that we find here just one person, whereas earlier documents of this type normally mention several witnesses, seems to favour Goddard's interpretation, who translates this passage as "siégea en tant que secrétaire" (p. 1030).

(and because) he has restored for our city the aqueduct, with water running in it, of Arentanum (?) which had already fallen into ruins, adding cisterns and reservoirs;

(and because) he has from his own resources and with his own money restored, achieving a beautiful result, the baths which had perished a long time ago, adding new porticoes and every kind of ornamentation, and then decorated them with statues, and dedicated them, giving them the name of our master Constantius the most blissful Caesar, on his (Constantius') birthday on the Ides of November, at the dedication of which he exhibited two days of theatrical performances and ten spectacles of *Iuvenalia* in the presence of Claudius Uranius, *vir perfectissimus*, our *corrector*;

(and because) he has from his own means entertained our citizens and our order with banquets,

let us thus with good reason agree to coopt C. Sallius Pompeianus as patron, hoping that he will lend us even more assistance, accompanied by other benefactions, by acting as our defender."

As to what should be done about this matter, the position of everyone was as follows: "It is our decision to agree with the justified proposition of Atrius Arrenianus and Vergilianus Albinus, *principales* of our order, who are correct in having introduced this matter to our order, and let us coopt C. Sallius Sofronius as patron of our order and of our city. Let him, who is both well-deserving and because of his ancestry worthy (of this honour), accept this honour of the patronate conferred by us, the document of the hospitality (agreement) having been inscribed on bronze, and (let him) give instructions as to where he orders (the document) to be publicly exposed." Engraved by Antistius Lucentius.

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ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

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CCCVI. NEUE NAMEN UND KEIN ENDE

Auf gewohnte Weise folgt eine Auslese von neuen lateinischen Cognomina und neuen Belegen von selteneren Namenbildungen.[1]

 Abentius: Kajanto 357 mit drei Belegen. So eine Form kann aber keinen autonomen Namen darstellen, denn ein Partizip *abens*, aus welchem der Namen abgeleitet sein soll, existiert nicht (das Präsenspartizip von *abeo* lautet ja *abiens*): Die Formen mit *Abent-* vertreten sekundäre Graphien entweder von *Aventius* oder *Habentius*. Zu den von Kajanto verzeichneten Belegen sind aus Rom *Bull. com.* 68 (1940) 197 Nr. 1 *Reburri Abenti* (vorliegt wohl ein Reburrius Abentius) und S. Orlandi, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano* VI: *Roma. Anfiteatri e strutture annesse con una nuova edizione e commento delle iscrizioni del Colosseo* (2004) 186f Nr. 15. 3a *loca Abentiorum* (4./5. Jh.) hinzuzufügen; oft in christlichen Inschriften (in *ICUR* sind insgesamt acht Namensträger verzeichnet, von denen fünf den Frauennamen *Aventia* führen). Sonst *AE* 2005, 463-464 (Carsulae, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Abenti* am Anfang von zwei Ehreninschriften, also ein Signum.[2] In einem weiteren stadtrömischen Fall, *ICUR* 15510 *Abentus, cata nomen anima bona* war der Name wohl *Aventius*, wie aus dem Ausdruck *cata nomen anima bona* zu schließen ist.

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[1] Ich danke herzlich Felix Schulte für die Revision meines deutschen Ausdruckes. Olli Salomies hat auf einige kürzlich aufgetauchte Namenbelege hingewiesen und Bemerkungen verschiedener Art beigesteuert. Mika Kajava hat die Fahnen durchgelesen. Pekka Tuomisto hat mich bei der Kompilation der Verzeichnisse auf S. 216-256 unterstützt. Ihnen allen geht mein herzlicher Dank.

[2] Schon in *Arctos* 37 (2003) 178 unter *Habentius*, so unkritisch in der Nachfolge von *AE*.

Anulla: Kajanto 301 mit vier Belegen aus Africa. Der Name ist aber auch mehrmals in den hispanischen Provinzen belegt: *CIL* II 1205. 1979. II^2 5, 106. 608. 1043; *AE* 1982, 594. 2012, 672. 687; *I. Cáceres* (2007) I 325 (warum Kajanto nur einige von diesen verzeichnet, versteht man nicht). In Africa noch *ILAlg* II 3871 (Castellum Tidditanorum); *IAM* 2, 476 (Volubilis). [Vgl. auch *Arctos* 40 (2006)132. 46 (2012) 194.]

Ap(p)uleianus: Kajanto 140 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 195. Dazu noch *SEG* XXXV 1365 (Aizanoi in Phrygien, 2. Jh.) M. Οὔλ. Ἀππουληιανὸς Φλαβιανὸς υἱὸς M. Οὐλ. Ἀππουληίου ἀρχιερέως Ἀσίας; XLII 1188 (Aizanoi, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) Ἀππουληιανός; *AE* 2012, 1688 (Konana in Pisidien) Αὐρ. Ἰούλιος Ἀππουλειανός (3. Jh.).

!**Attinulus**: *CIL* IV 6788. Die Lesung des Namens bleibt in der Luft hängen (das Graffito ist verschollen). Wenn wirklich *Attinulus* zu lesen sei, hätten wir ein neues lateinisches Cognomen, eine Weiterbildung von *Attinus*, s. dazu Kajanto 161 (aus dem Gentilnamen *Attius*) mit zwei Belegen. Merkwürdigerweise hält Kajanto, *NPhM* 66 (1965) 458 mit Holders *Der alt-celtische Sprachschatz* I 275f *Attinulus* für einen keltischen Namen.

Aventius: Kajanto 357 mit fünf christlichen Belegen (samt vier für den Frauennamen *Aventia*. Dazu *ICUR* 15510 *Abentus, cata nomen anima bona* (s. oben unter *Abentius*). Der Frauenname *Aventia*: heidnisch *CIL* V 8371 *Cosconia Aventia*; christlich *ICI* XIV 15 (Mediolanum) *Aventia ancilla dei*.

Batava: *CIL* XIII 8339 (Colonia Agripp.) *Aviae Batave* (Dat.), also wohl sicher Cognomen. Unsicher bleibt *AE* 2012, 1246 = *IDR* III 1, 168 (Tibiscum); in *AE* wird die Lesung *Procu[linia] Batava* vorgeschlagen statt *Procu[la Proc(uli) ? f(ilia)] Batava* von *IDR*, welche Lesung aber etwas unsicher bleibt, auch weil der Frauenname *Batava* sonst nur in *CIL* XIII 8339 belegt ist, auch wenn zuzugeben ist, dass er eine durchaus mögliche Bildung darstellt neben dem gleich unten zu behandelnden Männernamen *Batavus*.

Batavus: Kajanto 201 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 36 (2002) 108. 38 (2004) 166. Dazu *CIL* VI 8802 (ein corporis custos *ex coll(egio) Germ(anorum]* (also wohl Bataver oder wenigstens aus einem benachbarten Volk). 19653 *Aur. Bata[vus?]*; *RIU Suppl.* 107 (Brigetio) *arbitratu Batavi et Redi*; *RMD* III 195 = V 466 *M. Ulpius Batavus*, Zeuge in einem Militärdiplom von Prätorianern, 226 n. Chr.

Caecus: Kajanto 238 mit zwei Belegen: Ap. Claudius und *CIL* III 14756. Dazu noch *CIL* XII 2215 = *ILN* V 2, 351 (verschollen; die Überlieferung scheint in Ordnung zu sein). Kajanto leitet den Namen aus *caecus* ab, und in der Tat hätte der Censor von 312 nach den Alten und der Mehrheit der Forscher sein Cognomen wegen seiner Blindheit erhalten.[3] Ursprünglich scheint mir aber eher ein etruskischer Name vorzuliegen (vgl. *Caecina, Caecius*),[4] was später in dem Sinn umgedeutet wurde, dass die Blindheit des Censors die Veranlassung zur Ingebrauchnahme des Cognomens *Caecus* gab. So sind wohl die zwei kaiserzeitlichen Belege sowohl seitens der Namengeber als auch der Sprachteilhaber zu verstehen, zumal die Fundstellen weit entfernt vom etruskischen Gebiet liegen. – Fernzuhalten ist der echt griechische Name Κάικος, der in vorrömischen Inschriften einigermaßen oft belegt ist.[5]

Caelio: *AE* 2012, 773 (Bürger von Maggavia, gelegen wohl in Hisp. cit., 14 n. Chr.); *EpRomProvLeón* 274 *Caelio Amparami f. Vadinie(n)sis*. Der Name, der nur in den hispanischen Provinzen belegt ist, hat Parallelen in der einheimischen Onomastik, kann also auch als einheimisch abgestuft werden (so M. L. Albertos, *La onomastica personal primitiva de Hispania: Tarraconense y Bética*, Salamanca 1966, 68), andererseits waren aus den Gentilicia mittels des Suffixes *-io* abgeleitete Cognomina nicht selten.

Caesar: Kajanto 178 mit nur senatorischen Belegen. Der Name lässt sich aber ausnahmsweise auch in der Namensgebung des gemeinen Volkes belegen, zunächst in entlegenen Gegenden: *IPE* I[2] 2, 23 (Tyras an der nördlichen Schwarzmeerküste, 181 n. Chr.) Καῖσαρ Ζουρη ἄρχων (die Inschrift enthält

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[3] Die Zeugnisse römischer Autoren finden sich in *ThLL Onom*. II 18, 17-33 zusammengestellt. Wie gesagt, geistert diese Ansicht immer noch bei der Mehrheit der modernen Forscher herum: aus neuerer Zeit seien genannt z. B. B. Linke, 'Appius Claudius Caecus – ein Leben in Zeiten des Umbruchs', in: *Von Romulus zu Augustus. Große Gestalten der römischen Republik*, München 2000, 69; H. Rix, *Das etruskische Cognomen*, Wiesbaden 1963, 227 (etr. *ceice* wäre Entlehnung aus dem Lateinischen); H. Etcheto, 'Cognomen et appartenance familiale dans l'aristocratie médio-républicaine: à propos de l'identité du consul patricien de 328 av. J.- C.', *Athenaeum* 91 (2003) 460f.

[4] Ich habe versucht, in 'Sulla nascita del cognome a Roma': in *L'onomastica dell'Italia antica. Aspetti linguistici, storici, culturali, tipologici e classificatori*, a cura di P. Poccetti (Coll. EFR 413), Roma 2009, 268f plausible Gründe für diese Erklärung vorzubringen. Auf diese Möglichkeit hatte schon K. J. Beloch, *Römische Geschichte bis zum Beginn der punischen Kriege*, Berlin 1926, 49 hingewiesen.

[5] Bechtel, *HPN* 555 zitiert ihn aus einer mytilenäischen Inschrift der hellenistischen Zeit. Es gibt noch andere alte Belege, z. B. aus Delos (*IG* XI 142 und sonst, Ende 4. Jh.).

sonst keine Namen in abgekürzter Form, so dass die Namensform feststehen dürfte).

Caesaria: Kajanto 178 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 161. 46 (2012) 198. Dazu *PCBE Gaule* 381-385 Nr. 1-3 (von ihnen eine Adlige und zwei Äbtissinnen, alle 6. Jh.); *Afrique* 181 (Caesarea Mauret., 4./ 6. Jh.).

Caesarinus oder **Caesarianus** oder **Caesarus**: s. unten S. 257.

Caesarius: Kajanto 178 mit einem heidnischen und sieben christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 230. 39 (2005) 161. 46 (2012) 198 mit weiteren westlichen und östlichen Belegen. Dazu Symm. *epist*. 1, 75 (376-380). Christliche Würdenträger: *PCBE Italie* 376 römischer Mönch, dann Abt in Sizilien (Ende 6. Jh.); *Gaule* 386- 411 Nr. 1-5, alle 6. Jh., darunter auch ein Sklave. Hinzukommt der Märtyrer Terracina (*BSS* III [1963] 1154, Ende 2. Jh./ Anfang 4. Jh.). Weitere Christen: *IGCVO* 860 (Syracusae, 3./ 4. Jh.) Κεσάριος.

Caeserninus -a: Kajanto 161 mit einem Beleg für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Der Name kommt des Öfteren in Pompeji vor. Um mit dem Frauennamen zu beginnen, wird dieselbe von Kajanto aus *CIL* IV 90 zitierte Frau auch in 549 gegrüßt (dazu zuletzt V. Weber, *CIL* IV p. 1228, etwas konfus). Der Männername noch in *CIL* IV 1209 und 1217 (vielleicht ein und derselbe); dagegen war der von Kajanto aus *CIL* IV 3875 zitierte, aber sonst öfters in den Gräbern der Via Nucerina propagierte L. Munatius Caeserninus (*CIL* IV 3857f. 3865. 3874. 9939. 9974. 9981d. *AE* 1990, 176a) Kandidat zur Quinquennalität in Nuceria. Hinzu kommt ein fragmentarischer Beleg in *CIL* V 1139 (= *I. Aquileia* 944) *T. Pomponius Gemellus Caeser[---]* vor, wo entweder *Caeser[inus]* oder eher *Caeser[nianus]* zu ergänzen ist ansprechend; andere aus *Caesernius* abgeleitete Cognomina sind nicht bezeugt, bisher auch nicht *Caesernianus*, da aber in suffixalen Ableitungen aus Gentilicia -ianus vielfach üblicher ist aus -inus, ist eher mit der Ergänzung zu *Caeser[nianus]* zu rechnen.

Καπιτωλινία: *IG* XIV 2295 (Mediolanum, 393 n. Chr.). Weiterbildung aus *Capitolinus* mit dem der späteren Kaiserzeit charakteristischen Suffix -*ia*.

Καπιτώλιος: *Rep*. 308 aus Smyrna (Καπετώλιος). Dazu *Studia Pontica* III (1910) 244 (Amaseia) τοὔνομά σοι Καπιτώλις.

Cardo: *AE* 2012, 1125 (Siscia in Pannonia superior, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). In semasiologischer Hinsicht sind Bildungen wie *Fenestra, Ianua, Murus* (Kajanto 347) zu vergleichen.

Carus: Kajanto 284 mit 129 Belegen (samt vier Belegen als Sklavennamen). An christlichen Belegen verzeichnet Kajanto nur den Frauennamen *Cara* einmal, doch auch *Carus* lässt sich christlich belegen: *ICUR* 12582 (verhältnismäßig früh). 23178 (scheint Eigenname zu sein); *RICG* I 119 (Trier); weitere christliche Belege für *Cara*: *ICUR* 27045. 27101 (ob Eigenname). 27202 (ob Eigenname); *CIL* III 8752 = *ILCV* 280 (verhältnismäßig früh); *CIL* V 1671; *ILCV* 1849 (Baetica; ob Eigenname?). Es ist aus gut verständlichen Gründen nicht immer leicht festzulegen, ob ein Name oder ein Epithet vorliegt.

Celer: Kajanto 248 mit 461 Belegen samt 38 Belegen als Sklavennamen; an christlichen Belegen verzeichnet er nur einen: *ICUR* 826, er gibt deren aber andere: *ICUR* 22856. 14377. 15369. 25313. Ganz wie bei *Carus* lässt sich die Seltenheit christlicher Belege durch die Kürze des Namens erklären, was auch darin zur Erscheinung kommt, dass Ableitungen wie *Celerinus -a* öfter in christlichen Urkunden vorkommen.

!*Ceratus*: Kajanto 350 mit zwei Belegen, von denen der eine, *CIL* XIII 10017, 279 (Vasengraffito aus Saalburg) etwas unsicher bleibt (das Graffito kann fragmentarisch sein, etwa *[Ni]ceratus*, und der erste Buchstabe, als ⟨ wiedergegeben, könnte was anderes darstellen). Der andere gehört einem Pompejaner, den Kajanto aus den iucundinischen Tafeln zitiert; er war ein freigelassener Vedius, dessen Name öfters in Pompeji wiederkehrt (*CIL* IV 910. 2413*i*. 5914-5915; möglicherweise auch 1208).

Cervilla: Kajanto 327 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 194. 37 (2003) 175. 41 (2007) 92. Dazu *CIL* XI 5787 vgl. *AE* 2012, 479 (Sentinum, Ende 2./Anfang 3. Jh.) *Rantifana Cervilla* (Freigelassene).

Clarentius: Kajanto 279 mit drei späten Belegen. Arctos 48 (2014) 363 mit weiteren späten Belegen. Dazu noch *AE* 2012, 1891 (Thugga, christl.).

Κομιτιάλιος: *AE* 2012, 1381 (Philippi, 3. Jh.) Dat. Κομιτιαλίῳ. Späte Weiterbildung von *Comitialis* (Kajanto 220); doch kann hier auch *Comitialis* selbst vorliegen, nach der bekannten Gewohnheit, dass die Namen auf -*lis* im Griechischen durch -λιος wiedergegeben werden konnten; so wird *Vitalis* Οὐιτάλιος oder das Cognomen des Suffektkonsuls 139 L. Minicius Natalis wird Νατάλιος geschrieben (*IG* XIV 1125).

!*Compito* fem.: *AE* 2012, 1112 (Dalmatien) *Aur(elia(e?)) Compito* (welcher Kasus vorliegt, ist nicht mit Sicherheit zu bestimmen). Das feminine Suffix -*o* ist üblich im illyrischen Gebiet, und zwar besonders in einheimischen Na-

men, so dass sich die Frage erhebt, ob hier ein einheimischer Name vorliegt. Jedenfalls mutet ein aus *compitum* gebildeter Frauenname *Compito* recht sonderbar an.

Confusa(?): *CIL* XIII 638 = *ILAquit. Bordeau* 327 *[Co?]nfusae c(oniugi)*. Lesung und Deutung bleiben etwas unsicher unsicher. Hirschfeld in *CIL* wollte ////NFVSAE erkennen (von S sah er aber nur wenige Reste); die Editoren des Corpus von Bordeaux erkannten nur [---]NFV+AE, und in der Tat scheint, aus dem beigefügten Foto zu schließen, der drittletzte Buchstabe des Namens nicht mit Sicherheit entzifferbar. Doch würde man für S plädieren, nicht nur weil Hirschfeld es hat erkennen wollen, als der Stein noch etwas weniger beschädigt war, sondern auch, und vor allem, weil ein anderer Auslaut als -*usa* in Frage kommt, wenn die vorangehenden Buchstaben NF sind. Bub aber könnte der auf N folgende Buchstabe, wenn das Foto nicht trügt, auch als T bewertet werden (was als mittlerer Querstrich des F genommen wurde, könnte Beschädigung des Steins sein); damit hätten wir den schönen griechischen Namen *Ant(h)usae*. – Ob nun *confusa* 'verworren, ungeordnet' ein passendes Namenwort ist, kann jedermann selbst beurteilen.

*Crescentilia Kajanto 234 aus *CIL* VI 22800 verschwindet, auf dem Stein stand sehr wahrscheinlich CRESCENTILLA, vgl. *CIL* VI S. 3916. Zur Korruptel des Suffixes -*illa* zu -*ilia* siehe H. Solin, Che cosa possono dire agli studi linguistici iscrizioni e graffiti?, in: P. Molinelli, I. Putzu, *Modelli epistemologici, metodologie della ricerca e qualità del dato. Dalla linguistica storica alla sociolinguistica storica*, Milano 2015, 126f. Vgl. schon *Arctos* 32 (1998) 239.

Dignianus: Kajanto 280 mit einem afrikanischen Beleg. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 237, Dazu *CIL* XIII 6571 (Osterburken in Germ. sup.); *Names on Terra sigillata* III 273 Töpfer, aktiv möglicherweise in Trier (2. Hälfte des 2./ 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.).

Egnatianus: Kajanto 146 mit sieben Belegen. *Rep.*[2] 499. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 171. 39 (2005) 1168. 48 (2014) 365. Dazu *SEG* L 767quater (Kos, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Λούκιος Φάννιος Βάσσος Ἐγνατιανός, γυμνασιαρχῶν; *MAMA* XI 157 (Diokleia in Asia, 184-192 n. Chr.) Κ. Πετρώνιος Καπίτων Ἐγνατιανός.

Evictus: *AntAfr* 49 (2013) 54-56 Nr. 14 (Ammaedara) *P. Masurius Evictus*. Verschollen, bekannt nur aus Kopie von L. Poinssot, die Lesung dürfte aber feststehen. Mag in semantischer Hinsicht eigentümlich anmuten, vgl. aber *Vic-*

tus, Convictus; als Ausgangspunkt könnte die Bedeutung 'zu etwas vermocht geworden' in positivem Sinn von *evictus* sein.

Fadianus: Kajanto 146 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 168 aus Serdica. Dazu *AE* 2012, 1328 (Stobi) *Antonius Fadian(us)*; *ILAlg* II 3624 *[- S] ex(tius) Fad(ianus)*.

Felicius: Kajanto 273 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 239 aus *ILAlg* II 1140. Dazu *IMS* VI 109 (Scupi, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Cor(nelius) Felicius* (überliefert ist COR FELICIO, wobei etwas unsicher bleibt, ob ein Nominativ oder Dativ vorliegt);[6] *CIL* VIII 1351 *Saturninus Felicius* (bleibt als Beleg für das Cognomen *Felicius* recht unsicher);[7] 11932 = *PLRE* I 331 *consularis provinciae Byzacenae*, 4. Jh. Möglicherweise auszuscheiden hat *AE* 2011, 1683 (Karthago) *Lucius Felicius*, wo anhand des (nicht scharfen) Fotos der Erstpublikation statt F eher P zu lesen ist (anders der Editor), wozu noch kommt, dass auch die zwei nachfolgenden Buchstaben unsicher bleiben.

Felico: *Arctos* 32 (1998) 240. 35 (2001) 198.[8] Dazu noch *CIL* VIII 14516 (Bulla Regia) *P. Pontius Felico* (im Cognominaindex wird der Name in *Felic[i]-o* geändert); *ILAlg* II 2462 (Celtianis) *Caelius Felico*. Es ergibt sich die Frage, ob es nötig ist, einen Fehler für *Felicio* anzunehmen, wie es die Editoren von *CIL* VIII 14516 tun. Zugegeben, das Suffix *-o* wird nur selten Namen angehängt, die aus Adjektiven gebildet sind; andererseits steht die Namensform in vielen Fällen fest, so dass es schwer fällt, in allen Fällen eine nachlässige Graphie zu sehen.

Felico oder *Felicus*: *AE* 2008, 1658 (Thigibba Bure in der prov. proc.) *d. m. s., Felico, vix(it) ann. II, h. s. e.*; *I. Bardo* 59 (Ammaedara) *d. m. [s.], Q. C(---) Felico, p(ius) vixit an. XXX*. In beiden Fällen lässt sich nicht mit letzter Sicherheit entscheiden, ob *Felico* oder *Felicus* vorliegt, doch wäre man geneigt, sich eher für den Nominativ *Felico* einzusetzen.

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[6] In der Edition wird zwischen *Cornelius Felicio* und *Cornelio Felicio* geschwankt, im Cognominaindex wird für *Felicio* plädiert.

[7] In den Cognominaindex des *CIL* VIII S. 88 zögernd eingeordnet. Eher scheint es sich um Inversion der Namen zu handeln, vgl. eine *Felicia Saturnina* in 16748 (freilich liegen die Fundorte von 1351 und 16748 nicht nahe einander).

[8] Auszuscheiden hat der dort angeführte Beleg *IG* V 2, 54, 23 aus Tegea; in der Inschrift steht Φηλικίων, ein gängiger Name. Ich hatte den Beleg aus *LGPN* III. A 446 übernommen, ohne seine Richtigkeit zu prüfen.

Feliculus:[9] Kajanto 273 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus *CIL* VIII 16396 *F(eli)c(u)l(u)s*. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass die Deutung vollends hypothetisch bleibt. Zwei weitere Belege in *Rep.* 330, doch der eine von ihnen, Martyrol. Hier. Id. Iun. ist wohl eine Replik aus dem Text von *CIL* VIII 16396,[10] vom anderen ist das Zitat "Canon Migne 56, 768A" unrichtig, denn dort findet sich der Name nicht. Aber in einigen mittelalterlichen Libri sacramentorum (Augustodunensis, Engolismensis, Gellonensis u.a.) ist gelegentlich ein Märtyrer *Feliculus* überliefert, doch meistens handelt es sich um eine *Felicula;* s. z. B. die Zeugnisse des Namens in *Liber sacr. Augustod.* vom 9. Jh. (CC SL 159B).

Felicus: Kajanto 273 mit drei Belegen, alle aus Africa (aus *CIL* VIII). *Arctos* 44 (2010) 239. Dazu *CIL* IV 6754 (überliefert ist FIILICVS). Dies wäre der einzige Beleg außerhalb von Africa, dazu in einem verschollenen Graffito, doch soll man seine Präsenz in Pompeji nicht ohne weiteres aus der Hand geben. Eine andere Sache ist seine sprachliche Erklärung. Kajanto nimmt Haplographie oder Haplologie aus *Felicicus* an; dieses wäre seinerseits mit dem Suffix *-icus* aus *Felix* gebildet. Warum nicht, doch wundert das gänzliche Fehlen von Belegen eines Namens *Felicicus*. Eher vertreten die erhaltenen wenigen Belege okkasionelle Bildungen, die die Namensgeber und die Namensbenutzer mit *Felix* assoziierten, ohne sich viele Gedanken über die morphologische Gestalt des Namens zu machen.

Ferratus(?): *AE* 2012, 1031c (Nida in Germ. sup.) *t(urma) Veri, Ferati*, 'Turma des Verus, Eigentum des Feratus'. Wenn diese Deutung das Richtige trifft, könnte man, mit gebotener Vorsicht, hier ein mit einem *r* geschriebenes Cognomen *Ferratus* sehen. Freilich ist ein solcher Name bisher nirgends belegt, wäre aber gut denkbar als Namenswerdung des geläufigen Adjektivs *ferratus* in militärischer Umgebung. Vgl. *Ferrandus*, belegt in Africa: *Rep.*[2] 331. 499.

Firmiana: Kajanto 258 mit einem Beleg (aus Brixellum). Dazu *ICUR* IX 23933.

Firmicus: Kajanto 258 mi einem unsicheren Beleg. Sichergestellt durch *CIL* VIII 5062 = *ILAlg* I 1401 (Thubursicu Numidarum) *P(---) Saturnina Firmic(i) filia*; dazu kommt der christliche Schriftsteller Firmicus Maternus, ein

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[9] Auszuscheiden *CIL* VI 33404 *L. Livineius Feliclo Neapolitanus*, wo in U.S. Epigraphy Project KY.Lou.SAM.L.1929.17.361A-E der Mann zu *Felic(u)lus* umgetauft wird. Die Lesung FELICLO ist sicher, sie steht aber natürlich für *Felicio*.

[10] Vgl. den Kommentar von *ILCV* 2092.

vir clarissimus aus dem 4. Jh. (*PCBE Italie* 1430 Nr. 2). Vgl. noch *I. Prusa ad Olympum* 1079 (Lesung bleibt etwas unsicher, ist aber doch plausibel).

Firmillo: *CIL* II² 5, 932 (Ventippo in der Baetica) *Q. Vibius Q. l. Firmillo*.[11] Schon in *Rep*. 332.

Firmillus: Kajanto 258 mit drei Belegen aus *CIL*. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 219 mit hispanischen Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 17930.

Firminianus: Kajanto 258 mit acht Belegen aus *CIL* III. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 219. Dazu *RIU* 1179 (Intercisa, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Aurelius Firminianus*, wohl Soldat der Legio II adiutrix; *SB* 14589 (1. Hälfte des 4. Jh.).

Firminilla: Kajanto 258 mit einem Beleg aus Carnuntum. Dazu *CIL* XIII 8401 (Köln) *[---]a Firmini[lla]* (die Ergänzung hat viel für sich, andere Frauennamen auf *Firmini-* sind nicht bekannt).

Fontanus: Kajanto 308 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 199. 47 (2013) 270. Dazu *AE* 2012, 560 (Verona) *iter precario C. Vindei Fontani* (zur Erklärung s. den Kommentar).[12]

Fontinalis: Kajanto 220 mit vier Belegen, von denen 1 aus der frühen Republik (cos. 454). Dazu *Aevum* 11 (1937) 453 Nr. 1 (Placentia, ca. 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *C. Iulius Fontinalis*.

Fusus: Kajanto 178 als Cognomen von Furii der frühen Republik. Ein gleichlautender Name erscheint dann in der Kaiserzeit: *CIL* VIII 19717 besser *ILAlg* II 2282 (Civitas Celtianensis in Numidien) *M. Bennius Fusus*. Dem Begriffsinhalt nach eine merkwürdige Bildung. Ob der Name nach dem Vorbild des Cognomens der republikanischen Furii im Rahmen der bekannten Gewohnheit, Namen großer Römer der Vergangenheit den Söhnen der eigenen Familie zu geben (siehe unten S. 212 unter *Scipio*) sei dahin gestellt; *fusus* wiederum als Namenswort 'lang hingestreckt, lagernd' wäre nicht ganz auszuschließen. Zu einem vermeintlichen Frauennamen *Fusa* s. unten S. 265 Vgl. ferner *Confusa* oben S. 200.

Gentio: *Rep*.² 499 (aus Sizilien, 599 n. Chr.). *Arctos* 46 (2012) 202. Dazu *AE* 2012, 620 (Syrakus [also auch aus Sizilien, 6. 7. Jh.); *IMS* IV 51 (Naissus, 5./ 6. Jh.).

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[11] Steht in *Arctos* 42 (2008) 219 irrtümlich unter *Firmillus*.

[12] Auszuscheiden *CIL* XII 3337, in *OPEL* II 149 als Cognomen aufgefasst, dort ist *Fontanus* aber kein Name.

Germanicus: Kajanto 201 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatoren-
standes. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 174 aus Phrygien. 46 (2012) 202 mit zwei Belegen
aus der Spätantike. Dazu *AE* 2012, 1432 (Nikaia in Bithynien, 3. Jh.) Αὐρήλιος
Γερμανικός.

Habentius: Kajanto 378 mit einem christlichen Beleg (aus Sulmo). Dazu
ICUR 11822 *Habentio* (geschr. HABENIIO). Vgl. oben zu *Abentius*.

Hadriana: Kajanto 187 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 174 mit einem
östlichen Beleg. Aus dem Westen: *ICUR* 13130 *Ulpia Hadrine* (zweifellos hier-
her zu stellen). Ein weiterer östlicher Beleg in *I. Didyma* 309.

Hadrianus: Kajanto 187 mit sechs heidnischen und drei christlichen Be-
legen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 174 mit östlichen Be-
legen. 42 (2008) 221 mit westlichen Belegen. Weitere westliche Belege: *CIL* VI
dreimal (schwer zu sagen, ob in Kajantos Zahlen enthalten); *Graff. Pal.* I 368
(2. Hälfte des 2. oder 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh., wahrscheinlich Sklave – kaum liegt
eine Anspielung an den Kaiser Hadrian vor); *ICUR* 9374*c* (spät, vielleicht mit-
telalterlich) *Atrianus*. 9518*a* (ebenso spät). 9524, 20 (ebenso spät) Ἀδριανός.
11915*b* *[H]adrianus* (wenn nicht *Adrianus*). 15968, 8 (spät, vielleicht mit-
telalterlich) Ἀδρι[α]νός. 15979, 12 (7./ 8. Jh.) *Adrian[us] clerec[us]*. 16797
Ἀδριανός. 23967; *ICI* X 46 (Ancona, ca. 6. Jh.); *AE* 1985, 610 (Toletum in der
Hisp., cit. 2. Jh.) *L. Cor(nelius) Hadrianus*; *AE* 1997, 1648 (Karthago, 382 n.
Chr.). Weitere östliche Belege: *IG* X 2, 2, 75, 13 (Herakleia in Lynkestis, 1. Jh.
n. Chr.) Γ. Τιτίνιος Ἀδριανός; ibid. 14 Γ. Ἀδριανός (Gentilname?); *ISM* I 211
(Istros, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Φλ. Ἀδριανός; II 18 (Tomis, 2./ 3. Jh., 2mal); *I. Didyma*
267 (2. Jh.) [Τί]τος Κλαύδιος [Ἀδριαν]ὸς (die Ergänzung ist durch andere In-
schriften sicher) Ἀνδρείδης [πατρὸ]ς προφήτου Κλαυ[δίου Ἀ]δριανοῦ; 329
Μ. Ἀντώνιος Ἀδριανὸς Καπίτων; *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*,
edd. C. de Smedt et H. Delehaye (1902) 444, 47 (Attaleia in Pamphylien, Mitte
3. Jh.). – Spätantike Beamten: *PLRE* I 14 *Satrius Hadrianus,* Praeses Thebaidos
307 n. Chr.; 406 Nr. 2 Alexandriner, Beamter im Westen seit 395 belegt; Nr. 3 *L.
Lucceius Hadrianus* vir perfectissimus, rationalis in Africa vor ca. 314; II 527
Rufius Synesius Hadirianus, Stadtpräfekt von Rom vor 483; 1197 Nr. 4 *Fl(avius)
Hadrianus Hierius Zenodorus v. c.*, Corrector Lucaniae et Bruttiorum 401 n.
Chr.; III 578f Nr. 1-5 alle im Osten, 6. und 7. Jh. – Kirchliche Würdenträger:
PCBE Italie 28 Nr. 2 Notar der römischen Kirche, Ende 6. Jh.; 28 Nr. 1 Bischof
von Pola, Ende 6. Jh.; *PCBE Gaule* 52 s.v. *Adrianus*, ein Richter im Dienste der

Kirche, 1. Hälfte des 6. Jh. – Zahlreiche Heilige werden in *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* I 267-274 s.v. *Adriano* verzeichnet, von ihnen sind nur der Märtyrer von Nikomedeia unter Diokletian und der von Caesarea, auch unter Diokletian (†309) antik und glaubwürdig. Die reichliche Verwendung des Namens seit dem 2. Jh. hat sicher etwas mit dem Namenvorbild des Kaisers Hadrian zu tun.

Hadrianus oder *Hadriana* (Sexus unbestimmt): *ICUR* 16796 Ἀδριαν[---]. 17255 = *CIL* XIV 2787 Dat. *Adrian[---]*; *AE* 1989, 790 (Sufetula in der prov. proc.) *[---] Hadr[---]*.

Hadrias masc.: *Arctos* 38 (200) 174. Dazu *MAMA* 265 (Lykaonien) Μέννυς Ἀδρία (Gen.) πατρί oder eher Ἀδρία (Dativ). In folgenden Fällen bleibt der Sexus unbestimmt: *ICUR* 8932 *Hadrias in pace*; A. Zettler, *Offerenteninschriften auf den frühchristlichen Mosaikfußböden Venetiens und Istriens* (2001) 250 (Vicetia, 4./ 5. Jh.) *Adrias cum suis*.

Hiberna: Kajanto 218 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ILTG* 353 (Durocortum, ca. 3. Jh.) *Iberna*.

Hibernalis: Kajanto 218 mit drei Belegen aus den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 202 (aus demselben Gebiet). Dazu *ILAlg* II 7583 (Numidien) *L. Papirius Natalis H[ibe]rnalis honoraria milit(ia) ornatus* (wenn vom Editor richtig gelesen und ergänzt [s. die Anmerkung ad loc.], wäre *Hibernalis* ein zweites Cognomen des Mannes).

Hiberna oder *Hibernalis*: *RIB* II 8, 273 (Vasengraffito, Isca) *[--- H]iberna[---]*. Der Editor plädiert, wenn auch schwankend, für *Hiberna*, doch ist eine Entscheidung nicht möglich.

Hibernus: Kajanto 218 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XIII 6130 (Alta Ripa in Germ. sup.) *Ibernus*; *AE* 2012, 1014 (Germ. sup., 191 n. Chr.) *L. Augustinius Hibernus bf. cos*.; *EAOR* V 69 Appendice Nr. 2A. 2a: Gladiator (Secutor) unbekannter Herkunft.

Hospitiana: *AE* 2012, 1870 (Cincaris in der prov. proc., christl.) *Ospitiana*. Der Männername *Hospitianus* dreimal von Kajanto 306 belegt.

Ingens: Kajanto 275 mit einem Beleg aus Africa. Dazu *CIL* XIII 5168 besser *AE* 2012, 993 (Germ. sup.) *T[i.] Sanctius Ingens*.

Innocens: Kajanto 252 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 222. 44 (2010) 242f. Dazu noch *CIL* XI 5787 vgl. *AE* 2012, 479 Sentinum, 2./ 3. Jh.) *Rantifanius In[no]cens*.

Invita Invitata Invitatrix: s. unten S. 263.

Iulina: Kajanto 162 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 48 (2014) 370 mit weiteren vier Belegen. Dazu noch *MAMA* XI 48 (Eumeneia, ca. 2. Jh.) Τρόφιμος Ἰουλίας Ἰουλίνης οἰκονόμος. Der Editor Thonemann ändert den Namen in Ἰουλιανή, der Stein hat nun aber einmal ΙΟΥΛΙΝΗϹ (was auch Thonemann zugibt), und da die Herrin des Trophimos nicht mit Sicherheit identifizierbar ist, bleibt die Änderung unnötig.

Iulinus: Kajanto 162 mit einem christlichen Beleg. *Arctos* 48 (2014) 370. Dazu *Names on Terra sigillata* IV (2009) 329 Töpfer aktiv in Montans in der Narbonensis, 30-70 n. Chr.

Laenilla: Kajanto 210 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 170. Dazu *IL-Alg* I 568 *Basilia P. f. Laenilla* (Nattabutes in der prov. proc.); *MAMA* XI 378 (Kappadokien) Λα[ι]νίλλης (Gen., könnte eine senatorische Sklavenbesitzerin gewesen sein).

Lectus: Kajanto 275 mit sechs Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 243. Dazu noch *AE* 2012, 1883 (Uchi Maius, 1./ 2. Jh.) *L. Pullaienus L. fil. [A]rn. Lectus*, Decurio in Karthago; *ASAA* 2 (1916) 159 Nr. 75 (Rhodos, nicht näher datierbar, Kontext bleibt dunkel, wenn Name, kann auch als griechisch bewertet werden).

Lucas: *Rep.* 353. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 205. 38 (2004) 177. 39 (2005) 171. 41 (2007) 96, alle ohne Aufzählung christlicher Belege. Dazu noch ein vorchristlicher Beleg: *EpAnat* 45 (2012) 96 Nr. 6 (Kyzikos, späthellenist.) Λ[ο]υκᾶς. Aufgenommen in *AE* 2012, 1473, wo konstatiert wird, dass der Name sonst nur einmal in nichtchristlichen Inschriften belegt sei, aus den oben gezählten Einträgen der *Analecta* hätten die Editoren lernen können, dass es eine Handvoll nichtchristliche Belege gibt.

Λουκιδία: *Inscr. Stoborum* 39 (= *AE* 2012, 131) Ἀττία Λουκιδία. Weiterbildung aus dem üblichen *Lucidus* (von Kajanto 22mal verzeichnet, mit *Lucida* 28mal) mit dem für die spätere Kaiserzeit charakteristischen Suffix *-ius -ia*. Wenn die in der Edition angegebene Datierung ins 2. Jh. n. Chr. stimmt, liegt hier ein früher Beleg des Suffixes vor.

Maurusia: *Rep.*[2] 501 mit einem stadtrömischen christlichen Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VI 2526 (3. Jh.) *Aurelie Maurusie filie ... Aur. Maurus evok(atus) cho. IIII pret.*; möglicherweise eine afrikanische Familie.

Maurusius: *Rep.* 361 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 183 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XIII 912 (405 n. Chr.). 11561; VIII 8501 (Sitifis, 226 n. Chr.).

11125 (Leptis minor, christl.). 11611 (Ammaedara); *BCTH* 1928-1929, 92 (Hippo Regius, christl.).

Maximilia: *Arctos* 44 (2010) 245 mit einem Beleg aus Caesarea Mauretaniae. Dazu C. Lindsten, *De codice Upsaliensi C 49*, Diss. Gothoburgi 1916, 90 Nr. 520 (Rom, 2./ 3. Jh.). In beiden Belegen vielleicht *Maximilla* zu verstehen.

Memorianus: Kajanto 255 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 48 (2014) 372 mit einem Beleg aus Britannien. Dazu *AE* 2012, 843, auch aus Britannien.

Mestrianus: Kajanto 150 mit fünf Belegen. *Rep.*[2] 501. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 208. Dazu *I. Aquileia* 1285 (2./ 3. Jh.) *[---]us Mestrianus*. 2875 (3. Jh.) *Aurelius Mestrianus* (Soldat); Pferdehirt, *Röm. Militärdiplome Mainz* (2004) 62 (233 n. Chr.) *M. Aurelius Mestrianus* (unbekannter Herkunft). Üblich in den Balkanprovinzen, wo er als thrakisch anzusehen ist; der Grundname *Mestrius* Μέστριος kommt in cognominaler Funktion reichlich in Makedonien, Moesien und Thrakien vor;[13] gleichzeitig ist er aber ein lateinischer Gentilname. Da *Mestrius* in Italien und in den westlichen Provinzen einen alten Gentilnamen vertritt (aus der frühesten Kaiserzeit sind etwa *CIL* XI 632; XIV 4091 = X V 2295; *AE* 1996, 433) und dazu etwas mit *Mestius* zu tun hat, sind die meisten westlichen Belege von *Mestrianus* als aus dem Gentile gebildet anzusehen (soweit nicht östliche Herkunft nahegelegt wird, wie mitunter der Fall ist). Interessant ist der aus Pelagonien stammende Beleg eines [- Mέ]στριος Μεστριανός, dessen Vater M. Μέστριος Ἰουλιανός hieß (*IG* X 2, 2,254, 2. Jh.); man wäre geneigt zu denken, dass der Sohn sein Cognomen aus dem Gentilnamen des Vaters erhielt (der eine rein lateinische Namenssequenz führte), d. h. es konnte als eine lateinische Bildung empfunden werden, sowohl seitens des Namensgebers, also des Vaters als auch der Sprachteilhaber. Belege des Cognomens aus Makedonien, Moesien und Thrakien in *LGPN* IV 232 und vollständiger in Dana 216, wo auch die übrigen östlichen und auch westlichen Belege (diejenigen unbekannter Herkunft mit eingeschlossen) gesammelt sind; es sei jedoch hervorgehoben, dass – wie schon bemerkt – die westlichen Belege zum größten Teil echt lateinisches Namensgut vertreten, was Danas Listen zu merken versäumen. Diesen Listen können aus dem Osten hinzugefügt werden W. M. Ramsay, *The cities and bishoprics of Phrygia* 743 Nr. 682. 683; *BCH* 10 (1886) 505 Nr. 9 (fem., Ikonion in Lykaonien, christl.).

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[13] Zu *Mestrius* Μέστριος gibt vollständige Dokumentation D. Dana, *Onomasticon Thracicum*, Athènes 2014, 217f; zu *Mestrianus* Μεστριανός 216f.

