

# ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

**VOL. XLVIII**

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2014

**ARCTOS**

**VOL. 48**



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ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

**VOL. XLVIII**

HELSINKI 2014

## **ARCTOS – ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA**

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### *Publisher:*

Klassillis-filologinen yhdistys – Klassisk-filologiska föreningen (The Classical Association of Finland), c/o House of Science and Letters, Kirkkokatu 6, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.

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ISSN 0570–734–X

Helsinki  
Layout by Maija Holappa

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IN MEMORIAM

PÄIVI SETÄLÄ

PROFESSORIS, HISTORIAM

IN UNIVERSITATE HELSINGIENSI DOCENTIS

(20 I 1943 – 7 III 2014)



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## SOME RECENT "IMPROVEMENTS" TO THE TEXT OF JEROME'S *LETTER* 52, "ON SACERDOTAL LIFESTYLE"

NEIL ADKIN

Hilberg's edition of Jerome's *Letters* for the Vienna-corpus was fittingly done in "little Vienna", a. k. a. *k. und k.* Czernowitz, right now Ukrainian Chernivtsi.<sup>1</sup> Since however Hilberg's prolegomena to this edition were regrettably chomped up by the dogs of war, the text is far from being a *chose jugée*.<sup>2</sup> Just a century after Hilberg's war-bitten edition, Cain has produced a very substantial commentary on *Letter* 52, which teaches rookie Nepotian how to be the perfect parson.<sup>3</sup> Cain also takes this opportunity to make a number of textual "improvements" (so p. 23) to Hilberg's CSEL.<sup>4</sup> It would however seem possible to show that the majority of these Cainian *diorthomata* are in fact *paradiorthomata*.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I. Hilberg, *S. Eusebii Hieronymi Epistulae* I–III (CSEL 54–6), Vienna – Leipzig 1910–18.

<sup>2</sup> The "2nd ed." of "Hilberg" (Vienna 1996) just gives us the same one-eyedly prolegomena-less text; for a clear statement of the shortcomings of this new "edition" cf. the review by S. Rebenich, *Gymnasium* 106 (1999) 75–8.

<sup>3</sup> A. Cain, *Jerome and the Monastic Clergy: A Commentary on Letter 52 to Nepotian, with an Introduction, Text, and Translation*, Leiden – Boston 2013. On the merits of this book cf. the review by N. Adkin, *Eirene* 50 (2014) 361–3. Cain himself qualifies this *Letter* as "one of Jerome's most famous and ... most influential writings" (ib. p. VII).

<sup>4</sup> Cain's resultant "revised critical Latin text" (so his blurb) "will provide a reliable textual apparatus for future scholarship on this key writing".

<sup>5</sup> The same would appear to be true of the similar "improvements" made by Cain to the text of the other Hieronymian *Letter* (108) to which he has likewise devoted a recent commentary: *Jerome's Epitaph on Paula: A Commentary on the Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*, Oxford 2013. On this book cf. the review by N. Adkin, *JThS* 65 (2014) 304–6. Again the textual *Schlimmbesserungen* are treated in a separate article by N. Adkin (forthcoming).

The first passage at issue here occurs in the second chapter (2,2),<sup>6</sup> when senescent David "gat no heat" and Abishag, the fair Shunammite *caliente*, was invited to hot her old King up: *omnes* (sc. *uxores eius*) *quasi frigidae repudiantur; in unius tantum grandaevus calescit amplexibus*. To this Hilbergian text Cain adds the *et* found after *repudiantur* in some of Hilberg's MSS: the reason Cain gives (p. 81) is "so as to eliminate the run-on sentence, which would seem awkward in a work of otherwise exceptional stylistic polish". Such "awkwardness" would however seem to be the last thing one can predicate of the Hilbergian asyndeton, which sets off initial antithesis (*omnes / unius tantum*)<sup>7</sup> as well as overall adherence to Behaghel's Law.<sup>8</sup> The Cainian *et* on the other hand impairs the gracefully hyperbatic frame (*in ... amplexibus*) as well as the clausulation.<sup>9</sup> Cain's own "awkwardly" syndetic *et* should accordingly be rejected in favour of Hilberg's concinnous asyndeton, which is also the reading of his oldest MSS.

The next passage in question is found in the *Letter's* next chapter (3,3), where Hilberg prints *quod adulescentia ... quasi ignis in lignis viridioribus suffocetur*. Cain changes *viridioribus* to *viridibus*, because in his view (p. 92) "this sequence [viz. *quasi ... suffocetur*] with its parechetic wordplay (*ignis ... lignis*) has been inspired by Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,45: *ignem ex lignis viridibus atque umidis in loco angusto fieri iussit*". Imitation of Cicero is however insufficient ground for changing *viridioribus* to *viridibus*, since Jerome can be shown to be in the habit

<sup>6</sup> Citation of Latin works follows *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum*, Leipzig 1990<sup>2</sup>, and its online *Addenda* at <http://www.thesaurus.badw.de/pdf/addenda.pdf>.

<sup>7</sup> The antithesis also extends to medial *frigidae / calescit* and to final *repudiantur / amplexibus* (for *amplecti* as the opposite of *repudiare* cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* I, 1993,72–3).

<sup>8</sup> While the first clause has twelve syllables, the second one has sixteen. On this feature cf. M. von Albrecht, *Masters of Roman Prose from Cato to Apuleius*, revised Engl. transl. by N. Adkin, Leeds 1989, 188 (index s. v. "law of increasing members"). This asyndeton also forms an elegant contrast with the immediately foregoing polysyndeton (*et reliquae uxores eius et concubinae*), which in turn contrasts with the asyndetic *disiunctio* (on which cf. Quint. *inst.* 9,3,45: *initia ... et clausulae sententiarum aliis sed non alio tendentibus verbis inter se consonant*) that starts this sentence (*vivebat adhuc Bersabee, supererat Abigea*).

<sup>9</sup> The first colon ends with 1st paeon / spondee (= Ciceronian *esse videatur*), which contrasts nicely with the final dicretic. Like Chaucer's own Parson (cf. *Canterbury Tales*, *Prol.* 526), Cain does not make himself "a spiced conscience" when it comes to matters of clausular technique: on the contrary he turns such a strangely deaf ear to this important issue of auralty that it is missing altogether from his amplitudinous Indices.

of subjecting his borrowings to stylistic improvement:<sup>10</sup> *viridioribus suffocetur* generates an elegantly cretic / dispondiac clausula,<sup>11</sup> whereas *viridibus* is cadentially blah.<sup>12</sup>

The question may however be raised whether Cain's categoric assertion that Jerome's wording in the *Letter* "has been inspired" by the afore-cited text of the *Verrines* is in fact right. Only one other passage from all the speeches *Against Verres* is listed in Hagendahl's magisterial study of Jerome's debt to Cicero.<sup>13</sup> The single text identified by Hagendahl (*Verr.* 2,1,40) is moreover quoted as a canonical instance of the figure of *execratio* by Julius Rufinianus (*rhet.* 15 pp. 42,32–43,1 H.): here Jerome may therefore be quoting at second hand.<sup>14</sup> Cain makes specific reference to the *Letter's* "parechetic wordplay" with *ignis* and *lignis*, which in his view has been appropriated from the Verrine intertext that he himself has now posited. However precisely the same "parechetic" link between the same two words had already been made explicit in Lucretius.<sup>15</sup>

At the same time the online *Library of Latin Texts* supplies no further prepatristic instance of Jerome's particular collocation *lignum / viridis* besides the above-mentioned passage of the *Verrines*. If however a source has to be sought, Christ himself would seem a more likely one than a pagan prosecutor: here the *Quellenforscher* should look to the Gospels rather than the *Verrines*.<sup>16</sup> Luke 23,31

<sup>10</sup> Cf. N. Adkin, *Jerome on Virginity: A Commentary on the Libellus de virginitate servanda (Letter 22)*, Cambridge 2003, 457 (index s. v. "stylistic enhancement, of borrowings").

<sup>11</sup> It corresponds accentually to *cursus velox*.

<sup>12</sup> It is presumably due to banalization. The opposite change to *viridioribus* is on the other hand more difficult to explain.

<sup>13</sup> H. Hagendahl, *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and Other Christian Writers*, Göteborg 1958, 401, with id., "Jerome and the Latin Classics", *VChr* 28 (1974) 221–2.

<sup>14</sup> For this possibility regarding Hieronymian citations in general cf. I. Opelt, rev. of Hagendahl, *Fathers* (above n. 13), *JbAC* 3 (1960) 147.

<sup>15</sup> 1,912–4 (... *cum ligna atque ignis distincta voce notemus*); for Jerome's thorough knowledge of Lucretius cf. Hagendahl, *Fathers* (above n. 13) 274–6. *Lignum* is in any case regularly used in connection with "fire"; cf. the huge section in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* VII,2,2, 1385,78–1386,49 (s. v.).

<sup>16</sup> For a similar case in which Cain is evidently wrong to posit the source of a Jeromian phrase in the classics rather than the Bible cf. N. Adkin, "A New Echo of Pliny the Younger in Jerome?", *Philologus* 155 (2011) 193–5.

reads in the Vulgate: *si in viridi ligno haec faciunt*.<sup>17</sup> It may be observed that in both Luke and Jerome the "green wood" is figurative, whereas in Cicero it is literal. While moreover the preposition *in* is common to both Lukan and Hieronymian texts, Cicero by contrast employs *ex*.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to scripture, Jerome's wording may also have been influenced by a passage of Gregory Nazianzen:<sup>19</sup> δύσληπτον μὲν τὸ ἀγαθὸν τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ φύσει, ὡσπερ καὶ πῦρ ὕλη τῇ ὑγροτέρῳ. A number of considerations may be advanced which would seem to favour the view that Jerome has in fact been influenced here by the Nazianzene.<sup>20</sup> In the first place Gregory had been Jerome's own "teacher" in Constantinople.<sup>21</sup> Secondly the Gregorian *Oration* in question is concerned with the priestly office, which is also the subject of this Hieronymian *Letter*.<sup>22</sup> Thirdly this *Letter* mentions Gregory by name shortly afterwards.<sup>23</sup> Fourthly Gregory matches Jerome in giving this same striking simile the same specific application to virtue. Finally there is also a close parallelism in both word-order and choice of language.<sup>24</sup>

The next passage where a Cainian emendation calls for comment occurs in the next chapter but one (5,5), where Hilberg's text reads: *aegrotanti tibi sanctus*

<sup>17</sup> This is the "revised" text which Jerome had produced a decade earlier. These words are conveniently glossed by his coeval Augustine (*in psalm.* 40,12) thus: *ignis ... cuicumque viridi ligno adhibetur, difficile accenditur*. The very next words of the biblical text (*in arido quid fiet?*) may have exercised some influence on Jerome's similarly ensuing *et suum non possit explicare fulgorem*.

<sup>18</sup> Plural number and inverse order of Jerome's *in lignis viridioribus* vis-à-vis scripture resemble his comparative in making possible the elegantly cretic clausula. For the equivalence of collective singular to plural in this sense of *lignum* cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* VII,2,2, 1386,32–3.

<sup>19</sup> *Or.* 2,12. Cain does refer (p. 93) to this Gregorian text, but merely with a mouselike "cf."; he does not consider the possibility of direct influence.

<sup>20</sup> Cain fails to take account of any of these factors.

<sup>21</sup> On this relationship cf. N. Adkin, "Gregory of Nazianzus and Jerome: Some Remarks", in M. A. Flower – M. Toher (eds.), *Georgica: Greek Studies in Honour of George Cawkwell*, London 1991, 13–24.

<sup>22</sup> This *Oration* of Gregory is also one of the nine specially picked by Rufinus for translation.

<sup>23</sup> 52,8,2. For Jerome's habit of echoing the phraseology of an author whom he then proceeds to name cf. C. Kunst, *De S. Hieronymi studiis Ciceronianis* (Diss. Philol. Vindob. 12,2), Vienna – Leipzig 1918, 183 n. 5.

<sup>24</sup> *Quasi* = ὡσπερ (cf. *Gloss.* II 482,45); *ignis* = πῦρ (cf. *Gloss.* VI 539); *lignis* = ὕλη (both mean "firewood"; cf. *OLD*<sup>2</sup> 1133 (s. v., 1) and *LSJ* 1847 (s. v., II); *viridioribus* = ὑγροτέρῳ (in aforesaid Lk. 23,31 *viridis* translates ὑγρός).

*quilibet frater adsistat et germana vel mater aut probatae quaelibet apud omnes fidei.* Here Cain alters *et* to *vel*. The change would seem unwarranted for three reasons. Firstly *et* itself can be used with the same disjunctive sense as *vel*.<sup>25</sup> Secondly *et* here generates lexical *variatio* of some elegance: *et ... vel ... aut*. Lastly Cain's *vel* is found in only one Hilbergian MS, which is also his latest; the same MS also jumbles the word-order at this point.

Again the next passage at issue is to be found in the next chapter but one (7,3). Here the Hilbergian text runs: *quod Aaron et filios eius, hoc episcopum et presbyteros noverimus*. This time Cain inserts an *esse* after the *hoc*. Again however this would appear to be a case of ultracrepidarianism. Such ellipsis of the substantive verb in a *Nominalsatz* is common.<sup>26</sup> In particular the omission of *esse* in an A. c. I. with such a *verbum sentiendi* as *noverimus* is natural.<sup>27</sup> Besides these syntactic reasons there are also stylistic ones for the ellipse, since it fits the concision of such a *sententia*.<sup>28</sup> A further stylistic factor concerns prose rhythm. Cain's *esse* turns the words between initial *hoc* and the clausula (dichoree preceded by choriamb: *presbyteros noverimus*) into the second *hemiepes* of a dactylic pentameter: *esse episcopum et*.<sup>29</sup> Such poesy in prose is an elocutionary thou-shalt-not.<sup>30</sup> This Cainian *esse*, which is absent from Hilberg's earliest MSS, is evidently a later cobble-up in the interests of an ultracrepidating explicitness.

The very next chapter gives us Cain's next fix, which concerns Jerome's recipe for the peerless pulpiteer (8,1): *nolo te declamatorem esse ... sed mys-*

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* V,2, 894,30–54 (s. v. *et*): "vi disiunctiva i. q. 'aut', 'vel'". For cases where, as in the present passage, *et* "variat c. particulis disiunct." cf. ib. 880,60–81.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. J. B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, Munich 1972, 419–23.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Hofmann – Szantyr (above n. 26) 422 (sect. "e").

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Hofmann – Szantyr (above n. 26) 420 (sect. "α"). This is especially true of a *sententia* consisting of two matching halves (*quod Aaron et filios eius, hoc episcopum et presbyteros*), where the homoeoptotic isocolon is further enhanced by *adiunctio* (*noverimus*), which (so *Rhet. Her.* 4,27,38 re *adiunctio*) suits the *brevitas* that is also served by the ellipse.

<sup>29</sup> For non-elision in Late Latin prose rhythm cf. M. G. Nicolau, *L'origine du "cursus" rythmique et les débuts de l'accent d'intensité en latin*, Paris 1930, 97.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Quint. *inst.* 9,4,72: *versum in oratione fieri multo foedissimum est totum, sed etiam in parte deforme*. For Jerome's familiarity with this Quintilianic text cf. N. Adkin, "The Ninth Book of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* and Jerome", *Arctos* 32 (1998) 13–25. For avoidance of the particular elegiac hemistich at issue in the present passage of Jerome's *Letter* cf. Mart. Cap. 5,521.



*terii peritum et sacramentorum dei tui eruditissimum* (thus Hilberg).<sup>31</sup> Here Cain fine-tunes *mysterii* to *mysteriorum* "in order to restore the inflexional parallelism with the genitive plural *sacramentorum*" (p. 194). The objection may however be raised that the resultant succession of genitive plurals is a breach of rhetorical behest.<sup>32</sup> Instead of such jangly "parallelism" Jerome achieves a concinnously auxetic *variatio*: the quadrisyllabically singular *mysterii* is capped by the quinquesyllabically plural *sacramentorum*.<sup>33</sup> Hilberg's earliest MSS have *mysterii*, which the later ones have evidently assimilated to *sacramentorum* by a species of *Perseverationsfehler*.

In the next chapter but one (10,1) Cain adhibits his next textual Band-Aid. In this vignette of churchly architecture Hilberg reads: *auro splendent lacunaria*. Cain emendates *lacunaria* to *laquearia*. The change is not favoured by clausular considerations: whereas *lacunaria* gives a very choice dicretic, the dactyl / cretic entailed by *laquearia* is an unremarkable cadence. There is however another reason besides clausulation for giving the thumbs-down to Cain's emendation, which he makes "on the basis of Jer.'s own documented usage" (p. 215): while Jerome employs *laquear* on no fewer than eighteen other occasions, *lacunar* is a Hieronymian *hapax legomenon*. The reason for this *hapax* would however appear to be a hitherto unidentified imitation of Horace, *Ode* 2,18,1–2:<sup>34</sup> *aureum /*

<sup>31</sup> For Ciceronian influence (*orat.* 47 and *de orat.* 1,202) on the particular vocabulary of this Hieronymian formulation cf. N. Adkin, "Cicero's *Orator* and Jerome", *VChr* 51 (1997) 26–7.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. (e. g.) Fortun. *rhet.* 3,11: *ne plures genitivi plurales iungantur*. Cain erroneously makes *peritum* precede instead of follow its dependent noun (*peritum mysteriorum et sacramentorum* ...), which makes the sequence of genitive plurals even worse.

<sup>33</sup> The same *auxesis* also marks the respective epithets (*peritum ... eruditissimum*), while the entire syntagm (*mysterii peritum et sacramentorum dei tui eruditissimum*) constitutes a parisonic instance of Behaghel's Law. The *delectus verborum* in Hieronymian *mysterii ... sacramentorum* finds a contemporary parallel in Ambrose (*in psalm. 118 serm.* 13,6,1): *si mysterium nescias, si sacramenta non noveris*.

<sup>34</sup> An echo of the immediately preceding *Ode* (2,17) is registered by Hagendahl, *Fathers* (above n. 13) 408. On the other hand the *Nachlese* by id., "Jerome" (above n. 13) is unable to add any Horatian text whatsoever. The dossier of Jerome's debt to Horace can nonetheless be augmented; cf. N. Adkin, "Hier., *Epist.* 53,1,2–3: Cyprian, Horace, Virgil", *Sileno* 23 (1997) 91–2; id., "*Biblia Pagana*: Classical Echoes in the Vulgate", *Augustinianum* 40 (2000) 81–2; id., "The Classics and Jerome's Prefaces to the Biblical Translations 'From the Hebrew'", *Helmántica* 60 (2009) 168–9, where the borrowing comes from the second Book of Horace's *Odes*, as in the Hieronymian passage currently at issue.

... *renidet* ... *lacunar*.<sup>35</sup> Horatian and Hieronymian texts match each other in both lexicon and word-order: *aureum* / *auro*,<sup>36</sup> *renidet* / *splendet*,<sup>37</sup> *lacunar*<sup>38</sup> / *lacunaria*.<sup>39</sup> The parallelism would also seem to involve the adjacent phraseology in each author.<sup>40</sup> The *laquearia* preferred by Cain is evidently a banalization of the *lacunaria* inspired by Horace.<sup>41</sup> The status of *lacunaria* as a Hieronymian *hapax*

<sup>35</sup> The second of these two Horatian lines (... *renidet* ... *lacunar*) was of particular interest to *grammatici*. Servius quotes it twice (*Aen.* 1,726 and 8,25; on both occasions apropos of *laquearia*), while the same line also drew attention because of its unusual metre; cf. (e. g.) Prisc. *gramm.* III 460,9–11. The Horatian words in question occur at the very beginning of the antepenultimate poem of the Book; on Jerome's tendency to borrow from such conspicuously initial and final positions cf. P. Petitmengin, "S. Jérôme et Tertullien", in Y.-M. Duval (ed.), *Jérôme entre l'Occident et l'Orient*, Paris 1988, 50: "des emprunts incontestables, faits souvent au début ou à la fin ... , c'est-à-dire aux passages qui restent le mieux gravés dans la mémoire".

<sup>36</sup> Jerome's nominal form (*auro*) is more graphically concrete than Horace's epithetic *aureo*.

<sup>37</sup> Horace's "vox fere poetica" (so Forcellini s. v. *renideo*), which requires explanation by Porph. ad loc., is regularly glossed with the Hieronymian *splendet*; cf. *Gloss.* VII 197.

<sup>38</sup> Horace's use of this lexeme is a *hapax* in all Augustan poetry.

<sup>39</sup> The Hieronymian plural is customary in prose; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* VII,2,2, 859,3–11 (s. v.). Jerome ignores *mea* ... *in domo* (same Horatian line) as irrelevant. It is ironic that Jerome should use a pagan poem to describe a Christian church. Such insouciance is however typical of him; cf. Adkin (above n. 10) 453 (index s. v. "Jerome: indifferent to context").

<sup>40</sup> Both descriptions of the architecture consist of a tricollic *synathroesmus*, which Jerome has wotedly enhanced by making it asyndetically hypozeuctic (on which cf. Ps. Iul. Ruf. *schem. lex.* 4 p. 49,1–2 H.: ὑπόζευξις *est, cum singulis rebus sentiis singula debita verba iunguntur*): hence Jerome's trim *marmora nitent, auro splendent lacunaria, gemmis altare distinguitur* in contrast to Horace's somewhat straggly *non ebur neque aureum / mea renidet in domo lacunar, / non trabes Hymettiae / premunt columnas ultima recisas / Africa*. Jerome's first colon (*marmora nitent*) may also evince Horatian influence, since Horace's *trabes Hymettiae* are glossed as *marmora* by Ps. Acro ad loc., while Hieronymian *nitent* is a virtual homonym of Horatian (*re*)*nidet* (for synonymous alternatives to *niteo* cf. *Synon. Cic.* p. 422,4–5 B.). Similarly Horace's *columnas* ... *recisas* immediately after *trabes Hymettiae* may have had some influence on Jerome's *columnas* ... *subtrahunt* immediately before *marmora nitent*, since besides a common object (*columnas*) *recido* and *subtraho* are also linked conceptually: both involve the idea of "removal". Finally both passages exhibit the same *schema kat' arsin kai thesin*: Horace's concluding *at fides* ... *est* (ll. 9–10) matches Jerome's similarly terminal *et* (= *at*; for such "adversative" *et* cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* V,2, 893,4–894,3) *ministrorum Christi nulla electio est*.

<sup>41</sup> The alteration brings Jerome's wording into line with his usual practice. On the other hand there was no reason to change *laquearia* to unwonted *lacunaria*, which is also the reading of Hilberg's earliest MSS.

is accordingly a warrant for the soundness of this lection, not (as Cain diagnosticates) for its cachexy: to return ring-compositionally to the trope that opened this paragraph, here the Cainian Elastoplast (a. k. a. Hansaplast) is *fehl am Platz*.<sup>42</sup>

Cain's next-off emendation, which occurs in the next chapter (11,3), likewise involves a hitherto undetected echo of the classics. Here Jerome warns the clergyman about booze. In this connection he pronounces excathedralishly: *sicera Hebraeo sermone omnis potio nuncupatur, quae inebriare potest, sive illa fermento conficitur sive pomorum suco* (so Hilberg). Cain amends *fermento* to *frumento*, which is the reading of one Hilbergian MS. Cain's reasons are threefold (pp. 228–9). In the first place he requires "parallelism" with terminal *pomorum suco*. However in such a belletristic tract *variatio* would seem more appropriate than ho-hum sync. Secondly Cain objects that liquor is not made "out of" *fermentum*, but "with" it. This objection would appear too persnickety.<sup>43</sup> Finally Cain compares a passage from Jerome's *Commentary on Isaiah*.<sup>44</sup> This exegetic text is not however a legitimate *comparandum*, since here we have instead a precise enumeration that is appropriate to the quite different genre of the punditic commentary.<sup>45</sup>

Jerome's *fermento* is evidently due to an unidentified reminiscence of Virgil's *Georgics* (3,379–80):<sup>46</sup> *pocula laeti / fermento atque acidis imitantur vitea*

<sup>42</sup> There would seem to be a further unidentified echo of Horace earlier in this *Letter* at 6,1, where Cain misrenders the first two words of *quo mihi vulnus, ut indigeam cauterio?* as "how is it that I have ... ?" (p. 43). However the Horatian parallel (*epist.* 1,5,12: *quo mihi fortunam, si non conceditur uti?*) shows that the Hieronymian *quo* means rather "to what end or purpose?" (cf. *OLD*<sup>2</sup> 1722 [s. v. *quo*<sup>1</sup>, 2]). Both texts also evince a directly succeeding *severus* (for ample synonyms that might have been used instead cf. *Synon. Cic.* p. 414,5–6 B.).

<sup>43</sup> The *Thes. Ling. Lat.* article on *fermentum* includes under the section "ad efficiend[u]m ... liquorem" (VI,1, 525,57–8) a sub-section with the rubric "de ipso liquore" (ib. 70).

<sup>44</sup> *In Is.* 9,28,5 ll. 50–2 G.: *sive illa* (sc. *sicera*) *frumento sive hordeo sive milio pomorumque suco et palmarum fructu et alio quolibet genere conficitur*.

<sup>45</sup> In quoting Jerome's Isaiah-commentary Cain has recourse here and elsewhere (cf. p. 282: "Bibliography of Ancient Authors") to Adriaen's *CC* instead of Gryson's properly critical edition. In the case of the Isaiah-commentary this reliance on *CC* is particularly unfortunate, since, if here *PL* evinces a consuetudinal grottness, Adriaen's *CC* one-ups even it by being grody to the max; cf. R. Gryson – P.-A. Deproost, *Commentaires de Jérôme sur le prophète Isaïe: Livres I–IV*, Freiburg 1993, 119 ("la plus mauvaise de toutes").

<sup>46</sup> An echo of the previous Virgilian sentence but one (ll. 371–2) in Jerome's *C. Lucif.* 6 is identified by Opelt (above n. 14) 147.

*sorbis*.<sup>47</sup> Here Virgilian *fermento* is lexically and positionally identical with the Hieronymian lexeme: the same ablative singular in the same initial locus. In both texts this opening *fermento* is then linked by a medial conjunction (*atque / sive*) to terminal wording that again evinces a correlation: Virgilian *sorbis* corresponds to Hieronymian *pomorum suco*.<sup>48</sup> The welcome that Cain gives to the *frumento* of the one Hilbergian MS would accordingly seem to be injudicious: here we evidently have a gate-crasher from the Isaiah-commentary.

The Cainian emendation to come next comes in the same booze-based chapter (11,4), where Hilberg has: *quodsi absque vino ardeo et ardeo adulescentia*. Here Cain performs his text's only athetization by bleeping out *et ardeo* in accord with some Hilbergian MSS. Cain fails however to realize that the censured words are in fact an irreproachable instance of the figure of "explicative *geminatio*".<sup>49</sup> The same rhetorical figure had already occurred in this *Letter* at 5,7: *in clericis et in clericis monachis*.<sup>50</sup> This time Cain does not meddle with the text, but merely misunderstands it, since he translates (p. 43) as "in clergymen and in monks who are clergymen" instead of "in clergymen and in clergymen who are monks".<sup>51</sup>

<sup>47</sup> This is the only Augustan instance of *fermentum*. Moreover this particular application of the word ("ad efficiend[um] ... liquorem"; cf. above n. 43) is altogether rare.

<sup>48</sup> *Sorba* are glossed as *poma silvestria* (*Gloss.* V 245,10; cf. Jerome's *pomorum*), while the *sorbis* of this Virgilian passage is rendered by R. F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics II*, Cambridge 1988, 112 as "service-juice" (cf. Jerome's *suco*).

<sup>49</sup> Cf. P. Parzinger, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Entwicklung des Ciceronischen Stils*, Landshut 1910, 65–8. He gives as one example *inter alia* Cic. *inv.* 1,15: *peccasse et consulto peccasse*. For the similarly auxetic nuance of *adulescentia* in Jerome's own *ardeo et ardeo adulescentia* cf. *OLD*<sup>2</sup> 65 (s. v. *adulescentia*, 2: "pregn., w. ref. to the impulsiveness ... of youth"). It may accordingly be concluded that the wrongly reprehended and rhetorically immaculate *et ardeo*, which is present in Hilberg's three oldest MSS, has been omitted in the later ones by an errant haplography.

<sup>50</sup> Again most of Hilberg's MSS leave out the second *clericis*.

<sup>51</sup> Here Cain's failure to grasp the "explicative *geminatio*" also leads him to misunderstand the ensuing clause (*quorum et sacerdotium proposito et propositum ornatur sacerdotio*), concerning which his commentary (p. 153) asseverates: "*sacerdotium proposito* corresponds to regular clergymen and *propositum sacerdotio* to monks who happen to be clergymen". In fact the reference of *sacerdotium proposito* and *propositum sacerdotio* is the same: both phrases refer to the same explicatively geminated "clergymen who are monks". This entire clause is accordingly an elegant instance of the figure of *antimetabole*; cf. (e. g.) Rut. Lup. 1,6, who gives the following example: *cuius et fortunae sapientia et sapientiae fortuna suppeditet*. Jerome's own *antimetabole* is further tricked out with chiasmically polyptotic *redditio* (*sacerdotium ... sacerdotio*), on which cf. (e. g.) Ps. Iul. Ruf. *schem. lex.* 9 p. 50,19–20 H. (*cum idem verbum in*

The same figure of "explicative *geminatio*" is also deployed at the very start of the *Letter* (1,1: *petis ... et crebro petis*), where Cain fails to identify not only any rhetorical figure but also these words' evident debt to the start of Cicero's *Orator* (3): *quaeris ... idque iam saepius*.<sup>52</sup>

A similarly undetected echo of the classics is at issue in the next-but-one chapter (13,3), which is the next passage to attract Cain's blue pencil. Here the cardinal virtues are described in Hilberg's text as follows: *et ornamento tibi sunt et tutamini*. Cain jettisons *tutamini* in favour of the Hilbergian variant *munimini* because of Jerome's overwhelming preference for the latter lexeme.<sup>53</sup> The rightness of *tutamen* in this passage would however seem to be underwritten by the presence here of an unidentified reminiscence of Virgil (*Aen.* 5,262): *viro decus et tutamen*.<sup>54</sup> In both Virgilian and Hieronymian texts *tutamen* is the final element in a binary phrase. The wording of the initial element likewise evinces a correspondence: Virgilian *decus* is regularly glossed as Jeromian *ornamentum*.<sup>55</sup> In both authors the particle connecting this respective word for "ornament" with *tutamen* is the same: *et*.<sup>56</sup> Finally Virgil's datival *viro* matches the Hieronymian

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*eadem sententia et primum est et extremum*). Apropos of this misunderstood Jeromian clause Cain also quotes a clause of Gregory Nazianzen (*or.* 21,9), which he likewise misunderstands, since he translates ὧν οὐχ ὁ τρόπος τὸν βαθμὸν, ὁ βαθμὸς δὲ τὸν τρόπον πιστεύεται as "whose way of life is not a credit to their ecclesiastical rank, and whose ecclesiastical rank is not a credit to their way of life" instead of "whose way of life is not made the guarantee of their ... rank, but whose ... rank is made the guarantee of their way of life"; for this sense of πιστεύω cf. Lampe s. v. L2.

<sup>52</sup> Cicero's *quaeris* = Jerome's *petis* (cf. *Gloss.* IV 460,40), while Ciceronian *saepius* = Hieronymian *crebro* (cf. *Gloss.* V 149,10). Jerome's Tullian source has here been subjected to stylistic titivation à sa façon (cf. above n. 10): repetition of *petis* engenders not only "explicative *geminatio*", but also *reditio* (cf. above n. 51). This hitherto unidentified imitation of the opening of Cicero's *Orator* would appear to be especially important, since the *Letter's* own opening words thereby annex the *auctoritas* of the oratorical acharya-in-chief to Jerome himself as parsonological preceptor.

<sup>53</sup> P. 248 ("*tutamen* recurs only two other times in his works, and *munimen*, sixteen times").

<sup>54</sup> This Virgilian *tutamen* is a *hapax* in the whole of Augustan literature.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. *Gloss.* VI 310. A Hieronymian *decori* instead of *ornamento* would have produced an inconcinuous homoeoteleuton ("-i": *decori tibi ... tutamini*) as well as a no-no *hemiepes* (*et decori tibi sunt*; cf. above n. 30); *decori* is also pre-empted by paronymous *decoraris* in Jerome's immediately antecedent tricolon (*decoraris, cingeris atque protegeris*).

<sup>56</sup> A Jeromian *atque* would have given a better clausula: viz. dicretic corresponding to *cursus tardus* with agreement between metrical ictus and linguistic accent. For *et ... atque* = "both ... and" cf. *OLD*<sup>2</sup> 217 (s. v. *atque*, 11d). Jerome's preference for *et* may accordingly have been

*tibi*.<sup>57</sup> Cain would accordingly appear to be mistaken in deep-sixing *tutamen*, which occurs in Hilberg's earliest MSS: Jerome's preference elsewhere for *muni-men* accounts for its intrusion as a stowaway here.

The next intrusion of Cain himself into the text-criticism of this *Letter* is again found in its next-but-one chapter (15,1), which is also its antepenultimate. This time the topic is the comportment suitable to courtesy-calls by a man of the cloth: *officii tui est visitare languentes, nosse domos, matronas ac liberos earum et nobilium virorum non ignorare secreta. officii ergo tui sit non solum oculos castos servare, sed et linguam* (thusly Hilberg). Cain changes *sit* at the beginning of the second sentence to *est*, which in his view is "more sound" (p. 254), "because it restores the arresting anaphora". Better however than mere anaphora is the *geminatio cum variatione* entailed by *sit*.<sup>58</sup> here the *variatio* is an "arresting" (to use Cain's term) *amplificatio*,<sup>59</sup> since the discourse progresses from a dispassionate statement of fact (*est*) to an impassioned exhortation to virtue (*sit*).<sup>60</sup> This jussive *sit* is immediately preceded by *ergo*, which is regularly employed with such jussives.<sup>61</sup>

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influenced by the occurrence of the same particle in the Virgilian intertext.

<sup>57</sup> Jerome's imitation of this verse of the *Aeneid* (*donat habere viro decus et tutamen*) suggests that he took *viro* with *decus*, not with *donat*. For the uncertainty felt here by editors of this Virgilian line cf. the *apparatus criticus* in M. Geymonat, *P. Vergili Maronis opera*, Rome 2008, 339. The phraseology of the *Aeneid* somewhat earlier in the same boat-race may have likewise influenced the *Letter's* choice of language a mere dozen words earlier: for Jerome's *velut aurigam* cf. *Aen.* 5,146 (*nec sic ... aurigae*), while for Hieronymian *metam* cf. Virgil's multiple use of the same lexeme (*Aen.* 5,129; 5,159; 5,171).

<sup>58</sup> This form of *geminatio* is related to the "explicative *geminatio*" which Cain failed to identify at 11,4 of this *Letter*; cf. above n. 49.

<sup>59</sup> For the desirability of such *auxesis* cf. (e. g.) Quint. *inst.* 9,4,23: *augeri enim debent sententiae et insurgere*.

<sup>60</sup> This jussive *sit* is then picked up by the similarly jussive subjunctives that follow immediately (*numquam de formis mulierum disputes nec alia domus, quid agatur in alia, per te noverit*); in particular *linguam* at the end of the *sit*-clause serves as a prelude to similarly lingual *disputes*.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* V,2, 765,72–766,7; 768,25–66 (s. v. *ergo*: "cum imperativo et coniunctivo iussivo"). For a similar case in Jerome of *ergo* / *sit* used to articulate a similar *geminatio* cf. (e. g.) *Adv. Pelag.* 2,16 (*apud deum possibilia sunt. sit ergo et apud deum possibile ... donare ...*). For a comparable instance in Sallust, whose language has prescriptive value for Jerome (cf. N. Adkin, "Sallustius [Historiker]", forthcoming in *RAC*), cf. *Iug.* 85,18 (*invident honori meo: ergo invideant labori*).

Besides the aforesaid stylistic grounds of "arresting anaphora" Cain also buttresses his predilection for *est* by invoking Hieronymian usage "because Jer. has a documented preference for the impersonal construction *officium* (or *officii*) *est* + inf." Cain then proceeds to document this Jeromian preference with four texts, all of which however exhibit *officium* instead of the *officii* at issue.<sup>62</sup> Such Jeromian use elsewhere of *officium est* is however beside the point, since evidence was adduced above to show that in the present context *sit* is a better fit. An exact parallel to such a jussive *sit* with *officii* as exactly parallel *genetivus proprietatis* is conveniently supplied by Jerome's own BFF, Rufinus: *tui sane sit officii ... praeberere* (*Basil. reg. praef.* 1,11). Cain's *est* is the lection of just one Hilbergian MS: it would accordingly appear that once again Cain's helpfully-meant textual "betterment" unhelpfully *schlimmbessert* the text.

Cain makes his next and last epiphany as a text-critical *Heinzelmännchen* in the next-but-one and very last chapter (17,2), where Jerome adjures the critics of his *Letter* and of its didactics thus (à la Hilberg): *quos obsecro quiescant*. Here Cain lightens our syntactic labours for us by inserting between *obsecro* and *quiescant* the *ut* found in some of Hilberg's MSS. Cain justifies this insertion with the affirmation (p. 270) that "on every one" of the occasions when Jeromian *obsecro* ushers in such a final clause, it does so with such an *ut* / *ne*. This is not true. An example to the contrary is provided by Jerome's *Letter* 22<sup>63</sup> (6,4): *non fiat obsecro civitas meretrix fidelis Sion*.<sup>64</sup> An exact analogue to the use of *obsecro* in the text of *Letter* 52 nit-picked by Cain is moreover to be found in Jerome's prologue to his *Commentary on Ephesians* (p. 440<sup>A</sup>), where this verb is likewise preceded immediately by a *coniunctio relativa* and followed immediately by the verb of the dependent clause: *quibus obsecro respondeatis*. The wording of *Letter*

<sup>62</sup> Moreover the first of this foursome is not in fact a case of the touted use "+ inf." at all, but on the contrary involves a gerund: *psallendi*. This text is referenced by Cain as follows: "*Comm. in Eph. lib. 3 p. 563*". Both here and in the "Bibliography of Ancient Authors" (p. 282) Cain accordingly fails to indicate whether he is quoting the original edition of 1845 or the later reprint, whose pagination differs substantially. In fact his "p. 563" refers to the latter; "563" is moreover a mis-citation for "562".

<sup>63</sup> Jerome mentions this *Letter* in the previous sentence but one (17,1).

<sup>64</sup> Here *non* was significantly replaced by *ne* in pre-Hilbergian editions. An example that does involve *ne* is adduced by Cain himself from an earlier passage of *Letter* 52 itself (5,3). The point should however be made that the *ne* there (in triple anaphora) is not in fact linked to *obsecrare*, but to *monere*: *obsecro itaque te et repetens iterum iterumque monebo ne ... putes, id est, ne ... quaeras ... , ne ... habeas ... et dicatur ...*. For *ne* with *monere* cf. (e. g.) the same sentence of ch. 17 as the one currently at issue (17,2): *ne peccent monuimus*.

52 (*quos obsecro quiescant*) can also be paralleled by two further Jeromian texts, in which *obsecro* similarly governs a direct object which then serves as subject of the paratactically ensuing verb: *unde obsecro te ignoscas*<sup>65</sup> (*epist.* 99,2,2) and *unde obsecro vos, o Paula et Eustochium, fundatis ... preces* (*praef. Vulg. Dan.* p. 10,58–9).

In the final chapter of *Letter 52* the effervescently colloquial parataxis of *quos obsecro quiescant* fits the fervour of a peroration.<sup>66</sup> Suppression of *ut* after *obsecro* also sidesteps an inconcinuous hiatus.<sup>67</sup> This *ut* is also absent from Hilberg's oldest MSS. It would appear therefore that this last Cainian emendation, like all the antecedent ones, is un-Heinzelmännchenly unhelpful. The foregoing attempt to show that all of these "improvements" are but *Verschlimmbesserungen* would also seem in the process to have shed new light on Jerome's idiom, on his rhetorical technique, and on his use of hitherto unidentified classical intertexts. It may accordingly be said in conclusion that the post-Hilbergian and still-WWI-scarred text of Jerome's *Letters* continues to afford ample scope for Aesculapianly clairvoyant *Textkritik*, which rather reminds one of a tristich from "The Times They Are A-Changin'": "Come writers and critics, / Who prophesize with your pen, / And keep your eyes wide" – thus Bob Dylan, whose own grandparents were, just like Hilberg himself, Ukrainian Jews.

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<sup>65</sup> One late Hilbergian MS inserts a banalizing *ut* before *ignoscas*.

<sup>66</sup> For such peppily confabulatory elements in Jerome's *Letters* cf. Adkin (above n. 10) 450 (index s. v. "colloquialism"). A similar animation marks the *asyndeton bimembre* of *Hierosolymam, sancta loca* (*epist.* 108,7,1), where Cain (above n. 5) 50 similarly wishes to insert a similarly deflatory *et*.

<sup>67</sup> On the particular undesirability of such a clash between "o" and "u" cf. Quint. *inst.* 9,4,33.





## RETHOUGHT FORMS: HOW DO THEY WORK?

NECİP FİKİRİ ALICAN

### Abstract

This paper is a critical evaluation of Holger Thesleff's thinking on Plato's Forms, especially of his 'rethinking' of the matter, as he puts it in the title of his most recent contribution.<sup>1</sup> It lays out a broadly sympathetic perspective through dialectical engagement with the main lines of his interpretation and reconstruction of Plato's world. The aim is to launch the formal academic reception of that reconstruction (rethinking), which Thesleff cautiously and modestly presents as a 'proposal' — his teaser to elicit a reaction, positive or negative. The exegetical focus is on tracing the inspiration and reasoning behind his 'two-level' model of Plato's ontology, which, in turn, supports his tripartite classification of Forms. The critical focus is on identifying potential areas of misunderstanding and supplying any explanations, analyses, or arguments that may enhance the clarity of the respective positions.

### 1. Introduction

Thesleff is difficult to ignore and easy to misunderstand. He has something to say about practically everything we are accustomed to discussing in regard to Plato and a few things we are not. He also has a proclivity for going against the grain

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<sup>1</sup> The 'rethinking' in question is actually a product of collaboration between Thesleff and myself: Alican and Thesleff 2013. Thesleff's insight, however, predates our formal collaboration, making it both appropriate and convenient to abbreviate repeated references to our article as 'Thesleff 2013'. Thesleff's personal initiative unfolds through several of his earlier works: 1989; 1993; 1999 (= 2009, 383–506). My own efforts intersect with that initiative in two places: Alican 2012 (87–110, 110–29) and Alican 2015.

of mainstream interpretation. This is why I have taken to calling him a maverick, both in person and in print (Alican 2012, 185–88). He has yet to correct me on that. His outlook on the Forms alone reveals why he has not voiced an objection: He *is* a maverick, and he is comfortable with that label. One would have to be to produce and promote the ideas he does.

Thesleff's positions are always fluid, his work, always in progress. What we get in his books and articles are snapshots of an ever developing viewpoint. To some extent, this is true of all academic work. But with Thesleff, it might well be the common denominator of his intellectual output. This makes it all the more difficult, and that much more important, to keep up with his investigation of any given subject. My aim here is to explicate his unorthodox approach to Plato's ontology, with particular emphasis on what he does with the Forms.

## 2. The General Enterprise

The most striking feature of the general enterprise is its ontological elitism. Thesleff does not recognise every abstraction in Plato as a Form.<sup>2</sup> Nor does he take what we normally regard as Platonic Forms to be, one and all, the same kind of thing: each one simply a Form, just like any other. He sees a fundamental difference between, say, the Form for bed and that for motion, and further, between either one of those and the Form for justice — examples likely to be familiar even without specific references. He proposes rethinking Plato's Forms with a view to preserving the variegation present in the original as opposed to perpetuating the uniformity prevailing in the literature.

His rethinking inspires a tripartite classification consisting of Ideal Forms, Conceptual Forms, and Relational Forms. This arrangement comes with caveats reflecting uncertainties in the dialogues themselves. The following provisions in particular are important for a thorough appreciation:

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<sup>2</sup> The first letter of 'Form' (or 'Idea') is capitalised whenever the reference is to Plato's Forms. Individual Forms take on an initial capital when this would help avoid ambiguity (but not otherwise), as in the case of a direct comparison between a Form and an instantiation bearing the same name, for example, Justice itself and justice in the court (or the Just itself and a just law).

- The classification is a thought experiment, as is Plato's own approach to philosophy.<sup>3</sup> There can be no proof in the standard sense.
- The taxonomy has little to do with chronology: To affirm differences between types of Forms is not to affirm developmentalism.<sup>4</sup>
- The three divisions are decidedly different from one another, so much so as to defy being brought together under the general rubric of Forms, a label retained for convenience and familiarity.
- Despite fundamental differences, one kind of Form can, depending on context, take on the characteristics of another, specifically with certain Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms coming to resemble Ideal Forms.

We may add to these what would be the most important condition of all, though not directly about the Forms: the understanding of Plato's philosophical vision in terms of a sliding scale of reality represented by the metaphor of two levels in one world. This is Thesleff's alternative to the traditional two-world interpretation where Forms reside in one world and particulars in another. The caveat here is that the focal point of Plato's metaphysics is not the relationship between Forms and particulars, nor the diversification experiments with Forms, but the stratification of reality in a hierarchical ontological structure consisting of a higher and lower level and untold layers in between. Forms and particulars, not to mention the different kinds of Forms, are distinguished through this two-level vision — not merely a heuristic tool for understanding Plato but an outlook actually present in Plato.