Metellanus: *CIL* VIII 27428 (= *AE* 2012, 1889, wo versehentlich *Matell-*) *C. Vibius Metellanus*, Präfekt der ala Pannoniorum. Die Textform scheint in Ordnung zu sein, jedenfalls lässt sich das Suffix -*anus* in anderen aus Cognomina gebildeten Cognomina bezeugen. So ist es unnötig, etwa an eine Entgleisung von *Metellianus* zu denken (das nur als Agnomen eines ehemaligen Sklaven eines Metellus [vermutlich Q. Caecilius Metellus, Konsul in 7 n. Chr.] in *CIL* VI 5882 *Eros C. Sallusti Crispi servus Metellianus* bezeugt ist).

Naevianilla: *I. Ankara* (2012) 228 *Cl(audiae) Nevianille*.

Naevianus: Kajanto 150 mit acht Belegen, von denen er zwei Senatoren zuschreibt (der eine von ihnen, den er aus *PIR*[2] Band I S. 94, ist aber kein Senator).[14] *Arctos* 41 (2007) 99. Dazu noch *AE* 1952, 143 (Rom, 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *M. Naevius Naevianus* (Sohn eines Arztes der Prätorianer, vielleicht kein gebürtiger Stadtrömer); 2000, 386 (Nursia, Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Q.(?) Pomponius Cn. f. Pal. trib. Naevianus*; *PIR*[2] P 741 aus *SEG* XVIII 740 Πομπώνιος Ναιουιανός, Proconsul von Kreta und Kyrene 165-169; *RPC* VII 1, 132-6, 154-6 (Germe in Mysien, 243 n. Chr.) M. Αὐρ. Ναιβιανός; *FD* III 1, 206 (3. Jh. n. Chr.) Ναιουιανός Poet und Grammatiker, aus Anazarbos in Kilikien.

Naevilla: Kajanto 169 mit fünf Belegen, von denen einer aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu *I. Kyzikos* I 528 (2./ 3. Jh.) Ναίβιλλα.

Nero: Kajanto 176 mit sieben Belegen aus *CIL* außerhalb des Senatorenstandes.[15] Dazu *ILN* II R 25 (Reii Apollinares, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Neroni civi Batavo*. Aus dem Osten: *IG* II[2] 2243, 23. 3768, 11 (240-253 n. Chr.) Αὐρ. Νέρων; VII 2823, 13 (Hyettos, ca. 190-175 v. Chr.) Καλλικλίδας Νέρωνος (der Name des Sohnes war üblich in Hyettos, und nur dort);[16] X 2, 2, 323 (Stuberra in Make-

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[14] *[C]lodius A[mp]liatus Naevianus* aus *CIL* VIII 24535 wird üblicherweise (so etwa *PIR* und *CIL* VIII Namenindex) für einen Senator gehalten, das kann er aber nicht gewesen sein (notiere u.a., dass *Ampliatus* kein für höhere Stände typisches Cognomen war), vielmehr war ein lokaler Notabler. Ich danke herzlich Matthäus Heil für die Diskussion um diesen Fall.

[15] Zur Verbreitung des Namens beim gemeinen Volk H. Solin, 'Ancient Onomastics: Perspectives and Problems', in *Roman Onomastics in the Greek East. Social and Political Aspects. Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute and the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, Athens 7-9 September 1993*, edited by A. Rizakis (Μελετήματα 21), Athens 1996, 9.

[16] Zu diesem Beleg H. Solin, 'Latin Cognomina in the Greek East', in *The Greek East in the Roman Context. Proceedings of a Colloquium organized by the Finnish Institute at Athens May 21 and 22, 1999*, edited by O. Salomies (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 7), Helsinki

donien, ca. 41-48 n. Chr.) Νέρων Ἀντιγόνου; *CIRB* 1287 (Tanais, 1. Hälfte des
3. Jh.) Νέρων Μακαρίου; *Studia Pontica* III 183 (Amaseia, 160/161 n. Chr.)
Νέρων κὲ Γερμανὸς Γαΐῳ πατρὶ κὲ Βερενίκῃ μητρί; *MAMA* I 296 (Galatien)
Ἐγνάτιος Νέρων.[17]

   Neronianus: Kajanto 176 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 211 aus *I. Beroia* 144, doch ist dieser Beleg auszuscheiden, vgl. *Arctos* 47 (2013) 280 (dort ist Πετρωνιανός zu lesen). Dagegen kommen hinzu *CIMRM* II 1808 (Pannonia inf., 3. Jh.) *Cl(audius) N[e]ronianus*; *SEG* XXVIII 1271 (Cilicia Pedias).

   Νερωνῖνος: *P. Ross. Georg.* V 56 (Memphis, 3. Jh.).

   Ofellianus: Kajanto 152 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VI 647 VI, 7 (Sklave, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.).

   Oleaster: *Rep*. 372 aus Ammaedara (*Oliaster*). Dazu *CIL* II² 14, 1691 (Tarraco, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *Ulpius Oliaster*.

   Oneratus: Kajanto 353 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 183 mit athenischen Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2012, 202 (Rom, spät) *Dec(i) Oner(ati?)*. 843 (Britannien, 3./ 4. Jh.) *Onerat[us]* (die Tafel besteht sonst aus Männernamen, sofern des Sexus feststeht); *Names on Terra sigillata* VI (2010) 282 Töpfer aktiv in Rheinzabern (Tabernae) in Germ. sup., 160-260 n. Chr.; *IGLS* 1171 (Seleucia Pieriae) *Papirius Oneratus*, Soldat der misenischen Flotte.

   Paconianus: Kajanto 152 mit einem senatorischen Beleg. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 175. 44 (2010) 247. 46 (2012) 209 mit östlichen Belegen. Dazu aus dem Osten noch *AE* 2012, 1445 (Nikaia in Bithynien, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

   Paratio: M. Peachin (Hg.), *Greek and Latin inscriptions at the New York University*, Roma 2014, 31 (ca. 1. Jh. n. Chr., Sklave) *Parationis Chresti ossa*. Von der Namenssippe *Paratus* ist nur der Grundname einigermaßen belegt (Kajanto 260 mit 44 heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg; beim Frauennamen *Parata* sind die entsprechenden Zahlen 13 und 1); sonst bezeugt nur *Paratiana*, von dem Kajanto 260 einen Beleg kennt.

2001, 199-201.

[17] Ein sehr unsicherer Beleg im Stempel eines in Lezoux in Aquitanien aktiven Töpfers: *Names on Terra sigillata* VI (2010) 224 120-160 n. Chr.); der Name ist wahrscheinlich abgekürzt geschrieben, und der dritte Buchstabe könnte B sein.

Pilatus: Kajanto 354 mit drei Belegen.[18] *Arctos* 38 (2004) 180 mit östlichen Belegen. Dazu Pferdehirt, *Röm. Militärdiplome Mainz* (2004) 32 (24 n. Chr.) *M. Antonius Pilatus*, Kommandant der *ala Hispan(orum) Arvac(orum)*; *AE* 1992, 1771 (Ammaedara, 193-195 n. Chr.) *[-] Asidonius Pilatus Saracinus*. Im Osten ist der Name besonders reichlich in Ägypten belegt; die meisten stammen aus der Spätantike. In die Prinzipatszeit gehören nur ein Paar Fälle: *SB* VI 9254 (Arsinoites, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Κούιντος Πειλάτωι τῶι ἀδελφῶι (in einer romanisierten Familie; der Name hat also große Chancen, das lateinische Cognomen *Pilatus* zu sein) und *P. Princ*. III 130 (vielleicht aus Thebais, 198-209 n. Chr.) Νεκθερ(ῶς) Πιλάτ(ου); hier erregt nur Bedenken die Tatsache, dass fast alle Namen in diesem Bericht der Steuersammler ägyptisch sind; immerhin findet sich darunter ein lateinischer Name, *Taurinus* (der freilich auch griechisch gedeutet werden könnte). Sonst sind die Belege in die Zeit des ausgehenden Altertums verdichtet; aus dem 6. Jh. stammt eine Menge von Belegen, andere sind noch später.[19] Wie viele mit diesem Namen versehene Personen insgesamt bekannt sind, ist schwer zu berechnen, denn ein gut Teil der zahlreichen Belege aus Aphrodites Kome, die in die Mitte des 6. Jahrhunderts datierbar sind, können ein und demselben Nomikos gehören. Wie dem auch sei, könnte man vielleicht die Beliebtheit des Namens im byzantinischen Ägypten mit der Tatsache erklären, dass die äthiopische Kirche Pilatus als Heiligen im Kalender führt und die koptische Tradition ihn für Christus sterben lässt, was man den sog. *Acta Pilati* mit ihrer pilatusfreundlichen Tendenz entnehmen kann.[20]

Pretiosa: Kajanto 276 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 248. Dazu *AE* 2012, 327 (Sora, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Paquia Ɔ. l. Pretiosa ... formosa*; *SEG* XVI 539*i* (Syracusae, 2./ 1. Jh.).

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[18] Kajanto meint, die Schreibweise Πιλ- empfehle ein kurzes ĭ, während die lateinische Poesie ein langes ī voraussetze. Doch ist die herrschende Schreibweise Πιλᾶτος im Namen des Pontius Pilatus (worauf allein Kajantos Bemerkung zielt) nur natürlich, und zweitens ist in epigraphischen Urkunden die Schreibung ι statt ει recht verbreitet; um nur ein Beispiel zu nennen, werden Namen auf *Prim-* nach den Zahlen des PHI 210mal Πριμ- und 441mal Πρειμ- geschrieben.

[19] Aus dem 6. Jh.: *P. Cair. Masp*. I 67094-5. 67116. 67128-9. III 67303 (all diese Belege beziehen sich auf ein und denselben Mann); II 67144. 67251. 67283; III 67283; *P. Flor*. III 298; *P. Lond*. V 1661. 1661; *P. Lond. Herm*. 1; *P. Mich*. XIII 668; *P. Michael*. 40. 42a; *P. Vat. Aphrod*. 4; *SB* XX 15018; XXVI 16450. Spätere Belege: *CPR* XX 27; *P. Lond*. IV 1419; *SB* I 5953.

[20] Dazu vgl. K. Zelzer – P. L. Schmidt, *HLL* IV (1997) 387-390.

Principalis: Kajanto 276 mit zwei heidnischen und zwei christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 248. Dazu noch *CIL* VI 647 (erste Hälfte des 3. Jh., Sklave).

Priscinianus: Kajanto 288 mit einem Beleg aus Brixia. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 249 (ein Vigil in *CIL* VI 1056 vom 205 n. Chr.). Dazu *AttiAccVerona* 119 (1941-1942) 134 (Verona) *C. Attius C. f. Pob. Priscinian(us)*.

Priscius: *Rep.* 384. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 249. Dazu *ISM* II 96 (Tomis, Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Αὐρήλιος Πρείσκιος Ἰσίδωρος. 97 Αὐρήλιος Πρείσκιος Ἀννιανὸς (beide sind Pontarchen); unklar ist, ob es sich um einen Gentilnamen handelt.

Publilla: Kajanto 174 mit einem Beleg (geschr. *Publila*). Dazu *MAMA* XI 1599 (Galatien, 3. Jh.) Πουπιλλία Πούβλιλλα.

Pullarius: Kajanto 319 mit einem Beleg aus Africa. Dazu *AE* 2012, 605 (Mediolanum, 425 n. Chr.) *Pularius* (kann nur als *Pullarius* erfolgreich erklärt werden).[21]

Pullas: *CIL* XIV 256, 220 (Ostia, ca. 150-250 n. Chr.) *Umbrius Pullas*; 5072 (Ostia, ca. 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Pomponius Pullas*; VIII 10624 (Theveste in der prov. proc.) *Q. Fabius Pullas et Pullaenus fil(ius)*.[22] Man wäre versucht, den Namen zur Sippe *Pullus* zu stellen.[23] In VIII 10624 wird außerdem sekundär ein Bezug auf den Gentilnamen *Pullaen(i)us* (besonders in den afrikanischen Provinzen belegt) hergestellt, der als Rufname für die Tochter gebraucht wurde.

Ῥαπώνιλλα: J.-L. Ferrary, *Mémoriaux de délégations du sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros* (2014) 475-477 Nr. 196 (171/172 n. Chr.) Πακιλλία Ῥαπώνιλλα.

!*Ridicula*: Kajanto 287 mit zwei Belegen, die sich aber auf dieselbe Person beziehen und außerdem ein und dieselbe Inschrift (*CIL* VI 7885 = 38222*a*) sind.

Rusticiana: Kajanto 311 mit einem heidnischen und zwei christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 48 (2014) 378 mit weiteren zwei christlichen Belegen. Dazu

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[21] Anders die Editoren, die den Namen für neu halten. Ein weiterer Beleg vielleicht in *CIL* VIII 12109 *Prima fel[ia] Pulari*.

[22] Recht unsicher bleibt der Beleg des Namens in *AE* 2012, 781-783 (Hisp. cit.); in 781 wird *Pom(peia?) Pulla[ti]s f. Paulla* ergänzt. Aus dem in der Erstpublikation abgedruckten Fotos bleibt die Llesung sehr unsicher.

[23] Daran hatte ich schon in *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) 96 gedacht.

PCBE I 786 *c. f.*, Frau des Symmachus; II 961 Nr. 1 Frau des Boethius; *P. Tjäder* 37 = *PLRE* III 1101 Nr. 1 (Ravenna, 591 n. Chr.) *Rusticiana h. f.*; *PLRE* III 1101f Nr. 2 Patrizierin in Konstantinopel (Ende 6./ Anfang 7. Jh.).

Rusticianus: Kajanto 311 mit 14 heidnischen Belegen und einem christlichen Beleg. Aus der Zeit des christlichen Imperiums noch: *PLRE* II 961 *v. c., tribunus* im Westen; Greg. M. *epist.* 1, 42 (*PLRE* III 1102) reicher Mann in Sizilien in 591. *ICUR* 11996.

Rusticius: Kajanto 311 mit drei christlichen Belegen. Dazu mehrere spätantike Beamten und Berühmtheiten: *PLRE* II 375f Nr. 2 *Fl. Rusticius Helpidius Domnulus*. 537 Nr. 7 *Rusticius Helpidius*. 961-963 Nr. 1-6; III 1102 Tribunus in Thrakien 587 n. Chr. Ferner *IMS* III 2, 116 (Romuliana, ca. 5./ 6. Jh.).

!*Rusticula*: die in *Arctos* 35 (2001) 218 aus *AE* 1967, 595 (Cuicul, 436-452 n. Chr.) angeführte Frau ist eine *clarissima femina* (*PLRE* II 963).

Rusticulus: Kajanto 311 mit einem heidnischen und zwei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2012, 1853 (Ammaedara in der prov. proc., 3. Jh.) *Caecilius Rusticulus*.

Sabellina: M. Buonocore, in J. Bodel – M. Kajava (Hg.), *Dediche sacre nel mondo greco-romano* (2009) 280 Nr. 192 (Marruvium, 1. Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Ursia C. f. Sabellina P. Scapulae* (Frau von P. Ostorius Scapula).

Salviana: Kajanto 177 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1975, 59 (Rom, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *Aelia Salviana*; *ICUR* 10157; *AE* 1998, 282 (Lavinium, 228 n. Chr.) *Egnatia Salviana*; *CIL* II² 14, 1691 (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *Emilia Salviana*; *IRC* IV 203 (Barcino); *ILT* 1562 (prov. proc.) *Appaenia Salviana*; *IRT* 754*t* (Leptis Magna). Der Männername *Salvianus* ist üblicher (75 Belege in Kajanto).

Sapienti[nus](?): *AE* 2005, 465 = 2012, 461 (Carsulae, frühkaiserzeitlich) *Ti. Terius H. f. Sapienti[---]*. Die Editoren haben bisher *Sapienti[a]* ergänzt, vgl. aber *Arctos* 46 (2012) 229.

Scipio: Kajanto 345 mit zehn Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes aus *CIL* und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu Schol. Hor. *carm.* 2, 2, 5 (= *PIR*² S 249) sonst unbekannter Mann aus der 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr.; Tac. *hist.* 2, 59, 1 Kohortführer in 69 n. Chr.; *CIL* VI 2754 Prätorianerzenturio, 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.). 31964 (= XV 7147) *Cethegus Scipio* (unsicher, ob Senator

oder nicht).[24] 33312 (= 7825) *M. Corneli Sceipionis*;[25] *EE* VIII 486 (Capua) *M. Satrius Scipio medicus*; *AE* 1997, 333 (Larinum) *C. Gavius C. l. Scipio*; 2010, 966 (Samarobriva in der Belgica) *Scipio dito buccam* (unsicherer Deutung);[26] *RIB* 1936 = 3419 *Carius Scipio*, Zenturio; *Epigraphica* 76 (2014) 487 (Spalatum in Dalmatien); *RIU* 165 (Scarbantia) *P. Callius Scipio*. Spätantike Beamten: *PLRE* I 651 Nr. 1 *L. Cornelius Scipio Orfitus v. c.*, erwähnt in 295 n. Chr.; III 1117f *comes patrimonii* in Hispanien 592 n. Chr. – *PCBE* Gaule 1720 Diakon in 572 im Kloster von Atanum. – Aus dem Osten: *IG* II² 12619 (1. Jh. v. Chr.); *ISM* II 83 (Tomis, 201 n. Chr.) Σκειπίων Ποντικοῦ ὁ καὶ Ποντικός. *IGR* IV 430 (Pergamon, 2. Jh.) Οὔλπιο[ς] Κορνήλιο[ς] Σκειπίων (einem lokalen Cornelier ist wohl das Cognomen bewusst in Erinnerung an die großen Scipionen zugelegt worden);[27] *SEG* XXXIX 1216 (Ephesos, 1./ 2. Jh.) Πόπλιος Ὤλιος Σκιπ[ί]ων; *Milet* VI 1, 192*b* (kaiserz.) νίκη Σκειπίωνος; aus Lydien verzeichnet *LGPN* zwei fragmentarische und nicht exakt lokalisierbare Belege aus dem 2. und 1. Jh. v. Chr.; *CIG* 2656 (2mal, Halikarnassos, kaiserz.); *I. Kibyra* 223 (1./ 2. Jh.); *IGR* IV 681 (Bruzos in Phrygien, 199-210 n. Chr.) Σκ[ει]πίων ἄρχων. Ob XII 3, 1302 (Thera, 2. Jh. v. Ch., Sklave) und *I. Didyma* 470 (Miletos, 2. Jh. v. Chr.) Σκειπίων Τιμουχίδου hierher zu stellen sind, bleibe dahingestellt; wegen

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[24] Für die Zugehörigkeit zum Senatorenstand Vidman im Cognominaindex des *CIL* VI S. 236. 328; dagegen Groag, *PIR*² C 701.

[25] In 7825 wird ganz anders gelesen: *M. Lolio D. l. Scipionis* (mit teilweise auch sehr beschädigten Buchstaben), was wenig überzeugt, nicht nur wegen der Ungereimtheit der Kasus, auch wäre ein Marcus Lollius als Freigelassener eines Decimus etwas überraschend (in Rom sind keine Decimi Lollii bezeugt). Bang im Nominaindex des *CIL* VI nimmt nur die Lesung von 7825 auf. Neuerdings wird in *Ut rosa amoena. Pitture e iscrizioni del grande colombario di Villa Doria Pamphilj,* Milano 2008, 58 wieder eine ganz andere Lesung dargeboten: *M. Lon[g]ius Ɔ. l. Scipio*. Es ist mir noch nicht möglich gewesen, diese Edition zu konsultieren (geschweige denn das Original zu besichtigen), jedenfalls fällt es mir schwer, den von Hülsen in 33312 festgelegten Text im Moment ohne anderweitige Kontrolle zu verwerfen. (Hier sei nur angemerkt, dass der Gentilname *Longius* nur selten in Rom und überhaupt in Italien auftaucht.)

[26] Obskur bleibt *Names on Terra sigillata* VIII (2011) 120 Töpfer aktiv in Montans in der Narbonensis (40-65 n. Chr.), dessen Name in den meisten Exemplaren SCIPIV geschrieben wird.

[27] Zu dieser Gewohnheit H. Solin, Un aspetto dell'onomastica plebea e municipale. La ripresa di nomi illustri da parte di comuni cittadini, in: *Varia epigraphica. Atti del colloquio internazionale di Epigrafia, Bertinoro, 8-10 giugno 2000*, a cura di G. Angeli Bertinelli e A. Donati (Epigrafia e Antichità 17), Faenza 2001, 411-427 und *Nomen omen*. Ripresa di nomi illustri nella società romana, in: *In amicitia. Per Renato Badalì. Una giornata di studi 8 giugno 2015*, Viterbo 2015, 16-40.

der frühen Zeit doch wohl eher als griechisch zu bewerten,[28] zu σκίπων 'Stab', als Eigenname in Athen und Larisa belegt: *IG* II² 417 (ca. 330 v. Chr.). 2128 (184/185 n. Chr.); IX 2, 568.

!*Semprulla*: Kajanto 178 mit einem Beleg (aus Opitergium, Freigeborene, julisch-claudisch). Dazu *TAM* V 1695 (Philadelphia, Mitte 1. Jh. v. Chr.) *Fufia Semprulla*. Kajanto stellt den Namen zu einem unbelegten Vornamen **Sempro*, doch würde man ihn mit Schulze *ZGLE* 461, 4 eher aus *Sempronius* ableiten.

Sextilla: Kajanto 170 = 174 mit acht Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (200) 227. Dazu *AE* 2012, 1125 (Siscia in Pann. sup., 2. Jh.); *I. Pompeiopolis* 57.

Sextillus: *Rep*. 402 (Prätorianer). Dazu *P. Graux* II 9 (Philadelphia in Arsinoites, 33 n. Chr.).

Silvio: Kajanto 165 = 310 mit einem Beleg aus Obergermanien.[29] Dazu *ZPE* 195 (2015) 261 Nr. 1 (Ostia, 2. Jh. n. Chr). Zu Herkunft und Verbreitung der Namensippe vgl. meine Ausführungen in 'Silvius', *Studi classici e orientali* 43 (1993 [1995]) 359 - 372.

!*Sitio*: Kajanto 270 aus *CIL* IV 1426, wo die Lesung aber völlig in der Luft hängen bleibt. So ist es nur müßig, darauf hinzuweisen, dass in *Sitio* auch ein sonst unbelegtes, aber durchaus plausibles Cognomen *Sittio* vorliegen könnte. Die Sittii waren ein bekannte pompejanische Familie.

Sorica: Kajanto 329 mit zwei heidnischen Belegen aus Africa und mit zwei christlichen. Dazu *AE* 2012, 689 (Emerita in Lusitanien, 2. Jh.). Stadtrömische Christinnen *ICUR* 18745. 20171. Aus Africa noch *ILAfr* 169, 2 (Ammaedara) *Calidia Sorica*; *ILAlg* II 2543. 6687 *Luria Sorica*. Christlich: *AE* 1997, 1720 (Uchi Maius); *BCTH* 1897, 572 (Maur. Caes.);1938/1940, 695 (Hadrumetum).

Spanilla: Kajanto 199 mit zwei Belegen (von denen der eine als *Spanilia* überliefert ist). Dazu Graffito Ostia; *ILAlg* II 9302-3 *Iulia Spanilla*; *BCTH* 1938/40, 334 (Numidien) *Spania Spanilla*. Kajanto stellt den Namen zu *Spanus*, der späten Form von *Hispanus*, doch zeigt der letzte der oben angeführten Belege, dass wenigstens zum Teil der Ausgangspunkt der Gentilname *Spanius* ist.

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[28] So M. Lambertz, *Die griechischen Sklavennamen* (Separatabdruck aus dem LVII. und LVIII. Jahresberichte des. K. K. Staatsgymnasiums im VIII. Bezirke Wiens), Wien 1907, 64.

[29] Im Text steht (ergänzt) Dat. *Silvio[n]i Severo*. Der Mann hätte also zwei Cognomina geführt. Das mag sein, jedenfalls ist es schwierig, *Silvio* als Nomen zu interpretieren. Der Text ist gestört.

Superatus: Kajanto 356 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *CIL* II² 7, 741 (Baetica); *CIMRM* I 796 (Emerita) *C. Camilius Superatus*; *AE* 2012, 746 (Astigi, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *T. Statilius Superatus Astigitanus*; *RIU* 457 (Brigetio).

Τερεντυλλιανός: *Rep*. 411. *Arctos* 41 ((2007) 104. Dazu *MAMA* XI 101 (Acmonia, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) Γάιος Κλαύδιος Ἐγνάτιος Βιγέλλιος Οὐαλέριος Οὔλπιος Ἀντώνιος Πωλίων Τερεντυλλιανὸς ἀρχιερέων Ἀσίας ἔκγονος. Der Namensträger ist Nachkomme der in *Rep*. und in *Arctos* 41 angeführten.

Trebianus: Kajanto 157 mit sieben Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 2012, 1042*f* (Rätien, 1./ 2. Jh.); *ILAlg* II 4098 (Castellum Tidditanorum) *T<r>ebianus* (die Änderung ist unvermeidlich, denn Namen auf *Tebian-* gibt es nicht); *AE* 1969-1970, 633 II, 17 (Nicopolis in Ägypten, 157 n. Chr.) *C. Iulius Trebianus Laudic(ea)*, Soldat der legio II Traiana, gebürtig zweifellos aus der syrischen Stadt Laodicea.

Turpilla: *Arctos* 44 (2010) 252 mit zwei Belegen. Doch lässt der Name sich des Öfteren (auch in älteren Bänden des *CIL*) belegen: *CIL* II 348. 1089; *IRCatal* I 192 = *HEp* 7, 253; *IRCatal* IV 321 (Barcino) *[Vale]ria Turpi[lla?]*; Popescu, *Inscr. gr. lat. sec. IV-XIII România* 24 (Tomis, 4. Jh.) Τόρπιλλα (hierher gehörig?).

Ursacia: Kajanto 329 mit drei heidnischen und fünf christlichen Belegen. Dazu *JIWE* II 238 Οὐρσακία θυγάτηρ Οὐρσακίου ἀπὸ Ἀκουλείας γερουσιάρχου. Der Männername Οὐρσάκιος ist auch sonst in der jüdischen Gemeinde Roms belegt: *JIWE* II 237. 239, doch handelt es sich um denselben.

Ursinianus: Kajanto 330 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *I. Aquileia* 2978 (christl.) *Aurelius Ursinianus*; *HEp* 14, 21 = 18, 21 (Hisp. cit.) *Sempronius Ursinianus*; *AE* 2009, 1096 (Iovia in Pann. inf.) *Cl(audius) Ursinianus*, Freigelassener; *MAMA* XI (Sebaste in Asia, 390 n. Chr.) *ex trib(uno)*.

Venantius: Kajanto mit vier 'heidnischen' und sechs christlichen Belegen. *Rep*.² 504 mit mehreren spätantiken Beamten. Dazu *AE* 2012, 623 (Syracusae, 6./ 7. Jh.) *memoria Benanti*.

Vernaculus: Kajanto 312 mit fünf heidnischen Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1987*a* vgl. *Arctos* 19 (1985) 193 (Tarracina, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Vernaculus act(or)*, Sklave); *AE* 1966, 183 *Q. Ael. Vernaclus Munigunesis*; 1971, 161 (Conimbriga) *L. Iul. Vernaclus*; 1980, 544 (Ebora in Lusitanien) *Iulius Vernaclus*; 1982, 518 (Baetica) *M. Iunius Vernaclus*; 1993, 911 (Emerita in Lusitanien, Sklave); *HEp* 1, 79

(Hisp. cit.); 18, 580 (Lusitanien); *IRPCadiz* 418 (Gades) *P. Cornelius Vernaclus*; *AE* 2012, 1840 (Githis in der prov. proc.) *Bernaclus*.

Viccianus: *SyllEpigrBarcin* 12 (2014) 34-36 Nr. 2 (Valentia) *[C. C]orne-lio C. f. [C]ol. Liciniano Viccianus filio*.

Vindicia: Kajanto 363 mit zwei heidnischen Belegen.[30] Dazu *ICUR* 13949 (402 n. Chr.).

Vindicio: *CIL* IX 4825 (Forum Novum, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *L. Messio Vindici Messius Vindicio*;[31] *AE* 2012, 1139 (Carnuntum) *Aur(elius) Vindicio*; *ILLPRON* 1095 (Iuvavum, 50-150) *Vindicio Verecundi*.

Vindicius: Kajanto 363 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 13949 *Cassi Vindici* Gen. 17723 *Aur(elio) Vindicio*; Pais 815 (Comum, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Valerius Vindicius* (braucht nicht als Gentilicium in Funktion des Cognomens aufgefasst zu werden).

Es folgt eine Zusammenstellung mit rückläufigem Verzeichnis von allen Cognomina, die in den Einträgen neuer und seltenerer Namen zwischen *Arctos* 32 (1998) und 49 (2015) behandelt worden sind.

*Abentius	49, 195	Ἀκουτᾶς	46, 193
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!Absentius	43, 161	Acutianus	38, 163; 42, 215;
!Abulliane	48, 347		46, 193; 48, 348
Abundiola	44, 231	Acutio	40, 131; 46, 194
Abundius	44, 231	Acutius -a	40, 131
Aburianus	43, 161	Adiutorius	40, 131
Aburnianus	42, 215; 43, 161	Adlectus -a	48, 348
Ἀκκεπτοῦς	45, 143	Adquisitor	45, 143
Acer	44, 231	Adquisitus	45, 144
Acidinus	38, 163	Advectus	48, 348
!Acidus	44, 231	Adventinus -a	35, 189
Acilianus -a	41, 89; 42, 215; 48, 347	Aebutianus	38, 163; 40,
Acinianus	39, 159		131; 46, 194

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[30] Der eine der Belege muss ausscheiden; vgl. die folgende Anmerkung.

[31] Der Beleg ist im Cognominaindex des *CIL* IX falsch in der Form *Vindicia* verzeichnet; so erklärt sich das Fehlen des Namens bei Kajanto.

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Audentius -a	40, 133	Baeticus	39, 160
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Αὐγεντία	48, 354	Baianus -a	46, 196; 48, 355
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Augurio	32, 236	Balbillianus	42, 216
Augustio	40, 134	Balbillus	42, 216
Augustulus	36, 108	Balbina	48, 355
Aulianus	48, 354	Balbinianus	42, 216
Aulicus	37, 174	Balbio	38, 166
Aulus	46, 195	Ballans	36, 108
Aureliana	48, 355	Barbaras	32, 237
Αὐρηλιᾶς	38, 166	Barbarianus	39, 160
Aurellianus	38, 166	Barbario	39, 160
Aurentia	32, 237	Βαρβαρίς	48, 355
Aureolus -a	46, 196	Barbas	48, 355
Aureus	40, 134	Barbatianus -a	46, 196
Auricomus	46, 196	Barbatio	39, 161
Aurilio	37, 174	Barbatus	40, 134
Auriolus -a	46, 196	Barbilla	42, 216
Aurora m.	39, 160	Barbula	42, 216
Aurosus	40, 134	Βαριανή	36, 108; 45, 145
Auruncus	39, 160; 48, 355	Barianus	45, 145; 46, 196
Auspex	44, 234	Βάριλλα	36, 108
Auspicalis	44, 234	Bassiana	48, 355
Auspicatus -a	44, 234	Bassillianus	42, 216
Auspicius	35, 192; 44, 234	Βάσσιλος	36, 108
Autumna	40, 134	Bassinus -a	47, 265-266
Αὐξιλία	45, 145	Bassio	47, 266; 48, 355
Auxilia[nus?]	45, 145	Batava	49, 196
Auxilius	45, 145	Batavus	36, 108; 38, 166; 49, 196
Aventius	49, 196	Batriana	36, 108
Avernus(?)	32, 237	Beatus -a	44, 234
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Avidianus	35, 192	!Bellianus	37, 175
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Blaesianus	46, 196; 48, 356	
!Blaesilianus	48, 356	
Blaesilla	40, 134	
Blandianus	35, 192; 38, 166	
Blandina	41, 92	
Blandinus	41, 92	
Blossianus	35, 192	
Bolanus	38, 166; 41, 92	
Βωλᾶς	38, 167; 41, 92	
Bolerianus	40, 134	
*Bonata	42, 216	
Bonavia	32, 237	
Bonicus	44, 235	
Boninus -a	44, 235	
Bonitta	44, 235	
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*Britannio	39, 161	
Britto	48, 356	
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Caeliana	48, 356
Caelina	35, 192; 48, 356
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Celer	49, 199	Clarissimus -a	44, 236; 48, 363
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Balba	Collega	Maximinia	Audentia
Galba	Larga	Matrinia	Indulgentia
Palumba	Merga	Patrinia	Fulgentia
Iuba	Dubia	Lavinia	Ἀυγεντία
Baca	Ursacia	Iunonia	Patientia
Cicada	Urbicia	Fortunia	Pullentia
Sicca	Vindicia	Copia	Clementia
Natalica	Προφικία	Appia	Magnentia
Vitalica	Lauricia	Λουππία	Currentia
Publica	Praeiecticia	Turpia	Aurentia
Felica	Proiecticia	Lupia	Maurentia
Amica	Terticia	Fabaria	Potentia
Scaenica	Novicia	Καλανδαρία	Viventia
Spenica	Placidia	Secundaria	Acutia
Histrionica	Λουκιδία	Primaria	Bonavia
Unica	Κανδιδία	Tabernaria	Cervicla
Pica *m., f.*	Calendia	Casaria	Apruncla
Maiorica	Verecundia	Caesaria	Rutila
Norica	Secundia	Lacertaria	Libella
Sorica	Κομμοδία	Refrigeria	Μάκελλα(?)
Tetrica	Aquileia	Νοκερία	Ocella
Sica	Rufia	Celeria	Aucella
Ventica	Iuvenalia	Pateria	Catella
Iovica	Natalia	Gloria	Fenestella
Iuvenca	Vitalia	Memoria	Puella
Calida	Φιδηλία	Honoria	Gailla
!Numida	Maximilia	Leporia	Γάβιλλα
Victorida	*Crescentilia	Litoria	Vibilla
Vivida	Αὐξιλία	Purpuria	Barbilla
Fervida	Tertullia	Primasia	Mauricella
Amplianda	Καπιτωλία	Lucensia	Anucella
Veneranda	Peculia	Venusia	Ὀτάκιλλα
*Agenda	Σικουλία	Maurusia	Senecilla
Augenda	Antiania	Probatia	Ferocilla
Fruenda	Φλαουιανία	Calatia	Marcilla
Leoparda	!Romania	Ἀματία	Fuscilla
Iuvenca	Germania	Dulcitia	Candidilla
Facunda	Longinia	Vigilantia	Secundilla
Fecunda	Virginia	Garamantia	Iucundilla
Munda	Καπιτωλινία	Superantia	Commodilla
Habetdea		Pascentia	Claudilla

Pagilla	Clarilla	Sextilla	Vinniola
Λόγγιλλα	Hilarilla	Anguilla	Apiola
Frugilla	Varilla	Gavilla	Copiola
Publilla	Florilla	Flavilla	Victoriola
Mamilla	Victorilla	Octavilla	Ferriola
Septimilla	Aprilla	Suavilla	Auriola
Proximilla	Caprilla(?)	Naevilla	Gratiola
Formilla	Asprilla	Dativilla	Attiola
Postumilla	Laurilla	Novilla	Flaviola
Albanilla	Maurilla	Cervilla	Cerviola
Canilla	Taurilla	Νέρβιλλα(?)	Suavola
Caianilla	Eburilla	Nervilla	Olivola
Valerianilla	Blaesilla	Servilla	Benivola
Cassianilla	Celsilla	Bulla	Cervola
Κατιάνιλλα	Ansilla (?)	Narbulla	Ampla
Naevianilla	Censilla	Norbulla	Bibula
Romanilla	Marsilla	Paculla	Albula
Spanilla	Fabatilla	Medulla	Barbula
Hispanilla	Catilla	Nardulla	Pacula
Granilla	Donatilla	Iulla	Miracula
Montanilla	Speratilla	Primulla	Labicula
Laenilla	Optatilla	Anulla	Ridicula
Serenilla	Actilla	Hispulla	!Ridicula
Senilla	Fructilla	Nerulla	Apricula
Magnilla	Quietilla	!Semprulla	Matricula
Dignilla	Σωσφίτιλλα	Petrulla	Ceticula
Gabinilla	Avitilla	Tulla	Viticula
Fuscinilla	*Ῥωμάντιλλα	Datulla	Rusticula
Tuscinilla	Constantilla	Quietulla	!Rusticula
Firminilla	Gentilla	Vetulla	Aprun(c)ula
Domnilla	Valentilla	Terentulla	Vocula
Falconilla	Violentilla	Brutulla	Stercula
Νώνιλλα	Terentilla	Poplicola	Ascula
Ῥαπώνιλλα	Potentilla	Σακρικόλα	Fuscula
Sempronilla	Plotilla	Silvicola	Bucula
Matronilla	Sollertilla	Aureola	Rufula
Antonilla	Consortilla	Abundiola	Vagula
Hernilla	Saburtilla	Malliola	Tegula
Turpilla	Iustilla	Gelliola	Virgula
Pupilla	Plautilla	Graniola	Maiula
Βάριλλα	Tutilla	Anniola	!Mula

Maximula	Ruma *m., f.*	Lolliana	Arriana
Mammula	Baiana	Polliana	Burriana
Gemmula	Caiana	Rulliana	Batriana
Anula	Gaiana	Amiana	Satriana
Geminula	Baebiana	Decimiana	Vatriana
Saloninula	Vibiana	Maximiana	Caesiana
Domnula	Orbiana	Ammiana	Celsiana
Matronula	Urbiana	Mammiana	Marsiana
Carula	Primaciana	Firmiana	Bassiana
Caerula	Caeciana	Formiana	Barbatiana
Garrula	Maeciana	Postumiana	Quadratiana
Maurula	Deciana	Ingeniana	Honoratiana
Salsula	Aticiana	Amoeniana	Optatiana
Mulsula	Rusticiana	Albiniana	Domitiana
!Rosula	Luciana	Pauliniana	Hospitiana
Sassula	Muciana	Mariniana	Constantiana
Pacatula	Minuciana	Amniana	Valentiana
Datula	Fadiana	Titinniana	Potentiana
Optatula	Placidiana	Cosconiana	Eventiana
Sanctula	Candidiana	Siloniana	Iuventiana
Fructula	Ummidiana	Pomponiana	Plotiana
Quietula	Epidiana	Aproniana	Potiana
Vetula	Tusidiana	Antoniana	Antistiana
Vitula	Commodiana	Calpurniana	Faustiana
Faustula	Mudiana	Ampiana	Iustiana
Iustula	Proculeiana	Agrippiana	Utiana
Venustula	Frugiana	Crispiana	Plautiana
*Summanima	Nataliana	Lupiana	Sextiana
Sima	Vitaliana	Pupiana	Aviana
Iucundissima	Publiana	Cariana	Calaviana
Vitalissima	Caeliana	Clariana	Salviana
Beatissima	Coeliana	Variana	Fulviana
Clarissima	Aureliana	Macriana	Nerviana
Gratissima	Aciliana	Hadriana	Castellana
Optima	Apriliana	Celeriana	Tusculana
Palma	Atiliana	Superiana	Insulana
Flamma	Aquiliana	Ateriana	Maximana
Mamma	Lucilliana	Veriana	Nonana
Coma	Gratilliana	Agriana	Quietana
Groma	Villiana	Sertoriana	Subitana
Numa	Tranquilliana	Apriana	Caralitana

Gallitana	Clarina	Praesentina	Mammosa
Turritana	Caesarina	Adventina	Formosa
Nomentana	Lucrina	Saguntina	Luminosa
Quintana	Scodrina	Carnuntina	Nonnosa
Quartana	Liberina	Scaptina	Carosa
Sequana	Lucerina	Mamertina	Clarosa
Murena	Maiorina	Modestina	Vitosa
Privigna	Memorina	Lucustina	Frontosa
Balbina	Honorina	Vetustina	Fa(v)osa
Bellicina	Leporina	Ingenuina	Ἰούλι[σ]σα
Λοπικῖνα	Temporina	Aquina	Comitissa
Lupicina	Praetorina	Navina	Confusa(?)
Soricina	Favorina	Minervina	Probata
Iuncina	Laurina	Autumna	Auspicata
Priscina	Maurina	Deusdona	Revocata
Palcidina	Curina	Nῶνα(?)	Deodata
Lepidina	Mercurina	Libarna	Beata
Blandina	Caprasina	Hiberna	Angulata
Vitalina	Telesina	Lucerna	Amata
Caelina	Brundisina	Aeterna	Dalmata
Catilina	Pansina	Laverna	Gnata/Nata
Sabellina	Bassina	Importuna	Nominata
Ocellina	Pacatina	Rara(?)	Bonata
Mascellina	Teatina	Aspera	Liberata
Mellina	Tatina	Exsupera	Venerata
Aquillina	Optatina	Sera	Onerata
Tranquillina	Paetina	!Patera	Exsuperata
Medullina	Vegetina	Vafra(?)	Orata
Anullina	Spoletina	Aurora *m*.	Invitata
Sterculina	Pometina	Sora	Hortata
Iulina	Epetina	Capra *m*.	Mutata
Catulina	Setina	Scurra *m., f*.	Novata
Primina	Numantina	Laura	Conservata
Φλαμμῖνα	Placentina	Κρεσκιτοῦρα	Perfecta
Postumina	Picentina	Feliciosa	Proiecta
Domnina	Fidentina	Invidiosa	Lecta
Pitinnina	Sallentina	Gloriosa	Adlecta
Bonina	Pollentina	Gratiosa	Electa
Caesernina	Sementina	Pretiosa	Picta
Cupina	Grumentina	Clamosa	Docta
Lupina	Terentina	Maximosa	Veneta

Inclita	Rixa	Domnio(n)	Pulicio
Invenita	Μαρίσκη	Ἐννίων	Similio
Cognita	Ἀβιδιανή	Πριγκιπίων	Papilio
Sospita	Φρουγιανή	Λουπαρίων	Opilio
Marita	Ἀτικιανή	Νιγερίων	Carpilio
Trita	Ἀττικιανή	Παπιρίων	Aurilio
Parasita	Λαιλιανή	Φαβατίων	Maurilio
Vita	Ἀκυλιανή	Κοδρατίων	Rutilio
Invita	Ἀριλιανή	Καπιτίων	Vallio
Planta	Ἀρελλιανή	Βενουστίων	Vernacellio
Clienta	Ῥουστικιλλιανή	Ἀττίκων	Porcellio
Suscepta	Πριμιλλιανή	Felico	Pellio
Aperta	Abulliane	Μαρκώ	Cruscellio
Vasta	Habulliane	Cupido	Cruscillio
Costa	Ἀμπλιανή	Cardo	Pusillio
Supersta(?)	Ῥωμανιανή	Spesindeo	Pullio
Lucusta *m*.	Ἀρρηνιανή	Galeo	Tullio
Vetusta	Μαγνιανή	Rufo	Titullio
Natta	Λικιννιανή	Strigo	Iulio
Iulitta	Κεστρωνιανή	Gaio	Decimio
Bonitta	Μουσωνιανή	Albio	Urbanio
Salvitta	Καπιτωνιανή	Balbio	Canio
Cotta	Αἰτεριανή	Callaecio	Germanio
Gutta	Βαριανή	Vindicio	Silvanio
Arguta	Οὐηρανιανή	Soricio	Senio
Saluta	Φιλοβαλεριανή	Spurcio	Magnio
Incluta	Ῥουσιανή	Priscio	Iuvenio
Soluta	Πακατιανή	Nerucio	Pisinio
Cornuta	Νουντιανή	Iucundio	Sisinio
Capua	Σαλλουστιανή	Gaudio	Domnio
Batava	Κοαρτάνη	Claudio	*Britannio
Octava(?)	Cedoalteram	Ardalio	Pusinnio
Optiva	Φλακκίων	Iugalio	Lucernio
Tempestiva	Μουνδίων	Natalio	Fortunio
Viva	Σεργίων	Italio	Capio(?)
Nova	Μαρκελλίων	Oriclio(?)	Scipio
Aequa	Γεμελλίων	Masclio	Strippio
Antiqua	Πουπλίων	Caelio	Crispio
Aeditua	Κορβουλίων	Marcelio	Barbario
Cerva *m*.	Δεκμίων	Vigelio	Clario
!Laxa	Γεμινίων	Agilio	Caesario

Passario	Fortio	Arbiter	Lucias
Cicerio	Castio	Oleaster	Aelias *m. f.*
Piperio	Restio	Induster	Αὐρηλιᾶς
Paterio	Augustio	Decor	Αἰμιλιᾶς
Verio	Acutio	Felicior	Ἰουλιᾶς
Afrio	Argutio	Nobilior	Ἀντωνιᾶς
Nigrio	Minutio	Senior	Hadrias *m.*
Saburrio	Calvio	Superior	Τιβεριᾶς
Trio	Silvio	Prior	Βαλεριᾶς
Satrio	Sexio	Minor	Οὐαλεριᾶς
Maurio	Oriclo	Derisor	Δομιτιᾶς
Taurio	Gillo	Vestigator	Πλωτιᾶς
Curio	Firmillo	Vindemiator	Τερτιᾶς
Augurio	Corbulo	Iubilator	Μαρκελλᾶς
Purpurio	Oriculo	Iaculator	Πωλλᾶς
Asurio	Seno	Exsuperator	Pullas
Asturio	Turno	*Salvator	Βωλᾶς
Calvisio	Nero	Servator	Πωλᾶς
Celsio	Patero	Exactor	Ποπλᾶς
Rosio	Apro	Refector	Πουπλᾶς
Bassio	Caeso	Pictor	Cordulas
Cassio	Ruso	Auctor	Ἀγγουλᾶς
Vassio	*Gnato	Seductor	Πριμᾶς
Successio	Compito *f.*	Vindemitor	Firmas
Pusio	Dento	Genitor	Anullinas
Barbatio	Lento	Adquisitor	Tarinas
Mercatio	Φαυστώ(?)	Vitor	Casinas
Palatio	Britto	Quaestor	Atinas
Primatio	Salvitto	Pistor	Πλωτινᾶς
Sarmatio	Calvo	Secutor	!Aquinas
Natio	Caesar	Favor	Σεργωνᾶς
Fortunatio	Faber	Barbas	Νεμωνᾶς
Paratio	Celtiber	Φορνικᾶς	Ἀντωνᾶς
Speratio	Acer	Καστρικᾶς(?)	Κορνᾶς
Optatio	Lacer	Μεσσικᾶς	Τριβουνᾶς
Ambitio	Frugifer	Lucas	Πομπᾶς
!Sitio	Belliger	Tigridas	Barbaras
Vitio	Celer	Rufas	Σεβηρᾶς
Gentio	Prosper	Πριμιγᾶς	Capras
Plotio	Exsuper	Γαιᾶς	Fidelitas
Martio	Pater	Μαρκίας	Comitas *m., f.*

Κομιτᾶς	Minutalis	Infans	Germanicus
Dignitas	Novalis	Elegans *f.*	Rhenicus
Καπιτᾶς	Aequalis	Ballans	Spenicus
Securitas	Habilis	Exsuperans *m., f.*	Amnicus
Aequitas	Optabilis	Praestans	Bonicus
Οὐαλεντᾶς	Agilis	Innocens	Sternicus
Φαυστᾶς	Iuvenilis	Gaudens	Punicus
Πωλλιττᾶς	Lacerilis	Ingens	Picus
Πωλλιττάς	Quinctilis	Cliens	Ὀπικός
Ἀκουτᾶς	Μασκελλίς	Sapiens	Arcaricus
Ἰουλιάδης	Mellis	Patiens	Hilaricus
Caecilides	Φλαμμίς	Violens	Araricus
Aries	Gentianis	Ve(he)mens	Maioricus
Miles	Communis	Eminens	Noricus
Φλαουιανής	Βαρβαρίς	Parens	Apricus
Primigenes	Talaris	Absens	Lustricus
Ινγένης	Ἀπελλινάρις	Potens	Marsicus
Crassipes	Luminaris	Sequens	Baeticus
!Spes	Liris	Vincomalos	Raeticus
Sospes	Apris	Camars	Alticus
Heres	Mercuris	Sollers	Celticus
Φλαμμεάτης	Iuliacensis	Consors	!Caelesticus
Dives	Lucensis	Palumbus	Nervicus
Eques	Libiensis	Superbus	Iuvencus
Γναίς	Olbiensis	Cacus	Iuncus
Auspicalis	Luc(i)ensis	Opacus	Auruncus
Sodalis	Aquileiensis	Amaracus	Procus
Vindemialis	*Salie(n)sis	Caecus	Parcus
Memorialis	Lunie(n)sis	Medicus	Mamercus
Quinquatrialis	Martiensis	Aequidicus	Circus(?)
Comitialis	Silvanensis	Modicus	Vopiscus
Initialis	Terracine(n)sis	Claudicus	Mariscus
Martialis *f.*	Narbonensis	Natalicus	Lentiscus
Hiemalis	Campensis	Vitalicus	Vopiscus
Fontinalis	Larensis	Stablicus	Volscus
Quinquennalis	Camerensis(?)	Publicus	Fadus
Hibernalis	Forensis	Felicus	Acidus
Fortunalis	Murensis	Buccellicus	Calidus
Principalis	Cirtensis	Aulicus	Cupidus
Quinquatralis	Hortensis	Primicus	Κάλανδος
*Donatalis	Portensis	Firmicus	Venerandus

Oriendus	Studius	Spongiarius(?)	Quintasius
Fruendus	Indagius	Pullarius	Parisius
Mundus	Benagius	*Pecularius	Maurusius
Tardus	Egregius	Cubicularius	Probatius
Surdus	Φρούγιος	Lanarius	Primatius
Cumquodeus	Φατάλιος	Ἀπελινάριος	Sarmatius
Habetdeus	Natalius	Asinarius	Λαίτιος
Vincetdeus	Κομιτιάλιος	Tabernarius	Lucetius
Herculaneus	Maurilius	Aerarius(?)	Dulcitius
Cereus	Auxilius	Casarius	Mellitius
Aureus	Καπιτώλιος	Caesarius	Consultius
Purpureus	Peculius	Argentarius	Infantius
Γναῖος	Πατερκούλιος	Armentarius	Vigilantius
Triumphus	Salgamius	Carpentarius	Garamantius
Dubius	Vindemius	Sagittarius	Venantius
Audacius	Firmius	Scutarius	Conantius
Squillacius	R(h)odanius	Iduarius	Superantius
Paulacius	Victorinianius	Tiberius	Laetantius
Ῥουφινάκιος	!Romanius	Refrigerius	Vegetantius
Senecius	Germanius	Paterius	Praestantius
Urbicius	Primogenius	Veterius	Instantius
Vindicius	!Primicinius	Severius	*Abentius
Proficius	Virginius	Numerius	Habentius
Felicius	Geminius	Reverius	Vicentius(?)
Auspicius	Priminius	Arborius	Fucentius
Lauricius	Κρισπίνιος	Candorius	Lucentius
Mauricius	Celerinius	Florius	Studentius
Auspicius	Castinius	Memorius	Fulgentius
Praeiecticius	Aquinius	Leporius	Surgentius
Proiecticius	Splendonius	Mercatorius	Augentius
Docticius	Ciceronius	Litorius	Clementius
Raeticius	Pulchronius	Πεκτόριος	Armentius
Rusticius	Favonius	Adiutorius	!Magnentius
Novicius	Νεπτούνιος	Solutorius	Clarentius
Iuvencius	Principius	Maurius	Reverentius
Priscius	Appius	Tellurius	Torrentius
!Priscius	Clarius	Spurius	Maurentius
Numidius	Bracarius	Mensurius	Absentius
Lepidius	Porcarius	Luxurius	Consentius
Abundius	Calendarius	Primasius	Nitentius
Gaudius	Lactearius	Brumasius	Potentius

Obsequentius	Catillus	Marculus	Sublucanus
Aventeius	Καίστιλλος	Fusculus	Vadanus
Aesontius	Cestillus	*Edulus	Oppidanus
Sollertius	Plautillus	Secundulus	Secundanus
Caelestius	Brutillus	Rufulus	Mammaeanus
Acutius	Sextillus	Maiulus	Longanus
Timavius	Cucullus	Famulus	Baianus
Danuvius	Primullus	*Nummulus	Caianus
Malus	Anullus	Firmulus	Mammaianus
Vincomalos	Nerullus	!Attinulus	Traianus
Vincomalus	Petrullus	Pupulus	Stabianus
!Salus	Caesullus	Caerulus	Baebianus
Italus	Datullus	Verulus	Trebianus
Vitalus	Statullus	Salsulus	Ambianus
Forticlus	Aureolus	Datulus	Orbianus
Φρούγιλος	Vindemiolus	Rogatulus	Dacianus
Βάσσιλος	Apiolus	Natulus	[Ur]sacianus
Rutilus	Seriolus	Donatulus	Flaccianus
Hispallus	Victoriolus	Patulus	Treccianus
Libellus	Auriolus	Baetulus	Viccianus
Aucellus	Comitiolus	Vetulus	Occianus
Ofellus	Commentiolus	Faustulus	Caecianus
Rufellus	Comentiolus	Augustulus	Maecianus
Rufillus	Domnentiolus	(!) Brutulus	Sedecianus
Catellus	Flaviolus	Calvulus	Albicianus
Balbillus	Naevolus	Servulus	Caedicianus
Flaccillus	Benivolus	Mamus	Vindicianus
Priscillus	Cervolus	Facillimus	Αἰφικιανός
Fuscillus	Servolus	Vitalissimus	Publicianus
Secundillus	Λαῖτλος(?)	Carissimus	Selicianus
Maximil(l)us	Aulus	Clarissimus	Gallicianus
Firmillus	Bibulus	Pientissimus	Bellicianus
Urbanillus	Globulus	Potentissimus	Gaetulicianus
Magnillus	Vernaculus	Fortissimus	Anicianus
Sabinillus	Paculus	Optimus	Minicianus
Gargonillus	*Feliculus	Proximus	Fabricianus
Iunillus	Apriculus	Summus	Castricianus
Varillus	Siculus	Auricomus	Mauricianus
Florillus	Denticulus	Columbanus	Asicianus
Taurillus	Forticulus	Arcanus	Aticianus
Pusillus	Rusticulus	Mariscanus	Septicianus

Rusticianus	Velleianus	Comilianus	Tranquillianus
Plancianus	Siculeianus	Turpilianus	Brassillianus
Mariscianus	Apuleianus	Egrilianus	Gratil(l)ianus
Tuscianus	Campuleianus	Aprilianus	Metillianus
Minucianus	Ap(p)uleianus	Silianus	Οὐαλεντιλλιανός
Erucianus	Vetuleianus	Blaesilianus	Vettillianus
Fadianus	Venneianus	Μαρσιλιανός	Rutillianus
Caedianus	Areianus	Statilianus	Pollianus
Spedianus	Crepereianus	Petilianus	Babullianus
Murredianus	Loreianus	Titilianus	Fabullian(us)(?)
Sabidianus	Fonteianus	Dentilianus	Tabullianus
Σακιδιανός	Insteianus	Curtilianus	Pullianus
Decidianus	Atteianus	Hostilianus	Rullianus
Didianus	Ἡουηιανός	*Ustilianus	Τερεντυλλιανός
Alfidianus(?)	Ἀρβουξηιανός	Attilianus	Mascolianus
Fufidianus	Alfianus	Rutilianus	Saesolianus
Λογγιδιανός	Fufianus	Sextilianus	Aulianus
Calidianus	Magianus	Aquilianus	Herculianus
Ἰουλιδιανός	Cethegianus	Auxilia[nus?]	Paterculianus
Ummidianus	Οὐαλγιανός	Allianus	Regulianus
Numidianus	Longianus	Regallianus	Romulianus
Canidianus	Largianus	Mallianus	Cannulianus
Capidianus	Rugianus	Bellianus	Catulianus
Epidianus	Frugianus	Procellianus	Gaetulianus
Caridianus	Natalianus	Cascellianus	Titulianus
Casidianus	Mitalianus	Ofellianus	Amianus
Nasidianus	Paterclianus	Gemellianus	Camianus
Matidianus	Ampelianus	Caerellianus	Damianus
Settidianus	Οὐαρελιανός	Κορελλιανός	Mamianus
Avidianus	Velianus	Aurellianus	Γημιανός
Blandianus	Amabilianus	Novellianus	Decimianus
Iucundianus	Nobilianus	Balbillianus	Ammianus
Commodianus	Acilianus	Fabricillianus	Mammianus
Cordianus	Racilianus	Procillianus	Mummianus
Concordianus	Otacilianus	Priscillianus	Formianus
Gaudianus	Flaccilianus	Regillianus	Postumianus
Mudianus	Coelianus	Camillianus	Urbanianus
Tamudianus	Μοσκιλιανός	Maximil(l)ianus	Canianus
Cocceianus	Agilianus	Passenillianus	Vibianianus
Lucceianus	Tongilianus	Capillianus	Decianianus
Προκληιανός	Similianus	Sillianus	Romanianus

Germanianus	Maiorinianus	Neronianus	Laberianus
Campanianus	Victorinianus	Sempronianus	Liberianus
Veranianus	Asinianus	Apronianus	Lucerianus
Granianus	Pansinianus	Varronianus	Celerianus
Instanianus	Ursinianus	Latronianus	Bolerianus
Silvanianus	Atinianus	Matronianus	Camerianus
Caenianus	Ματινιανός	Caesonianus	Numerianus
Saenianus	Gratinianus	Pisonianus	Casperianus
Γαβ(ε)ιανός	Vatinianus	Musonianus	Superianus
Primigenianus	Setinianus	Vetonianus	Caeserianus
Ingenianus	Potentinianus	Capitonianus	Aterianus
Tullenianus	Quintinianus	Critonianus	Haterianus
Serenianus	Frontinianus	Vettonianus	Materianus
Arrenianus	Serotini[anus]	Ravonianus	Agrianus
Cirrenianus	Castinianus	Maternianus	Nigrianus
Senianus	Βεττινιανός	Aburnianus	Birianus
Passenianus	Urvinianus	Liburnianus	Maiorianus
Etenianus(?)	Γεμνιανός	Furnianus	Memorianus
Βεττηνιανός	Domnianus	Principianus	Praetorianus
Dignianus	Fannianus	Tampianus(?)	Litorianus
Gabinianos	Ennianus	Cappianus	Σεπτωριανός
Albinianus	Sennianus	Oppianus	Sertorianus
Balbinianus	Caesennianus	Luppianus	Ostorianus
Acinianus	Λικιννιανός	Caspianus	Favorianus
Priscinianus	Ἰοβιννιανός	Crispianus	Aprianus
Afinianus	Tribonianus	Cuspianus	Asprianus
Reginianus	Τρεβωννιανός	Lupianus	Burrianus
Maximinianus	Λιβωνιανός	Pupianus	Satrianus
Cominianus	Scribonianus	Barianus	Καστριανός
Firminianus	Τριβουνιανός	Barbarianus	Mestrianus
Caninianus	Herbonianus	Carianus	Histrianus
Antoninianus	Paconianus	Pinarianus	Dextrianus
Papinianus	Falconianus	Caesarianus	Scaurianus
Alpinianus	Cosconianus	Cavarianus	Maurianus
Agrippinianus	Rufonianus	Varianus	Burianus
Crispinianus	Γλαβριωνιανός	Umbrianus	Aburianus
Macrinianus	Cilonianus	Octobrianus(?)	Eburianus
Gerinianus	Nemonianus	Acrianus	Mercurianus
Verinianus	Nonianus	Vacrianus(?)	Lurianus
Peregrinianus	Aponianus	Decrianus	Veturianus
Nigrinianus	Ciceronianus	Hadrianus	Volcasianus

Dasianus	Setianus	Cattianus	Nonanus
Blaesianus	Caesetianus	Grattianus	Claranus
Carisianus	Tacitianus	Mettianus	Varanus
Calvisianus	Comitianus	Γαλλιττιανός	Seranus
Celsianus	Anitianus	Pollittianus	Severanus
Hortensianus	Finitianus	Tittianus	Platanus
Sponsianus	Sospitianus	Bruttianus	Caietanus
Marsianus	Cupitianus	Aebutianus	Subitanus
Parsianus	Potitianus	Acutianus	Malacitanus
Sparsianus	Antianus	Futianus	Gaditanus
Persianus	Constantianus	Cannutianus	Caralitanus
Ursianus	Gaudentianus	Cornutianus	*Reperitanus
Crassianus	Valentianus	Brutianus	*Lurritanus
Concessianus	Λωρεντιανός	Cossutianus	Turritanus
Blossianus	Potentianus	!Propinquianus	Madauritanus
Volussianus	Frequentianus	Avianus	Nomentanus
Mussianus	Calventianus	Cavianus	Quintanus
Marusianus	Iuventianus	Gavianus	Fontanus
Atianus	Frontianus	Laevianus	!Faustanus
Barbatianus	Arruntianus	Naevianus	Cottanus
Subatianus	Sacerdotianus	Ambivianus	Sextanus
Datianus	Negotianus	Primitivianus	Sequanus
Sedatianus	Potianus	Helvianus	Calvanus
Beatianus	Aptianus	Iovianus	Rhenus
Calatianus	Captianus	Ἀρουιανός	Dossenus
Egnatianus	Quartianus	Salluvianus	Privignus
Munatianus	Certianus	Axianus	Fabinus(?)
Quadratianus	Apertian(us)	Ἀκυλᾶνος	Gabinus
Speratianus	Tertianus	Rusellanus	Marracinus
Horatianus	Fortianus	Metellanus	Flaccinus
Quadratianus	Nortianus	Bolanus	Cornicinus
Lutatianus	Consortianus	Solanus	Lupicinus
Torquatianus	Caestianus	Feliculanus	Soricinus
Servatianus	Cestianus	Ocriculanus	Iuncinus
Respectianus	Modestianus	Proculanus	Tuscinus
Sanctianus	Antistianus	Tusculanus	Sucinus
Auctianus	Ostianus	Insulanus	Vetedinus
Laetianus	Superstianus	Sassulanus	Acidinus
Paetianus	Robustianus	Maximanus	Placidinus
Vegetianus	Lucustianus	Cumanus	Candidinus
Quietianus	Venustianus	Humanus	Lepidinus

Blandinus	Hirpinus	Atratinus	Castinus
Verecundinus	Lupinus	Spectatinus	Crastinus
Iucundinus	Clarinus	Optatinus	Thevestinus
Gaudinus	Caesarinus	Servatinus	Pristinus
Paludinus	Varinus	Rectinus	Lucustinus
Larginus	Cavarinus	Iunctinus	Venustinus
Natalinus	Umbrinus	Laetinus	Rustinus
Vitalinus	Sobrinus	Vegetinus	Cautinus
Petelinus	Sacrinus	Quietinus	Lautinus
Aemilinus(?)	Lucrinus	Spoletinus	Cornutinus
Asellinus	Sucrinus	Epetinus	Ταρουτῖνος
Petellinus	Lucerinus	Setinus	Tutinus
Βαριλλῖνος	Egerinus	Mansuetinus	Ingenuinus
Tranquillinus	Φαλερῖνος	Comitinus	Aquinus
Medullinus	Generinus	Domitinus	Patavinus
Iullinus	Miserinus	Μαριτῖνος	Scaevinus
Pullinus	Paterinus	Quiritinus	Salvinus
Nerullinus	Afrinus	Τιτῖνος	Minervinus
Vitullinus	Maiorinus	Avitinus	Corvinus
Trifolinus	Κακορῖνος	Altinus	Domnus
Polinus	Memorinus	Placentinus	Pisinnus
*Culinus	Honorinus	Picentinus	Pusinnus
Fusc(u)linus	Leporinus	Pudentinus	Homobonus
Regulinus	Temporinus	Gentinus	Virbonus
Iulinus	Praetorinus	Sapienti[nus](?)	Nonus
Catulinus	Litorinus	Lentinus	Sarnus
Satulinus	Patrinus	Sallentinus	Hibernus
Postuminus	Laurinus	Pollentinus	Hodiernus
Crustuminus	Mercurinus	Sementinus	Avernus(?)
Caninus	Telesinus	Νομεντῖνος	Eburnus
Marcianinus	Brundisinus	Grumentinus	Liburnus
Domninus	Mulsinus	Terentinus	Turnus
Sisenninus	Marsinus	Praesentinus	Nocturnus
Boninus	Bassinus	Frequentinus	Τακιτούρνους
Νερωνῖνος	Cassinus	Adventinus	Tribunus
Caesoninus	Pacatinus	Iuventinus	Fortunus
Sarninus	Datinus	Nepotinus	Importunus
Caeserninus	Rogatinus	Serotinus	Campus
Paterninus	Palatinus	Tartinus(?)	Carus
Pinus	Quadratinus	Mamertinus	Rarus
Principinus	Speratinus	Fortinus	Sincerus

Serus	Velatus	Doctus	Venutus
Burrus	Pilatus	Venetus	Substitutus
Durus	Allatus	Scitus	Navus
Murus	Angulatus	Ascitus(?)	Ravus(?)
Profuturus	Amatus	Reditus	Batavus
Mulsus	Primatus	Inclitus	Octavus
Densus	Gemmatus	Mellitus	Divus
Sapidosus	Armatus	Redimitus	Rivus(?)
Officiosus(?)	Πλουμᾶτος	Primitus	Donativus
Larciosus	Μινᾶτος	Cognitus	Genetivus
Studiosus	Nominatus	Crinitus	*Finitivus(?)
Calumniosus	Luminatus	Munitus	Sementivus
Copiosus	Ὀρνᾶτος	Maritus	Votivus
Veneriosus	Sacratus	Meritus	Cervus
Gloriosus	Liberatus	Parasitus	Protervus
Gratiosus	!Ceratus	Quaesitus	Corvus
Mellosus	Oneratus	Adquisitus	**-ūs**:
Musc(u)losus	Superatus	Praepositus	Μαγνοῦς
Gulosus	Viratus	Petitus	Δομνοῦς
Primosus	Oratus	Fortuitus	!Δομναροῦς(?)
Luminosus	Roboratus	Iuventus	Κομιτοῦς
Nonnosus	Ferratus(?)	Promotus	Ἀκκεπτοῦς
Carosus	Incitatus	Potus	Deusdedit
Aurosus	Comitatus	Emptus	!Fallax
Datosus	*Invitatus	Repertus	Tenax
Frontosus	Restatus	Hortus	Atax
Sparsus	Mutatus	Portus	Iudex
Professus	Praetextatus	Fastus	Senex
Russus	Iuvatus	Pastus	Auspex
Fusus	Perfectus	Vastus	Sorex
Barbatus	Lectus	Ustus	Superatrix(?)
Orbatus	Adlectus	Ambustus	Invitatrix
Delicatus	Tectus	Robustus	Victrix
Auspicatus	Architectus	Vetustus	Nutrix
Focatus(?)	Advectus	Σάλουιττος	Velox
Revocatus	Pictus	Fautus	Atrox
Deodatus	Evictus	Argutus	Redux
Beatus	Invictus	Mutus	

CCCVII. FALSCHE NAMEN

Caesarus. Dieser Name wird in *Names on Terra sigillata* II (2008) 159, freilich mit Zögern aus dem Stempel eines wohl gallischen Töpfers herausgeholt; im Stempel soll CAESARIM stehen. Da kann aber unmöglich ein im Lateinischen sonst unbekannter und der Bildung nach unwahrscheinlicher Name *Caesarus* vorliegen.[32] Warum nicht CAESARINI? Freilich war ein Cognomen *Caesarinus* bisher nicht belegt, stellt aber eine plausible Bildung dar; und das feminine Pendant *Caesarina* lässt sich als Cognomen bezeugen, wie vor Kurzem weiter bekannt geworden ist (*Arctos* 46 [2012] 198 aus *CIL* VI 6039, der Forschung bisher entgangen). Oder aber wir könnten *Caesariani* verstehen; freilich ist auch dies nicht als Cognomen belegt (*Glaucus Caesarianus* in *EE* VIII Hisp. 309 und Ἀγαθόπους Καισαριανὸς δοῦλος in *TAM* V 2, 1407 stehen anders, wie auch *O. Claud*. III 550. 551. 554 [151/2 n. Chr.] Ἰσίδωρος Καισαριανός), doch mit der Annahme eines nicht beobachteten Nexus von A und M würden wir einen Beleg dieses Cognomens erhalten (kaum kann Nom. plur. als Bezeichnung einer Gruppe von *Caesariani* vorliegen).[33]

    Coelus. In *Names on Terra sigillata* III (2008) 86-89 werden drei Töpfer registriert, deren Name als *Coelus* festgelegt wird. Der Erste signierte um 2-40 n. Chr. in La Graufesenque; die Form seines Namens lief im Genetiv *Coeli*, Nom. *Coelus* kann auch belegt werden. Der Zweite arbeitete auch in La Graufesenque um 65-85; die meistens der Stempel sind entweder abgekürzt oder sind im Genetiv *Coeli* oder im Nominativ *Coelius*, woneben auch Nom. *Coelus* überliefert ist. Zeit und Namensform des Dritten bleiben dunkel; verzeichnet ist nur der Name *Coelus* des Töpfer aus Montans. Warum die Editoren des Werkes als Namen gerade *Coelus* festlegen wollten, wird nicht begründet. Hinzu kommen mehrere Belege aus den gallischen Provinzen wohl desselben Stempels mit

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32 In *ThLL Onom*. II 45, 30-37 wird ein hispanischer Name *Caesarus* in Anspruch genommen, doch die meisten Belege sind abgekürzt oder enden im Genetiv *Caesari*; übrig bleiben als Zeugnisse nur Appian. *Iber*. 56 Καίσαρος, Name eines lusitanischen Führers, und *CIL* II 5762 *Caisaros Cecciq(om)* usw. (Lesung sicher, Foto verglichen), doch fragt man sich, ob wirklich mit Sicherheit ein Nominativ vorliegt. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass auf dieser Grundlage das Auftauchen eines Namens *Caesarus* im gallischen Raum nicht postuliert werden kann.

33 Fernzuhalten sind *Caeserianus* und *Caeserinus* (trotz der bekannten Schreibweise *Caeser-* für *Caesar-*); sie sind eher als aus dem Gentilnamen *Caeserius* abgeleitet anzusehen (Kajanto 142. 161. *Rep*.[2] 498. *Arctos* 46 [2012] 199).

der Schrift *Coelus* oder *Bassus Coelus* (publiziert in verschiedenen Faszikeln der *Carte archéologique de la Gaule*, die ich nicht konsultieren konnte). Nun, ein Cognomen *Coelus* wäre eine unwahrscheinliche Bildung, sofern nicht ein einheimischer Name dahinter steckt, was nicht glaubhaft erscheint. Als Ausweg wäre anzunehmen, dass in Belegen, die *Coelus* wiedergegeben werden, ein Nexus von L und I verkannt gewesen wäre, oder dass einfach eine nachlässige Schreibweise für *Coelius* vorliegt. In Stempeln können solche Nexus so undeutlich eingraviert sein, dass sie den Editoren leicht entgehen können.

Feliclo. Dieser Name liest sich auf dem Stein in *CIL* VI 33404 *L. Livineius Feliclo Neapolitanus*. Die Lesung ist über alle Zweifel erhaben, wie man aus dem in *EDR* 135809 publizierten Foto sehen kann. *Felic(u)lo* wäre aber eine sehr eigentümliche Bildung und schwerlich zu erklären (fehlt in Kajantos *Latin Cognomina*). Mit der Annahme eines harmlosen Steinmetzfehlers erhält man den guten Namen *Felicio* (das hat auch Vidman im Cognominaindex gesehen). Dies wurde nicht in *EDR* erkannt, und ganz abwegig wird in *U.S. Epigraphy Project,* KY. Lou. SAM.L. 1929.17.361 A-E behauptet, es handele sich um die Grabinschrift eines L. Livineius Felic(u)lus. Von allem anderen ganz zu schweigen, *Felic(u)lus* existierte praktisch nicht (s. oben S. 202).

Menoecus. Das Cognomen in *CIL* X 1007 (Pompeji) ist in einer alten Kopie der Ausgrabungsberichte MENOIˡCVS überliefert. Mommsen im Cognominaindex versuchte keine Lösung, aber später hat man an *Menoecus* gedacht.[34] Dies ist aber kein Name. Im Griechischen wird der mythologische Name Μενοικεύς (so hieß Kreons Vater und Sohn) auch als historischer Personenname gebraucht,[35] davon gibt es aber keine Spuren in der römischen Anthroponymie; außerdem müsste in der Inschrift dann *Menoeceus* stehen. Nicht weit von dem, was überliefert ist, wäre *Menofilus*. Wenn der Steinmetz den Text aufgrund einer kursiven Vorlage eingehauen hat, so kann man den fünften Buchstaben als ein kursives F lesen, und beim zweitletzten wäre eine Verwechslung von L und C leicht verständlich; den Ausfall von I zwischen F und L würde man auch gut verstehen. *Menophilus* war ein gängiger Name; er ist allein in Rom 68mal belegt (s. mein griechisches Namenbuch 113-115).

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[34] P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*, Roma 1975, 178 Nr. 204, 14; daraus *LGPN* III. A 298.

[35] Fehlt in Bechtel *HPN*. Schon aber für das Jahr 321 belegt: *CID* II 110, 29. Sonst: Diog. Laert. 10, 29. 121a (Empfänger von Epikurs drittem Brief); N. M. Dimitrova, *Theoroi and Initiates in Samothrace* (2008) 46 I, 11 (aus Abydos in Troas, ca. 40-45 n. Chr.).

Tharilla. In *ZPE* 193 (2015) 283-286 publiziert D. Koßmann eine bis nach Japan geschleppte Inschrift vermutlich ostiensischer Herkunft. Über manche Einzelheiten könnte man weiter diskutieren, ich begnüge mich hier aber das Cognomen der Verstorbenen zu besprechen, das der Autor als *Tharilla* oder *Tharille* (in der Inschrift im Dativ *Egriliae Tharille*) festlegen möchte. Ein solcher Name existiert aber strikt genommen nicht; höchstens könnte man an eine sekundäre Schreibung für *Tharsilla* denken. Nun, gemäß den verschiedenen Formen der Namenwörter θάρσος, attisch θάρρος und θρασύς hat auch die große Namensippe um diese Wörter Θαρσ-, Θαρρ-, Θρασ-, *Thars-, Tharr-, Thras-* aufzuweisen. Von Namen auf *-illa* ist einigermaßen bekannt nur *Tharsilla*, belegt in Rom in einer Bleitessera (Rostowzew, *Tesserarum urbis Romae plumbearum sylloge, Supplementum* 1510*a*) und bei Greg. M. *dial*. 4, 16 *Tharsilla amita mea* (diese ist also in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jh. geboren), sowie in *AE* 1976, 243 (Concordia in der regio X, 4. Jh.), normalerweise *[Th]arsilla* ergänzt, doch sieht man am Foto vor dem A Reste einer Haste, so dass eher *[T]harsilla* zu lesen ist;[36] dieser Name wird auch durch das Wortspiel nahegelegt, das in den Worten *[cum, T]harsilla, tuum numen pro nomine ferres*, 'als du, Tharsilla, dein Numen als deinen Namen führtest'.[37] (Im griechischen Bereich scheinen diese Namen nicht belegt zu sein).[38] *Tharrilla* ist nicht belegt, stellt aber neben *Tharsilla* eine plausible Form dar, und davon wäre *Tharilla* eine durch Vereinfachung der Geminate *rr* gebildete Nebenform. Gänzlich überzeugt das aber nicht. Nun findet sich vor THARILLE ein I, gefolgt von einem Punkt; der Editor sieht darin einen Worttrenner, kann freilich das I nicht erklären, schlägt aber als Alternative *Itharille* vor. Mir scheint der Punkt nicht als Worttrenner zu nehmen

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[36] Will man vor A keine sicheren Buchstabenreste erkennen, dann könnte man auch den gut belegten Namen *[M]arsilla* ergänzen (so meinen in der Tat P. L. Zovatto, *Mem. Stor. Forogiuliesi* 50 [1970] 109-115 und G. Scarpat, *Paideia* 37 [1982] 3-12). Doch würde man wegen des vorhandenen Wortspiels diese Ergänzung von vornherein zurückweisen. – Die letzte Edition der Inschriften von Concordia, G. Lettich, *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali tardoantiche di Concordia* (1983) 102 lässt den Namen unergänzt.

[37] Dazu vgl. P. Cugusi, Per un nuovo *Corpus* dei *Carmina Latina epigraphica*. Materiali e discussioni, *MemLincei* ser. IX, 22 fasc. 1 (2007) 46f. 203.

[38] Etwas fern bleibt der übliche Name Θράσυλλος *Thrasyllus*, von dessen femininem Pendant Θράσυλλα vereinzelte Belege vorhanden sind: *SEG* LI 721 (Pelasgiotis in Thessalien, 3. Jh. v. Chr.); *ÖJh* 8 (1905) 163 = J.-L. Ferrary, *Mémoriaux de délégations du sanctuaire oraculaire de Claros* (2014) 277 Nr. 43 (133/134 n. Chr.) Θράσυλλα Ζωσίμου Ἀμμία aus Laodikeia.

zu sein und sehe hier den Namen *Itharilla*. Ein solcher Name war bisher weder im Griechischen noch im Lateinischen belegt, lässt sich aber ungezwungen aus dem üblichen Ἴθαρος *Itharus* erklären (von dessen Verbreitung gibt Koßmann Anm. 10 Bescheid).[39]

CCCVIII. VERKANNTE NAMEN

Amoenianus. Man liest in *IMS* II 150 (aus Vulić, *ÖJh* 15 [1912] Beibl. 214 Nr. 3 mit Foto) aus Viminacium *P[e]tronius Amynianus*. Die Editorin Mirković notiert dazu: "Le nom *Amynianus*, du grec Ἀμυνίας est rare". Doch ist Ἀμυνιανός *Amynianus* in der griechisch-römischen Anthroponymie sonst gänzlich unbekannt, und auch Namen auf *Amyn-*, außer denen, die zur Sippe *Amyntas* gehören, gibt es in der römischen Überlieferung nicht. Belege wie *Amyna abia* (= *avia*) in *CIL* X 3646 und *Amyna* (Herrin einer Freigelassenen) *AE* 2012, 401 Heraclea/Policoro in Lukanien) vertreten sehr wahrscheinlich den Namen *Amoena*. Nun erkennt man auf dem Foto einen Nexus von N und T, also eindeutig *Amyntianus*. Die Namensippe *Amyntas*, darunter *Amyntianus*. ist einigermaßen belegt in der römischen Welt.[40] – Das Cognomen *Amoenus -a* seinerseits war überall in Gebrauch, und *Amoenianus -a* lässt sich ein paar Male belegen (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 282 kennt einen Beleg [Agnomen eines öffentlichen Sklaven in Asisium], dazu noch *AE* 1984, 73 aus Rom und *IMS* II 72 auch aus Viminacium; doch besteht kein Grund, auch in *IMS* II 150 *Amoenianus* zu verstehen).

    Auge. In M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos*, Roma 2007, 148f Nr. EF 748 (1. Jh. v. Chr.) liest der Editor die bilingue Inschrift wie folgt: *Sex[tiae Publii lumi]nis* / Σεξτίας Πο[π]λίου αὐγῆς, mit der Bemerkung "intendo come un vezzeggiativo rispondente al latino *lumen*; se invece fosse un nome, non saprei come tradurlo in latino tenendo conto della finale conservata sulla pietra". Das macht doch stutzig. Der lateinische Teil hieß natürlich *Sex[tiae P. l. Auge]nis*, und der griechische Teil endete mit Αὐγῆς.[41] Das Cognomen ist reichlich sowohl in der

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[39] Seinen Listen können mehrere Belege aus dem karischen Raum (aufgelistet in *LGPN* V B, 212) sowie *MAMA* 427 (Εἴθαρος) aus Aizanoi in Phrygien nachgetragen werden.

[40] Die stadtrömischen Belege in meinem Namenbuch 206 (dort auch drei Senatoren). Sonst *CIL* III 1980; X 1871; XIV 251. 4388; *AE* 1998, 629; *Suppl. It.* 5 Forum Novum 23.

[41] Man akzentuiert den Personennamen oft Αὔγη (so z. B. in *LGPN*), doch soll ohne Weiteres Αὐγή

griechischen Welt als auch im römischen Westen belegt, ein typisches Produkt der kaiserzeitlichen Namensgebung, und nur selten in vorrömischer Zeit bezeugt; doch reichen die ältesten Belege bis zum 4. Jh. v. Chr.: *IGBulg* I² 430 Apollonia Pontike), 4. Jh.); *CEG* II 726 (Philippoi, 4./ 3. Jh.); Gefäßgraffiti unbekannter Herkunft im Museum von Vasi, Georgien, 1. Jh. v. Chr. (D. Braund, *Georgia in Antiquity*, Oxford 1994, 147).[42] Auch Schiffsname: *IG* II² 1632 (ca. 323-2 v. Chr.) τριήρης Αὐγή. [Nachträglich sehe ich, dass schon O. Salomies in dieser Zeitschrift 43 (2009) 248 die richtige Erklärung der koischen Inschrift geboten hat.]

Κλεοπαροῦς. In *BGU* I 281 (Arsinoites, 103-116 n. Chr.) wird in den Zeilen 9-10 der Text folgendermaßen wiedergegeben: αὐτῆς Κλεοπα[τ]/ροῦτος; es wurde also ein Frauenname Κλεοπατροῦς in Anspruch genommen.[43] Doch ganz zu Unrecht. Marius Gerhardt aus dem Ägyptischen Museum zu Berlin (dem herzlich gedankt sei) teilt mir mit, dass in der Zeile 9 rechts nichts fehlt; der gut erhaltene Rand wird von allen anderen Zeilen des Textes exakt eingehalten, weswegen auch in Zeile 9 keine Ergänzung nötig ist. Außerdem ist kein Frauenname Κλεοπατροῦς bezeugt. Dagegen kennen wir den Frauennamen Κλεοπαροῦς *Cleoparus* sowohl aus griechischen als auch aus römischen Urkunden: *IG* XII 5, 319 (Paros, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Akk. Κλεοπαροῦν;[44] *CIL* VI 4468 (julisch-claudisch) *[V]aleria Cleoparu sarcinatrix*.

Menophilus: s. oben S. 258

Optatus. IN *SE* 77 (2014) 314 Nr. 21 publiziert M. Bonamici eine Vasenscherbe arretinischer Keramik aus Volaterrae (etwa 20 v. Chr./ 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) mit dem Text *Optat[---]*. Sie ergänzt *optato* und meint, diese Form gehöre dem substantivierten Adjektiv *optatum*; bedeuten sollte es so etwas wie 'secondo l'augurio'; hinzugefügt werden amüsante Erklärungen aufgrund literarischer Passus. Doch liegt zweifellos das Cognomen *Optatus* vor.

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geschrieben werden.

[42] Bechtel *HPN* 579 verzeichnet den Namen, aber aus einer delphischen Freilassungsurkunde von 11 n. Chr., nimmt also ausnahmsweise einen kaiserzeitlichen Beleg auf.

[43] So auch O. Masson, *BCH* 105 (1981) 202 = *Onomastica Graeca selecta* II, Paris 1990, 378.

[44] Ganz abwegig *LGPN* I 262, wo in den Fußstapfen von Wilamowitz als Nominativ Κλεοπατρώ postuliert wird.

CCCIX. ZWEI VARIA ONOMASTICA

1. In dem Grabgedicht *ICret* IV 372 = *GVI* 1882 (Gortyn, 2. Jh. v. Chr.), Epitaph von Philus Tochter von Philon, einer Libyerin aus Taucheira in Kyrenaika (ἀ δὲ Λίβυσα πατρὶς [T]α[υ]χίρων), kehrt der Name der Verstorbenen zweimal wieder: [Φι]λοῦς Φίλωνος, χαῖρε. τοῦτο τὸ σᾶμα τίνος; . . . σᾶμα Φιλοῦς, γ[ενέ]τας δὲ Φίλων.[45] Der Name der Tochter Φιλοῦς vertritt eine wortbildungsmäßig gut bekannte Gattung von Frauennamen auf -οῦς,[46] ist aber sonst nur selten belegt; den Nominativ kenne ich nur aus ägyptischen Urkunden, Kyrenaika mitgerechnet.[47] Trotz der Seltenheit des Namens ist bis hierher alles klar. Wie ist aber zu erklären, dass an der zweiten Stelle, wo ein Genetiv erfordert wird, der Name in der Nominativform steht? Gut, ein Genetiv Φιλοῦς existiert, er gehört aber dem Frauennamen Φιλώ, der eine übliche Bildung war. Der Genetiv von Φιλοῦς muss Φιλοῦτος lauten, und ist in der Tat in dieser Form mehrmals in Ägypten überliefert.[48] Die Forscher, die sich um dieses Gedicht bemüht haben, sagen kein Sterbenswörtchen zu dieser Diskrepanz. Nicht einmal der große

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[45] Aus dem von Martínez Fernández (s. Anm. 49 publizierten Foto zu schließen scheint die Lesung des Namens am Anfang des Textes sicher.

[46] Dies Suffix ist öfters von O. Masson behandelt worden; z. B. *Onomastica Graeca selecta* II (1990) 635; III (2000) 327. Es war besonders in Ägypten modisch; kein Zufall, dass alle Belege des Namens von dort stammen, und wohlgemerkt kam unsere Philus aus Taucheira in Kyrenaika.