This means, among other things, that Thesleff's classification of Forms is an initiative to tidy up the most important features of Plato's ontology rather than an attempt to provide an exhaustive catalogue of Forms recognised in the scholarly tradition. But even after we make allowances for any and all caveats, Thesleff's account leaves us with questions that can fruitfully be pursued further and problems that cannot fairly be placed entirely on Plato's doorstep:

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<sup>3</sup> Thesleff uses the model to make better sense of Plato, who was in the habit of using his own models, among them, the Forms, to make better sense of the world.

<sup>4</sup> See Thesleff (2013, 20, cf. 14, 16, 24, 33, including nn. 4, 10). Admittedly, Plato may have come up with the different types of Forms as a result of different thought experiments conducted at different times. But the resulting variety functions as an organic whole rather than a succession of increasingly better models of exactly the same thing. One category of Forms is not an improved version of another. For more on his views on chronology, see Thesleff (1982 [= 2009, 143–382]; 1989, 1–26).

- What is the difference between Forms and concepts?
- What is the difference between Forms and universals?
- What is the ontological status of Forms, or, to elaborate, what is the mode of their existence, or the nature and implications of their reality?
- How does the ontological status of Ideal Forms differ from that of Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms?

The first three questions cannot be answered without expanding on them to distinguish between the kinds of Forms envisaged. And this is what gives rise to the fourth question. To be fair, Thesleff answers all these questions. But his answers can leave the reader wondering, for example, what the difference is between horseness and justice, the former, presumably a Conceptual Form, the latter, definitely an Ideal Form. Horseness lacks the positive intrinsic value characteristic of (common and unique to) Ideal Forms and therefore present in justice. But apart from that, both horseness and justice are universals that exist in reality and outside the mind, thus pointing to a shared ontological platform.

To put it crudely, it would seem that both horseness and justice are the same kind of thing from an ontological standpoint, differing only in their axiological dimensions. We may then press Thesleff more generally on whether Ideal Forms really differ from the other two kinds of Forms in any way other than the presence or absence of positive intrinsic value.<sup>5</sup> This goes to the heart of his classification scheme, and we would, accordingly, do well to examine the main organisational principles behind that arrangement.

Despite the various uncertainties, always embraced unapologetically, Thesleff's perspective comes with several clear and strong commitments:

- All Forms are objectively real: They are ontologically independent both of the mind and of particulars.
- All Forms are at least universals (a provision allowing Forms to function like universals while having a greater claim to reality).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The notion of positive intrinsic value in Forms naturally brings to mind the possibility of negative intrinsic value in Forms. Thesleff devotes considerable attention to the question of negative Forms (the bad itself, the unjust itself, the ugly itself, and so on), primarily with a view to establishing that there are none, or, more specifically, that Plato does not countenance negative (Ideal) Forms. This is a developing theme (1999, 63–67 [= 2009, 447–50]; 2013, 40–42).

<sup>6</sup> See Thesleff (2013, 19–21). Note that "Forms are what universals fail to be" (19, n. 20), a friendly amendment to McCabe's dictum that "Forms are what particulars fail to be" (1994,

- All Forms are causally efficacious, functioning as reasons, explanations, or causes of sorts for the phenomena they represent.
- Ontological Status: Some Forms are more real, so to speak, than others, depending on the relative value and importance Plato attaches to them.
- Ontological Ascent: Forms with a lower ontological standing (Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms) can approximate to those of the highest ontological standing (Ideal Forms).<sup>7</sup>

The commitments enumerated here contain the answers to the questions posed above, especially in consideration of the caveats mentioned in the beginning. It may be helpful, all the same, to retrace such connections to make sure they are intact. This paper is dedicated to doing just that, not necessarily by taking up each of the foregoing questions exactly as expressed above but by trying out the vantage point Thesleff recommends for a clear view of the world as Plato saw it.

### 3. The Stratification of Reality

Thesleff's primary mission in *Platonica* is to replace the traditional two-world interpretation with a two-level alternative.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps his greatest contribution to Plato scholarship has been his campaign to unite the disparate worlds of the noumenal and the phenomenal in a single world with two levels sandwiching an indefinite multitude of subdivisions in a hierarchical stratification of reality.<sup>9</sup> The possibility and sensibility of bringing Forms and particulars together in a single

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60).

<sup>7</sup> The term first appears in Thesleff (2013): 22, n. 21, 43. See 29–33, 42, for discussion, 43–44, for recapitulation.

<sup>8</sup> Other notable reactions to the tradition of two worlds in Plato include: Brentlinger (1972); Broadie (2004); Butler (2007); Ferguson (1921); Nails (2013); Nehamas (1975); Robjant (2012). See also n. 9 below.

<sup>9</sup> A note on ontological versus epistemological frames of reference may be in order: In advocating his two-level model over the two-world model, Thesleff (2013, 15, n. 7) is concerned exclusively with the ontology of the matter. This is not the only possible approach, nor even the only actual one, and he is sensitive to the difference. He finds the epistemological perspective irrelevant to his own project and refers readers primarily to the work of Smith (2000, 2012) but also to contributions by Rowe (2005) and Butler (2007). See further: Fine (1978, 1990) and the reaction to Fine by Gonzalez (1996).

world convinces him to lay to rest the thoroughgoing metaphysical dualism shaping the reception and presentation of Plato through the ages.

Thesleff locates the origins of the two-level model in the work of De Vogel but accepts responsibility for having developed it as an interpretive paradigm.<sup>10</sup> He embraces the two-level model as the root of all Platonic thinking, a philosophical vision more basic than, say, the so-called theory of Forms.<sup>11</sup> It is, in fact, this feature of his discovery, namely, its relevance and reliability as a standard of interpretation, that so excites Thesleff, who declares the two-level perspective a prerequisite to a proper understanding of Plato.

Other basic perspectives, however, could be at play here. Opposition, to name one, is a prime candidate. Thesleff admits this, or, more accurately, he invokes and publicises it, wherever he discusses the two-level model (1993, 21; 1999, 7–10, 11–25 [= 2009, 393–96, 397–410]; 2013, 17–19), which he presents as the natural culmination of a general preoccupation with opposition relations shaping the prevailing sociocultural mindset. It may be useful to probe even deeper into how the Greek conception of opposition may have influenced Plato's thought, particularly in leading him to develop a two-level outlook.

Although pursuing this in detail here might be distracting, a rewarding distraction of this sort is to be found in the early work of G. E. R. Lloyd, a somewhat younger contemporary of Thesleff. During the period that Thesleff was moving from Pythagoras to Plato, Lloyd came out with a series of contributions (1962, 1964, 1966) to our understanding of the role of opposition in ancient Greek philosophy, with especial emphasis on tracing its roots in ancient Greek thought in general and demonstrating its growing hold on Greek philosophy in particular. According to Lloyd (1962), cultural preconceptions regarding opposition were prevalent in ancient Greece, among other places, with a strong impact and traceable influence on early philosophical ruminations ranging from the Presocratics to Aristotle.

Thesleff's work (1993, 21; 1999, 7–10, 11–25 [= 2009, 393–96, 397–410]; 2013, 17–19) is largely in agreement with that of Lloyd in regard to the emergence and development of opposition as a paradigm in Greek philosophy,

<sup>10</sup> See De Vogel (1986, 50, 62, 145–48, 159–212, especially 159–71); cf. Thesleff (1993, 17–45; 1999, 11–52 [= 2009, 397–436]; 2013, 17, including nn. 14, 15).

<sup>11</sup> The theoreticity of Plato's Forms is a thorny question. Thesleff does not explore the matter personally, instead referring readers to a selection of substantive discussions (2013, 15, n. 6): Annas (1981, 217–41); Gonzalez (2002, 31–83); Hyland (2002, 257–72); Sayre (1994, 167–99; 2002, 169–91); Williams (2006, 148–86).

though Thesleff (after his early work on Pythagoras) has remained more strictly focussed on Plato, with Lloyd concentrating partly on Aristotle and mostly on Greek science. Inspired by what Plato did with the opposition framework he inherited, specifically with the complementary contrasts he evidently preferred to polar opposites, Thesleff urges us to abandon the two worlds of the metaphysical dualism traditionally attributed to Plato in favour of two levels in a single world.

Possibly the strongest objection to the two-level alternative lies in the question of transcendence: What exactly do the transcendent Forms transcend? And where do they do this transcending? Does not the very idea of transcendence require a separate world?

These amount to basically the same question, and it is, in any case, an open question. Today, we face a similar problem in the choice between a universe and a multiverse as the proper interpretation of reality. Science is increasingly favouring a multiverse, at bottom, a plurality of universes. While physicists assure us that this is a possibility — that what we have been exploring as the universe is actually just one of many (possibly infinitely many) universes that are inaccessible to us — the assurance, or even flat out proof, is not convincing, nor even relevant, if what is meant by 'universe' in the first place is the totality of everything that exists, the whole of reality, accessible or not, so that the postulated 'multiverse' adds nothing to the concept of 'universe'. In this sense, the scenario of a multiverse beyond the universe is not meaningful, let alone being tenable. Yet in the sense that the universe is what we have so far been able to make of reality with the science and technology available to us, it is both meaningful and useful to think about what lies beyond. It seems, in the end, to be a matter of perspective, a matter, that is, of what we mean by 'universe' (what we take to be the referent of the term).

Thesleff's levels are like that. While Thesleff himself does not present any of this as a matter of perspective, instead asserting unequivocally that his own view is right (and anything in contradiction wrong), if the analogy could nevertheless be extended to his case, he would come down on the side of the universe as opposed to the multiverse. He assigns a single world to the whole of reality, while handling diversity in levels. What others divide between two different worlds, he distributes throughout a single world with two main levels and multiple sublevels.

But can two levels in one world accommodate the division between material and immaterial reality? This is the question to be asked here. And it is not the same question as whether it makes more sense to speak of a plurality of worlds or



of a plurality of levels within a single world. Those who postulate a second world do so for no other reason than to accommodate Plato's notion of transcendence, which they take to require an existence outside the familiar world of space and time. Thesleff, in contrast, combines everything, including any transcending to be done, in one and the same world. The two-world interpretation is entirely consistent with what we normally understand by transcendence while falling short in explaining how the two separate worlds are supposed to account for the correspondence Plato sees between Forms and particulars. The two-level interpretation supports a curious sense of transcendence, with everything still belonging to the same world, wherein nothing can quite properly be said to have transcended anything, at least not in the ordinary sense of the term (as being or going beyond that which is transcended), but it is, for the very same reason, fully responsive to all manner of connection and correspondence between Forms and particulars.

What, then, is the answer? Can two levels in the same world accommodate the distinction between the physical and the abstract? Probably not if we think of this and similar contrasts in terms of polar opposition. Nothing can reconcile reality with what lies beyond. This is because nothing lies beyond reality. On the other hand, the physical does not necessarily exhaust reality. Perhaps the proper distinction is between reality as we know it and reality as it is. Thesleff's recommendation is always to think of such distinctions (material / immaterial, sensible / intelligible, and so on) in terms of complementary perspectives, as in the contrast between, say, upstairs and downstairs.<sup>12</sup> In this sense, not only are the apparent opposites compatible but they are also complementary, neither one comprehensible without the other.

This is my own reaction to the puzzle of transcendence in a single world. It is thoroughly exploratory. Thesleff's is more elegant: Writing to me in person, he denies the problem altogether, as he takes 'transcendence' in a weaker sense than the standard philosophical/theological notion of a reality outside or beyond the world. Under his interpretation, the relevant sense of 'transcendence' is not (pace my playful label above to mark the difference) a 'curious' one invoking an 'otherworldly' existence without any 'other world' to speak of but a weaker one

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<sup>12</sup> Thesleff typically explicates this distinction — or rather relationship, perhaps a communion (*koinōnia*) of sorts — with an abundance of examples, not just his own but also Plato's. Some of his favourites (2013, 19, including n. 19) are the divided line in the *Republic* (6,509d–511e), the ladder of love in the *Symposium* (209e–212a), and the world-soul in the *Timaeus* (35a–36d). See the following discussion through the end of this section (including the corresponding notes) for the use he makes of the divided line.

precluding the implied dissociation with the world (the only one there is).<sup>13</sup>

Thesleff and I are not in disagreement over the nature of the two-level model. Our reactions to the putative puzzle converge toward the same end. Thesleff's response is more solid, leaving no room for a problem to solve. Mine is more adventurous, entertaining the standard (strong) sense of transcendence while seeking a solution within the limitations of a single world. Strictly speaking, no such adventure can succeed in a scenario both requiring and rejecting an 'other world', but the metaphorical analysis above is the best way I know to demonstrate the significance of Thesleff's promotion of complementary over contradictory opposition. It may not show how to remain in the world while leaving it behind, but it does show what goes on in Plato's world.

Thesleff has been in the habit of using a visual aid to probe Plato's world, which he believes to be built on the relevant (complementary) sort of opposition. The design is simple, a line going through a list of ten pairs of contrasts as follows:<sup>14</sup>

one	same	stable	divine	soul	leading	intellect	truth	knowledge	defined
many	different	changing	human	body	being-led	senses	appearance	opinion	undefined

The vertical alignment of the corresponding elements in each pair of contrasts depicts an asymmetrical relationship, basically a sociocultural valuation pattern (of which the list is representative rather than exhaustive) developing into philosophical insight, with the top component considered superior to the bottom but neither contemplated apart from the other. The illustration is not so much about

<sup>13</sup> This is consistent with Thesleff's ever vigilant approach to transcendence in Plato. He has long denied a 'transcendence' beyond the world, as it were, and has for this reason favoured the use of scare quotes for the term itself: "It is natural, also, to infer from the two-level vision that all 'Ideas' (whatever terms used [= 'Ideal Forms' in 2013]), are (in spite of the *κοινωνία* between the levels) somehow 'transcendent,' i.e. distinct (*χωρίς*) from and pointedly primary in relation to sensible things (though they are certainly not 'beyond being'): being 'divine,' invisible and attainable by intellect only, they belong entirely to the higher level in Plato's vision" (1999, 58 [= 2009, 442]; cf. 55 [= 2009, 439] n. 97; 62 [= 2009, 446] n. 111). It is important to remember, however, that this distinction is still within the sliding scale of a single reality where neither end is cut off from the other in complete isolation or polar opposition. The *chōrismós* here is not a hard 'separation' (or 'separability') but a softer 'distinction' (or 'distinguishability'). See further n. 31 below.

<sup>14</sup> The visual aid in question can be found in several of Thesleff's works, either in the precise form presented here (1999, 27 [= 2009, 411]; 2013, 17) or in a variation (1993, 21).

the Forms as it is about the more basic opposition paradigm Thesleff believes to have led Plato to develop his two-level outlook, which, in turn, supports and encourages the distinction between Forms and particulars (or which, from our perspective, helps explain that distinction). The distinction between Forms and the things of which they are Forms makes more sense in a single reality divided up in this manner than it does in two separate worlds — where the Forms would be without substance, the things, without Form, and each without a frame of reference to identify it as what it is.

Thesleff's visual aid is, in a sense, a simplified version of the more popular one in Plato, the divided line of the *Republic* (6,509d–511e). Thesleff is, in fact, quite fond of the original simile, embracing it both as evidence of Plato's two-level vision and as a model for his (Thesleff's but also Plato's) classification of Forms. The four segments of Plato's divided line correspond to subdivisions in the two main levels of Thesleff's scheme, placing the Forms on the upper level, the particulars, on the lower.<sup>15</sup> To put it in Plato's terms, Ideal Forms belong at the top (right after *to agathon*), at the level of *noesis*, Conceptual Forms come next, at the level of *dianoia*, and Relational Forms constitute a lateral projection of the general partition scheme. The two lower segments of Plato's line are reserved for physical things, at the level of *pistis*, and for images or shadows, at the level of *eikasia*, together corresponding to the single (but divisible and actually stratified) lower level of Thesleff. Details are best left to the next section, dedicated exclusively to Thesleff's classification of Forms.

#### 4. The Classification of Forms

Thesleff's stratification of reality is the hermeneutic anchor for his classification of Forms. This is not to say that his two-level model automatically suggests the divisions he proposes. It does not. But what he does with the Forms is a natural extension of what he does with Plato's ontology. Having long contemplated distinctions between different kinds of entities collectively regarded simply and without discrimination as Forms (1989; 1993; 1999 [= 2009, 383–506]), Thesleff has settled, in his latest thinking (2013), on a full-blown classification scheme.

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<sup>15</sup> This is another occasion to remember that Thesleff presents the two primary levels as a metaphor for a comprehensive stratification scheme with an indefinitely large number of subdivisions. Wherever he refers to either of the two main levels, or to both at once, he means to include any and all sublayers without specifically mentioning them.

Summarised above (in section 2), this is a grouping with three divisions: Ideal Forms; Conceptual Forms; Relational Forms.

All three are universals with objective reality. As Thesleff puts it, they are 'at least' universals, which leaves open how much more they can be and what exactly each might be. It turns out that they are decidedly different things. They differ not only in the aspects of reality to which they correspond as universals but also in the qualities that make them what they are as Forms.

Regarding their 'phenomenal range', to coin a phrase, (1) Ideal Forms serve as value paradigms, though what they are in and of themselves is noetic realities of superlative intrinsic value; (2) Conceptual Forms cover types, properties, events, actions, and experiences; (3) Relational Forms embody correlative universal concepts taken in pairs of asymmetrical contrasts jointly responsible for the fundamental structure of the cosmos. In a sense, albeit a simplistic sense, Ideal Forms account for values, Relational Forms, for relations, leaving Conceptual Forms to represent all other relevant universals, be they natural kinds, or their properties, or anything else open to phenomenal experience, such as events or actions.<sup>16</sup>

As for what these Forms are qua Forms, Ideal Forms differ from the other two kinds through a host of features, including transcendence, intelligibility, and comparable refinements familiar from the long tradition of Plato scholarship.<sup>17</sup> Ideal Forms are much like the fantabulous entities associated with the gods, and accorded a status bordering on divinity, as in the *Phaedo* and the *Phaedrus*.<sup>18</sup> In comparison, Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms come across as little more than glorified concepts, universals with objective reality. They exist, to be sure, but evidently not as anything nearly so special as Ideal Forms.

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<sup>16</sup> The reason this is a simplistic account is that Ideal Forms are not values, Relational Forms are not relations, and Conceptual Forms are not concepts. Each is the Form for the type of phenomenal manifestation it represents, not that manifestation itself.

<sup>17</sup> The full list includes seven features identifying Ideal Forms as transcendent, intelligible, paradigmatic, perfect, immutable, simple, and unique. Thesleff lists these as commonly recognised features in the literature as opposed to personal discoveries or innovations, and he admits the possibility of additions, deletions, and modifications to the list (2013, 27–28, cf. nn. 33, 34).

<sup>18</sup> *Phaedo* 78b–80b: the analogic argument where the soul is likened to the gods and the Forms, thus implying that the latter two are themselves comparable in some way. *Phaedrus* 246e–249d: the cosmic journey of enlightenment where the soul of the philosopher (248a–249d), together with the gods (246e–247e), eventually beholds the Forms.

The 'glorified concepts' analogy, however, runs the risk of understatement. It must be understood to include not just ontological independence but ontological eminence as well. As vague as that may sound, it captures the superiority of the lesser two types of Forms over things that are not Forms at all. The upper level of Plato's world is not just for Ideal Forms but for all Forms. Everything else belongs to the lower level. Furthermore, the eminence in question is not strictly ontological but broadly metaphysical. At the very least, these 'glorified concepts', in addition to their objective reality, boast a causal efficacy of some sort. All Forms, no matter which of the three divisions they may belong to, function in an explanatory capacity on a cosmic scale, though it is not clear whether this is a logical, cosmological, psychological, or yet some other kind of explanation. The lack of specificity in this regard is not a shortcoming of Thesleff's account but a feature of Plato's. Thesleff acknowledges a causal role for the Forms, but he does not pursue it in any detail, partly because he has a greater interest in ontology than in cosmology, and partly because he does not think we can get very far with a reconstruction of Platonic causality.<sup>19</sup>

The relevance of ontological/cosmological eminence across the board at the upper level of reality is best reflected in Thesleff's allowance for the possibility of ontological ascent: This is a process (or phenomenon) through which the boundaries break down between Ideal Forms, on the one hand, and Conceptual

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<sup>19</sup> Thesleff is not impressed with our prospects for discovering a coherent account of causation, or of causal explanation, in Plato. He does recognise the various attempts in the canonical corpus — where causality is examined in the Forms, in the soul, in the demiurge, and even as a category of its own (e.g., *Philebus* 23d ff.) — but he also notes the absence of a connection toward a unified perspective (1999, 102 [= 2009, 483]). He finds the approach unclear even where the focus seems to be exclusively on the Forms (2013, 28, n. 34), adding, in fact, that there is no such restriction to the Forms. What may appear to be about the Forms is more generally about the levels: "To put it somewhat aristotelically, there is a 'causal' relation between the levels, even more manifestly than between Forms and particulars" (1999, 30 [= 2009, 415]). Yet, even then, observes Thesleff, "one cannot claim that the upper level is always or predominantly 'effecting' the lower level phenomena" (1999, 102 [= 2009, 483]). He is equally cautious about what to make of the foundational principles of the *agrapha dogmata*. Rejecting the Tübingen tendency to take the *archai* as "'causes' in the Presocratic sense, which would mean stressing their 'material' and 'efficient' aspects", he interprets the subordination of the *hen* to the *ahoristos duas* as an indication that the *archai* "combine the 'formal' and 'final' aspects of Aristotelian causes" (1999, 101–02 [= 2009, 483]). He makes no commitments in this regard, offers no assurances. He warns that this is not so much about Plato as it is about Aristotle: "But of course 'aetiology' is an Aristotelian issue" (1999, 102 [= 2009, 483]). Even his call for caution is cautious: "The question of how to apply Aristotelian 'causes' (or rather, aetiology) to this complex, can perhaps not be definitely solved" (1999, 101 [= 2009, 483]).

Forms and Relational Forms, on the other. Any Conceptual Form can, in principle, approximate to Ideal Forms, thereby coming to resemble them in every way except for the possession of intrinsic value. And the same holds for the dominant (more valuable or more important) element in the asymmetrically paired correlative universal concepts constituting Relational Forms. Hence, the string of features normally reserved for Ideal Forms, including the qualities of transcendence and intelligibility, ceases under ontological ascent to be a means for differentiating between Ideal Forms and the other two types.

Ontological ascent opens up interesting possibilities, engendering greater flexibility within the classification scheme, but it also comes with implications that may be interpreted as complications. This is at the centre of the discussion in the next section. At this point, it is better to proceed with a closer look at the system itself, taking stock of the details of all three categories of Forms.

To start with, what makes Ideal Forms so special? It may seem upon initial consideration that they are little more than moral exemplars, paradigms of human excellence. But they are more than that. First, they are more than paradigms: They are real entities albeit ones that transcend sense-experience, therefore being accessible through the mind alone. As mentioned, they also have some sort of causal or explanatory relevance, though we need not dwell on this here, as moral values of the ordinary sort may also be said to have causal or explanatory relevance insofar as they tend to be invoked as reasons for action, that is, cited as justification by moral agents performing moral acts. They are, in short, noetic realities. Second, their connection with the phenomenal level of reality covers more than moral value, extending, for example, to aesthetic and religious value as well, and possibly also to other categories of value. As a matter of fact, the division is not between moral and nonmoral value (nor between aesthetic and nonaesthetic value, nor between religious and nonreligious value) but between intrinsic and instrumental value. Hence, even something that is neither moral (justice) nor aesthetic (beauty) nor religious (piety) may be an Ideal Form. The Form of knowledge comes to mind (*Parmenides* 134a–e; *Phaedrus* 247d–e). And the same may perhaps be said of the Form of life (*Phaedo* 106d).

As for the other two types of Forms, the fact that they are both, in many respects, less valuable (or less important, or less significant, and so on, all with reference to Plato's discernible outlook), and as it seems, equally less valuable, should not be taken as an indication that they are merely variations on a theme. They are different sorts of things and they play different roles in Plato's attempt to make sense of the world around him. More to the point, Relational Forms are not

a subdivision of Conceptual Forms that just happen to be taken in pairs of complementary opposites.<sup>20</sup> Relational Forms have the distinct function, collectively, of illustrating the constitution of the universe.

As with any classification scheme, two questions arise with respect to Thesleff's: (1) Is the taxonomy exhaustive? (2) How does it compare with actual or possible alternatives?

The answer to the first question is that the aim is not so much exhaustive coverage as it is holistic codification. It is more important that each division be a verifiable or defensible reflection of the Platonic corpus than that absolutely nothing be left out. Thesleff has never been after a complete catalogue of everything that may pass for a Form, but he has been interested in making sense of the variety of entities (or constructs, depending on whether one sees Plato as discovering or inventing these things) that may be organised in accordance with Plato's ontology and his general philosophical outlook, preferably in a demonstrable correspondence with both. This being so, his classification of Forms has been inspired and shaped by his two-level interpretation of Plato. Nothing that is not supported by this model makes it into the classification. And the same can be said of anything that happens to be either too vague or too controversial for accurate assignment.<sup>21</sup>

The answer to the second question would have to be on a case-by-case basis. This is a matter of comparing Thesleff's classification with whatever happens to be nominated in its place. While alternatives have not yet appeared in print in the form of a direct challenge, both actual and possible alternatives can be found in much that has been proposed independently. They can sometimes be found in generalist commentaries on Plato (companions, guidebooks, overviews), required by their nature to make the 'theory' of Forms accessible to a wide audience. Mohr (2010, 5), for example, divides Plato's Forms into five groups, which he takes to represent the traditional list of Forms: moral and aesthetic notions (justice itself, goodness itself, beauty itself); mathematical concepts (three, oddness, even, square, sphere); relations (double, half, large, small, octave, speed); notions

<sup>20</sup> See Thesleff (2013, 35–36, especially n. 54) on this aspect of the difference between Relational Forms and Conceptual Forms.

<sup>21</sup> The prime examples are mathematical (numbers and shapes) and immanent Forms. Regarding mathematical, Thesleff notes in passing that they can be classified under Conceptual Forms, though he shows no enthusiasm for further consideration, first, because he is not convinced of the subject's relevance to his primary project, second, because he is not optimistic about a resolution in any event (2013, 21–22, especially n. 21). And he shows no greater interest in the possibility or implications of immanence — the chief implication being 'immanent Forms' — declaring the question "largely *non liquet*" (2013, 33; cf. n. 31 below).

that range widely over other notions (being, sameness, difference, motion, rest); natural kinds (earth, air, fire, water). Mohr is right to offer this as a 'traditional' list. But nothing here contradicts Thesleff's model.

Examples can be multiplied indefinitely, I suspect, with much the same result. Alternatives are unlikely to be opposed diametrically to Thesleff's classification, instead presenting different ways of arranging roughly the same items, perhaps coming up with a division or two which Thesleff handles at the level of subdivisions. A broader survey may prove more informative. A combination of both questions could, for example, be taken up in an alternative classification grounded in the distinction between transcendence and immanence. Thus, instead of Thesleff's three divisions, we would have transcendent Forms versus immanent Forms.<sup>22</sup>

Actually, the matter of transcendence versus immanence is not so much a distinction between types of Forms as it is a debate on the nature of Forms, specifically on the possible phenomenal manifestation of Forms. Employing it as a means of differentiating between Forms (just because some dialogues speak of the 'F' in us and so on) seems to beg the question. That, of course, may not be altogether fair from the perspective of anyone collating apparently endless examples of transcendent Forms and immanent Forms throughout the Platonic corpus, wondering why they are both in abundance if they may not be taken as two different types of Forms.

A case in point is a discussion note by Demos (1948, 456–60), reportedly drawing and expanding on earlier work both by himself (1939, 179) and by Cornford (1939, 78). Demos objects to interpreting the interplay between Forms and particulars as a correspondence between *what* and *that*, in other words, as a juxtaposition of essence and instance, thus equating whatness (structure) with universals while leaving nothing but brute fact for particulars (1948, 456). He envisages Plato's Forms as combining elements both of universals and of particulars. Although he does not claim to be advancing a classification scheme, his discussion is dedicated to elucidating the distinction between what he calls 'Ideal Forms' (or 'Abstract Forms') and 'Empirical Forms' (or 'Phenomenal Forms'). The difference is that the former are grasped by *nous* whereas the latter are found in

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<sup>22</sup> This is not necessarily incompatible with Thesleff's scheme, as both transcendent Forms and immanent Forms can arguably be divided further into Ideal Forms, Conceptual Forms, and Relational Forms. Or perhaps the three divisions can be assumed to be under transcendent Forms, and their manifestations, under immanent Forms. Either way, the result is an alternative to Thesleff's model, not necessarily a contradiction of it.



sense-experience. Ideal Forms are transcendent, invisible, and abstract. Empirical Forms are immanent, visible, and concrete.

The question, then, is whether this distinction deserves the recognition denied it by those who reject immanent Forms as a type of Form (not to mention those who contest the very possibility of immanence for Forms). It does not. While the question of immanence certainly requires our full attention, it provides no grounds for a classification of Forms. This is because transcendence is a defining characteristic of Forms (routinely so with the undifferentiated Forms of the Platonic tradition), which precludes immanence as an alternative (for anything that is supposed to remain a Form). When we begin talking about the difference between transcendent Forms and immanent Forms (or between Ideal Forms and Empirical Forms in the terminology of Demos), we are no longer talking about two different types of Forms but focussing on two different kinds of things. We are, in effect, talking about Forms versus things that would be Forms if they were transcendent instead of immanent.

This leaves open the broader question of immanence, that is, the question whether the immanence of Forms is possible at all. Does rejecting immanence as the basis for a proper classification of Forms require rejecting immanence altogether? It may not be a requirement, but it is a good idea. A Form is not the kind of thing that can be immanent, whether or not this is used as a basis for classification.<sup>23</sup> This position may seem to be undermined by the countless examples typically adduced in favour of immanence, starting with the parade example of the tallness, or largeness, in Simmias (*Phaedo* 102b–d), but all such talk is metaphor for whatever correspondence there may be between Forms and particulars, not evidence of Forms that are incarnate in the physical realm, which would be tantamount to evidence of Forms that are not Forms. A so-called immanent Form is no more a Form than the tallness in Simmias is Tallness itself (*auto kath' hauto*).

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<sup>23</sup> Note, however, that denying this claim does not require holding that Forms are immanent instead of transcendent, just that they are immanent. Perl (1999, 339–62, see especially 339, n. 1, 361–62), for one, argues that transcendence and immanence are not contradictory positions, crediting Fine for having already established this with her two articles, one each, on transcendence (1984, 31–87) and immanence (1986, 71–97). On this view, it would not be wrong to claim that Forms are transcendent, and it would not be wrong to claim that they are immanent, but it would be wrong to claim, as I do, that they are transcendent and not immanent.

What, then, is the tallness in Simmias, if not a Form?<sup>24</sup> It is nothing more than the instantiation of Tallness — an indication<sup>25</sup> that the thing is in conformity with the Form, that it is displaying the essential quality, or the defining characteristic, of the Form, that, in this case, Simmias is tall.<sup>26</sup> The proper explanation is not that Tallness itself (*auto kath' hauto*) is in Simmias but that the physical rela-

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<sup>24</sup> My dialectical excursion below is not a substitute for Thesleff's own answer. See his assessment of the opposition between tallness and smallness, presented in the broader context of his explication of the (limited) relationship between Forms and opposites (1999, 50–52 [= 2009, 434–36]). Both tallness and smallness are at best Conceptual Forms in his terminology. While it would be difficult (in the relevant context) to mistake them for Ideal Forms, note well that they are also not Relational Forms (a mistake less difficult to make). The opposition between tallness and smallness does not make them a pair of Relational Forms, which, as noted above (n. 20 and the text to which it refers), are not simply opposite Conceptual Forms but correlative universal categories of metaphysical significance.

<sup>25</sup> This is a special kind of indication, bringing together the phenomenal and the noumenal, and combining empirical evidence with rational reflection, in what can best be described as a 'bridge' between the upper and lower levels of Plato's universe. See Thesleff (1999, 33 [= 2009, 417–18]) for the notion of bridges in Plato's stratification of reality. It is particularly noteworthy that he identifies Plato's Forms as the philosopher's "most explicit, ambitious and famous" attempt to bridge the levels.

<sup>26</sup> It may be objected that this is just what is meant by the immanence of Forms, or that it falls under what is involved in the immanence of Forms, in short, that it counts as immanence. (See Fine 1986, 71–97, especially 71–73, for the relevant sense of being 'in' something, and 74, for the tallness in Simmias. See Perl 1999, 339–62, especially 345–47, for the tallness in Simmias.) The objection, in other words, would be that I have misunderstood immanence in general, whether or not I have understood Plato. Either way, I do not see how we can all agree that it is not Tallness itself (but the quality of being tall) that is in Simmias and still disagree whether the Form is in the thing. Or perhaps we do not all agree on the first part of the apparent puzzle, as Fine (1986, 73), for example, speaks of the Form's being in the thing as a property ('being in the thing as a property' as an acceptable sense of 'being in the thing', and accordingly, 'the Form's being in the thing as a property' as the relevant sense of 'the Form's being in the thing'), which, I agree, does not mean that the Form is nothing more than a property of the thing. This may be a matter of drawing more or less the same conclusion but expressing it differently. My interpretation seems to be closer to that of Devereux, who submits that what is in Simmias is the "immanent character of largeness" (1994, 88, cf. 66, 73–74), not largeness itself. See Allen (1997, 116–19) for general agreement, Gonzalez (2002, 39–40) for opposition. Devereux's (1994, 70–71, including especially n. 15) rejection of immanence for Forms turns on a distinction (in the relevant part of the *Phaedo*) between Plato's usage of *eidos*, reserved for nonimmanent Forms, and *idea*, reserved for the 'character' that comes to characterise or to be 'in' the sensible thing. (I am reporting the justification, not confirming the observation.) My own impression was shaped independently of the Greek, relying solely on my (mis)understanding of immanence.

tion of Simmias to Socrates, presumably coupled with other relations of the same sort (as in *Phaedo* in relation to Simmias), helps understand (recollect) Tallness itself, which is not itself in anything. If the Form were in something, it would not require recollection, just observation, thus making *anamnēsis* redundant.<sup>27</sup>

Some manner of experimentation may be helpful here. What if the problem were a matter of conflating physical and abstract instantiations while trying to distinguish between transcendent and immanent Forms? I am not suggesting that there is a meaningful difference between physical and abstract instantiations. I am speculating that we do perhaps proceed as if there were. What seems (to some) to be a legitimate distinction between transcendent and immanent Forms may instead be a confusion between physical and abstract instantiations. We usually have no problem (or at least not the same problem) with, say, the bed or the shuttle as instantiations, but we tend to complicate matters with tallness as an instantiation, wondering whether something abstract, such as tallness (as a quality), can be the instantiation of something else that is abstract, such as the Form of Tallness. We may thereby be making more of the tallness in something or of someone than is required to make sense of the instantiation of Forms. The tallness in Simmias is the tallness of Simmias.<sup>28</sup>

An even better distinction (or perhaps a better naming convention for the same distinction) may be between simple and complex instantiations — or between full and partial instantiations, or direct and indirect instantiations, or defining and refining ones. The simple kind is when the Form is instantiated precisely as what it is, the Form of Bed, as a bed, the Form of Justice, as justice, and so on. The complex kind is when the Form is instantiated, again, as what it is, but in something that is more than just the instantiation of the Form in question, as is the case with the instantiation of the Form of Tallness in Simmias. There is noth-

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<sup>27</sup> The reference to *anamnēsis* is merely a reminder of the underlying epistemology, which, of course, does not constitute a demonstration of anything regarding the metaphysics. Thesleff himself is not very interested in the matter, regarding it as a mythic thought experiment with little if any relevance to anything outside the eschatological epistemology of the philosopher following the gods toward a rather mystical enlightenment (*Phaedrus* 246e–249d). Noting that it never took on a more important function, he deems it "unfortunate" that the experiment "became a standard requisite of Platonism" (1999, 86 [= 2009, 468]).

<sup>28</sup> I am not alone in this reading. Kahn, for one, finds it plausible: "The reference to 'the tallness in us' at *Phaedo* 102d7 was probably intended only as a linguistic variant for *our being tall*" (1996, 357, Stephanus notation modified). Allen makes a similar point about the instantiation of justice: "to say, for example, that there is justice in an action is merely another way, and an ordinary way, of saying that an action is just" (1970, 146).

ing wrong with one kind that would not also be wrong with the other. Yet while we normally do not think to bring up the bedness of the bed as a complication, a puzzling category between the Form of Bed and the physical bed, we do this regularly with the tallness of Simmias, as if the latter represented an entirely different sort of instantiation.

There is actually just one sort of instantiation.<sup>29</sup> We are not clear on how it works. Nor are we in agreement. But many of us would probably be willing to grant that, however it works, it works the same way in all cases. It may or may not be a tenable phenomenon or process, but the instantiation of Forms should pose no special problems, only a general one, if any at all.

Greater clarity may be had through a reconsideration of the proper correspondence between the elements compared in the foregoing examples. Some of the comparisons seem to have been cast at the wrong level, resulting in the juxtaposition of disparate elements. The analogic counterpart of the bedness of the bed is not the tallness in or of Simmias but tallness as a quality.<sup>30</sup> It may help to think metaphorically of the Form of Tallness as somehow coming to be present in Simmias, but this is not the same as identifying a new (immanent) Form of Tallness to be distinguished from the standard (transcendent) Form of Tallness. There is just the one Form (for Tallness as for anything else) and it is transcendent. Its instantiation is not the same as the Form itself.

This is not intended as a definitive answer, not, to be more specific, as a conclusive general account of instantiation, but as a possible explanation on be-

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<sup>29</sup> That said, the instantiation of Forms, and thereby the relationship between Forms and particulars, is explicated in various different ways, ranging from the 'participation' of the thing in the Form, to the opposite perspective in the 'inherence' of the Form in the thing, to an even vaguer 'communion' between the two. This is often associated with the question of causation or causal explanation in Plato, especially in its bearing on the Forms. See, e.g., Alican (2012, 95–97); cf. Thesleff (2013, 28, n. 34). It is also the focal point of Thesleff's notion of 'bridges' between ontological levels. See the preceding notes on causation (n. 19) and bridges (n. 25). At any rate, the point of claiming that there is only one kind of instantiation is not to deny the variety of attempts to account for instantiation but to suggest that any model proposed to explain instantiation (whether or not that model works differently from any other) must work the same way when applied to the Form of Bed as it does when applied to the Form of Tallness (or to the Form of anything else).

<sup>30</sup> The tallness of Tallness the Form is an altogether different problem, one receiving plenty of attention in the literature as the Third Man Argument. The question on hand is not whether the Form of Bed is a bed but whether the bedness of the bed constitutes a puzzle, a separate and unfathomable ontological category, in the relationship between the Form of Bed and the physical bed.

half of Thesleff regarding his refusal to recognise immanent Forms.<sup>31</sup> Whether or not the skeletal response sketched here is on the right track, it gives rise to an even more important question. In other words, even if the response contemplated above is correct in itself, and further, even if it captures Thesleff's actual thoughts on the matter, it brings us to a related but more fundamental matter requiring clarification, again, concerning transcendence. In fact, this prior issue is not about transcendence alone but about the entire collection of features Thesleff attributes to Ideal Forms.<sup>32</sup> The potential problem is that transcendence (and any other ontologically special feature) is accorded to Ideal Forms but not to the other two types except under special circumstances (through which the others come to resemble Ideal Forms). The next section explains why this may be a problem and examines whether it really is.

## 5. The Continuum of Abstraction

Thesleff's classification of Forms holds a certain potential for confusion in the details of the ontological stratification proposed. More accurately, the potential rests on just one detail that ties everything together: the provision for a gradation of reality not only between Forms and particulars but also between different kinds of Forms and further between Forms and mere abstractions. The difference be-

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<sup>31</sup> Thesleff does not take an active part in the debate on transcendence versus immanence. Neither his 'transcendence' nor his 'immanence' is much like what one might expect to find in the literature: "It is a specific characteristic of the entities of Plato's first ('higher') level to be, somehow, inherent (rather than 'immanent') in the corresponding entities of the second ('lower') level" (1999, 30 [= 2009, 414]). The key to understanding his noncommittal perspective is in his emphatic warning against making too much of the distinction: "It is again worth noting that there is no distinct gap of difference between the two levels in Plato's vision, no pointed *χωρίς*, no deep separation of the 'immanent' from the 'transcendent'" (1999, 63 [= 2009, 446]). His *koinōnia*, on the other hand, is no more demanding than his *chōrismós*. The balance, therefore, is steadier than would be required for a contradiction. This leaves Thesleff without much of an internal conflict, the absence of which also deprives him of a serious incentive to debate the matter. His tendency to remain outside the dialogue in the secondary literature can be confirmed in his latest work (2013, 16, cf. nn. 9, 12), where he is content to refer readers to the contributions of others (Fine 1984, 1986; Devereux 1994; Nails 2013), though he does show a personal interest in the relevant passages in the primary sources, for example, the complications in Plato (*Parmenides*) and the critique in Aristotle (*Metaphysics* 1,987a29–b35, 13,1078b7–1079a4, 13,1086a30–b12).

<sup>32</sup> See Thesleff (2013, 27); cf. n. 17 above.

tween Forms and particulars is par for the course, a common feature, if there ever was one, in the literature on Plato. The difference(s) between types of Forms is Thesleff's own contribution, and everything there is clear enough (which, at this point, is to endorse just the clarity and not necessarily the veracity or validity). The potential for confusion rests in the difference between a Form and a mere abstraction.

A concept, for example, is different from a Conceptual Form, the concept being less real, the Form, more so, but we also find that a Conceptual Form differs from an Ideal Form in a comparable fashion and degree. We find, in other words, that a Conceptual Form is not transcendent or intelligible, and so on, except when it approximates to Ideal Forms. But in what way, then, is a Conceptual Form superior to a mere concept? The answer, not just for Conceptual Forms but for all Forms, is that the Form has a metaphysical eminence manifested at least as objective reality and causal efficacy (features common to all Forms), whereas what it represents, be it a value, a concept, or a relation, does not.

The answer itself is not problematic, but the assignment of objective reality and some sort of causal efficacy to all Forms, while reserving transcendence and intelligibility and other metaphysically privileged qualities for Ideal Forms, raises the further question of what kind of reality it is that is assigned to the other two types of Forms if not a reality that is transcendent and intelligible. What does it mean to say that Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms are objectively real? Just how real are they? We seem to be looking for a mode of existence corresponding neither to the physical reality of ordinary things nor to the conventional reality of abstractions nor to the perfect reality of Ideal Forms. It is difficult to imagine any type of Platonic Form with an existence that does not come with transcendence and intelligibility and the host of other features associated with Ideal Forms.

Note that we cannot evade the difficulty by backtracking and admitting that Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms are, after all, transcendent and intelligible and so on, for to do so would be to deny ontological ascent. Either they attain those qualities through ontological ascent, or if they have them in the first place, then there is no room for ontological ascent. And if they attain those qualities through ontological ascent, then they are not so special beforehand, not, in other words, far superior to concepts.

A tempting response is that ontological ascent is precisely what accounts for the difference between concepts and Conceptual Forms (or between relations and Relational Forms, or between ideas or ideals and Ideal Forms), such that

without it there is no difference between a concept and a Conceptual Form (or a relation and a Relational Form, or an idea or ideal and an Ideal Form). But Thesleff clearly assigns ontological ascent to Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms that approximate somehow to Ideal Forms, thereby specifying when and explaining how these other two types of Forms come to possess features normally reserved for Ideal Forms (2013, 29–33, 42, 43–44). The same process cannot then be invoked to show that these other two types of Forms always possess those features (transcendence and intelligibility and so on).

This line of criticism may be a bit pedantic. Thesleff is not very demanding here. If we agree that Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms have legitimate claims to objective reality, which we might then flesh out as ontological independence (at least of the mind and of particulars), and if we recognise in addition that these two types of Forms have cosmologically significant causal roles, the cumulative evidence, that is, the base of agreement, could arguably be sufficient, as suggested in section 4, to distinguish them from mere concepts and relations (and abstractions in general). Whether it is or not is indeed the central question — and the prime reason for the potential confusion regarding ontological ascent. As far as Thesleff is concerned, we do not even have to bother with the matter of causality, since we do not quite know what we would be getting into there. He is perfectly comfortable with objective reality (especially with full ontological independence) as representing a minimally acceptable sense of metaphysical eminence clearly not shared by mere abstractions. But as long as we are revisiting the response to the 'glorified concepts' analogy entertained in section 4, a dispassionate assessment requires acknowledging that the metaphysical eminence claimed there for Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms, while establishing their superiority to concepts and such, leaves open the question whether they are nevertheless 'glorified concepts' — difficult to rule out, because the term does not really mean anything, and difficult to ignore, because we understand exactly what it means anyway.

The difficulties may stand exacerbated by complications associated with using a metalanguage (relative to Plato in translation) that is an integral part of our natural language but probably was not a part of Plato's — nor, evidently, of his audience. The difference, to fill in the details, is between talking about Forms with a shared understanding of concepts and talking about them without one.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> This is intended not as a judgement from a position of expertise but as a naïve exploration of the possibilities. If the statement is vulnerably bald, safeguards are certainly welcome as amendments. Perhaps, for example, the difference invoked here is better explicated as one

This is a controversial assumption, but it is not entirely untenable, despite recent studies suggesting that the actual gap was not as great as one may think and implying therefore that this way of putting it may be an exaggeration of the facts.<sup>34</sup> It is not, at any rate, an easy matter. The fact, for example, that Plato had a word (or two or three) for 'concept' does not settle the issue one way or the other.<sup>35</sup> We know all too well how hard the Socrates of the so-called early dialogues has to work to get his interlocutors to understand the question whenever he inquires into the nature of what would now strike us as an ordinary concept.<sup>36</sup> If everyone in Socratic Athens, or even just the philosophical community there, had been comfortable with abstraction, we would not have had Socratic interlocutors giving an example of virtue as an answer to what virtue is (*Meno*), pointing to an instance of piety in response to what piety is (*Euthyphro*), and so on with other familiar

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between talking about Forms while drawing on a shared understanding of concepts (or of the process of abstraction) and talking about Forms with no recourse to a fully established and sufficiently common background understanding of concepts (or of the process of abstraction).

<sup>34</sup> The recent studies in question are those on Plato's understanding of concepts and on his notion of abstraction. Helmig (2004, 2007, 2012) is in the vanguard of ongoing research in this area. Schumacher (2010) is a good example of work drawing on Helmig. Warner (1965) and Gerson (1999a, 1999b) are forerunners worth consulting on the same topic. If it would not be too presumptuous to speak of a trend here, one of the safest generalisations that can be made is that there is a growing consensus that we have to make a greater effort to understand Plato's approach to abstraction, using all the resources available to us instead of confining the investigation to the letter of the text. Accordingly, the focus is oftentimes more on Platonism and the Platonic tradition than on Plato. We are encouraged to consult, say, the Middle Platonists or the Neoplatonists for clues on how to handle the gaps in Plato himself. The general lesson to be learnt there seems to be that a discussion of abstraction in Plato need not be restricted to the realm of Forms, which leaves room for an independent albeit related discussion of concepts.

<sup>35</sup> Noting that ancient Greek had several words that can now be translated as 'concept' (though never claiming that any one of these refers precisely to what we typically take today to be concepts), Helmig (2012, 14–15) lists thirteen individual words and one pair of words, each and every one of them liable to be qualified by adjectives (also listed in full), which, in turn, can themselves be used as nouns. Among these, only *ennoia* is identified as already occurring in Plato, specifically at *Phaedo* 73c and *Philebus* 59d (Helmig 2012, 14, n. 6). This does not bring us, with reference to Plato, anywhere near a philosophy of concepts, or of abstraction, that can be distinguished from any philosophy of Forms (nor does Helmig claim that it does).

<sup>36</sup> Even if this were nothing more than a dramatic ploy to create an occasion for demonstrating how abstraction works, and not otherwise an indication that characters who do not understand abstraction are representative of actual people who did not understand abstraction, we would still be left with the fact that there was some use, in fact, a philosophical need, for a dramatic ploy to create an occasion for demonstrating how abstraction works.



examples in other memorable encounters. The existence of a word for something is not the same as a clear or common understanding of that thing — nor, therefore, indicative of the presence of intelligent dialogue on it — as confirmed by Plato's Socrates in reporting that he has yet to meet anyone who knows what virtue is (*Meno* 71c).

And the problem is not restricted to moral concepts. Any scenario where it is necessary, or even merely useful, to explain that 'Roundness' is not an adequate response to 'What is shape?' (*Meno* 73e, 74b), or that 'Whiteness' is not an adequate response to 'What is colour?' (*Meno* 74c), suggests that something is missing in the prevailing conception of abstraction. This is precisely what we have in the character of Meno, who, even after this very explanation, is still reluctant to demonstrate that he has understood what is being asked, as he declines to say what it is that is common to roundness and straightness and other things we call 'shape' (*Meno* 75a–b). The various clarifications and instructions do not prove to be enough; Socrates has to go on to supply the answer as well. This is evidence both that Plato understood abstraction and that not everyone did.

To elaborate, then, on the question of possible conceptual or linguistic differences between Plato's circumstances and our own, the problem is not that Plato was not able to work with abstraction, or that he was ill-equipped to do so (which he probably was in terms of the philosophical parlance he inherited), but that he did not say enough about it to help us see exactly how he distinguished between concepts and Forms. We naturally use our own understanding of concepts to figure out what it is that Plato took to be Forms, as we are not able to use Plato's understanding of concepts toward that same end. We use terms like 'concept' or 'universal' or 'abstraction' in our efforts to explore all possible shades of meaning between a Form and the thing of which it is a Form, but this may be a luxury or privilege, perhaps even an extravagance, that was not fully available to Plato. In the final analysis, Plato seems to have been at the forefront of a breakthrough in the conceptual, linguistic, and philosophical development of abstraction — thus engaged not in applying a familiar process but in inventing, exploring, or refining it — and we cannot sensibly expect from him the same discussion at the same level we are engaged in today.

This is not to say that Plato does not distinguish between Forms and concepts. He clearly does (though he does not do so clearly). Otherwise, he would have had no occasion to convey a sense of hesitation regarding the assignment of Forms to man, fire, and water, while enthusiastically embracing Forms for justice, beauty, and goodness, and unequivocally rejecting them for hair, mud, and

dirt (*Parmenides* 130b–d). He has a tendency to draw or imply distinctions, these and yet others, which we can appreciate from our own perspective as a distinction between Forms and concepts.<sup>37</sup> In fact, recent studies on the subject both deliver and recommend an examination of Plato's approach to abstraction in greater depth than the customary focus on Forms with little or no emphasis on concepts or concept formation.<sup>38</sup> What we keep debating is not whether there is a difference between Forms and concepts but what that difference is. And the difference is at once so obvious and so nuanced that we have to be guarded in what we say, which means that we usually do not end up saying anything very interesting.<sup>39</sup>

Efforts to lay out Plato's understanding of abstraction, beyond, as intimated, what we have long been discussing in regard to the Forms, centre on *anamnēsis*.<sup>40</sup> No doubt, just the mention of *anamnēsis* brings to mind the age-old preoccupation with Forms. Yet the suggestion is not that we should focus our attention elsewhere but that we should dig deeper here. Possibly the most exciting development in the relevant literature, for example, in Schumacher (2010) expanding on Helmig (2004), is the thesis that Platonic *anamnēsis* is not a matter of recollecting this or that Form (or concept) but of recovering the intellectual capacity for abstraction. Another way of thinking about this would be as the activation of an innate faculty. Recollection, so the argument runs, *is* abstraction, particularly

<sup>37</sup> This brings up the question whether we might be reading our own perspective back into Plato, but this cannot be all that is going on, as it does not explain why not every concept or abstraction from our perspective is a Form from Plato's perspective. The selectivity in Plato is hard to miss, especially with Thesleff's approach, where there is a difference not just between Forms and concepts but also between different kinds of Forms.

<sup>38</sup> The recent studies mentioned here are, again, those concerning Plato's understanding of concepts and abstraction, as documented in part in n. 34 above.

<sup>39</sup> This is still better than not saying anything that is true. The truth is not too far to reach. It is just difficult to articulate. And this may be why we rarely end up saying anything more interesting than that Forms are not concepts. Here is one example: "Forms are rather the *objective correlates of thought*; they are not concepts or mental entities that are confined to human souls" (Helmig 2012, 50; cf. Helmig 2007, 306, for the same statement in almost exactly the same words). As unadventurous as this view may seem, its latest expression (Helmig 2012, 50, n. 43) is anchored, for good measure, to references to Cherniss (1944, 214–16, n. 128) and Lafrance (1984) in support of the hardly controversial claim that Forms are not concepts.

<sup>40</sup> This is the 'doctrine' ('metaphor'?) of recollection introduced in the *Meno* (81a–86c), developed in the *Phaedo* (72e–77a), and invoked in the *Phaedrus* (249b–c). The separate occasions (*Meno*, *Phaedo*, *Phaedrus*) to utilise the 'doctrine' (or merely to mention it, as the case may be) present mutual inconsistencies, at least in appearance, often inspiring efforts toward reconciliation, as in Allen (1959) and Helmig (2004).

in the sense that it taps into the hardwired ability to make generalisations. On this interpretation, *anamnēsis* is not so much a matter of recollecting specific Forms as it is of recollecting what to do with them, of how to use them to understand the world around us.<sup>41</sup> This is not the empirical abstraction espoused by Aristotle<sup>42</sup> as an alternative to recollection but a rational abstraction through the recovery and projection of innate knowledge as a cognitive process as opposed to mental content.<sup>43</sup>

To return to the question of ontological ascent, any confusion regarding precisely where it belongs (and how it works) in Plato's metaphysics is a reflection or extension of uncertainties in the ongoing efforts of the scholarly community to work out the details of Plato's understanding of abstraction. We are all still participants in a collective work in progress. It is, therefore, not easy to ascertain whether Plato envisaged two different types of transformation, one from concepts

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<sup>41</sup> There is still something to be said for the recollection of individual Forms, an established reading which cannot profitably be dismissed offhand, even if the alternative broadens the interpretive possibilities. The evidence is mixed. The *Meno* (81a–86c) can be read as alluding to the recovery of the intellectual capacity for abstraction, or perhaps, more generally, to the activation of innate cognitive functions: Note the reference to discovering everything upon recalling one thing (81d). But the *Phaedo* (72e–77a) is replete with examples of specific Forms identified as objects of recollection: the equal (74a–75c); the greater and the smaller (75c); the beautiful, the good, the just, the pious, with a loose and generously inclusive reference to what seems like all other Forms (75d, cf. 76d, 77a). The *Phaedrus* can go either way: It points to abstraction where it presents recollection as a process whereby the soul (of the philosopher) in its cosmic journey (248a–249d) forges a reasoned unity out of its various perceptions (249b–c). But it quickly degenerates into the recollection of specific items as it brings up the 'sacred objects' seen before (250a). In this regard, the emphasis on beauty is both unmistakable and unforgettable, especially as it is juxtaposed with justice and temperance, both of which are said to be more difficult to recognise in their earthly manifestations whereas beauty shines brightly (250b).

<sup>42</sup> For Aristotle's reaction (and alternative) to Platonic *anamnēsis*, see *Posterior Analytics* 2,99b15–100b17.

<sup>43</sup> What is new or exciting here is not necessarily the interpretation of the object of recollection as a cognitive process as opposed to mental content. The novelty, rather, is in identifying that process specifically as abstraction. Otherwise, the process interpretation can be, and has been, cast in different terms. A good example, an alternative to the one on hand, is the approach of Allen (1959), who proposes that what is recollected is the power of inference, though he also retains the notion of the recollection of Forms: "The theory of Anamnesis is a theory of inference, and it rests on the intensional relations which the Forms bear to one another" (1959, 167). Allen even anticipates, and rejects, the abstraction account, maintaining instead that knowledge of the Forms is epistemically (and, for Plato, also temporally) prior to knowledge of particulars (1959, 169).

into Conceptual Forms (or from relations into Relational Forms, or from ideas or ideals into Ideal Forms), the other, from Conceptual Forms (or Relational Forms) into Ideal Forms.<sup>44</sup> He indeed may have. Or he may not have. The details of Plato's ontology are not cut and dried. Nor are they amenable to direct inference from assumptions or conclusions about his epistemology. As Thesleff claims, for the basic difference between mere abstractions from our perspective and Forms from Plato's perspective, we do not have much to go by except the demonstrable importance, significance, or value Plato attached to any given abstraction.<sup>45</sup> A value, concept, or relation has a Form corresponding to it if and only if it strikes Plato as being somehow important, significant, or special enough to have a Form corresponding to it. If we were to attempt to list all Platonic Forms, we would be safest in sticking close to the text of the dialogues. We could, of course, extrapolate from explicit examples that obviously recall others, but the further we get from the actual examples, the more likely we are to be expanding the platform rather than exploring it.

## 6. Conclusion

What did in fact impress Plato as important, significant, or special enough to have a Form corresponding to it is not as hazy a matter as this rather loose characterisation may seem to suggest. On any sensible interpretation, the relative value in question would have to be anchored to explanatory power. Plato, like any other philosopher, was looking to understand the world in which he found himself. But unlike most philosophers, he seems to have had to create or develop the conceptual apparatus required to carry out what might otherwise have been a standard philosophical project.<sup>46</sup> And his principal creation to facilitate his own effort is the interpretive paradigm of Forms. If that is true, then what impressed Plato as important turns out to be whatever helped explain the world. We already have some idea regarding the specifics, as we turn time and again to examples such

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<sup>44</sup> This is a different question from whether or not Thesleff would be justified (in terms of the internal consistency of his own position) in attributing to Plato both types of ontological ascent.

<sup>45</sup> See Thesleff (2013, 29–33, 44). Note especially the correlation between Conceptual Forms and "everything Plato found somehow real or important"; cf. also the assessment that "anything Plato could and wanted to conceptualise ended up as a Conceptual Form" (31).

<sup>46</sup> There is some truth, after all, to Whitehead's long overworked estimation of Plato's position in the European intellectual tradition.

as justice and beauty. But if any generalisation were possible, this would be it — that the Forms help do philosophy (or that they helped Plato do it). It is this simple principle that is at the heart of Thesleff's approach, guiding him both in differentiating between Forms and concepts and in formulating a classification of Forms.

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## USI MEDICI DELL'*ANAGYRIS FOETIDA* NELLA MEDICINA GRECA

LUIGI ARATA

1. L'*ἀνάγυρος*<sup>1</sup> è una pianta officinale menzionata dagli scienziati di lingua greca solo in poche occasioni, a parte Oribasio, che, in diversi luoghi della sua opera, ne mette in evidenza soprattutto le qualità emetiche e riscaldanti.<sup>2</sup> Sinonimo è la variante linguistica *ὀνάγυρος*, che anche Dioscoride prende in considerazione nel suo trattato *De materia medica*.<sup>3</sup> Come quest'ultima parola sia nata, si capisce se si tiene conto di una qualità specifica dell'*ἀνάγυρος*, il suo (perfino proverbiale) cattivo odore, che evidentemente poteva far pensare all'asino (*ὄνος*), un animale non certo profumato.<sup>4</sup>

La prima occorrenza del termine è in effetti nella *Lisistrata* di Aristofane,<sup>5</sup> che usa la pianta in un gioco di parole con il demo ateniese che da quella, secondo alcuni, prende il nome: sulla scena, sono la protagonista e Calonice, che stanno aspettando le altre donne che poi indiranno di lì a poco uno sciopero dei loro doveri coniugali. Lisistrata ha chiamato una rappresentante per ciascuna regione,

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<sup>1</sup> Cfr. anche Hsch. o 901.

<sup>2</sup> Non particolarmente vasta la voce al riguardo su W. Smith – Ch. Anton, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, Boston 1977, 56.

<sup>3</sup> Per l'altra variante, *ὀνάγυρος*, si veda, tra gli altri, Orib. 15,1;1,61. La variante di cui qui si parla è attestata come tale, ad es., da Suid. α 1843, o 367.

<sup>4</sup> Ad una vicinanza etimologica con il termine greco per "asino", può soccorrere l'analogia stabilita da Oribasio (12 o 4) tra *ὀνόγυρον* e *ὀνάγρυα*. Quest'ultima pianta, identificata con l'oleandro, ha una forma linguisticamente assai simile all'*ὄναγρος*, cioè all'asino selvatico o, appunto, onagro. E' poco probabile che gli *Sch. Nic. Ther.* (71h), quando sostengono che l'*ὀνάγυρος* è una pianta che ha foglie dentellate, indichino una possibile etimologia della parola.

<sup>5</sup> A parte il caso di un frammento papiraceo di Eupoli (259, 156 K.-A): qui sembra probabile che il proverbio fosse citato, ma il contesto è troppo lacunoso per esserne sicuri.

ma, com'è normale, sono tutte in ritardo, quando finalmente da lontano la compagna vede arrivare qualcuno. Viene spontaneo a quest'ultima chiedere da dove stia arrivando la nuova venuta: la risposta di Lisistrata è che viene dal demo di Anagiros.<sup>6</sup> Qui la battuta (v. 68): ὁ γοῦν ἀνάγυρος μοι κεκινήσθαι δοκεῖ, letteralmente "mi sembra che l'ἀνάγυρος sia stato mosso". Siccome la nuova arrivata si chiama Mirrine (il cui nome viene proprio dal sostantivo che indica la "mirra", pianta particolarmente profumata), è evidente che Calonice stia facendo un'osservazione sul tanfo che le donne di quel demo si portano dietro, forse perché poco abituate all'igiene. D'altra parte, tutti gli scoli di Aristofane a proposito concordano nel sottolineare piuttosto il fatto che si tratti di un proverbio da riferire a coloro che si attirano guai, soprattutto domestici:<sup>7</sup> la formulazione sarebbe, in effetti, "tu muoverai l'ἀνάγυρος".<sup>8</sup>

In realtà, il proverbio non è attestato altrimenti in età classica. Riappare, infatti, a distanza di qualche secolo in una delle due orazioni di Elio Aristide a proposito di Leptine (*Contra Leptinem* 164), colui che, contro il parere di Demostene, aveva proposto nel 354 a.C. di cancellare ogni esenzione dalle liturgie per tutti i cittadini di Atene. Quello di Elio Aristide, che vive all'epoca di Marco Aurelio, dunque circa 400 anni dopo Demostene, è un esperimento retorico: ecco perché scrive da una parte a favore della legge proposta da Leptine, dall'altra contro. E' proprio in questo secondo discorso che appare nuovamente il proverbio: a "muovere l'ἀνάγυρος" è stato, in questo caso, Leptine, che non ha capito che, togliendo agli altri qualche diritto, ne sarebbe stato privato anche lui stesso: s'è dunque attirato i guai da solo.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Cfr. J. S. Traill, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Princeton 1975, 38; D. Whitehead, *The Demes of Attica*, Princeton 1986, s.v.

<sup>7</sup> Si veda ad es. Fozio (α 1432), che dice esplicitamente che la frase in questione si riferisce alla situazione di un uomo che attira qualche male sulla propria casa. Cfr. tra gli altri Suda α 1843, κ 1638, ο 367. In particolare, Macario Crisocefalo, nella raccolta *Paroemiae* (2,2,4), aggiunge, sulla base di alcuni esempi storici (come quello di Creso che si rende nemico di Ciro, che non l'avrebbe mai affrontato), che chi "scuote l'ἀνάγυρος" attira su di sé un male che a lui non era destinato. Cfr. comunque *Sch. in Lys. vet.* 68, dove accanto al proverbio si insiste sul fatto che quest'erba è maleodorante. Similmente, *Mant. Prov.* 1,94.

<sup>8</sup> A. M. Bowie, *Aristophanes: Myth, Ritual and Comedy*, Cambridge – New York 1993, 187–8.

<sup>9</sup> A parte la spiegazione, sicuramente derivata da un errore di trascrizione, di una delle voci della *Suda* (κ 1641) su questa pianta, anche se riguardante la variante ὀνόγυρος: l'espressione κίνησον τὸν ὀνόγυρον è spiegata col fatto che la pianta in questione sarebbe λυγώδους, cioè "simile a vimine", per cui il significato del proverbio sarebbe: "muovi le sferze".

E', ancor più tardi, l'oratore siriano del IV secolo Libanio a recuperarlo per ben due volte, nella *Declamatio* 26 e nella *Epistula* 80. Nel primo caso (26,1,21), è il protagonista della μελέτη, un misantropo che ha sposato una donna chiacchierona, a usarlo nella sua arringa contro la moglie: mentre racconta la tristezza del loro *ménage*, tutt'altro che silenzioso come lui avrebbe voluto, narra anche di quando lei si accorge per caso del fatto che lui sta sospirando e comincia allora a chiedergli cosa gli sia successo. Il commento dell'amante del silenzio è proprio questo: "contro me stesso io ho mosso l'ἀνάγυρος" (ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐμὲ κεκίνηκα τὸν ἀνάγυρον), cioè, fuori di metafora, "mi sono procurato da me stesso il male", ossia la conversazione snervante con la moglie.

Quanto all'epistola, datata al 359 (80,6), essa è indirizzata all'amico del sofista, Anatolio di Berito, prefetto del pretorio dell'Illirico dal 357 al 360.<sup>10</sup> A lui spesso Libanio indirizza rimproveri al limite dell'insolenza: in particolare, in questo caso, allude ad un favore che Anatolio gli avrebbe rifiutato, mentre lo avrebbe concesso anche a uomini non certo più meritevoli: si spiega così il risentimento con il quale gli dice che lui non ha bisogno di un amico, ma di un adulatore che si prostri davanti a lui, a prescindere dal trattamento riservatogli. Venuto Anatolio ad ammalarsi, perciò, Libanio non ha ritenuto di scrivergli parole di conforto, anche se temeva per la salute dell'amico: quando quest'ultimo s'è ripreso, ha dimostrato, tuttavia, il proprio rammarico per essere stato messo da parte. A quest'accusa lo scrivente risponde che è stato Anatolio per primo a non tenere in considerazione

<sup>10</sup> Secondo A. F. Norman, "The Illyrian Prefecture of Anatolius", *RhM* 100 (1957) 253–9 e S. Bradbury, "A Sophistic Prefect: Anatolius of Berytus in the Letters of Libanius", *CPh* 95 (2000) 172–86, l'Anatolio di Berito descritto da Eunapio e prefetto dell'Illirico tra il 343 e il 347 è un altro personaggio, anche se forse della stessa famiglia. A proposito della questione, cfr. M. Wellmann, "Anatolius 14", in *RE* I.2, 2073. L'Anatolio, la cui corrispondenza con Libanio conosciamo, potrebbe essere anche l'autore della *Συναγωγή γεωργικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων*, > che è nota solo attraverso frammenti (cfr. M. Decker, "The Authorship and Context of Early Byzantine Farming Manuals", *Byzantion* 77 [2007] 106–5). Su quest'ultimo trattato, che influenzò l'opera di Cassiano Basso (VI sec. d.C.), *Eclogae de re rustica*, si vedano anche H. Beckh, "De Geoponicorum codicibus manuscriptis", *Acta seminarii philologici Erlangensis* 4 (1886) 268–70; P. Sbath, "Anatolius de Bérytos. L'ouvrage géoponique", *Bull. Inst. Égypte* 13 (1931) 47–51; R. H. Rodgers, "Yūniyūs o Columela en la España medieval?", *Al-Andalus (Madrid Consejo sup. de investig. cientif.)* 43 (1978) 163–72; R. H. Rodgers, "Hail, frost, and pests in the vineyard: Anatolius of Berytus as a source for the *Nabataean Agriculture*", *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 100 (1980) 1–11; J. A. C. Greppin, "The Armenians and the Greek Geoponica", *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 46–55; J. F. Habbi, "Testi geoponici classici in siriano e in arabo", in *Autori classici in lingue del vicino e medio oriente*, Roma 1990, 77–92.

i sentimenti dell'amico ed aggiunge, nel contesto, che "avresti fatto meglio a non smuovere l'ἀνάγυρος" (ὄρθς ὅτι κρεῖττον ἦν σοι μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἀνάγυρον).<sup>11</sup>

Alcuni commentatori antichi collegano questa frase e il suo significato sotteso al mito di Anagyros, l'eroe che dà appunto nome al demo di cui sopra<sup>12</sup> e al quale ci si riferisce con frase paremiaca come al "demone di Anagiros". Un abitante del demo avrebbe, secondo la leggenda, irritato lo spirito dell'eroe, perché avrebbe tagliato il bosco sacro a lui. Allora, Anagiros si sarebbe vendicato facendo innamorare la sua concubina di suo figlio: quest'ultimo l'avrebbe rifiutata e lei, a sua volta, lo avrebbe denunciato al padre, che, per tutta risposta, lo avrebbe mutilato e poi murato in casa. La storia si conclude con il suicidio sia del padre sia della sua compagna, l'uno impiccato, l'altra che si getta in un pozzo.<sup>13</sup> Anagiros, offeso nel suo onore, dunque, secondo questa versione, indurrebbe alla rovina una intera famiglia:<sup>14</sup> in particolare, i due suicidi si voterebbero, col modo che hanno scelto, alle divinità ctonie, delle quali fa parte anche il "fantasma" ar-

<sup>11</sup> In un contesto simile, ma molto lontano nel tempo, l'espressione ritorna in due opere di Michele Psello: nella *Chronographia* (7,18,38), è l'imperatore Michele VII (1071–1078) a impiegarla in una lettera (riportata in frammenti) all'amico e ora traditore Niceforo Botaneiates, chiamato in questo caso Foca, perché la sua famiglia riteneva di discendere appunto dall'antica famiglia dei Foca. Quest'ultimo sarebbe diventato imperatore (1078–1081) al posto di Michele, che finirà i suoi giorni in un monastero, forzato a monacarsi. In particolare, il mittente gli rimprovera il fatto di averlo trattato con troppa benevolenza e troppo esaltato tra tutti i suoi collaboratori: ora che è stato tradito, si rende conto, come dice, di "aver scosso l'ἀνάγυρος", appunto di essersi attirato il male. Lo stesso Michele, poi, usa il proverbio nei *Theologica* (96, 114).

<sup>12</sup> E' sicuramente da escludere che abbia rilevanza ciò che alcuni lessicografi sostengono a proposito del nome del demo, e cioè che si chiami così perché vi era abbondante crescita della pianta, come ad es. crede Esichio (α 4249). E' evidente la sovrainterpretazione. Cfr. anche *Lex. Seguer.* α 210.

<sup>13</sup> Si veda a proposito Hieron. Rhod. fr. 32 Wehrli = 42A White, un frammento tratto dal trattato *Sui poeti tragici*. Secondo la testimonianza antica, Ieronimo si riferirebbe alla storia di Anagiros confrontandola con la trama della tragedia *Phoenix* di Euripide. Quest'ultima è nota grazie al riassunto di Apollodoro (3,13,8): Fenice, come del resto Ippolito protagonista dell'*Ippolito*, è falsamente accusato da Ftia, concubina del padre Amintore, di aver tentato di portarle violenza: Amintore lo acceca e Fenice viene poi curato dal centauro Chirone. La storia di Anagyros è raccontata anche da Phot. α 1433 e Suid. α 1842; si veda anche Mich. Apost., *Coll. paroem.* 9, 79 (che menziona il proverbio anche a 9,99).

<sup>14</sup> Diversamente intendono Diogeniano (*Paroem.* 1,25,1; 1,52,7) e Zenobio (*epit.* 2,55), due raccoglitori di proverbi: Anagiros si sarebbe vendicato con gli abitanti vicini al suo santuario, che sarebbe stato, infatti, messo a soqquadro. In particolare, Zenobio sostiene che l'eroe abbia distrutto le loro case dalle fondamenta.

rabiato di Anagiros. Se la storia sicuramente giustifica l'espressione "demone di Anagiros", meno si direbbe riguardo alla frase proverbiale di cui sopra. Il vecchio che disonora Anagiros sarebbe colui che "scuote l'anagiros" e quindi fa rischiare grosso a chi lo circonda.<sup>15</sup>

2. La prima descrizione completa disponibile di questo arbusto legnoso è in Dioscoride Pedanio:<sup>16</sup> foglie e rami sono simili a quelli dell'agnocasto, d'altra parte il segnale distintivo è l'odore veramente nauseante;<sup>17</sup> quanto ai fiori assomigliano a quelli del cavolo, i frutti invece sono contenuti in κεράτια, cioè in escrescenze a forma di corno, con la forma dei reni (τὸ σχῆμα τῶν νεφρῶν) – probabilmente questo particolare si riferisce piuttosto ai semi contenuti nei frutti che ai frutti stessi. Dioscoride aggiunge che la pianta è varia (ποικίλος) e solida (στερεός) e che in particolare si indurisce intorno al periodo della maturazione dell'uva. La prima di queste ultime tre osservazioni è piuttosto sospetta: è come se il medico avvertisse il proprio lettore del fatto che l'ἀνάγυρος ha diversi aspetti, dunque (con termine scientifico) varietà. Cosa c'entri, poi, questa precisazione con la successiva (che sembra ribadire piuttosto la legnosità dell'arbusto), è un mistero, mentre si capisce il legame con la successiva osservazione temporale.

In genere, si ritiene che la pianta in questione sia la *Anagyris foetida*, un arbusto dal caratteristico e forte odore (anche se non particolarmente fastidioso), la quale è tipica di tutta l'area mediterranea e in particolar modo della Grecia, dove si rintraccia anche in zone periferiche. La diffusione dell'*Anagyris* è, a ben vedere, un argomento non proprio a favore dell'identificazione (che, d'altronde, sembra impossibile da rettificare): una pianta talmente raggiungibile ovunque sarebbe stata sicuramente più utilizzata in medicina, a meno che non sia nota anche con un'altra denominazione o a meno che il lezzo che da essa promana fosse un deterrente al suo uso. In italiano, l'*Anagyris* si chiama effettivamente, nella lingua

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<sup>15</sup> Diversamente la pensa un raccoglitore di proverbi come Gregorio (*Paroem.* 1, 22, si veda anche la versione *e cod. Mosq.*): sarebbe il nome dell'eroe Anagiros a motivare il proverbio, perché egli è un eroe che fa male a coloro che gli stanno vicini. Quest'ultima spiegazione è da scartare: Anagiros non fa genericamente male a coloro che sono della sua famiglia, semmai riappare come spirito vendicatore una volta che è costretto dall'atto empio di un uomo che non è a lui legato nemmeno in apparenza, se non per il fatto di appartenere al suo stesso demo. Semmai è invece proprio quest'ultimo ad attirare la disgrazia sulla sua famiglia, in particolare sul figlio e sulla seconda "moglie".

<sup>16</sup> 3,150. Cfr. anche Orib. 11 α 48.

<sup>17</sup> Orib. 15,1.1,61.

popolare, legno puzzo, così come in francese. Sono le foglie responsabili del cattivo odore.<sup>18</sup>

Quanto alle altre denominazioni rintracciabili in letteratura, Dioscoride sostiene che alcuni la chiamano ἀνάγυρις e ἄκοπος; per Oribasio esiste anche la variante ἔλκοπος. Una glossa ai *Theriaca* (71h), a parte l'alternanza tra ὀνόγυρος e ἀνάγυρος, registra anche ἄκοπος, ἀγνάκοπος e ὀζόγυρος.

3. Dioscoride<sup>19</sup> menziona alcuni impieghi della pianta all'interno di preparati farmaceutici, tutti però non particolarmente complicati (e poi replicati da Galeno, Oribasio e Paolo d'Egina). Tutte le parti dell'ἀνάγυρος presentano qualche proprietà: le foglie fresche servono come cataplasma contro i rigonfiamenti;<sup>20</sup> si possono anche bere in vino dolce: curano vari problemi di respirazione<sup>21</sup> e aiutano ad espellere mestruazioni, placenta e anche embrioni morti,<sup>22</sup> oltre che essere utili per guarire le punture di tarantola;<sup>23</sup> il frutto ha proprietà emetiche;<sup>24</sup> perfino l'involucro della radice ha qualche proprietà interessante:<sup>25</sup> è dispersivo (διαφορεῖ) e maturante. Secondo Galeno (11,829), esso è dissolvente<sup>26</sup> e dissecante, come le foglie essiccate (e in parte come tutta la pianta).<sup>27</sup>

Dioscoride menziona anche un impiego magico: le foglie sono utilizzate per creare un amuleto per le puerpere in difficoltà; quando, poi, il parto è finito, il portafortuna è buttato.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Nella *Suda* (α 1843), si dice che è il fiore a portare il profumo, che si sprigiona quando l'ἀνάγυρος è tritato.

<sup>19</sup> 3,150.

<sup>20</sup> Cfr. Gal. 11,829; Orib. 44,28,10.

<sup>21</sup> Cfr. dello stesso Dioscoride la ricetta contenuta negli *Euporista* (2,41,1).

<sup>22</sup> *Eupor.* 2,81,2. A questi problemi si riferisce probabilmente Oribasio a 14,47,1; cfr. *ad Eust.* 2,33,1.

<sup>23</sup> Cfr. Diosc. *Eupor.* 2,126,2 (qui manca l'indicazione dell'aracnide).

<sup>24</sup> Gal. 11,829; Orib. 8,20,6; 15,1.1,61. Per quest'ultimo passo, si veda la sinossi curata da Paolo d'Egina (7,3,1). Gal. 16,143 (e anche Oribasio) lo impiega mescolandolo con il dattero del deserto e una certa quantità di melicrato.

<sup>25</sup> Oribasio osserva che l'involucro nel quale è avvolto la radice abbia la stessa azione diaforetica delle foglie secche: 14,60,2; 15,1.1,61 (qui si dice che ha anche azione riscaldante). Altrove (14,33,9), l'involucro della radice e il seme sono menzionati da Oribasio insieme tra i λεπτομέρη, cioè gli elementi vegetali formati da piccole particelle.

<sup>26</sup> Orib. 14,60,2.

<sup>27</sup> Orib. 14,14,7; 14,23,1; 15,1.1,61; *ad Eust.* 2,13,1. Cfr. anche Aët. *Iatr.* 209.

<sup>28</sup> Cfr. anche Diosc. 2,98,1. Si veda A. Hanson, "Uterine Amulets and Greek Uterine Medicine",

Ciò che resta, in effetti, particolarmente strano è che di questo prodotto di erboristeria sono note molte qualità, ma pochissimi usi terapeutici precisi e soprattutto un solo caso in cui esso è utilizzato come ingrediente in una vera e propria ricetta (tra l'altro, citata da Oribasio). Ciò è estremamente strano, perché quasi tutte le piante officinali menzionate nella medicina greca finiscono per essere ingredienti di uno o più preparati, spesso anche simili. Che ciò non accada invece per questa pianta, potrebbe essere spiegato con il fatto che chi se ne serviva le riconosceva una forza quasi miracolosa, che non doveva per forza essere coadiuvata da altri ingredienti per poter essere utile. L'idea, qualche anno fa proposta dalla Amigues,<sup>29</sup> che si tratti di una pianta magica e potentissima cozza, però, col fatto che nella letteratura medica (per non parlare di quella non prettamente scientifica) l'*ἀνάγυρος* trovi uno spazio talmente risicato e di certo la notizia dell'amuleto per partorienti è troppo poco per sostenere l'ipotesi della studiosa francese. Che fosse una pianta nota, pare invece di poterlo dire, soprattutto in virtù del fatto che la sua particolarità dà vita a un proverbio per così dire di successo, reimpiegato, come s'è visto, anche da un comico importante come Aristofane. C'è, però, da sottolineare che il nome della pianta finiva per essere confuso con quello dell'eroe-demone di cui s'è detto. Ma, ciò considerato e limitandosi all'ambito greco, questo ingrediente non appare per nulla magico, né è avvicinato ad altri che per qualche motivo possono essere considerati potentissimi.

Una ragione possibile del fatto che fosse così poco utilizzato è forse la sua tossicità. In quanto farmaco, era difficilissimo, presumibilmente, dosarlo; anche la medicina moderna è ben conscia del fatto che l'*ἀνάγυρος* può essere pericoloso per via dei dannosi effetti collaterali (disidratazione, diarrea, vomito, colite), tali che ancora oggi sia esseri umani sia animali possono rimanere vittime della sua ingestione anche casuale. Sotto questa luce, appare molto più comprensibile anche il proverbio di cui abbiamo detto sopra: "scuoterai il legno puzzo", nel senso "se lo userai, facilmente ti attirerai il male", perché, come s'è appena raccontato, i suoi componenti lo rendono scarsamente servibile, soprattutto in grandi dosi.<sup>30</sup>

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*MedSec* 7 (1995) 288–9.

<sup>29</sup> S. Amigues, "Contribution d'un voyageur anglais à la phytonymie grecque: Gervais de Tilbury et l'anagyre", *RPh* 73 (1999) 147–54.

<sup>30</sup> Ecco come mai ad es. nella legislazione italiana i suoi componenti non possono essere usati in ambito fitofarmaceutico: si veda a proposito F. Capasso – F. Borrelli – S. Castaldo – G. Grandolini, *Fitofarmacovigilanza: vigilanza sulla sicurezza dei prodotti fitoterapici*, Milano 2006, 174.



4. Se anche gli antichi sapevano per esperienza che l'ὄνόγυρος fosse pericoloso, apparentemente nessuno lo mette in chiaro esplicitamente e perfino chi si prende l'onere di spiegare il proverbio incentrato sulla pianta non considera affatto questo aspetto, perlomeno a prima vista. Fatto sta, però, che la pianta viene definita in più occasioni ἀλεξίκακος, letteralmente "tale che difende dal male".<sup>31</sup> Forse questa precisazione, così fondamentale e sicuramente derivata da qualche fonte medica a noi ignota (o da Nicandro di Colofone, che nei *Theriaca* menziona l'ὄνόγυρος come pianta efficace contro i morsi dei serpenti),<sup>32</sup> poteva essere letta nei due sensi: come tutti i buoni farmaci (è appena il caso di ricordare che φάρμακον in antichità è *vox media*), è potente sia in un senso sia nell'altro. Un buon emetico o un buon evacuante per i mestruai poteva diventare, nelle mani di un inesperto, un'arma a doppio taglio.

5. L'erboristeria moderna ha confermato almeno alcune delle osservazioni della medicina greca, seppure su base più scientifica. D'altra parte, il legno puzzo è usato anche durante il Medioevo, ad es. per fare delle ingessature provvisorie per chi è ferito da una freccia.

Tutte le parti della pianta, ma particolarmente i semi contenuti nel legume, sono velenosi, per la presenza di alcaloidi,<sup>33</sup> in particolare l'anagirina (un

<sup>31</sup> Phot. α 1433; Suid. α 1843; *Mant. Prov.* 1,94.

<sup>32</sup> Cfr. il passo citato in Eroziano (57,9) e parafrasato in Eutecnio (25,12). Cfr. anche *Sch. Nic. Ther.* 56b.

<sup>33</sup> F. M. Litterscheid, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Anagryris-Alkaloide*, Marburg 1899; R. Wolfenstein – A. Pictet, *Die Pflanzenalkaloide und ihre chemische Konstitution*, Berlin 1900, 432; O. Loewi, "Pharmacologische Untersuchungen über Anagryrine", *Archives Internationales de Pharmacodynamie et de Therapie* 8 (1901) 65–76; G. Goeßmann, "Ueber die Alkaloide von *Anagryris foetida*", *Archiv der Pharmazie* 244 (1904) 20–4; H. Raymond, "The Alkaloids of *Anagryris foetida* and their Relation to the Lupin Alkaloids", *Journal of the Chemical Society* 1933, 504–10; G. Faugeras – R. Pare – M. H. Meyruey, "Alkaloids of the Retama raetam Webb and Berth. Isolating of Anagryrine from Flowers", *Annales pharmaceutiques françaises* 21 (1963) 675–9; M. Guley, "Identification of *Anagryris-Foetida*-D Leguminosae-D Alkaloids", *Ankara Universitesi Veteriner Fakultesi Dergisi* 12 (1965) 259–63; M. F. Grundon, *Quinolizidine Alkaloids*, in: M. F. Grundon, *Specialist Periodical Reports: The Alkaloids*, 10, London 1981, 66–73; M. F. Balandrin – E. F. Robbins – A. D. Kinghorn, "Alkaloid Distribution in Some Species of the Papilionaceous Tribes *Thermopsidae* and *Genisteae*", *Biochemical Systematics and Ecology* 10 (1982) 307–12; F. K. A. El-Beih, "Constituents of Local Plants 17. The Coumarin Constituents of *Anagryris-Foetida*", *Herba Hungarica* 23 (1984) 127–30; P. Gastaldo, *Compendio della flora officinale italiana*, Padova 1987, 157–8; D. S. Petterson – Z. L. Ellis – D. J. Harris – Z. E. Spadek, "Acute Toxicity of the Major Alkaloids of Cultivated *Lupinus Angustifolius* Seed to Rats", *Journal of Applied Toxicology* 7 (1987) 51–3; T. Schmeller – M. Sauerwein – F. Sporer – M. Wink – W. E. Mueller, "Binding of Quinolizidine Alkaloids

composto simile alla sparteina), che è responsabile delle proprietà emetiche della pianta ed è concentrata nei semi,<sup>34</sup> e la citisina (contenuta dalle foglie insieme a resine e gomme e simile alla laburnina), che invece agisce come depressore della respirazione e può causare la morte a dosi sufficientemente elevate. Questi due componenti, assieme alla baptifolina, alla isoramentina e ad un tipo di siringina, sono stati provati anche contro cellule tumorali.<sup>35</sup> E' stata studiata recentemente l'attività antimicrobiale<sup>36</sup> e antibiotica<sup>37</sup> dell'anagirina. Da osservare anche l'impiego, per ora solo studiato, della pianta come insetticida.<sup>38</sup>

La pianta così s'è dimostrata utile nel trattamento della cefalea; in particolare, il suo succo è diuretico, i semi hanno caratteristiche emetiche e purganti, come le foglie che sono anche emmenagoghe.<sup>39</sup>

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to Nicotinic and Muscarinic Acetylcholine Receptors", *Journal of Natural Products (Lloydia)* 57 (1994) 1316–9; M. M. al-Azizi – M. S. al-Said – M. M. el-Olemy – E. Abdel Sattar – A. S. Khalifa, "Rhombifoline and 5,6-Dehydrolupanine from *Anagyris foetida* L.", *Archives of Pharmacal Research* 17 (1994) 393–7.

<sup>34</sup> Appare tra le sostanze che possono provocare emolisi: P. Larizza, *Trattato delle malattie del sangue*, Padova 1991, 1159.

<sup>35</sup> G. Innocenti – S. Dall'Acqua – G. Viola – M. C. Loi, "Cytotoxic Constituents from *Anagyris foetida* Leaves", *Fitoterapia* 77 (2006) 595–7.

<sup>36</sup> R. M. Darwish – T. A. Aburjai, "Antimicrobial Activity of some Medicinal Plants against Different Candida Species", *Jordan Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences* 4 (2011) 70–80.

<sup>37</sup> R. M. Darwish, T. A. Aburjai, "Effect of Ethnomedicinal Plants Used in Folklore Medicine in Jordan as Antibiotic Resistant Inhibitors on *Escherichia coli*", *Complementary and Alternative Medicine* 10 (2010) 9.

<sup>38</sup> M. A. Pérez Izquierdo – R. Ocete Rubio, "Actividad antialimentaria de extractos de *Daphne gnidium* L. y *Anagyris foetida* L. sobre *Spodoptera littoralis* (Boisd.) (Lepidoptera: Noctuidae)", *Boletín de sanidad vegetal. Plagas* 20 (1994) 623–2; A. F. Righi-Assia – M. A. Khelil – F. Medjdoub-Bensaad – K. Righi, "Efficacy of Oils and Powders of some Medicinal Plants in Biological Control of the Pea Weevil (*Callosobruchus chinensis* L.)", *African Journal of Agricultural Research* 5 (2010) 1474–81.

<sup>39</sup> R. Dunglison, *Medical Lexicon*, Philadelphia 1851, 28–9; W. Boericke – O. E. Boericke, *Pocket Manual of Homoeopathic Materia Medica Comprising the Characteristic and Guiding Symptoms of All Remedies*, New York 1927, 539; L. Palma, *Le piante medicinali d'Italia*, Torino 1964, 287; P. Gastaldo, *Compendio della flora officinale italiana*, Padova 1987, 157–8.



**TRUE PATRIOTS?  
THE PUBLIC ACTIVITIES OF THE \**AUGUSTALES*  
OF ROMAN OSTIA AND THE *SUMMA HONORARIA* \***

CHRISTER BRUUN

**1. The \**Augustales* in the Roman world**

The *Augustales* constitute an important group in what anachronistically could be called the Roman "middle class".<sup>1</sup> They had their own association in most towns in Roman Italy, and they frequently appear elsewhere too in the Roman West. The titles of the men who belonged to essentially similar local organizations vary somewhat, so that we find *Augustales*, *seviri Augustales*, *magistri Augustales*, *quattuorviri Augustales*, and still other varieties. Modern scholarship commonly makes use of the blanket term \**Augustales* as a collective denominator for these several categories.<sup>2</sup> The term was coined by Robert Duthoy, who is the author of

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\* Much of my research on Ostia has been supported by a Standard Research Grant awarded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRCC), and my research on freedmen by a SSHRCC Insight Grant, which is gratefully acknowledged. Part of this paper was presented at a conference at the University of Gothenburg in 2012, organized by the "Inscripta" network; sincere thanks are due to the organizers and the other participants. My work was much facilitated by a stay at the Institutum Romanum Finlandiae and by its Intendent Simo Örmä. I am grateful to Mika Kajava, Olli Salomies, Heikki Solin, and the referees for helpful comments, and to Alexander Kirby, MA, for improving my English; remaining errors are my own.

<sup>1</sup> I use this term in a purely technical sense here, to denote a layer of population which in social status and probably often financially is situated between the leading *ordo decurionum* and the rest of the population in towns of Roman Italy.

<sup>2</sup> Duthoy 1978, 1265–6, 1300–1; Abramenko 1993, 11 n. 1, 87–9 for other similar organizations at the local level, such as the *Apollinares*, *Martini*, and *Mercuriales*, the social composition of which was similar to that of the \**Augustales*; cf. Mouritsen 2006, 238–40.

a number of still essential studies on these groups.<sup>3</sup> The *\*Augustales* recruited the vast majority of their members from among the wealthy local freedmen in Roman cities and towns.<sup>4</sup> In some places, such as Ostia, the membership of the *\*Augustales* almost exclusively consisted of freed slaves, to judge from the surviving evidence.<sup>5</sup>

Besides some literary references in the *Cena Trimalchionis* episode of Petronius' *Satyrical*, the *\*Augustales* are known almost exclusively from epigraphic evidence.<sup>6</sup> Latin inscriptions provide evidence for some two thousand individuals who belong in this group.<sup>7</sup>

The position or rank of *Augustalis* first appears during the reign of Augustus, from 12 BCE onwards when the *princeps* became *pontifex maximus*. The *Augustales* were supposed to take part in cult practices, or, to cite a recent brief synthesis by John Scheid, to be in charge of the local cult of the *Genius Augusti*, the *Numen Augusti*, and the *Lares Augusti*. Slightly different views of their role in the field of cultic activities have been expressed in recent scholarship as well,<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Duthoy 1978, with reference to earlier works by the same author; cf. note 17 below. Individuals using the plain title *sevir* belonged to a different organization and will not concern me here, as they are not found at Ostia. Abramenko 1993, 13–42 shows that although *seviri* and *\*Augustales* belonged to different organizations, their social background was very similar.