[47] *Stud. Pal.* IV S. 58-78, 466 (Ptolemais Euergetis in Arsinoites, um 73 n. Chr.); *P. Oslo* III 110, 8 (unbekannter Herkunft, nach 131/132 n. Chr,); *BGU* IX 1896, 135 (Theadelphia in Arsinoites, um 166 n. Chr.); *P. Mich*. IV 1, 224, 3229 und 225, 2745 (Karanis in Arsinoites, 173 bzw. 174 n. Chr.; *CIJ* II 1521 (Leontopolis). In Kyrenaika ist der Name mehrmals aus der frühen Kaiserzeit in Taucheira überliefert: *SEG* IX 702 = Lüderitz, *Corpus jüdischer Zeugnisse aus der Cyrenaika* (1983) 63 *c* Φιλοῦς Θεογίτονος; 706 = Lüderitz 63 *f* Φιλοῦς Ἀμελίτα [Φιλοῦς ist sicher Nominativ, denn die Namen stehen in dieser Gruppe von Inschriften immer im Nominativ]; 719 Πολλία Φιλοῦς).

[48] In Inschriften: *SEG* XXXVI 1412 (Thebai, 87 v. Chr.) Φιλοῦτος τῆς ἀδελφῆς und *IGR* I 1233 = *OGIS* 698 (Thebai, um 100 n. Chr.) μητρὸς Φιλοῦτος (ihr Sohn war ἄρχων Θηβῶν, d. h. Θηβάρχης). – In Papyri: *P. Oxy*. LV 3806, 8 (15 n. Chr.); *P. Mich*. II 123 (Tebtynis, 45-49 n. Chr.); *P. Phil*. 5 (Philadelphia in Arsinoites, 48-63 n. Chr.); *Stud. Pal*. IV S. 58-78, 452. 475 (dieselbe). 478 (Ptolemais Euergetis, 73 n. Chr.); *P. Harr*. I 138 (Oxyrhynchos, 92 n. Chr.); *P. Oxy*. LVII 3905 (99 n. Chr.); *P. Köln* II 98, 9 (unbekannter Herkunft, 100-125 n. Chr.); *P. Col*. II 1 (Theadelphia in Arsinoites, 129 n. Chr., zweimal); *P. Col*. V 1 (Theadelphia in Aersinoites, 155 n. Chr.); *O. Wilcken* 930 (Thebai, 168 n. Chr.); *PSI* III 229 Zmumis, Mendesios, 174/175 n. Chr.); *SB* XIV 11268 (Ptolemais Euergetis in Arsinoites, 189 n. Chr.); *P. Stras*. VII 614 (Tebtynis in Arsinoites, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); *P. Oxy*. LXXIV 4995 (254 n. Chr.). – Zu einem angebliche Beleg aus Palästina s. die folgende Anmerkung.

Adolf Wilhelm hat den Sachverhalt richtig gesehen.[49] Mir scheint das Rätsel am besten so zu lösen zu sein, dass für den Namen an der zweiten Stelle der Nominativ statt des Genetivs gesetzt wurde, damit der Name ins Metrum passen würde, wobei vielleicht der unmittelbar danach folgende Name des Vaters im Nominativ die Übertragung auch des Namens der Tochter in denselben Kasus leichter gemacht hat.

2. *Invita* oder *Invitata* oder *Invitatrix*? M. Christol, *CCG* 23 (2012) 306-310 Nr. 2 ist es gelungen, drei Fragmente in eine Inschrift zu vereinigen: *CIL* XII 4269 + 4297 (Baeterrae, augusteisch). Daraus *AE* 2012, 942.[50] Der Text lautet in der Lesung von Christol --- / *arbitr[a]tu* / *Corneliae* Ↄ. [l.] *Invitae*. Da *Invita* eine semantisch recht überraschende Bildung wäre, lohnt es sich, auf diesen Fall etwas näher einzugehen. Auf dem von Christol publizierten nicht schlechten Foto kann man von dem Schluss-E des Cognomens nichts sehen. Wenn dies stimmt und wenn der Block rechts intakt ist, wie es scheint (auch Christol konstatiert, er sei "complet à droite"), dann muss INVITA eine abge-kürzte Form beinhalten. Am einfachsten wäre es anzunehmen, dass nur ein E hinzuzudenken sei, doch kann nicht ausgeschlossen werden, dass dahinter ein längerer Name stecken kann. In Frage kämen etwa *Invitata* oder *Invitatrix*, beide als Appellativa bekannt. Die Entscheidung fällt schwer, auch weil Namen auf *Invit-* grundsätzlich unbekannt sind, mit zwei Ausnahmen, *Invitator* aus Rom

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[49] A. Wilhelm, *Griechische Epigramme aus Kreta* (SymbOsl Suppl. 13), Oslo 1950, 56, der schreibt "Der Name der Verstorbenen war Φιλοῦς; in V. 3 setzt der Genetiv Φιλοῦς, der sich passend einfügt, den Nominativ Φιλώι voraus. Ist das aber nicht widersprüchlich und unlogisch? In *LGPN* I 472 wird der Name unter Φιλώ geordnet, ohne einen Hinweis auf die vom Stein gebotene Form! In seinen weitschweifigen Ausführungen zur Inschrift 87-95 äußert sich A. Martínez Fernández, *Epigramas helenísticos de Creta* (Manuales y Anejos de "Emerita" 48), Madrid 2006, der einen neuen verbesserten Text bietet, ähnlich obskur 90-92 (er übersetzt "Filo, hija de Filón"). T. Christian, *Gebildete Steine. Zur Rezeption literarischer Techniken in den Versinschriften seit dem Hellenismus* (Hypomnemata 197), Göttingen 2015, 190f übersetzt wenigstens die Namensbelege richtig. Von älteren Stellungnahmen seien erwähnt: A. Vogliano, *RIFC* 63 = n.s. 3 (1925) 216-220 Nr. I, der am Anfang des Textes [Φιλ]οῖ liest (mit der Bemerkung "o forse anche [Φιλ]ῶ̂"); W. Peek, *Philologus* 88 (1933) 147f Nr. 8: er las als erster den Anfang richtig und erklärt den Namen als "barbarische Form des Nominativs wie in dem Epigramm aus Palästina, Catalogue du mus. Cinquentenaire Nr. 143" [dieser mir nicht zugänglich]; auf die Diskrepanz zwischen den zwei Erwähnungen des Namens geht er nicht ein.

[50] Schon früher M. Christol, *Latomus* 55 (1996) 433. Daraus *Arctos* 32 (1998) 242, freilich ohne jeglichen Erklärungsversuch.

(siehe *Rep.* 345),[51] und *Invitilla* aus Epidaurum, *CIL* III 1746 = 8404 *[---] L. f. Invitilla*, dessen sprachliche Zuweisung nicht unmittelbar ist; Kajanto 271 leitet ihn zögernd aus *invitus* her, ebenso gut könnte man an eine wortbildungsmäßig etwas freie Bildung aus dem Verbstamm *invito* denken. Was *Invita* betrifft, könnte man höchstens einen Namen wie *Gravata* Kajanto 352 aus *ILGN* 549 *Gravata Gallici fil.* heranziehen, doch ist die 'Bedeutung' von *invitus* 'wider Willen, ungern' nach wie vor weniger passend für ein Namenwort. *Invitata* und *Invitatrix* wären aus semasiologischer Sicht weniger bedenklich.

CCCX. VERKANNTE IDENTITÄTEN

Diesmal nur kurz zur zweifachen Publikation einer altchristlichen stadtrömischen Inschrift aus der Kallistus-Katakombe:

ICUR 8448 = 10865. Die Fassung in 8448 basiert auf einer Kopie von Mariano Armellini, der sie in Domitilla angefertigt zu haben angibt, ohne die Fundstelle näher mitzuteilen. Dieselbe Inschrift wurde in dem oberen Teil der Kallistus-Katakombe von Giovanni Battista de Rossi (der die exakte Fundstelle angibt) in *Roma sotterranea* III, Roma 1877, 356 aufgenommen. Der Sitz im Leben der Inschrift ist ohne den geringsten Zweifel in der Katakombe von Kallistus zu suchen. Armellini hat für die von ihm in Domitilla abgeschriebenen Inschriften nicht immer die exakte Fundstelle angegeben (vgl. Ferrua, *ICUR* III S. 281), scheint also in dieser Hinsicht eher großzügig gehandelt zu haben. Aus einem uns nicht ersichtlichen Grund ist seine in Kallistus (auch dort hat er bekanntlich Inschriften aufgenommen) verfertigte Kopie wohl versehentlich in seine Kollektaneen der Inschriften von Domitilla geraten. Armellinis Abschrift ist nachlässig; er las *Urdicus* statt de Rossis *Urbicus* und hat *fecit* nach *pater* weggelassen.

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[51] Auszuscheiden ist *Invitatus* Kajanto 352 aus *CIL* VI 7010, wo in Wirklichkeit das Appellativ *invitator* vorliegt. Ganz unsicher bleibt die Deutung von *CAG* 63, 1 (1994) 231 (Augustonemetum in Aquitanien) *Invit(---) man(u?)*. Zweifellos auszuscheiden *Names on Terra sigillata* IV (2009) 289, Stempel eines Töpfers; die Lesung seines Namens bleibt völlig in der Luft hängen.

CCCXI. VARIA URBANA

1. In *CIL* VI 8476a lautet die Zeile 6 P·CLODIVS CASTO. Ein Cognomen *Casto* ist sonst vollends unbekannt und auch eine unwahrscheinliche Bildung. Vidman im Cognominaindex vermutet mit einigem Bedenken *Castus*, und Bang im Nominaindex schreibt kummerfrei *P. Clodius Castus*. Nun wird im Kommentar zur Inschrift festgestellt, Bormann habe die Urne als moderne Arbeit erkannt; daraus zieht Henzen die Schlussfolgerung, die auf der Urne eingehauene Inschrift sei eine schlecht gemachte Kopie einer verschollenen Inschrift. Die Urne und ihre Inschrift sind mit guten Fotos begleitet in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines. Roma* 3: *Collezioni fiorentine* (2008) Nr. 3919 neu publiziert worden. Aus den Fotos zu schließen scheinen doch sowohl die Urne als auch die Inschrift eher alt zu sein (die Editoren der *Imagines* sagen kein Sterbenswörtchen zu Frage der Unechtheit).[52] Wenn dem so ist, muss die Form *Casto* erklärt worden. Die Kasusinkongruenz wäre etwas hart, doch nicht auszuschließen. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, hier eine abgekürzte Form für *Casto(r)* zu sehen. Auf dem Foto sieht man, dass die Zeile für die Schrift voll benutzt wurde; es könnte also sein, dass von dem Cognomen der letzte Buchstabe weggelassen werden musste. Ich würde für *Casto(r)* optieren. Wenn die Schrift auf dem Sarkophag alt ist, bleibt ATCOFVSA (nicht AT COFVSA, wie in *CIL*) in Zeile 4 zu entziffern. Ich habe keine einleuchtende Klärung zur Hand. Die Inschrift scheint von zwei Dedikanten errichtet zu sein, von denen zuerst die 'Freundin' des Verstorbenen erwähnt ist; die Zeile 4 enthielte also ihren Namen, aber Namen, die mit *-ophusa* (oder mit *-orusa*, wenn eine leichte Emendation F > R zugelassen wird) endeten, gibt es nicht. Ob der Name lateinisch sein könnte? Zu *Fusus* s. oben S. 203; dass daneben ein Frauenname *Fusa* existierte, ist weniger wahrscheinlich, doch nicht ausgeschlossen. Aber hinter COFVSA könnte *Confusa* stecken; die Existenz eines solchen Namens (s. oben S. 200) kann nicht gesichert werden, ist aber möglich. War die Frau eine *At(ilia) Confusa*?

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[52] Auch Friederike Sinn, der für ihre Stellungnahme herzlich gedankt sei, hält die Urne gleichfalls für unverdächtig. Zur Frage von Fälschungen im Genre der Urnen s. ihre einleuchtenden Ausführungen in 'Römische Marmorurnen für den Sammlergeschmack. Fallbeispiele von Ergänzungen und Fälschungen', in K. B. Zimmer (Hrsg.), *Rezeption, Zeitgeist, Fälschung – Umgang mit Antike(n). Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums am 31. Januar und 1. Februar in Tübingen*, Rahden/Westf. 2015, 189-217.

2. Die erste Zeile von *CIL* VI 11956 ist nicht eindeutig geklärt. Die Lesung des Cognomens auf Zeile 1 lässt sich nicht mit letzter Sicherheit festlegen. Die Inschrift ist allein durch de Rossis Abschrift überliefert, die von der ersten Zeile nur den unteren Teil wiedergibt, wobei T ANTONIO und DEMO sicher sind, was aber dazwischen steht bleibt dem Raten überlassen; jedenfalls liegt ein Vollname mit dem zweiten Glied *-demus* vor, ein sehr beliebtes zweites Glied in der Bildung von Vollnamen. Der Editor des *CIL*-Bandes Henzen notiert den Vorschlag von Eugen Bormann, *Menedemo* zu lesen, was von Vidman im Cognominaindex des *CIL* VI und mir im griechischen Namenbuch (2. Aufl.) 110 akzeptiert wird. Sonst begegnet *Menedemus* in der römischen Welt nur einmal als Name eines Kammerdieners des L. Lucullus, erwähnt für das Jahr 72 v. Chr. (*RE* XV 797 Nr. 5; möglicherweise griechischer Herkunft); im griechischen Bereich lässt sich Μενέδημος dagegen häufig sowohl im griechischen Festland und auf den Inseln des Ägäischen Meeres als auch in Italien und in Kleinasien belegen. Wenn aber die Buchstabenreste des Cognomens in de Rossis Abschrift korrekt gezeichnet sind, wird man den Buchstaben vor D nicht an erster Stelle als E deuten. Aus dem Druckbild im *CIL* zu schließen würde der untere Teil des Buchstabens aus einem vertikalen Strich bestehen, und dabei käme von den Buchstaben, die das erste Glied von Vollnamen auf *-demus* enden können, in Frage nur I. Aber es gibt kaum Namen auf *-idemus*, die sich mit den Resten von de Rossis Abschrift zusammenbringen ließen: nicht etwa *Charidemus*, in Rom, Italien und in den Provinzen belegt, auch nicht *Archidemus* (*AE* 1990, 272; *ICUR* 848 = 10865 [-*dam-*] und sonst bei stadtrömischen Christen belegt; *ISM* IV 60 -*dam-*) oder *Zeuxidamus* (*CIL* X 3151), und von den zahlreichen, nur aus griechischen Inschriften bekannten Namen auf -ίδημος -ίδαμος (die meisten von ihnen findet man bequem in Bechtels *HPN* 126-129 zusammengestellt)[53] kämen aufgrund

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[53] Bechtels Listen hinzuzufügen etwa Ἀρεσίδημος (*TAPhA* 65 [1934] 125 Nr. 3), Ἀρηξίδαμος (Polyb. 11, 18, 3-5 aus Sparta, 207 v. Chr.; *SEG* XL 370 aus Lusoi in Arkadien), Ἀψίδαμος Κίλιξ (*NSER* 670), Εὐαρχίδαμος (Peek, *I. Asklepieion Epidauros* 52 A, 41), Εὐξίδημος (*IG* II² 800; IV 733 -δαμ-), Εὐτυχίδαμος (*SEG* XLIX 1522 aus Metropolis in Jonien, 1. Jh. n. Chr.), Παντίδημος (*IG* II² 7699*a*), Πασίδημος (*JHS* 15 [1895] 108 Nr. 18; *JRS* 57 [1967] 44 Nr. 9; beide Lykien), Στασίδαμος (*SEG* XXXV 494 und LI 711 aus Thessalien; *ICS* 278 aus Golgoi, 5./ 4. Jh.) mit Στασίδημος (*SEG* LIV 1531 aus Kypros), Τεισίδαμος (*I. Apollonia* 24), Ὑψίδαμος (Bosnakis, *Epigraphes* 11 aus Kos), Χαρησίδαμος (*SEG* XI 972, 76 aus Thuria in Messenien). Außer Acht kann gelassen werden *SEG* XXII 39ö0, 15 vgl. A. Plassart, *BCH* 82 (1958) 162f (Thespiai, 3. Jh. v. Chr.): die Lesung dürfte feststehen, aber die Bildung des Namens bleibt dunkel.

der Buchstabenreste in de Rossis Abschrift zurecht nur Ἀμφίδημος und, wenn auch mit weniger Wahrscheinlichkeit, Ἀντίδημος, beide im Griechischen wohlbekannte Bildungen, in Frage.[54] Ich muss aber zum Schluss betonen, dass die Deutung der in de Rossis Abschrift ersichtlichen Buchstabenreste alles andere als eindeutig ist; nach meiner Erfahrung war es in älteren Bänden des Berliner Corpus immer sowohl den Autoren wie der Druckerei schwierig, das was der Abschreiber hatte sehen wollen auch annähernd exakt in der gedruckten Versionen wiederzugeben. Und da von all den oben genannten Namen, die vorgeschlagen worden sind oder in Frage kämen, allein *Menedemus* im römischen Westen belegt ist und im griechischen Bereich populär wurde, soll man von vornherein die Möglichkeit nicht ausschließen, dass er das Cognomen des T. Antonius war.

Universität Helsinki

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[54] Ἀμφίδημος Ἀμφίδαμος belegt in Attika, Oropos, Delphoi und sonst in Phokis, auf der Peloponnes, in Thessalien, Samos, Amorgos, Euboia. Ἀντίδημος war weniger in Gebrauch: *IG* II² 956; *Ath. Agora* XVII 341; *AM* 67 (1942) 215 Nr. 19 (Athen); Paton – Hicks 398 (Kos). [Auszuschließen Cic. *Flacc*. 52, wo in älteren Editionen *Aetidemus* als Name eines Bürgers von Tralleis geistert, was etwa in *LGPN* V. B 15 zu Ἀντίδημος geändert wird; vgl. demnächst meine Rezension von *LGPN* V. B in *AnzAW*.]

DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

Callimaco. Aitia: libro terzo e quarto. Biblioteca di studi antichi 92. A cura di Giulio Massimilla. Fabrizio Serra editore, Pisa – Roma 2010. ISBN 978-88-6227-282-7. 604 pp. EUR 245.

Consisting of four books of elegiac verse on aetiological issues, the *Aetia* was Callimachus's most important work. A highly influential poem in antiquity, it contains some of Callimachus's most cherished poems, like the two remarkable celebrations of Queen Berenice II, the *Victory of Berenice* and the *Lock of Berenice*. The *Aetia* unfortunately survives in a more or less fragmented state of preservation, but thanks to the papyrus finds our understanding of it has considerably increased during the recent decades. The strength and value of Giulio Massimilla's *Callimaco. Aitia: libro terzo e quarto*, a follow-up to his volume on the first and second books of the *Aetia* (1996), is that it incorporates these new findings into a single volume.

Like the 1996 volume, this one also opens with a bibliography and a perhaps too concise introduction on the arrangement of books III and IV, accompanied by notes on metre and prosody. It is followed by the text of the *Aetia*, which differs little from that of Pfeiffer's 1949 text in *Callimachus* I and that in the *Supplementum Hellenisticum* by Lloyd-Jones – Parsons (1983). However, Massimilla adds a large number of sublinear dots which indicate an uncertain letter. Massimilla has also given a new numbering to the fragments, and the book ends with useful *comparationes numerorum* between Massimilla, Pfeiffer and Lloyd-Jones – Parsons. After the text of the *Aetia* follows an Italian translation of the fragments and an extensive commentary section.

A modern reader of Callimachus must engage in a double detective work because, on the one hand, Callimachus's works survive only in fragments and, on the other hand, the style of the poet was highly allusive. Together with the previous 1996 volume, *Aitia: libro terzo e quarto* provides us with a reliable guide to Callimachus's finest work.

Iiro Laukola

Plutarch. How to Study Poetry (De audiendis poetis). Edited by Richard Hunter – Donald Russell. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-00204-3 (hb), 978-0-521-17360-5 (pb). IX, 222 pp. GBP 69.99 (hb), GBP 24.99 (pb).

Le nouveau livre de Richard Hunter et Donald Russell appartient à la célèbre collection "Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics" que les deux auteurs connaissent bien, puisqu'ils y ont déjà publié des commentaires de discours de Dion Chrysostome (D.A. Russell), d'idylles de Théocrite et du IIIe livre des *Argonautiques* d'Apollonios de Rhodes (R. Hunter, qui a aussi annoncé la publication

du commentaire du IVe livre). L'ouvrage commence par l'Introduction (pp. 1–26) qui contient une présentation de Plutarque et du *Comment lire les poètes* (contenu, structure, langue, style: la section sur le caractère rythmique de la langue de Plutarque est très inspirée, pp. 23–5), puis continue par le texte grec (pp. 29–69) et le commentaire (pp. 70–209) pour se terminer par la Bibliographie (pp. 210–8) et deux Index (général et des passages cités) (pp. 219–22).

Selon la Préface (p. VII), Russell avait travaillé sur une édition et un commentaire du texte pendant plusieurs années mais sans les publier et c'est Hunter qui les a étendus. Le texte grec (caractérisé comme "éclectique" par les deux auteurs) est fondé plutôt sur les éditions Teubner, Les Belles Lettres, celle d'Ernesto Valgiglio et la toute récente *editio maior* de Bernardakis que sur une nouvelle collation des manuscrits (p. 25). Néanmoins Hunter-Russell préservent toutes les différences textuelles que l'on trouve chez Plutarque dans les nombreuses citations poétiques. Le riche commentaire occupe presque les deux tiers du livre. Les auteurs proposent au début de chacun des quatorze paragraphes du texte un bref résumé de deux à huit lignes. Ensuite ils offrent leur propre analyse du texte qui met en évidence non seulement les idées de Plutarque mais aussi les influences de Platon, d'Aristote, des stoïciens et des scholies D et bT de l'*Iliade*. Hunter-Russell mettent aussi en lumière beaucoup de parallèles internes entre Plutarque et des auteurs contemporains qui emploient les mêmes citations poétiques. Le Commentaire est le lieu où les deux auteurs discutent des différences textuelles et des corrections proposées, soit par eux-mêmes, soit par d'autres philologues modernes. Enfin, le commentaire contient des remarques très utiles sur la syntaxe, la grammaire et la métrique. Hunter-Russell traduisent plusieurs extraits du texte grec, ainsi que toutes les citations poétiques. Il va sans dire qu'ils démontrent une connaissance impressionnante de l'ensemble de la littérature ancienne (grecque et latine) et de la bibliographie moderne sur le sujet et les utilisent de façon exemplaire.

La présentation typographique du livre est très soignée. On trouve très peu de coquilles: des accents mal placés (lire Σηδάτιε, p. 31; Νέκυιαν, p. 92; ἀπιθάνως, p. 178; Ἀγάμεμνον, la première fois dans la p. 189), des mots grecs sans tréma (pp. 75, 104, 107, 146, 192) ou coupés fautivement (p. 62: παρ-αλείψει et ἀπέχ-εται; p. 69: παιδαγ-ωγοῦ; p. 73: ἀκροάσ-εσιν). Il faut aussi corriger le nom de Carmen Barrigón en Barrigón Fuentes dans les pp. 78 et 211 et la référence à l'*Iliade* 11.90 et non pas 11.190 dans la p. 137.

Le livre de Hunter-Russell représente un apport remarquable aux études plutarquéennes et remplit parfaitement ses buts préliminaires: il ouvre une fenêtre sur plusieurs aspects de la pratique de la lecture dans le monde gréco-romain et contribue à une meilleure compréhension du texte même.

Orestis Karavas

Decimus Laberius: The Fragments. Cambridge Classical Texts and Commentaries 46. Edited and translated by Costas Panayotakis. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-88523-2. XXIX, 512 pp. GBP 80.

The Roman mime is one of the most poorly-documented literary genres of Graeco-Roman antiquity. What remains of it consists of fifty-five titles, roughly two hundred lines of verse (some of dubious

authenticity) and over 700 *sententiae* attributed to Publilius Syrus, which, however, shed hardly any light on the nature of this dramatic form itself. Second-hand accounts and descriptions are similarly scant and unreliable: generally, the mime was alluded to in disparaging terms by authors who condemned it largely out of snobbery (in the case of Cicero) or piety (in the case of the Christian authors). Judging by what we can glean from its scarce descriptions, we may be able to conclude the following: the Roman mime was in origin a Hellenistic genre that may have become conflated with such indigenous dramatic forms as Atellan farce. It was largely improvised, relying on "low" or "common" situations and stock characters, but often contained political satire or cultural criticism. Unlike higher forms of drama, the mime employed women actors who were blatantly sexualized. Mime actors largely eschewed the use of masks, although the evidence on this point is contradictory: Tertullian mentions *imago dei vestri*, "the mask of your (pagan) god", in his condemnation of mime (*apol.* 5,13) – a plausible explanation would be that deities were commonly portrayed with masks whereas mortal characters were not.

Contemporary educated opinion held the mime to be the lowest form of literature imaginable despite its huge popularity that persisted until the end of antiquity. This is probably due to the mime's quasi-improvisatory nature, which made mime-texts worthless for school use (Publilius's *sententiae* notwithstanding), and its unrefined content, which the literary elite found distasteful. Although Cicero in his speeches used associations with mime as a character slur to great effect, he nevertheless frequented mime performances, undoubtedly to keep his finger on the pulse of public opinion. He was also not above lauding mime authors for their wit and eloquence. Even in Cicero's opinion, a particularly accomplished representative of the genre was Decimus Laberius, his contemporary and acquaintance, who, conspicuously, was of equestrian rank. If we exclude Publilius Syrus, the overwhelming majority of surviving mime fragments are from his pen.

The fact that a knight would stoop so low as to compose mime texts has caused some bewilderment among earlier researchers and led, in some cases, to a conjectural distinction between "non-literary" and "literary" mime. As Costas Panayotakis propounds in this admirable edition of the surviving fragments of Decimus Laberius, the distinction is probably artificial, and he even goes so far as to suggest that a direct continuum existed between the early Roman comedy of Plautus and Terence and later mime plays. Nevertheless, even Laberius felt deeply humiliated when Caesar made him perform in his own play, something that is testified by his complaint that is preserved in the longest extant fragment of his plays.

Panayotakis's introduction to his edition is probably one of the best summaries of the history and nature of this poorly researched and often misrepresented genre. Panayotakis covers the definition of the Roman mime and its historical origins and development before moving on to the topic of Decimus Laberius himself, using not only linguistic and literary evidence but also archaeological material to corroborate his often bold but always well-argued hypotheses. In editing this excruciatingly fragmentary material, Panayotakis has spent an impressive amount of effort in studying the textual history of the various sources (most notably Nonius, Gellius and Macrobius, probably by way of Suetonius) who have cited Laberius, however briefly. Panayotakis also offers an extensive presentation of the earlier editions of Decimus Laberius and studies of the Roman mime from Petrus Crinitus's 1505 edition to Bonaria's 1965 *Mimi Romani*. His discussions of Laberius's style and metre are uniformly insightful. Laberius's fondness for Greek loans and neologisms has been well established, but Panayotakis argues very convincingly that this is nothing unique and that he

was merely following a tradition that had its roots in Plautine comedy. Earlier studies have taken Laberius's quirky use of Greek as a sign that his plays were aimed at an educated audience. Very sensibly, Panayotakis views this, too, with scepticism. In the light of what we now know about the bilingualism of late republican Rome, his audience probably knew enough Greek to laugh at his puns or, at the very least, recognize that Greek was being parodied.

Panayotakis's analysis of Laberius's prosody uses the alphabetic notation used by A. S. Gratwick in his studies of Plautus and Terence (e.g. ABCD A/BCD ABcD for the iambic senarius), and, comparing his metrical analyses to Gratwick's, Panayotakis demonstrates that Laberius's senarii are structurally closer to those of such imperial authors as Phaedrus than those of early comedy. On two occasions, Laberius seems to have broken Meyer's law (a metrical rule that effectively bans stressed long syllables from occupying the "false" *syllabae ancipites* of archaic iambo-trochaic verse). Panayotakis does not attribute this to ignorance but, rather, to the author's deliberate attempt to break free from the constraints of earlier tradition. I would venture a third possible explanation, namely that Laberius simply counted on the fact that his audience was becoming increasingly deaf to such refinements: even the legionaries who according to Suetonius (*Iul*. 51) chanted *Urbáni se-ruate uxores, moechum caluum adducimus* violated the very same rule. Of course, given the scant evidence of post-Terentian senarii and septenarii and the Roman grammarians' general ignorance on the subject, it is hard to draw definite conclusions on the matter. Despite Panayotakis's silence on the issue, I find it plausible that the lingering survival of archaic iambo-trochaic metres into late antiquity and beyond may at least partly be attributable to the long-lasting popularity of mime, a subject that certainly calls for further research.

Panayotakis's edition of the fragments of Laberius's mimes is, if possible, even more impressive than his introduction. His conjectures on the original context and even the plot lines of Laberius's plays are often bold but invariably backed up by solid research. Laberius's sexual material, which, mime being mime, is understandably prominent, is never glossed over or misunderstood as it often was in more prudish times, and Panayotakis makes his firm intuitive grasp of the often stereotyped characters and situations that lie at the heart of Roman comedy go a long way.

Taken purely as an edition of Decimus Laberius, this remarkable piece of scholarship will certainly not be surpassed for quite some time. At the same time, its publication makes indispensable reading for anyone who wishes information on what is probably the most elusive – and arguably most scandalous – form of Roman literature.

Seppo Heikkinen

WOLFGANG HÜBNER: *Manilius, "*Astronomica*" Buch V. Band 1: Einführung, Text und Übersetzung, Band 2: Kommentar*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2010. ISBN 978-3-11-020670-8. X, 303 S., 8 Taf. (Band 1), VIII, 450 S. (Band 2). EUR 178. USD 267.

Die Geschichte des Maniliustextes wird durch die drei Giganten Scaliger, Bentley und Housman bestimmt, doch ist auch nach ihnen am schwierigen Text des Verfassers des Lehrgedichts hervor-ragende Arbeit geleistet worden. Und Wolfgang Hübner zählt zu den ersten und wichtigsten in der Reihe. Er war wie ausgewiesen zur Editionsarbeit des Manilius, vor allem durch seine zahlrei-

chen bahnbrechenden Werke zur antiken Astronomie und Astrologie. Im vorliegenden Werk legt Hübner eine kommentierte und mit Übersetzung versehene Ausgabe des fünften Buches vor. Man muss besonders eine Tugend in seiner Arbeit anerkennen, und zwar dass er, anders als seine großen Vorgänger, die astrologische Literatur nicht nur in den Dienst der Textkritik stellt, sondern für das Verständnis des Maniliustextes den astronomisch-astrologischen Hintergrund voll bewertet. So hat er einen Text und einen Kommentar zustande gebracht, die den größten Erwartungen entsprechen und für lange Zeit ein Meilenstein in der Maniliusphilologie bleiben werden. Der von der Redaktion dieser Zeitschrift mir gewährte knappe Raum gestattet nicht, in Einzelheiten zu gehen. Stichproben haben gezeigt, wie viel er das Verständnis des Textes gefördert hat; in seinen Abweichungen zu anderen älteren und neueren Ausgaben (auch im Hinblick auf die rezenten Editionen von Goold und Flores) hat er sehr oft Recht. Fruchtbar sind auch die einleitenden Bemerkungen zur Person des Manilius und zur Datierung seines Werkes, das er, anders als einige andere neuere Forscher, in die späte augusteische oder frühe tiberische Zeit verlegt. Es wäre schön, dem Namen Wolfgang Hübner noch als Editor anderer Bücher des Manilius zu begegnen.

Heikki Solin

LINDSAY C. WATSON – PATRICIA WATSON: *Martial*. Understanding Classics Series. I. B. Tauris, London – New York 2015. ISBN 978-1-78076-636-2 (hb). XI, 174 pp. GBP 39.50.

This most recent introduction to Martial, intended for the needs of the undergraduate student and the general reader (p. ix), is well written and equally well structured.[1] The method chosen by the authors for their examination of the poet is citation and explanation through a selection of (primarily scoptic) epigrams. The work tends to be thematic and illustrative in focus rather than systematic and authoritative. There is also a rather notable and worthwhile emphasis upon the reception of Martial that occupies the final two chapters.

Let us take a closer look at the individual chapters. Chapter 1 (pp. 1–27: "Why Read Martial?") is divided into three sections: biographical observations (pp. 1–6), Martial's epigrams as a source for social history (pp. 8–22), and Martial's place in the epigrammatic tradition (pp. 23–27).

Chapter 2 (pp. 29–47: "Obstacles to the Understanding and Appreciation of Martial") can be divided into four sections: advances in socio-historical knowledge to aid comprehension of Martial (pp. 30–32), Martial's flattery of Domitian (pp. 32–36), Martial's representation as a client (pp. 36–40), and the role of obscenity in the epigrams (pp. 41–47).

Chapter 3 (pp. 49–70: "Martial's Humour") provides a good guide to some of Martial's comic techniques. Due to the unsystematic approach adopted, it is somewhat difficult to summarise this chapter, but many of the themes and *topoi* one would expect to be discussed receive treatment through brief interpretations of well-chosen epigrams. Among the techniques and themes dealt with in this section are the unexpected conclusion, etymological puns, sexual *double entendres*, hyperbole, *captatores* of dinners or legacies, sexual deviants, miserly hosts or patrons, bad poets etc. In

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[1] The only jarring diction being the adverbs "attitudinally and dictionally" (p. 80), and the adjectival form of Martial's name "Martialian" (pp. 44, 72, 101, 104, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130 and 136).

sum many of Martial's traditional themes are offered to illustrate his humour and receive analysis through short commentaries on entire poems rather than separate thematic treatment. For the needs and requirements of its target audience the approach taken by the authors seems justified, and the selection and treatment of the individual epigrams is of a consistently high standard.

Chapter 4 (pp. 71–95: "Some Characteristics of Martial's Poetry") loosely coalesces around four topics: the positive and negative advantages of Lessing's familiar division of the epigrammatic form into *Erwartung* and *Aufschluß* (pp. 71–73), the benefits and pitfalls imposed on a subtle interpretation of Martial's epigrams (pp. 74–83), the use of intertextuality in Martial's epigrams (83–90), and the leavening of imperial panegyric through the prudent use of humour (pp. 90–95). After beginning the chapter with a well-crafted summary of the utility and limitations that Lessing's concept of *Erwartung* ('expectation') and *Aufschluß* ('solution') imposes, the authors move on to the most engaging question that the book poses: epigrams that test the comprehension and ability of the reader/interpreter. Attention is drawn to the dangers inherent in the over-interpretation of problematic epigrams. The argument as presented by the authors clearly conveys their own infectious enthusiasm for the topic and is calculated to stimulate a reader fresh to Martial's poetry; the discussion effectively communicates the games that are to be played between reader and text. The next theme dealt with, Martial's use of intertextuality, is illustrative rather than authoritative. Although a more wide-ranging delineation of the sources Martial selects for his epigrams would have been welcome, the evidence provided by Martial's Catullan echoes and the rather more interesting citation of the Greek literary background of 12,77 offer a taster to this important aspect in Martial's poetics. The chapter is concluded by a sound discussion on the use of humour in Martial's panegyrics; this section could be profitably contrasted with a similar section in William Fitzgerald's monograph (*Martial: The World of Epigram*, Chicago – London 2007, 112–121), where panegyrics are shown to be recontextualised by neighbouring sceptic epigrams.

Chapter 5 (pp. 97–116: "Reception and Scholarship") is something of a mixed bag and perhaps the weakest chapter in this work. It is divided into two halves: the first section (pp. 97–104) focuses briefly upon the critical reception of Martial from antiquity until the early twentieth century; the second (pp. 104–16) upon a selection of literary monographs and articles on the poet, ranging from Otto Seel's article "Ansatz zu einer Martial-Interpretation" (*A&A* 10 [1961] 53–76) and Niklas Holzberg's influential paper "Neuansatz zu einer Martial-Interpretation" (*WJA* N.F. 12 [1986] 197–215) to Victoria Rimell's book *Martial's Rome: Empire and the Ideology of Epigram* (Cambridge 2008). As would be expected of two preeminent scholars working on Martial,[2] their summary of recent scholarship (though omitting commentaries and textual work) is perfectly serviceable and orientates its readership coherently around some recent trends of focus in studies upon Martial. The aim is to contextualise the importance of each extended monograph on Martial in the last forty years or so and to demonstrate the positions taken by recent scholarship and their implications for our understanding of Martial's epigrams. The authors conclude that the prevailing critical stance has moved far away from the previous autobiographical and moral focus and is now primarily concerned with Martial's inter- and metatextual literary games. The earlier section, however, is quite weak and bears rather unfavourable

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[2] In addition to some articles, the Watsons have also produced a commentary on Martial, published in the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics series: *Martial: Select Epigrams* (Cambridge 2003).

comparison with John P. Sullivan's examination of the same timeframe (*Martial: The Unexpected Classic*, Cambridge 1991, 253–306). Although it would be misrepresentative to expect the same level of detail between the two works, the following paragraph from Watsons' work (p. 99) will demonstrate the problem:

> "In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Great Britain saw a flourishing of the epigram as a genre, which was partly the result of the fact that its exponents were frequently amateurs, who had a preference for the short poem; in addition, the richness of life in London, with its variety of characters, offered a source of inspiration similar to that of Martial's Rome. Epigrams were produced for a variety of occasions such as the deaths of prominent public figures, and at a time when satire was, after drama, the genre most frequently pursued by poets, epigrams of the satiric type were especially popular as a vehicle for attacks on vices of all sorts and against the Church."

Given the fact that the target audience may well be unfamiliar with the literary scene in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain, the information offered is rather spare. In fact there is not a single writer mentioned nor any references provided via notes. This section generally, if one omits the earlier references to Juvenal and epigrammatists from late antiquity (in particular Ausonius and Luxorius), is not at all forthcoming in actual evidence. The overall picture presented here is thus very sketchy and superficial.

Chapter 6 (pp. 117–38: "The Influence of Martial on Subsequent Poets") serves as an interesting conclusion. It follows on nicely with the preceding chapter, the difference being that the work here concerns practical and artistic, rather than merely critical, engagement with Martial's poetry. The timeframe echoes that of the prior chapter (from antiquity to the modern day), and there is likewise a bipartite arrangement: poems on Martial's themes, primarily in Latin, occupy the first section (pp. 117–30), whilst English translations and adaptations terminate the chapter (pp. 130–38). The poems treated are primarily scoptic and they neatly attest to the centuries of creativity Martial's work has generated. The selection by the authors is most judicious: familiar names such as Antonio Beccadelli (1394–1471) and John Owen (1565–1622) are set alongside less well known creative 'translators' like Olive Pitt-Kethley and Laurie Duggan.

While the overall impression of this introduction is for the most part positive, though not without the afore-mentioned reservations, there are a few additional caveats that need to be taken into account. When treating a poet like Martial, who left a corpus of a little over 1,500 epigrams, it is always going to be somewhat problematic to represent his work fairly via selection. As the authors themselves admit (p. x), their work bears no comparison to John P. Sullivan's monograph *Martial: The Unexpected Classic* (Cambridge 1991), which tries to cover all aspects of the corpus of the poet's epigrams. Nevertheless, it is legitimate to remark upon the fact that the present work is overly weighted towards scoptic epigrams and to observe that out of the selection of the 117 citations from Martial's corpus only three (at the rate of one per book) come from the *Xenia*, the *Apophoreta*, and the *Liber Spectaculorum*. Given the fact that this work is not presented as a thematic treatment, one may well question the wisdom and fairness of such an unrepresentative selection. In this case the present work's thematic variety is less balanced than some even less ambitious and shorter introduc-

tions such as Pietro Rapezzi's *Marco Valerio Marziale: Temi e forme degli epigrammi* (Arezzo 2008) and Peter Howell's *Martial* (London 2009).

A further criticism that could be levelled is the atomised selection of poems and the limited focus on the arrangement of poems and individual books. Of course one need not go as far as Niklas Holzberg (*Martial und das antike Epigramm*, Darmstadt 2002, 135–52) in ascribing a consciously conceived twelve-volume structure to Martial's epigram books, but a more extensive description on this issue than a single paragraph (see p. 95) would have been appreciated. The concentration on the sceptic theme and the limited range of poems considered fed into what may be regarded as the principal failing of this work: its lack of systematisation. Given the introductory nature of the work and the presumed inexperience of its readership, the present volume is actually rather poorly suited for such a reader upon finishing it to answer some basic questions about Martial's poetry and chosen genre. The work offers no explanation of the metres Martial employs and little on the traditional epigrammatic genres (sceptic, ecphrastic, epideictic, etc.). Whilst discussions of Martial's humour and intertextuality are offered in the third chapter, a simple classificatory system for the types of humour, similar to that provided by John P. Sullivan ("Martial's 'witty conceits'. Some technical observations", *ICS* 14 [1989] 185–99), and a delineation of the writers to whom Martial frequently alludes may have proved beneficial to a new student of this poet. Furthermore, there is no real sense of a key defining trait in Martial's poetics: its variety which encompasses form, metre, length, and tone.

The most glaring deficit, however, is the lack of contextualisation of Martial's complex corpus: Juvenal, whose Satires share a great number of themes and motifs with Martial's epigrams,[3] is referred to only with regard to his sixth Satire (pp. 41, 77, 117–20), on which the two Australian scholars produced a commentary in the *Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics* series just the year before their present book was published.[4] From Catullus' work, only three pieces (*carm.* 13, 57 and 85) receive attention. There is nothing on the *Carmina Priapea* and very little on Greek epigram. What about Statius, in particular his *Silvae*? And what about prose authors such as Pliny the Younger and Tacitus who discuss issues (often of a socio-political nature) that also occur in the work of their senior contemporary Martial? It is disappointing to see that, in addition to a few passages from Pliny's *Panegyricus*, only the most obvious Plinian letter, the obituary on Martial (*epist.* 3,21), is considered, if only very briefly.[5] As a result, the uninitiated reader for whom this book has been written might get the impression that Martial was almost working in a vacuum. The avoidance of such a one-dimensional approach will be one of the most important tasks for future research on the epigrammatist, as Janka (as n. 5, p. 16) has recently pointed out:

> "Roms geistiges Leben, insbesondere seine Literatenkultur und deren Exponenten
> in Martials Gegenwart und jüngerer Vergangenheit, stellen entscheidende Ori-

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[3] See R. E. Colton, *Juvenal's Use of Martial's Epigrams. A Study of Literary Influence*, Amsterdam 1991. This book is not without weaknesses, but it does offer some interesting ideas and should not be completely ignored.

[4] L. Watson – P. Watson, *Juvenal: Satire 6*, Cambridge 2014.