<sup>4</sup> *Magistri Augustales*, *Augustales*, and *seviri Augustales* do not appear in the city of Rome; it is thought that in the capital, the *vicomagistri* or *magistri vici* had a corresponding function; thus Duthoy 1978, 1290–91.

<sup>5</sup> The *Vivir Augustalis* T. Tettius C.f. Lenus in *AE* 1996, 295 represents one of the few examples of freeborn *\*Augustales* from Ostia; C. Calpurnius C.f. Celer in *CIL* XIV 4562,3 is another, as acknowledged by Abramenko 1993, 228, although on pp. 18, 20 he seems to indicate that there are no *ingenui* among the Ostian *\*Augustales*.

<sup>6</sup> Petr. 30,1–2; 65,3–5; 71,12. See also the scholia cited in n. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Numbers in Duthoy 1976 and Duthoy 1978, 1258 n. 30, who included also the plain *seviri*, who can be difficult to separate from the *seviri Augustales*. Abramenko 1993, 336–9 added some two hundred new inscriptions, and in his tables on pp. 18–9 the number of *\*Augustales* is c. 1870 (the figure for Ostia is much too low, see n. 18), while the *seviri* number over nine hundred.

<sup>8</sup> Ostrow 1990; Scheid 1997; Linderski 2007; cf. Duthoy 1978, 1259 nn. 33–4, with reference to Keller 1904, 158 = Ps.-Acro, *ad Hor. serm.* 2,3,281: *iusserat enim Augustus in compitis deos Penates constitui, ut studiosius colerentur. Erant autem libertini sacerdotes qui Augustales dicebantur*, and Hauthal 1866, 278 = Porphyryon, *ad Hor. serm.* 2,3,281: *ab Augusto enim Lares, id est dii domestici in compitis positi sunt, et libertini sacerdotes dati, qui Augustales appellati sunt*.

but the precise cultic purpose and nature of the *\*Augustales* associations is not central to my paper and does not require a detailed discussion here.

An important fact is that the *\*Augustales* were involved in many activities, both cultic and profane, individually or as a body. Surveying the whole range of these activities in a particular context constitutes the topic of this paper. This study is part of a larger project aiming at charting civic participation and civic identity in Rome's harbour town Ostia. It has been claimed that Ostia suffered from a deficit of public buildings, allegedly a result of the lack of interest among its inhabitants in the wellbeing and flourishing of their town, to which, so the argument goes, most were newcomers. The wealthier residents felt that they were in transition, as they either hoped to move to the nearby *Urbs* or possibly to return to their place of origin. Members of the elite, who elsewhere in the Roman world during the High Empire tended to shower their community with benefactions, at Ostia were uninterested in spending their fortunes on civic building projects, leading to a relative lack of urban development.<sup>9</sup>

Against this background, the actions and behaviour of the *Augustales* assumes a wider importance, since they constitute a significant segment of the population, for which, moreover, a good number of sources is available. With over six thousand known inscriptions, Ostia provides rich epigraphic evidence on the *Augustales*, in many regards more than is available in any other town in the Roman world. This paper, therefore, aims to investigate the public actions of the *\*Augustales*, their collective or individual impact on their town.

The common view is that, except for a few early plain *Augustales*, starting in the late first century CE all members of this group at Ostia held the title of *sevir Augustalis*.<sup>10</sup> There is newly discovered evidence which challenges this neat scheme, since some plain *Augustales* now appear to have been active after the appearance of the *seviri Augustales*, but discussing this matter is a topic for a future study as it does not affect the argument below.<sup>11</sup>

The *\*Augustales* in the Roman world, being predominantly freedmen, suffered from a serious handicap when aiming for broad social recognition and advancement. The *lex Visellia* of 24 CE did not allow *liberti* to become *decuriones*

<sup>9</sup> Heinzelmann 2002, 119–20, who detects a trend towards more investments from local residents possibly setting in towards the end of the second century CE.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., Meiggs 1973, 217–22; Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Caldelli – Zevi 2010, 195–6.

<sup>11</sup> In particular, the interesting new inscription in Marinucci 2007 (= *AE* 2009, 192) has been added to the previously known evidence.

and, hence, to have a public career in their municipality.<sup>12</sup> Thus, from Tiberius' reign onwards freedmen could never aspire to become officially recognized leaders of their towns and fellow citizens. Instead, it is thought — and surely rightly — that local associations of *\*Augustales* came to provide a venue to engage in public life for these self-made men, successful and wealthy. It is of course true that since the *Augustales* appeared before the *lex Visellia* of 24 CE, their existence cannot be seen as a direct response to the law's exclusion of freedmen from positions in local government.<sup>13</sup> Yet, the local *\*Augustales* associations may have come to assume the role of safety valve, channelling the energy of upwards moving social strata of Roman society, thereby helping to keep social peace in local towns. As an *\*Augustalis*, a nouveau-riche freedman could gain social prestige and feel satisfaction and loyalty towards the prevailing social order; any thoughts of invoking sudden changes would have less traction among these men who had already risen above most of their peers. This is the common sociological and psychological explanation for the significance of the *\*Augustalitas*, and it is quite a compelling one.<sup>14</sup>

At Ostia, there is rich evidence for the *\*Augustales*, which has never been properly collected or discussed in its entirety. Russell Meiggs dedicated a mere six pages to the *\*Augustales* in his classic monograph on Ostia,<sup>15</sup> while a partial treatment can be found in John D'Arms's monograph on commerce and social standing from 1981, in which he presented and discussed some of the most ex-

<sup>12</sup> The law is documented in *Codex Iustinianus* IX 21; Abramenko 1993, 49. Only freeborn citizens could be elected to municipal magistracies according to ch. 54 of the so-called *Lex Malacitana*, which is a copy of the Flavian municipal law given to a number of towns with Italic rights; see González 1986, 163, 188, 215.

<sup>13</sup> This point is made by Abramenko 1993, 49–50.

<sup>14</sup> See, for instance, Ostrow 1990, 365, 375–6. However, Mouritsen 2006, 242–3 professes disagreement with the common explanation for the function of the *\*Augustalitas*, although his own explanation for this phenomenon is not at odds with the standard view; cf. Mouritsen 2011, 259–60. Abramenko 1993, 44–57 set out from the fact that in Northern Italy a good portion of *ingenui* are found as members of the *\*Augustales*, at least within a century of the creation of these organizations (p. 18). On this basis, he refuted the theory that the *\*Augustalitas* was intended to integrate *liberti* into the social and political structures of the Principate. The error here is not to realize that these local organizations could equally well integrate a surplus of wealthy local freeborn men who were unable to find a space in the *ordo decurionum*. In many places, the *\*Augustales* were overwhelmingly freedmen from the inception, and in other places they tended to be recruited from among the *liberti* to an ever larger extent as the Principate advanced.

<sup>15</sup> Meiggs 1973, 217–22.

tensive inscriptions mentioning *\*Augustales*, while giving a list of 119 members of the organization.<sup>16</sup> Yet, because there are altogether over four hundred *\*Augustales* from Ostia known by name, D'Arms evidently omitted much material. Robert Duthoy collected all the evidence available in his day, but his general overviews cannot do justice to a single town.<sup>17</sup> Andriik Abramenko presumably had an up-to-date database on which he based his many perceptive and acute comments, but in his statistical tables he did not include all the Ostian *\*Augustales* either (but only about a third of them).<sup>18</sup> More recently, Henrik Mouritsen presented some controversial views on the *\*Augustales* and their significance, but it was never his intention to provide a comprehensive discussion.<sup>19</sup> On several occasions, Alfredo Marinucci has published inscriptions which add significantly to our knowledge of Ostian *\*Augustales*,<sup>20</sup> while the recent franco-italian epigraphic manual presents a brief synthesis of the *\*Augustales* association at Ostia and reveals that further relevant texts await publication.<sup>21</sup>

## 2. Which actions of the *\*Augustales* count as "benefactions"? The *summa honoraria* as "evergetism"

In total, some twenty-five inscriptions are known in which we find the Ostian *\*Augustales* performing some public activity, either as a collective or individually. This aspect of the impact of the *\*Augustales* at Ostia has to my knowledge not been investigated before.<sup>22</sup> It will be done here with an eye to evaluating to

<sup>16</sup> D'Arms 1981, 128–40 discussed many aspects of the social position and professional activities of the *Augustales* at Ostia and Puteoli, without aiming for completeness, with a list of the Ostian ones on p. 177–9.

<sup>17</sup> See Duthoy 1974; Duthoy 1976; Duthoy 1978.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. note 7 above. Abramenko 1993, 18 registered 156 *\*Augustales* from Ostia with the rationale "Berücksichtigt wurden hier natürlich nur Inschriften, in denen einzelne *\*Augustales* genannt werden, nicht aber solche, in denen sie kollektiv (etwa bei *divisiones*) auftreten"; cf. 233. According to this definition, also the men listed in the so-called *fasti et alba Augustalium* (CIL XIV 4560–63) ought to have been considered, as indeed they were in Abramenko 1992. See further Abramenko 1993, 227–33 for a chapter wholly dedicated to the Ostian *\*Augustales*.

<sup>19</sup> Mouritsen 2006; 2011, 250–61.

<sup>20</sup> Marinucci 1992; Marinucci 2007.

<sup>21</sup> Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Caldelli – Zevi 2010, 195–6; similarly Marinucci 2012, 43–4.

<sup>22</sup> D'Arms 1981, 128–33 focused on the business connections of the known *Augustales* and



what extent the *\*Augustales* can be found acting as benefactors, i.e. engaging in "evergetism", in the Ostian community.

Before surveying the evidence, some words need to be said about the view, voiced on several occasions in recent years when the topic of private benefactions in the municipal context is encountered, that actions which were required in order to achieve membership among the *seviri Augustales* ("die bloße Pflichtleistung", in Abramenko's words), expressed with the formula *ob honorem* and carried out instead of paying the *summa honoraria* or membership fee, should not be counted as "evergetism".<sup>23</sup> While this issue is of little importance at Ostia, since such expressions almost never appear in Ostian inscriptions, they occur elsewhere in Italy, and for comparative purposes (which will become clear below) it is important to be clear about the nature of such actions.

The background for this view can be briefly sketched. Roman towns required of men who took on leading municipal positions to pay an entrance fee, a *summa honoraria*, for their distinction. That the town councillors, the *decuriones*, did so in most cases is generally assumed, although this issue has not received much attention lately.<sup>24</sup> More attention has recently been paid to the *summa honoraria* which the annual magistrates (*duoviri, aediles, quaestores*) contributed to their town's treasury during their year in office. This sum could be used for the benefit of their fellow citizens, for instance, by paying for spectacles. A similar requirement applied to elected holders of high-ranking municipal priestly offices.<sup>25</sup> As for the *\*Augustales*, there are several indications that they were elected by the town council, the *decuriones*, and there are a few texts that refer to the *summa honoraria* which elected *\*Augustales* needed to pay into the *arca* of the town. We hear about the system only on the occasions when either an *\*Augustalis* boasted about having been relieved of this financial burden, as a sign

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on their ties to various commercial and professional organizations. Abramenko 1993, 142–6 surveyed the evergetism, in South-Central Italy, of what he calls the "municipale Mittelschicht", in which the *\*Augustales* play the most important role, but he does not focus on Ostia, the discussion lacks details, and some material is omitted.

<sup>23</sup> Duthoy 1978, 1270 n. 112; Abramenko 1993, 142–3. The difference between "real evergetism" and costs connected to officeholding was more recently and forcefully stressed by Eck 1997, 307–9, where, however, the emphasis was on the *summa honoraria* of municipal magistrates; followed by Campedelli 2014, 73–7, without distinction between actions by magistrates and by *\*Augustales*.

<sup>24</sup> Liebenam 1900, 54–5; Garnsey 1970, 311–23 with important distinctions.

<sup>25</sup> Liebenam 1900, 54–65; Garnsey 1970, 323–5; Duncan-Jones 1982, 82–8 and 107–10 (North Africa), 147–55 and 215–7 (Italy); Eck 1997, 307–9.

of esteem by the *decuriones*, or when an *\*Augustalis* is taking credit for some public work or expenditure that he carried out *ob honorem Augustalitat*is (some similar expressions also occur).<sup>26</sup>

This situation is well known and often commented upon, but to my knowledge it has not generated much discussion in the period of modern scholarship on the *\*Augustalitas* initiated by Duthoy's still fundamental works. Undoubtedly the terms *ob honorem* and *summa honoraria* occur in some inscriptions concerning *\*Augustales*, but, as shall be argued here, the *\*Augustales* were not in the same position as municipal *decuriones* or magistrates when they took on these expenses. I find it surprising that there has been little discussion about the view that such contributions from *\*Augustales* should not count as benefactions or "evergetism".<sup>27</sup>

First, it is to some extent an arbitrary decision not to count a *summa honoraria* which an *\*Augustalis* used for public works (or spectacles) as an act of evergetism. Why should it not be considered as an expense that someone made voluntarily for the benefit of his fellow townspeople? When someone shouldered the responsibilities of a *sevir Augustalis*, this happened because of a conscious personal choice. The person knew that he was expected to contribute a certain sum to the community once he accepted his new rank. This was a deliberate action, different from other situations when someone's money entered the town's or the state's treasury, as, for instance, when taxes were collected, or duties on imported or exported goods were paid. There were laws and bylaws establishing what taxes and duties had to be paid, and these regulations concerned everyone who resided in and/or conducted business in the town; there was no place for personal choice here. In contrast, any person could choose whether to aim for the position of *\*Augustalis* or not, and it must remain doubtful whether any freedman's livelihood would have been seriously threatened had he chosen not to accept the position of *sevir Augustalis*. Thus, we are truly dealing with a matter of choice here.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> For the sources, see Duthoy 1978, 1266–7; Abramenko 1993, 142–54 (including actions that the author disqualifies as "evergetism", as well as examples of *bona fide* munificence).

<sup>27</sup> Some vague hesitation about the views expressed in Eck 1997 can be found in Goffin 2002, 11, 24–5; her actual study of evergetism by *\*Augustales* (pp. 197–201) does not seem to make any distinction between evergetic deeds *ob honorem* and others; cf. n. 23.

<sup>28</sup> To illustrate the difference between a tax or customs due and the *summa honoraria* which was expected from a leading *\*Augustalis*: if someone wanted to avoid paying, for instance, the *portorium* tax, this could only be achieved by changing one's profession from being involved in import/export to something else. A wealthy freedman who declined to perform as an *\*Augustalis* did not face a similarly existential threat to his livelihood.

Second, a survey of the mechanism behind the system of collecting the *summa honoraria* will show that whenever this term (or a similar one) appears in connection with some public engagement by an *\*Augustalis*, we must assume that a voluntary expenditure of private funds by the person in question had also taken place, in addition to the established *summa honoraria*.

Current scholarship holds that the election of a new *sevir Augustalis* was supposed to lead to the influx of perhaps 2,000 *sestertii* as an entry fee into the town's coffers.<sup>29</sup> This means that the money was then at the disposal of the magistrates of the town, normally the *duoviri* and certain lesser magistrates, and the sum is considered to have been a welcome addition to the municipal funds.<sup>30</sup> What, then, would have led the town council and its leaders to forego this income? Where is the advantage in allowing a hopeful new *\*Augustalis*, in a certain sense still an outsider,<sup>31</sup> to either offer public spectacles in his own name or carry out public works on his own, which would allow him to take full credit for its completion through a commemorative inscription, albeit while probably adding, at the bottom, the standard bland formula *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)* – "by decision of the town council"? Why would the *duoviri* or other local leaders not want to be in charge of the money and the project, so as to be able to add to their own prestige?

Where is the "*quid pro quo*" in this kind of affair? If it was the case that in every town a fixed *summa honoraria* had to be paid for entry into the *\*Augustalitas*, one must assume that there was a clear advantage for the town in allowing a presumptive *\*Augustalis* to convert the fee into some activity that had a public impact. He must have been willing to spend more, with the knowledge that by being responsible for public works (or public spectacles) he would gain local authority and prestige – and these are precisely the same motives which drove regular "evergetism" in the Roman world.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Duncan-Jones 1982, 152 with several examples.

<sup>30</sup> Liebenam 1900, 251–68 on the town council and the magistrates making the decisions; Eck 1997, 307–9. The so-called *lex Irnitana*, published in 1986, increased our knowledge of the prerogatives of local magistrates and their interactions with the decurions, see chapters 79 and 82–3 with González 1986, 173–4, 194–5, 225–7.

<sup>31</sup> Many scholars consider *\*Augustales* to have been indelibly marked by the *macula servitutis*, a view I do not necessarily share, but in any case they were clearly not yet members of the officially recognized ruling elite.

<sup>32</sup> This scenario admittedly sets out from the assumption that membership among the *\*Augustales* was a desirable distinction. On the contrary, if there was no interest in the *\*Augustalitas*

It will not do to argue that the organization of Roman towns was often so rudimentary that they were at the mercy of energetic entrepreneurs, as the *\*Augustales* are supposed to have been, if they wanted a street paved or a basilica repaired. Even if towns had no large work force of their own to employ, any necessary work contract would simply have been put out for tender, surely using the same procedure as an *\*Augustalis* would do.

### 3. The activities of the *\*Augustales* at Ostia

The discussion of what constitutes municipal evergetism is important to the discussion of the Ostian evidence and the actions of *\*Augustales* elsewhere in Italy which follows. At Ostia itself there are, to my knowledge, no such contentious cases that need to be dealt with. One instance may be represented by the following fragmentary inscription, which leaves us completely in the dark about the action that may have been carried out: [-----] *Maxi[mus ---] / [sevir Aug.] idem q(uin)q(uennalis) co[---] / [---]m ob hono[rem ---] / [---] quinquenn[alitat]is / [-----]* (CIL XIV 384, now in the Vatican Museum); another similar text is also known.<sup>33</sup>

Excluding, for obvious reasons, simple epitaphs, the relevant inscriptions are the following ones:

1. CIL XIV 8 = ILS 6154: the *curator Augustalium* M. Cornelius Epagathus in 141 CE dedicates a statuette to the *genius coloniae Ostiensium* and distributes the sum of one *denarius*, presumably to his fellow *\*Augustales* who are present at the inauguration.<sup>34</sup>

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among the well-to-do population and the town council believed that they needed to coopt new *\*Augustales*, they may, to be sure, have devised a system whereby freedmen were allowed to carry out various projects, the costs of which were considerably lower than the official *summa honoraria*, instead of paying the fee. Perhaps such a situation developed later in the third century CE, but I presume it was not the case during the High Empire, from which most of our documentation derives. Yet, even in this hypothetical situation, if the *\*Augustalitas* had become nothing but a burden, joining the college and paying for the membership meant that the person who did so was willing to spend money on matters that benefited the community; this too is akin to evergetism.

<sup>33</sup> Published by Laird 2000, 53, as [co]rporis[---] / C. Clodi[us ---] / sevir Au[g(ustalis) ---] / ob honorem qui[nquennialitat]is ---] / C. Clodi M[---/---]idm[---].

<sup>34</sup> This inscription is quoted, translated, and discussed in Bruun (2014). Abramenko 1993, 145 assumes that the whole free male population at Ostia would have benefited, wherefore

2. *CIL* XIV 12: the *sevir Augustalis* and *curator (Augustalium)* A. Livius [---] dedicates a statuette to the *genius sevirum [Augustalium] Ost[iensium]*.

3. *CIL* XIV 33:<sup>35</sup> the *Vivir Augustalis* and *quinquennalis honoratus* T. Annius Lucullus donates a *signum Martis* to the *dendrophor(i) Ostiensium* in 143 CE.

4. *CIL* XIV 367 = *ILS* 6164: the *seviri Augustales* decided to honour one of their leading members P. Horatius Chryseros with the erection of a statue, because he had donated 50,000 *sestertii* to their treasury, the interest of which was to be used for the benefit of the *Augustales* and to decorate his statue on his birthday. Horatius Chryseros replied by distributing a gift of money to the town's *decuriones* and to the *Augustales* (this is the term used) at the dedication of his statue in 182 CE, and by taking on the cost of erecting the statue.

5. *CIL* XIV 373: the *ordo Augustalium* honours L. Licinius L.f. Pal. Herodes, a meritorious *eques Romanus* who had held many local offices and is called an *optimus civis*, probably with a statue.

6. *CIL* XIV 431: a long inscription reveals that in honour of a person, whose name is missing, the [*ordo Augustalium*] passed a decree to erect a statue of him (*huic ... [statu]am decrevit*). The honorand, who very likely, as we shall see, was called Q. Veturius (no hypothesis concerning his *cognomen* is possible), responded by donating 50,000 *sestertii* to the treasury (*arca*) of the organization, with the instruction that every year on his birthday, there would be a distribution of money to those present from the interest generated by this sum while the statue would be decorated. The inscription further records that two individuals, Veturia Q.f. Rufina and Q. Veturius Q.f. Felix Socrates, the latter among other distinctions a *decurio* at Ostia, shouldered the cost of erecting the statue (which makes it likely that their father was the honorand), while Q. Veturius Felicissimus, a freedman and *sevir Augustalis quinquennalis* and *curator* of that *ordo* (i.e., the *\*Augustales*), was in charge (*curante*) of a distribution of cash to the *decurions* and the *Augustales* on the occasion of the inauguration of the statue. The role played by the latter makes it very likely that it was the association of the *\*Augustales* which bestowed honours on this distinguished person.

7. *CIL* XIV 451 = *AE* 1987, 176a: the [*sevir*] *Augustalis* and *q(uin)-[q(uennalis)]* A. Egrilius Faustus, together with one or two other men, honour

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the cost to the benefactor would have been considerable. In my view, it is more likely that the *\*Augustales*, which still comprised several hundred members, would have been the target of the distribution.

<sup>35</sup> Vermaseren 1956, 135–6 no. 285.

Marcus Aurelius while the latter was still Caesar in the reign of Antoninus Pius. The plaque, inscribed on both sides (for the later text, see the following entry) may have decorated a statue basis.

8. *CIL* XIV 451 = *AE* 1987, 176b: in a fragmentary inscription, one M. Au[-] Ma[-], assumed to be a [*sevir Augustalis*] and [*q(uin)q(uennalis)*], honours the emperor Commodus sometime during the years 180/184 by having the plaque mentioned in the previous entry inscribed on the other side. The plaque may have been attached to a statue base.

9. *CIL* XIV 461: on a marble base, probably for a statue, which was dedicated in 239 CE, a total of seven \**Augustales* of various rank (one *perpetuus*, three *quinquennales*, and four *curatores*) are listed as being in charge of this public activity.<sup>36</sup>

10. *CIL* XIV 4293: the *Vivir Augustalis* and [*quinquennalis*] Q. Varius Secundus honours Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, based on a dream (*ex viso*), with the gift of ten statuettes of the Lares, made of silver, on an inscribed pedestal also of silver.

11. *CIL* XIV 4318:<sup>37</sup> the *Vivir Augustalis* P. Clodius Flavius Venerandus erects a dedication to the Numen Caeleste inspired by a dream (*somno monitus*).

12. *CIL* XIV 4333: in a very fragmentary inscription, likely from the later third century or the early fourth, it appears that a [*sevir(?) Augustali[s]*] is honouring an unidentified emperor.

13. *CIL* XIV 4341: the [*sevir(?) Augustale[s]*] honour the emperor Nerva in a partially preserved inscription of which no further content survives.<sup>38</sup>

14. *CIL* XIV 4486a: this fragmentary inscription appears to record that the *sevir Augustales* honoured a *pa[tronus]* of theirs who was a *viator tribunicius*, i.e. an *apparitor* and perhaps therefore a Roman knight, and who had also received some kind of appreciation from the emperor Trajan.

<sup>36</sup> The text is discussed by Oliver 1958, 489–90. The inscription does not explicitly state that the men are \**Augustales*, but some of them are known from other inscriptions in this capacity, and, as Oliver shows, their ranks are found only among the \**Augustales*.

<sup>37</sup> Vermaseren 1956, 142 no. 304. There is a great likelihood that the same man is the author of another dedicatory inscription, to *Invictus Deus Sol Omnipotens* and several other deities in a fragmentary inscription found near the same Mithraeum from which the previous text stems; the name of the dedicatory inscription appears as V[enera]ndus (*CIL* XIV 4309).

<sup>38</sup> See Meiggs 1973, 219.

15. *CIL* XIV 4559: on a marble *cippus* (as described by the *CIL* editor Wickert; surely part of a larger ensemble), six \**Augustales* are listed as acting in concert when the monument was dedicated in 242 CE.<sup>39</sup>

16. *CIL* XIV 4624a:<sup>40</sup> the *ordo Augustalium* honours a performing artist, a *p[an]tomim[us sui temporis] primus*, probably with a statue; his father is also referred to with respect.

17. *CIL* XIV 4725: in a fragmentary inscription from 83 CE a *se[vi]r Aug(ustalis)* whose name does not survive clearly performs a public action, as the inscription contains the typical formula *dedic(ata/atum)* followed by the date.

18. *CIL* XIV 5322:<sup>41</sup> the *viator [tribunicius]* and *Augustalis* (C. Iulius) Pot[hus] Nymphodoti l(ibertus) honours Drusus Caesar, called the son of the emperor Tiberius, grandson of Augustus and great-grandson of Divus Iulius, possibly with a statue (*posuit*).

19. *CIL* XIV 5328: the *sevir A[ugustalis]* M. Mar[ius ?] honours the son of the emperor Pius, i.e. the future emperor Marcus Aurelius, perhaps with a statue, in recognition of the success of his own son M. Ma[rius M.f. Pal.] Prim[itivus], on whom the *honor* of the *quinquennialitas* had been bestowed.<sup>42</sup>

20. *CIL* XIV 5380 = *AE* 1987, 197: jointly with another man who precedes him in the inscription, the *Augustalis* P. Sulpicius Hera erects *sua p(ecunia)* an honorary inscription to L. Aelius Commodus (the future emperor Lucius Verus), the adopted son of the emperor Pius. The date appears to be c. 140 CE.<sup>43</sup>

21. *AE* 1946, 214: the freedman Agathangelus, a *sevir Augustalis quinquennialis* honours his most worthy (*dignissimus*) *patronus* A. Livius Chryseros, who also is a *sevir Augustalis quinquennialis*.

<sup>39</sup> See Oliver 1958, 90–1 for a discussion of the rank of these men, who according to Oliver's convincing argument must be \**Augustales*, although this is not explicitly stated.

<sup>40</sup> For the most recent improved presentation of this text, see C beillac-Gervasoni – Caldelli – Zevi 2010, 292–3 no. 88a–b.

<sup>41</sup> The text is edited, with comment, by Marinucci 1992, 172 C 20.

<sup>42</sup> The name can be restored with the help of the dedication *CIL* XIV 4553, in which the son M. Marius Primitivus appears as *decurionum decreto aedilis II sacris Volkani faciundis*. Since he was freeborn and engaged in a municipal career, the *quinquennialitas* mentioned can hardly refer to the \**Augustales* organization, but was likely held in the *corpus traiectus Rusticeli*, with which he is connected in *CIL* XIV 4553–4 and which is also mentioned in the inscription listed here. See also Royden 1986, 93 no. 73, 242 (= *AE* 1989, 125).

<sup>43</sup> Thus Marinucci 1992, 201–2 C 65, who also provides a new accurate reading of the text. Earlier, an improved reading had been presented by Royden 1986, 243 (= *AE* 1989, 128). The two men are discussed in Royden 1986, 88–9 nos. 61–2.

22. *AE* 1988, 213:<sup>44</sup> the *sevir Augustalis* and *quinquennalis* M. Iulius Chrysophorus and his son M. Iulius Aelianus (also called Serapio) and M. Iulius Zosimus (probably his brother) and the latter's son M. Iulius Philippus honour Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Serapis and the Castores (i.e., Castor and Pollux) on account of a vow.

23. *AE* 1988, 215:<sup>45</sup> the *sevir Augustalis* and *quinquennalis* M. Iulius Chrysophorus and his son M. Iulius Aelianus (also called Serapio) and M. Iulius Zosimus (probably his brother) and the latter's son M. Iulius Philippus honour Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Serapis and Hercules on account of a vow.

24. *NSA* 1953, 299–301 no. 67: fragments of a broken marble plaque reveal that two men, Nymphodotus and Pothus N[ymphodoti lib.] repaired the *ma-cellum*. Scholars are in agreement that we are dealing with the same Pothus as in no. 18 above, where he is identified as an *Augustalis*, as well as with his patron, who it is not known to have been an *Augustalis*.<sup>46</sup>

The public actions of the *\*Augustales* and of their association, several times called the *ordo Augustalium*, broadly speaking belong to three categories, with a fourth category containing only one instance. There are seven dedications to various deities (nos. 1, 2, 3, 10, 11, 22, 23), another seven honouring the emperor and members of his family (nos. 7, 8, 12, 13, 18, 19, 20), and six inscriptions that honour individuals of varying status (nos. 4, 5, 6, 14, 16, 21). Nos. 9 and 15 most probably belong in one of these categories as well. Finally, while the nature of the action mentioned in no. 17 cannot be determined, there is also one building inscription (24).

It has been suggested by Abramenko that also *CIL* XIV 404 provides information about an act of munificence concerning a public building at Ostia, carried out by a *sevir Augu[stalis] idem q(uin)q(uennalis)*, but the fragmentary inscription is in reality an epitaph which records that a man, [?]lius Pri[?], has built, *in area pura*, various structures such as a *portic[us]* that are part of a monumental tomb, which he ultimately leaves to his freedmen with the typical concluding phrase *[liber]tis lib[ertabusque] [poster]isq(ue) [eorum]*.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>44</sup> See Bricault 2005, 590 no. 503/1129 for this text.

<sup>45</sup> See Bricault 2005, 590 no. 503/1130.

<sup>46</sup> See Bloch 1953, 299–301; Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Caldelli – Zevi 2010, 156–7, who note that new and as yet unpublished evidence shows that the inscription was recut in the Trajanic age, although the two benefactors were active in the late Augustan period.

<sup>47</sup> Abramenko 1993, 145. There is a clear parallel to this fragmentary inscription in *CIL* XIV 671, an epitaph also from Ostia, which, for instance, contains the phrase *aream puram cum*



As for the chronological distribution, over two thirds of the inscriptions contain internal evidence (a consular date or the mention of an emperor) which allows a fairly precise dating. The material reflects the general composition of the Ostian epigraphic evidence quite well: two texts are Augustan (18, 24), one Flavian (17), one dates to around 100 CE (13), one is Trajanic/Hadrianic (14), five belong in the middle of the second century (1, 3, 7, 19, 20), two date to *ca.* 180 CE (4, 8), three to the second quarter of the third century (5, 9, 15), one to the late third (16), and one to the late third/early fourth century (12). For the other seven texts a closer inspection of the physical context in some cases allows a closer dating, as with no. 21, dated to the second century on iconographic grounds,<sup>48</sup> and nos. 22–23, which are dated to the late second or early third century.<sup>49</sup> An archaeological study of the remaining four monuments might allow us to date them as well. The overall picture would hardly change: the inscriptions overwhelmingly belong to a period from the beginning of the second century to the end of the Severan period.

When evaluating the activities of the *\*Augustales*, it may also be relevant to study the individuals who receive honorific dedications. Emperors and members of the imperial family obviously play by far the greatest role, and it is well known that they were the objects of veneration from all segments of society that appear in inscriptions. Among the six individuals that the *\*Augustales* honour, individually or as a collective, there is, perhaps surprisingly, no senator. The highest-ranking honorand is instead an *eques Romanus*, encountered in the following inscription (*CIL* XIV 373 = *ILS* 6141):

*L(ucio) Licinio L(uci) fil(io) Pal(atina*  
*Herodi*  
*equit(i) Rom(ano) decuriali*  
*decuriae viatoriae*  
*equestris co(n)s(ularis) decurioni*  
*quinquennali duumviro*  
*sacerdoti Geni col(oniae) flam(ini)*  
*Rom(ae) et Aug(ustorum) curat(ori) oper(um) public(orum)*

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*triclinio* and is left by the builder Oceanus *in usu eiusdem Oceani et filiorum eius lib(ertis) libertabusq(ue) posterisq(ue) eor(um)*.

<sup>48</sup> Bollmann 1998, 337, with earlier scholarship: not before Trajan, perhaps even of Antonine date, on account of the statue that the inscribed base supported.

<sup>49</sup> Bricault 2005, 590.

*quaestori aer(arii) aedili flam(ini)*  
*divi Severi sodali Arulensi*  
*praet(ori) prim(o) sac(ris) Volk(ani) faciu(ndis)*  
*ordo Augustal(ium)*  
*optimo civi ob merita*

"To L. Licinius Herodes son of Lucius, of the Palatina voting tribe, Roman knight, a *decurialis* (member) of the *decuria* of mounted attendants of consuls, *decurio*, *duumvir* with censorial powers, priest of the cult of the *genius* of Ostia, *flamen* of the cult of Roma and the Augusti, *curator* of public buildings, quaestor of the treasury, aedile, *flamen* of the Deified Severus, *sodalis Arulensis* (a local priesthood),<sup>50</sup> first praetor of the cult of Vulcanus, the *ordo* of the *Augustales* (honoured) a foremost citizen on account of his merits."

The inscription is interesting for what it tells us about the public career and activities of the honorand, L. Licinius Herodes. Beginning his career as an *apparitor*, a "civil servant" in the capital, he is a good example of how such a position led to an entry into the equestrian order.<sup>51</sup> The rest of Herodes' career played out at Ostia. Conspicuously, the inscription makes no mention of military charges or indeed of any imperial procuratorships. The contrast to the many honorific equestrian inscriptions found at Ostia is striking, which were erected for imperial equestrian officeholders by a variety of local organizations. The *corpus mercatorum frumentariorum*, for instance, honoured Q. Calpurnius Modestus (*CIL* XIV 161 = *ILS* 1427; mid-second century CE), while the *corpus mercatorum frumentariorum adiutorum et acceptorum* did the same for Q. Acilius Fuscus (*CIL* XIV 154 = *ILS* 1431; the Severan age). The *numerus caligatorum decuriarum XVI collegii fabrum tignuariorum Ostis* likewise honoured P. Bassilius Crescens with a statue (*CIL* XIV 160 = *ILS* 1428; c. 220 CE).<sup>52</sup> While one might suggest that the

<sup>50</sup> Meiggs 1973, 340 suggests that the priesthood of *sodalis Arulensis* was instituted after the mid-second century CE.

<sup>51</sup> On the *apparitores*, Purcell 1983 is the classic work; see p. 153 for Licinius Herodes, who was not included in the *RE* or *PIR*<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> The two first examples can conveniently be found, accompanied by commentary and dating, in Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Caldelli – Zevi 2010, 233–6. On Bassilius Crescens, see Fora 1996, 33–34, who dates the inscription to 220/224 CE based on the 33rd *lustrum* of the *fabri tignuarii* of Ostia mentioned in the inscription.

*Augustales* were not prominent enough an organization to grant such an honour to an imperial procurator (though this must remain unproven), it remains a fact that in the case of Licinius Herodes, the person they decided to honour was someone who had dedicated practically his whole career to Ostian municipal affairs. This is an indication as good as any of the civic "patriotism" of the *\*Augustales* themselves.

As seen above, the most common form of activity by the *\*Augustales* were dedications to the ruler or a prince of the ruling family, and one must imagine that these inscriptions always accompanied the erection of a statue or at least a portrait bust. Although one might expect that an organization, which in its very name refers to Caesar Augustus and his successors, would be focused on honouring the ruler, it has nevertheless been claimed that such instances are rare in Italy.<sup>53</sup> If this is indeed so, the Ostian pattern is markedly different.

Dedications to Roman deities almost equal the imperial ones in number. No clear common denominator emerges, but in some cases one can easily suggest a reason for why a particular deity was venerated, as in the case of two almost identical dedications to I. O. M. Serapis accompanied by Castor and Pollux and Hercules, respectively (nos. 22–23). The Dioscuri and Hercules protected seafarers and the concluding phrase – *voto suscepto reddiderunt* ("having made a vow they discharged it") – makes it very likely that the four dedicators were sailors or traders had been away on a sea voyage and had returned to Ostia safe and sound. Some of the other deities were chosen for reasons unknowable to us, but it is interesting to observe a dedication to the *Genius coloniae Ostiensium* (no. 1), which again is evidence for a certain local "patriotism".

#### 4. *\*Augustales* participating in other associations

The instances listed and discussed above do not represent every type of activity in which individual *\*Augustales* engaged. Their organization had an internal life, as all organizations are bound to have, and a series of documents on stone have survived, the so-called *alba* of the *\*Augustales*, which contain long lists of members. These *alba* also record which members had shouldered particular duties within the organization, adding epithets such as *quinquennalis* or *curator*, and

<sup>53</sup> Mouritsen 2006, 241, listing about a dozen cases. For Ostia, the author does not cite any evidence but refers to an unpublished dissertation by M. Laird.

they refer to a number of decisions taken by the organization with the expression *ex decreto ordinis Augustalium* (see, for instance, *CIL XIV 4561,1*).<sup>54</sup> It is also revealed by these *alba* that by the late second century CE, a number of *\*Augustales* who were given the title *q(uin)q(uennalis)* had contributed money, surely to the *arca* of their own organization, as shown by the abbreviation *d(ono) d(ato)* following the letters QQ.<sup>55</sup> But this evidence for internal activity among the *\*Augustales* is less important when discussing their public commitments and impact. Instead, we find many individual *\*Augustales* playing a role in other associations, and this must also briefly be touched upon.

Ostia is famous for its many inscriptions illustrating the activities and membership of various professional organizations, called *corpus* or *collegium*. These *collegia* or *corpora* enrolled members who were engaged in professions essential to the functioning of Ostia-Portus as Rome's main harbour. Most of them had something to do with commerce, and *\*Augustales* are frequently found in leading roles in these organizations.<sup>56</sup> To restrict the survey to inscriptions found after the publication of the latest volume of *CIL XIV*, one finds *\*Augustales* engaging in associations such as:

the *corpus lenunculariorum traiectus Luculli* ("the association of ferrymen at the traiectus Luculli" (*AE 1987, 196*);<sup>57</sup>

the *corpus mensorum nauticorum Ostiensium* ("the association of the maritime measurers of Ostia") (*AE 1999, 410*);

the *corpus negotiatorum fori vinarii* ("the association of merchants from

<sup>54</sup> See *CIL XIV 4560–63*, containing consular dates from 193 to 242 CE, with one very late fragment from 297 CE. For the date of *CIL XIV 4563*, which I believe is much earlier than the other parts of the records, see my "The Date of One Hundred *\*Augustales* from Roman Ostia in *CIL XIV 4563: Late First Century CE*" (in preparation).

<sup>55</sup> Abramenko 1992, developing further an hypothesis often advanced previously. The *quinquennales d(ono) d(ato)* were lower in rank than the properly elected eponymous *quinquennales* of the *\*Augustales*. In *CIL XIV 367* the sum of HS 10,000 is being paid *ob honorem curae* into the treasury of the *\*Augustales*.

<sup>56</sup> According to Abramenko 1993, 136, as many as 28 *\*Augustales* at Ostia can be found holding positions in other organizations; this engagement is exceptional, compared to the rest of Italy (p. 142).

<sup>57</sup> The Ostian *\*Augustales* were even more frequently engaged in a similar association, the *corpus lenunculariorum traiectus Rusticelii*. No recent finds have added to our information, but see *CIL XIV 4553–6, 5327–8* and Meiggs 1973, 297, 325.

the wine market") (*AE* 1974, 123a);  
 the *fabri navales* ("the shipbuilders") (*AE* 1989, 124);  
 the *navicularii maris Hadriatici* ("the traders on the Adriatic sea") (*AE* 1987, 191; 1988, 178);  
 the *navicularii lyntrarii* (= *lintrarii*) ("boatmen"; from *linter*, "small boat") (*AE* 1974, 123a);  
 the *stuppatores* ("the rope-makers") (*AE* 1987, 196).

There were also more common professional organizations in which the *\*Augustales* engaged, of the kind one may encounter in any Roman town, like:

the *fabri tignuarii Ostienses*, ("the Ostian builders") (*AE* 1988, 200), and  
 the *nummularii* ("money-changers") (*AE* 1974, 123a).

It is indeed not at all uncommon to see an Ostian *\*Augustalis* among the leaders of these professional associations, as these three short examples show:

*T. Testio Helpidiano / sevir Aug(ustali) idem q(uin)q(uennali) / item patrono et q(uin)q(uennali) / corporis treiectus (!) / marmorariorum / IIII Testii Helpidianus / Priscus Priscianus / et Felix fili(i) et heredes / patri dulcissimo.*

(*CIL* XIV 425 = X 542 = *ILS* 6170 = *AE* 1994, 319; an epitaph)

*A. Caedicus Successus / sevir Aug(ustalis) idem quinquenn(alis) / curator navicularior(um) maris Hadriat(ici) / idem quinquennalis ...* (*AE* 1987, 191; an epitaph)

*[A. Li]vius Anteros / [magiste]r quinquennal(is) colleg(i) fabr(um) / [tignuari]orum Osti(en)s(ium) lustru(m) XVII VI(vir) / [Augusta]lis corporatus inter / [fabros] navales ...* (*AE* 1989, 124; an epitaph)

It was undoubtedly important for the *\*Augustales* to be active in these professional organizations. In this environment, many business opportunities will have materialized, and making money was important for these men. This also means that as members in these professional organizations, the *\*Augustales* may have taken part in various other kinds of public activities, without this being specifically documented in our sources. This should be kept in mind when evaluating

the overall impact of the members of the *\*Augustales* in Ostian society, although there is no way to evaluate the significance of the activity.

As to the question of where the primary loyalties of the Ostian *\*Augustales* lay, that is, whether one of them would have considered himself primarily a *sevir Augustalis item quinquennalis* or a *curator naviculariorum maris Hadriatici* (as A. Caedicius Successus is in *AE* 1987, 191 cited above), this question is irrelevant for the present inquiry. What is at stake here is the dedication of these individuals to the town in which they lived and worked, and it does not matter in which organization or in what capacity they engaged in furthering the cause of Ostia and its inhabitants. What matters is the presence or absence of a "patriotic feeling" in this segment of society.

Concerning the relative importance of a person's membership among the *\*Augustales*, however, it may be worth offering the observation which, to my knowledge, has not been made before, namely that when more than one duty or charge is listed in an inscription, the *\*Augustalitas* regularly comes first (*AE* 1989, 124, cited above, is a rare exception; similarly *CIL* XIV 299, 407). It seems akin to what we find in senatorial *cursus*-inscriptions,<sup>58</sup> when these begin by listing the traditional offices of republican origin, namely, the consulship, a proconsulship, perhaps a priestly office, before providing a chronological account of the person's career. This practice among the *\*Augustales* is evident proof of the worth placed on their membership.

## 5. What is missing from the activities of the *\*Augustales*, and why?

As the evidence now stands, the visible public activities of the *\*Augustales* as a group or as individual members of the Ostian community are almost exclusively restricted to the erection of public monuments, in most cases statues. It is obviously important to keep in mind that we only can use inscriptions when analyzing the public activities of the *\*Augustales*, and most of the epigraphic evidence that once existed is undoubtedly lost, but one can only argue from the sources we have. Thus one is bound to conclude that there is one activity in particular that the *\*Augustales* of Ostia engage very little in: we almost completely lack proof that they participated in more conspicuous energetic activities, that is, in contributing to the physical infrastructure of the town.

<sup>58</sup> For the now somewhat controversial term "*cursus*-inscription", see Bruun 2015, 212–3.

When their actions directly benefit their fellow citizens, it is most commonly in the form of distributions of money. Even the public banquets or feasts, which can be found in many towns of Roman Italy, and which *\*Augustales* on several occasions sponsor elsewhere, do not occur in Ostia under patronage of an *\*Augustalis*. Instead, on three occasions, in nos. 1, 4, and 6 above, there is mention of *divisiones* of cash: the *curator Augustalium* M. Cornelius Epagathus donates one *denarius* (four *sestertii*), presumably only to his fellow *\*Augustales* (no. 1), while the *sevir Augustalis* P. Horatius Chryseros donates five *denarii* to both the *decuriones* and the *Augustales* on the occasion of the inauguration of his statue<sup>59</sup> (no. 4). In the third case (no. 6), the donor Q. Veturius stipulated that from the interest of a large donation of 50,000 *sestertii* to the *Augustales*, on his birthday there will always be a distribution of cash to those among the *\*Augustales* who are present (*in [c]onventu inter praesentes*). In addition, the donor's children Veturia Q.f. Rufina and Q. Veturius Q.f. Felix Socrates shouldered the cost of erecting the statue, while the freedman Q. Veturius Felicissimus, *sevir Augustalis quinquennalis* and *curator* of the association, was in charge of a cash distribution (*sportula*) which again only benefited the decurions, who were given three *denarii*, and the *Augustales* (as he names them), who somewhat unusually received the higher sum of five *denarii*.

As can be seen in Abramenko's survey of actions undertaken by *\*Augustales* in Italy, there is a greater variety of benefactions, and more examples thereof, elsewhere. What I have in mind is a behaviour that we find documented in many other Italian towns, such as at Suessa Aurunca, where C. Titius Chresimus received conspicuous recognition from the *ordo decurionum* because he had sponsored spectacles for the community: *pro salute et indulgentia Imp(eratoris) Antonini Pii Felicis Aug(usti) et ex voluntate populi munus familiae gladiatoriae ex pecunia sua diem privatum secundum dignitatem coloniae ediderit* (CIL X 4760 = ILS 6296). Another example of how some *\*Augustales* provided lavishly for their fellow citizens comes from Abella, where N. Plaetorius Onirus is honoured *quod auxerit ex suo ad annonariam pecuniam HS X (10,000) n(ummum) et vela in theatro cum omni ornatu sumptu suo dederit* (CIL X 1217)

Concerning public building, in the central Augustan *regio I* we find cases such as the following from Cales, in which an anonymous *Augustalis* *viam ab angiporto aed[is] Iunonis Lucinae usque [ad] aedem Matutae et clivom ab Ianu*

<sup>59</sup> In addition, his large gift to the association of the *\*Augustales* was intended to generate funds for a distribution of money among the membership each year on his birthday. This is an internal event and not a public one, which here is the issue.