[5] The most recent treatment of the 'literary dialogue between Martial and Pliny the Younger' (with special emphasis on *epist.* 3,21) is offered by Markus Janka, "Neue Wege und Perspektiven der Martialforschung", *Gymnasium* 121 (2014) 1–18, esp. 4–15.

entierungspunkte im Kosmos seines Epigrammcorpus dar. Die Feinheiten der vielschichtigen Beziehungsgeflechte hat die Forschung erst in den vergangenen Jahren intensiver in den Horizont ihrer Interpretationen einbezogen. Stärker und länger als die Vergil- und Ovidphilologie stand die Martialforschung nämlich im Bann einerseits eher werkimmanenter und andererseits eher außerliterarischer Fragestellungen."

The use of endnotes (pp. 139–59) instead of footnotes, an annoying feature of many publications deriving from presses based in the English-speaking world, makes the book cumbersome to read, at least for the more advanced scholar who will usually prefer to have references to secondary literature and other details on the very same page. The final section comprises a short bibliography (pp. 161–67), which also includes some non-English scholarship, but lacks a number of important works.[6] There is an *index locorum* and a general index (pp. 169–74).

Thorsten Fögen & Keiran Carson

This book is a welcome addition to the translations of mid-Byzantine histories, especially as it is one of our principal sources for the era it covers – from the death of Nikephoros I (811 CE) to the abdication of Michael VI (1057 CE). Skylitzes elaborates in his own *prooemion* that his attempt was to follow the works of George Synkellos and Theophanes the Confessor, whose works he greatly admired, but unlike the works of his predecessors, which were composed as chronicles, Skylitzes instead chose to form his own work along the lines of regular history, although he does provide a plethora of precise dates and different calendar era years for major events. His work was divided into chapters, each covering individual reigns, and the focus of his interest was primarily on the imperial administration. Rather than being a work of a more original nature, the work, as its name (*Synopsis*) implies, was a compilation or a digest of previous works, many of which have not survived to the present day. It is in fact from the work of Skylitzes that we know of many of these Byzantine

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[6]   For reasons of space, the following alphabetical list is limited to monographs: G. L. Fain, *Writing Epigrams. The Art of Composition in Catullus, Callimachus and Martial*, Bruxelles 2008; N. Johannsen, *Dichter über ihre Gedichte. Die Prosavorreden in den "Epigrammaton libri" Martials und in den "Silvae" des Statius*, Göttingen 2006; M. Neger, *Martials Dichtergedichte. Das Epigramm als Medium der poetischen Selbstreflexion*, Tübingen 2012; H. P. Obermayer, *Martial und der Diskurs über männliche 'Homosexualität' in der Literatur der frühen Kaiserzeit*, Tübingen 1998; M. Salanitro, *L'arguzia di Marziale*, Urbino 2012; J. Scherf, *Untersuchungen zur Buchgestaltung Martials*, München – Leipzig 2001; E. Siedschlag, *Zur Form von Martials Epigrammen*, Berlin 1977; D. Vallat, *Onomastique, culture et société dans les Épigrammes de Martial*, Bruxelles 2008; É. Wolff, *Martial ou l'apogée de l'épigramme*, Rennes 2008.

historians and the relative scope of their works, which makes it also extremely important for the study of historiography in the middle Byzantine period.

      This translation began as a group effort, with John Wortley translating the text into English, Bernard Flusin translating it into French, and Jean-Claude Cheynet providing the editorial notes to both translations. The introduction (pp. VII–XXXIII) provides essential information on the life of Skylitzes (or at least on the little we know about him), his self-proclaimed intentions, the sources he used, his adopted narrative method, and also on the manuscript tradition. The translation itself is highly readable, while not deviating from the original Greek, a feat that is laudable in itself. The text follows the chapter divisions of the Greek edition, while the page numbers of Thurn's edition have also been provided within square brackets. The subnotes are plentiful and full of essential information for the understanding of the events that are being described by Skylitzes. One can only conclude by observing that this translation is a superb work, and that it will be a great asset to anyone studying either the history or historiography of the middle Byzantine era.

Kai Juntunen

Rudimenta linguae Finnicae breviter delineata: Suomen kielen varhaiskielioppi ja sen tausta. Edited by Petri Lauerma. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, Helsinki 2012. ISBN 978-952-222-375-3. 110 pp. EUR 34.40.

The discovery of the anonymous *Rudimenta linguae Finnicae breviter delineata* in 2008 proved a sensation for the study of Finnish literature. The previously unknown and unpublished text turned up in a small booklet auctioned at Sotheby's as part of the Macclesfield library, bound between two published 17th-century works: *Linguae Finnicae brevis institutio* (1642) by Bishop Aeschillus Petraeus and *Synopsis Chronologiae Finnonicae* (1671) by Laurentius Petri. The compilation had presumably been made on the basis of its subject matter, and the *Rudimenta*'s companions are pioneering works in their own right: Petraeus's *Institutio* is the first published Finnish grammar, whereas Petri's brief *Synopsis* is the earliest extant Finnish-language text on the history of Finland. Although the provenance and authorship of the *Rudimenta* remain shrouded in mystery, it has emerged that it may, in fact, be the very earliest grammar of the Finnish language. This edition, with its thorough discussion of codicological, palaeographical, grammatical and linguistic aspects of the manuscript reads like a mystery novel: how did this text, with its 16th-century content, written on mid-17th-century paper and bound around 1700, come about and why has it previously been unknown?

      As the authors[1] of the articles in this volume point out, the writer can hardly have been any of the early Finnish authors known to us: he was obviously unacquainted with the early grammars of Petraeus and Matthias Martinius (1689), and the absence of the "Melanchthonian" features of

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[1] Ilkka Paatero and Sirkka Havu on the most recent history of the manuscript and its acquisition (pp. 9–11), Tuomas Heikkilä on codicological issues (pp. 12–14); Anneli Mäkelä-Alitalo on the dating of the manuscript's handwriting (pp. 15–16), Pirkko Kuutti on the earliest Finnish and Estonian grammars (pp. 17–23), Suvi Randén on the Latinity of the *Rudimenta* and its relationship to Latin grammars (pp. 24–37) and Riitta Palkki on its Finnish (pp. 39–48).

Reformation grammars may even suggest that the work could be derived from a non-extant and probably unpublished Counter-Reformation grammar commissioned by the Jesuit College at Ol-mütz (Olomouc) in the late 16th century (pp. 17–18, 23). However, the author's disparaging remark on the "swearing adverb" *Ja Mar* (p. 89), which he characterizes as a vulgar expression that smacks of popery (*Ja Mar est apud vulgus iurandi forma, quae sapit…Pontificiam*), seems to counter this hypothesis, although the statement could be a later interpolation (the passage is partly illegible and has obviously been revised). Nonetheless, some parallels with Martinius's grammar, as well as with Friedrich Stahl's 1637 Estonian grammar and Michael Wexionius's discussion of Finnish in his 1650 *Epitome Sueciae, Gothiae, Fenningiae et Subjectarum Provinciarum* (pp. 21–23), indicate that the *Rudimenta* may have influenced these works and enjoyed a wider circulation than its later obscurity suggests.

The grammar itself is sparse, and although it is clearly modelled after the Latin grammars of the Early Modern period (this is manifest in the author's postulation of merely six nominal cases for the Finnish language as well as his redundant presentation of the vocative), the author shows some original, not to say eccentric, touches that suggest that the *Rudimenta* was aimed at highly educated native speakers of Swedish (the text has numerous Swedish glosses) rather than for the use of the Cathedral Schools and Trivial Schools, as the editor Petri Lauerma proposes (p. 97).

Unlike Petraeus and Martinius and the other early Finnish grammarians, the author of the *Rudimenta* does not postulate a system of noun declensions for Finnish (and, incidentally, is in this respect more "modern" than the scholarship of the intervening centuries). His presentation of the Finnish verb system shows striking departures from our established classification as well as wildly inconsistent use of terminology. The Finnish imperfect tense is referred to as *praeteritum simplex*, *perfectum simplex* or *perfectum* and glossed with the Latin perfect, whereas what the author calls the *praeteritum compositum seu plusq(vam)perfectum*, *perfectum plusqvamperfectum* or, more simply, *plusqvamperfectum* is the Finnish perfect, although glossed with the Latin pluperfect tense. The Finnish pluperfect, on the other hand, is not presented at all. Although Finnish has no true future tense, the *Rudimenta* gives not one but two periphrastic structures with future meaning ("Minä tahdon racasta*, amabo*" for the indicative and "Mina olisin racastawa*, amaturus essem*" for the conditional). The Finnish conditional mood appears in the *Rudimenta*'s nomenclature interchange-ably, and without explanation, both as *optativus* and *subjunctivus*; apparently, the author expected a great deal of familiarity with grammatical terminology from his readers. Even more striking is the *Rudimenta*'s use of Latin passive future imperatives (*amator*, *amaminor*, *amantor*) as translations for the Finnish passive imperative, in itself an unusual form. Although modern students of Latin may be unacquainted with these archaic and obsolete forms, they seem to have been included in the inflectional paradigms of 17th-century Latin grammars as a matter of course, as Suvi Randén points out in her accomplished commentary on the Latinity of the text (p. 32). Other idiosyncratic solutions include the presentation of four, rather than three, degrees of comparison for adjectives: *positivus*, *comparativus*, *superlativus* and what the author calls *plusq(vam) superlativus*, exemplified with "iloinen, Iloisembi, Iloisin, caickein Iloisin" ('happy, happier, happiest, the very happiest'). Overall, the grammar, for all the acumen of its author, exhibits a certain *ad hoc* character, which seems com-patible with the hypothesis that it is without a direct model or predecessor.

Riitta Palkki's extensive and meticulous discussion of the *Rudimenta*'s Finnish (pp. 38–48) demonstrates definitively that the contents of the text must be considerably older than its sole sur-

viving manuscript. The orthography shows many features that are well documented in 16th-century texts (the writings of Agricola and the so-called Uppsala Gospel Book) but already absent from the 1642 Bible translation. Dialectal features suggest that the author may have been the native speaker of a dialect spoken in the vicinity of Rauma, although some of his forms have only been documented in the eastern parts of Finland Proper or the dialects of Häme. On one instance, the author offers two alternatives for the same form, giving the third person plural of the "simple perfect" as "hee Racastit", but citing "hee Racastiwat" as the form used in Häme. Apparently, the author was thoroughly acquainted with at least two, if not several, distinctive variants of spoken Finnish.

In addition to the insightful discussions of the various aspects of the *Rudimenta* and its provenance (in Finnish), the book includes a facsimile reproduction of the original manuscript, written in a beautiful seventeenth-century hand. The text is also reproduced in an edition by Suvi Randén that is faithful to the orthography of the original (although I would have considered retaining the ligature *æ*, rendered by the editor as *a* and *e*). Randén has also written a highly competent Finnish translation of the text. I must, however, disagree with one particular interpretation of the translator: the author of the *Rudimenta* states that Finnish monosyllables are pronounced *gravi tono* (p. 90). I take this to be a reference to the system of acute, circumflex and grave accents that the Latin grammarians – for better or worse – adopted from Greek prosodic theory, and probably means that monosyllables are unstressed (Randén's interpretation at p. 75 is the opposite). Whatever the author's intent was, his generalization is of course wildly inaccurate.

The edition could have benefited from a more detailed commentary of the text, possibly with an English translation. As it is, the book only contains an English version (by Titia Schuurman, at pp. 99–104) of its concluding summary by Petri Lauerma (pp. 93–98). Although it is probably fair to expect scholars of Finnish language and history to be literate in Finnish, the text is also relevant from the point of view of the history of linguistics and, all in all, of broader interest than the authors or publishers of this remarkable volume may have realized.

Seppo Heikkinen

JONAS GRETHLEIN: *The Greeks and Their Past: Poetry, Oratory and History in the Fifth Century BCE*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. XII, 350 pp. ISBN 978-0-521-11077-8. GBP 55, USD 95.

The Greeks and Their Past is a stimulating discussion of the representations of literary memory in fifth-century BC Greek literature. Its aim is twofold. The first goal is to "reconstruct the literary field of memory in fifth-century BCE Greece" (p. 12), the broader second goal is simply to advance our understanding of the literature of this period. Consisting of two main parts, "*Clio polytropos*: Non-historiographical Media of Memory" and "The Rise of Greek Historiography", Grethlein's book offers nuanced readings of texts from various genres, such as epinician poetry, elegy, tragedy, oratory and historiography. The first part of the book examines Pindar's *Olympian* 2, the "New Simonides", Aeschylus's *Persians*, Lysias's *Funeral Oration* and Andonices's *On the Peace* (the last two were, however, not written in the fifth century, but in the early fourth century BC), whereas the second part deals with the works of Herodotus and Thucydides. Grethlein's plan is to analyse how differ-

ent genres utilized the idea of literary memory, but I wonder if focusing on fewer genres might not have improved the coherence of the first part, even though every chapter in this part is an interesting read. I particularly enjoyed, for instance, the author's perceptive reading of the "New Simonides". Compared to the first part, the second part, in which Grethlein analyses parts of the works of Herodotus and Thucydides, gives him more space and time to develop his arguments. All in all, this is an important book, and it gives a clear overview of the employment of the idea of literary memory in fifth-century Greek literature. The editorial work by Cambridge University Press is irreproachable.

Iiro Laukola

GESINE MANUWALD: *Roman Republican Theatre. A History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-11016-7 (hardback). XII, 390 pp. GBP 65, USD 105.

This book is a general history of, and an introduction to, Roman theatre and drama. W. Beare's *Roman Stage* (1964), while still used and useful, is outdated concerning newer material. Manuwald's purpose is "to provide a synoptic discussion of the whole complex of dramatic works in Republican Rome". She wishes to accomplish this by combining a variety of diachronic and synchronic perspectives.

An important and valuable part of Manuwald's discussion is the placement of Republican drama in its contemporary historical, political, and social context. This is done in Part I, titled "Cultural and institutional background". The cult context of Roman drama is not as obvious as in its Greek counterpart, but this aspect should not be overlooked, and Manuwald does a good job of presenting the evidence for the various Roman festivals, their associated deities and temples, and the evolving development of the practice of offering dramatic performances on these occasions. The Romans' preference for temporary theatrical structures, together with the practical and architectural aspects of these constructions, are given due attention. The production process of the plays, the role of the impresarios responsible for this, the organization of the actors and their social status, the control the poets had (or did not have) over their texts after the first production, and financial matters (who paid whom and when) are all important topics covered in the first part. These multiple perspectives of a largely practical nature make up the most rewarding part of the book.

What perhaps cannot be avoided in a book with as broad a coverage as this one is the fact that the treatment is at places superficial, for example concerning the reception of Greek culture by the Romans, or the relationship between drama and the building of a national identity. These themes are mentioned several times throughout the book but nowhere discussed in detail.

The second part, "Dramatic poetry", is divided into three chapters: "Dramatic genres", "Dramatic poets", and "Dramatic Themes and Techniques". Manuwald presents all the essential sources and information. Concerning the fragmentary poets her discussion is thorough. It seems that the author wished to find a balance between the highly incongruous nature of the material that we have on Roman Republican drama, with most authors surviving only in fragments and only two represented by a series of entire plays. This is understandable, given the book's scope and aim: it is not a book on Plautus and Terence, and not even one on the *palliata*.

However, in the section on Plautus (4.6) the picture painted of the playwright remains somewhat colourless and meagre. A more detailed and inspired discussion would have been desirable. This also applies to the comparison between a passage of Menander's *Dis exapaton* on a papyrus and the corresponding passage in Plautus' *Bacchides* 494–562. This is nearly the only possibility we have to compare the source text and the Roman version, and one feels that a more substantial part of the discussion on this pair of passages could have been incorporated here. My impression is, then, that the dramatic and linguistic genius of Plautus is not given an appropriate expression.

The chapter on Terence (4.9) is largely dedicated to his prologues. While these offer exceptionally rewarding material for shaping our conception of the literary and dramatic atmosphere of the time, this focus leaves much of the plays themselves - and their dramatic technique, language, and style - untouched.

On the whole, there is very little information in the book on the language and style of Roman Republican drama, and the chapter on language, style, and metre (5.6) does little to make up for this lack. For example, on p. 325 Manuwald writes "Presumably, the language of Roman drama was originally not too artificial", with the implication that it later apparently evolved into something more artificial. This presumption is odd, and no reason for this later development is given, nor is there an explanation of what 'artificial' in this connection means. This apparent lack of interest in language is seemingly reflected in the fact that very little Latin is quoted, even when a detailed point is being made about a passage.

The book's structure is very clear, and will make it easy for readers to find the information they are looking for. This is good, since Manuwald's study will undoubtedly be used as a general reference tool in the future, both because of its broad coverage and its ample references to secondary literature. The book is rich in references to ancient *testimonia* as well.

One of Manuwald's central messages appears to be that, in all its genres, in addition to its entertaining qualities Republican drama conveyed meaningful messages to audiences. She repeatedly emphasizes that even light dramatic forms (*palliata, togata, Atellana*, mime) were not merely entertainment. This may be a point worth making, but one wonders about the necessity of adding conclusive statements with clusters of the same terms (p. 172 on Atellana): "The topics, characters and settings of Atellana result in **everyday, straightforward, entertaining, yet meaningful stories** in a (stylized) Roman or mythical environment." and (p. 180 on mime) "Generalizing somewhat, one may therefore conclude tentatively that mime became prominent when it did because it provided a perfect combination (from the audience's point of view) of the two tendencies observable in the development of drama in Republican Rome: **meaningful messages and entertaining elements**. Mime provided basic **entertainment** in an **everyday setting** as well as **straightforward** moral rules and comments on topical issues."

In general, my impression is that the book is at places repetitive in its content and phrasing, and it would have benefited from some editing and compressing of its message. Finally, as a minor observation, it can be noted that the continuous use of slashes to denote optional interpretations is irritating. In addition to and/or even such combinations as intrigues/complications (p. 174), plays/stories and plots/storylines (p. 190), Dionysus/Bacchus/Liber (p. 200), fan/student (p. 205) are found.

Hilla Halla-aho

Form and Function in Roman Oratory. Edited by D. H. Berry – Andrew Erskine. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-76895-5. XIV, 353 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

This book explores the notions of 'form' and 'function' in relation to Roman oratory. It does not limit itself to 'free-standing' speeches, i.e. speeches written as complete works of literature in themselves (Cicero, Pliny, Apuleius, the panegyrics), but also discusses speeches embedded within works in other literary genres, specifically historiography (Sallust, Caesar, Livy, Tacitus) and philosophy (Cicero, Seneca). Even the physical representations of orators in Roman statues are dealt with in one of the papers. One exception notwithstanding, the eighteen papers of this book were originally read at a conference held at Edinburgh in 2007.

The volume is divided into five sections, each of them consisting of two to five contributions. Part I, "The Orator and his Setting", includes three chapters. J. G. F. Powell ("Court procedure and rhetorical strategy in Cicero") demonstrates how the structure of Roman court proceedings may have had an important influence on the way in which the defence was structured. The discussion seems to rely on the idea that written texts of Cicero's speeches are a true record of what he actually said when he delivered the speech. Catherine Steel's paper, "Tribunician sacrosanctity and oratorical performance in the late republic", studies the role that tribunes had in conducting public business. Focusing on the performance context, it illustrates how the use of various techniques in public meetings, including the veto, enabled tribunes to manipulate the oratory of others. "Togate statues and petrified orators" by Glenys Davies explores Roman orators' non-verbal communication, that is body movements, gestures and facial expressions, an aspect which both Cicero and Quintilian paid keen attention to. Furnished with several figures of Roman orators (and/or actors), the paper is a welcome addition to this volume.

Part II, "Rhetorical Strategies", draws together two papers on Cicero and two on panegyric. Christopher Craig's paper, "Means and ends of *indignatio* in Cicero's *Pro Roscio Amerino*", shows how Cicero uses *indignatio* as a defence strategy in *Pro Roscio Amerino* by comparing it to his treatment of *indignatio* as a prosecution strategy in *De inventione*. Andrew M. Riggsby ("Form as global strategy in Cicero's *Second Catilinarian*") puts forwards some fairly speculative ideas concerning the use of sound effects in the *Second Catilinarian*. Roger Rees's paper, "The form and function of narrative in panegyric", explores in an interesting way the cognitive, evidentiary and celebratory functions of narrative in panegyric and the mixed reception of prose panegyric. Bruce Gibson's paper, "Unending praise: Pliny and ending panegyric", examines in Pliny's *Panegyricus*, which was delivered before Trajan, the problem of how to bring praise to an end. It is a feature inherent in panegyric that the subject is described as one on which it is difficult to finish speaking.

Part III "Texts in Speeches" deals with the use of quotations in speeches. Anthony Corbeill's paper, "The function of a divinely inspired text in Cicero's *De haruspicum responsis*", discusses Cicero's technique in dealing with the proper interpretation of a text that was originally a wordless omen. John T. Ramsey ("Debate at a distance: a unique rhetorical strategy in Cicero's *Thirteenth Philippic*") draws attention to a long quotation from Mark Antony's letter (interpreted as a substitute for a face-to-face debate between Cicero and Antony, Antony being in Cisalpine Gaul at the time the speech was delivered) and to Cicero's meticulous refutation of Antony's statements. "The function of verse quotations in Apuleius' speeches: making the case with Plato" by Regine May

shows how Apuleius' verse quotations in the *Florida* and *Apologia* serve to define his speeches as philosophical, specifically Platonic, discourse.

Part IV, "Speeches in Philosophy", consists of two chapters. "Teaching philosophy, a form or function of Roman oratory: Velleius' speech in Cicero's *De natura deorum*" by Carl Joachim Classen demonstrates how Cicero presents a negative picture of Epicureanism by exploiting the unreliability of oratorical form. Harry Hine's paper, "The form and function of speech in the prose works of the younger Seneca", discusses the methods of quotation used by Seneca, drawing attention to the difficulty of distinguishing between Seneca's own voice and speech or text of others, and between the oral and the written, in general.

Since speeches formed an integral part of historical writing in antiquity, speeches in history present a particular and much-discussed problem of their own. These issues are dealt with in the five contributions of Part V, "Speeches in Historiography". William W. Batstone ("Catiline's speeches in Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*") demonstrates how speech in history performs a different function with respect to Catiline and Sallust himself. "Speech and silence in Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*" by Christina Shuttleworth Kraus interestingly shows the way in which Caesar is also able to understand and exploit the effectiveness of silence. Christopher Smith's paper, "Rhetorical history: the struggle of the orders in Livy", illustrates the way in which Livy uses the various forms of speech in the first decade of his history. "Oratory in Tacitus' Annals" by Roland Mayer explores the relationship between narrative and formal speech, showing how oratorical form can be used as a means of calling into question what is said. "*Aliena facundia*: Seneca in Tacitus'" by A.J. Woodman explores the language of Seneca's speech to Nero and Nero's reply to Seneca, showing that in a speech attributed to Seneca Tacitus deliberately avoids echoing Senecan language; Tacitus' tactic was to create a new voice that is distinct from Seneca's own voice (and evidently from Nero's voice too) and common to both Nero and Seneca.

The fact that some of the papers in this volume discuss fairly broad themes, while some others deal with quite specific details does not harm its theme but rather illustrates its multidimensional character. All the papers are interesting and well written; the reader appreciates the quotations, also translated into English, and appendices that present the original texts relevant for the discussion. The volume largely achieves the target set for it by Berry and Erskine in the introductory chapter, namely "to illustrate some of the ways in which the notion of form and function can be used as a tool for investigating the relationship between the form of the speech and the job which the speech is designed to do" (p. 17).

Raija Sarasti-Wilenius

L'ouvrage de Frederick Jones, *Virgil's Garden; the nature of Bucolic space*, évoque la notion de "l'espace bucolique" dans les *Églogues* de Virgile (connus également sous le nom "*les Bucoliques*"). Sont également traitées les questions concernant la complexité de ce terme, ainsi que les relations qui existent entre les *Églogues* et les œuvres d'autres poètes.

La poésie de la période du règne de l'empereur Auguste est très souvent vue comme une poésie statique et bien établie. Elle est usuellement définie par des genres (satire, élégie, didactique, bucolique, lyrique etc.) qui occupent leur propre "espace" dans le champ littéraire. Selon l'image, ces genres auraient eu des formes figées résistant à tout changement, et pour cela, un "candidat poète" de cette période n'aurait eu qu'à en choisir un, et les "règles" du genre auraient alors guidé sa création littéraire. Cette image n'est pas tout à fait erronée. Les poètes de l'époque renforcèrent cette impression en définissant leur poésie par des genres et par une constante mise en relation de leurs œuvres avec celles d'autres poètes, contemporains et antérieurs. Malgré cela, cette image est une simplification; les différents genres poétiques de la période ne naquirent pas "tout faits", ni n'évoluaient indépendamment, ni sans l'influence des autres genres. Il en est également ainsi de la poésie qui s'inspire de la vie idéalisée des bergers, la poésie généralement qualifiée de "bucolique".

Les *Églogues* virent le jour vers l'an 40 avant notre ère. À l'époque, cette œuvre de Virgile était quelque chose d'original dans le champ littéraire à Rome et en latin. Malgré leur originalité, les *Églogues* puisèrent dans la littérature antérieure et se définirent comme "bucolique" en faisant de nombreuses allusions aux œuvres grecques préexistantes, notamment à celle de Théocrite. Les noms des personnages et leurs occupations, ainsi que la flore et la faune, qui se trouvent dans l'œuvre de Virgile sont fréquemment les mêmes que ceux qui sont présents dans les poèmes de Théocrite.

"Espace bucolique" est un terme à double sens, ce qui se manifeste dans le fait qu'il renvoie non seulement à un espace occupé par les *Églogues* dans le champ littéraire, donc à ce que l'on peut appeler "espace extérieur", mais également à cet "espace" qui est englobé *dans l'œuvre*. Ce dernier, que l'on peut nommer "espace intérieur", consiste en de la flore, de la faune, des caractéristiques géographiques, des personnages typiques de cette littérature, etc., donc de tout ce qui forme "l'univers bucolique". Les deux espaces n'étant pas isolés l'un de l'autre, la distinction entre l'espace extérieur et intérieur est loin d'être simple. Par ex. les *Églogues* de Virgile sont un "chant bucolique" (dans l'espace extérieur), mais les personnages des *Églogues* font aussi des chants bucoliques (dans l'espace intérieur). En outre, il existe une certaine circularité entre ces deux espaces: les chants bucoliques des bergers sont ceux que Virgile fait chanter à ses personnages dans son propre "chant bucolique".

L'espace bucolique contient également des éléments qui ne sont pas distinctement bucoliques, ce qui signifie que l'espace bucolique est défini non seulement *par intérieur* mais aussi *par extérieur*. Bien que Rome ne fasse pas partie de l'espace bucolique à proprement parler, elle fait partie du monde des *Églogues*. Rome, appartenant à l'espace extérieur, représente quelque chose de lointain et peut-être de quelque peu hostile pour les personnages des *Églogues*, les bergers. Cependant, Rome est la ville où les *Églogues* furent écrites et présentées, aussi bien que le lieu où se trouvait leur public. La circularité, ou une sorte d'*autoréférence*, se manifeste dans le fait que Virgile fait voir Rome à son public romain, par les yeux des bergers, *à Rome*.

Il existe également une relation entre l'espace bucolique et les jardins; cette relation donne des éclaircissements sur le titre de l'ouvrage qui, en mettant en parallèle le terme "*garden*" (jardin) avec le terme "*bucolic space*" (espace bucolique), peut susciter de l'étonnement. Toutefois, il est à noter que les deux sont des représentations artificielles de la nature et, selon l'auteur, le public peut "entrer" dans l'espace bucolique comme il peut entrer dans un jardin.

L'ouvrage examine tout d'abord le "paysage". Le paysage des *Églogues* est rural, les personnages qui y vivent sont des bergers, les animaux et les plantes qui s'y trouvent, pour la plupart,

ne présentent aucun danger pour l'homme. En général, le paysage correspond au monde idéalisé de l'*Âge d'or* mythique (*cf.* Hésiode). En outre, il existe des correspondances entre le paysage des *Églogues* et les paysages dans l'œuvre d'autres poètes (Lucrèce, Horace, etc.). Ensuite, les éléments ci-dessus évoqués (flore, faune, habitants, etc.), qui définissent l'espace bucolique, sont étudiés en plus grand détail.

La flore consiste généralement en des espèces qui sont, d'une façon ou une autre, utiles pour l'homme: par ex. les arbres offrent l'ombre et leur bois sert à fabriquer des instruments musicaux. De plus, il existe des relations entre le monde végétal des *Églogues* et les peintures que l'on voit aujourd'hui à Pompéi.

Si l'on compare la faune des *Églogues* avec les connaissances qu'avaient les Romains sur les animaux du monde qui leur était connu (par expéditions militaires, par administrations provinciales, etc.), elle est quelque peu restreinte. La faune consiste principalement en des animaux domestiqués, bien que les animaux sauvages aient leur place dans les *Églogues*. Comme c'est le cas de la flore, il existe des ressemblances entre la faune et les peintures.

Par la suite, l'ouvrage traite les toponymies, les aspects climatiques, temporels et géographiques, même les aspects géologiques sont traités. Les *Églogues* contiennent des toponymies qui sont spécifiquement bucoliques (Arcadie), ainsi que des toponymies qui ne le sont pas (Rome). L'espace temporel n'est que vaguement précisé, cependant l'hiver est quasiment absent. Le régime des personnages, le végétarisme inclus, leurs demeures et leurs occupations sont aussi examinés. En ce qui concerne les noms propres, leur répertoire consiste en des noms "théocritiens" et des noms connus du public (poètes, hommes politiques). Une question intéressante se pose concernant le poète lui-même: dans quelle mesure Virgile est-il "présent" dans les *Églogues*, "caché" derrière les personnages?

L'avant-dernière partie traite les rapports entre le réel et la représentation. Rome, les Romains et les réalités politiques (par ex. les confiscations des triumvirs) étant présents dans les *Églogues*, la frontière entre les deux devient parfois floue. La conclusion de l'ouvrage donne plusieurs points de vue sur l'œuvre de Virgile, bien que, à en croire l'auteur, toutes ces approches ne soient pas tout à fait originales.

L'ouvrage n'arrive pas toujours à bien développer ses thèmes; soit les digressions rompent le sujet, soit les passages ne sont que des énumérations qui, de surcroît, rendent la lecture quelque peu fastidieuse. En général, la construction des chapitres pourrait mieux s'organiser. Il y a aussi de la répétition, et parfois, les conclusions sont, dans une certaine mesure, évidentes. La conclusion de tout l'ouvrage n'est qu'une énumération. Les trois images en noir et blanc au début du livre sont quelque peu floues et auraient méritées une meilleure impression.

Cependant, Jones examine minutieusement tout ce qui crée l'espace bucolique et attache de l'importance aux moindres de ces éléments, même le sable et les tourbières trouvent leur place dans l'étude. Les relations avec l'œuvre d'autres poètes sont également examinées. Pour cela, nous regrettons que l'index de l'ouvrage ne soit pas achevé. Certains noms et termes essentiels, soit manquent, soit leur indication y est incomplète. Par ex. la page 21 n'est pas indiquée pour *locus amoenus*; Sappho (pp. 21 et 76) et *ekphrasis* (pp. 129, 133 et 134) sont absents à l'index. À notre avis, si par ex. le septième chapitre ("*Named People*") avait été organisé par ordre alphabétique, l'ouvrage pourrait plus facilement servir de livre de référence.

En ce moment plusieurs travaux se concentrent sur le rôle des animaux dans la littérature ancienne, un domaine tout à fait négligé auparavant. L'ouvrage de Jones, dans lequel la faune, les animaux domestiqués, ainsi que la flore et la nature en général sont étudiés, s'inscrit partiellement dans cette mouvance.

Bien que la poésie de Virgile ne soit pas un terrain tout à fait inexploré, l'ouvrage de Jones réussit à approfondir les connaissances sur l'œuvre bucolique du poète. Les éléments caractéristiques de l'espace bucolique des *Églogues* sont étudiés en grand détail. Ceux dont le domaine d'intérêt est la poésie bucolique (ou pastorale), non seulement celle de Virgile mais en général, trouveront dans l'ouvrage de Jones plusieurs nouveaux points de vue, et possiblement des nouveaux points de départ pour leurs recherches.

Jari Nummi

Pliny's Praise: the Panegyricus in the Roman World. Edited by Paul Roche. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-00905-9 (pb). X, 208 pp. USD 95.

The study of panegyrics has undergone a renaissance in recent years, a good example of which is this collected volume from a few years back. While panegyrical literature had for long been considered an almost repulsive genre, new studies have discovered surprising new sides to it. Praise to the ruler, as typically presented in Roman literature, had important Greek and Roman predecessors, such as funeral orations or *laudationes*. The imperial panegyric, of which Pliny's Panegyricus from AD 100 is the first notable example, emerges as a typical representation of the position of the emperor during Late Antiquity. What this volume seeks to do is to present this remarkable speech in its contemporary context, not as a predecessor to a later tradition. Chapters in this volume continue a growing trend, present for example in studies on Seneca, which seeks to reread early panegyrical texts or texts involving seemingly indiscriminate praise to seek out double meanings and irony. The result of these efforts has been the reevaluation of these texts, not as pure praise but as guidance and warnings, where the speakers seek to establish control over the emperor through the positive and negative examples they present.

In this short volume, the stage is set by an introductory chapter by Roche, who set the Panegyricus in its context within not only senatorial imperial oratory, but also the Greek and Hellenistic tradition. He maintains that the speech forms a bond between Domitian and Trajan as the negative and positive examples, and forms a praise of both Trajan's Rome and also Pliny himself. Carlos Noreña explores the role of the author and his prominent part in the presentation of prestige. The speech, given as it was on the occasion of Pliny's consulship, is as much an enterprise of self-definition and self-praise of Pliny's own role in imperial politics as it is of Trajan. Roche returns to describe the act of acquisition by Nerva and Trajan of Domitian's vast building projects, as well as the praise of Trajan's other acts of public *munificentia*, such as the *alimenta* and *congiarium*.

Doreen Innes explores the Panegyricus in the context of rhetorical theory and the presentation of the virtues of the emperor. Gesine Manuwald raises Cicero as an important precursor to Pliny, and compares the praise in Cicero to praise in Pliny, while noting the vastly different political landscapes in which they operated. Bruce Gibson then compares Pliny's epideictic to its contemporaries,

especially that of Tacitus, Statius, and Pliny's own letters. Gregory Hutchinson studies the aesthetical ideals in the Panegyricus, its presentation of beauty and magnificence, especially where Trajan's rise to prominence is shown equally as a sublime experience. John Henderson discusses the theme of historical *exempla*, how the superiority of Trajan is constructed with the creative and liberal use of historical examples. In this unfair comparison, Trajan emerges time and again as *optimus*. In the final chapter, Roger Rees aptly describes the way that the Panegyricus was received by later authors and how it influenced the language of the panegyric as a genre.

The volume is a welcome one, and offers a new and interesting interpretation(s), fresh use of the language of propaganda (Henderson's chapter is an especially good example of this), and a reevaluation of a long tradition. The individual chapters and the book itself are well produced and generally of high quality. It is essential reading for all scholars of Pliny, illustrating important new ways of approaching this often maligned text.

Kaius Tuori

A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Volume V.B. *Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*. Edited by J.-S. Balzat – R. W. V. Catling – É. Chiricat – F. Marchand – T. Corsten. Clarendon Press, Oxford 2013. ISBN 978-0-19-870582-6. LVI, 471 pp. GBP 125.

The Oxford Lexicon proceeds with commendable speed. The first fascicle dedicated to Asia Minor was published in 2010, and now we have the second one, which covers the southern coastal regions of Asia Minor, from Caria through Lycia and Pamphylia to Cilicia. It is a huge volume, with 443 pages of name lists and a reverse index of some 27 pages. The name lists are preceded by introductory remarks of exceptional length; in fact, they are much more extensive than in any other volume of this series, no doubt due to the complexity of the material. One greets with pleasure, e.g., the detailed analysis of the naming practices in the regions dealt with in this volume. But was it necessary to give an overview of the Pamphylian dialect as we now have the excellent description of that dialect by Brixhe?

The central region covered by the present fascicle is Caria. The inclusion of Miletos to Caria instead of Ionia, a Herodotean decision so to speak, might seem surprising. Be that as it may (although surely Miletos was a Ionian city), the decision to include Miletos to Caria made by Peter Fraser in accordance with the opinion of some ancient historians (and not only Herodotus) as well as the basic principles of the organization of the Lexicon along geographical lines, has the virtue of convenience. It means that volume V.B, despite the rich onomastic material which Miletos offers, is at least slimmer than the huge volume V.A.

Due to its prosopographic character, the Lexicon, in each of its volumes, strives for material completeness. The authors of this particular volume have indeed succeeded in putting together practically all the persons known from the regions in question, and it would be pointless to complain about gaps. I have, in fact, found only two missing names in an inscription from Leros from the Imperial period, published by Th. Wiegand, *AM* 36 (1911) 294 no. 3: Θαρσαγόρα ἥρως χρηστέ, χαῖρε. Τὸ ἡρῶον Φιλοπόνου τοῦ Θαρσαγόρου. Both names are known at Miletos from other sources. As to slaves, the majority of them seem to have been omitted, in accordance with the original decision not

to include them in the regions where they are attested. This decision might be worth reconsidering, and I have in previous volumes noted some inconsistency in admitting and omitting slave names.

On the whole, we have here a volume of utmost importance. To emphasize my admiration of, and my interest in, this book, I would like to conclude with a few comments on the entries of individual names. But first some introductory remarks. On p. IX, the authors announce an important innovation in fascicle V.A and in the fascicle under review: the inclusion of individuals bearing the Roman *tria nomina* in which the cognomen is Latin. This is a most important practice and should have been introduced long before; only in the Attic volume have the Latin cognomina, when preceded by a gentilicium, been included. The accentuation of Greek names has been an Achilles heel for many previous volumes; in this fascicle, fortunately, the authors have succeeded in their accentuation. However, on p. 26 I would prefer Ἄνδρικος rather than Ἀνδρικός. On p. 214 Ἰουκούνδος rather than Ἰουκοῦνδος; the item on p. 216 Ἰούνκος (or Ἰούγκος?) rather than Ἰοῦνκος, and p. 304 Μούνδος rather than Μοῦνδος, as in all these cases the *u* in Latin is short. The authors have decided to omit the *spiritus* in non-Greek and non-Latin names, a welcome practice, but at p. 47f. one can add to the names beginning with Ἀπφ- without hesitation a *spiritus lenis*, as we know from the Latin *Nebenüberlieferung* where *Apphe, Apphin* etc. without an initial *h* was the regular spelling. On p. 36 the authors write Ἀὐτοκλῆς, Ἀὐτομέδων, Ἀὐτοφῶν, without any reference to the 'regular' spelling Αὐτ- (or under this heading), as they normally do in the entries of names showing such secondary spellings; this is the more aggravating, as the name Αὐτομέδων is otherwise lacking in the fascicle. *IDidyma* 345 is dated *s. v.* Βερενίκη and Ἡδεῖα to the first century BC, but *s. v.* Μιννίς to the second, and the name of the father Ἡράκλειτος is lacking altogether.

To finish with a few remarks on individual names: p. 4: Ἀγαθοῦς is described as a male name, but the name-bearer was a woman. On p. 15: Αἰτίδημος from Cic. *Flacc.* 52 is a phantom name. The MSS have *et idem*, whence Clark in OCT takes *Aetidemi*, but, as recorded in his apparatus, it can be replaced by *Archidemi*, as was noted already by R. Klotz; the man would be the same Archidemus mentioned by the orator a bit later at 53. P. 35 Ἀντωνῖνις: but the stone has Ἀντωνίνου Κηπουροῦ, the name was thus Ἀντωνῖνος. P. 351 Πηξίδημος (Miletos) cannot be an acceptable name form. The reading is clear, the coin has ΠΗΞΙΔΗΜΟΣ, but Πρηξίδημος must be lurking (this was also seen by W. Leschhorn, *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen* II, Wien 2009, 756).

We are eagerly waiting for the third fascicle dedicated to Asia Minor, now in advanced preparation. My more extensive review of the present fascicle will soon appear in the *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft*.

Heikki Solin

Language and Linguistic Contact in Ancient Sicily. Edited by Olga Tribulato. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge University Press, New York 2012. XXV, 422 pp. ISBN 978-1-107-02931-6. GBP 65, USD 110.

The volume contains eight chapters from the 2008 Cambridge Craven Seminar together with four specially commissioned articles. The seminar was called *Sikelía: Cultural and Linguistic Interac-*

tion in Ancient Sicily. The words "cultural interaction" have been taken away from the publication's title, and instead the volume suggests that it will focus primarily on language contacts. Having said that, language does not exist outside of human interaction, so cultural contacts are implied despite the change of title.

The volume is divided into three parts: 1) Non-classical languages with contributions by P. Poccetti, "Language relations in Sicily: Evidence for the speech of the Σικανοί, the Σικελοί and others", S. Marchesini, "The Elymian language", M.G. Amadasi Guzzo, "Phoenician and Punic in Sicily", J. Clackson, "Oscan in Sicily", G. Meiser, "Traces of language contact in Sicilian onomastics: Evidence from the Curse of Selinous" and O. Simkin, "Coins and language in ancient Sicily". 2) Greek, with two contributions from S. Mimbrera, "Sicilian Greek before the fourth century BC: An overview of the dialects" and "The Sicilian Doric koina", A. Cassio, "Intimations of koine in Sicilian Doric: The information provided by the *Antiatticist*" and A. Willi, "'We speak Peloponnesian': Tradition and linguistic identity in post-classical and Sicilian literature". 3) Latin, with chapters by O. Tribulato, "*Siculi bilingues?* Latin in the inscriptions of early Roman Sicily" and K. Korhonen, "Sicily in the Roman Imperial period: Language and society".

The editor, Olga Tribulato, has provided a useful overview and dealt with many major problems and important questions in her introduction entitled "'So many Sicilies': Introducing language and linguistic contact in ancient Sicily". The chapter presents admirably the complicated nature of the available linguistic sources and their unfortunate scantiness. What emerges continuously is the nature of the linguistic contacts. There are no simple answers, but instead there is a continuous flow of various interactions, interference and contacts between different populations that at some point lived on the island (p. 9). Thus, as Poccetti (p. 55, p. 64) and Clackson (p. 136) emphasise, the names and identities of the peoples and their languages recorded in the ancient geographic traditions are confused and contradictory. It also seems that linguistic contacts moved both ways between different languages, so that the target and the source language are difficult to determine. This said, it seems that there are very few relatively certain facts concerning the linguistic situation in Sicily, and many previous views can be said to be simply wrong. The volume as a whole demonstrates this, providing detailed approaches to all kinds of evidence. Given the nature of the subject matter, some chapters (e.g. Poccetti, Clackson, Willy, Tribulato, Korhonen) have more to offer than others, but each chapter contains interesting observations. Even if one may not always agree with everything argued or suggested here, the volume is definitely a must for those who wish to study Sicily and Southern Italy in general.