*ad gisiarios porta[e] Stellatinae et viam patulam ad portam Laevam et ab foro ad portam domesticam sua pecunia stravit (CIL X 4660),*<sup>60</sup> and two identical texts from Cereatae Marianae (Casamari), which record how the freedman C. Livinius Pelasgi lib. Victor *ob honorem Augustalitis* in his own and his son's name contributed HS 2,000 to the repair work on a bridge which otherwise was carried out by decision of the town council (NSA 1921, 70).<sup>61</sup> Also, the *Augustalis* C. Minatius Bithus gave HS 2,000 *ad stratam reficiendam (CIL X 1885),*<sup>62</sup> while three fragmentary inscriptions by *\*Augustales* from Puteoli likewise testify to public construction works (*[---]p et basilica[m ---/--- ma]rrioribu[s ---], CIL X 1838;*<sup>63</sup> *idem sua pecunia aedificavit, CIL X 1887; [c]um epistyl[is ---/---]os tector[ium ---], CIL X 1891).*

In the nearby *regiones II* and *IV* there are a number of similar cases. Near Compsa, the *magister Augustalis* N. Bovius N. et M. l. Hilarus *viam stravit (CIL IX 1048),*<sup>64</sup> at Sipontum, the *Augustalis* P. Memmius P.l. Diogenes *t[ribuna?]l et tectum s[ua] p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit) (AE 1981, 269),* and at Vibinum (Bovino) two relatives, one of which was the *Augustalis* A. Allienus Primus, *podium s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uraverunt) (AE 1969/70, 165).* At Saepinum the *Augustalis* C. Coesius Tertius *plateam stravit a tervio ad tervium (CIL IX 2476),*<sup>65</sup> while his colleague M. Annius Phoebus *ob honorem Aug(ustalitis) et biselli(i)* contributed to the *macellum cum columnis (CIL IX 2475).* These examples suffice to show the situation, but many more examples can be found in the other Italian *regiones.*<sup>66</sup> All these examples of public expenditure — whether the inscription labels the money spent as *sua pecunia* or specifies that the funds were derived from a *summa honoraria* or were paid *ob honorem Augustalitis* — we are justified in regarding as evergetism by *\*Augustales*, as argued above in section 2.

<sup>60</sup> See Campedelli 2014, 121–3 nos. 11–2.

<sup>61</sup> See Campedelli 2014, 178–9 no. 59.

<sup>62</sup> The provenance is probably Ausculum; the inscription is also published, in an unsatisfactory fashion, as *CIL IX 664.*

<sup>63</sup> Also cited by D'Arms 1981, 129 as example of munificence by *\*Augustales.*

<sup>64</sup> See Campedelli 2014, 184 no. 65.

<sup>65</sup> See also Campedelli 2014, 212–3 no. 90.

<sup>66</sup> This evidence, and more, can be found in Abramenko 1993, 146–54, where however all instances of expenses by the "municipaler Mittelstand" is included (such as, e.g., by veterans), not just munificence by the *\*Augustales.* For evergetism by *\*Augustales* in northern Italy, see now Gofin 2002, 197–201, with thirty instances.



In contrast, in the exceptionally rich epigraphic material providing details about the activities of the Ostian *\*Augustales*, all that turns up in the category of evergetism for the purpose of infrastructure improvement and the construction of buildings is the fragmentary inscription no. 24 above (p. 79). That text documents work on the *macellum* of Ostia, undoubtedly a building of significant public importance, by the *Augustalis* Pothus N[ymp hodoti lib.] and his patron Nymphodotus (who may not have been an *Augustalis* at all).<sup>67</sup> It is noteworthy that the inscription belongs to a comparatively early stage in Ostia's history, before the construction of Claudius' harbour, and much earlier than Ostia's rapid expansion in the second half of the first century CE. This event belongs to a time when the great wave of immigration, which followed upon the construction of the Claudian and, later, the Trajan harbour, had not yet set in. For good reason, no suspicions have been voiced about any lack of civic spirit during this earlier phase of Ostia's history.

The matter is different when we view the Flavian era and later periods. The fact that at Ostia the *\*Augustales* cannot be found involved in this kind of local munificence is potentially an important issue, at least for the question of "civic identity" at Ostia. If members of this group of well-to-do individuals, representing one important part of the local "middle class", were not using their wealth in a way that visibly benefited their local community from the 70s CE onwards, this would seem to show a remarkable detachment from the fortunes of their own town, including an apparent unconcern with bolstering their own social standing in the community.

It is, however, surely the case that another factor comes into play here, namely, the close connection between Ostia and Rome and the great investments made by the emperor and the imperial administration in the town. There was simply lesser scope for local sponsorship with money and investments flowing in from the imperial treasury. The imperial influence in Ostia has been documented and stressed on many occasions.<sup>68</sup> One effect of the imperial oversight at Ostia is the very late appearance of a *curator rei publicae*, a centrally nominated official with the task of assisting a Roman town in managing its finances; a necessary course of action as economic problems began to appear in the local context during the second century CE. The earliest known *curator r. p.* is however not found

<sup>67</sup> The site of the *macellum* at Ostia, long believed to have been at the intersection of the Decumanus and the Via del Pomerio (Reg. IV, Is. V, 1–2), has recently been put into question, see Pavolini 2006, 195–6; Cébeillac-Gervasoni – Caldelli – Zevi 2010, 256–7.

<sup>68</sup> See, in particular, Bruun 2002, with previous literature.

at Ostia before the late third century. In my view, this is a significant fact which may merit more attention than it normally receives.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, the relative absence of local sponsorship of public buildings and of road works should not be taken as proof of a lack of "patriotism" on the part of the wealthier segment of the population. The presence of imperial power at Ostia and the influx of resources from the capital to the town made it unnecessary and impossible for the local elite and, as we have seen in the case of the *\*Augustales*, for the sub-elite, to engage in local benefactions in the same way as they did elsewhere in Italy.

Yet one notices, when studying the actions taken by the Ostian *\*Augustales* in public, the presence of a strong connection with Ostia and its inhabitants. Sometimes it is the choice of person that they honour which is important (Licinius Herodes), and sometimes it is the deity they venerate (the Genius of the *colonia*). Above all, it is the abundance of statues and memorials dedicated by these individuals that is most striking. Although occasionally we lack information about what the dedicated object represented, we can see, from the surviving inscriptions, that the *\*Augustales* here behave precisely like their peers elsewhere in the Roman world. Their concern with creating local monuments that dignify the urban environment is a testimony to their own piety and dedication and preserves the memory of their presence in the city. There is no reason to believe that the Ostian *\*Augustales* harboured any less *amor patriae* than their colleagues elsewhere in Italy or around the empire.

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<sup>69</sup> Bruun 2002, 189.

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## UN NUOVO *CONSULARIS BYZACENAE* DI TARDO IV SECOLO E I TANNONII DI PUTEOLI

GIUSEPPE CAMODECA

Una base onoraria, riemersa qualche anno fa dal suolo puteolano, ricchissimo di epigrafi latine, ci fa conoscere un altro *consularis Byzacena*e e nel contempo consente ulteriori interessanti considerazioni, riguardanti la storia di una importante famiglia dell'élite puteolana della seconda metà del IV secolo, i Tannonii, vicende che già avevo potuto ricostruire una trentina d'anni fa.<sup>1</sup> Per rendere più chiara la mia esposizione è opportuno dapprima delineare brevemente quanto avevo a suo tempo potuto accertare su questa famiglia.

Il personaggio principale, che a mio avviso va datato grosso modo verso il 360/390, è indubbiamente Tannonius Chrysantius, *v(ir) p(erfectissimus)*, che era certo uno degli uomini più influenti della Puteoli della seconda metà del IV secolo. A lui sono dedicate due basi di statua, una in versi con reminiscenze vergiliane,<sup>2</sup> dalla quale risulta anche la sua adesione alla religione cristiana, come mostra l'invocazione finale al *summus Deus*, e l'altra postagli dal *populus* nel foro d'età imperiale.<sup>3</sup> Altri membri della sua famiglia sono pubblicamente onorati a

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\* Questo contributo fa parte dei risultati del PRIN 2011. Dedico ad un grande Maestro dei nostri studi di recente scomparso, Antonio Guarino.

<sup>1</sup> G. Camodeca, "Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III – IV secolo)", *Puteoli* 4–5 (1980–81) 119 ss.

<sup>2</sup> *CIL* X 1813 = *ILCV* 142 = *CLE* 327 (base reimpiegata nel muro esterno del monastero di S. Francesco, ora irreperibile, ma forse semplicemente nascosta dall'intonaco): *Tanno[ni] Crhysanti, v(iri) [c(larissimi)?], / patroni. / Florentem meritis Crhy/santi nomine famam / patria concelebrant cuncti / populique patresque vocibus / (et) claros titulis consignat honores teque tuosque manet / longos mansura per annos / felix prole viri, dignos quesitu/ra nepotes. Ad tu, summe deus, / Crhysanti respice gente/m!* Esametri dattilici con evidenti reminiscenze virgiliane: *populusque patresque* (Verg. *Aen.* 9,192); *felix prole virum* (Verg. *Aen.* 6,784).

<sup>3</sup> *AE* 1976, 141 (rinvenuta nel gen. 1957 durante gli scavi dell'Ed. Maria Immacolata di via C.

Puteoli: una statua fu posta ad un Tannonius Boionius Chrysantius,<sup>4</sup> ancora un ragazzo (*puer egregius*), *ab origine patronus ordinis et populi*, che è stato generalmente ritenuto suo figlio; inoltre, a mio avviso, persino sua moglie Vibia Luxuria, *h(onestissima) f(emina)*, che era appunto il titolo spesso attribuito in quest'epoca alle spose dei *virii perfectissimi*, riceve l'onore di una dedica proprio in quanto *uxor* di Tannonius Chrysantius, *v. p.*, come a suo tempo ho creduto di poter ricavare da *CIL X 3107*, trådita scorrettamente e restata incompresa.<sup>5</sup>

Senza dubbio nessun'altro dell'élite puteolana del tardo impero ha ricevuto tanti onori. Le iscrizioni sulle basi a lui dedicate, pur nel linguaggio retorico e altisonante tipico delle epigrafi tardoimperiali, ci lasciano intendere solo in modo generico i suoi meriti e la sua influenza; a parte il titolo ovvio per un personaggio del genere di *patronus* della città, si ricordano benefici e lo si loda come *provisor civium*, *defensor integer* ecc. A suo tempo ho potuto dimostrare che un'altra iscrizione che lo menziona, ritenuta fino ad allora di Liternum e così schedata dal Mommsen nel *CIL X 3714*, era in realtà da attribuire a Puteoli;<sup>6</sup> in essa è ricordato l'abbellimento con statue, trasferitevi *ex abditis locis*, delle *thermae Severianae*, compiuto a cura di Tannonius Chrysantius, *v. p.*, durante il governo della Campania di Virius Audentius Aemilianus, *v. c.*, *consularis Campaniae*, dunque probabilmente nel 375–6 o anche 377–378.<sup>7</sup> Ciò consentiva in un sol colpo di

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Rosini, dove sorgeva il foro di età augustea; ora nel Museo Arch. dei Campi Flegrei, a Baia): *Tannoni Chrysanti, v(iri) p(erfectissimi), / patroni. / Magnificae adque praeclar(a)e stirpis viro, / provisorii civium, defensori integro / gloriam praepollenti, secutus ordinis / splendidissimi exemplo, / devotissimus populus ornamenta / statuae in aevum mansura / supplex celebri loco erigenda decrevit.*

<sup>4</sup> *CIL X 1815* (base riscritta, rinvenuta nel 1703, poi portata a Napoli, pal. Cellammare e ora irreperibile): *Tannonio Boionio / Crhysanti (!). / Tannonio / Boionio / Crhysantio, / puero egregio, / ab origine / patrono or/dinis et populi, / ob eius insigne / meritum univer/sus ordo et / populus statu/am digno cura/verunt.*

<sup>5</sup> *CIL X 3107* (vista a Puteoli 'in porta' (urbica), tradiz. ms.): *VIVIAE LUXURIAE H F EVCALLIS TANNOSHI CRHYSRIN[- -] V P*; le mie correzioni congetturali in "Ricerche" cit. (a nt. 1), 121.

<sup>6</sup> Camodeca (a nt. 1) 90; inoltre Camodeca, "Liternum", *Suppl. It.* 25 (2010) 31, con altra bibl. *CIL X 3714 = ILS 5478* (Museo Arch. di Napoli): *Signa translata ex abditis / locis ad celebritatem / thermarum Severianarum / Audentius Aemilianus (!), v. c., cons(ularis) / Camp(aniae), constituit dedicarique precepit, / curante Tannonio Crhysantio, v. p.*

<sup>7</sup> Sulle possibili datazioni per la carica di questo governatore, rinvio alla mia ampia discussione, Camodeca (a nt. 1), 105 ss.; meno probabile mi sembra infatti la terza possibilità di datazione al 364/7. Sulla statua-ritratto, rinvenuta con la base, vd. U. Gehn, *Ehrenstatuen in der Spätantike. Chlamydati und Togati*, Wiesbaden 2012, 504–13.

datarne l'attività con ottima approssimazione e di conoscere almeno uno dei suoi atti compiuti per la città. Non è un caso che la base di statua posta a questo governatore della Campania nel foro di Puteoli (*AE* 1968, 115) fu nel 1956 rinvenuta *in situ* accanto a quella di Chrysantius.<sup>8</sup>

Sebbene, come detto, Tannonius appare essere stato il personaggio più influente e autorevole nella Puteoli del tempo, da ciò che sapevamo finora di lui, sembrava essere rimasto un *vir perfectissimus*, un membro dell'ordine equestre, e poiché non erano mai ricordate cariche da lui ricoperte, era lecito concludere che doveva essere stato uno degli *honorati*,<sup>9</sup> che avevano ricevuto dall'imperatore il titolo onorario di *vir perfectissimus*; ciò gli consentiva di appartenere ad un ordine sociale superiore a quello di altri curiali della sua città, conferendogli per di più diverse immunità da liturgie e *munera*.

Queste erano le mie conclusioni. Ma ora, come preannunciato, il documento epigrafico, rinvenuto durante alcuni scavi del 2005/6 nel foro puteolano d'età imperiale, sito in via C. Rosini, ha sorprendentemente fornito dati nuovi che portano a modificare e arricchire il quadro.

Si tratta di una base di statua in marmo bianco (h. 147 x 85 x 79 cm),<sup>10</sup> la cui faccia principale fu, previa erasione del testo originario, come di regola nella Puteoli del tempo, riscritta nella seconda metà del IV sec.; sul lato sinistro, resta l'*urceus*; nulla invece su quello destro; il retro è liscio e sulla faccia superiore restano larghi incassi per la statua. La lin. 1, con l'onomastica e il titolo di rango dell'onorato in genitivo di possesso, è incisa sul plinto, allo stesso modo che nelle altre basi di statua dedicate ai Tannonii. Il testo epigrafico (h. lett. ca. 3,5 cm.), sebbene scritto *in litura* su una superficie molto corrosa, è in definitiva di lettura certa, anche se non piana, specie in alcuni punti (figg. 1–3).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Camodeca (a nt. 1), 90.

<sup>9</sup> Sugli *honorati* del tardo impero, sia *clarissimi*, che *perfectissimi*, vd. per tutti A. Chastagnol, *L'Italie et l'Afrique au Bas-Empire*, Lille 1987, 57–60; G. A. Cecconi, "Honorati, possessores, curiales: competenze istituzionali e gerarchie di rango nella città tardoantica", in: *Le trasformazioni delle élites in età tardoantica*, Roma 2006, 41 ss.

<sup>10</sup> Ora conservata a Pozzuoli nel *lapidarium* dell'anfiteatro maggiore.

<sup>11</sup> Per questo motivo e per le non buone condizioni di luce dell'ambiente dell'anfiteatro, in cui la base è conservata, la foto generale del testo epigrafico non è ben leggibile; per questo motivo ho aggiunto un paio di foto di dettaglio.





*Fig.1.*

*Tannoni Crhysanti, v. p. (hed.)  
 Tannonio Crhysantio, v. p.,  
 togat(o) primo fori Campaniae,  
 ab origine nato patrono,  
 5 filio Tannoni Crhysanti, v. c.,  
 ex cossularibus (!) provinciae  
 Byzacenaе, ob meritis suis  
 cunctus ordo et populus  
 posuerunt.*

La base di statua fu dunque dedicata nel foro di Puteoli ad un figlio di Tannonius Chrysantius,<sup>12</sup> perfettamente omonimo del padre, dal *cunctus ordo et populus*<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Si noti che la grafia *Crhysantius* (per *Chrysantius*) è sempre usata in tutte le iscrizioni poste in onore dei Tannonii (*CIL* X 1813, 1815; *AE* 1976, 141).

<sup>13</sup> Anche l'espressione (*statuam*) *posuerunt* è già usata a Puteoli per la base onoraria (*CIL* X 1697), posta fra il 337 e il 342, al giovane figlio di Lollianus Mavortius, Mavortius iunior (su questi personaggi vd. Camodeca [a nt. 1], 102 con foto della base). Ma cfr. anche a Caiatia, *CIL* X 4593, e a Capua, *AE* 1972, 75b e 76.

per dei meriti non meglio precisati (*ob meritis*);<sup>14</sup> va sottolineato che questa statua, la più tarda dedicata alla famiglia (ma vd. *infra*) e databile verso il 375/390,<sup>15</sup> fu posta presso quella di Tannonius *pater* (*AE* 1976, 141), ritrovata nello stesso luogo nel gen. 1957. Chrysantius *filius* è distinto dal titolo di rango di *vir perfectissimus*<sup>16</sup> e viene detto *ab origine natus patronus*, ridondante espressione<sup>17</sup> per dire che egli era patrono di Puteoli fin dalla nascita;<sup>18</sup> ciò significava che, essendo stato il patronato concesso al padre e ai suoi discendenti, egli era divenuto alla sua nascita *ipso facto* patrono della città. L'onorato è detto figlio di Tannonius Chrysantius, che qui porta il titolo di rango di *vir clarissimus*, membro cioè dell'ordine senatorio, e che per di più risulta aver avuto anche il governo della provincia africana di Byzacena, con il titolo di *consularis: ex consularibus (!) provinciae Byzacena*.<sup>19</sup> Dunque da questa iscrizione, evidentemente posteriore

<sup>14</sup> *Ob* con l'ablativo è frequente in quest'epoca; ad es., nella stessa Puteoli *ob meritis* ritorna in *AE* 1972, 79 in onore di Iulius Sulpicius Successus, v. e., di fine III – inizi IV sec.; nella vicina Misenum in *CIL* X 3344 (fine IV sec.).

<sup>15</sup> Questa datazione è confermata anche dalla base di statua, anch'essa di reimpiego, rinvenuta nello scavo accanto a quella di Tannonius *filius*; seppure erasa nelle prime linee, la si può a mio avviso riconoscere dedicata a Naeratus Scopus, v. c., che fu *consularis Campaniae* molto probabilmente nel 375 (*CIL* IX 1566, dove *divo Valeriano* di trad. manoscritta va corretto in *divo Valentiniano*; vd. inoltre *CIL* VI 1746, X 1253); pertanto non può datarsi prima di quell'anno.

<sup>16</sup> Sulla decadenza, già a partire dagli ultimi decenni del IV secolo, e poi sulla scomparsa del titolo di *perfectissimus* e nel contempo dello stesso ordine equestre, vd. Cl. Lepelley, "Du triomphe à la disparition. Le destin de l'ordre équestre de Dioclétien à Théodose", in: *L'ordre équestre. Histoire d'une aristocratie*, Rome 1999, 641–6.

<sup>17</sup> Bastava *ab origine patronus*, come sono dichiarati in altri casi della seconda metà del IV secolo (tutti dalla Campania: *CIL* X 681 Surrentum; 1702; 1815 Puteoli; 3857 Capua; 4755 Suesa Aurunca; IX 1568 Beneventum) questi patroni dalla nascita: per lo più senatori, *consulares Campaniae*: ma si nota anche un altro membro della famiglia dei Tannonii, il già menzionato *puer egregius*, Tannonius Boionius Chrysantius (*CIL* X 1815).

<sup>18</sup> Sui patroni di città nel tardo impero vd. in generale J.-U. Krause, "Das spätantike Städtepatronat", *Chiron* 17 (1987) 1–80; Id., *Spätantike Patronatsformen im Westen des Römischen Reiches*, München 1987, 68 ss.

<sup>19</sup> Nelle iscrizioni solo di rado i titoli dei governatori di provincia, ormai usciti di carica, risultano preceduti da *ex* (su questa costruzione, altrimenti comune, vd. *TLL* V 2, 1102): un esempio proprio per la Byzacena, Cezeus Largus Maternianus, *ex consul. Byzacena provinciae* (*ILAlg* I, 4012 Madauros); su di lui vd. *infra*; altri casi: Felix Iuniorinus Polemius, v. c., *ex consulare p(rovinciae) N(umidia)* nel 375/378 (*ILAlg*. VIII 10702 = 17616); Iul. Cl. Peristerius Pompeianus, v. c. *ex cons. p(rov.) S(iciliae)* (*ILS* 8982, ca. seconda metà del IV sec. – inizi V sec.); Cl. Postumus Dardanus, *ex cons. prov. Viennensis*; Cl. Lepidus, *ex cons. Germaniae primae* (*CIL* XII 1524 = *ILS* 1279 inizi del V sec.; *PLRE* II, 346 s.; 675).

alle altre in cui egli era ancora *perfectissimus* (ma in *CIL* X 1813 il titolo di rango è integrato, e potrebbe quindi essere stato già *clarissimus*),<sup>20</sup> risulta che Chrysantius padre aveva nel frattempo ottenuto dall'imperatore dapprima l'*adlectio inter consulares*,<sup>21</sup> per cui occorre anche un voto del Senato, e in seguito il governo della provincia di Byzacena (su ciò vd. *infra*).



Fig. 2. Partic. delle linn. 1–3

Questo arricchimento delle conoscenze sulla famiglia puteolana dei Tannonii, che ora conta un altro Tannonius Chrysantius, *v. p.*, perfettamente omonimo del padre, *v. c.*,<sup>22</sup> non porta a mio avviso a modificare sostanzialmente le conclusioni a cui ero a suo tempo giunto. Il personaggio di gran lunga più importante resta il padre, che anzi ora sappiamo essere divenuto di rango senatorio ed avere ottenuto

<sup>20</sup> Invero non mi sembra che *CIL* X 1813 sia da identificare con la base di statua posta a Tannonio dall'*ordo puteolanus*, che è menzionata in *AE* 1976, 141: *secutus ordinis splendidissimi exemplo*; solo in tal caso ovviamente bisognerebbe integrarvi senza dubbio il titolo di *vir perfectissimus*.

<sup>21</sup> Sull'*adlectio inter praetorios* o *inter consulares*, che erano i due modi con i quali nel tardo impero chi non era senatore di nascita entrava nel Senato di Roma (vd. *CTh.* 6,4,23 del 373), e sul ruolo che vi giocava il parere dell'assemblea senatoria, vd. per tutti A. Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain à l'époque impériale*, Paris 1992, 277–91, ove altra bibl.

<sup>22</sup> Ovviamente Tannonius figlio, già nato al momento dell'*adlectio* del padre, resta nella sua condizione di *vir perfectissimus*.

come *consularis* il governo di una provincia africana, da datare, per quanto si è detto, nel periodo 375 – 390. Pertanto non mi sembra verosimile attribuire al figlio omonimo una delle iscrizioni che precedentemente si ritenevano dedicate al padre, anche se qualche dubbio potrebbe forse rimanere solo sull'identificazione del Tannonius Chrysantius, *v. p.*, che cura l'abbellimento delle *thermae Severianae*. Inoltre nell'attuale stato delle conoscenze si rafforza l'integrazione di *vir* [*clarissimus*] (invece che *perfectissimus*) per Tannonius Chrysantius in *CIL* X 1813, che dal testo in versi, sia pur ampiamente retorico, appare essere la più tarda: vi si ricordano i *claros honores*, la prole *dignos quaesitura nepotes*. Tuttavia appare ora possibile che il *puer* Tannonius Boionius Chrysantius, onorato in *CIL* X 1815, sia figlio di Tannonius Chrysantius *filius*.

Quest'ultimo è detto *togatus primus fori Campaniae*; con *togati fori*<sup>23</sup> sono indicati nel linguaggio giuridico tardoimperiale gli avvocati,<sup>24</sup> segnalando in tal modo l'avvenuta burocratizzazione dell'avvocatura. *Togati* perché, ormai funzionari statali, portavano la toga quale veste ufficiale;<sup>25</sup> la specificazione *togatus fori* indicava che si era avvocati di un determinato foro, perché nel tardo impero erano ammessi alla funzione solo dopo aver provato la propria capacità. Addirittura si fissò per legge (già prima di Costantino) per i tribunali centrali e provinciali un numero massimo (*numerus clausus*) di avvocati, che fu però abolito da Costantino nel 319 (*CTh.* 2,10,1, ma poi reintrodotta nel 439, *Nov. Theod.* 10,1). Essi così formavano un vero e proprio collegio; di *corpus togatorum* si parla in *CTh.* 12,1,152 = *Clust.* 2,7,3 (a. 396), dove si ricorda la loro esenzione da alcune funzioni municipali e provinciali. Questa burocratizzazione della professione comportò anche, sebbene in misura maggiore in Oriente rispetto all'Occidente, una migliore preparazione giuridica degli avvocati, i quali studiavano ormai più il diritto che la retorica, sollevando in tal modo le polemiche lamentele, ad es., di un Libanio.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Const. Deo auctore* 3: *ex viris disertissimis togatis fori amplissimae sedis*; inoltre *Clust.* 3,2,3 Iustinianus A. *Iuliano pp.* (a. 530): *... illustribus vel spectabilibus vel clarissimis vel togatis fori cuiusque praefecturae*; *Clust.* 2,7,9 (a. 442): *Si quis de togatis fori celsitudinis tuae vel Illyricianae seu urbicariae praefecturae sive de his qui in provincialibus iudiciis causarum patrocinium profitentur, ...*, inserita nella rubrica *De advocatis diversorum iudiciorum*.

<sup>24</sup> In generale sugli avvocati nel mondo romano vd. J. A. Crook, *Legal Advocacy in the Roman World*, London 1995; per il periodo tardoimperiale vd. spec. 188 ss.; cfr. anche 45 s.

<sup>25</sup> Per tutti vd. Crook, *Legal Advocacy* cit., 42 s.; cfr. anche A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, s. v., 1953, 738, che traduce *togatus fori*: Lawyer pleading in court.

<sup>26</sup> Sugli importanti cambiamenti provocati nella professione di avvocato nell'epoca tardoimpe-

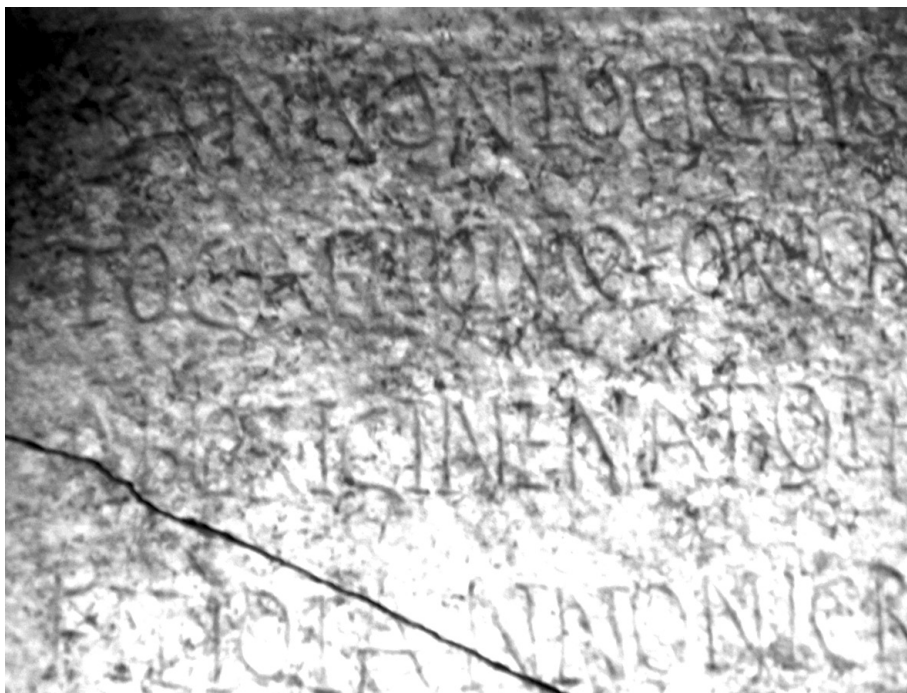


Fig. 3. Partic. delle linn. 2–5.

Come detto, gli avvocati erano ormai ammessi e quindi legati ad un determinato foro, dove dovevano svolgere la loro professione (*togatus fori*),<sup>27</sup> ad es. il tribunale del governatore provinciale; ciò ben spiega perché il nostro Tannonius Chrysantius è definito quale primo avvocato del foro della provincia di Campania. Inoltre i governatori provinciali potevano delegare processi di minore importanza a giudici ausiliari, funzione di cui furono in generale incaricati gli avvocati attivi in quel determinato foro.<sup>28</sup> Tutto ciò comportava un'alta considerazione sociale, che consentì loro di conseguire posti nell'amministrazione imperiale, il

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riale, vd. per tutti F. Schulz, *Storia della giurisprudenza romana*, tr. it., Firenze 1968, 481 ss.; M. Kaser – K. Hackl, *Das römische Zivilprozessrecht*, 2 ed. München 1996, 563–5; A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 284–602, 1, Oxford 1964, 507–16 = tr. it. 2, 727–36.

<sup>27</sup> Cfr. *Clust. de cod. comp.* 1 (a. 528): *Dioscorum et Praesentinum disertissimos togatos fori amplissimi praetoriani*; inoltre un giovane *tog(atu)s fori Dalmatici* a Salona, morto a 23 anni (*CIL* III 2659 = *ILCV* 245, a. 443), cfr. sempre a Salona anche *AE* 1913, 44 = *ILJug* 2770 ([*togat*]o fori Dalm[atici]) del 446; verso la fine del V secolo l'espressione è usata nello stesso senso (e dunque non giudice né giurista, come si è talvolta inteso) per Dracontius, v. c. *et togatus fori proconsulis almae Karthaginis apud proconsulem Pacideium* (*Dracont. Romul.* 5, *subscriptio*); sul punto vd. W. Schetter, *Kaiserzeit und Spätantike. Kleine Schriften*, Stuttgart 1994, 370 s.; *PLRE* II sv. Dracontius 2; Cl. Moussy, *Dracontius. Oeuvres* 1, Paris 1985, 16.

<sup>28</sup> Ad es. *CTh.* 2,10,5 = *Clust.* 2,6,6 (a. 370 Seeck); sul punto per tutti Kaser – Hackl (a nt. 26), 548.

che si verificò sia in Oriente che in Occidente (*seminarium dignitatum* è definita l'avvocatura in *Nov. Valent.* 2,2,1 del 442).

Ci si può infine domandare quale significato avesse la qualifica di *primus* fra i *togati* del foro della provincia di Campania data a Tannonius dal *cunctus ordo et populus* di Puteoli. Non è improbabile che qui si tratti di un mero elogio retorico; ma non si può escludere, considerando l'avvenuta burocratizzazione della professione di avvocato, ritenuta ormai in un certo modo come un servizio pubblico (una *militia*),<sup>29</sup> che si voglia segnalare una reale preminenza, per la quale Tannonius era in realtà il numero uno (*primus*) fra gli avvocati della Campania, se si richiama il fatto che per ogni foro provinciale erano registrati in un elenco i *togati* abilitati a patrocinare in quel tribunale e solo in quello (*CTh* 2,10,2 del 319).<sup>30</sup> Un'espressione analoga a questa per Tannonius ricorre a mio avviso anche ad Abella per un altro *vir perfectissimus* di IV secolo, Tarquinius Vitalio, la cui iscrizione (*CIL* X 1201) su base di statua, da tempo irreperibile, è purtroppo nota solo da tradizione manoscritta del primo Settecento, che alle linn. 3–4 riporta *togato prin. loci*<sup>31</sup> *defensori provinciae Campaniae*; essa a mio avviso va con ogni probabilità corretta, sull'esempio della nostra puteolana, come *togato primo fori* ecc. In ogni caso il significato è il medesimo: anche Tarquinius è esaltato come il *primus* fra gli avvocati del foro della provincia di Campania.

Che un membro dell'élite puteolana, come Tannonius Chrysantius *pater*, in origine di rango equestre, poi asceso a quello senatorio, sia stato *consularis* della provincia di Byzacena, verso il 375/390 ca. è certo un nuovo dato di grande interesse.

La provincia di Byzacena, con capoluogo Hadrumetum, fu istituita dopo il 294 nel riassetto diocleziano delle province africane;<sup>32</sup> era inizialmente go-

<sup>29</sup> *CTh* 1,29,1 del 368.

<sup>30</sup> Si sa inoltre, sebbene per un'epoca più tarda, che del collegio (*togatorum collegium, corpus*), formato dagli avvocati di un determinato foro, era a capo un presidente (detto *primas*), dignità alla quale si poteva pervenire solo dopo aver fatto parte per più anni della corporazione (*Clust* 2,7,26–27 a. 524).

<sup>31</sup> Questa la lezione accolta dal Mommsen in *CIL*, che E. De Ruggiero, s. v. *advocatus*, *Diz. Ep.* 1 (1895) 122, intende in modo inverosimile *togato, prin(cipi) loci*.

<sup>32</sup> Sul punto vd. M. Christol, "Les subdivisions de l'administration domaniale et financière en Afrique romaine: des limites de la procuratelle d'Hadrumète à celles de la province de Byzacène", in: *Frontières et limites géographiques de l'Afrique du Nord antique. Hommages à P. Salama*, Paris 1999, 71–86, spec. 81 ss. Secondo G. Di Vita-Evrard, in *L'Africa romana* 2, Sassari 1985, 149–75, spec. 162 ss., la provincia di Byzacena sarebbe stata istituita insieme alla Tripolitania nel 303.

vernata da *praesides*, *viri perfectissimi*, cioè di rango equestre, ma già sotto Costantino divenne una provincia amministrata da senatori: il primo noto è nel 314 Aco Catullinus, poi nel 321 e nel 322–324 uno dopo l'altro due fratelli appartenenti ad una famiglia aristocratica romana, gli Aradii, di lontana origine africana (Bulla Regia), Q. e L. Aradius Valerius Proculus. I governatori della provincia di Byzacena ottennero il titolo di *consularis* forse già dallo stesso Costantino (a mio avviso molto probabilmente già prima del 326, vd. *infra*), il che significava, come è ovvio, che essa doveva essere necessariamente amministrata da senatori. Non è infrequente trovare come governatori della provincia di Byzacena<sup>33</sup> per tutto il IV secolo personaggi dell'aristocrazia senatoria romana con forti interessi e proprietà in Africa (ad es. Aradii, Ceionii) oppure *viri clarissimi* di minore importanza, di origine africana (ad es. Cezeus Largus Maternianus).<sup>34</sup>

Nel quadro degli stretti rapporti fra Italia e Africa durante il IV secolo si deve notare che il gentilizio *Tannonius* (meno di frequente nella variante *Tanonius*) è in generale assai diffuso nelle province africane (addirittura il 70 % del totale delle testimonianze). Viceversa esso è piuttosto raro in Italia, salvo che in Campania, e praticamente assente nelle altre province. Approfondendo la ricerca, risulterà che invero in Campania questo gentilizio è ben attestato solo a Puteoli, quasi esclusivamente dai membri della nostra famiglia di IV secolo; altrimenti compare nella funeraria *CIL X 2767* con una Tannonia Veneria di II – metà III secolo, iscrizione vista però a Napoli nel primo '600 e forse di provenienza neapolitana (a giudicare dal defunto L. Neapolitanus Liberalis); risulta però già nel I secolo a Surrentum (M. Tanonius M. f., *CIL X 721*). Tuttavia di recente abbiamo finalmente avuto la certezza che a Puteoli i Tannonii erano già presenti prima del IV secolo: un M. Tannonius Gerinianus, grosso modo di II secolo, fu sepolto nella necropoli di via Vigna (*AE 2007, 381*). Naturalmente, anche tenendo nel debito conto la rarità del gentilizio in Italia, il nuovo dato non basta a dimostrare che questo M. Tannonius sia in un qualche modo collegabile alla grande famiglia puteolana di IV secolo.

<sup>33</sup> Sui governatori della Byzacena, vd. ancora A. Chastagnol, "Les gouverneurs de Byzacène e de Tripolitaine", *Ant. Afr.* 1 (1967) 119–34 (con elenco 122–6) = *L'Italie et l'Afrique au Bas-Empire*, Lille 1987, 163–78 (spec. 166–70); e, con aggiunte, *PLRE I*, 1088.

<sup>34</sup> Sui senatori africani di tardo impero, cfr. in generale M. Overbeck, *Untersuchungen zum afrikanischen Senatsadel in der Spätantike*, Konstanz 1973, e spec. 23 ss., sulla notevole percentuale durante il IV secolo di governatori di provincia in Africa di origine locale e nel contempo sugli stretti rapporti fra senatori italici con l'Africa e viceversa delle élites di rango senatorio africane con Roma e l'Italia.

A Roma e ad Ostia/Portus i *Tan(n)onii* compaiono in un certo numero, ma in generale in epoca tarda (nella prima sono una dozzina,<sup>35</sup> fra cui diversi *vigiles* d'età severiana; nella seconda cinque personaggi di III secolo); nel resto d'Italia si riscontrano solo a Ulubrae nel Latium (un liberto *CIL X 6494*), e specialmente nella *regio II* fin dal I secolo: a Beneventum<sup>36</sup> e anche a Larinum.<sup>37</sup>

A fronte di questa rarità in Italia il gentilizio risulta, come detto, molto frequente nelle province africane (in specie in Numidia e nella proconsolare) con una settantina di attestazioni (sul totale di un centinaio); per di più possiamo affermare che alcuni Tannonii noti ad Ostia sono quasi certamente di origine africana, giunti nel porto di Roma per motivi commerciali, legati all'annona:<sup>38</sup> ad es. un Iunius Tannonius Donatus di III sec. (*AE 1983*, 135 Portus); Iunii Tannonii si riscontrano in Africa proconsolare e Donatus è un *cognomen*, se non esclusivo, certo tipico dell'Africa.

Se a questo punto si collega questo dato di fatto sulla diffusione del gentilizio, piuttosto raro in Italia e molto frequente in Africa, argomento di per sé solo non ancora dirimente, con quanto si è già osservato sulla tendenza, palese nel tardo impero, di attribuire ai senatori governi di province, dove essi avevano proprietà e interessi, sembra lecito supporre per il nostro Tannonius Chrysanthius un qualche lontano, ma non ancora reciso, legame con l'Africa, che potrebbe meglio spiegare il suo governo della Byzacena. Del resto nel quadro degli antichi e stretti rapporti commerciali e annonari di Puteoli con le regioni africane<sup>39</sup> non può

<sup>35</sup> Vi spicca solo un M. Tanonius Bassus, *tribunus coh. III praet.* di II secolo (*CIL VI 2508*).

<sup>36</sup> *CIL IX 1656* (un *aedilis* di I sec., M. Tannonius Firmianus), 1981 (Tannonia Paterna); 1982 (L. Tannonius Bassus) di I sec.

<sup>37</sup> *AE 1997*, 328: P. Tanonius P. f. Clu. Rufus, di I sec.

<sup>38</sup> Sugli Africani ad Ostia e l'annona vd. da ult. M. Cèbeillac-Gervasoni, in *Epigrafia Latina. Ostia: cento iscrizioni in contesto*, Roma 2010, 233 ss., ove altra bibl.

<sup>39</sup> Sul punto e sull'importanza del porto puteolano per l'annona imperiale ancora nel II e III secolo vd. G. Camodeca, "Puteoli porto annonario e il commercio del grano in età imperiale", in: *Le ravitaillement en blé de Rome et des centres urbaines*, Rome – Naples 1994, spec. 113 ss.; l'ipotesi, che allora avanzavo (p. 114), dell'esistenza di un *procurator annonae* anche a Puteoli, come ad Ostia, è stata molto di recente più volte confermata con funzionari imperiali databili nel II e III secolo, dalle cui iscrizioni (*AE 2005*, 678; *AE 2008*, 666; *AE 2010*, 1809) si ricavano ulteriori interessanti testimonianze di rapporti con l'Africa; inoltre G. Camodeca, "La carriera di un nuovo *praefectus annonae* in un'inedita iscrizione puteolana", in: *Colons et colonies dans le monde romain*, Rome 2012, 305–21, spec. 319 ss.; cfr. anche sul tema S. Demougin, in: *Le tribù romane*, Bari 2010, 375–83. Infine, stando ai reperti rinvenuti negli scavi del Rione Terra, i dati sulle importazioni di prodotti africani a Puteoli ricalcano quelli noti per Ostia e sono, in



meravigliare che il capostipite di questa famiglia puteolana di IV secolo possa discendere da un immigrato dall'Africa, giunto nel grande porto flegreo, così come ad Ostia, per ragioni di commercio. In seguito i Tannonii fecero fortuna sul piano economico e con il nostro Chrysantius ebbero anche un'ascesa sociale e politica, divenendo dapprima di rango equestre e poi addirittura senatorio. E in tale qualità Tannonius Chrysanthius *pater* sarebbe tornato nel tardo IV secolo in Africa, e precisamente in Byzacena, ad amministrare come *consularis* quella provincia.

Naturalmente questa resta un'ipotesi, per quanto suggestiva; non si può infatti escludere un'origine campana della famiglia, data la presenza, sia pure sporadica, di Tannonii nella regione già nel I secolo; inoltre, come detto, a Beneventum essi sono presenti nell'*élite* della colonia, i cui rapporti con Puteoli, specie a partire dal II secolo, sono stati già da me sottolineati. E proprio a Beneventum è attestato nel IV secolo un altro Tannonius di rango senatorio: Tannonius Marcellinus, *v. c.*, *cons(ularis) Camp(aniae)*, onoratovi *ob insignia beneficia* dall'*universa plebs beneventana* (CIL IX 1589 = ILS 6506); si tratta però di un caso controverso, perché per questa iscrizione di tradizione manoscritta sono stati espressi dubbi proprio sull'onomastica, dove invece si è proposto di restituire il nome di Antonius Marcellinus,<sup>40</sup> il console del 341 e prefetto del pretorio d'Italia del 340. L'ipotesi non mi sembra da accogliere non solo per l'esistenza stessa del gentilizio *Tan(n)onius*, ma anche perché tutta la tradizione cinque-seicentesca concorda sulla lettura della prima *T* (del tutto minoritaria è del resto la lezione *T ANTONIO*). Ad ogni modo nulla si può dire sull'origine di questo Tannonius Marcellinus e pertanto sarebbe pura speculazione voler trovare un qualche rapporto con la famiglia puteolana, sebbene ciò sia astrattamente possibile, data la rarità del gentilizio: si noti che gli unici senatori a portarlo sono appunto Chrysantius e Marcellinus, entrambi di IV secolo.

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specie per le anfore olearie, ancora tra i più significativi all'inizio del IV sec., come mi informa la mia dottoranda Paola Orlando (studio in c. d. st.); sul forte aumento delle importazioni di ceramica africana a Puteoli e nell'area flegrea fra il II e il IV secolo vd. anche V. Di Giovanni, "Le dinamiche degli scambi economici nella Campania in età imperiale. Circolazione delle produzioni africane", *L'Africa romana* 19,2, Roma 2012, 1511–38.

<sup>40</sup> Così A. Chastagnol, *Les Fastes de la Préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*, Paris 1962, 133 nt. 119; Id., "L'administration du diocèse italien au Bas-Empire", *Historia* 12 (1963) 363; dubbi in *PLRE* I, 549; G. A. Cecconi, *Governo imperiale e élites dirigenti nell'Italia tardoantica*, Como 1994, 216; M. R. Torelli, *Benevento romana*, Roma 2002, 254 s.

## Appendice: i governatori della provincia di Byzacena

### Praesides

1. [- -]cius Flavianus, *v. p., praeses p(rovinciae) Val. Byz.*, 294–305; *PLRE I* 344.
2. Aco Catullinus, (*v. c., praeses*), 313–4 (*CTh.* 9,40,1+11,30,2+11,36,1), poi *procos. Africae* 317–318; padre dell'omonimo *cos.* 349. *PLRE I* 187.
3. Q. Aradius Rufinus Valerius Proculus Populonium, *v. c. praes(es) Val. Byz(acena)*, 321. *PLRE I* 749.
4. L. Aradius Valerius Proculus Populonium, *v. c., praeses provinciae Byzacena*, 322/324, poi *procos. Africae* 331/333, *praef. urbi* 337–338, *cos.* 340; *PLRE I* 747 ss.
5. [- -] Agricola, *v. c. praeses* (*AE* 1946, 45 Chusira), età costantiniana; *PLRE I* 31.
6. [- -]tianus, *v. c., p[raeses - -]* (*CIL VIII* 701 Chusira), età costantiniana; *PLRE I* 1002
7. Vibius Flavianus, *praeses*, di rango ignoto (*AE* 1953, 45, Mactar); *PLRE I* 349: fine III – inizi IV sec.; secondo Di Vita Evrard, (a nt. 32) 170 potrebbe identificarsi con il nr. 1.

### Consulares

1. M. Ael[ius] Candidianus, *c. v., prov[inciae con]sularis* (*AE* 1954, 59; cfr. Duval, "Inventaire" cit. [a nt. 42], 424, nr. 40 Sufetula), da datare a mio avviso con ogni probabilità fra 323 e 326 per la menzione di un *vir egregius*;<sup>41</sup> se ciò è giusto, si tratta del più antico *consularis* della provincia. *PLRE I*, 179, data invece ?IV/V sec.; omesso da Chastagnol (a nt. 33).
2. Cezeus Largus Maternianus, *v. c., consularis Byzacena*, verosimilmente negli anni 330/340, dopo essere stato *legatus* del proconsole d'Africa, Ceionius Iulianus nel 326–331; poi *procos. Africae* per un triennio (prob. fra 341 e 350). Certo di origine africana; *PLRE I* 567.
3. Volusianus (= C. Ceionius Rufus Volusianus *signo* Lampadius?), *v. c., [c]onsularis prov[inciae Va]leriae Byzacena* noto dalla dedica del teatro di Sufetula, ricomposta da numerosi frammenti;<sup>42</sup> se fosse giusta l'identifi-

<sup>41</sup> Questo titolo di rango equestre sparisce, come è noto, dopo il 326 con le riforme di Costantino; per tutti vd. A. Chastagnol, *L'Italie* cit. (a nt. 9), 289; *Le Sénat* cit. (a nt. 21), 238 s.; seguito da Lepelley (a nt. 16), 638 s.

<sup>42</sup> Su di essa vd. l'analisi di N. Duval, "Inventaire des inscriptions latines païennes de Sbeitla",

cazione, la carica andrebbe datata alcuni anni prima del 354, quando Volusianus fu *praef. praet.* (d'Italia?) 354–355, poi *praef. urbi* 365. Proprietario in Africa proconsolare, *CIL VIII 25990 = ILS 6025* (Thubursicum Bure). *PLRE I 978 ss.* (con dubbi); omissa da Chastagnol (a nt. 33).

4. Aginatius, un *nobilis* romano (Amm. 28,1,30), fu *cons. Byzacena* nel 363 (*CTh.* 11,20,1), poi *vicarius urbis Romae* 368–370. *PLRE I, 29 s.*

5. Honoratus, *consularis Byzacii*, nel 368 (*CIust.* 1,33,1). *PLRE I, 439.*

6. Brittius Praetextatus Argentius, *v. c., consularis Byzacii*, un senatore originario di Capua, dove fu onorato con una statua dall'*ordo et populus Hadrumetinus*, dopo aver governato la provincia (*CIL X 3846*); non meglio databile fra 330 e 370 ca.; *PLRE I 724.*

7. ?Flavius Mallius Theodorus, *cos.* 399, un cristiano e filosofo neoplatonico, ben noto dal suo panegirico composto da Claudiano. Nato a Milano verso il 350 da una famiglia non nobile, fu governatore di una provincia africana, probabilmente la Byzacena, verso il 377 (*Claud. Paneg.* v. 24). Chastagnol (a nt. 33) non ha dubbi sul governo della Byzacena; non così *PLRE I 900 ss.*

8. Tannonius Chrysantius, *v. c., ex consularibus provinciae Byzacena*, ca. 375/390, vd. *retro.*

9. Flavius Synesius Philomatius, *v. c., cons. Fl. Val. Byzacena* nel 383/408 (*ILAfr.* 314 Puppit). *PLRE I 338.*

10. Anonimo, [- - - *vir cla*]rissimus, *consularis p(rovinciae) V(aleriae) Byz(acena)* (*AE 2004, 1681, Limisa*), databile 387–388, per la menzione del nome dell'usurpatore Maximus, poi eraso.

11. [- - -] Victorinus, *v. c., con[sularis prov. Val. Byzacena]*, (*CIL VIII 11184 cfr. p. 2337 Biia*); 340/350?<sup>43</sup> genericamente IV sec. *PLRE I, 963.*

12. Q. Avidius Felicius, *consularis provinc. Byz(acena)* (*CIL VIII 11932 Uzappa*) sotto tre Augusti: dunque, 337–340, 367–395, 402–408. *PLRE I 331.*

13. [- - -] Priscus, *v. c., consularis provinciae Flaviae Valeriae Byzac[ena]* (*AE 2001, 2068 = 2006, 1673 Thelepte*), metà IV e primo quarto del V sec.

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*MEFRA* 101 (1989) 427 nr. 45, che per lo stato dell'iscrizione considera "aventureuse" la proposta identificazione con Lampadius.

<sup>43</sup> Vd. Cl. Lepelley, *Le cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire*, 2, Paris 1981, 279 s.: forse ne faceva parte anche *CIL VIII 23072*, che fornirebbe la datazione al 340/350; in questo senso anche A. Saastamoinen, *The Phraseology of Latin Building Inscriptions in Roman North Africa*, Helsinki 2010, 550 nr. 706.

14. [- -]onius Severus, *co[ns. provinc]iae Flaviae Valeriae [Byzacena]*,<sup>44</sup> genericamente databile dopo Costantino. *PLRE* I, 836; omissa da Chastagnol (a nt. 33).
15. ?Constantius, *con[sularis sex]fascalis*, *CIL* VIII 11333 (Sufetula), ricostruzione dubbia<sup>45</sup>; nel caso andrebbe nella seconda metà del IV sec. *PLRE* I, 224.
16. M[an]lius Crepereius Scipio Vincentius, *v. c., consularis p(rovinciae) Fl(aviae) Valeriae Byz(acena)* (*AE* 2004, 1798 Aradi; cfr. *AE* 2009, 1671),<sup>46</sup> databile al 402–408.
17. Superius, *v. c., cons. provinciae Byzacena*, al quale è dedicata l'opera *Disputatio de somnio Scipionis* del retore africano Favonius Eulogius<sup>47</sup> (*PLRE* I, 294), un allievo di Augustinus; pertanto databile negli ultimi anni del IV secolo o nei primi due decenni del V. *PLRE* I, 861.

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<sup>44</sup> Sulla discussa ricostruzione del testo da sparsi frammenti rinvenuti a Sufetula, vd. Duval, "Inventaire" cit. (a nt. 42), 422 nr. 38.

<sup>45</sup> Vd. le riserve di Duval, "Inventaire" cit. (a nt. 42), 452 nr. 86.

<sup>46</sup> Ristudiata da C. Hugoniot, *Ant.Afr.* 45 (2009) 119–38.

<sup>47</sup> Sull'opera e sulla sua datazione vd. ora l'edizione critica e commento di G. Marcellino, *Favonii Eulogii Disputatio de Somnio Scipionis*, Napoli 2012.



## RETRIEVING THE STYLE OF CEPHISODOTUS THE YOUNGER

ANTONIO CORSO

### **Abstract**

The scope of this paper is to reconstruct the artistic itinerary of Cephisodotus the Younger, Praxiteles' elder son. It is likely that Cephisodotus' early activity was still very indebted to the styles of his renowned father. However he progressively disengaged from the Praxitelean formal heritage in order to express the value of realism as well as the sense of space. Thus his last creation, which can be appreciated from a visual point of view – the portrait of Menander – is no longer inside the Praxitelean tradition but appears to be coherent with a realistic and three-dimensional concept of the statuary art.

### **1. A general presentation of this personality**

The aim of this article is to recognize the style of the elder son of Praxiteles – Cephisodotus the Younger – and to reconstruct the development of his oeuvre and art from his early period of activity until his old age. Although recent attempts to study this important personality are not missing,<sup>1</sup> nevertheless an organic attempt to reconstruct his oeuvre is still lacking.

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<sup>1</sup> See especially Andrae 2001a, 410–1; Schultz 2003, 186–93; Kourinou 2007, 200–1, no. 65; 201–2, no. 66; Papastamati-von Mook 2007a, 202–4, no. 67; 205–6, no. 68; 207, no. 69; 208, no. 70; 209, no. 71; Stampolidis 2007, 210–3, no. 72; 213–4, no. 73; 214–5, no. 74; Corso 2007, 216–9, no. 75; Papastamati-von Mook 2007b, 273–327; Stewart 2010, 12–32 and Vorster 2013, 74–6, no. 5. I am thankful to Prof. Dora Constantinidis (University of Melbourne) for her kind revision of my English.

This article is meant to fill this lacuna in the bibliography.

Cephisodotus the Younger is known thanks to around 30 written texts, both literary and epigraphical.<sup>2</sup>

He was born around 365–360 BC, when his father Praxiteles was 30–35 y.o.<sup>3</sup> and was the elder son of this sculptor. He was an Athenian, of the deme of Sybridae. He began working as a sculptor probably in 344/343 BC, when he was in his late teens, specializing in bronze portraits of priests and of ladies devoted to the goddesses of Eleusis and required by Athenian patrons. Probably by 341/340 BC he possessed his own workshop.<sup>4</sup>

He was rather successful and became wealthy, entering the liturgic class in 334/333 BC or earlier and thus financing warships. In 326/325 BC, with the death of his father Praxiteles, he inherited his substances.<sup>5</sup>

By 315 BC or earlier, he began working together with his younger brother Timarchus.<sup>6</sup>

In the second part of his life, his activity expanded beyond the borders of Attica, he made bronze portraits set up at Troezen, at Megara – in the latter case working with Timarchus – also he delivered sculptures to Thebes and Cos – in both cases working together with his younger brother – and specialized in bronze portraits of the poetesses: Myro and Anyte.

He appears particularly tied to sanctuaries of the Apollinean triad as well as of Asclepius.

The ancient tradition placed his peak as well as that of his brother in the 121st Olympiad, i.e. in the years 296–293 BC (see Plin. *nat.* 36,51): maybe it

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<sup>2</sup> Several texts have been collected by Muller-Dufeu 2002 (sources nos. 1570–82 and 1584–89). The testimony of Herod. 4,20–25 is forgotten in this catalogue. The inscription *IG II<sup>2</sup> 4608*, which in Muller-Dufeu's catalogue is no. 1583, is no longer attributed to Cephisodotus the Younger but to Praxiteles' father, Cephisodotus the Elder: see Clinton 2008, 84–85, no. 58. For the inclusion of Cephisodotus in the records of the liturgic class and particularly of the trierarchies, see Traill 2001, 296, no. 567865. About the epigraphical evidence concerning his ownership of workshop, see Traill 2001, 296, no. 567864. For a summary concerning the economic and social conditions of Cephisodotus the Younger, see Stewart 2013, 19–34, particularly pp. 20–21.

<sup>3</sup> About the birth of Praxiteles around 395 BC, see Corso 2004, 111–4. About Praxiteles, see also Kaltsas – Despinis 2007 and Pasquier – Martinez 2007.

<sup>4</sup> See Traill 2001 (note 2).

<sup>5</sup> See Plin. *nat.* 36,24: *Praxitelis filius Cephisodotus et artis heres fuit.*

<sup>6</sup> See Schultz 2003 (note 1).

coincides with the creation of sculptures for the Asclepieum of Cos by the two brothers.

Their last important work may have been the bronze portrait of Menander set up in the theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens and which may date to the year of death of this poet, in 292/291 BC.<sup>7</sup>

Cephisodotus may have died around 290 BC. He never reached the great fame and success enjoyed by his father and moreover his activity never spread to such an extent as that of Praxiteles.

However an assessment of his originality, creative power and importance can be attempted only through the survey of the visual evidence which can be derived from his most important works.

This is exactly the focus of the following pages.

## **2. The visual evidence which probably harks back to the oeuvre of Cephisodotus the Younger**

I shall now consider the following creations disposed in their likely chronological order: 1. The Eleusis type of Asclepius; 2. The Surrentum type of Leto; 3. The Woburn Abbey type of Dionysus; 4. The Larnaka type of Artemis; 5. The Malta type of Artemis; 6. The Capitoline type of Aphrodite; 7. The Schloss Fasanerie/Dresden type of *symplegma*; 8. Sculptures of the altar of the *Asclepieum* on Cos; and 9. The portrait of Menander.

In fact these works compose a coherent artistic itinerary: the sculptor who conceived these works at the beginning of his career still appears to have depended on the Praxitelean formal heritage and anatomic grammar but slowly disengages from his Praxitelean education and accentuates the realistic and three-dimensional interpretation of his subjects.

The identification of the portrait type of Menander with the Menander of Cephisodotus the Younger and Timarchus is certain. As we shall see the derivation of the Capitoline type of Aphrodite from Cephisodotus' Aphrodite is very probable as well as the attribution of sculptures from the Asclepieum of Cos to the two brothers on the authority of Herodas.

Thus the identification of the master of this series with Cephisodotus the Younger, sometimes with the collaboration of his younger brother Timarchus, is logical and acceptable.

<sup>7</sup> See Papastamati-von Mook (note 1).



As it will be pointed out in detail in the following pages, the sculptures of the altar of the Asclepieum on Cos are early Hellenistic originals, while the other considered types usually are known thanks to both Hellenistic works and Roman copies.

### 3. The Eleusis type of Asclepius

This type of Asclepius (fig. 1) is known thanks to around 25 visual examples.<sup>8</sup> This type is inspired by the Giustini type of Asclepius, i.e., by the standard representation of Asclepius in the Asclepieum of Athens. However, the style of the body is more sinuous, the drapery envelops the body and its folding echoes that of Mantinean Muses, of the Uffizi type of Kore, of the Vescovali / Arretium type of Athena and of the Sardanapallus type of Dionysus. Thus it reveals the Attic type of the god reconsidered according to the Praxitelean tradition. The head bears a face characterized by the usual Praxitelean anatomical grammar: oval face, triangular forehead, narrow and elongated eyes, long and thin nose, short and sinuous mouth and slightly protruding chin.

The hair made of short and sinuous locks, is rather voluminous in its external section while in the middle it is adherent to the skull: this is another Praxitelean device, adopted for the Resting Satyr as well as for the Eubuleus. However the whole figure has lost the bi-dimensionality of the truly Praxitelean works: on the contrary, the drapery wrapping the body and the left arm brought behind underline the conception of this figure in a three dimensional space.



*Fig. 1. Marble statue of Asclepius, Eleusis, Museum, no. 5100.*

<sup>8</sup> See Holtzmann 1984, 882–3, nos. 234–256; Voutiras 1997, pp. 41–2, no. 22; Romeo 1998, 19–276, particularly 155–63, no. 39; Kaltsas 2001, 210–1, no. 428; Papangeli 2002, 272; Moltesen 2002, 166–7, no. 44; Kranz 2004, 56–8, fig. 50; 64–5, fig. 59; 72–5, figs. 61 and 63.

This type is visually known from around 330 BC:<sup>9</sup> thus it was created around that period. The circumstance that the life size Pentelic statue of Asclepius of outstanding quality at Eleusis, Museum, no. 5100, dated to still around 320 BC, comes from the local sanctuary of Demeter<sup>10</sup> strongly supports the probability that the original statue was also set up in Attica. The above outlined stylistic analysis suggests that the type was conceived by a master of the Praxitelean circle who, differing from the head of the school, learned how to express with a statue the sense of space.

Of course the copyist series suggests that the original statue was marble: the virtuoso rendering of games of light and shadow with the folding and the sense of the flesh and skin in the upper part of the body can be appreciated in the best copies such as the marble examples at Eleusis, another formerly in Palazzo Sciarra<sup>11</sup> and that from Pergamum at Berlin.<sup>12</sup> This treatment of the surfaces implies that the appearance of the god was conceived in marble.

The type became popular in Pergamum – one of the major centres of worship of Asclepius – during the middle Hellenistic times<sup>13</sup> and finally in Rome during the Roman imperial times.<sup>14</sup>

This observation is consistent with the suggestion that the original statue of this series, once set up in Attica, had been later moved to Rome.

The above stressed considerations point toward the identification of the original statue of the Eleusis type of Asclepius with the marble statue of this god by Cephisodotus the Younger brought to Rome and set up in the temple of Juno in the *porticus Octaviae*.<sup>15</sup>

The master of this creation still depends on his education with respect to the values of the Praxitelean style but conceives the statue from a three-dimensional point of view, thus foreshadowing a more independent style.

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<sup>9</sup> See the votive reliefs at Athens, National Archaeological Museum (see Kaltsas, note 8) and at Thessaloniki, National Archaeological Museum (see Voutiras 1997, note 8).

<sup>10</sup> See Papangeli 2002 (note 8).

<sup>11</sup> See Moltesen 2002 (note 8).

<sup>12</sup> See Kranz 2004 (note 8).

<sup>13</sup> See Kranz 2004 (note 8).

<sup>14</sup> See the Sciarra copy (Moltesen 2002, note 8); the copy from Sevilla (Holtzmann 1984, 883, no. 239) and the Borghese relief (Holtzmann, 1984, 883, no. 252).

<sup>15</sup> See Plin. *nat.* 36,24. About the *aedes* of Juno Regina, see Viscogliosi 1996, 126–8. About the *porticus Octaviae*, see Viscogliosi 1999, 141–5.

#### 4. The Leto represented on the base from Surrentum

This base in Luna marble of Tiberian age<sup>16</sup> bears the relief representation of the three statues of the Apollinean triad (fig. 2) which stood in the temple of Apollo on Mt. Palatine in Rome.<sup>17</sup> The statue of Apollo stands in the middle and is Scopas' marble Apollo brought from Rhamnus to Rome.<sup>18</sup> At his right the marble statue of Artemis by Timotheus is represented,<sup>19</sup> while at his left we see the representation of the marble statue of Leto by Cephisodotus the Younger.<sup>20</sup>

This figure of Leto is standing, she holds a scepter in her right hand, her right leg supports the weight of her body, and the corresponding foot must have been fully on the ground while her left leg was bent. She wears a long chiton girdled below her breasts. The girdle determines a long *apoptygma* endowed with an arched configuration. Her *himation* veils her head and falls on her shoulders and along her sides.

The arched *apoptygma* is a pattern which is already found in the Eirene of Cephisodotus the Elder, the grandfather of our master, thus it pertained to the formal repertoire of the workshop's tradition. The statue of Leto of Megara by Praxiteles, represented on Megarian coins, was also clad in a long twofold chiton, grasping a long scepter with her



Fig. 2. Apollinean triad on the base of Surrentum, Museo Correale di Terranova, no. 3657.

<sup>16</sup> This base is kept at Sorrento (Museo Correale di Terranova, no. 3657): see, as far as the image of Leto is concerned, Rizzo 1933, particularly 51–76); Berger–Doer 1992, 267–72, particularly 267–8, no. 2; Gros 1993, 54–7; Cecamore 2004, 104–41, particularly 126–39); Calcani 2009, 56–9 (work no. 4) and Bravi 2014, 132–7.

<sup>17</sup> About the temple of Apollo Palatinus see Zink 2008, 47–63; Wiseman – Zink 2012, 371–402 and Carandini – Bruno 2008, 199–242.

<sup>18</sup> See Prop. 2,31,15–16; Plin. *nat.* 36,25 and *Reg. urb.*, *regio x.*

<sup>19</sup> See Prop. 2,31,15–16 and Plin. *nat.* 36,32.

<sup>20</sup> See Prop. 2,31,15–16 and Plin. *nat.* 36,24.

right hand and also had her left hand lowered.<sup>21</sup> Thus it is possible to say that Cephisodotus the Younger for his Leto reused the general *schema* of the Megarian Leto of his father.

Praxiteles' statue of Leto in Argus was also endowed with a long chiton with *apoptygma*.<sup>22</sup> thus there was a standard representation of Leto used by the sculptors of this workshop.

The re-use of the *schema* of the draped lady with the bent left leg and with a long arched *apoptygma* is known also with a statuette from the Asclepieum of Cos<sup>23</sup> which can be attributed to the workshop of the sons of Praxiteles.

Although the general *schema* of the figure is Praxitelean, the *himation* enveloping the body from behind and from the sides suggests a three-dimensional re-interpretation of this *schema* which foreshadows the new era.

Finally, the Leto on the Surrentum base does not bear any divine aura, but on the contrary evokes a realistic notion of a mature, married lady.

Thus the disengagement from the Praxitelean *agalmatopoiia* looks more marked than in the Eleusis type of Asclepius.

This stylistic consideration leads to the suggestion of a date of Cephisodotus' Leto to around 320 BC.

## 5. The Woburn Abbey type of Dionysus

This type of Dionysus<sup>24</sup> is known through more than 10 copies.

The description of this type will be based here on the best preserved copy and that of highest quality, in Woburn Abbey (fig. 3).

Dionysus is represented as a naked youth standing with his weight on his right leg. His body shows an S – curve. The god rests his left arm on a tree trunk, upon which he has draped his *nebris*. A snake and a vine branch envelope the tree

<sup>21</sup> See Corso 2010, 11.

<sup>22</sup> See Corso 2010, 41.

<sup>23</sup> Kept in Constantinople, Archaeological Museum, no. 1556: see Kabus-Preisshofen 1989, 272–3, no. 72 and Interdonato 2013, 361–2, no. 12.

<sup>24</sup> See Pochmarski 1974, 94–9; Gasparri 1986, 414–514, particularly 435, no. 120 a–f; Papakonstantinou 1987, 133–9; Angelicoussis 1992, 50–1, no. 12; Waywell – Wilkes 1995, 435–60, particularly 457, no. 1; Cain 1997, 35–6; Corso 2000, 25–53, particularly 42–4; Linfert 2005, 61–2, no. 22; Capaldi 2009a, 133–4, no. 59; Mattei 2010, 452–5, no. 6; Oehmke 2011, 554–6, no. 124 and Tepebas – Durugonul 2013, 35–152, particularly 63–5, nos. 24–6.

trunk and the god holds in his left hand a bunch of grapes. In his right hand he was probably holding a *cantharos*, as it is suggested by the Castle Howard copy and by variations from this prototype.<sup>25</sup>

His head is inclined to the right and leans slightly downwards. His gaze is lost and dreamy. His hair is crowned with a wreath of ivy leaves. The hair is wavy and carried to the nape, where it is gathered into a loop, while two sinuous locks fall onto the shoulders. A fillet passes under his hair on his forehead.

The general configuration of this Dionysus seems very similar to that of the Praxitelean Resting Satyr, which is conceived according to the same rhythm but reversed. The hair-style is very close to those of the Apollo Sauroctonus and of the Cnidian Aphrodite. The anatomy seems basically the same as in the Hermes of Olympia, i.e. of the late phase of Praxiteles.

The motif of the bunch of grapes held by the god characterizes again both this Dionysus and the Hermes of Olympia, who was holding this attribute probably in his right hand.

The motif of the garment draped on a tree trunk where the elbow of the god is resting is also a feature linking the Olympian Hermes and the Woburn Abbey Dionysus.

Moreover, the latter type seems a reversed variation of the Sambon/Grimani type of Dionysus, with its S-shape configuration now much more marked. The two flanking elements, *cantharos* and tree trunk, seem also a variation of the habit of associating Dionysus with a *cantharos* and a vertical vegetal support, usually a *thyrsos*, which characterized the Praxitelean Dionysus described by Callistratus (Callistr. *stat.* 8).

The master of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus must have also taken inspiration from the Apollo Lyceus type, whose original statue was probably made in the



Fig. 3. Marble statue of Dionysus, Woburn Abbey.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., Schröder 1989, 49–60.

workshop of Euphranor between 336 and 326 BC and dedicated in the Lyceum of Athens,<sup>26</sup> given the similarity of the sinuous configurations between the two bodies, of the oval shapes of the two heads as well as of the anatomical features. As the Apollo Lyceus was certainly one of the most important creations of his age, having been set up in a place renowned for the activity of Aristotle's school, it is more probable that the master of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus imitated this popular masterpiece than vice versa.

Thus the creation of the original statue of the Woburn Abbey type falls in the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, in the Praxitelean current. The process of sfumato rendering of surfaces, which is emphasized continuously throughout the mature and late activity of Praxiteles and reaches its peak with works of the Praxitelean school at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c., such as the Aberdeen head and the Chian Girl, can be the only good way to fix a chronology of this creation.

The sfumato rendering of the Woburn Abbey Dionysus seems similar to those of the sculptural decorations of the altar of Asclepius on Cos, to be attributed to the workshop of the sons of Praxiteles, of the Capitoline type of Aphrodite, which constitutes probably the copyist tradition of Cephisodotus the Younger's Aphrodite, and finally of the Larnaka Artemis who is similar to our Dionysus also for the ponderation and rhythm of her body.

The sfumato surfaces of our Dionysus and of these sculptures is so similar that it leaves little doubt about the attribution of these works to the same workshop.

Given the relations of the two sons of Praxiteles with the sanctuaries of Dionysus of Athens and of Thebes,<sup>27</sup> it would be surprising if none of the famous types of Dionysus originated from them.

The Woburn Abbey Dionysus was destined to be far more popular than the Praxitelean Sambon/Grimani type of Dionysus, since it was the origin of several variations.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See Papini 2010, 508–13, no. 19; Schröder 2011, 545–9, no. 122 and Pologiorgi 2010–2012, 127–48.

<sup>27</sup> The connection of these two sculptors with the sanctuary of Dionysus Eleuthereus at Athens is guaranteed by their statue of Menander set up there (see *infra*). Moreover they worked on sculptures of the altar of the sanctuary of Dionysus at Thebes (see Paus. 9,12,4).

<sup>28</sup> The following sculptural types of Dionysus derive from the Woburn Abbey type: the Richelieu/Prado, the Thermae, the Cyrene, the Borghese/Colonna, the Horti Lamiani/Holkham Hall and the Copenhagen/Valentini types: see Corso 2000, 44–9; Angelicoussis 2001, 99–100, no. 12; Schröder 2004, 239–43, no. 145; Capaldi 2009b, 132, no. 59 and Gröschel 2009, 459–60, no. 302.

With the Woburn Abbey Dionysus, the Sambon/Grimani Praxitelean creation had been up-dated in keeping with the so-called 'saponification' of images, conceived now as dreamy epiphanies with vanishing outlines, typical of the Praxitelean current of the first generation after the death of the great master.

Perhaps this creation should be connected with the sculptures made by the sons of Praxiteles for the altar of Dionysus at Thebes.<sup>29</sup>

Despite the first impression of a bi-dimensional creation, the plastic rendering of the sinuous locks and of the chignon, the torso twisted slightly in a three-quarters position, the projection of the head of the *nebris*, of the snake coiling around the tree-trunk and of the bunch of grapes held in the left hand,<sup>30</sup> finally the muscular back reveal that the Praxitelean heritage is re-considered even here from a realistic and three-dimensional point of view.

## 6. The Larnaka type of Artemis

This type of Artemis is known thanks to both coin types and sculptures.

It is represented on reverses of coin types of the Phrygian polis Eucarpia, from the age of Augustus to the reign of Volusian.<sup>31</sup>

Artemis appears standing with her left leg bent and her left foot resting on a pedestal. She wears a long chiton girdled below her breasts. The *himation* is disposed across the body, is held by the goddess with her forward left forearm and falls down from this arm.

Her right arm is brought to the side with the corresponding forearm up-lifted in order to extract an arrow from her quiver. Her left arm is lowered with her forearm forward and the corresponding hand holding a bow. Below her left elbow there is an archaic *xoanon* of a standing draped goddess wearing a polos. Finally Artemis' hair is brought behind and collected in a chignon.

In sculpture the same iconography is known thanks to six examples:

<sup>29</sup> See above, note 27.

<sup>30</sup> The bunch of grapes and the snake coiling around the tree-trunk appear also in the Dionysus in Castle Howard (see Linfert 2005, note 24), thus these patterns are not additions of the copyist workshop but derive from the original statue of the series.

<sup>31</sup> See Head 1906, 203–10, coin types nos. 2; 6; 11–3; 18–20 and 31–3.

1. A marble statuette found in the gymnasium of Citium on Cyprus, the so-called Artemis of Larnaka (fig. 4).<sup>32</sup> This is by far the best example of the series for its outstanding quality. The find spot of the statuette in the early Hellenistic gymnasium of Citium<sup>33</sup> and the sfumato rendering of the surfaces which are typical of the early Hellenistic Praxitelean School suggest a date of the statuette within the first decades of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC and its attribution to a workshop which followed the Praxitelean tradition.
2. A middle Hellenistic marble statuette found at Athens in the *agora* near the *tholos*.<sup>34</sup>
3. The lower part of a middle Hellenistic marble statuette found in the harbor of Ephesus, once in a private collection, now its whereabouts are not known.<sup>35</sup>
4. A middle Hellenistic marble statuette from Melos.<sup>36</sup>
5. A late Hellenistic marble head with bust from Pompeii.<sup>37</sup>
6. An early imperial marble statue from the Roman villa of Baiae at Strigari.<sup>38</sup>



*Fig. 4. Marble Artemis at Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. I 603.*

<sup>32</sup> This statuette is kept in Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, no. I 603. See, about the find spot of the statuette, Yon 2006, 25 and 112–3. About the statuette as a work of art, see von Prittwitz – Gaffron 2007, 241–71, particularly 248 and 403, no. 211.

<sup>33</sup> See Yon 2006, 80.

<sup>34</sup> This statuette is kept in Athens, Agora Museum. See "Archaeologische Funde vom Juli 1933 bis Juli 1934", *AA* 49 (1934) 123–95, particularly 132–4, fig. 5.

<sup>35</sup> See Schrader 1924, 73–6.

<sup>36</sup> Kept in Athens, National Archaeological Museum, no. 238: see Delivorrias 1984, 2–151, particularly 45, no. 341.

<sup>37</sup> Kept in Naples, National Archaeological Museum, no. 6542: see Delivorrias 1984, 40, no. 276.

<sup>38</sup> Kept in Naples, National Archaeological Museum, no. 6121: see Scatozza Hörich 1989, 95–153, particularly 108–9, no. 62.



The stylistic analysis of the type will be based on the earliest example – the statuette from Citium – which is also that of the highest quality as well as that which reveals more clearly the pedigree of the type within the Praxitelean tradition.

The goddess appears standing with her left leg bent while her right leg rests on the ground. The left foot rests on the plinth of the lateral support of the statuette.

She wears a *chiton* with a wide neckline, with a girdle just below the breasts. The folding is that typical of Praxitelean female figures: from the Kore Uffizi to the Artemis of Dresden to the Gabii type of Artemis to the Mantinean Muses. A *himation* is thrown on the left shoulder of the goddess, falls down along the back, is disposed across the frontal side of the goddess, is held by the left forearm and falls down from it.

The left forearm rests on a lateral support. This is composed from below of a square plinth, supporting a short column which is crowned by a round base of an archaic-looking idol of the goddess. The latter is standing, she wears a long *chiton*, and her right hand is brought to the chest while her left hand holds the garment. The head of the idol is topped by a *polos* just below the left forearm of Artemis.

The strap of the quiver is diagonally disposed across the breasts. The right arm is brought to the side with the forearm uplifted in order to take an arrow from the quiver imagined to be on the back of the goddess.

The left hand must have held the bow.

The head responds well to the usual Praxitelean anatomical grammar: the face is oval, the eyes are narrow and elongated, the nose is strong, the mouth is short and sinuous, the chin is slightly protruding, and the forehead is triangular. The hair is divided in the middle and made of sinuous locks brought behind and collected with a chignon on the nape.

The general source of inspiration of the type is constituted by the Dresden type of Artemis: the general *schema* of the figure, the folding of the drapery and the details of the head derive from that model. The ponderation of the Larnaka goddess is reversed when compared to that of the Dresden type.

However there are also several innovations:

1. The girdle below the breasts which is very fashionable during the early Hellenistic times.
2. The *himation* disposed across the body which emphasizes the third dimension.
3. The forearm brought forward which also conveys the sense of space.

4. The *sfumato* rendering with vanishing outlines which implies the formal heritage of late Praxitelean works such as the Townley Aphrodite and the Leconfield Venus and perhaps even the post-Praxitelean Girl from Chius in Boston.
5. The presence of the archaic idol of Artemis below the left elbow of the statuette.

This idol derives from the archaic-looking idol of Artemis which is found below the left arm of Apollo from Formiae: this statue probably copies Praxiteles' Apollo brought to Rome.<sup>39</sup> In any case, the adoption of an old idol as side support of a statue characterized also the Eros of Parium.

The *himation* disposed across the chest and falling down from the left forearm is found in the so-called Artemisia of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.<sup>40</sup>

The original statue of the Larnaka type of Artemis probably was a statue for a sanctuary. The old idol of the goddess was evoked and underlined the antiquity and sanctity of the cult lavished with the new statue.

The fluidity of the copyist tradition suggests that it was not possible to copy the original statue from a nearby location. The citation of a pattern used in the Mausoleum suggests that the new statue was dedicated in a sanctuary of Asia Minor.

The Larnaka goddess is characterized by a very fortunate combination of the re-consideration of the Praxitelean concept of Artemis with the values of the *sfumato* rendering and of the sense of space.

The master capable of offering a superior synthesis of these stylistic patterns was Cephisodotus the Younger. Thus an attribution of the original statue of the type to him is probable.

## 7. The Malta type of Artemis

The Malta type of running Artemis (fig. 5)<sup>41</sup> represents the goddess with a short diploid *chiton* with *apoptygma* and high girdle. A mantle is thrown on her left shoulder. She holds her bow with her left outstretched arm while her right arm is bent with the corresponding hand about to extract an arrow from her quiver. A

<sup>39</sup> See Corso 2013, 135–42, work no. 48.

<sup>40</sup> See, e.g., Maderna 2004, 303–82, particularly 303–16, pl. 280.

<sup>41</sup> About this type, see Sestieri 1941, 107–28; Beschi 1959, 253–97; Egilmez 1980, 364–6; Tombolani 1983, 28–43, particularly 32–35, no. 15; Kahil 1984, 618–753, particularly 650–1, nos. 337–52 and Simon 1984, 792–855, particularly nos. 32, 62 and 89.

dog often appears near her legs. She wears *exomis* boots. Her drapery is swollen by the wind in the section corresponding to the *apoptygma*. Her right breast is bare. The *chiton* is thin and transparent. Her head is endowed with a face bearing the typical Praxitelean features. Her hair has wavy locks brought behind and collected in a chignon.

The following three considerations may lead to a plausible suggestion about the original statue of this series:

1. The general style of the Malta goddess is inspired by the antecedent constituted by the Artemis of Anticyra by Praxiteles<sup>42</sup> and the head is entirely in keeping with the heads of Praxitelean young goddesses, including those of the Artemis of the Dodekathion of Ostia and of the Dresden type of this goddess. Thus the original statue of the Malta type should be attributed to the environment of Praxiteles.
2. Several Roman imperial examples of the type have been found in the central area of the empire and thus may depend on a statue standing in Rome at the time.
3. The blown wind-swept appearance of the drapery is in keeping with the aesthetics of quick movement introduced by Lysippus and reveals a *Zeitgeist* in which images were conceived from a three dimensional point of view.

The conclusion of these observations is that the Malta type may depend on the Artemis by Cephisodotus the Younger brought to the temple of Juno Regina in the *porticus Octaviae*.<sup>43</sup>



*Fig. 5. Bronze statuette of Artemis at Portogruaro, Museo Archeologico Concordiese, no. 10002.*

<sup>42</sup> See Corso 2014, work no. 61.

<sup>43</sup> See Plin. *nat.* 36,24.

This suggestion is plausible because it would explain the Praxitelean formal heritage of the type, the derivation of its style from that of the Artemis of Anticyra and finally the three dimensional – thus clearly post Praxitelean – concept of the drapery.

Needless to say, the representation of Artemis running and hunting in the forest implies the establishment of the Arcadian dream:<sup>44</sup> in the grove, far away from cities, viewers are admitted to the contemplation of the young and appealing goddess. The effort by Cephisodotus the Younger to give a visual dimension to this idealized concept of the forest is in keeping with the fact that his father Praxiteles also conceived young beautiful deities in groves and thus helped to establish this notion. Moreover it aligns with the observation that the same Cephisodotus fleshed out the statue of Anyte of Tegea<sup>45</sup> whose poems contributed to popularize the concept that humans in groves and up on the mountains can be both happy and close to the gods. Thus presumably Cephisodotus was also close to the oligarchic patrons who promoted the acceptance of the Arcadian dream in the mainstream culture of the time.<sup>46</sup>

## 8. The Capitoline type of Aphrodite

The Capitoline type of Aphrodite (fig. 6)<sup>47</sup> is one of the most copied sculptural types in antiquity. Unfortunately no systematic study of all copies of this Aphrodite has been attempted: however the known examples are certainly more than 120.<sup>48</sup>

The present description of this creation is based on the eponymous copy, kept in the Capitoline Museums.

<sup>44</sup> About the Arcadian dream in the late classical society, see Corso 2013, 26.

<sup>45</sup> See Tatian. 34,11.

<sup>46</sup> About the oligarchic connection of the Arcadian dream, see note 44.

<sup>47</sup> About the Capitoline type of Aphrodite, see Andreae 2001b, 70–2, no. 17; Andreae 2001a; Kansteiner 2001, 99, no. F 2; 107–8, no. G 1; 108, no. G 1 a; Schröder 2004, 148–55, no. 123; Vorster 2004, 171–2, no. 132; Vlizon 2004, 200–8, nos. 54–6; Corso 2007 (note 1); Pafumi 2009, 77–82, nos. 32–5; Pafumi 2010, 155–6, no. 59; Smit-Douna 2010, 86–7, no. 417; Stewart 2010 (note 1); Boschung 2011, 250–5, no. 33; 256–7, no. 34; 430–432, no. 85 and Aristodimou 2012, 113–4; 290, no. 21 and 365, no. 333.

<sup>48</sup> See Stewart 2010 (note 1).

The goddess is represented standing with her left foot fully on the ground while her right leg is bent and the corresponding foot touches the ground with tip toes. She lowers her left arm in order to shield her pubes with her corresponding hand. Her right arm is also lowered but the elbow is bent and the forearm is brought across the chest just below the breasts.

Her head turns to her left in a three quarters position, the hair is parted in the middle and is made of wavy locks collected above the head and also falling on the back of her right shoulder with a braid.

The face responds to the usual Praxitelean anatomical grammar: its general shape is oval, the forehead is triangular, the eyes are narrow and elongated, the mouth is short and the chin is slightly protruding. The knot of hair on top of the head derives from the visual tradition of the Belvedere type of Apollo as well as of a head of Apollo from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus.<sup>49</sup>

The body is much fleshier and more three-dimensional than in the Praxitelean tradition: the torso of the goddess is slightly inclined forward; the breasts are much closer to each other and give emphasis to the sensual appeal of the goddess.

Even the complicated coiffure adds to the message that the goddess pertains to a precious and beautiful tale.

Near her left leg there is a *loutrophoros* upon which the goddess threw her *himation*.

The *loutrophoros* is a typically Athenian vase which may have either a nuptial or a funerary function.<sup>50</sup>

Since the expression of the goddess is not sad but on the contrary smiling, thus in this context the *loutrophoros* should be regarded a nuptial vase.



Fig. 6. Marble statue of Aphrodite, Rome, Capitoline Museum, no. 409.

<sup>49</sup> Kept in London, The British Museum, no. 1058. See, e.g., Todisco 1993, pls. 169 and 226.

<sup>50</sup> See Stewart 2010 (note 1).

The goddess is represented about to bathe: she has just thrown her *himation* on the nuptial vase and shields her graces with both arms, turning her head to one side in order not to be fully exposed to the gaze of the viewers in front of her.

This creation celebrated the ritual bath of the goddess on the occasion of her wedding: perhaps she represents the transfer of the ritual bath of Athenian girls about to be married into the myth.

The reconsideration of the Praxitelean formal heritage with a three-dimensional creation suggests that the original statue was the Aphrodite of Cephisodotus the Younger brought to Rome and exposed there among the *monumenta Asini Pollionis* (Plin. *nat.* 36,24).

The importance of this Roman collection would explain the enormous popularity of our goddess. Ovid describes this creation (Ov. *ars* 2,613–614) as well as the Appiades which were another masterpiece of the same collection (see Ov. *ars* 1,81–86; 3,451–455; *rem.* 659–660 and Plin. *nat.* 36,33).

The *terminus ante quem* of this creation is provided by the shape of the *loutrophoros* which disappears around 300 BC as well as by a mirror in the Museum of Elis which also dates to the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and on which the Capitoline *schema* of the goddess is represented for the first time:<sup>51</sup> thus it should be placed in the very late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.

The gestures of the goddess of shielding her pubes and breasts may be interpreted as acts of *verecundia* and *pudicitia* of the bride who is embarrassed the first time she makes love with her groom.

The Capitoline Aphrodite conveys the interpretation of the love goddess as a driving force operating in real life: in this specific case she embodies the moment when the bride, after her ritual bath, encounters not without hesitation her groom. Since the *loutrophoros* is a typical Athenian vase,<sup>52</sup> the statue may have been set up in an Attic sanctuary of Aphrodite prior to its re-location to Rome.

This creation is a masterpiece because it gives an appealing appearance to the immanentistic concept of deities conceived as divine presences in human society: the latter is regarded a series of typical situations.

The intellectual environment which is behind this work of art is characterized by the Aristotelianism, with its immanentistic concept of gods, as well as by the New Comedy, with its 'eternal' human characters: the bride, ready to bathe before her wedding is one of them.

<sup>51</sup> See Stewart 2010, 19–23.

<sup>52</sup> See Stewart 2010 (note 1).

## 9. The Symplegma brought to Pergamum

Now we have to consider a group of a Silenus with a Hermaphrodite (fig. 7)<sup>53</sup> which is known thanks to more than 30 copies. The Silenus is trying to seize the Hermaphroditus who rejects him. The description of the group will be based on the best copy for quality and preservation: the more complete of the two copies in Dresden.<sup>54</sup>

The Silenus is leaning on a small rock. His is raising the upper part of his body; his arms hold the right arm of the Hermaphrodite. His legs surround on both sides the hips of the Hermaphrodite. The hair style of the Silenus is basically that of the Resting Satyr: a *taenia* divides the upper part of the hair from the external section. The hair consists of wavy locks which are brought behind above the forehead. The eyes of the Silenus are those of the Praxitelean tradition: narrow and elongated.



*Fig. 7. Marble symplegma at Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Skulpturensammlung, no. Hm 155.*

<sup>53</sup> See Gercke 1988, 232–4; Ajootian 1990, 268–85, particularly 278–9, no. 63 a–w; Häuber 1999, 157–80; Moltesen 2002, 269–70, no. 86; Verzar 2004, 907–27; Vorster 2007, 273–331, particularly 300, fig. 282; von Prittwitz – Gaffron 2007, 262–4; Petzleff 2007, 459–72; Vorster 2011, 922–9, no. 221 and 930–2, no. 222.

<sup>54</sup> See Vorster 2011 (note 53).

The Hermaphrodite tries to reject the advance of the Silenus by putting his right hand on the face of the Silenus as well as by holding the right foot of the latter with his other hand. The hair style of the Hermaphrodite is inspired by those of the Praxitelean images of Aphrodite: wavy locks brought behind and collected in a chignon on the nape. The face of the Hermaphrodite also reveals the typical anatomical grammar of Praxitelean female faces: the general shape of the face is oval, the forehead is triangular with upper sides curved, the eyes are narrow and elongated, the nose is long, the mouth is short and sinuous and the chin is slightly protruding.

The head of the Hermaphrodite is conceived from a three-dimensional point of view. The hair rolled in a braid disposed around the skull also suggests the sense of the space.

The chest of the Silenus is muscular and realistic. The group has two privileged view points: in one of them the Hermaphrodite is frontal and in the other it is seen from his back. In both cases the Silenus is represented in profile.

Copies of this masterpiece had been displayed in theatres:<sup>55</sup> perhaps the original group stood in a choregic monument and commemorated a Satyric play.

At the moment in which the group is represented it is still unclear whether the Silenus eventually will win the resistance of the Hermaphrodite.

An epigram (*AG* 9,317) probably refers to this creation:

"Hermaphrodite: Goatherd, I love seeing this foul-mouthed god struck on his bold pate by the pears. Silenus: Goatherd, I had anal sex with him three times; and the young billy-goats were looking at me and tugging the young nanny-goats. Goatherd: Is it true, Hermaphrodite, that he did so? Hermaphrodite: No, goatherd, I swear by Hermes. Silenus: I swear by Pan I did, and I was laughing all the time". (transl. Loeb with amendments)

This epigram clarifies the bucolic environment imagined around this creation and which is also argued by the rock on which Silenus is laying.

Probably the original statue of this copyist series is described by Plin. *nat.* 36,24:

*Cuius (scil.: Cephisodoti) laudatum est Pergami symplegma nobile digitis corpori verius quam marmori inpressis.*

The adjective *nobile* underlines the renown of the masterpiece which is also evidenced by the many surviving copies.

<sup>55</sup> See Petzleff 2007 (note 53).



Silenus presses the fingers of both his hands on the right arm of the Hermaphrodite and the latter presses the fingers of his right hand on the face of Silenus; even these details are in keeping with Pliny's description.

Finally the group reveals the Praxitelean formal heritage reconsidered from a three dimensional and realistic point of view. As it has been noticed above, this study is typical of the art of Cephisodotus. The presence of two viewpoints – the front and back of the Hermaphrodite – may have been inspired by the important antecedent of the Cnidian Aphrodite which was also seen both from the front and from the back (see Lucian. *Am.* 15–16).