Martti Leiwo

Archaic and Classical Greek Epigram. Edited by Manuel Baumbach – Andrej Petrovic – Ivana Petrovic. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-11805-7. XIV, 439 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

This book is a highly welcome addition to recent discussions on the epigram and the connections between the verse inscriptions and the literary epigram genre.

The contributions are divided into the two subcategories "Contextualisation" (part one) and "Literarisation: 'from stone to book'" (part two). The first part concentrates on such aspects as the dialogue between the epigram and the audience, the spatial context, the religious context, the historical and political context, and the reception of the epigrammatic subgenera.

In the beginning of part 1, the articles of T. A. Schmitz, M. A. Tueller and G. Vestrheim discuss the speakers and the addressee(s) of the epigrams. Understanding the voices of the early monumental texts, especially the sepulchral epigrams, helps us to understand the voices and the play with the voices in the later epigram tradition as well. The articles by B. E. Borg, C. M. Keesling and K. Lorenz illustrate the visual aspects and context of the epigrams from particular texts (e.g. *CEG* 256 discussed by Keesling) to *kouroi* with epigrams (Lorenz) and the epigram and archaic art (Borg).

The aspect of performance and the early history of the epigrams, discussed by W. D. Furley and C. Trümpy – as well as the first three writers of the book to a certain extent – are important in illustrating the early epigrams: they were not only, or not necessarily primarily, *texts*, but part of a ritual. Hence the context, both social and spatial, is highly important in interpreting these texts.

The public context is further discussed in the articles of C. Higbie and A. Petrovic, and epigrammatic subgenera and their rise in the articles of K. Gutzwiller and R. Wachter. Especially Wachter's article also sheds light on the reception of the early epigram.

The shorter second part of the book concentrates on the literarisation process of the epigram: on intertextuality and variation, and ecphrasis and narration. Articles in this second part demonstrate that many of the literary aspects known in the Hellenistic epigram began to develop in the earlier tradition. Language, variation, themes and interpretation are discussed in the articles of R. Hunter and M. Fantuzzi, narration by E. Bowie and ecphrasis by J. S. Bruss.

As becomes clear already from the structure of the book, the seventeen contributions discuss both the context and the content of the pre-Hellenistic epigram, analysing it both as a social and as a literary phenomenon.

Greek passages are provided with English translations, and the photos illustrate the points the articles are making. The expertise of the authors makes this book a remarkably enjoyable read, and essential for anyone wishing to study the early epigrams and/or to further understand the later epigram tradition.

Saara Kauppinen

Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. II, editio altera: *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae.* Pars XIV: *Conventus Tarraconensis.* Fasciculus tertius: *Colonia Iulia urbs triumphalis Tarraco.* Edidit G. Alföldy†. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 2012. CXXXIV-CLXXXVI, pp. 473-798. ISBN 978-3-11-026597-2. EUR 199.95.

Editionis huius pars XIV destinata est edendis titulis repertis in conventu Hispaniae Citerioris Tarraconensi. Pars haec divisa est in fasciculos plures, quorum primus, continens titulos partis meridionalis eiusdem conventus, editus est a. 1995, secundus, continens ipsius coloniae Tarraconensis titulos imperatorum, senatorum, hominum ordinis equestris, militum, officialium minorum, item

titulos pertinentes ad ad ipsam provinciam, a. 2011; neque multo post editus est a. 2012 fasciculus hic partis XIV tertius, sed titulorum Tarraconensium secundus, de quo verba quaedam facere mihi hoc loco in animo est.

Tituli Tarraconenses in hac editione quamvis sibi iam vindicaverint paginas fere octingentas, noli putare editionem titulorum Tarraconensium hoc fasciculo iam esse adductam ad finem. Desunt etiamnunc enim tituli multi, ut apparet vel ex eo, quod in hoc fasciculo, de quo hic est sermo et cuius titulus ultimus est n. 1890, iam laudantur tituli 2211 (ad n. 1611) et 2260 (ad n. 2260). Tituli hi incipientes a n. 1891, destinati sine dubio fasciculo titulorum Tarraconensium tertio, videntur pertinere ad agrum Tarraconensem, qui fuit sane magnus (de 4400 km^2 loquitur D. Gorostidi Pi, *Ager Tarraconensis 3. Les inscripcions romanes* [Tarragona 2010] p. 15). Cum iam habeant numerum suum, videtur posse concludi etiam hunc fasciculum tertium si non absolutum, at certe incohatum esse, sine dubio ab ipso G. Alföldy. Idem Alföldy autem cum a. 2011 mortem obierit, quaerendum est, fasciculus hic tertius qui etiamnunc deest quomodo et a quo et quando possit ad finem adduci. In hoc tamen fasciculo Tarraconensi secundo de hac re nullam notitiam invenies; caret enim praefatione.

Ut supra dixi, fasciculus titulorum ipsius coloniae Tarraconensis primus – totius conventus secundus – continet titulos pertinentes sive ad rem publicam Romanam sive ad provinciam Hispaniam Citeriorem. Hic autem fasciculus secundus, incipiens a titulo n. 1200, continet titulos pertinentes ad ipsam rem publicam, id est titulos magistratuum, etc. (n. 1200-1236); titulos sevirorum Augustalium etc. (n. 1237-1267); et titulos collegiorum et officiorum privatorum (n. 1268-1291). Sequuntur titulus "a civitate externa positus, tituli hominum, cuius origo vel patria indicatur, tituli virorum tribui alicui inscriptorum" (n. 1292-1317); tituli "ex formis monumentorum notabiliores" (n. 1318-1362; significantur e. g. tituli operum publicorum); tituli possessorum sedium in schola collegii fabrum et in theatro et in amphitheatro collocatarum (n. 1363-1432); et tituli denique "sepulcrales communes" (n. 1433-1890), inter quos sunt multa fragmenta (n. 1814sqs.).

Idem G. Alföldy cum iam a. 1975 ediderit titulos Tarraconenses in libro qui inscribitur *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco* (*RIT*) quaeri potest, haec editio num contineat novos titulos aut alia quaedam nova. Hoc quaerenti respondi potest inveniri multa nova in hac editione, in qua continentur non solum tituli post a. 1975 reperti (e. g. 1333, 1365sqs., 1435, 1493, 1496, 1534, 1684a et saepius inter fragmenta, 1823, 1824, 1832, etc.), sed etiam tituli multi in *RIT* editi, quorum lectio vel interpretatio iam ab ipso Alföldy quodam modo correcta est (tituli, quorum lectio correcta est, in tabellis synopticis p. 795sqs. reperiuntur notati asterisco).

Liber hic scriptus est a homine rerum epigraphicarum peritissimo; sequitur (ut omnibus hunc librum in manibus habentibus manifestum est), ut tam lectio – observavi tamen *Porcia* pro eo quod in titulo legitur, *Porc(ia)*, in n. 1539 – titulorum quam eorundem explicatio pro exemplo haberi possint; ita hic liber satis laudari non videtur posse. At haec cum scribam non modo eo consilio, ut laudem scriptorem libri, sed etiam ut notem quaedam, quae mihi videntur esse dicta aut minus recte aut certe quodam modo imprudenter, liceat mihi proponere observationes eas quae sequuntur. N. 1276: "Cognomen Canillae … clare ex cognomine Cani … derivatum est"; at *Canilla* potest derivari etiam a nomine *Canius* (cf. *Livius ~ Livilla*, *Urgulanius ~ Urgulanilla*, etc.). – 1294: Nescio an propter cognomen *Maxentii*, quod non putaverim reperiri ante Severos, titulus attribuendus sit saec. III potius quam II. – 1342: Ad signum *Proserii* illustrandum laudari potest etiam Pontius Proserius Paulinus consularis Campaniae a. 409 (*PLRE* II Paulinus 16), in cuius nominibus nomen *Proserii*,

quod sine dubio olim fuit signum, insertum est inter nomen gentilicium et cognomen (cf. e. g. *Virius Audentius Aemilianus*, *PLRE* I Aemilianus 4). – 1477: Verba *O crudele funus! Qui nunc attigit mihi renovatus o dolor!* non possunt verti "Ach, welch grausames Begräbnis, das mich nun erneut traf", cum pronomen *qui* referendum sit non ad *funus* sed ad verba quae sequuntur *renovatus ... – o! – dolor*. – 1656sq.: Addi potuerat Numerios Publilios plures inveniri Romae (*CIL* VI 5282, 12939, 20504, 22095, 25169. 25180, 25190, 25198). – 1661: Nomen gentilicium *Rubena* non video cur sit corrigendum in *Ruben[i]a*, cum habeo rationem nominum *Alfenus/Alfenius*, *Passenus/Passenius*, *Volusenus/Volusenius*, etc. – 1678: Nomina cum scripta sint casu genitivo, nescio an legendum sit *tutor(is) optim(i) b(ene) m(erentis)* potius quam *tutor(i)* etc. – 1684a: Titulum hunc omnino ineditum ita legit Alföldy: *C. Tettius C. [f. ---] / Herennul[us ---]*, at cognomen *Herennuli* cum alibi non inveniatur videndum, an hic titulus intellegi possit ita, ut in versu secundo mentio fiat non cognominis sed *Herennul[eiae* cuiusdam, fortasse coniugis eiusdem Tettii. Nomen *Herennuleii* in Hispania invenitur certe Barcinone (*CIL* II 4572 = *IRC* IV 173). – 1701: Vocabulum *exornando* in *Saturninus ... tumulo exornando curavit* (quae locutio mihi videtur esse valde notabilis) fortasse corrigendum est in *exornandum* (scil. Rogatum eum, cui hic titulus positus est). – 1703: Ego certe non dixerim nomen *Varaei* idem esse ac nomen notum *Varii*; neque *Annaeos* eosdem esse ac *Annios* putare velim. De forma *Varaeia* cf. *Peducaeius* in titulo *CIL* II² 5, 743.

Liber totus scriptus est lingua Latina satis eleganti et quae facile intelligatur. Observavi tamen etiam quaedam quae mihi minus Latine dicta esse videbantur. Ut exempla quaedam proferam, nota haec: 1207: Verba *mihi re ... contemplata ... videtur* etc. mihi minus bene videntur esse dicta ideo, quod *contemplari* est verbum deponens. – 1303: "Recognovi a. 1985 et interdum inter reposita … collocatam … a. 1998": hic Alföldy videtur uti vocabulo *interdum* pro "inzwischen", id quod non putaverim esse probandum. – 1360: "ubi corona incipitur" (pro *incipit*). – 1419: "nescio, qua causa scripsit" (pro *scripserit*). – 1660: "(titulus) Tarraconis paganus postremus" (melius fuisset *inter Tarraconenses*). Typographo potius quam ipsi Alföldy attribuenda sine dubio sunt 1360 "in ea altitudina … ad undum (= ?) recipiendum" vel 1587 "Litt(eram) T altera omisit" et similia.

At haec quae supra dixi omnia sunt minoris, nisi minimi, momenti, et, ut iam finem faciam huic censurae, concludendum sine dubio est agi de libro non optimo solum sed etiam utilissimo, qui honori erit tam memoriae ipsius Alföldy quam Academiae Berolinensi, cuius "consilio et auctoritate" editus est.

Olli Salomies

Ancient Ethnography: New Approaches. Edited by Eran Almagor – Joseph Skinner. Bloomsbury, London – New York 2013. ISBN 978-1-84966-890-3. VIII, 279 pp. GBP 58.

This rich and inspiring new collection of articles, counting among its contributors the foremost scholars on ancient ethnographical writing, is a timely demonstration of the state of research in a field which is not only naturally diverse in subject matter, but also undergoing some very significant realignments. Aptly, the editors' compact but incisive "Introduction" is well annotated and forms a valuable introduction to the study of ancient ethnography (pp. 3–12). Even more importantly, the book is true to its title in calling into question many of the received wisdoms of previous scholarship,

and opens up important new questions. That only some of these can be explored within the scope of its sections, simply underlies the many-sided attention deserved by – and in the future, hopefully devoted to – this complex subject.

As the editors stress, the root of any fruitful modern study of ancient ethnographical writing is to recognize that we are not dealing with a self-standing genre or form of enquiry, but rather with an assemblage of textual registers and literary conventions that provided a bountiful toolkit for writers in many different modes for advancing their authorial strategies. Taken together, the book very much manages to provide a welcome middle-of-the-road view about ancient descriptions of foreign populations between the often starkly-painted and barely reconcilable modern studies – very much the sort of study, in fact, which the reviewer was left hoping for in the wake of Isaac's *The Invention of Racism* (Princeton 2004) and Gruen's *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity* (Princeton 2011); see *Arctos* 45 (2011) 235ff.

Structured in four parts, titled "Beginnings", "Responses", "Transformations", and "Receptions", the book does a better job than some edited volumes in linking together the contributions which otherwise could have appeared rather disparate. The first part, unlike the rest, consists of only two (rather than of three) chapters, the first of which is Huyn Jin Kim's "The Invention of the 'Barbarian' in the Late Sixth-Century BC Ionia". In his current contribution Kim, a specialist on Herodotus whose 2009 monograph was reviewed in *Arctos* 47 (2013), situates the roots of the Greek-barbarian dichotomy in Persian-ruled Ionia, thus backdating Edith Hall's contextualization of this process within the slightly later Athenian drama. As Kim demonstrates, the Ionian intellectual interactions with the Eastern Mediterranean, particularly the 'proto-ethnographical' categorization of their subject peoples by the Persians, could have been quite crucial for the emergence of the imagery of βάρβαρος, and even the word itself (pp. 32–6). The same geographical sphere, though in its Herodotean guise, is the setting for Kostas Vlassopoulos' "The Stories of the Others", which very much follows the broader outlines of his recent *Greeks and Barbarians* (Cambridge 2013), which focuses on the concrete globalizing/glocalizing connections between cultural spheres and polities of the Levant. By examining examples of the various ways that stories from the 'middle ground' between the Greeks and other groups ended up in Herodotus' text, Vlassopoulos shows very convincingly how individuals and groups exchanging stories, forging cross-cultural careers, and jostling for prestige shaped the pool of lore from which Herodotus took large amounts of his 'ethnographic' material.

"Looking at the Other: Visual Mediation and Greek Identity in Xenophon's *Anabasis*" (Rosie Harman) casts an eye on Xenophon's techniques of using 'gaze' and acts of looking to construct and deconstruct ethnic representations. The Ten Thousand are not only Greeks in a sea of barbarians, building their Hellenic identity through the recognition of being the objects of the barbarian gaze, but as Harman well demonstrates, the audience is also frequently called to question the image of a unified or uniform Greek identity as well as their relationship to their foreign employer, Cyrus. Even so, this competent examination of the different cases could perhaps use more analysis concerning the extent to which Xenophon's authorial, retrospective intentions have shaped the description of actual displays and acts of viewing between Greeks and barbarians.

Paul Kosmin's "Apologetic Ethnography: Megasthenes' *Indica* and the Seleucid Elephant" is a fascinating approach to one of the most famous and influential ethnographic monographs of antiquity, focusing on its political subtext. Kosmin reads the 'elephant politics' of the Seleucids

with great acuity, and provides, among other valuable points, a well-argued interpretation of the Hellenistic propaganda behind the so-called Adulis Inscription (pp. 107–8). In this, Kosmin's contribution augments very nicely the recent monograph by Glen Bowersock (*The Throne of Adulis*), who misses the chance to explain that the focus on the Indian elephants of an undefined enemy in Ptolemy III's inscription is precisely a reflection of the Seleucid-Lagid pachyderm rivalry. In terms of ancient ethnography, what is obtained is a nuanced picture of the techniques available for writers in the ethnographic register to modulate and foreground different elements in order to propagate a particular political agenda.

Jacek Rzepka devotes his "Monstrous Aetolians and Aetolian Monsters" to a technically Greek group that nonetheless was frequently cast as semi-barbarian or barbarian, the Aetolians. By examining variant traditions about individual Aetolians, especially the shepherd-strongman Titormus and the (anachronistic) Aetolarch Polycritus, Rzepka uncovers convincing traces of Aetolians offering their own, doctored perspectives on certain figures, and negotiating their own inclusion in the Greek sphere through such stories. The same certainly seems to have happened with the Aetolian manipulation of narratives connected with the Gallic attack against Delphi (see Champion *AJPh* 116 [1995] 213–20).

"Ethnography and the Gods in Tacitus' *Germania*" (Greg Woolf), a nuanced exploration of one of the most famous pieces of ethnographic writing with a particular attention to matters of 'religion' (a category that Woolf succinctly reminds us is in its ancient guise far more complicated than usually supposed). Woolf notes how the vocabulary of Tacitus, while also partly carrying over choices made already by Caesar, nonetheless often evokes similarities with Roman expressions and terminology, even when it offsets the descriptions with the familiar tropes of 'hard primitivism'. Tacitus' ethnographical 'Darkest Europe' (p. 144) turns out to be full of ambiguities, and Woolf's analysis of the passages on Nerthus, the Suebian "Isis", and the Alci reveals very well the inconsistencies inherent in its description. As Woolf points out (p. 146), despite the parallelisms with actual archaeological remains of Iron Age religiosity of North European groups, *Germania* should not be read as a work of religious ethnography: its aims and focus is somewhere else altogether.

The contribution of the co-editor Eran Almagor, titled "'But This Belongs to Another Discussion': Exploring the Ethnographic Digression in Plutarch's *Lives*" turns our attention to a very important aspect of ethnographical writing – namely, the textual framing of an ethnographical digression. The case studies under closer scrutiny are the *Lives* of Camillus, Theseus, and Pompey, with the ethnographical elements focusing, respectively, upon Gauls, Greeks themselves, and the Caucasian Albanians and Amazons. Understanding how ethnographic excurses are introduced and closed brings clear benefits, among other situations, in those cases where ethnographical elements from a fragmentary author need to be correctly recognized and delineated; one obvious example of this would be Posidonius. Even more importantly, however, Almagor reveals how in Plutarch's case the digressions are skilfully organised and sampled to constitute a crucial layer of signification within the biographical texts. This well-written case study of Plutarch only highlights the need to explore the form and role of ethnographical digressions in other authors' *oeuvre* with equal attention.

"Ethnography and Authorial Voice in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*" (Katerina Oikonomopoulou) looks at a text which has preserved a delightful but in many ways extremely challenging

selection of ethnographical snippets from a range of fragmentary authors. Hence, the importance of understanding Athenaeus' technique of selection and reference is plain to see. Mimicking the flux of ideas of associations that would have taken place in a convivial or symposiac setting, as well as the encyclopaedic breadth of the peoples covered, Athenaeus' ethnographic elements are very usefully linked by Oikonomopoulou to Imperial miscellanistic writing. She also demonstrates how the sophist's authorial presence is much heavier in the ethnographical section of Book 4, casting Athenaeus himself as an inheritor of Herodotus, yet also a writer constructing new significations for his inherited elements.

Focusing on a completely different setting than his recent *The Invention of Ancient Ethnography* (Oxford 2012), the co-editor Joseph Skinner's richly annotated contribution to this volume, "Imperial Visions, Imagined Pasts: Ethnography and Identity on India's North-Western Frontier", is a study that rewards the reader with several new insights, especially when it comes to mediating 'middle-ground' imaginings of an ethnographic nature (especially in Kafiristan, whose inhabitants were argued to be descended from Alexander's Greeks). The chapter demonstrates very well how the contents of ancient ethnographical writing could be transformed into something approaching scholarly mythologies within the nascent, imperialist-sponsored fields of ethnography and anthropology (cf. p. 206). British India, Afghanistan, and Persia likewise form the backdrop to the next chapter, Thomas Harrison's "Exploring Virgin Fields", which charts the varying reception of Orientalist tropes in the ethnographical vision of the famous Rawlinson brothers – one, Henry, practical, the other, George, theoretical. Despite all their circularity and essentialism in writing about contemporary peoples (especially the Persians) through their classically-tinted glasses, what Harrison brings out very well are the surprising nuances and ambiguities that emerge from their views.

Emma Dench's short, incisive closure to the volume, "The Scope of Ancient Ethnography" is perhaps the most thought-provoking chapter in the book. It manages not only to summarize many of the approaches and results of this wide-ranging work, but also charts things the previous contributors sidestepped: the challenges and pitfalls in our conception of the boundaries of ancient ethnographical writing. She doesn't hesitate to point out oversimplifications found in current scholarship, and the reader is left feeling grateful for this. Overall, this volume wisely refrains from defining the limits of ancient ethnography, and in so doing manages to dispel many long-standing dichotomies between barbarians and non-barbarians, and between 'literary' and 'factual' types of ethnographical knowledge.

Antti Lampinen

New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare. Edited by Garrett G. Fagan – Matthew Trumble. Brill, Leiden – Boston 2010. ISBN 978-90-04-18598-2. XIII, 372 pp., 26 figs. EUR 140, USD 199.

The book is an offspring of the AIA/APA conference Joint Panel in 2007, reinforced with a few specially commissioned articles. The contributions take a wide look at different aspects of ancient warfare from chariots of the early first millennium BCE to Caesar and the Helvetian campaign. The articles do not address a specific set of debates or issues but are instead stand-alone pieces, although very good as such. Consequently, no conclusions are presented that would tie the articles together.

Even so, the editors succeed in their introduction to provide a context for the articles that follow. To single out some of the ten articles contained in the volume: The first article, by Fernando Echevarría Rey, discusses technological determinism in the study of ancient warfare. Belief in technological determinism implies that tactics and fighting techniques are determined by technological changes in arms and armour. Rey presents a good case for assuming that warfare is a much more complex issue than the sum of the technological accoutrements of war used. However, the technological determinism the author criticizes so vehemently and so well is partly a straw man; fortunately, instances of a pure deterministic approach tend to be very rare nowadays.

Christopher Tuplin, in an article of 82 pages, presents the longest contribution in the book – more than twice as long as the second longest chapter. The chapter is a judicious and thorough reconsideration of Achaemenid cavalry. Tuplin's conclusions are also worth noting, as he cautions against overestimating the role, effectiveness or importance of the cavalry in the Persian army. The King's cavalry was not that special, although that is how it is still often perceived in modern scholarship. His article is well worth reading for all those interested in the Achaemenid period in general.

Louis Rawlings's piece on the Carthaginian navy is an interesting consideration of the nature of the Carthaginian sea-power and culture and the role of the navy. He succeeds in highlighting how little we actually know about the Carthaginian navy, placing it in a wider context as part of the military culture and as a tool of power politics of the Carthaginians in an interesting way.

The last two chapters, Nathan Rosenstein's on phalanges in Rome and David Potter's on Caesar and the Helvetians, are also worth noting. Rosenstein challenges the orthodox view of the development of the manipular legion. His case rests on theorizing and rationalizing but his arguments are well thought through and logical even though, by necessity, he also makes many suppositions.

Potter focuses on Caesar and the Helvetian campaign as a springboard for a discussion of the introduction of cohorts. He also makes the interesting observation that it is as important to acknowledge the change in the nature of legionary recruitment after the Social War from a system based on social class to a more regional one in explaining the nature of Roman armies as it is to take into account the Marian reforms. He also underlines the way Roman armies in different theatres under different leaders adopted diverse fighting styles.

All in all, the articles in this book constitute an interesting contribution to the ongoing discussion on ancient warfare and are part of the welcome phenomenon of bringing warfare back to the study of war in antiquity.

Joonas Sipilä

Alfonso Mele: *Greci in Campania*. I Quaderni di Oebalus 5. Scienze e lettere, Roma 2014. ISBN 978-88-6687-069-2. XIII, 399 pp. EUR 65.

Con questo volume Alfonso Mele, benemerito studioso della Grecia arcaica e della colonizzazione nonché del mondo italico tra ellenizzazione e romanizzazione, ci offre una sintesi della grecità campana dalle prime colonie alla graduale ellenizzazione delle regioni limitrofe attraverso i rapporti che i greci di Pitecusa, Cuma e Neapolis nonché quelli di Poseidonia ed Elea a sud del Sele mantenevano con i popoli indigeni dell'entroterra. Il volume ha alla base vari lavori pubblicati dall'autore stesso

in precedenza, che vengono elaborati sotto forma di integrazioni, ripensamenti e verifiche. Benché non sembri presentare novità assolute, il libro di Mele rimane un utile contributo sintetico su un argomento che da tempo meritava una trattazione del genere.

Mika Kajava

MARTHA C. TAYLOR: *Thucydides, Pericles, and the Idea of Athens in the Peloponnesian War.* Cambridge University Press, New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-76593-0 (hb). XII, 311 pp. 3 maps. GBP 50, USD 85.

Martha C. Taylor's book *Thucydides, Pericles, and the Idea of Athens in the Peloponnesian War* is a textual analysis of the classic type of Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War, and precisely for this reason I found this book refreshing. It is an accomplished, disciplined and detailed reading of Thucydides' text, meant to strengthen Taylor's main arguments, namely that in his work, Thucydides criticised "Pericles' radical redefinition of Athens as a city divorced from its traditional homeland of Attica" and that "Thucydides … repeatedly questions and discredits the Periclean vision." (p. 1). Given the fact that Thucydides' account is the most important source of our knowledge of the Peloponnesian War and the power politics of the era, and that Taylor's work is the first to consider the ancient historian as a critic of Pericles' vision of Athens as an empire based on its position as a major naval force of the Greek world, I find Taylor's study one of great importance.

The book is divided into an introduction followed by five main chapters. Taylor begins by analysing Thucydides' account of Pericles' view of Athens as "the sea and the city", an empire not reliant on its geographical status but rather on its citizens' ability to adjust themselves as Athenians of Athens, no matter what their actual location was. To demonstrate her argument, Taylor explores Thucydides' account of Pericles' speeches to Athenians, as well as Pericles' epitaph. In the following chapters, Taylor shows how after his death, Pericles' views still influenced the politics of later Athenian leaders until the end of the Peloponnesian War. Throughout her study, Taylor is able to show how Thucydides, explicitly or implicitly, expressed his disapproval of a view of Athens as a naval empire as well as of the Athenians' weakness of character in abandoning their motherland in exchange for status as a naval force and further, how this sentiment led the Athenians to disasters in Melos, Sicily and Samos.

Thucydides' language is probably most complex in the texts written in Attic prose. Taylor's detailed reading of this author is skilful and carefully considered and her arguments always seem valid. Her analysis thus seems convincing and certainly offers new insights to those studying the contemporary views of Periclean politics. For the benefit of those who do not read Greek, the author quotes Thucydides in English using her own translations. This book will thus be of interest both to classicists and to those interested in the history of political thought as well to those wishing to know more about the foundations of western democracy. A bibliography, an index, and an *index locorum* completes the book.

Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä

Mary T. Boatwright: *Peoples of the Roman World.* Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization. Cambridge University Press, New York 2012. ISBN 978-0-521-54994-3 (pb). 241 pp. EUR 17.99, USD 25.99 (pb).

As part of a series consisting of introductions to Roman social and cultural history, this book offers a compact and generously illustrated survey of five – not all – "peoples" of the Roman world, and of the process of how they became – or did not become – culturally annexed to Rome during its expansion in the period between the late Republic and the fourth century. The discussed groups are "northerners" (cf. below), Greeks, Egyptians, Jews, and Christians. In her discussion, Boatwright (henceforth B) examines not merely the aspect of the "Romanization" of a population while facing the reality of Roman occupation, but rather how the Romans tolerated multiculturalism, the undeniable consequence of their conquests. The author asks how the peoples discussed here were conceived of as communities, and at what level they were accepted as being part of "us" by the Romans, and which aspects, on the other hand, were considered as belonging to some non-Roman "other." The author also contemplates how the assimilation of non-Roman people affected these peoples' self-identification and, *vice versa*, how this process transformed the Romans' concept of their own culture and uniqueness.

Chapter 2 deals with the "northerners", a term which refers to various peoples living in the vast area outside the northern border of the Italian peninsula: Gauls, Germans, and Celts. In her discussion, B. emphasizes the Romans' ambivalent attitude towards these peoples. After the Gallic sack of Rome, at the latest, they were seen as extremely fierce and terrifying, but also admittedly strong and courageous and possessing admirable military skills, and yet innately inferior to Romans owing to their barbarism. Using abundant literary sources and archaeological evidence, the author points out that these stereotypical opinions about Gauls and other northerners prevailed long after these people were practically fully assimilated into Roman society, including its highest level, *e.g.* the emperor Antoninus Pius' family originating from Nemausus. The development of the relationship between Rome and the northerners is illustrated in sections titled "Roman Ideas of Northerners", "The Gallic Sack of Rome in 390 BCE", "Other Roman Hostilities with Northerners in Italy during the Republic", "Romans and Northerners across the Alps", "Germans and Gauls from Temperate Europe", "Julius Caesar, the War against Gaul, and Citizenship Issues", "The Lyon Tablet of 47/48 CE and Gallic Senators", "Germans and Others Farther North (and Northwest and Northeast)", "Northern Provinces and Resistance", "Romans and the Northerners, in the North and in Rome", and "Another Sack of Rome (410 CE) and Rome's Enduring Anxiety about Northerners."

The relationship between Greeks and Romans is very a different matter, and at many levels it seems relevant to ask if the Greeks in fact differ from the Romans at all, as the title of Chapter 3 "The Greeks, Different yet Alike" suggests. Culturally, on a general level, Greeks were admired, and the Greek language was never seen as a foreign language, but as a natural part of Roman upper class life. In addition, as B. points out, although being subjugated by the Romans, the Greeks were in many fields rather seen as conquerors. In her discussion, B. shows that there also were conservative Romans who saw Greekness as a threat to assumed traditional Roman values, such as rigour and self-control, a common opinion being that Greeks were soft and hedonistic; hence the "Greek interest in aesthetics and pleasures versus Roman discipline and organization" could be contrasted, *e.g.* by Cato and Iuvenal. Further, admiration of Greek arts and architecture did not prevent Sulla

from sacking Athens and Piraeus. In the case of the Greeks, there is also some evidence for how the Greeks themselves reacted to their status as conquered subjects and slaves to the Romans: bitterness and mistrust can be read in and between the lines in texts of Plutarch, Polybius, and Pausanias. However, by the time of the Severan dynasty, Greeks had inseparably became Romans (and *vice versa*): the Byzantines called themselves "Romans". These aspects are dealt with in chapters called "The Romans and Greek Language and Literature," "Rome's Conquest of the Greeks, Greeks' 'Conquest' of the Romans," "Rome's Duplicity toward Greece and Greeks in the Later Republic", "Rome's Evolving Discrimination among Greeks," "Greece and the Greek East as Roman Retreats," "Greeks in the Late Republic and Early Empire," "Anxieties about Roman and Greek Interaction," and "Synthesis of Greeks and Romans in the Later Empire."

Chapter 4 is titled "Egypt and Egyptians in Roman Imagination and Life". By the time Romans actually arrived in Egypt, it had been governed almost 300 years by descendants of Macedonian-Greeks. B. observes that before Caesar's time Egypt, with its "strange" culture and cults, was seen as a source of exoticism, and that there are no signs of anti-Egyptian sentiment in Rome, probably due to the lack of warfare between Rome and Egypt and the geographical distance. With the Cleopatra episode things changed, and in Augustus' propaganda the queen was seen as the embodiment of the opposite of Roman virtues, and the Egyptians' "animal-headed" gods were commonly ridiculed *e.g.* by Cicero. On the other hand, B. notes that at the same time in Rome and southern Italy architecture and the arts show signs of Egyptian influence, and that the cults of Serapis, Isis, and Harpocrates were popular among the Romans.

According to the author, Augustus made Egypt practically his personal property, and the province served as a source of grain and soldiers during the Empire, but was isolated at the same time: Romans could visit Egypt only with the special permission of the emperor, and Egyptians were kept apart from Roman institutions. Hence, Egyptians did not assimilate into Rome and its culture in the same way as *e.g*, the northerners did. As B. reminds us, our picture remains uneven, because Egypt was an extremely hierarchic society, Greek-speaking Alexandrians being on the top and native Egyptians in the countryside on the bottom, and the level of assimilation to Roman culture was most probably uneven between these groups.

The sections in Chapter 4 are titled "Ptolemaic Egypt during the Roman Republic", "Early Diplomatic and Other Interactions between Rome and Egypt", "Egyptomania in Italy", "Egyptian Cults in Rome", "Cleopatra and Rome", "Rome's Occupation of Egypt and Egyptians in Rome in the Early Empire", "Complexities of Status and Identity in Roman Egypt", and "Negative Early Imperial Attitudes toward Egypt and Egyptians".

Chapter 5 is titled "Jews – Political, Social, or Religious Threat, or No Threat at All". Herein B. discusses Jews, who had a special status in the Roman Empire: Jews, like Greeks and Egyptians, had their own ancient culture and traditions, but in contrast to those peoples it was much more problematic to assimilate the Jewish monotheistic culture into Roman ways, and the relationship between Jewish communities and the Romans was always more or less stormy, resulting in several revolts against Rome from the Jewish side and hostilities of various sorts towards the Jews from the Roman part. The complicated history of the relations between Rome and the Jews is discussed in the sections "Judaea and the Jews in the Second Century Mediterranean World", "Judea and Rome in the Late Republic and Early Empire", "Jews in the Late Republic", "The First Jewish Revolt", "The Aftermath of the First Jewish Revolt in Rome and Elsewhere", "Acceptance of Jews

in Late First-Century Rome?", "Other Jews in the Empire", "The Second and Third Jewish Revolts, 115–117 and 132–135", "Jews and the Romans after the Third Jewish Revolt", and "The Breakdown of Accommodation in the Late Fourth Century".

As stated in the title, Chapter 6 focuses on "Christians, a New People". Christians, while identifying themselves by their religion, were sometimes also seen as a new "race": they included adherents who crossed the limits of *e.g.* gender, social status, and geography, and thus, according to B., can be discussed as a people of their own. The transformation of Christianity from a cult of outsiders refusing to participate in Roman rituals to the ruling religion of the western world is illustrated in the chapters "The Earliest Roman Testimony about Christians", "Pliny's and Trajan's Letters about Christians in Bithynia", "Christian Martyrdoms", and "The Statewide Persecutions of 250–251, and 303–312/3".

Within 200 pages, one can only scratch the surface of any subject matter, but the author of this book manages to give a colourful picture of the people discussed in the book and of their relationship with Rome. After each chapter, the author offers a selection of "Suggested Further Reading"; the book is richly illustrated and includes useful maps, and an excellent glossary to the central names and phenomena discussed.

Tiina Purola

Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East. Oriens et Occidens 19. Edited by Ted Kaizer – Margherita Facella. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2010. ISBN 978-3-515-09715-4. 453 pp. EUR 71.

This collection of papers – of which most were originally presented during the colloquium *Client Kingdoms in the Roman Near East* at Corpus Christi College, Oxford (June 2004) – deals with various aspects of Roman indirect control of the territories adjunct to its eastern provinces. The publication has been divided into four distinct sections, and the papers have been thus labeled under the following headings: "Outlook", "Themes", "Case Studies", and "Variations and Alternatives". The focus of the papers is not so much on the general development of the Roman policy towards using client kings, but more on the regional conditions of the individual states in the Near East and how these affected their dependence vis-à-vis Rome.

In the extensive introduction (pp. 15–42), the editors discuss some details regarding the individual articles that follow, namely the semantic values of some Latin terms (such as *amicitia*), how the Romans chose to perceive the terms which they used to define their relations with client kings, and the general historical framework of the Roman Near Eastern client kingdoms. The editors stress that they have not demanded a uniform view related to the semantics of the terminology, but instead have welcomed differing interpretations of various issues, thus giving the work a multilateral approach to these topics. The first section ("Outlook") explores the general attitude towards client kings in the Roman world, and also how some of the client kings themselves understood their relationship with Rome from their own cultural perspective. In his paper, Olivier Hekster (pp. 45–55) examines how the Romans sometimes perceived their client kings as status symbols or ornaments to the State, occasionally even parading them before the Roman public, and whether there was a dif-

ferent attitude towards such 'ornamental client kings' in contrast to those who could actually provide some substantial aid when so needed. Richard Fowler (pp. 57–77), on the other hand, explores the situation of a Near Eastern dynast caught between Rome and Parthia. In his study of the reign of Izates of Adiabene, the continuously fluctuating situation in Near Eastern politics is emphasized, as are the challenges the local dynasts faced under such conditions. The different tools that dynasts had at their disposal are explored, such as the use of various titles, the exchange of gifts, and their deeper meaning in Near Eastern societies, as well as how these were used to create the illusion of dependent governance.

In the first paper of the next section ("Themes"), Andrea Raggi (pp. 81–97) explores the spread of Roman citizenship among the Eastern client kings. The author observes that such citizenship was first granted beginning with the time of Pompey, and that by the time of Augustus Roman citizenship had become a tool that directly tied client kings not just to the person of the emperor, but also to the Roman judicial system. The next paper, written by Karsten Dahmen (pp. 99–112), examines the coinage of various client kings and the messages their coinage promoted. This study of known issues shows that regional dynasts tended to present local cultural motives in their coin iconography, and also to style themselves in them according to the traditional eastern regnal imagery. It would seem that the dynasts had their subjects foremost in mind when they decided the style of their coin issues, while their allegiance to Rome could be publicized with generic coin legends in the form of regnal titles (such as *philoromaios*), while in a few cases a more personal connection to a specific emperor could also be paraded (with such legends as *philoklaudios* etc.). The paper also brings forth the important notion, that although the connection or submissiveness to Rome did not seem to have been publicized too much, underneath the public image the regional coinage did see a much more fundamental change with the extension of Roman power to the East. This occurred in the form of the standardization of weights and values of coinage, which made the local coinage interchangeable with regional Roman issues, and as such tied it to the Roman provincial monetary system. Next, the issue of the tutelary deities of the eastern ruling houses is explored by Ted Kaizer (pp. 113–24). This short piece provides some general thoughts about the self-promotion by the ruling houses of their connection with local deities in the Kushan kingdom, Characane, Commagene, Palmyra, Nabataea, and Hatra. In the last paper of this category, Llewelyn Morgan (pp. 125–35) discusses the image of Bithynia's wealth in Latin poetry, which became proverbial, as did its demoralizing effect on the Romans.

The second section ("Case Studies") begins with the paper of Rolf Strootman (pp. 139–57), who examines the so called 'Donations of Alexandria' (34 BCE) from the Hellenistic point of view. In this study, the author argues that the ceremony was part of a long-standing Hellenistic tradition of self-aggrandizement, which promoted Ptolemaic superiority in the hierarchy of the Eastern dynasts, instead of being intended as a claim of universal world power in the spirit of Alexander the Great. The next paper, by Andrea Primo (pp. 159–79), studies the kingdom of Pontus in the period between the death of Mithridates VI Eupator (63 BCE) and the annexation of Pontus as a Roman province (64/65 CE). This paper explores some noteworthy topics, such as the continued political connection between Pontus and Bosporus, the importance of the memory of Mithridates Eupator to the local population, and the Roman preference to retain the established order by allowing the Pontic dynasts that had been installed by Pompey and Marc Antony to retain their kingdom(s) under Iulius Caesar and Augustus. Although this paper has its merits, it also suffers from minor handicaps, some

of which seemingly originate from the original draft being translated from Italian into English (cf. below). The paper repeatedly refers to Queen Dynamis as a niece of Mithridates Eupator (twice on page 161, once on pages 162, 165, and 167), although she was actually his grand-daughter (interestingly, this fact is correctly quoted from Braund on page 161 n. 22). In a similar fashion, Darius of Pontus is also referred to as a nephew of Mithridates (p. 162), while he was actually another grandchild of Eupator, and Zeno as a nephew of Antonia (p. 170), while he too was actually a grandson and not a nephew. I can only assume that an outside (i.e. non-classicist) translator has decided to translate the Italian *nipote* as nephew/niece, while the term also means grandson/granddaughter. There are also several points where the original thought seems to have been lost in mid-sentence, which has led to slightly corrupted sentences that are occasionally hard to follow. Thus on page 164, it is stated that Polemo provided help to Antony in "his clashes with Artavasdes II from Media in 35 BC", which is a reference to Antony's conflict with Artavasdes II of Armenia, after his unsuccessful Median campaign. Again on page 166, when discussing the marriages of Polemo I, the author states that "It is known that Polemo I married Pythodoris at one time", while assumedly what is meant is that Polemo married Pythodoris at some *unknown* point of time. Likewise there are several minor mistakes, such as in the opening sentence where the scope of the study is stated to extend from "the death of Mithridates to its [i.e. Pontic kingdom's] definitive disappearance in 65-64 BC", while clearly the end of the client kingdom in 64/65 CE is meant, and again on page 173 where Cotys is referred to as sovereign of Armenia, while he was king of Armenia Minor only.

In the following paper by Margherita Facella (pp. 181–97), the advantages and disadvantages of Commagene being an allied kingdom to Rome are explored. The first half of the paper examines the display of loyalty and affiliation to Rome (especially in the regnal titulature), while the second half concentrates on the fate of Commagene at the edge of the Roman world. Andreas Kropp (pp. 199–216), on the other hand, provides an archaeological approach to the society of Emesa and its adoption of Roman building techniques into traditional local building styles, and examines the deeper meaning of these hybrid buildings methods. The next piece, written by Michael Sommer (pp. 217–26), concentrates on second century Osrhoene, and explores its transformation from a Parthian buffer zone into a Roman one. The major problem with this piece is that Sommer's reconstruction of Osrhoene's history and his research questions are almost all based on the hypothetical reconstruction provided by Andreas Luther (*Klio* 81 [1999] 180–98; 437–54), while he does not question its accuracy at any point. This is highly problematic, as Sommer seems to be oblivious to the contradiction that exists between the two principal lines of interpretation in this area, namely those of Luther and Fergus Millar. It would seem to be prudent to at least slightly address this issue here: in his research, Luther has argued in favor of supplementing the rather detailed Osrhoenian chronology provided by the eighth-century chronicle of Zuqnin with the more fragmentary early eleventh-century chronicle by Elias of Nisibis. Luther's argument relied on the fact that the reigns of kings in Elias' chronicle were inserted in the correct Seleucid years, while those provided by the chronicle of Zuqnin were clearly erratic, at least in comparison to other known events. What Luther did not seem to be aware of was Millar's examination (in *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337* [1996] 112–13, 559–61) of this comparative chronological contradiction, which he was able to show was caused by the scribe's insertion of different source material in the wrong order, thus causing the second century historical

events of Osrhoene to be roughly 26 years out of place. Furthermore, Luther's reconstruction relied heavily on his assumption that Elias' chronology was absolutely correct in every point (and that the chronicle of Zuqnin must thus be wrong), while at the same time some of the reigns he adopted from the chronicle of Zuqnin were argued to have duplicated regnal years so that the information would fit his model. But Luther did not seem to be aware that Elias actually had several entries on the wrong years, like the Jewish uprising in northern Mesopotamia in late Trajanic period, which Elias had dated to the Seleucid year 425 (i.e. 113/114 CE) which is two years too early, or the reigns of Domitian and Nerva, which are both placed one year too early. Although Luther's research has some merit, especially for the first century history of Osrhoene, there is no reason to accept his arguments for the second century, where the chronicle of Zuqnin clearly provides a more detailed version of events. Clearly there is a need for more in-depth research on the Aramaic chronicles and their common chronological misunderstandings, but as of now, much of what Sommer has to say about the history of Osrhoene must be rejected, as it is based on inaccurate research.