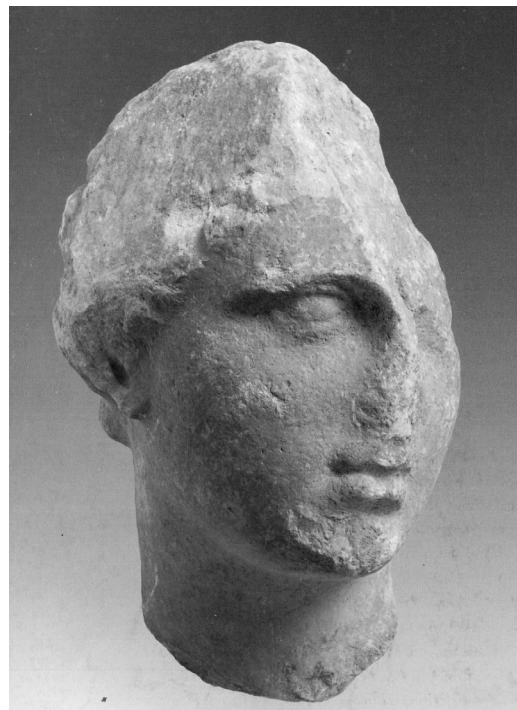
However this group spreads into the space much more than the Cnidia: thus it should be regarded one of the latest works by Cephisodotus, conceived when the immersion of the sculpture into the space became obvious.

## 10. The sculptures of the altar of the Asclepieum of Cos

Herod. 4,1–26 reports that the sons of Praxiteles carved and signed marble statues pertinent to the altars of the Asclepieum on Cos. The patron was Euthias, son of Praxon.

The altar of the Asclepieum on Cos was a rectangular structure. A flight of steps served the entrance in the middle of a long side. A *peristasis* of Ionic columns was disposed around the walls of the altar, except in the section corresponding to the entrance steps. The walls framed an internal courtyard in the middle of which there were proper altars.<sup>56</sup> This monumental type of altar was inspired by that of the Artemisium of Ephesus.

The altar was adorned with statues of Asclepius, Hygieia, Coronis, Apollo, Panacea, Epione, Iasus, Podalirius, Machaon, Hecate, Helios, Hemera, Nike as well as Aphrodite with Eros.<sup>57</sup> The exact location



*Fig. 8. Marble head from the altar of the Asclepieum on Cos, Archaeological Museum, no. Gamma 1113.*

<sup>56</sup> See Interdonato 2013, 35–7 and 288–90, no. 6.

<sup>57</sup> See Interdonato 2013, 100 and 217, inscription no. 6.

of these statues in the context of the altar cannot be determined.

The surviving fragments of sculptures probably pertinent to the altar include around 20 pieces.<sup>58</sup>

The most noteworthy of these fragments are few female heads (fig. 8) and a couple of female draped bodies (fig. 9). As usual, the anatomical grammar of the faces, the hair styles and the rendering and folding of the drapery derive from the Praxitelean tradition. However the *sfumato* appearance of the heads is emphasized more than in the true Praxitelean oeuvre. Moreover the eyes sockets are deeper than in the heads of Praxiteles works and even the drapery folds determine deeper gaps than in the draped figures of the lover of Phryne. These features may be due to the influence of the Scopadic tradition and to the subjects represented – the circle of Asclepius – which required the sense of *pathos*, and finally they may have been instrumental towards the expression of the space.

Clearly Cephisodotus and Timarchus mixed the Praxitelean formal heritage with patterns derived from other late classical traditions in order to represent pathetic figures. These sculptures are in keeping with the eclecticism which characterized the early Hellenistic visual culture and foreshadows the art of the middle Hellenism in western Asia Minor, where the expression of the *pathos* will be the most salient pattern of the baroque *magniloquentia*.

The importance of the Asclepieum of Cos suggests that the *agalmata* of Cephisodotus and Timarchus in the area of the altar determined their peak in the years 296–293 BC which is handed down by Plin. *nat.* 34,51.

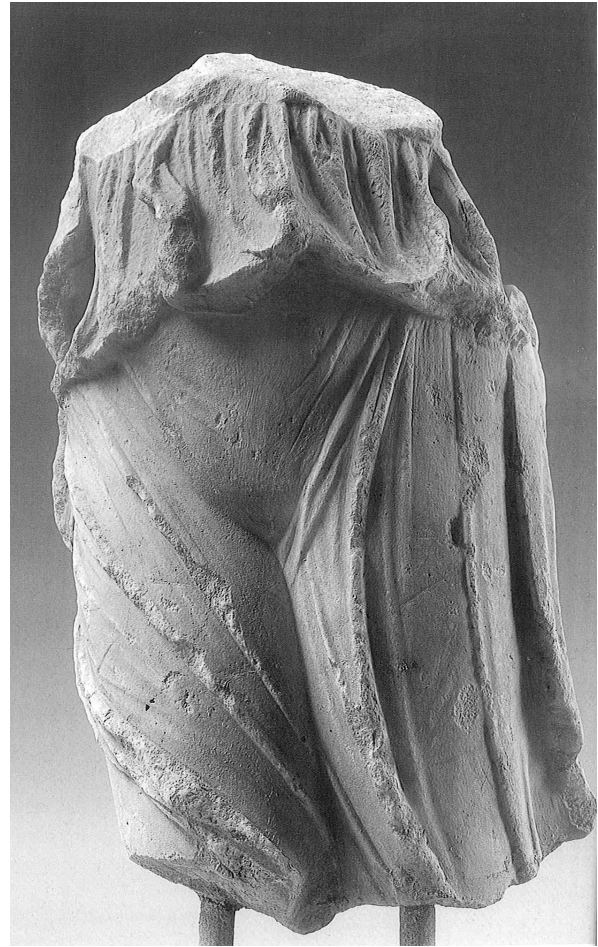


Fig. 9. Marble torso from the altar of the Asclepieum of Cos (probably an *akroterion*), *in situ*, storeroom, no. Gamma 1175.

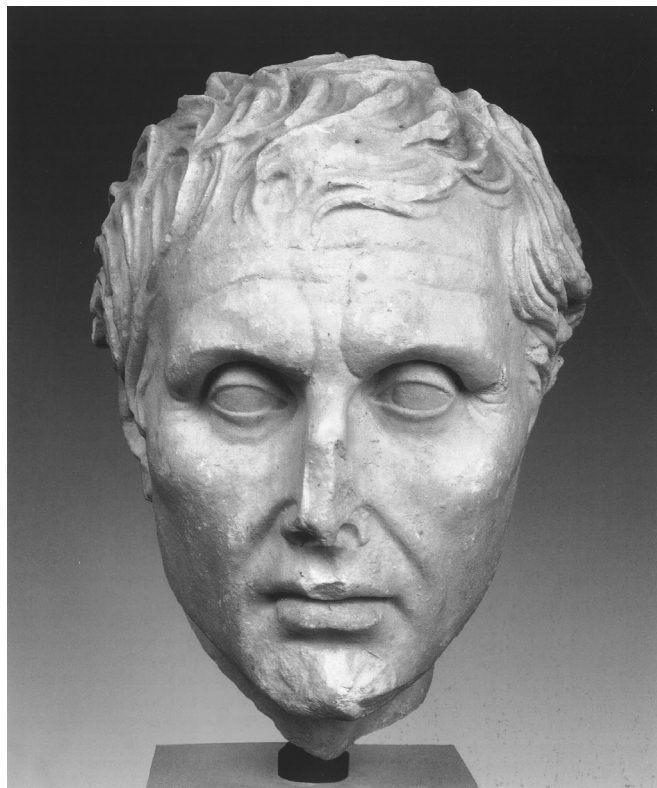
<sup>58</sup> See Interdonato 2013, 360–2, no. 12, and 373–80, nos. 1–19.

## 11. The portrait of Menander

The bronze statue of Menander<sup>59</sup> had been set up in the eastern *parodos* of the theatre of Dionysus Eleuthereus in Athens, next to the statues of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides,<sup>60</sup> probably when the comic poet died, in the late 290s. The base survives and bears the signatures of Cephisodotus and Timarchus.<sup>61</sup> The configuration of the statue has been restituted by Fittschen,<sup>62</sup> whose suggestion has been accepted by the scholarly community. The portrait was often copied – more than 70 copies survive (figs. 10 and 11) – reflecting the great fame of the sitter in the late Hellenistic and Roman world.<sup>63</sup>

The poet was represented sitting on a throne and wrapped by a mantel. Since his characters in his comedies were ordinary people, wearing daily clothes, which is why the new comedy is called *palliata*, he is assimilated to one of these characters. His throne is of the same type of the thrones in the proedry of the Lycurgic phase of the theatre of Dionysus: thus he is imagined to be sitting in front of the stage, watching one of his comedies.

From a formal point of view, the mantel looks thick with sparse folding. The head bears an oval face with deeply cut eyes sockets. The presence of wrinkles underlines the advanced age of the sitter. The gaze suggests concentration.



*Fig. 10. Marble head of Menander, copy at Corfu', National Archaeological Museum.*

<sup>59</sup> About this portrait, see Papastamati-von Mook (note 1) and Vorster 2013 (note 1).

<sup>60</sup> See Papastamati-von Mook 2007b, 309, fig. 8.

<sup>61</sup> See *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3777. See also Paus. 1,21,1.

<sup>62</sup> See Fittschen 1991, 243–79.

<sup>63</sup> See Seilheimer 2002, 12–38.



*Fig. 11. Menander, wall painting, Pompeii, House of Menander.*

The hair is of wavy locks. A sense of ordinary reality and daily life is communicated by this creation. It reveals that Cephisodotus and Timarchus abandoned the Praxitelean formal world, made of beautiful tales, in order to express the reality in their own time and space. The latter formal address was more in keeping with the cultural *Zeitgeist* of the period, thus they may have thought that following it would have guaranteed them the success of their business.

## **12. A few concluding words**

From the reconstruction of the development of Cephisodotus' art suggested in the previous pages it is possible to argue that he reused the Praxitelean formal heritage for creations conceived from a realistic and three-dimensional point of view. Thus he guaranteed the survival of Praxitelean patterns in the sculpture of the period of the Macedonian hegemony.

Although this trend is an important one in the Athenian art of the late 4<sup>th</sup> and of the early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, not one of the previously considered works reveals an exceptional originality – what ancient critics called *inventio* – and the mental power to flesh out a new visual world.

It is possible that the greatness of Praxiteles had both a strong and negative impact on his sons, who thus had not been able to find their own *viae artis*.

However they eloquently expressed the provincial cultural life of Athens at the time: keen to update the important heritage of the past but unable to lead towards new directions.

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***SAEVIT MEDIO IN CERTAMINE:  
MARS IN THE AENEID***

LEE FRATANTUONO

The significance of the god Mars in Virgil's *Aeneid* has been little studied.<sup>1</sup> Our investigation of all the epiphanies and references to the war god in the epic will demonstrate how the poet uses Mars as a key, unifying figure in the development of the political and ethnic revelations of his work. In the final analysis, we shall see that the father of the children of the wolf will be associated with Aeneas' principal antagonist Turnus, and that the poet will thereby illustrate and highlight the ultimate victory of the Italian cause over the Trojan.

The first appearance<sup>2</sup> of Mars comes at a dramatic moment in the speech of Jupiter to Venus in the opening book of the epic,<sup>3</sup> as the supreme divinity announces that Romulus and Remus will be the children of Mars, and that Romulus will found Mavortian walls – walls of Mars – that will take their name from their founder:

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<sup>1</sup> See especially here E. Montanari, "Marte", in *VE* III, pp. 391–4; A. Rossi, "Mars", in *VE* II, pp. 793–4; and C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil*, Oxford 1935, 109–17.

<sup>2</sup> We are in all likelihood compelled to omit consideration of the problematic *Aeneid* 1,1d ... *at nunc horrentia Martis*, on which see the spirited treatment of Henry ad loc.; R. Austin, "*Ille Ego Qui Quondam ...*", *CQ* 18 (1968) 107–15 (and the same author's commentary ad loc.); P. Hansen, "*Ille Ego Qui Quondam ... Once Again*", *CQ* 22 (1972) 139–49; also C. Murgia, "The Donatian Life of Virgil, DS, and D", *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 7 (1974) 257–77. Of course if the lines are genuine, then our god takes on a truly impressive prominence in the theology of the epic.

<sup>3</sup> For a start in exploration of the immense import of this address, see J. Hejduk, "Jupiter's *Aeneid: Fama and Imperium*", *CLAnt* 28 (2009) 279–327.

*hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos  
 gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos  
 Marte gravis geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.  
 inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus  
 Romulus excipiet gentem et Mavortia condet  
 moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet (1,273–277).<sup>4</sup>*

The moment is solemn; Jupiter here announces the shift in focus from the three hundred year sojourn of the kings at Alba Longa to the future Rome. The dominant figures are Mars and Romulus;<sup>5</sup> they appear in chiasmic splendor (*Marte... Romulus...Mavortia...Romanos*).<sup>6</sup> Somewhere in the experience of the birth of Romulus and the suckling of the twins by the celebrated she-wolf, we move from Troy (*gente sub Hectorea...Ilia*) to Rome (*Romulus...Romanos*); somewhere in the process of the nativity and upbringing of the children of Mars we move from the dead city of the past to the living power of Virgil's present and future. The twins' birth mother Ilia will be removed from the scene, as it were (in accord with the reality of the death of the city whose name she shares); a wolf will replace her in the rearing of the offspring of the god of war.<sup>7</sup>

There are two mentions of Mars in Aeneas' great recounting at Dido's banquet of the night Troy fell; both occurrences can be listed under the broad classification of metonymical uses. At 2,335 ... *caeco Marte resistunt*, Pandarus reports to Aeneas on the battle situation at the gates of the doomed city; at 2,440 *sic Martem indomitum*, Aeneas describes the martial mayhem at Priam's palace.<sup>8</sup> Significantly, perhaps, Mars would appear to be missing from Venus' revelation

<sup>4</sup> All quotes from Virgil are taken from R. Mynors, *P. Vergili Maronis Opera*, Oxford 1969 (corrected reprint, 1972).

<sup>5</sup> On the emphatic Virgilian declaration regarding the name of the future settlement, see J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*, Ann Arbor 1996, 122; cf. G. Bartelink, *Etymologiseren bij Vergilius*, Amsterdam 1965, 67.

<sup>6</sup> Virgil often reserves the use of chiasmic arrangements for especially dramatic effects; see here D. Quint, "Virgil's Double Cross: Chiasmus and the *Aeneid*", *AJPh* 132 (2011) 273–300; the multiple publications of Gian Franco Pasini. For *Mavors vs. Mars*, see Horsfall ad 3,35.

<sup>7</sup> On the intertext of Virgil with Ennius' *Annales* and transposition of the Ennian Mars to the Virgilian Dido story, see J. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*, Princeton 2007, 191–2; more generally on Ennius' influence, see N. Goldschmidt, *Shaggy Crowns: Ennius' Annales and Virgil's Aeneid*, Oxford 2013, 76–9.

<sup>8</sup> On both passages see Horsfall (and Austin) ad loc.

of the divine forces that are active in the destruction of Troy in the extraordinary vision at 2,604–623 – unless the unnamed *ipse pater* of 2,617 is understood to be not Jupiter but the father of the future Rome.<sup>9</sup> We might note the progression from the gates of Troy to Priam's royal enclosure; it would of course make sense to have some appearance of the great war god in the dismantling of Troy.<sup>10</sup>

On arrival in Thrace, at the ill-fated site of the burial of the Trojan prince Polydorus, Aeneas makes offering to *Gradivus pater*, the patron of the Getae:<sup>11</sup>

*multa movens animo Nymphas venerabar agrestis  
Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui praesidet arvis* (3,34–35).

The name *Gradivus* has caused puzzlement since antiquity;<sup>12</sup> the mention of the god comes soon after the very land of Thrace is called a Mavortian place (13,13 *terra...Mavortia*), a land once ruled by Lycurgus (3,14).<sup>13</sup> In the name of the Thracian king there is an echo of the lupine theme; this is the first landfall for the Trojan exiles after the departure from Troy, and while of baleful omen, it is under the patronage of the war god whence Romulus will be born in a later age. Jupiter had pledged that Romulus would found Mavortian walls; here, the presence of the Mavortian land might seem to bode well for a Trojan settlement. In point of fact, Thrace is not hospitable to the Trojans – and we may see here a hint that Mavortian lands are not, perhaps, sympathetic to Trojan *mores*.

<sup>9</sup> Horsfall notes here that *ipse pater* appears elsewhere in the epic of Anchises; Latinus; Metabus; Portunus (*pater ipse*) and Pluto (and cf. 12,701–703, the description of *pater Apenninus*) – of course in each of those cases, there is no ambiguity as to the referent. See below on 6,780, where something of the same situation occurs – and in a context heavy with reminiscences of the opening address of Jupiter to his daughter – though there *superum* makes the Jovian identification clearer – and note 7,306 *ipse ... genitor*, clearly of Jupiter.

<sup>10</sup> But if Mars is indeed absent from the divine destruction of Troy, the question remains as to why; the answer may lie in the signal place of the god in Jupiter's speech: we may well be led to imagine that Mars – the lover of Venus – favors the Trojan cause (Venus, of course, would never assist in the ruin of her beloved city of Troy). In the end, though, the god will find association with Aeneas' most fearsome enemy, Turnus.

<sup>11</sup> For a dark reading of Aeneas' repeated actions in this scene, see J. Dyson, *King of the Wood: The Sacrificial Victor in Virgil's Aeneid*, Norman (OK) 2001, 37.

<sup>12</sup> See further Horsfall ad loc., with references both ancient and modern.

<sup>13</sup> See here M. Paschalis, *Virgil's Aeneid: Semantic Relations and Proper Names*, Oxford 1997, 114–6 (on Lycurgus' *Mavortia terra*); p. 111 n. 2 (on *Gradivus* as symbol of Aeneas' *gradus* or ascent and struggle).

At 6,164–165, Aeneas' doomed trumpeter Misenus is said to have been outstanding beyond all others at sounding the call for war: ... *quo non praestantior alter / aere ciere viros Martemque accendere cantu*.<sup>14</sup> Once again, we find the metonymy by which the god's name signifies war;<sup>15</sup> interestingly, the mention of the god here once again comes in a Hectorean context: Misenus was a companion of Hector, and the Trojan hero is given emphatic highlight: *Hectoris hic magni fuerat comes, Hectora circum / et lituo pugnas insignis obibat et hasta* (6,166–167). In Jupiter's great address to Venus, Mars' ravishing of Ilia is announced after the mention of the *gens Hectorea* that holds sway at Alba Longa (1,274–275); now the death of Hector's companion Misenus is announced, and with special reference to the musician's talent at summoning the Trojans (implicitly) to the works of Mars. The Misenus passage is rich in the traditions of the lost city of Troy, the Hectorean past that yields, as it were, to a Romulean future.

In Book I, the mention of the Hectorean race yielded to the great vision of Mars' offspring Romulus; the pattern is maintained in Book 6. From the death of Hector's *comes* Misenus we move inexorably to the great vision in the underworld, the eschatological majesty of the Virgilian *Heldenschau*.<sup>16</sup> Here, *Mavortian* Romulus makes his appearance, in a passage that strengthens and (in a sense) fulfills the predictions of Jupiter:<sup>17</sup>

*quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet  
Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater  
educet. viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae  
et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?* (6,777–780)<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> On Misenus see *inter al.* M. Dinter, "Epic and Epigram: Minor Heroes in Virgil's *Aeneid*", *CQ* 55 (2005) 153–69.

<sup>15</sup> "Routine" metonymy, Horsfall notes ad loc.

<sup>16</sup> On Norden's connection of the parade of heroes with the statues on both sides of the temple of Mars Ultor, see E. Henry, *The Vigour of Prophecy: A Study of Virgil's Aeneid*, Carbondale (IL) 1989, 41; more generally, R. Smith, *The Primacy of Vision in Virgil's Aeneid*, Austin 2005, 128 ff.

<sup>17</sup> The relevance of the storied *sidus Iulium* to this passage is beyond the scope of the present study; see further G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus: Interpretationen zum 8. Buch der Aeneis*, Meisenheim am Glan 1971, 226 ff.; also B. Grassman-Fischer, *Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis*, München 1966, 124 ff.

<sup>18</sup> On this passage see especially M. Putnam, "Romulus Tropaeophorus (*Aeneid* 6.779–80)", *CQ* 35 (1985) 237–40; also W. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid*, Amsterdam 1975, 24 ff. On the vast problem of repeated scenes and images in the poem, see as a start D. Quint,

Another *comes*, this time of Numitor; Romulus has an unassailable Trojan lineage, and he is the son of Mars.<sup>19</sup> The double-crested insignia was proper to Romulus and an inheritance of Mars, as it were;<sup>20</sup> Servius thought that the *duplex* image reflected a tradition of the eventual reconciliation of Romulus and Remus, but the key point here is that the son of the god wears the accoutrement of his divine father. *Pater ipse* refers to Jupiter, almost certainly (the genitive plural *superum* helps here, in comparison to 2,617, where the divine referent is rather more ambiguous) – but in the immediate context, the salient fact that Mars was Romulus' father serves almost to shade Mars and Jupiter into one paternal image of protection and patronage for Rome.<sup>21</sup>

Curiously, this moment of triumphant splendor will be transformed into a darker image as the catalogue of heroes draws to a close; the city of Mars will be in mourning over the death of Marcellus:

*quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem  
campus aget gemitus!* (6,872–873)<sup>22</sup>

Almost a hundred verses after the first mention of the god in the underworld vision, we are presented with the image of a city in lament over the loss of a would-be successor of the *princeps* Augustus.<sup>23</sup> But once again, Rome is firmly the city of Romulus and his father Mars.

Aeneas and his Trojans arrive at last in Latium. In Latinus' palace, the wooden statues of the king's storied forebears include those who suffered wounds in war on behalf of their country: ... *aliique ab origine reges, / Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi* (7,181–182). As the commentators have noted, the sentiment is virtually repeated from 6,660 *hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi*, of souls in Elysium; in the immediate context, one thinks of the

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"Repetition and Ideology in the *Aeneid*", *MD* 23 (1989) 9–54.

<sup>19</sup> See Horsfall here for the important note that this Trojan lineage comes from Virgil's sources – though of course the poet could have chosen to give less emphasis to the point than he does.

<sup>20</sup> On this see Basson (*op. cit.* n. 18), 64 ff.

<sup>21</sup> See here R. Stem, "The Exemplary Lessons of Livy's Romulus", *TAPhA* 137 (2007) 435–71.

<sup>22</sup> "The founder's father, the cult of Mars and the city's prowess at arms might all be relevant here" (Horsfall ad 6,873).

<sup>23</sup> Concise and good commentary here can be found at S. Mack, *Patterns of Time in Vergil*, Hamden (CONN) 1978, 71–2.

imminent outbreak of war in Latium, which is foreshadowed by the mention of Janus immediately before the present passage (7,180) – soon enough the gates of the god's temple will be opened for the conflict between Aeneas and the Latins. What had been a mysterious, mystical image in the storied meadows of Elysium is now reality in the statues that are venerated in the king's palace; both the ghosts of the Virgilian underworld and Latinus' cedar works, however, are but prelude to the bloody battle to ensue – the rebirth of the *Iliad*. And, significantly, the souls in Elysium – we might think here, too, of the revelation of the Roman future that climaxed with the ill-fated Marcellus – are here associated with the glorious personages of the Italian past.

Mars figures prominently in Jupiter's speech to Venus from the epic's first book; in this opening book of the second half of the *Aeneid*, Mars reappears as Juno makes her complaint about her inability to suppress the Trojans; as in Book I with the story of Mars and Ilia/Rhea Silvia, so here we find the god in a true mythological sense, as it were, not a simple metonymy for war. Mars is linked with *Diana* (via Jupiter) as an example of an immortal who was able to work his vengeance and frustration on mortal targets:

... *Mars perdere gentem*  
*immanem Lapithum valuit, concessit in iras*  
*ipse deum antiquam genitor Calydonia Dianae* (7,304–306)

The pairing of immortals is interesting; one would not naturally think of them in close association.<sup>24</sup> Juno's point is simple enough, and not dissimilar to her complaints at 1,37–49, where she mentioned Pallas' destruction of the Lesser Ajax: other (implicitly lesser) deities have been allowed to punish their human foes.<sup>25</sup> On one level, the mention of these two immortals and their acts of vengeance can be dismissed as mere mythological cataloging; the matter is minor and quickly forgotten. But on another level, one can draw associations with other passages of the epic. The Lapiths were most famous for their conflict the Centaurs, a battle Virgil mentions at *Georgic* 2,455–457; the poet also notes that the Lapiths were responsible for giving instruction in the art of fighting on horseback (*Georgic*

<sup>24</sup> See Horsfall here for the relatively slender evidence of Mars' anger with the Lapiths.

<sup>25</sup> For the parallelism see E. Fraenkel, "Some Aspects of the Structure of *Aeneid* VII", *JRS* 35 (1945) 1–14 (reprinted in S. Harrison, *Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid*, Oxford 1990, 253–76).

3,115–117).<sup>26</sup> In the case of both the Lapiths and the Calydonians, a failure to render sacrifice provoked the respective angry immortal. The rage of Artemis/Diana at Calydon is much better known than that of Ares/Mars with the Lapiths; it is foundational to the story of Meleager that dominates the great address of Phoenix to Achilles at *Iliad* 9,430–605.<sup>27</sup>

In the mention of Mars and Diana in relation to the Lapiths and the Calydonians we have an introduction to Virgil's Camilla, who will appear at the close of *Aeneid* 7 as the final figure in the catalog of Turnus' forces. The Lapiths were associated with equestrian battles, indeed with the teaching of the art of cavalry warfare; in Camilla's battle scenes in *Aeneid* 11, she will be the central figure in the great equestrian combat before the walls of Latinus' capital – and she will fall as the most prominent casualty of the day's struggle. In some sense the defeat of Camilla is a poetic allegory of the Battle of Actium, with Camilla as Cleopatra and her killer Arruns as Lucius Arruntius, who commanded the center of the Roman fleet that directly opposed Octavian.<sup>28</sup> In Homer, Cleopatra is the wife of Meleager, with whom the hero stays in repose while his Aetolians clamor for his participation in the fight against the Curetes;<sup>29</sup> there is no mention in Homer of the celebrated place of Atalanta in the Calydonian boar hunt, or her part in the ultimate fate of Meleager – but Ovid, for one, saw clear parallels between the lore of Atalanta and Meleager and the Virgilian Camilla.<sup>30</sup> In Virgil, too, we should note that Turnus abandons what might well have been his opportunity to win the war against Aeneas in the wake of the death of Camilla (11,896 ff.) when he gives up his planned ambush for Aeneas and succumbs to the emotional reaction Jupiter demands in order to save the Trojans from destruction (11,901–902). Homer's

<sup>26</sup> See Erren, Mynors, and Thomas ad loc.; also H. Westervelt in *VE* II, 719.

<sup>27</sup> Little notice has been paid to these references; see M. Putnam, "Virgil's Lapiths", *CQ* 40 (1990) 562–6; note also W. Kühn, *Götterszenen bei Vergil*, Heidelberg 1971, 104.

<sup>28</sup> See further Fratantuono ad 11,759.

<sup>29</sup> Note here *inter al.* S. Swain, "A Note on *Iliad* 9.524–99: The Story of Meleager", *CQ* 38 (1988) 271–6; also J. Rosner, "The Speech of Phoenix: *Iliad* 9.434–605", *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 314–27.

<sup>30</sup> The matter is discussed fully by I. Ziogas, *Ovid and Hesiod: The Metamorphosis of the Catalogue of Women*, Cambridge, 2013, 167–74; see also L. Fratantuono, "Posse putes: Virgil's Camilla, Ovid's Atalanta", in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* XII, Bruxelles 2005, 185–93; N. Horsfall, "Epic and Burlesque in Ovid, *Met.* viii. 260ff.," *CJ* 74 (1979) 319–32.



Meleager stayed with Cleopatra; Virgil's Turnus – the new Achilles<sup>31</sup> – abandons his battle plan because of the Cleopatran Camilla. Jupiter and Apollo secure the destruction of Camilla;<sup>32</sup> significantly, at 7,305–306, it is Jupiter who is cited as allowing Diana to vent her anger against Calydon. Diana will, after all, be allowed to work her vengeance in *Aeneid* 11, when her nymph Opis will be permitted to slay Camilla's killer Arruns; Jupiter may be able to destroy Camilla (with the connivance, in the end, of Diana's brother Apollo via the machinations of his devotee Arruns)<sup>33</sup> – but it will be possible for Diana to see to the destruction of the agent of the Jovian and Apollonian will, just as she sent the boar against Calydon – and just as Mars was able to punish the Lapiths.<sup>34</sup> By the time we find Turnus explicitly connected to Mars, we shall understand the full import of Juno's reference here to Mars and Diana; the foreshadowing is of Turnus and Camilla, who will, in an important sense, serve as the prime mortal agents of Juno's will in the Iliadic *Aeneid* – just as the Fury Allecto and, too, the Dira Jupiter employs in *Aeneid* 12 will serve as immortal avatars.<sup>35</sup>

Juno's laments about the limits to her power come just before she summons the Fury Allecto; once the infernal goddess does her work on Juno's behalf, the battle in Latium begins in earnest – and Mars is, appropriately enough, present at least metonymically (7,540 *atque ea per campos aequo dum Marte geruntur*). The mention of the god comes just after the deaths of Almo and Galaesus;<sup>36</sup> once their bodies are brought back to Latinus' city, Amata and her female companions begin to demand war in Bacchic frenzy:

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Aeneid* 6,89–90.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. the Apollonian references at Homer, *Iliad* 9,561–564.

<sup>33</sup> A poetic reinvention of the associations of Arruntius/Apollo with the defeat of Cleopatra at Actium. But Virgil will have surprises for the reader in his depiction of the Volscian heroine.

<sup>34</sup> And, too, any lycanthropic associations for Camilla might plausibly connect her to the anthropomorphic Centaurs.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Allecto with Turnus and the Dira with Juturna; in the end, both Turnus and Camilla will die (with their deaths linked closely by the poet) – but their cause may prove the victorious one in the final analysis.

<sup>36</sup> For the rich associations of the latter name, see M. Putnam, "Silvia's Stag and Virgilian Ekphrasis", *MD* 34 (1995) 107–33; on the scene in general see T. Joseph, "The Death of Almo in Virgil's Latin War", *NECJ* 39 (2012) 99–112.

*tum quorum attonitae Baccho nemora avia matres  
insultant thiasis (neque enim leve nomen Amatae)  
undique collecti coeunt Martemque fatigant. (7,580–582)*

The god's name reappears once again in balanced repetition, as the first casualties are identified.<sup>37</sup> Between these appearances, we learn that Allecto has the ability to spread the madness of war throughout the world; she offers to work her infernal magic on a vast scale – a terrifying prospect that triggers the first act of pause and relent on the part of Juno. Here, Allecto defines the god – or at least the spirit of war – as nothing less than insane: *accendamque animos insani Martis amore* (7,550).<sup>38</sup> Mars may be the patron of Rome via the paternity of Romulus – but the power of the god is a dangerous and indeed likely uncontrollable force.<sup>39</sup>

War in Italy has erupted; fittingly, the god's name recurs as Virgil describes the terrible opening of the *Belli portae* that in this particular case the goddess Juno herself will fling open.<sup>40</sup> Father Gradivus had been associated with the *Getae* (3,35); they reappear now as the poet describes the sort of occasion on which the doors of the temple of Janus might be opened (7,603–604 ... *cum prima movent in proelia Martem, / sive Getis inferre manu lacrimabile bellum* [*parant*]). The gates of war are marked by both *religio* and *formido*; the fear, in this case, is of the god who rejoices in their opening: *sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt) / religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis* (7,607–608). Virgil's description of the gates is reminiscent of his account of the *Somni portae* at 6,893 ff.; while a solution to the vexed problem of the gates of sleep may not be found in Juno's opening of the temple of Janus, the poet clearly wanted the two passages to be associated. We moved from the souls in Elysium that had received wounds on behalf of their *patria* to the statues in Latinus' palace that honored the same sort of heroes; now we advance from the gates that served as a conduit for dreams to exit the underworld to the chilling gates of war at the temple of Janus.

When Vulcan visits his Cyclopic workmen to arrange for the forging of the arms of Aeneas, they are busy with projects that include a chariot for Mars: *parte alia Marti currumque rotasque volucris / instabant, quibus ille viros, quibus ex-*

<sup>37</sup> Note too that Janus is mentioned at VII, 180, just before the first appearance of the name of Mars in the book.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. the *scelerata insania belli* of 7,461.

<sup>39</sup> See further here A. Syson, *Fama and Fiction in Vergil's Aeneid*, Columbus 2013, 25.

<sup>40</sup> On this scene see in particular D. Fowler, "Opening the Gates of War (*Aen.* 7.601–40)", in H.-P. Stahl (ed.), *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context*, Swansea 1998, 155–74.

*citat urbis* (8,433–434).<sup>41</sup> The reference is of course to the god himself; another metonymical reference comes at 8,495 *regem ad supplicium praesenti Marte re-  
poscunt*, of the war of those Etruscans who wish to see Mezentius punished for his wicked rule vs. Turnus' Rutulians, to be followed almost at once by 8,515–516  
... *sub te tolerare magistro / militiam et grave Martis opus*, of the apprenticeship in war that Evander's son Pallas will serve (to his eventual doom) under Aeneas.<sup>42</sup> As Aeneas' reinforcements prepare to leave for war, there is fear and trepidation among the women (8,556 *vota metu duplicant matres*) – and, in eerie language, it is almost as if the god himself is making a slow and inexorable epiphany:

... *propiusque periclo*  
*it timor et maior Martis iam apparet imago.* (8,556–557)

The very image of the god appears now, and it is greater (i.e., than before).<sup>43</sup> There is something of a seeming contradiction in the progression of images; Vulcan's Cyclopes had put aside their work on Mars' chariot – but nonetheless the image of the god has increased – a testament to his power and influence.<sup>44</sup>

This abundance of references to Mars serves as mere prolegomenon to the climactic appearance of the god on the shield of Aeneas in the depiction of the naval battle at Actium.<sup>45</sup> At the very beginning of the ecphrasis, the god appears in another metonymical reference; he will appear in his mythological self later:

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<sup>41</sup> A useful exploration of several of the problems of interpretation of the shield and its provenance = S. McCarter, "The Forging of a God: Venus, the Shield of Aeneas, and Callimachus' *Hymn to Artemis*", *TAPhA* 142 (2012) 355–81.

<sup>42</sup> Useful here = S. Papaioannou, "Founder, Civilizer, and Leader: Vergil's Evander and His Role in the Origins of Rome", *Mnemosyne* 56 (2003) 680–702.

<sup>43</sup> See Gransden here, who compares 12,560 (where see Tarrant).

<sup>44</sup> For an introduction to the vast topic of the Lucretian intertext of Mars and Venus that underscores much of Virgil's depiction of the securing of the arms, see A. Powell, *Virgil the Partisan: A Study in the Re-Integration of Classics*, Swansea 2008, 149 ff. In the putting aside of Mars' chariot to make way for Aeneas' shield, there may be a subtle foreshadowing of the forthcoming revelations of Turnus as Mars and the rather complicated associations and implications that are thereby established.

<sup>45</sup> Beyond the scope of this study is the Virgilian association on the shield and in the underworld of Actium with the Gallic invasion of Rome; see here W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Tradition of Hellenistic Poetry*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1987, 80–1.

*in medio classis aeratas, Actia bella,  
cernere erat, totumque instructo Marte videres  
fervere Leucaten auroque effulgere fluctus. (8,675–677)<sup>46</sup>*

In the actual depiction of the battle, Cleopatra is in the center of the scene (8,696 *regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro*); significantly, she is unnamed.<sup>47</sup> She is alive and well for now – but she does not see the snakes that lurk behind her (*necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis*). The anthropomorphic gods of Egypt are there, too – Anubis most prominently. Neptune, Venus, and Minerva do battle with them in divine combat.<sup>48</sup> Mars rages in the midst:

*... saevit medio in certamine Mavors  
caelatus ferro ... (8,700–701)<sup>49</sup>*

The Dirae descend from the *aether*; Discordia and Bellona are present, too<sup>50</sup> – and Actian Apollo looms over all (8,704–705). The participial form of the verb that describes his oversight of the scene – *cernens* – is, significantly, identical to that which introduced the whole ecphrasis – *cernere erat* (8,675). The description of Mars is borrowed from Catullus' c. 64,394 *saepe in letifero belli certamine*

<sup>46</sup> For commentary see especially R. Thomas, "Virgil's Ecphrastic Centerpieces", *HSCPh* 87 (1983) 175–84; M. Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs: Ekphrasis in the Aeneid*, New Haven 1998, 119–88.

<sup>47</sup> See here P. Chaudhuri, "Naming Nefas: Cleopatra on the Shield of Aeneas", *CQ* 62 (2012) 223–6.

<sup>48</sup> Minerva merits close study in conjunction with Mars, given their shared battle bailiwicks; see here *inter al.* M. Wilhelm, "Minerva in the *Aeneid*," in R. Wilhelm – H. Jones (eds.), *The Two Worlds of the Poet: New Perspectives on Vergil*, Detroit 1992, 74–81; L. Fratantuono in *VE* II, 831–2.

<sup>49</sup> On the significance of this scene in the larger contexts of the responses of Virgil both to Homer and to the depiction of Roman history, see E. Vance, "Warfare and the Structure of Thought in Virgil's *Aeneid*", *QUCC* 15 (1973) 111–62, 151.

<sup>50</sup> In the advance from Discordia to Bellona we see something of the progression from the war at Troy to the Battle of Actium (another east-west conflict); the Dirae, for their part, will figure significantly in the closing movements of the poem, as Turnus moves inexorably to his end – and their, too, what we might call the "twinning" theme will be present, as Jupiter chooses one of two Dirae to bring his edict to Juturna that she abandon her aid to her doomed brother (12,853). See further here D. Hershkowitz, *The Madness of Epic: Reading Insanity from Homer to Statius*, Oxford 1998, 116–7.

*Mavors*, in a passage where the poet concludes his great epyllion on the marriage of Peleus and Thetis with a reflection on how once the immortals visited the earth. Mars, Tritonis, and the Rhamnusia virgin<sup>51</sup> regularly used to lead cohorts of armed men in battle; the clear implication is that this direct divine intervention no longer occurs.<sup>52</sup> In the vision of the shield, Virgil shows something of a reversal of the Catullan paradigm; the immortals *were* present at Actium, just as they were present at the destruction of Troy.<sup>53</sup> And this time, Mars is at the center of the action, even if it Apollo who presides over the victory. If we can associate Cleopatra with Camilla and Mars with Turnus, then the shield displays an elegant ballet of the players in the settlement of not only Rome *per se* but the rebirth of Rome under Octavian.

The first engagement in battle between the Turnus and the Trojans opens with suitably Ennian fanfare (9,503 ff.).<sup>54</sup> The Italians assail the Trojan camp with siege weaponry; they fail in their efforts to take the position, though Turnus will in the end break inside the enclosure. At a moment of frustration and trial for his forces, they decide to use missile weapons to clear the Trojan ramparts – preferring this to the hazards of "blind Mars": ... *nec curant caeco contendere Marte / amplius audaces Rutuli* (9,518–519). The scene is reminiscent of the rather different 2,335, as the commentators have noted; in any case, any assault on a Trojan camp would evoke memories of the terrible last night of the great city.

The next "appearance" of the god is the first of three that occur in a simile – and it is one of the most significant mentions of Mars in the epic. Turnus attacks the Trojan hero Lycus – and his action is compared to that of an eagle that snatches a hare or a swan – and to that of a wolf of Mars that steals a lamb (9,563–566).<sup>55</sup> The Homeric antecedents here link Turnus to Hector and Mene-

<sup>51</sup> I.e., Nemesis, on whose appearance see here M. Skinner, "Rhamnusia Virgo", *ClAnt* 3 (1984) 134–41.

<sup>52</sup> See further M. Fernandelli, *Catullo e la rinascita dell'epos: dal carme 64 all'Eneide*, Hildesheim 2012, 254–5; R. Sklenář, "How to Dress (For) an Epyllion: The Fabrics of Catullus 64", *Hermes* 134 (2006) 385–97; also G. Townend, "The Unstated Climax of Catullus 64", *G&R* 30 (1983) 21–30.

<sup>53</sup> On certain Homeric intertexts and implications for the Virgilian depiction of Mars on the shield, see P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmas and Imperium*, Oxford 1986, 344. For the vast problem of the related Empedoclean influence, see, e.g., D. Nelis, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Argonautica of Apollonius Rhodius*, Leeds 2001, 346 ff.

<sup>54</sup> See both Hardie and Dingel ad loc.

<sup>55</sup> Besides the aforementioned commentaries ad loc., see R. Hornsby, *Patterns of Action in the*

laus – but the eagle is associated with no one less than Jupiter himself, and the wolf is explicitly connected to Mars – and, by extension, the key wolf of the epic, the nurse of Mars' children Romulus and Remus.<sup>56</sup> The hare is swift-footed, like Lycus; the swan may well represent something of an attack on none other than the Trojan patroness Venus. Hardie notes ad loc. the affinities of the present simile to 11,721–724, where Camilla's attack on the Ligurian son of Aunus is compared to the evisceration of a dove by an accipiter; we might add that despite the lupine associations of both Turnus and Camilla, Virgil also draws explicit association between Camilla's assassin Arruns and a wolf (11,810–815), a comparison that may connect to traditions of Apollonian wolf-slayers.<sup>57</sup> There may be some point to the use of the Greek *vs.* the Latin names for wolf here; Turnus, in any case, is firmly associated with the latter and all that its traditions imply.<sup>58</sup> The simile associates Turnus with the founding of Rome, and distantly presages the actions of Camilla and her own part in the same lore. From the failure of the Rutulians to take the Trojan camp, Turnus emerges as the wolf of Mars – a sire of the future Rome. The image crowns the initial association of Turnus with a wolf at 9,59–64; the hero has triumphed in ways he could scarcely know, as it were.<sup>59</sup> And soon enough, Turnus will be explicitly associated not merely with the animal of the god, but with the deity himself.

At 9,581–589, Turnus' Etruscan ally Mezentius slays the so-called son of Arcens, who, like Camilla's aforementioned victim Aunides, has no recorded name.<sup>60</sup> Like Camilla's other victim Chloereus (11,768–793),<sup>61</sup> the son of Arcens

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*Aeneid: An Interpretation of Vergil's Epic Similes*, Iowa City 1970, 67.

<sup>56</sup> Note, too, the Lycian associations of victims of Turnus' aristeia at 12,344 and 12,516, in the latter case with additional direct reference to Apollo.

<sup>57</sup> See here Fratantuono ad loc.

<sup>58</sup> On the connection between Virgil's Lycus and rivers, see V. Koven-Matasy, "Lycus", *VE* II, 770–1; note also the references to the river in P. Jones, *Reading Rivers in Roman Literature and Culture*, Lanham (MD) 2005.

<sup>59</sup> For additional commentary on the lupine imagery here in the wider context of the similes of the book, see S. Wiltshire, "The Man Who Was Not There: Aeneas and Absence in *Aeneid* 9", in C. Perkell (ed.), *Reading Vergil's Aeneid: An Interpretive Guide*, Norman (OK) 1999, 162–77, 175–6.

<sup>60</sup> The Servian attempts to play with punctuation to give the ill-fated Sicilian a name are discussed *inter al.* by P. Knox, "Arcens", *VE* I, 117–8.

<sup>61</sup> See also Hardie 9,586–589 for the important detail that Mezentius kills the son of Arcens with a sling – the only appearance of the weapon in the *Aeneid* except for 11,579–580, where

is resplendent in noteworthy, arguably inappropriate vesture for battle; like Turnus' victim Lycus, he is associated with a river – in this case the Symaethus in Sicily:<sup>62</sup>

... genitor quem miserat Arcens  
eductum Martis luco Symaethia circum  
flumina, pinguis ubi et placabilis ara Palici (9,583–585)

The Palici were twin sons of Jupiter and the nymph Thalia or Aetna; the commentators have wondered here why only *one* of the brothers is named. There may well be an association with the twins Romulus and Remus, one of whom, of course, would be in the ascendant. Macrobius preserves the evidence of Aeschylus' *Aetnaeae* that the brothers were named from the idea of having returned from darkness to light;<sup>63</sup> their pregnant mother had been swallowed up by the earth. The possible evocation of the twins Romulus and Remus would be strengthened by the detail about the grove of Mars – but *Martis* has been questioned by editors since Macrobius' reading of *matris*. Here the weight of manuscript authority is heavy; *Martis* is the clear reading of M, P, and R, and the fact that there is no other evidence for a cult of Mars in Sicily does not seem persuasive enough to disregard the capitals.

Significantly, the death of the rather mysterious Arcens comes just before Ascanius has his encounter (under the patronage of Apollo) with Numanus *Remulus*, whose name clearly evokes the ill-fated brother of Rome's progenitor.<sup>64</sup> The death of the son of Arcens – reared, most likely, in a grove of Mars – foreshadows the death of Numanus Remulus, as the son of Aeneas slays a prototypical Italian. Remulus criticizes the Trojans for effeminacy and questionable dress; the son of

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it is used by the young Camilla in sport – another connection between the present passage and the *Camilliad*.

<sup>62</sup> Rivers factor significantly, too, on the shield; see here I. Östenberg, "Demonstrating the Conquest of the World: The Procession of Peoples and Rivers on the Shield of Aeneas and the Triple Triumph of Octavian in 29 B.C. (*Aen.* 8.722–728)", *ORom* 24 (1999) 155–62. On certain aspects of the depiction of rivers in the epic, with particular consideration of the associations between the world of war and the pastoral image (not to say ideal), see R. Thomas, *Reading Virgil and His Texts: Studies in Intertextuality*, Ann Arbor 1999, 204–5.

<sup>63</sup> *Saturnalia* 5,19,24.

<sup>64</sup> On the place of Mezentius' killing of Arcens in the larger context of the battle narrative, see G. Thome, *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius bei Vergil – mit einem Ausblick auf die Schlußszene der Aeneis*, Frankfurt am Main 1979, 43 ff.