In the first paper of the last section ("Variations and Alternatives"), Jean-Baptiste Yon (pp. 229–40) discusses the lack of kings in Palmyra and the social structure of the desert town. In this paper, the author stresses the rather unique conditions in Palmyra, including its dependence on trade and the complicated relations between the local tribes, which in part explains why the town did not grow into monarchy in a similar fashion as other urban centers at the edge of the desert and the Steppe. The last and the longest paper is that by Ulf Scharrer (pp. 241–335), which explores the development of nomadic culture on the edge of the Roman territories. Although the approach to the subject matter is a bit more anthropological in comparison to the other papers in this collection, it does provide an insightful view of the nomadic groups, and of the growth of nomadic confederations in the Syrian and Arabian deserts until the fourth century, while at the same time offering a good introduction to some more specialized research fields, such as Safaitic inscriptions, for those unfamiliar with this kind of evidence. What makes this paper a quite refreshing read is its tendency to point out every controversy and dispute in the academic discussion it covers, instead of presenting hypothetical theories as historical facts.

At the end of the book (pp. 337–453), a general bibliography covering all the papers, an index of sources, a list of contributors, a list of figures, and numerous plates related to the articles are provided. Many of the papers in this collection do offer important additions and new points of view to the various subjects that they deal with. As such, they contribute to the larger on-going debate that has continued ever since the days of Antiquity, namely how the Near Eastern societies reacted to the arrival of Rome, and also how the Romans perceived their new allies and subject peoples.

Kai Juntunen

CRISTINA ROSILLO LÓPEZ: *La corruption à la fin de la République romaine (IIe–Ier s. av. J. -C.). Aspects politiques et financiers*. Historia Einzelschrift 200. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2010. 276 pp. ISBN 978-3-515-09127-5. 276 pp. EUR 60.

Cristina Rosillo López's book is based on her dissertation. It is a fascinating study of a complex phenomenon of corruption which discusses how should one define it and the forms that phenomenon

took in Roman society. In general, López's research has been systematic and the author has thoroughly explored her sources including what has been done in the social sciences.

In the introduction (pp. 15-48) the author presents the sources of her research material and explores the different definitions to corruption in modern and Roman time (pp. 16–23). It seems that the most cited definition to corruption is composed by J.S. Nye (1967): "Corruption is behavior which deviates from the formal duties or a public role because of private rewarding (personal, close family, private clique), pecuniary or status gains; or violates rules against the exercise of certain types of private rewarding influence" (pp. 16–17). As for Rome, the author assures us that there was a lot of corruption during the Republic, although some scholars would apparently not agree. The discussion of terminology is also comprehensive. In the chapters which follow Cristina Rosillo López examines in detail four aspects of corruption: electoral, political, juristic and financial.

The second chapter (p. 49ff) covers electoral corruption during the third and second century AD in the Republic. The author explores the different kind of forms that the corruption emerges in the Roman society after the Second Punic War. Several ancient authors such as Varro, Livy and especially Cicero, are quoted and used as a source material in this chapter. The author shows that *according to our sources* electoral corruption was not only limited to isolated cases. Corruption was as evident in elections as it was in political life in general. Indeed, the following chapter (p. 87ff) explores the corruption in political life. Main themes in this third chapter are the forms of corruption (p.88ff), the prevention of the corruption (p. 107ff) and the legal measures against political corruption (p. 115ff). The author also considers aspects of who were the people that were corrupted (p. 136ff) and with what they were corrupted with (p. 143ff). The fourth chapter (p. 155ff) focuses on corruption in the Roman courts. According to the author, especially during the years 122–70 BC, the Romans were aware of corruption in the courts and tried to prevent it in various ways (p. 155ff, 163ff). These two chapters (3 and 4) seem to be the most important ones in the book and they both include several subdivisions.

Chapter five (p. 179ff) draws attention to the financial sector. An interesting discussion concerns the senators' ability to finance their lifestyle and political life. In this chapter, Rosillo López turns to the classical question: Roman senators and their relationship to commerce and money. This chapter also explores from another angle the needs and demands of the circulation of money, and, of course, the emergence of monetary culture in general. It also presents some aspects of the history of the credit culture. In chapter six (p. 231ff) Rosillo López comes to the conclusion that monetization of Roman World in third and second century BC fostered corruption, in electoral, political and financial life. Corruption emerges especially during turbulent times in financial sector, and the Romans were aware of this phenomenon and problems that it caused.

In conclusion, here and there I would have preferred to see more analysis, and there are places and details were I disagree with the author. However, the book does cover almost every angle of corruption in Rome in the chosen period. It is well -written, the author systematically presents her evidence in a systematic way, and her references are most informative. Rosillo López's book covers an interesting aspect of Roman antiquity.

Katja Varakas

Von der militia equestris *zur* militia urbana. *Prominenzrollen und Karrierefelder im antiken Rom.*
Beiträge einer internationalen Tagung vom 16. bis 18. Mai 2008 an der Universität zu Köln. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Blösel – Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2011.
ISBN 978-3-515-09686-7. 237 S. EUR 48.

As one can see from the title of this book, what we have here are the acts of a colloquium held in the
University of Cologne. The book begins with an introduction by Hölkeskamp. In contrast to many
introductions in similar publications, which often tend to be summaries of the contributions that follow, the author does not seem to say much about the contents of the contributions in this book (one
observes, e. g., that although many of the publications of J.-M. David are cited here, the same author's contribution in this particular volume is not mentioned). Instead, this is an introduction to the
concepts "Prominenzrollen" and "Karrierefelder". This is an interesting and illuminating contribution, although it must be admitted that it is at places a bit on the theoretical side, with Bourdieu (cited
in German translations) and other thinkers being often adduced; and some non-German readers may
find its modern academic German of the more *recherché* type a bit hard to follow.

Of the contributions that follow, there is much of interest in that of M. McDonnell on
"*Virtus* as a Specialization in the Middle Republic" (p. 29ff.), intended to illustrate the concept
of *virtus*, its evolution, and on which basis one could become seen as representing some aspect
of *virtus*; however, my impression is that the author does not strictly keep to his subject proper at
all times (e. g., p. 34 on "what the Roman cavalry was like"; pp. 38-40, on Lutatius Catulus and
Marius). In his paper on the "militärische Führungsschicht" around 100 BC (p. 43ff.), V. Parker studies the development of a military "ruling class" which was based on military experience and talent
in general rather than on nobility. In a way, this topic is continued in the contribution of W. Blösel
on the "Demilitarisierung" of the Roman nobility from Sulla to Caesar (p. 55ff.). However, this
article also has two further aims, both of great interest: on the one hand, the author intends to show
that the separation, normally postulated in modern scholarship, of an urban office and a provincial
promagistrature is "nicht historisch". On the other hand, the author intends to show that the normal
assumption that consuls and praetors declined a subsequent provincial appointment only in some
rare exceptional cases is incorrect; on the contrary, this refusal to go to a province represented a
widespread "Karrieremuster". The exposition, supported by several informative tables, seems most
convincing.

L. De Blois (p. 81ff.) goes on by studying "the changing position of the military middle
cadre in Roman politics at the end of the Republic", with "middle cadre" here meaning tribunes,
prefects and centurions (the point of lumping these groups together is discussed on p. 83f.). The
questions asked are whether Caesar and other commanders used these officers to "manipulate military masses" and, if so, how they were rewarded and whether rewarding them had an impact on their
"social status and political influence" (p. 82). The author's conclusion seems to be that whereas Caesar and Antony certainly can be seen as having promoted their officers in various ways, Octavian's
political programme did not allow him to "take the risk of widespread upward social mobility of
military middle cadres, particularly of centurions" (p. 91). This contribution also includes a discussion of the problematic passage *civ.* 1,39,2-4.

The title of R. Schulz' paper (p. 93ff.) on the exploitation of the provinces by Roman governors begins with the Latin quotation "Rapaces magistratus?", where the questionmark could be in-

terpreted as implying that all governors may not have been that rapacious. However, the point of this article is clearly not to pursue this aspect, for in line 2 we are told that the governors' rapaciousness is not something to be questioned but "gilt als eine Grundtatsache (sic!) der Römischen Geschichte". In this paper, the author studies the opportunities afforded to provincial governors during the late Republic to make some money in their province; he concludes that it was the provinces offering the prospect of warfare, rather than the pacified provinces in the interior, that were the most lucrative. In his study of the role of senators in the "economic life" of the late Republic, H. Schneider (p. 113ff.) discusses not only their various business options but also stresses the huge cost of living for a senator supporting a lifestyle befitting his rank.

In an article which is described as summary of the main results of the author's book *Den Vätern folgen. Sozialisation und Erziehung der republikanischen Senatsaristokratie* (2011), P. Scholz studies (p. 137ff.) the ways in which a Roman could acquire a way of life that could be described as *vita honesta* (it goes without saying that the discussion is of the highest classes). This is a most interesting and instructive exposition which, however, is at places marred by the author's apparent lapse into a philosophical mood, with the result that he spends half a page on the elucidation of the concept of "knowledge" ("Wissen", p. 138 n. 4; cf. n. 11 on whether the term "väterliche Praxis" should be preferred to "väterliches Handeln", n. 12 on "Familie"). On p. 153, the author interestingly suggests that what is often described as the "Hellenization" of the Roman upper classes from the 2nd century onwards should preferably be called "Intellektualisierung".

In the only contribution in French, J.-M. David (p. 157ff.) studies the role and importance, from the point of view of one's career, of the "éloquence judiciaire" in the late Republic. This contribution also includes a section on the *accusatores*, of whom the author observes (p. 163; cf. 165) that the accusation "ne constituait pas une spécialisation dans la pratique de l'éloquence". He also concludes that one cannot really speak of *patroni* specializing on defending. On a more detailed level, I am not sure that the translation (p. 167) "orateur assez médiocre" catches the meaning of *rabula sane probabilis.*

The paper of E. Stein-Hölkeskamp (p. 175ff.) turns to the senators (but does not exclude prominent equestrians) of the early imperial period, and deals mainly with those senators who modern scholars, used to honorific inscriptions setting out the details of one's career but rarely illustrating the personality of the honorands, might think of as exceptional: senators who refrained from pursuing senatorial careers, senators who dedicated themselves to intellectual pursuits such as writing poetry (including tragedies, p. 185), as are familiar, e.g., from the letters of Pliny (and touched upon also in the contribution of M. Roller). The author tends to see the proliferation of senators and equestrians dedicated to rhetoric and literature and similar pastimes as an evolution of sorts resulting in the following situation: "Die hergebrachten Rollen, die auf Erfolgen in Politik und Krieg beruhten, wurden durch neue Prominenzrollen etwa als Redner, Literaten und Protagonisten eines kultivierten Lebensstils teils ergänzt, teils ersetzt". To a certain degree this is surely true; however, this of course does not mean that Republican senators could not have been interested in things other than politics and war (one thinks of, e.g., the senators discussing *res rusticae* in Varro's work on the subject).

Finally, the contribution of M. Roller (p. 197ff.) deals with the "Changing Venues of Competitive Eloquence in the Early Empire". With the evolution from Republic to Empire, orators, or at

least senatorial orators, lost many of the traditional opportunities for displaying oratory in public on offer to their Republican predecessors; as a result, "the focus of competitive aristocratic eloquence turned inward, away from public audiences and toward other members of the aristocratic group", the Senate, rather than the Forum, now becoming "the primary audience judging an orator's success or failure" (p. 204). However, as pointed out by the author, this does not of course mean that the need for "vigorous, dramatic oratory" (p. 206) would have been nonexistent, especially in senatorial trials (much of the exposition here is based on Pliny). In addition, there were of course also civil courts dealing with minor matters (succession, property, etc.). The author has interesting things to say about the surge in prestige of the centumviral court, which for Pliny appears to be as important as an "arena for competitive reputation-building" as the senatorial court (p. 209). The paper finishes off with a section, based on the *Dialogus*, on the question whether a senator should prefer poetry to advocacy (cf. the contribution of Stein-Hölkeskamp) and on the role of recitation and declamation, the author e.g. observing that pursuing declamation did not (necessarily) mean abandoning "real" oratory (cf. p. 219 on Q. Haterius). This contribution also includes an interesting reference to *contiones* during the Empire (p. 203 n. 14).

The book is rounded off by a recapitulation ("Versuch einer Bilanz") by U. Walter (p. 223ff.). Whereas similar contributions, often found at the end of conference publications, tend to merely repeat what is said in the preceding papers, in this case the author adds many points not made elsewhere in the book. This is an impressive contribution, and those who do not find the time to read the whole book should concentrate on this paper. The only thing I wonder about is the tendency of the author to quote word-for-word lengthy passages from the other contributions in his notes (e.g., p. 227 nn. 23, 24; 229 n. 36, etc.), although it is true that this may well be of use to those who in the future will use only an offprint of this paper instead of the whole book.

In conclusion, clearly this particular colloquium was planned with great care, as this book – its result – is not just a collection of miscellaneous articles but a collection of papers with a clear focus, often illustrating each other and in any case dealing with a subject of great interest. An index would therefore certainly have been desirable.

Olli Salomies

The Emperor and Rome: Space, Representation, and Ritual. Yale Classical Studies 35. Edited by Björn C. Ewald – Carlos F. Noreña. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-51953-3 (hb). XVIII, 365 pp. USD 99.

The spatial turn in the humanities has, like many other "turns" that preceded it, run through the usual phases of enthusiasm, energy, exploration, (partial) disappointment and consolidation. The current volume, now already a few years old, shows the hallmarks of the consolidation phase. An immensely distinguished cast (with the likes of Paul Zanker and Werner Eck) has been assembled to investigate the spatial dimension of the emperor's presence in Rome. Like the Republican nobleman, who sought to immemorialize himself and his family with *munificentia publica*, the Roman emperor would seek to leave his imprint on the city. In contrast, however, the emperor had not only vast resources at his disposal, but also the time, energy, and power to push through much larger

plans than his Republican predecessors, who had to make do with a temple or some such. The twelve chapters in this volume explore this theme through the expected explorations of public monuments and monumentalization (Zanker, Eck, Mayer), both as signs of the power of the emperor, his relationship with the people, and the prestige of the Senate. Other chapters present potentially more intriguing propositions, such as monuments whose addressants had since fallen from favor (Marlowe, Fittchen), or how a monumental building program could turn against its maker, such as Nero (Flaig). Two articles are somewhat more traditional topographical studies, exploring the history of a single monument or a building program (Packer, Boatwright). Some are interesting in pointing out the obvious, such as the momentous change that occurred when the Republican principle of having no standing army inside the *pomerium* was cast aside, and the massive barracks of the praetorian guard would stand as a reminder of the physical power of the emperor (Koortbojian). Two chapters present the curious phenomenon of the imperial funeral in Rome (D'Ambra, Arce).

The volume stands as a very interesting contribution to the historical topography of Rome and provides a view of the *Stand der Lehre* at this point. Evaluated as it is now, some six years after publication, it is clear that some of the novelty of the ideas presented has been dented with the passage of time. Many useful insights and interesting facts may be learned from all of them, but the chapters have a somewhat uneven quality. The illustrations are very numerous, however the over a hundred figures and photographs show a similarly uneven quality, as some are new, up to date, and high quality illustrations, while others are reproductions of often seen plans from general works. All in all, the volume is a worthwhile addition to the study of Roman topography.

Kaius Tuori

Leonardo de Arrizabalaga y Prado: *The Emperor Elagabalus - Fact or Fiction?* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-89555-2. XXXVIII, 381 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

Varius Avitus Bassianus, or to give him his imperial name, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, has been known to later generations as the notorious and decadent Elagabalus or Heliogabalus (218–222). The *damnatio memoriae* after Elagabalus' death has left modern scholarship reliant on ancient historiography. This in turn has resulted in several studies on the subject of the credibility of the accounts of ancient historians during the last decades. One of them is Martijn Icks's *The Crimes of Elagabalus: The Life and Legacy of Rome's Decadent Boy Emperor* (I.B. Tauris 2011), which concentrates more on the *Nachleben* of Elagabalus.

The book under review is divided into six parts: "Exposition" (pp. 1–24) presents the methodology; "Explosion" explores the relevant historiography by Cassius Dio, Herodian, etc. (pp. 25-56); "Constitution" is an inquiry into Elagabalus' reign on the basis of epigraphy, numismatics, papyri and sculpture (57-161); "Speculation" presents a reconstruction of the events of Elagabalus' reign (162-259); "Findings in contexts" mirrors the results especially against the whole of the Severan period (260-84); and the final chapter "Appendices" presents a chronology of the reign and adds some further material in the form of lists (pp. 285–360).

In "Exposition", Arrizabalaga states that "No allegation of ancient historiography about this emperor is here considered true unless proven". This is tested with a sort of a binary question board, which puts ancient historiography to the test bit by bit. The ancient texts are simplified into propositions of which the author asks the following questions: 1) Is the proposition inherently verifiable or not? 2) Is the proposition controversial? 3) Is the proposition vital to its proponent's purpose? 4) Is the proposition public or private? 5) Could it be verified, in public, by a random contemporary observer? 6) Would there be risk for its proponent if it were exposed as false? 7) Could the proponent have some agenda in respect of the proposition? and 8) Would or could collusion be involved in its proposal? This binary system produces the answers "yes" or "no", which in turn give the results "True", "False", "Unverifiable", "Virtually true" or "Opinion or emotion".

In "Explosion", Arrizabalaga explains his system in more detail and hacks the credibility of Dio, Herodian, and so on to pieces. There are 840 of these simplified propositions and according to his system only 50 of them appear to be "True" or "Virtually true".

Arrizagabala's aim in chapter 3 ("Constitution") is to reconstruct the real life of Elagabalus, or Varius, as he prefers to call him. The material used here is archaeological and numismatic. This chapter reconstructs a normal imperial life consisting of consulships, priesthoods, etc. As for coinage, the only differing feature from previous imperial coinage is the appearance of the Syrian sun god Elagabal in the Roman pantheon.

"Speculation" considers Elagabalus' childhood, genealogy and motivation on the basis of the material evidence. This results in a theory about why Elagabalus saw himself as a priest; moreover, according to the author, he was more probably born near Rome and not in Emesa in Syria, as previously thought. This leads to a theory of Elagabalus' travelling provincial childhood from Britain to Syria with his real father Sextus Varius Marcellus. This new reconstruction of the emperor's childhood and his short reign are placed within Severan dynastic life in the fifth chapter ("Findings in context"), which also includes a short note on the emperor's *Nachleben*. The "Appendices", a chapter in its own right, explains the author's methodology in the short section "Theory of knowledge".

The text is a pleasure to read, even though the author too frequently begs the reader to "practice mental exercises" with him. Despite the author's assertion, I do not think that modern historians take Dio's or Herodian's accounts as literally true. However, Arrizagabala's well- presented appendices are a valuable source for further studies on the subject, even though his binary question board seems a little too straightforward to be able to assess the credibility of ancient texts. The numismatic evidence is well presented and plays a vital part in showing Elegabalus' reign to have been a normal one, consisting of judging, sacrificing, parading, building and repairing. However, it would be surprising if it did not point to this conclusion. Imperial mints, after all, can lie as much as senators turned historians.

Juhana Heikonen

Yᴀɴɴ Lᴇ Bᴏʜᴇᴄ: *Das römische Heer in der späten Kaiserzeit.* Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2010. ISBN 978-3-515-09136-7. 309 S. EUR 42.

This book, translated from the French original (*L'armée romaine sous le Bas-Empire*) and published in 2006, aims to give an overview of the Later Roman Imperial army from Diocletian to the mid-fifth century AD. Beginning with Diocletian, the book proceeds in chronological order, but the chronological account is suspended after the description of the wars during the reigns of Constantius II and Julian.

The focus is now transferred to a thematic account of the Imperial army of the mid-fourth century AD. The thematic chapters begin with a discussion of recruitment, proceed to troop unit types, and then to rank structure and the fundamentals of military service. Le Bohec then discusses fortifications before considering tactics in two chapters, the first covering the circumstances of a battle and its context, and the second concentrating on the battle itself. Tactics is then followed, rather than preceded as one would have expected, by a discussion of strategy, beginning with the concept itself, the debate surrounding it and the realities in which strategy was conducted. This is followed by a chapter considering strategy in the "European Theatre" and another one concentrating on the East and the South. The final thematic chapter discusses the relationship of civil society and the military.

At this point, the author switches back to the chronological account, first discussing the wars of Valentinian and Valens and then the subsequent phases of the army to the mid-fifth century AD, this account being followed by a concluding discussion. All in all, Le Bohec presents a good overview of the Roman army of the Later Empire, although one heavily focusing on the mid-fourth century AD.

Joonas Sipilä

Rᴏʙᴇʀᴛ W. Sʜᴀʀᴘʟᴇs: *Peripatetic Philosophy, 200 BC to AD 200: An Introduction and Collection of Sources in Translation*. Cambridge Source Books in Post-Hellenistic Philosophy. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. XIX, 309 pp. ISBN 978-0-521-88480-8 (hb), 978-0-521-71185-2 (pb). GBP 60, USD 99 (hb), GBP 21.99, USD 36.99 (pb).

This book, the swan song of Robert Sharples, a distinguished scholar of ancient philosophy, gives us a concise insight into how post-Aristotelian peripatetic thought developed from 200 BC to AD 200. As its name suggests, this book is concerned with the philosophical themes of this often underexamined era, and it aims at providing not an exhaustive collection of the material, but a selective sourcebook "for those who wish to become familiar with the main issues relating to its subject matter" (xiii). Sharples's book begins with a preface and an introduction in which he briefly introduces the main figures and the intellectual developments of the period from the death of Aristotle to Alexander of Aphrodisias. The introduction is surprisingly short, but the core substance of the book is situated in the footnotes and commentaries of the translations of the original Greek and Latin passages. It represents well the philosophical and philological expertise of Sharples.

Peripatetic Philosophy is divided into four thematically arranged main chapters ("Individuals", "Logic and Ontology", "Ethics", and "Physics"), and each main chapter consists of several subchapters. This user-friendly structure mirrors the layout of the *Hellenistic Philosophers* (1987) by A. A. Long and D. L. Sedley. However, in terms of typography, *Hellenistic Philosophers* is easier to consult because its commentary parts are printed in smaller font than the original passages, whereas in Sharples's book it is sometimes difficult to distinguish where the ancient text ends and the commentary begins, which affects the readability. In sum, *Peripatetic Philosophy* is a useful introductory sourcebook that demonstrates Robert Sharples's meticulous scholarship.

Iiro Laukola

Stefan Hagel: *Ancient Greek Music. A New Technical History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-51764-5. XIX, 484 pp., 115 figs. GBP 65, USD 115.

In 1992 Martin L. West (who passed away earlier this year at the age of 77) published *Ancient Greek Music*, which soon became a classic. Almost 20 years later Stefan Hagel has published a book with the same title as West's work, but his contribution, subtitled "A New Technical History", is not meant to challenge its predecessor. The main difference between these two books is their target audience. While West's book is an overview of its subject written in order to be accessible also to people without special knowledge of music, Hagel's book could be seen as an advanced sequel to West's work or any other elementary manual about ancient Greek music. Hagel himself clarifies his aim stating that "[…] this book does not claim to present some new key that unlocks the doors to all secrets. Instead, it keeps very much to the paths that have been opened by previous research, while trying to fit some previously unconnected pieces together, and in some respects suggesting (I hope) a more coherent view" (pp. xv–xvi). A strength in Hagel's approach to Greek music and musical instruments is the fact that he has practical experience of the subject as he has himself reconstructed *lyrai* and *auloi*, and, naturally, also learned the gentle art of playing them. Thus he is certainly the right person to search for a solution of the enigma: What was the relationship between ancient Greek musical theory and practice?

In the first chapter ("The Evolution of Ancient Greek Musical Notation") Hagel introduces his vision about the original conception of ancient Greek notation and its early evolution. As no first-hand evidence has survived on the subject, this chapter largely presents the author's own speculation based on internal structure of Greek notation and on clues offered by extant documents of ancient Greek music. One of his major aims here is to point out that there is nothing wrong with the fact that Lydian and Hypolydian *tonoi* are in an eminent role in the notation and that Dorian, which usually holds the central position in Ancient Greek musical theory and practice, is marginalised.

The second chapter ("Notation, instruments and the voice") deals with the ranges of different musical instruments and human voice and explores how these pitch ranges can be connected with *tonoi*. The author proceeds by observing, e.g., the different selections of *tonoi* that were associated with different kinds of music (e.g. *aulos* or citharodic music). He also investigates the ranges of *lyrai* and *kitharai* by analysing the physics of their strings based on materials that were used for manufacturing them and exploits the iconographical evidence on relative string lengths. He also

studies the relation between notation symbols and absolute pitches and offers a suggestion on how they should be connected.

Chapter 3 ("Notation in the handbooks") is a brief look at the notation included in the works of Boethius, Gaudentius, Alypius, Bacchius and in Bellermann's Anonymi. As in earlier chapters, the author emphasises once again the primacy of the Lydian *tonos* by underlining the fact that it regularly maintains a primary status also in these treatises.

In Chapter 4 ("Strings and notes"), the author focuses on *lyra* and *kithara* tunings and on the nomenclature of their strings. First he deals in a more general way with 'thetic' (modern equivalent 'by position') and 'dynamic' (modern equivalent 'by function') note names, i.e., the concept that is known solely from Ptolemy. He goes on by studying the question whether ancient sources are talking about 'thetic' or 'dynamic' *mesē* when they are referring to the melodic primacy of the note in question. He also deals with the document known as the '*koinē hormasia*', which seems to be a tuning procedure for the *kithara*, and the chapter ends with a brief general overview of the lyra tunings.

In Chapter 5 ("Fine-tuning"), the author examines the myriads of fine-tuning systems known from Greek musical treatises. He begins with some general considerations and considers the restrictions concerning the Greek scale systems. Then he discusses ancient approaches to fine-tunings, focusing on, e.g., the writings of Philolaus, Aristoxenus, Thrasyllus, Nicomachus, 'Timaeus Locrus' and Boethius. The latter part of the chapter concentrates on superparticular (*epimoric*) ratios, which can be formed with the mathematical formula: $n+1$:n (e.g., 3:2, 4:3, etc.) and deals with the evidence offered by Archytas, Eratosthenes, Didymus and Ptolemy.

In Chapter 6 ("Going beyond Ptolemy?"), the author speculates further about the questions that can be raised concerning Ptolemy's evidence. He takes a closer look at modality by discussing the focal notes (e.g., tonal centre, typical starting and final notes, etc.) and also considers the intervallic structure of Greek melodies. He offers some new evidence on this subject as he studies the question of how frequently individual notes occur in preserved ancient Greek musical documents, and in this way it becomes clear which notes are more often used than others, i.e., have a more important role in melodies.

Chapter 7 ("Assisted resonance") is on the resonators that Vitruvius describes in his *De architectura*. These sets of tuned resonating jars reinforced certain pitches and were placed in semicircles in the auditoriums of Greek stone theatres. The author compares here the numbers of resonators for each note with the occurrences of the notes in extant musical documents from the Roman era.

In Chapter 8 ("The extant musical documents"), the author moves yet more firmly from theoretical to more practice-related evidence by analysing the ancient Greek musical documents that have been preserved. He does not print the texts of these musical fragments here, but they can all be found in the *Documents of Ancient Greek Music* by E. Pöhlmann – M. L. West (Oxford 2001).

In Chapter 9 ("Aulos types and pitches"), the author deals with different types of *auloi* (and also *hydraulis*) and observes their pitches and scales. He arrives at his conclusions by analysing the iconographic evidence and instruments found in excavations of which most are, unfortunately, highly damaged. He also compares *aulos* scales with *tonoi* and extant musical documents, and, moreover, brings out practising musician's approach to the subject.

In Chapter 10 ("Before Aristoxenus"), the author concentrates on pre-Aristoxenian notation and harmonic theory. Furthermore, he contemplates the dating of the *harmoniai* known from Aristides Quintilianus (Aristid. Quint. 1,9) and offers a hypothesis on how these scales (and the

spondeion scale) could have been played on early *auloi*. Other subjects dealt with in this chapter are the 'enharmonic' intervals, lost 'modes' and the hypothetical early pentatonic phase of Greek music.

In Chapter 11 ("Synthesis"), the author offers an overview of the themes that he has considered in the earlier chapters. Finally, he proposes a new way of transcribing ancient Greek notation to modern note names and stave notation by stating that actually it is Lydian *tonos* (not Hypolydian as the traditional approach suggests) that should be considered to be equal with our natural scale. This concluding chapter is followed by a copious bibliography and indices of ancient passages cited, manuscripts, inscriptions, musical documents and personal names.

In general, one can say that the line of thought of this book is a little difficult to follow because it does not proceed in a chronological order and the chapters do not seem to be arranged according to a clear logic. The author himself justifies this solution by stating that "a purely chronological treatment would inevitably obscure the argument" and that "[t]he nature of the argument prohibited a nicely systematic arrangement of the chapters" (p. xvii). Still, the reader inevitably gets the impression that some of the chapters may have originally been meant to be published as separate contributions, because in this form the book resembles rather a collection of articles than a coherent whole. However, Hagel's bold way of connecting bits and pieces of evidence from various fields of research is admirable, although he occasionally seems to make over-the-top suggestions based on speculation rather than on actual hard evidence and in some cases it thus seems that his proposals do not stand on firm ground. Nevertheless, despite the fact that in some points Hagel's hypothesis might seem to be a bit far-fetched, his expertise in the field cannot be doubted and in many cases his conclusions are easy to agree with.

All in all, it seems clear that Hagel's *Ancient Greek Music. A New Technical History* is not the best choice for those not already familiar with the basic essentials of Greek musical theory and are looking for a general introduction to the subject. However, this book is a true cornucopia of fresh (and certainly thought-provoking) approaches to the subject and is thus warmly recommended to all those doing research on ancient Greek music.

Kimmo Kovanen

DAVID CREESE: *The Monochord in Ancient Greek Harmonic Science*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-84324-9. XVI, 409 pp. GBP 65.

This book focuses on the most famous scientific instrument used in ancient Greek harmonic science, the monochord. As the name implies, it is an instrument that contains a single string whose pitch is adjusted with movable bridges. The monochord also includes a graduated rule, which is useful when the correlations between the string lengths and the musical pitches are observed. The invention of the monochord made it possible to analyse also visually the phenomena that were usually detected mainly by aural perception and mathematical reasoning. Thus it was ideal for demonstrating the theorems about the arithmetical ratios on which musical sounds are based and, naturally, also for scientific experimentation. In this book, the aim of the author is to contextualise the monochord and its use on four levels: 1. mathematical harmonics, 2. Greek harmonics more broadly, 3. Greek mathematics, 4. Greek science more broadly.

The book begins with a compelling introduction (entitled "The geometry of sound") in which the author guides the reader gently into the realm of Greek harmonic science. Alongside the overview on the subject he presents his aims and the structure of the book in great detail.

In the first chapter ("Hearing numbers, seeing sounds: the role of instruments and diagrams in Greek harmonic science") the author attempts to clarify the role of the monochord in Greek scientific discourse and method by comparing it with other mathematical and scientific tools used by ancient Greek scientists with which it shares some affinities, e.g., the abacus, the armillary sphere, the parallactic instrument, and also diagrams and tables. The most significant aim of this chapter is to show how the monochord sits between the disciplines of arithmetic and geometry. The basic concept is that the monochord can be considered an audible diagram with which it is possible to demonstrate geometrically (i.e. by adjusting the length of a string) the relationships between numbers and sounds.

Chapters 2–6 proceed in a more or less chronological order from the first appearance of the monochord to Ptolemy's *Harmonics* (second century AD). In Chapter 2 ("Mathematical harmonics before the monochord"), the author establishes a *terminus ante quem* for the first appearance of the monochord and explores the achievements of 'pre-canonic' mathematical science. In Chapter 3 ("The monochord in context"), he wishes to point out how the introduction of the monochord (especially its use in the treatise known as the *Sectio Canonis*) was prepared by advances in harmonics, acoustics and mathematical argumentation in the fourth century. Chapter 4 ("Eratosthenes") is devoted solely to Eratosthenes (third century BC), who is credited (by Nicomachus [Nicom. *Harm*. 260, 12–17]) with producing a "canonic division" (*kanonos katatomē*), but the question examined here is whether Eratosthenes needed the monochord in his experiments at all when he created his tetrachordal divisions. Chapter 5 ("Canonic theory") deals with the period between Eratosthenes and Ptolemy. It concentrates on the appearance of the new science known as "canonics" (*kanonikē*) and explores what it involved. Chapter 6 ("Ptolemy's canonics") focuses on the role of the monochord and related instruments in Ptolemy's approach to harmonic science.

In summary, this book is the most thorough study on the monochord so far and thus it is obviously an important contribution to the field of ancient Greek harmonic science. Moreover, this work will also benefit the study of Greek mathematical science in general, because it also offers a diverse range of information on scientific instruments and their use in sciences other than harmonics. All in all, David Creese certainly has the talent to write with ease on complex topics and thus this book can also be recommended for those who are not already familiar with Greek harmonic science. Lastly, a tip for those who desire to explore mathematical harmonics also in practice, but do not have an opportunity to construct the monochord by themselves: nowadays it is possible to buy one, e.g., via Amazon.com, and to begin to follow the footprints of ancient Greek canonicists.

Kimmo Kovanen

Ioanna Patera: *Offrir en Grèce ancienne. Gestes et contextes*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 41. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2012. ISBN 978-3-515-10188-2. 292 pp. EUR 59.

Unlike the title *Offrir en Grèce ancienne* might suggest, Ioanna Patera's work is not an overview of offering practices in ancient Greece, but instead examines offering from selected points of view

based on meticulous case studies. Patera pays special attention to offerings consisting of small objects considering them a sign of "everyday" reverence and religion, although more expensive offerings are also discussed. In addition, vegetal and animal sacrifice is also taken into consideration. Patera's study leans heavily on archaeological evidence: the objects themselves, altars, *bothroi* and the topography of sanctuaries. Some ancient texts and epigraphical sources have also been utilized. There is – quite rightly – an emphasis on distinguishing between the different natures of different cults, and on the effect of these differences on offering practices.

The first chapter concentrates on the vocabulary and terms of offering. According to Patera, vocabulary is an important tool in tracing the difference between sacrificial and votive offerings. The difference being, she argues, that a votive offering is meant to be permanent, is always connected to a vow, and is done after a vow has been fulfilled. Sacrificial objects, on the other hand, are brought to the sanctuary on certain occasions, and have little relevance from the point of view of the cult. This claim, I feel, is contradicted in the following chapters where metal objects, money, and statues as offerings are discussed. The first chapter collects and discusses the most commonly used terms to indicate an offering. This chapter thus describes the meaning and use of such words as *anathēma*, *dōron*, *dekatē*, *akrothinion*, *agalma*, *aparchē*, *hiera*, *euchē* and *mnēma*, although the word (*eu*)*charistērion* is for some reason ignored. The author divides these expressions roughly into three groups: words describing the offered object (e.g. *akrothinion*), words indicating a tax (e.g. *dekatē*), and words describing the occasion of the offering (e.g. *euchē*). Most words are only briefly discussed. More attention is given to *aparkhē* and *hiera* with examples of their use starting from Homer. The first chapter gives a good idea of the difficulties and complexities surrounding the use and understanding of the words used to describe an offering.

The second chapter concentrates on reciprocity and obligation in offering, changes in the practice of offering over time, and the maintenance and disposal of offered objects. It re-examines the permanent nature of offerings and dedications, and questions the idea of reciprocity. The chapter also summarizes and comments upon modern research and different theories on offering. Patera enters into a long discussion on the idea of "*do-ut-des*" and of the assumed obligation to sacrifice. There are also some observations on the terms *charis* and *timē* in the light of offering and reciprocity. Patera argues that the term *timē* refers to the obligation to offer, whereas *charis* implies a voluntary or a votive offering. She finds most theories regarding the reciprocity and the contractual nature of offering problematic: a contract between a human and a god differs from a contract between humans, because gods and humans are not on an equal footing. There is always an inherent hierarchy between gods and humans. Patera considers the notion that humans and gods could make contracts "a modern moral judgement". On the other hand, Patera claims that reciprocity is evident in offering, but gods have the power to decide whether they want to respect this reciprocity. The chapter ends with the handling and usage of offered metal objects and examples of offerings being re-possessed or desacralized back to the use of humans. However, this section does not really seem to offer any new or surprising information. At the end of the second chapter, Patera brings up the practice of *potlatch*, an agonistic ritual gift-giving practised among Native American tribes. The reference to *potlatch* is unnecessary since, as Patera herself says, this concept cannot be applied to the Greek world.

The focus of the study takes a shift at this point, from theories on offering and gift-giving to archaeological case studies, and from non-perishable objects to animal and vegetal offerings. This change comes as a surprise to the reader, as philological and epigraphical evidence could also

have been utilised in the chapters that follow. Chapters 3–5 focus on archaeological evidence and case studies designed to describe different offering practices and their changeable nature. The case studies are presented meticulously. The third chapter deals with the offerings in their archaeological context and their placement in the cult sites. This chapter focuses especially on structures identified as offering tables, their use and location, while also discussing banquets and banquet rooms in sanctuaries, the deposition of offerings in the cult of Demeter in Acrocorinth, and rites of foundation. The chapter is elaborated with images and floor plans of the discussed structures.

The fourth chapter discusses altars and different ways of using them. Patera compares animal sacrifice and deposition of offered objects/foodstuff, sacrificing with and without fire, and traditional altars and chthonic *escharai*. She re-examines the notion of *eschara* as a definitive chthonic element, and the difference between the formation of sacrificial deposits and deposits of offerings. This chapter ends with a paragraph on the use of a sacrificial pyre in Eleusis. The fifth chapter continues by differentiating deposits of offerings from sacrificial deposits. The discussion mainly consists of case studies concerning *bothroi*, pits and other sacrificial deposits. Patera questions the notion that *bothroi* and pits were only used in chthonic cults, as well as the division of cults into chthonic and Olympian. The chapter ends with a discussion of the changeable nature of the term *megaron* which can, according to Patera, imply various kinds of structures.

Patera's work does not seem to offer a lot of new or groundbreaking information, but this was presumably not the author's aim, nor is it an overview on offering in ancient Greek religion. The shift in the focus after the second chapter comes, as mentioned above, as a surprise to the reader; the author should in my view either have pointed out that the study consists of two parts, or the two parts should have more dialogue with each other. The strength of Patera's work, on the other hand, lies in the meticulous case studies dealing with the multitude of local offering practices, and the differences in those practices over time. Patera's work also rightly questions some traditional notions of offering as too simplistic, and encourages us to look at offering on a case by case basis. It also recognizes the ambiguity and complexity both in Greek vocabulary and in the modern terms used of offering. The emphasis on small non-perishable objects as sacrificial offerings is an interesting perspective and worth further study.

Laura Aho

GARY FORSYTHE: *Time in Roman Religion. One Thousand Years of Religious History.* Routledge studies in ancient history, 4. Routledge, New York – London 2012. ISBN 978-0-415-52217-5. XIII, 207 pp. GBP 90, USD 145.

Gary Forsythe, the author of e.g. *A Critical History of Early Rome: From Prehistory to the First Punic War* (2006), offers in this book, his most recent, a collection of six short studies on various subjects loosely connected by their association with the Roman calendar. Chapter 1, entitled "Preliminary Examination of the Roman Calendar", consists of an introduction to the Pre-Julian Roman calendar and its early Hellenization starting from the regal period. Chapter 2, "The After Days and Other Curiosities", discusses the 'after days', *dies postriduani*, in connection with the dates of some famous military defeats. Chapter 3 deals with the "Rites of the *Argei*" and chapter 4

with the "Origins and History of the *Ludi Saeculares*" in the Republican and Augustan era. Chapter 5 is dedicated to "Magna Mater and the *Taurobolium*". The sixth and last chapter, "Non-Christian Origins of Christmas", offers a detailed analysis on how the 25th of December became the birthday of Jesus, explaining *inter alia* the crucial parts that the cults of Sol, Mithras and Sol Invictus played in the process.

I start with the book's merits by commending Forsythe's command of the ancient sources: in the six chapters he utilizes an impressive variety of Roman literary, epigraphic (e.g. ch. 5) and even numismatic (e.g. ch. 4 pp. 74-76) material from the Republic and Imperial periods. The author's analysis of his sources seems insightful. The specificity of the book's chosen subjects greatly limits its possible target group, but in my opinion any student or scholar studying these subjects will benefit from the book.

However, I would not recommend to anyone the use of Forsythe's book alone when being introduced to these subjects, as the book, although new, is completely out of date: Forsythe does not use almost any modern research from the last 15 years. Instead, he refers mainly to studies from the first half of the 20th and even from the end of the 19th century, and apparently does not take into account research that is more recent than 1990.

For example, in the first chapter Forsythe does not include in his discussion on the Roman calendar the most recent relevant publications, e.g. those of Jörg Rüpke (*Kalender und Öffentlichkeit: Die Geschichte der Repräsentation und religiösen Qualifikation von Zeit in Rom*, 1995) or Denis Feeney (*Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History*, 2007). Also, in chapter 3 Forsythe uses Frazer's commentary from 1929 on Ovid's *Fasti* without even mentioning e.g. Littlewood's commentary from 2006. In chapter 4, which is otherwise a very impressive study of the *ludi saeculares*, Forsythe again ignores Feeney's study of the same subject and moreover, in contrast to his tendency to ignore more recent research, states (in Ch. 4 n. 1) that "the author has been unable to obtain Schnegg-Köhler 2002" (i.e. *Die augusteischen Säkularspiele*). This tendency can also be observed in details; a good example might be Forsythe's uncritical acceptance of Buchner's theories from 1976 concerning Augustus's *horologium* and his failure to consider the debate on the subject that followed and which is still ongoing (see, e.g., L. Haselberger, "A debate on the Horologium of Augustus: controversy and clarifications", *JRA* 24 (2011) 47–98). Even though more recent publications do not seem to be discussed, at least many of them are mentioned in the bibliography, so that the reader can look them up for themselves.

In short, *Time in Roman Religion* studies six highly interesting subjects, but does so in a disappointing way, without any discussion of more recent research. The book does, however, have its merits, and I would recommend to anyone interested in these subjects to have a look at it alongside of other recent publications. But someone who is looking for an up-to-date introduction to these subjects should look elsewhere.

Jasmin Lukkari

ATTILIO MASTROCINQUE: *Bona Dea and the Cults of Roman Women*. Potsdamer Altertumswissen-
schaftliche Beiträge 49. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2014. ISBN 978-3-515-10752-5. 209 pp.
EUR 52.

Attilio Mastrocinque's captivating objective is to study the religious initiations of young Roman
women who were on the brink of married life. The main question asked in the book is how the cults
of Bona Dea, Faunus and Bacchus reinforced female sexuality and fertility, and how these cults
initiated the women into adulthood and into marriage in particular.

        After a short introduction presenting the research question, the study begins (chap-
ter III) with a discussion of method. The author explains why these particular cults have been
selected to be studied and goes on to list recurring features connecting these cults together. This
chapter continues with a discussion of how ancient writers viewed contacts between women and the
deities. In chapter IV, the author studies what the multiple elements and rituals of the cult of Bona
Dea/Fauna signified and what their practical purpose in the lives of Roman women was. In addition,
the famous story of the male intruder in the celebrations of Bona Dea, i.e. the Clodian scandal, is dis-
cussed in detail. Furthermore, examinations concerning crossdressing and the complementary nature
of genders in regard to their religious capabilities shed a new light on the religious practices and ide-
as of Rome. In the following chapter, the political aspects of the rites of the cults, in particular those
of Bona Dea and of Bacchus, are discussed. Finally, the importance of the cults as arenas of political
and imperial propaganda is analysed briefly in this context. In chapter VI, the author's point of view
moves from the sources concerning Bona Dea to include those which discuss the Greek goddesses
Omphale, Demeter and Kore. He analyses how the character and practices of Roman Bona Dea and
the cults of Greek origin overlapped. During their youth, women participated in the rituals in order
to achieve their goal of becoming wives and mothers and maintaining health and fecundity. Partici-
pating in the religious cults was on the one hand a social activity, and on the other hand the cultic
rituals seem to have included educative purposes from which unmarried women would benefit.

        Bacchus and several other deities, mostly female, are examined in the last two
chapters (VII and VIII). Some of these cults, for example the cult of Anna Perenna, were
flexible inasmuch as they also allowed male participants in their celebrations of a successful
and happy marriage. Chapter IX concludes the study with some rather short, yet valuable, anthro-
pological comparisons between Roman practices and several examples from modern day native
cultures.

        In this excellently executed work, there is one annoying mistake which seems to be caused
by the printing process rather than by the author himself. On pages 178-79 (and in note 206), the text
ends prematurely leaving the reader wondering if there should have been more discussion about the
Vestal virgins and their social and sexual status. Suitably enough, taking into account the subjects of
the study, there are numerous pictures and photographs, and good-quality tables. Each illustration is
provided with an appropriate caption, and textual references to the illustrations are often found on
the same page as the pictures.

        Although the question of the age of marriage would be essential for an understanding
of the female course of life in the Roman world, the study omits this particular subject. Instead,
it concentrates on discussing the cultic practices and offers the reader an insight into the ques-
tion of how the Romans interpreted the world of gods and goddesses, and how the old myths and

traditions were experienced in their daily lives or in the rituals of initiation. This study is not simply an impressive and interesting collection of evidence concerning the cult of Bona Dea and the other cults, it is also a thorough evaluation of women's, especially young maiden's, roles and of the importance of their religious participation in the Roman world. We are too often inclined to view young Roman women as an asexual and socially quiet group that becomes noticeable only with marriage and motherhood, after which their life actually starts. However, as Mastrocinque's study shows us, the youth of Roman women was an active period of life which prepared them and initiated them into adulthood. Thus, young women were participants, not bystanders, during these important, yet sensitive, years.

Outi Sihvonen

Justin St. P. Walsh: *Consumerism in the Ancient World: Imports and Identity Construction*. Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies. Routledge, New York – London 2014. ISBN 978-0-415-89379-4 (hb). XVIII, 218 pp. USD 140, GBP 85.

As I myself work with the concept of identity the title of this book instantly raised my curiosity, especially the reference to "identity construction". I was not the only one interested in its themes, since my colleague was eager to borrow the book and I had to remind him to return it in order to be able to write this review! This just shows how popular and timely this topic is, and even more so in this book, which combines it with the study of the distribution of imported Greek pottery in an area stretching from Portugal to Switzerland, as well as discussing 'consumerism', and applying Geographical Information Systems.

The complexity of the themes and the extent of the ground covered are clear from the titles of the chapters: The background and the theoretical and methodological framework is covered in Chapters 1–5, all of 124 pages (including the end notes). The analysis of the dataset is described in Chapter 6, in 45 pages of text and figures. The discussion and conclusions are in Chapter 7, in 11 pages.

In order to set the stage for his analysis, Walsh gives an outline of the Greek colonisation in the west in Chapter 2, and covers the most significant sites, including both the Greek colonies and the main indigenous sites in Chapter 3. He then develops the theoretical basis for understanding the consuming of Greek pottery and discusses the concepts of identity and consumption in Chapter 4. In chapter 5 he presents different approaches to Greek pottery in the past and present, including the research methods of functional pottery studies.

This long introductory section is a good introduction to various topics, ranging from the site descriptions of Emporion (as named in the text but presented as Ampurias in the Appendix) and Asberg, to Hellenisation and network analysis. Whilst the bibliography is limited, it covers the key articles and books, such as Hall's,[1] Hodos's[2] and Van Dommelen's[3] work, and thus Chapters 1–5 can

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[1] J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge 2000.

[2] T. Hodos, *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*, London – New York 2006.

[3] P. Van Dommelen, "Ambiguous matters: colonialism and local identities in Punic Sardinia", in C. L. Lyons –

be recommended to be used as a quick reference on all matters covered in the book.

The author acknowledges his debt to Michael Dietler and his *Archaeologies of Colonialism*,[4] but as Walsh remarks, he does not simply copy him, but broadens his work and concentrates on pottery studies across a wider region. In this book, the key discussions are not directed towards colonial practices but are concentrated on the use of material culture in identity construction. I was surprised that the concept of "conspicuous consumption",[5] commonly used by archaeologists in this context, was not discussed in depth, even if the conclusions were that in most places outside the Greek colonies only the highest echelon of the societies truly had access to Greek pottery and that we cannot really discuss consumption within the general population. I assume this is due to Walsh's application of Dietler's "consumption" (p. 79), more an anthropological term than a concept referring to the characteristics of modern consumption. Nevertheless, considering the modern connotations and the importance of the concept for this book, this clarification could have been made in Chapter 1 (Introduction).

The book summarises an interesting and important body of material: the whole Greek assemblage from this vast area is presented in sherd numbers but also classified functionally, i.e., divided into drinking, eating, transport, household and storage vessels. The large amount of material also means that it is described in a more general way and that it is difficult to discover the precise settlement and funerary sites with Greek pottery from the book, since the sites are named in Figures 1.3.–1.9., but their type is not listed in the Appendix giving the counts of different functional types; only the 10 largest funerary and settlement sites are named in Tables 6.3. and 6.4. This data may not be needed by a general reader, but for other researchers of Greek pottery and identity in this area they are essential. The reuse of this data is aided immensely by the author and publisher who provide a database and high resolution versions of the key figures as an eResource on the book's Routledge web page.[6] These choices are to be praised. It is understandable that not everything can be printed, but the academic value of the approach and the importance of the book are increased enormously by the fact that scholars are allowed to study the data.

The combined book and online resources provide an essential body of material from the western Mediterranean. In addition to the presences and absences of different functional types and the total counts of sherds, Walsh uses Simpson's Index of Diversity (p. 102–103) in order to compare the numbers and variety in Greek pottery by summing the proportions of sherd counts of different types against the size of the total numbers from different sites. This is essential for the analysis, but the maps presenting the interpolated distribution surfaces are not in the book but only available online: this makes evaluating the results more difficult. In the case of the maps, it would have been more accurate to speak of "kriged distribution maps" than of "kriging predictions". The latter expres-

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J.K. Papadopoulos (eds.), *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, Los Angeles 2002, 121–47.

[4] M. Dietler, *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*, Oakland (CA) 2010.

[5] Cf. F. Neiman, "Conspicuous consumption as wasteful advertising: A Darwinian perspective on spatial patterns in Classic Maya terminal monument dates", in C. M. Barton – G. A. Clark (eds.), *Rediscovering Darwin: Evolutionary Theory and Archaeological Explanation*, Washington DC 1997, 267–90. It is interesting to note that while this article is referred to in Walsh's book, the concept seems to be avoided.

[6] *http://www.routledge.com/books/details/9780415893794/.*

sion may give the reader the idea that the aim is to predict future pottery finds, whereas in reality kriging was used simply to create mathematically continuous surfaces out of existing point data (pottery counts and Simpson's diversity figures), i.e., distribution maps. The coloured maps online, in ArcGIS 10.1. format and in pdf, are definitely better than the small greyscale figures in the book, but it is a shame that one cannot rely on the book alone. It is also noteworthy that the size of the research area has resulted in unfamiliar-looking slightly warped maps, but this is understandable. In addition, in the figures of the printed book the rivers are often represented with bulky lines that conceal the find spots. It is a pity the main Greek colonies are not highlighted on the maps, since this would help to assess the spreads.

The GIS considerations aside, does this material reveal new aspects in consuming and identity forming in the Archaic western Mediterranean? Definitely maybe. Presenting this material in general terms is fascinating and gives an insight into the trade networks and contacts during this period. The differences between the regions are illuminating (for example, South Hallstadt showed low consumption and Greek pottery did not reach central Iberia) as is the concentration of larger consumption numbers and varieties to major sites with the economic means and power bases. Both identity and consumption are discussed in terms of competing elite behaviour, but since the only material studied in detail is Greek pottery, the discussion of the integration of the use of these vases within the local or regional cultural customs in Iberic, Punic and Celtic areas remains limited. Nevertheless, the premise is ambitious and the task of integrating indigenous consumption of the entire region in the picture would have been too wide a task for one scholar to handle. Even considering the restrictions of the book format and the need for a specialist reader to be online while reading, the result is a thorough and innovative presentation of the different levels of elite consumption in the western Mediterranean.

Ulla Rajala

SITTA VON REDEN: *Money in Classical Antiquity.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-45952-5. 237 pp. GBP 60, USD 99 (hb), GBP 18.99, USD 31.99 (pb).

Sitta von Reden's book is a very impressive contribution to the study of ancient economies. It is the first to undertake a comprehensive analysis of the impact of money on the economy society and culture of the Greek and Roman worlds. The time frame covering monetary context within the Mediterranean is over a 1,000 years (c. 600 BC–AD 300), and the aims and contents of this admirable book are described in the "Introduction" (p. 1-17). Only in seven chapters excluding "Introduction" and the "Epilogue", and in relatively limited pages, the book covers the different roles that money played in Greek and Roman societies. The author presents abundant material using non-technical language with clear signpost to the evidence and sources. The intended audience for the book are students who are new to the field.

This book is clearly the product of systematic research that is apparent in every chapter, and especially in well-balanced analysis of monetary culture. As for the contents, it is clear that the concept of money affects aspects of terminology, culture, society and institutions. Money is ruled by human institutions, norms and social as well as political forms of organization, and the concept of

money fluctuates alongside of changing forms of collective behaviour.

First two chapters of the book tackle the question of monetization. In the first chapter (p. 18ff) von Reden draws attention to the theoretical background of monetization. She explores development of monetary institutions, and the development of coinage. The second chapter (p. 35ff) sums the theme up by presenting a number of different cases and forms of monetization in Athens, Rome, Celtic Gaul and Britain. On thirty pages the author presents the main theoretical framework of monetization, followed by on overview of modern research and the chapter then ends with observations made by the author (p.63-64). Even compared to modern economic research works, the subdivision of theory and practice of monetization is constructed wisely. Together these two chapters cover many central issues and theories that could in fact have been dealt with in a more elaborate way.

The circulation of money and its needs and demands is the subject the third chapter, where the author explores (p.65ff) the expansion of monetary network. Here the author studies the interaction between a monetized society and culture, the chapter containing a thorough analysis of the idea of coinage and how it spread in Mediterranean cultures. Monetary cohesion was fostered by different variables like army movements, agrarian policy and imperial power. Indeed, ultimately a unified currency facilitated the collection of taxes and, in principle, benefited the flow of coins. Chapter three functions as an introduction to the following fourth chapter "Cash and credit" (p. 92ff), which presents aspects of culture of credit. This very interesting chapter is based on the theory that the ancient monetary economy was highly dependent on credit (p. 93). The question of who used credit and cash-less payments under what condition and for what purposes is important for the issue of impact of money on different ancient economies.

Chapters 5 (p.125ff) and 6 (p. 141ff) explore prices and price formation. These chapters are of a more theoretical character, even the case study of price developments in Egypt (p. 144ff). The two chapters go together and systematically take in to account modern research, and it seems clear that research on ancient money is rapidly expanding.

Chapter 7 draws our attention to the question of money in cults and rituals. According to von Reden: "In post-war scholarship money has been approached almost exclusively within a secular framework of understanding" (p.156). But temple economies cut across the notions of "primitivism" and "modernism" which had previously been applied to ancient economic history. According to evidence presented here, temple economies functioned almost like any other modern monetary economy. Temple and cult associations practised a traditional agrarian economy, but used also their properties profitably. They financed banking sector by lending their assets and leasing their land property. On the other hand, temple economies were hybrid economies that had no traditional financial or commercial centres.

The book's conclusion comes in form of an Epilogue (p. 186), which reveals that nothing very positive has ever been said about the social impact of money. Attitudes to money tent to be extreme and money rise different kind of anxieties. In these final thirteen pages the attitudes towards monetary culture of ancient authors like Pliny, Horace and Vergil are revealed.

Sitta von Reden's book is well-written, easy to read, and serves as an excellent introduction to the ancient economic history. It is a significant contribution to the discussion of monetary culture and to the concept of money in antiquity, forcing me, for one, to think again about the basics of modern monetary culture.

Katja Varakas

Some concepts tend to rise above others when one mentions "ancient Greece", and one of them is surely the combination of wine, merrymaking, dance and sex, which all are included in "komos". Yet it is surprising how little we know of *komos* and the dancers we have learnt to call *komastai* (sg. *komastes*). Smith has done an excellent and important job studying in detail the representations of *komos* in sixth-century BC Greek vasepainting. This is not to say that *komos* in visual or written sources would not have been studied earlier, quite the contrary. Smith, however, takes the time to go systematically through the *komos* motives expressed in the human dancing figures shown in blackfigured pottery of the sixth century BC, and, what I think is the crucial point, proceeds with an open mind without fitting the komast dancers to preconceived interpretations of their context and function.

The book is divided into nine chapters. Chapter one, titled "Art, Life, and Performance", serves as an introduction, discussing the research history of the subject, the problems that arise from previous studies as well as the source material itself and taking up the themes of this study. It frames "the topic at hand within the artistic and cultural koine of sixth century Greece", as Smith puts it (p. 5). Chapter nine, "Dance, Drink, and Be Merry", concludes the book. In between, the reader is guided through six regions where the komast dancers are studied in "their appropriate artistic and cultural contexts" (p. 11): Corinth, Athens, Laconia, Boeotia, East Greece and the West. The chapters are followed by tables presenting the major categories discussed in the book: dress and attributes, poses and gestures, and context, all presented according the regions (excluding Corinth, where the reader is referred to Seeberg). Plates showing the most common iconographic variants are included at the end of the book.

Smith discusses an important theme, the relation between the painting the figure and the gesture as shown on a vase and the painter and his world, and rightly reminds the reader that the iconography cannot be taken as a realistic snapshot of an actual dance out of which one could recreate ancient dancing (p. 13). This reminder is needed, since vase paintings are the typical source for those who try to recuperate ancient dances "as they were", i.e. aim at reconstructions and interpret the images as showing real steps, postures and gestures. But the images do not move, we do not know where the movement indicated in the image continues, to what rhythm, with what intensity etc. In this respect, the dance is lost to us, which does not mean that it would be meaningless to study dance at all. On the contrary, there are countless approaches and themes that can be applied to the study of ancient dancing, as, for example, Smith shows in the case of iconographic studies. She concludes the introductory chapter (p. 13): "...we must consider the place of the komast within the visual culture, as well as a vital element of the performance culture of Archaic Greece."

The komast dancer has often been called a padded dancer, a reveller or, in German, Dickbauchtänzer. The dancer is in his typical pose a fatbottomed figure slapping his bottom. This gesture appears throughout regions and decades, and as Smith notes, "this fact alone places the figure in a virtually unique category" (p. 11). She then discusses the alleged eastern origins of these dancers and the tradition in Corinthian vase painting (chapter 2) and goes on to Athens, where one observes interesting scenes that mix mythology and humans and introduce Dionysos into the komast motive (chapters 3 and 4). Laconia is the next stop, where we find komast dancers depicted also on lead fig-

ures (chapter 5). In Boeotia (chapter 6), komasts are the most common human figures in blackfigure vases. The dancers are also often shown in a humorous pose, which may confirm "... the coarse and gluttonous reputation of the Boeotians in antiquity" (p. 151). But in addition there are images that are more serious in mood, which may indicate a processional or sacrificial context (p. 175). Moving away from the Greek mainland, the komasts appear in East Greek vases and other media (chapter 7). The images differ from the mainland tradition as they present strong local variants. Some dancers in Chian images wear earrings, a typical male ornament in the East, some wear turbans as well as wreaths. In Clazomenai, in turn, the dancers have long beards and hair on ponytail. But, "the bottom slapping gesture links the dancers of Ionia to each other, and...to their fellow Greeks elsewhere" (p. 221). The last region under study is the West, in a handful of vases especially from Etruria and from Sicily (chapter 8). Going through the analysis of the pictorial motives in each region mentioned above, I would have enjoyed having the regions mentioned in the plates now the individual vases are provided only with the museum and inventory number. The reader has to go back and forth in the pages when wanting to compare the images according the regions. Smith pulls the strings together in chapter 9. It is noteworthy that while the komast dancer can be identified by his typical pose and gesture in many regions, there are major differences in the contexts, details and attributes, each telling something about the local cultures. This underlines the vital importance of analysing the sources carefully and not to put them all in one basket and claim a "universal Greek komast" in this case.

Although there has been a growing interest among scholars to study ancient dance in the last decades, it is still an area with too little detailed and thorough studies. It is, by the way, one area that has no uptodate basic monograph that would take into account the ancient sources and modern theoretical discussions of dance in general. Smith has, on her part, done a great job by providing a systematic revision and an update of the images on black figure vases. This study also points out many relevant themes and aspects to be dealt with in further studies on ancient dance, such as religion/cult, gender, status, sexuality, just to name a few. Those who know only the very basics about Greek vasepainting and/or about studying dance will find this book an excellent read, a fundamental study of one of the many important features in Archaic Greek culture.

Manna Satama

Highways, Byways, and Road Systems in the Pre-Modern World. Edited by S. E. Alcock – J. Bodel – R. J. A. Talbert. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester 2012. ISBN 978-0-470-67425-3. XX, 289 pp. GBP 85, USD 102.20.

Tracing routes of human movement before paved roads were built is a difficult task: paths or dirt roads are preserved in only particular environments and written sources are also often incapable of answering these questions. This volume edited by Susan Alcock, John Bodel and Richard Talbert is based on papers presented in 2008 in a conference which tackled the problems of studying human movement globally and from a variety of points of view: sociological, religious, economic and logistical, among others. The chronological scope is also very wide ranging from the first millennium B.C.E. to the 20th century C.E.

The book contains fourteen chapters which are organized by geographical regions. The first four papers feature Asian cases from the 4th century B.C.E. until the early 20th century. These are followed by three chapters on the Americas, one on Africa and one on ancient Persia. The last section concerns Roman roads apart from the last chapter, which is about communication networks in Jewish history. The geographical division works quite well although a thematic organization could also have been applied as can be seen in the introduction.

The Asian section starts with a chapter on the transmission of Buddhism in the difficult terrains of South and Central Asia. Jason Neelis discusses a variety of source materials from literary sources to graffiti, drawings and archaeological finds in tracing the routes of a spreading new religion. The major routes were not necessarily always employed and the natural shortcuts and byways used in the transportation of goods also served the early missionaries. Michael Nylan's chapter on Classical Era China demonstrates the impact of the achievements of the Mediterranean cultures on the study of Chinese history – there seems to be a need to demonstrate that Chinese history matches that of the Mediterranean and this has extended to the study of postal systems and distribution of written messages. However, Nylan's analysis of the available sources reveals that literacy might have not been as widespread as scholars previously thought. Nanny Kim's chapter describes the effect of private effort in road networks in 16th to 20th century China. Confucian ethics required the local elites to contribute to the local infrastructure – a phenomenon also familiar from Roman culture. The only chapter on Japan by Constantine Vaporis discusses roughly the same time period as that dealt with by Kim and the development of the Gokaidô Highway Network. Travel was controlled by local authorities, but although restrictions were applied to the movement of people, these were often evaded and Japanese travellers were able to move on the roads and got to know their country better than ever before.

The arid landscapes of the American Southwest have never been very hospitable to human habitation, but nevertheless present rather spectacular archaeological evidence for both human settlement and movement. James Snead discusses the remains of paths worn into the tuff bedrock as well as staircases carved into the steep slopes from the first and second millennium C.E. Pueblo and Chaco cultures. The Central American jungles inhabited by the Ancient Maya are a complete contrast to the previous landscape, but the remains of the *sacbeob* causeways handled by Justine Shaw are no less impressive although relatively little is known of their building and use histories. The third chapter on the Americas moves further south to the Inca territory, where Catherine Julien discusses the development of the imperial landscape around Cuzco.

Pekka Masonen demonstrates the importance of trans-Saharan routes for connecting the different parts of the African continent with each other as well as with the outside world. The routes were used probably for thousands of years before the Arabs settled in North Africa and connected with the existing trading routes. Pierre Briant's chapter is on logistics of the Achmenid Empire covering huge distances from the Indus valley all the way to the Mediterranean. The routes are traced by using ostraka and letters documenting the provision of rations for travellers. Adam Silverstein discusses the communication routes used by stateless Jews during the Talmudic and Islamic Periods. This is achieved by analysing correspondence concerning religious matters which needed to be transmitted e.g. between rabbis. In the Talmudic period the ways of getting a letter from one Jewish community to another were rare, but during the Islamic period the region was united and this enabled the movement of people and ideas.

The chapters on Rome begin with Roman Egypt and Jennifer Gates-Foster discusses the significance of roads in the preservation of cultural memory. The Pharaonic period left its mark in the landscape in imagery carved in the buildings and rock surfaces along the main routes through Egypt. The same imagery was also adopted in later graffiti as a reminder of the past. Bruce Hitchner's chapter aims at evaluating the efficiency of the Roman road networks in test cases from Roman Gaul and Africa. The good trunk roads were certainly of great importance in most regions for supplying them with goods as well as for trade of their own products. However, they could also cut more remote regions off from cultural and economic influences by directing movement away from secondary routes. Richard Talbert's paper discusses the awareness of the Romans themselves of the interconnectedness of their road networks or rather, the probable lack of it. Relatively little evidence exists to prove that the Imperial administration would have perceived the empire-wide significance of the roads. Michael Maas and Derek Ruths's chapter concerns the Late Antique period and development of the administrative regions at that time. They compare clusters created based on road networks and dioceses formed in the 4th century C.E. and the overlap is considerable.

The volume demonstrates how efficiently all kinds of traces of road networks and human movement can be employed in the analysis of different kinds of societies. The cross-cultural point of view is refreshing and encourages the reader to look further into studies outside his/her own field of expertise.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Giuseppe Tomassetti a cento anni dalla morte e la sua opera sulla campagna romana. Atti del convegno di studi (Roma, 6-7 dicembre 2011). Miscellanea della società romana di storia patria LX. A cura di Letizia Ermini Pani – Paolo Sommella. Società Romana di Storia Patria, Roma 2013. ISBN 978-88-97809-40-4. 234 pp. EUR 35.

Era un'idea felice di organizzare un convegno a celebrare il centenario della morte di Giuseppe Tomassetti, quel noto personaggio che ha svolto un lavoro appassionato, capillare e importante per la conoscenza della campagna romana (nel senso ampio della parola). Ecco il contenuto del volume degli Atti: Rita d'Errigo, La riflessione storiografica di Giuseppe Tomassetti sulla bonifica dell'agro romano; Giovanni Maria De Rossi, Giuseppe Tomassetti fra topografia antica e topografia medievale; Cristina Carbonetti, Giuseppe Tomassetti e le fonti scritte; Luisa Chiumenti, Giuseppe Tomassetti a cento anni dalla morte e la sua opera sulla Campagna Romana; Fernando Bilancia, Materiali e memtodologia nella ricerca storica della Campagna Romana di Tomassetti; Elisabetta Mori, Ritratto inedito di Giuseppe Tomassetti archivista; Susanna Passigli, La svolta del "Tomassetti": la sua Campagna Romana come cerniera fra topografia descrittiva e topografia storica; Francesca Romana Stasolla, Temi e metodi della topografia medievale nella Campagna Romana; Sandro Carocci – Marco Vendittelli, Proprietà fondiaria, organizzazione produttiva e società cittadina (secoli XII-XIII); Laura Asor Rosa, Cento anni di storia del territorio: la Campagna Romana di Tomassetti, la Carta dell'Agro romano e noi.

Ai lettori di questa rivista interesseranno soprattutto le numerose note del Tomassetti su iscrizioni antiche edite e inedite, raccolte durante i suoi viaggi nel Lazio, piene di nozioni importanti.

Anche se non ne parla molto nel presente volume, è bene ricordare che Tomassetti si è occupato molto della documentazione epigrafica. Mi sia pertanto permesso di toccare brevemente l'argomento epigrafico per quanto concerne gli appunti presi da Tomassetti e in parte confluiti nella sua grande opera sulla campagna romana. Scelgo a mo' d'esempio la città della romana Antium e il suo vasto territorio: circa *CIL* X 6653, T. in *Campagna romana* 2, 316 dà un importante contributo per quanto riguarda la collocazione dell'iscrizione in età moderna; egli è l'unico testimone dell'epigrafe dedicata ad Aurelio Vero da nessun altro vista (ma T. la spiega male come eretta da *Laurentes Lavinates* in onore di un Augusto); a *EE* VIII 649 (vista anche da Lanciani) T. dà integrazioni un po' avventurose, attribuendo il testo a Nerone; il frammento pubblicato in *Camp. Rom.* 3, 316 sembra l'epitaffio di un legionario, di cui sarebbe bello sapere come lui e sua moglie siano arrivati a vivere ad Anzio (il testo dice nella stesura data dal T. *ro[---] viro [---] mil(iti) leg(ionis) II [---]*); in *Camp. Rom.* 2, 316 T. presenta un frammento che egli non cerca di spiegare, ma forse si tratta di una dedica che un anonimo offre *cenam cultoribus et hominibus* (tuttavia, poiché T. spesso legge male, forse sarà meglio astenersi da congetture troppo azzardate); a p. 316 di *Camp. Rom*. T. presenta un'"iscrizione di Claudia C. F. (inedita)", frammento interessante che sembra assai antico; *CIL* X 6729: le osservazioni del T. sono importanti per fissare la storia del testo in età moderna; a p. 316 di *Camp. Rom*. viene offerto una lapide "inedita di Iulia Matr…, trovata nel pavimento di una casetta isolata", forse epitaffio di una Iulia Matrona; a p. 315 di *Camp. Rom*. si parla del sarcofago di un P. Sabidius", ma purtroppo non se ne trovano tracce.

Heikki Solin

Virginia L. Campbell: *The Tombs of Pompeii. Organization, Space, and Society*. Routledge, New York 2015. ISBN 978-1-138-80919-2. XV, 355 pp. USD 140.

Pompeii is more famous for the way the living conditions of its inhabitants in 79 C.E. were preserved than for how its dead were venerated. The tombs and cemeteries are there, however, grouped outside the city walls and flank the roads leading out of the ancient city – approximately 200 of them. Like most aspects of Pompeii, the tombs have been a frequently discussed topic by scholars, but rarely as comprehensively as Virginia Campbell does in this volume. The book is based on her doctoral dissertation and Campbell's aim is to analyse the organization, spatial use and social relations related to the tombs – Are the burial areas around the city similar to each other or are there big differences? How do the administrative processes influence burial practices?, Do the burials reflect individual or group behaviour, and is there something that is unique to Pompeian burial practices?

The book is divided into two parts: the first contains five main chapters in addition to the introduction and conclusion and the second part is a catalogue of tombs. Chapter 2 deals with research history and a description of various aspects of death in the Roman world in an admirably brief format. Chapter 3 contains an analytical description of the evidence concerning funerary habits in Pompeii. Chapter 4 discusses the epigraphic evidence related to burials. The space used for burials is analysed in Chapter 5 and the final Chapter 6 handles the self-representation contained in the tombs and the inscriptions. The catalogue of burials describes the archaeological and epigraphic

evidence with a fairly large number of ground plans and black and white photographs illustrating the catalogue entries. The catalogue is followed by two appendices listing boundary markers and those funerary inscriptions which cannot be placed in a context.

The organization of the book works quite well and the chapters are pleasant to read. The catalogue is organized by listing the burials according to the geographical area starting from the Porta di Ercolano in the northwest and ending with Porta di Nocera in the southeast. It is somewhat frustrating that the ground plans of the tombs are featured only in fairly small-scale general ground plans and that details such as the placement of the inscriptions are not altogether clearly indicated on the plans or in the text. Some of the plans could also have been produced in larger size as now many of the fine lines disappear almost completely and labels are almost too small to read. The photographs are in general readable, but sometimes some kind of image processing would have been beneficial. The confusing reference system is probably the most negative thing about the book – and probably not Campbell's fault: there are Harvard style references inside the text as well as quite a few end notes after each chapter. Each chapter contains its own bibliography. In addition, the catalogue has its own bibliography – consequently the purpose of the "supplemental bibliography" at the end of the book remains somewhat unclear. Surely one bibliography covering the whole book would have served the reader better than this awkward system? The space saved by that arrangement could perhaps have been used to print larger plans. Furthermore, one wonders when the original dissertation was finished as the bibliographies appear rather thin on publications which have appeared after 2010.

Chapters 4 and 5 on the funerary and epigraphic evidence of Pompeii analyse the characteristics of the main burial areas with an emphasis on monumental tombs. The road leading to Herculaneum and in the direction of the Via Appia is deemed probably the most important burial area with regard to visibility and prestige. The analysis of the chronological distribution of tombs, their locations, types and what is known of the deceased is quite interesting and indicates temporal changes in the burial habits of Roman Pompeii. The *columellae* or head stones shaped like busts are a Pompeian burial specialty which indicate the places of the funerary urns. This chapter could have benefited from including and discussing the criteria for dating the tombs, which are now presented only in connection with the catalogue, and the often problematic datings are not sufficiently discussed. Distribution maps could have been used to supplement the text in addition to the tables – simple maps would have argued for some of the conclusions more effectively than the verbal explanations.

The text *formulae* used in Pompeian funerary inscriptions are similar to those known from elsewhere in the Roman world, but also feature some local trends such as not using dedications to the *Manes*, which is so common elsewhere. Another particularity is the use of the phrase *ex decreto decurionum* in a funerary context, which has been interpreted as indicating a gift from the local *ordo* which would have enhanced the status of the deceased. After examining the contexts of the inscriptions with that formula, Campbell arrives at the conclusion that it signifies a permit to use public land for a burial. In addition, Campbell analyses the un-epigraphic *cippi* found in connection with twenty burials and is able to confirm their use as boundary markers and possibly as markers for places where future tombs could have been built.

Chapter 6 discusses the aspect of self-representation through three case studies: burials built by a *familia* instead of a *gens*, Eumachia, and a married couple with separate tombs. The first

case illustrates the relationship between freedmen and patrons and reveals that freedmen commemorated their former owners more often than was expected based on evidence elsewhere in Roman Italy. In the case of the individuals, it seems apparent that their social status and class do not always correlate with how elaborately or modestly they were buried. Eumachia had a modest tomb, but her memory was kept alive by the magnificent public building on the forum. The married couple consisted of upwardly mobile freedmen and they chose to represent themselves in a very traditional manner, as husband and wife buried in separate tombs.

The special circumstances of Pompeii afford an excellent opportunity to examine details of everyday life and death of the city's inhabitants and Campbell's analyses display this once again. One also feels that much more might be said as Campbell's analytical part is relatively short when compared to the extensive catalogue. Her results accentuate admirably the local trends in burial customs and epigraphic habit as opposed to what has been determined to be the usual case based on evidence e.g. in Rome.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Simon James: *Excavations at Dura-Europos 1928–1937. Final Report VII: The Arms and Armour and other Military Equipment.* Oxbow Books, Oxford 2010. ISBN 978-1-84217-371-8. XXXII, 304 pp. GBP 39.95.

The book is a reprint of a 2004 work which built on Simon James's doctoral thesis from 1991. The value of the book can hardly be underestimated and it does justice to Dura-Europos and the unique archaeological assemblage which was recovered from the site. The book is divided into three main parts. First, James offers a good discussion of the discovery of the site, the context of the excavations in the late 1920s and 1930s and their importance. He has done his best to reconstruct the story of Dura-Europos and especially the dramatic Sassanian siege in the 250s, which put an end to its existence. This sets the stage for the second part, the presentation of the complete assemblage of the finds from the site grouped in categories by function and type. The assemblage is wonderful as it presents a complete catalogue of the finds and is as such a mine of information regarding the Roman army. It is also almost unique as the arid conditions in Dura-Europos have also preserved leather, wood and textiles. The similarities of some of the equipment recovered from the site with paraphernalia from other reaches of the Empire are interesting and give support to the idea of a military culture and identity forming around producing certain forms of equipment. The individual finds are well presented and the discussion offers perspectives and insights regarding unique artefacts such as the interesting wood and rawhide shields (items 635–637).

The third part is a detailed discussion of the depositional processes and the composition of the assemblage. It also offers a basis for estimating the extent of information on Roman soldiers that we can actually glean from the assemblage. Unfortunately, the assemblage is mostly unstratified, and despite the best efforts of James in interpreting the notes of earlier French excavators, we do not have a very good knowledge of, e.g., what pieces of equipment in fact form a set of accoutrements.

The book offers a spectacular amount of information – the rich variety of the finds makes them primary sources that just cannot be overlooked. The quality of the illustrations, as well as the

meticulous research behind their presentation and discussion do justice to the finds. The book is a must for any serious student of the Roman military.

Joonas Sipilä

LAURA SALAH NASRALLAH: *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture: The Second-Century Church Amid the Spaces of Empire*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-76652-4. XVI, 334 pp. GBP 65, USD 100.

This book is an exemplary foray into promising scholarly trends. Nasrallah examines five early Christian texts entering the second century's "cross-cultic and cross-ethnic conversations about the nature of true religion and right ritual" (p. 7), breaking the obstinate pagan-Jew-Christian divide. Nasrallah sees these as part of the Second Sophistic's 'surge of interest' in *paideia,* and her methodological genius is to read them alongside Roman art and architecture, which also make arguments about justice, piety, and divinity. This attempt at 'understanding the broader material environment' of these texts produces uniquely robust social historiography.

Nasrallah begins by 'mapping' early Christian apology outside traditional boundaries of syncretism with or defense against 'secular' culture. The category "apology" — potentially extensive — is not ancient genre but scholarly category borne of "taxonomic impulses of eighteenth-century European scholars" (p. 26). In fact, early Christian apologies were rhetorical self-insertions, often 'addressing' emperors, into discussions of ethnicity, power, and status surpassing Christian/non-Christian binaries. Nasrallah demonstrates, paralleling *apologiai* to Regilla's and Herodes Atticus's Olympian fountain, a monument *making statements* about humanity vs. divinity and status. This textual-material parallelism betrays ingenuity, and should inform future scholarship (largely textual, still). One conspicuous lacuna here, though, is hermeneutical clarity spanning text and realia. How does one *know* what sculpture says? Text? Not to say Nasrallah's readings are off — they are compelling — but her promising methodology wants for micro-method.

Chapter two complicates ancient Rome-centric geographies where via three 'Vitruvian men': Justian, Tatian, and Lucian. The former two are apologists, all three Eastern 'universal travelers,' critiquing Rome and its imperialism of *paideia*. Lucian casts Assyrian Hierapolis as the *true* "pious center for … hybridity" (p. 64). The unloved Tatian, following Lucian (and Pausanius), owns barbarianism and employs sardonic humor and *ekphrasis* to deconstruct Greek *planē* and assert: "the barbarians' edges of the world … should be its center" (p. 70). Justin embodies the vulnerability of cosmopolitan-yet-not-Roman philosopher, privy to violence like conquered *ethnē* on the north portico of Aphrodisias's Sebasteion. The latter structure has the nations (as women) beneath conquest scenes and counterposed god-emperor statuary. Rhetoricizing multiculturalism alongside dominance, this (literally) pointed structure parallels textual arguments. Here we find parallels, yet little sustained discussion of text vis-à-vis monument. Integration would extend this study's boundaries.

Chapter three begins part two juxtaposing Acts, Aelius Aristides, and Hadrian's Panhellenion. Each employs "discourses about civic identity, ethnicity, kinship, and correct relgion" (p. 89) to encourage *concordia* and *homonoia* within in-group and with Empire. Acts, in "the terminology of postcolonial criticism," "mimics the logic of empire without shading into mockery" (p. 88). While

the Panhellenion's physical description is cursory, Nasrallah's placement of Acts alongside non-Jewish/Christian authors and Hadrian's Hellenic building program elucidates how Acts 'maps' itself in this larger discourse. Early Christianity scholars should pay attention to the texts Nasrallah employs.

Part two's more complete chapter four lays Justin Martyr alongside Trajan's column as competing discourses about who 'does' justice, *paideia*, and piety. Trajan's conquest imagery and Basilica Ulpia portray divinely sanctioned rule, but Justin challenges Roman justice given mistreatment of Christians. Likewise, Justin challenges the cultured-ness Trajan's libraries insinuate, suggesting emperors judge Christians in name, not truth. Justin nearly condemns imperial *Romanitas* which confuses men and gods and encourages ignorant daemon worship; *Logos* pronounces Christians the truly pious, who understand Jewish scriptures and rightly embody truths followed by would-be Christians like Socrates and the Stoics. Stressing sameness and difference, Justin enters a dialogue with Trajan's column with all the triumphalism befitting an emperor.

Chapter five, perhaps most compelling of all, focuses architecturally on Commodus' Herakles statue. Even non-imperial elites could don lion-skin in sculpture. Justin, Tertullian, Lucilius, and Artemidorus discuss this human-divine blur problematized in Herakles's ambiguity. Athenagoras, becoming peer to Plutarch and Philo, borrows Middle-Platonic and Stoic conceptions of divinity and signification, making a grammatical-philosophical argument that just as words are arbitrary markers, images (or *hylē* generally) could *not* equal gods. "Naming" gods (or Christians) can violate true piety. "Philosophical" emperors like Marcus Aurelius and Commodus should know not to persecute Christians for atheism (or cannibalism, or incest). Here Nasrallah enlightens historically opaque scholarly ground — Athenagoras' *Embassy* — prompting renewed treatment.

Chapter six, beginning a two-chapter finale, explores 'viewing' theories. After problematizing aniconism in Christianity and Judaism, Nasrallah here surveys etiologies and philosophies of images. Pliny, Minucius Felix, and the *Wisdom of Solomon* all postulate origin stories, the latter two critiquing statuary as empty. Yet all agree with Clement, Achilles Tatius, and Stoics that seeing inducts real, even physical, experience; *Phaedrus*'s Socrates concurs. Whether by *mimesis* or *phantasia*, conjuring the absent 'unseen' is powerful and, Tatian adds, dangerous. This chapter also casts Tatian beside Cicero, Dio of Prusa, and Maximus of Tyre, sculpture critics all. Tatian, self-defined barbarian, accuses not ignorant plebes but aristocratic connoisseurs of ruining *paideia*. Greek culture, really Rome's, lacks depth, lionizing loose women and dissipation. Greeks should learn from Christians, whose women are chaste and productive. Here again Nasrallah corrects longstanding trends which read Tatian as over-extreme, seeking to understand his work through its culturally current concern with bodies, imagination, and sight.

Body as object/commodity controls chapter seven also, which approaches Aphrodite of Knidos, simultaneously goddess, woman, and slave to "marble or terracotta or stone" (p. 249). Asking after the goddess/woman/object's "exchange value," Nasrallah follows Arjun Appadurai in regarding "luxury goods as goods whose principal use is *rhetorical* and *social*, goods that are simply *incarnated signs*." (p. 250). The Knidia fused divinity to human nudity, controlling the viewer via desire even as controlled by the penetrating masculine gaze. And while this confusion characterizes Alexandria, Clement, unlike Philo and Dio, does not forthrightly object. Greek *paideia* is confused,

not wrong. God's Logos shows that humans *can* become divine — all humans are! — but worshipping human/daemonic statues is folly. Clement accuses the Knidia and her compatriots of *porneia*, just like the gods they represent and the viewers they engage (even sexually!). Clement, art critic, smashes the value of erotic divine imagery, often appropriated by wealthy couples, onto the ground like so much lifeless terracotta.

An epilogue, bibliography, and indices end the book. The one potentially major problem with this work — that in reaction to Chadwick, Harnack, et al., Christians are herein treated as Romans at the expense of what is perhaps a 'controlling' Christian identity — is anticipated by Nasrallah, who admits that "this book has perhaps emphasized too much the earliest Christian apologists' similarity with surrounding culture" (p. 301). And while Nasrallah has not here provided a method for reading these as Christian *as opposed to* 'pagan,' her assumed method seems to work. Nasrallah's commitment to reading early Christian texts that engage *paideia* alongside their non-Christian contemporaries and again their material environments represents a major point in scholarship; and she is right. Classicists, religionists, and (art) historians should adopt Nasrallah's practice of multifaceted contextualization, and those treating early Christian apologies should read this work closely.

Carson Bay

Carlo Avvisati: *Una Camicia rossa a Pompei*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2010. ISBN 978-88-8265-579-2. 141 pp., 100 Ill. b/n, 40 Ill. col. EUR 45.

Carlo Avvisati è un giornalista che si dedica allo studio dell'arte, archeologia, cultura e lingua napoletana. Ha scritto anche altri libri su Pompei, indirizzati a un pubblico vasto e colto. Nel presente libro, che oltre ad altri pregi ha la caratteristica di essere divertente, si occupa di una questione legata alla storia dell'Unità d'Italia. Garibaldi, nelle settimane in cui si svolse la spedizione dei Mille, prese coscienza dello straordinario patrimonio culturale presente in Campania e in possesso dei Borbone presente in Campania e capì l'importanza politica di far entrare questo patrimonio nel processo di unificazione nazionale. Su questo l'autore offre una cronaca scorrevole e ben scritta che si legge con interesse e profitto. In una parola, si tratta di un libro che interessa sia gli antichisti che i modernisti.

Heikki Solin

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