Arcens wears the *chlamys* (9,582), that article of clothing "always used by V. in contexts of luxurious brilliance or foreignness."<sup>65</sup> Camilla will for her part be fatally distracted by the strange and resplendent dress of the Cybelean Chloreus. The Volscian will seek to slay a priest of Cybele (in the end, it will be Turnus who kills him);<sup>66</sup> Mezentius succeeds in killing someone associated with Mars – but the son of Arcens is no priest.

We can pass over the poorly attested *Marti* for *morti* at 9,599, as Numanus Remulus mocks the Trojans; in the unlikely event that *Marti* is the correct reading,<sup>67</sup> the mention of the god is metonymical and of little significance. But at 9,685, *Mavortius Haemon* is one of the Rutulian casualties of the doomed giants Pandarus and Bitias; together with Quercens, Aquiculus, and Tmarus, he is routed at the gates of the Trojan camp. What is particularly significant about this passage is its connection to the Haemonides vignette at 10,537–542, a passage that closes with a powerful apostrophe to *rex Gradivus*.<sup>68</sup> It would appear that both father and son are defeated in successive books; while the exact fate of Haemon is left somewhat unclear, the son's demise is clearly described.

The scene is the immediate aftermath of the death of Mago; Aeneas catches sight of the son of Haemon – we might be led to believe that this is the son of the Haemon who was slain in Book IX.<sup>69</sup> Haemonides is a priest of Apollo and Diana:

*nec procul Haemonides, Phoebi Triviaeque sacerdos,  
infula cui sacra redimibat tempora vitta,  
totus conlucens veste atque insignibus albis.  
quem congressus agit campo, lapsumque superstans  
immolat ingentique umbra tegit, arma Serestus  
lecta refert umeris tibi, rex Gradive,<sup>70</sup> tropaeum. (10,537–542)<sup>71</sup>*

<sup>65</sup> Hardie ad loc.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. 12,363; the two Chloreuses are likely the same figure.

<sup>67</sup> So Henry, with typically vigorous defensive argument.

<sup>68</sup> For Mars as *rex* see F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic*, Cambridge 1989, 27.

<sup>69</sup> See further the relevant entries of V. Koven-Matasy, *VE* I, 583; Harrison ad loc.

<sup>70</sup> On the apostrophe here see G. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid*, New Haven 1983, 183–5.

<sup>71</sup> On this scene see further C. Renger, *Aeneas und Turnus: Analyse einer Feindschaft*, Frankfurt am Main 1985, 60–8.



The verb *immolare* is key here. It appears just before this scene, at 10,519, where it is used explicitly of the plan to sacrifice four sons of Sulmo to Pallas; most importantly, it occurs in the closing scene of the epic, as Aeneas slays Turnus – in Pallas' name (12,948–949 ... *Pallas te hoc vulnere, Pallas / immolat*).<sup>72</sup> The *umbra* is connected both with Aeneas' great size and with the shades of the underworld; in this latter sense of *umbra* we might think, too, of the shared death line of Turnus/Camilla. We might well remember the key role played by Apollo in the death of the Homeric Patroclus; the death of Apollo's priest is directly related to Aeneas' rage over the loss of Pallas – in the death of whom Apollo played no part.<sup>73</sup>

Let us draw together some associations here. In Book 9, Virgil crafts an explicit connection between Turnus and the wolf of Mars that nurtured Romulus and Remus: Turnus, the Mavortian wolf, slays Lycus – the would-be wolf-slayer, as it were. (And the lupine Camilla, for her part, will be slain by another wolf-slayer, Arruns – a devotee of the wolf-slayer patron Apollo). Soon after the introduction of Turnus as a *Mavortius lupus*, we find in quick succession the deaths of the son of Arcens – who was raised in a grove of Mars – and Numanus Remulus, whose name evokes the memory of the ill-fated Remus, another Mavortian child. Apollo is involved directly in the latter killing (just as he will set in motion the death of Camilla).<sup>74</sup> Significantly, it is not the wolf-like Turnus who kills the son of Arcens who was reared in Mars' grove – but the Etruscan Mezentius, the hero who, in Hardie's memorable phrase, makes his entrance to the fray "like some demon from an Etruscan hell".

Next, Mars' son Haemon is likely killed (at least seriously discomfited) in the assault of Pandarus and Bitias; by this point in the narrative, there is a clear association between Mars and the forces of the Rutulian Turnus, an association that will be made dramatically clearer once we arrive at the last book of the epic.<sup>75</sup> Not surprisingly, it is the god Mars who intervenes here in the narrative – the sole appearance of the god in an intervention in what we might term the actual time line of the *Aeneid*, as it were:<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> With the verb in the same *sedes* as in the slaughter of the son of blood.

<sup>73</sup> Cf. Apollo's saving of Ascanius and active role in the destruction of Camilla; Aeneas is unaware of the "real" Homeric associations at play in Virgil's epic.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Ascanius and Arruns, after one of Virgil's favorite onomastic tricks.

<sup>75</sup> On the casualties at the gate, with special reference to the sanguinary associations of Haemon, see Paschalis (*op. cit.* n. 13), 329.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. his appearance on the shield of Aeneas.

*Hic Mars armipotens animum virisque Latinis  
addidit et stimulos acris sub pectore vertit,  
immisitque Fugam Teucris atrumque Timorem.* (9,717–720)

Deimos and Phobos make their allegorical epiphanies in the mythology of the *Aeneid*; the god who is powerful in arms lends his strength to the Latins.<sup>77</sup>

The death of Aeneas' victim Haemonides is crowned by the bringing of spoils to *Gradivus*. This is the second of two appearances of the solemn name in the *Aeneid*; the first was the aforementioned invocation of Aeneas to the nymphs and *Gradivus* at 3,35. There, *Gradivus* was *pater*; here he is *rex*. The mood there would soon be heavy with the loss with Polydorus; here, the scene is clouded by the freshness and rawness of the wound of Pallas' death – a loss that will dominate the very last lines of the epic. Haemonides may be a grandson of Mars, in which case the offerings of his arms to *Gradivus* presents an interesting question: are the spoils appropriately offered to the god or not? The fate of Serestus, the bearer of the arms to the god, is not recorded.<sup>78</sup> Mago was a suppliant; Haemonides is a priest of the divine twins, Apollo and Trivia (i.e., Diana).<sup>79</sup> Aeneas kills the god who represents the union of the children of Latona; the act of the Trojan hero sets the stage for the division of the siblings in the very next book, where they are on rather opposite sides in the drama of Camilla and Arruns. The setting up of a *tropaeum* foreshadows Aeneas' similar action at the start of *Aeneid* 11 in the matter of Mezentius, the slayer of the son of Arcens;<sup>80</sup> that trophy stands prominently at the start of the book that explores in complex detail the aristeia and death of Camilla, Diana's favorite – and a desirable target for Arruns, the fire-walker devotee of Apollo (11,784–793); the Etruscan explicitly states that he does *not* seek a *tropaeum* for any victory over Camilla (11,790). Aeneas kills a priest of the divine twins, while his avatar Arruns slays a devotee of Diana – and trophies are mentioned in connection with both incidents.

<sup>77</sup> Hardie prefers to consider Mars here as a mere personification of the spirit of war – but it stands to reason that the war god is annoyed at the routing of his son Haemon.

<sup>78</sup> He appears for the last time in the epic at 12,561.

<sup>79</sup> See further the interesting study of E. Hahn, "*Pietas* versus *Violentia* in the *Aeneid*", *The Classical Weekly* 25 (1931) 9–13 – who notes that we learn of the *infula* of this priest, but not any *pietas* – perhaps an unfair observation.

<sup>80</sup> Another victim noted by his filial status. Useful here too = M. Putnam, "Anger, Blindness and Insight in Virgil's *Aeneid*", *Apeiron* 23 (1990) 7–40, with reference to the perennial problem of the *pietas* of Aeneas.

*Tropaeum* is perhaps a relatively uncommon word in the *Aeneid*.<sup>81</sup> It first occurs at 10,542; it appears next at 10,775, as Mezentius promises a trophy of Aeneas for his son Lausus: the trophy will actual be of Mezentius (11,7). At 11,172, Evander speaks of the *magna tropaea* of Pallas' victims; during the Latin war council, we hear of Turnus (11,224; cf. 11,385). Five occurrences, then, in Book 11, and two in 10; Mezentius and Arruns speak of trophies that will not be – the former in vain promise, the latter in a dismissal of the matter of spoils that will prove no less vain than his fellow Etruscan's boast.<sup>82</sup> Interestingly, the trophy of Haemonides' spoils is explicitly to be erected to Mars; the Mezentius trophy is a more mysterious question, given the ambiguities of 11,7–8, where the deity "powerful in war" (*bellipotens*) may well be Minerva.<sup>83</sup> Minerva would be an eminently attractive deity for the trophy that is erected at the start of Book 11, given that she has significant affinities to Camilla; she would thus complete a divine diad of Mars and Minerva that balances their mortal avatars Turnus and the Volscian heroine Camilla.<sup>84</sup> Both trophies are erected by Aeneas (or at least at his order); in the case of Haemonides, the victory commemorates the death of a priest of two key deities in the Augustan pantheon.<sup>85</sup> Aeneas' arguably impious act here may be the proximate cause for the failure of the healer god Apollo to cure his serious wound at 12,405–406.<sup>86</sup> Aeneas never meets Camilla;<sup>87</sup> her slayer Arruns is something of an eerie doublet for the Trojan hero<sup>88</sup> – but it is significant that Camilla is in pursuit of a priest of Cybele, the Trojan mother goddess, when she is killed: Aeneas, for his part, succeeds in slaying a priest of eminently Augustan immortals.

<sup>81</sup> See further K. Nielson, "The *tropaion* in the *Aeneid*," *Vergilius* 29 (1983) 27–33; and her "Aeneas and the Demands of the Dead," *CJ* 79 (1984) 200–6.

<sup>82</sup> Note, too, the memorialized Mezentius in contrast to the forgotten Arruns.

<sup>83</sup> Especially if we read *magnae* (MR) at 11,7; see further Horsfall (and Fratantuono) ad loc.

<sup>84</sup> Note, too, that Camilla has implicit associations with Mars; see below on 11,662.

<sup>85</sup> General commentary here = J. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets*, Cambridge 2009; and C. Green, *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia*, Cambridge 2007.

<sup>86</sup> See further Tarrant ad 12,391–397.

<sup>87</sup> He merely sees the foreshadowing of her exploits in the image of Penthesilea in the temple of Juno in Carthage (1,490–493); see further W. Johnson, *Darkness Visible: A Study of Vergil's Aeneid*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1976, 104–5.

<sup>88</sup> See in particular the important article of L. Kepple, "Arruns and the Death of Aeneas", *AJPh* 97 (1976) 344–60.

Apollo and Diana, then, have reason to be irritated with Aeneas;<sup>89</sup> many inventive reasons (summarized by Tarrant ad loc.) have been assembled to offer explanation for why the doctor Iapyx, the beloved of Apollo, fails in his attempts to cure his leader's wound.<sup>90</sup> Aeneas' killing of Haemonides is perhaps where the answer lies; the death of the Apollonian priest is especially shocking in light of the signal favor of Apollo to the Trojans; it comes, too, in the immediate aftermath of the refusal of the hero to heed the prayers of a suppliant.<sup>91</sup> Apollo, in the end, most prominently defends not the father Aeneas but the son Ascanius (9,638 ff.); in any event, all of this is made the more interesting by the fact that Aeneas at Carthage is explicitly associated with Apollo (4,143–150) – a comparison that may be just as inappropriate as the similar association of Dido with Diana (1,494–504).<sup>92</sup> Virgil's Aeneas does not realize that Camilla is the principal Patroclus of this epic; the Trojan lashes out at the god who had nothing to do with the death of his favorite, Pallas.

Virgil indulges in explicit reflection on the confused and perhaps ultimately pointless world of warfare in the scene where Mars makes his final "appearance" in Book 10:

*iam gravis aequabat luctus et mutua Mavors  
funera* (10,755–756)

The immortals are watching the scene – Venus and Juno in particular (10,760). Both sides conquer and in turn are conquered; their anger is empty (10,758 *iram*...

<sup>89</sup> Diana, at least, in the matter of her favorite Camilla (even if Aeneas is not directly responsible for her death); cf. the effective mockery of Diana by Venus at 1,314–334.

<sup>90</sup> Best here may be M. Skinner, "Venus as Physician: *Aeneid* 12.41–19", *Vergilius* 53 (2007) 86–99. It is indeed possible that the failure of Iapyx is an indirect *deterior* commentary on the erotic relationship between divine *erastes* and mortal *eromenos*.

<sup>91</sup> Relevant here, too, may be the association of Apollo with the loss of the Homeric Patroclus; cf. Aeneas as incensed over the death of Pallas, and the affinities of Camilla to Patroclus (for the conflict between the divine siblings is itself a type of the civil war that perennially plagues Roman history, alongside the problem of the association of Camilla with Cleopatra at Actium and the patronage of Leucadian Apollo over Octavian's victory).

<sup>92</sup> The pairing may hark back to the image of such sibling marriages as that of Ptolemy and Cleopatra – with interesting implications to ponder for both Aeneas and Dido during the Carthaginian sojourn.

*inanem*).<sup>93</sup> Few passages in the *Aeneid* so clearly evoke a nihilistic view of martial strife; Mavors treats all equally in the matter of suffering and deaths.

A metonymical reference to war (11,110 ... *Martis sorte peremptis*) is soon followed by yet another (11,153 *cautius ut saevo velles te credere Marti*), as both Aeneas and Evander reflect on the war's progress thus far – the first in terms of the question of a burial truce, the latter in the more personal matter of his son's experience of battle. But of greater significance is the full import of the taunt of Drances to Turnus to 11,374–375, where a powerful hemistich is used to call into question the whole image of the Rutulian hero as part of the world of the Mavor-tian wolf:

*si patrii quid Martis habes, illum aspice contra  
qui vocat* (11,374–375)

Here, *Martis* may be another mere metonymy for war (in this case, the fighting prowess of the Rutulians) – but more pointed may be a reference to Mars as the *pater* in the literal sense, with association to Romulus and the wolf. When Turnus returns the taunt, he evokes the god in his own hemistich:

... *an tibi Mavors  
ventosa in lingua pedibusque fugacibus istis  
semper erit?* (11,389–391)<sup>94</sup>

In the immediate aftermath of this retort, Turnus mentions *inter al.* his defeat of Pandarus and Bitias (11,396) – the Trojans most responsible for the defeat of Mars' son Haemon.

Romulus was a son of Mars; so, too, Haemon. A third child of the god is Penthesilea, the Amazon to whom Camilla and her retinue of female warriors is compared in the simile at 11,659–663 – the second of the three similes in the epic that mention Mars in some context.<sup>95</sup> The Martian wolf had been associated with Turnus; now Camilla and her companions are like the Amazons – in particular,

<sup>93</sup> For an introduction to the vast problem of *ira* in the epic, see D. Armstrong *et al.* (eds.), *Vergil, Philodemus, and the Augustans*, Austin 2004, 15–7.

<sup>94</sup> On these passages see especially E. Fantham, "Fighting Words: Turnus at Bay in the Latin Council (*Aeneid* 11.234–446)", *AJPh* 120 (1999) 259–80; and U. Scholz, "Drances", *Hermes* 127 (1999) 455–66.

<sup>95</sup> On Thrace and Mars here see M. Di Cesare, *The Altar and the City: A Reading of Vergil's Aeneid*, New York 1974, 208–9.

Hippolyta (with her equine associations) and Penthesilea, the ill-fated victim of Achilles.<sup>96</sup>

Significantly, the last mention of "Mars" in Book 11 comes as Camilla's trusted quasi-sister Acca brings the news of the cavalry battle to Turnus:

*deletas Volscorum acies, cecidisse Camillam,  
ingruere infensos hostis et Marte secundo  
omnia corripuisse, metum iam ad moenia ferri.* (11,898–900)

The passage bears close study in comparison to Camilla's actual words to Acca at 11,823–827, where the focus was on Turnus maintaining his battle plan; the Volscian was supposed to maintain the equestrian engagement, while Turnus was supposed to destroy Aeneas by infantry ambush – an attack plan that could have succeeded even in the wake of Camilla's death. Acca, of course, is evocative of none other than Acca Larentia, the foster mother of Romulus and Remus; Camilla, for her part, has perhaps lycanthropic associations with the Romulean she-wolf.<sup>97</sup> Here, it would seem that Mars favors the Trojans and not the side of Turnus and Camilla; the *Mars secundus* of which Acca speaks describes the defeat of Camilla and the routing of her Volscians (we might compare the defeat of Mars' son Haemon in the face of Pandarus and Bitias).

But a crucial detail to note is that Acca does not exactly report Camilla's *mandata novissima*; Mars is associated with fear, to be sure – and Acca's message is a product of fear and dread apprehension. Indeed, Acca "brings a great tumult" to Turnus (11,897 *nuntius et iuveni ingentem fert Acca tumultum*); *iuvenis* has a certain poignant register. The point, in the end, is for Turnus to abandon his ambush and thereby allow Aeneas to pass through the would-be ambush in safety; this is the demand of the will of Jupiter (11,901 ... *et saeva Iovis sic numina poscunt*). In this Camilla is a savior of Aeneas and of the future Rome (which, of course, will be Italian and not Trojan)<sup>98</sup> – and Acca, the foster mother of Romulus, is merely conveying the instructions of the lupine Camilla to the lupine Turnus, all with an eye to saving the Trojans, and especially Aeneas, from immediate

<sup>96</sup> The associations of Volscian and Amazon are neatly summarized by A. Brill, *Die Gestalt der Camilla bei Vergil*, Wien 1972, 7–10.

<sup>97</sup> The matter is discussed in detail at L. Fratantuono, "Chiastic Doom in the *Aeneid*", *Latomus* 68 (2009) 393–401.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. the climactic, indeed something a surprise revelation of Jupiter's speech to Juno at 12, 33 ff.

doom.<sup>99</sup> None of the players in the epic drama are aware of the final ethnic settlement that will portend for Rome – and none are aware of the lore of the god, the wolf, and the sacred twins Romulus and Remus.<sup>100</sup>

Acca's report is echoed in the very opening verses of the poem's final book:

*Turnus ut infractos adverso Marte Latinos  
defecisse videt ... (12,1–2)*

*Secundo marte* has been replaced with *adverso Marte*; Acca had made a somewhat incomplete report (and one that omitted the actual instructions of her superior) – Turnus now sees for himself that his men are deflated and look to him for guidance (12,2–3). The reaction of the Latins is in part in response to the abandonment of the ambush – did any of Turnus' men realize the colossal strategic blunder of the overly emotional commander's decision to surrender his single best chance to win the war at one stroke? Turnus is now like a lion in Phoenician fields (12,4–9), a lion that has been wounded by hunters. The image is baleful in light of Dido and Carthage;<sup>101</sup> it presages the ultimate destruction of the Rutulian.<sup>102</sup> In an important sense, we have moved from the realm of focus on the ultimate settlement of Rome – the product of the *secundus Mars*, if one will – to reflection on the private fate of the man whose death will close the book – the victim of the *adversus Mars* in the matter of his demise, while the Latins are its victims because of his abandonment of the infantry ambush (unbeknownst to any of them, at the behest of Jupiter).<sup>103</sup> Aeneas was *saevus* at the end of 11 (did he come to understand that Turnus had planned a potentially fatal ambush?), and here the same descriptor applies – Aeneas as true son of Mars, as it were, as he surrenders to *ira*. The Mars of the shield of Achilles raged in the midst of Actium; in this, he was like Cleopatra, the unnamed Egyptian queen who also was identified with

<sup>99</sup> Cf. how Mars' infant children were nourished by the wolf, and how Camilla eagerly takes charge of the equestrian battle on the fateful day before the walls of Latinus' city.

<sup>100</sup> On these aspects of Camilla, see in particular E. Pyy, "*Decus Italiae virgo: Virgil's Camilla and the Formation of Romanitas*", *Arctos* 44 (2010) 181–203.

<sup>101</sup> See here M. Putnam, *The Humanness of Heroes: Studies in the Conclusion of Virgil's Aeneid*, Amsterdam 2011, 83.

<sup>102</sup> See here especially P. Schenk, *Die Gestalt des Turnus in Vergils Aeneis*, Königstein 1984, 146 ff.

<sup>103</sup> For relevant reflections of a rather different nature, see C. Pascal, "The Dubious Devotion of Turnus", *TAPhA* 120 (1990) 251–68.

the middle of the shield. Apollo loomed over the whole scene (just as he looms in some sense over the first book of the *Iliad*). Not surprisingly, the children of Mars came into conflict in Romulus slaying of his brother; the progeny of the war god are martial and indeed fratricidal.<sup>104</sup>

The twelfth and last book of the epic opens, then, with a Mavortian tone that will take on different and stronger nuances as the poem advances to its conclusion, and as the first mention of Mars in the poem is refined and somewhat revised in the revelations of the epic's final movements, as the Turnus who reflects on the *adversus Mars* will soon be revealed as the mortal incarnation of the spirit of the very god.

For now, the tension mounts. At 12,73 ... *duri certamina Martis*, Turnus refers to his imminent departure to strife as he addresses the doomed Latin queen Amata, who had prayed for war in a rather different time; now she prays for the Rutulian to abstain from war (12,60 ... *desiste manum committere Teucris*); at 12,107–108 *nec minus interea maternis in armis / Aeneas acuit Martem et se susciat ira*, we are afforded a brief vignette of Aeneas as he prepares for battle – and we are reminded of his divine arms, on which Mars figured so prominently. *Saevus* harks back both to the language of the shield and, especially, to the prominent use of the adjective in the final movements of Book 11, as Turnus abandoned his ambush.<sup>105</sup>

Soon enough both sides are assembled to watch the prospective single combat between Aeneas and Turnus; it is as if they were preparing for an actual battle engagement between the two massed forces:

*haud secus instructi ferro quam si aspera Martis  
pugna vocet.* (12,124–125)

We are reminded, perhaps, of Actium, where Mars was in the midst of the fray – but the present scene is quite different, and the fight is *aspera*, at least in part because of the destined union of the opposing sides that gather to watch the duel.<sup>106</sup>

As a formal treaty is struck, Aeneas solemnly invokes Mavors among other deities:

<sup>104</sup> Relevant here is R. Pogorzelski, "The 'Reassurance of Fratricide' in the *Aeneid*", *AJPh* 130 (2009) 261–89.

<sup>105</sup> *Saevisissimus nuntius; saeva Iovis ... numina; saevum Aenean* (11,895–896; 901; 910).

<sup>106</sup> See Tarrant (and Traina) ad loc. on the possible Homeric antecedent.



*iam melior, iam, diva, precor; tuque inclute Mavors,  
cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques* (12,179–180)

We see here glimpses of the celebrated union of Venus and Mars; in the language of the prayerful invocation we see, too, shades of the connection between Mars and Jupiter (*pater; sub numine torques*).<sup>107</sup> And this is the only time we hear of the *numen* of Mars in the epic.<sup>108</sup>

And, too, at this official ratification of the agreed upon truce, Aeneas makes polite reference to the possibility of Trojan victory, referring by hypallage to the idea that Victory might nod favorably on "our Mars": 12,187 *sin nostrum adnuerit nobis Victoria Martem*.<sup>109</sup> Here we see a clear reference to the variable quality of the war god, to the idea that everyone has a potential Mars, that Mars truly does rage in the middle; significantly, the language that ensues – where Aeneas makes his promises about how the Italians will be treated – is rather a foreshadowing of what Jupiter eventually declares to Juno; Aeneas speaks of allowing the Latins their gods and sacred rites, and of permitting Latinus to retain his *arma* and *imperium sollemne* (12,192–193) – all of which invites comparison with the Jovian reflections on *sermones* and *mores* in his conversation with his wife (12,833 ff.).<sup>110</sup>

We now come to the third and last of the similes of the epic that mention Mars in some way – and to the most significant of the powerful progression of images that took us from Turnus as Mavortian wolf to Penthesilea as Mavortian Amazon to Turnus as the veritable reincarnation of the god.<sup>111</sup> The truce has been broken; Aeneas is soon wounded by an unknown assailant (mortal or divine?). Turnus rushes on in battle, and he is like Mars – the only hero in the epic, we should note, who is ever compared to the war god:<sup>112</sup>

<sup>107</sup> On the Homeric antecedents and general commentary, see K. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad: An Essay on Epic Narrative*, Cambridge 1984, 196 ff.

<sup>108</sup> See further W. Pötscher, *Vergil und die göttlichen Mächte: Aspekte seiner Weltanschauung*, Hildesheim 1977, 96 ff.

<sup>109</sup> On the larger implications of this scene, cf. E. Adler, *Virgil's Empire: Political Thought in the Aeneid*, Lanham (MD) 2003, 184 ff.

<sup>110</sup> For consideration of the implications of the present scene in the wider context of the epic, see M. Lowrie, "Vergil and Founding Violence," in J. Farrell – M. Putnam (eds.), *A Companion to Vergil's Aeneid and Its Tradition*, Malden (MASS) 2010, 391–403, 398–9.

<sup>111</sup> The progression is significant for a consideration of the lupine associations of both Turnus and the new Penthesilea, Camilla – wolf; Amazon; Rutulian hero.

<sup>112</sup> See Tarrant ad loc. for the direct Homeric associations of heroes with Ares, which are far

*qualis apud gelidi cum flumina concitus Hebri  
sanguineus Mavors clipeo increpat atque furentis  
bella movens immitit equos, illi aequore aperto  
ante Notos Zephyrumque volant, gemit ultima pulsu  
Thraca pedum circumque atrae Formidinis ora  
Iraeque Insidiaeque, dei comitatus, aguntur (12,331–336)*

The present simile expands on the idea that Turnus was like a Mavortian wolf; now he is implicitly not only the wolf of Mars, but Mars himself. The god's power is associated once again with Thrace, and we are reminded of the prayer Aeneas made to the Thracian god on his very first landfall after the departure from the smoking city of Troy; in the final theological assessment of the epic, it is Turnus who is Mars (the father of Romulus) – and no wonder, then, that the Trojans could not settle in the native land of the god in the wild northwest of Greece. This depiction of Turnus as Mars comes after the dramatic prayer of Aeneas to the god, where Jupiter, Juno, Venus and Mars were invoked before the Trojan hero commented on his promises for what the settlement in central Italy would look like in the event that he defeated Turnus; in point of fact, he *would* defeat Turnus – but the *sermones* and *mores* in Italy would be the subject of a divine colloquy between two of the addresses of Aeneas' prayer, a conversation that balances the discussion of Jupiter and Venus in Book I. Venus, for her part, is entirely absent from the crucial revelations in the matter of the future Rome; Mars, for his part, is celebrated in this extended image that associates the god with Aeneas' deadliest foe.<sup>113</sup>

Turnus spoke of his advance to the *certamina duri Martis*; at a moment of real trouble for Aeneas, we hear of *durus Mars* again, as the battle rages in the wake of his mysterious wounding (12,409–410 ... *it tristis ad aethera clamor /*

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more numerous (Agamemnon, Ajax, Hector, Achilles) – the Virgilian practice is strikingly different.

<sup>113</sup> It is interesting to note here the curious case of 1,263–264 *bellum ingens geret Italia populosque ferocis / contundet moresque viris et moenia ponet* (on which see, e.g., C. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 1993, 58). That promise to Venus would seem to be at variance with the words of Jupiter to Juno at 12,833–837; one possibility is that in Jupiter's *do quod vis* (12,833) there is a mark of a change in circumstance – put another way, the wrath of Juno was successful in a key sense. Another possibility is that Jupiter knew about the final ethnography, as it were, of the future Rome, even at the time of his conversation with his divine daughter – and that the *mores* and *moenia* are to be taken in a very strict sense indeed. See further A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis*, Heidelberg 1967, 65.

*bellantum iuvenum et duro sub Marte cadentum*). But once Aeneas returns to battle, anger, rage, and, indeed, "favoring Mars" returns too:

*multa Iovem et laesi testatus foederis aras  
iam tandem invadit medios et Marte secundo  
terribilis saevam nullo discrimine caedem  
suscitat, irarumque omnis effundit habenas.* (12,496–499)

The gods are perhaps justly angered at the broken truce; the anger of Aeneas, in any case, is now in the plural,<sup>114</sup> as Aeneas here gives free rein to his sentiments of wrath and rage.<sup>115</sup>

The final appearance of Mars in the epic comes just before the divine interlude of Juno and Jupiter that constitutes something of a surprise climax to the epic, as we learn that the future Rome will be Italian and not Trojan. Aeneas and Turnus are armed and waiting to commence their single combat:

*hic gladio fidens, hic acer et arduus hasta,  
adsistunt contra certamina Martis anhelii.* (12,789–790)

The reading *certamina* here has firm manuscript support, but Servius noted a variant *certamine*; the question<sup>116</sup> is whether Aeneas and Turnus stood facing the *certamina* of the god, or whether they stood in the contest. And, too, *anhelii* presents a problem; it could be nominative plural with the heroes, or genitive singular with the god – the likely deliberate ambiguity does allow the war god and the combatants almost to shade, as it were, into one.<sup>117</sup> The nominative plural would balance the verb; the line would then be book-ended by the gasping warriors, as they perhaps stand – together – before the *certamina* of the dread god: Mars again in the middle, we might note. And if this is Actium – and if we are soon to learn that the future Rome will be Italian and not Trojan in its *sermones* and *mores* – then the associations with the image on the shield of Aeneas become rather telling

<sup>114</sup> On this scene see especially C. Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas*, Edinburgh 1988, 200–1.

<sup>115</sup> See further M. Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence*, Chapel Hill 1995, 185–6.

<sup>116</sup> See here Tarrant ad loc.

<sup>117</sup> Elsewhere in the epic, the adjective is used only of the heart of the Sibyl (6,48), and of the horses of the dawn that harries the dream vision of Anchises (5,739).

indeed. Should we prefer to read *certamine*, however, then the image is a powerful one indeed – the two heroes stand opposite (*contra*) each other in the contest of Mars – and one of them has already been explicitly linked to the god the other had solemnly invoked. Turnus, after all, will die – but in an important sense his cause will emerge victorious, and a new cycle of fratricidal strife will begin soon enough for the children of the wolf. The mortal avatar of Mars will ultimately triumph over the Trojan past, and the god who was seemingly absent from the dismantling of the walls of Troy will in some sense preside over the demise of what might have been the dead city's rebirth.

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## COPY-PASTE METRICS? LUPUS OF FERRIÈRES ON BOETHIUS

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Boethius's sixth-century *De consolatione philosophiae* is the most celebrated example of a *prosimetrum*, or a work that mixes prose and verse, composed in Late Antiquity. The author interspersed the prose chapters of his epoch-making work with short poems in an astonishingly wide range of different metres. In the medieval reception of Boethius, his verse was regarded as an essential part of the whole, reflected in the wide range of studies to which it was subjected since the *Consolatio*'s rediscovery by Alcuin in 790. Although Boethius's elaborate and often eccentric way of combining widely different metrical units did not, as such, inspire many followers,<sup>1</sup> his use of metre was nevertheless widely studied: in some manuscripts the poems have been supplied with scansion markings, and ultimately many of them were set to music.<sup>2</sup> The first effort to describe and codify Boethian metres undertaken by Lupus of Ferrières (c. 805 – c. 862),<sup>3</sup> the *Consolatio*'s first acknowledged medieval editor, ultimately joined this tradition of metrical glossing: Lupus's brief treatise has been transmitted in several manuscripts, sometimes as a complete commentary, sometimes as marginal glosses appended

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<sup>1</sup> D. Norberg cites some evidence of Boethian metrics in early medieval verse including the stichic use of the Sapphic strophe in *cons. 2 carm. 6*, a poem in anapaestic dimeters obviously modelled after *cons. 1 carm. 5* and the adoption of the metre of *cons. 1 carm. 2* by a number of poets. These are, however, among the least complex of Boethius's metres and not exclusive to his verse. – D. Norberg, *Introduction à l'étude de la versification latine médiévale* (Acta universitatis Stockholmiensis: Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 5), Stockholm 1958, 78, 81 and 84.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., M. T. Gibson – M. Lapidge – C. Page, "Neumed Boethian Metra from Canterbury: A Newly Recovered Leaf of Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 5.35 (the 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript)", *Anglo-Saxon England* 12 (1983) 141–52.

<sup>3</sup> R. Peiper (ed.), *Philosophiae consolationis libri V*, Leipzig 1871, xxiv–xxix.

to poems in the pertinent metres.<sup>4</sup> The text's wide circulation affirms its central role in the medieval study of Boethius: his treatise, in complete form or as excerpts, is testified in at least sixteen medieval codices and it is cited, among others, in the commentary of Remigius of Auxerre (saec. X).<sup>5</sup> Lupus's commentary remained, more or less, the sole authority on its subject until the Renaissance.<sup>6</sup>

Lupus of Ferrières's pioneering exposition of Boethian metres became an indispensable aid for the subsequent commentaries on Boethius's poetry largely because the metrical treatises of late antiquity provided no practical tools for its proper analysis: some of Boethius's metres and their combinations are – as far as we can ascertain – unique to the author and therefore not presented as such in the standard works on metre which were in circulation in the Early Middle Ages. Nevertheless, as Virginia Brown has demonstrated in her comprehensive study of the text,<sup>7</sup> Lupus was either unwilling or unable to undertake a fully independent study of the structure of Boethius's metres: instead, he chose to cobble his commentary from bits and pieces of Marius Servius's fourth-century *De centum metris*,<sup>8</sup> which he often cites verbatim.<sup>9</sup> The obvious shortcomings of Lupus's presentation largely owe to his reliance on secondary sources which were not ideally suited to his subject: as the *Consolatio* had emerged at the very end of antiquity, it had not become the focus of a scholarly tradition in the way that the works

<sup>4</sup> R. C. Love, "The Latin Commentaries on Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae* from the 9th to the 11th Centuries" in: N. H. Kaylor, Jr. – P. E. Phillips (eds.), *A Companion to Boethius in the Middle Ages*, Leiden – Boston 2012, 75–133, at pp. 103–4.

<sup>5</sup> P. Courcelle, *La consolation de la philosophie dans la tradition littéraire*, Paris 1967, 12; N. M. Haring, "Four Codices on the *De consolazione philosophiae* in MS Heiligenkreuz 130", *Medieval Studies* 31 (1969) 287–316; V. Brown, "Lupus of Ferrières on the Meters of Boethius", in: J. J. O'Meara – B. Naumann (eds.), *Latin Script and Letters A.D. 400–900. Festschrift Presented to Ludwig Bieler on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, Leiden 1978, 63–79, at p. 63.

<sup>6</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxiv; J. Leonhardt, *Dimensio syllabarum: Studien zur lateinischen Prosodie- und Verslehre von der Spätantike bis zur frühen Renaissance* (Hypomnemata 92), Göttingen 1989, 161. – Niccolò Perotti's *De Horatii et Boethii metris* (c. 1480) constitutes the first serious effort at improving Lupus's presentation while it, too, is highly dependent on it.

<sup>7</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 63–79.

<sup>8</sup> *Gramm.* IV,456–67.

<sup>9</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 64–5. Lupus's reliance on Servius was already demonstrated by Peiper in his edition of the text; see Peiper (above n. 2), xxiv. Once, Lupus actually cites Servius as a source, and his term "pindaric" for the anapaestic dimeter of *cons.* 1 *carm.* 5 and *cons.* 3 *carm.* 2 has only been attested in Servius (*gramm.* IV,468,8).

of Vergil and Horace had. Although, in some cases, Lupus recognised Boethius's departures from the usage prescribed by Servius, there is much that he ignored, and here we may have to look beyond Servius to account for his occasional lapses of judgement. This paper argues that Servius is not Lupus's only source and that, for better or worse, Lupus relied implicitly on Bede's *De arte metrica*, a work that, on the surface, would appear particularly ill-suited for a study of Boethius's metres, as Bede's presentation of lyric metres is extremely scant and limited to poetic lengths commonly encountered in Christian hymnody. Lupus's failed description of two Boethian metres (*cons. 1 carm. 2* and *cons. 4 carm. 5*) would, in fact, appear to be based on the description of a not quite identical metre in Bede's *De arte metrica*. It will also be apparent that Lupus's arguably misplaced trust in Bede's authority indirectly affected his at times idiosyncratic use of metrical nomenclature. As Lupus's presentation remained largely unchallenged for several centuries, even his mistakes may have had wider repercussions on Boethian scholarship than has generally been assumed. At the same time they testify for Bede's unquestioned authority on metrical issues in the Early Middle Ages.

Boethius's use of different metrical forms is wide, and, although he often used common Graeco-Latin metres such as the dactylic hexameter, the elegiac couplet and the iambic trimeter, together with simpler lyric lengths, he frequently combined these metres in less usual ways.<sup>10</sup> It is obvious that Boethius did not find the traditional four-line strophes of aeolic verse suited to his sustained narrative, but opted, instead, to use e.g. glyconics (*cons. 1 carm. 6*; *cons. 2 carm. 8*; *cons. 3 carm. 12*; *cons. 4 carm. 3* and *cons. 5 carm. 4*), adonics (*cons. 1 carm. 7*) and sapphics (*cons. 2 carm. 6* and *cons. 4 carm. 7*) in a stichic form. In *cons. 4 carm. 7*, he rounds off his poem in consecutive sapphics with a single adonic line in a gentle but surprising allusion to the more usual form of the metre. He also uses different line types as distichs; often the two lines have a shared pedigree, as in the aeolic couplets consisting of the sapphic with the glyconic (*cons. 2 carm. 3*), the hendecasyllable with the alcaic decasyllable (*cons. 3 carm. 4*) or the hendecasyllable with the sapphic line, in almost, but not quite, regular alternation in *cons. 3 carm. 10*. Yet more complex are some of his poems where the halves of a single line are combined from metrically disparate parts in the manner of the archilochean metres used by Horace. The most original of these – and this turned out to be a major stumbling block for Lupus<sup>11</sup> – is *cons. 4 carm. 5*, where a line

<sup>10</sup> For a comprehensive discussion, see L. Pepe, "La metrica de Boezio", *GIF* 7 (1954) 227–43.

<sup>11</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 76.



that consists of a *trochaic* tripod catalectic (– u – x / x) followed by an adonic (– uu – –):

*si quis Arcturi sidera nescit*  
– u – – – / – uu – –

alternates with an *iambic* tripod catalectic (x – u – / x) followed by an adonic:

*propinqua summo cardine labi*  
u – u – – / – uu – –

This metre is not attested anywhere else in ancient literature.<sup>12</sup>

It is obvious that Boethius was extremely well-read and perfectly at ease among the maddeningly complex wealth of metrical structures of the Graeco-Latin heritage. We cannot ascertain to what degree his more original metrical structures are his own creation, as we no longer have access to all the literature that he obviously was acquainted with. But, even on a more mundane level, his use of poetic metre manifests a profound knowledge of literary tradition and independence from the metrical handbooks of the late antique grammarians.<sup>13</sup> When it comes to aeolic metres, Boethius departs from the grammarians' stock descriptions of the glyconic (– – / – uu – / u –), which generally prescribe a spondee for the beginning, or "aeolic base" of the line, freely substituting it with a trochee (– u) or an iamb (u –). This variation is consistent with the Greek usage of these metres, and still occurs in Catullus, the spondee having become compulsory only with the Augustans.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Pepe (above n. 10), 238. Peiper (above n. 3, 225) has suggested corrupt readings of Seneca's *Oedipus* or the anonymous *Agamemnon* as a possible model.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., Diomedes, *Ars grammatica*, book III (*gramm.* I,473–529); Marius Servius, *De centum metris* and *De metris Horatii* (*gramm.* IV,456–472); Aphthonius in Marius Victorinus's *Ars grammatica* (*gramm.* VI,31–184); Palaemon (attributed to Victorinus), *De metrica institutione* (*gramm.* VI,206–215); Maximus Victorinus, *De ratione metrorum* (*gramm.* VI,216–228) and Mallius Theodorus, *De metris* (*gramm.* VI,585–610).

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., D. S. Raven, *Latin Metre*, London 1965, 134; M. L. West, *Greek Metre*, Oxford 1982, xi; L. Morgan, *Musa Pedestris: Metre and Meaning in Roman Verse*, Oxford 2010, 50. – The glyconic line was regularised already in Horace, as was the fourth element of the sapphic line (– u – – / – uu – / u – –), which is still variable in Catullus (– u – x / – uu – / u – –). Boethius's use of the sapphic line and the hendecasyllable, where a similar standardisation took place, is

Lupus's efforts to understand Boethius's metrical complexity and sophistication inevitably ran into a number of snags: although Lupus was arguably the metrically most erudite author of his age, his knowledge of metre and prosody had been laboriously gleaned from books. His analyses of Boethius's metres were adapted, second-hand, from what he could find in the metrical treatises of Late Antiquity, and although his efforts to rework his material often show considerable perspicuity, it is understandable that his narrow frame of reference sometimes led him astray. Although Lupus's own poetic output is relatively narrow and arguably insignificant,<sup>15</sup> his interest in metre and prosody is well-documented by his letters, where he discusses prosodic issues with a thoroughness that borders on the obsessive.<sup>16</sup> He frequently offers his reading of the "poets" as evidence, even departing from, or contradicting, grammatical authority.<sup>17</sup> On the other hand, in his letter 6, he rejects the classical scansion *blasphēmus* he had encountered in Prudentius for the Byzantine Greek *blásphēmus*, relying on oral evidence from an actual living Greek whom he had personally encountered – and apparently pumped for information on Greek prosody.<sup>18</sup> Lupus's correspondence demonstrates an empirical approach unusual for his day and age, as well as an ability to draw on an exceptionally wide range of sources when trying to solve the mysteries of Latin prosody and poetic scansion.

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consistent with post-classical practice.

<sup>15</sup> J. Szövérfy, *Weltliche Dichtungen des lateinischen Mittelalters*, Berlin 1970, 598; Brown (above n. 5) 71. Lupus's scant verse has been published in B. Bischoff, "Anecdota Carolina", in: W. Stach – H. Walther (ed.), *Studien zur lateinischen Dichtung des Mittelalters: Ehrengabe für Karl Strecker zum 4. September 1931* (Schriftenreihe zur Historischen Vierteljahrschrift 1), Dresden 1931, 1–11, at p. 4; K. Strecker (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini aevi Carolini 4*, Berlin 1923, 1032, 1052, 1059; K. Strecker (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini medii aevi 6: Nachträge zu den Poetae aevi Carolini*; Weimar 1951, 153.

<sup>16</sup> E. Perels (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae 6: Epistolae Karolini aevi 4*, Berlin 1925, 1–126.

<sup>17</sup> In his letter 5, Lupus wondered whether a plosive and liquid could have the power of *shortening* the preceding syllable in cases where it was long by nature (as in *arātrum*), and, happily enough, suspected that it could not, despite Donatus's confusing discussion (*gramm.* IV,371,20) which Lupus had, admittedly, misinterpreted. – Perels (above n. 16), 15.

<sup>18</sup> Perels (above n. 16), 27: *Itaque Graecus quidam Graecos "blasphemus" dicere correpta paenultima mihi constanter asseruit.*

Lupus's brief commentary on Boethius begins with a short introduction of no more than two sentences,<sup>19</sup> where the author acknowledges that the poems are difficult even for educated readers (*etiam inter doctos*) and characterises his treatise as having been compiled *non mediocri diligentia*. This is followed by a list of poetic metres in the order in which they appear in Boethius's work, illustrated with either the first line or the first two lines of each poem. Lupus's wording follows that of Servius to an amazing degree. Servius's treatise itself is little more than a list of poetic metres and the metrical feet of which they consist, with a negligible amount of cited material – Brown characterises Servius's presentation as "skeletal"<sup>20</sup> – and Lupus's discussion is equally sparse, being solely preoccupied with combinations of feet and syllables and neglecting such issues as caesurae and word division, let alone broader stylistic issues. It is apparent that the treatise was primarily intended as an aid to scansion. Notably, *De centum metris* also appears to have been one of the sources which Bede had at his disposal when composing his *De arte metrica*, the standard guide to metre in the Early Middle Ages.<sup>21</sup> Almost at the very end of his treatise, Bede adds that those who are interested will find many more metres *in centimetrorum libris* but that, as they are pagan, he had been "unwilling to touch them" (*quae, quia pagana erant, nos tangere non libuit*).<sup>22</sup> Bede's probably unfair casting of the work as pagan reflects the fact that it largely describes metres that had not been employed by Christian authors: Bede's own treatise is deliberately limited in its discussion of lyric metres, being a guide to what he considered proper Christian versification.<sup>23</sup> In referring his reader to Servius's work, he nevertheless did a great service to his latter-day readers, and Lupus seems to have followed his injunction to the letter.

<sup>19</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxv, 1–6.

<sup>20</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 71.

<sup>21</sup> On the circulation and influence of Bede's treatise, see e.g. M. L. W. Laistner – H. H. King, *A Hand-list of Bede Manuscripts*, Ithaca (NY), 88–9; C. B. Kendall (ed.), "De arte metrica et de schematibus et tropis", in C. W. Jones (ed.), *Bedae Venerabilis opera: Opera didascalica I* (Corpus Christianorum, Ser. Latina 123A), Turnhout 1975 59–171 at pp. 60–72 and 72–4; M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 600 – 899*, London – Rio Grande (OH) 1996, 313; Brown, *A Companion to Bede* (Anglo-Saxon Studies 12), Woodbridge 2009, 22; J. A. Westgard, "Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond", in: S. DeGregorio (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, Cambridge 2010, 201–15, esp. at 210.

<sup>22</sup> Kendall (above n. 21), 138.

<sup>23</sup> In addition to the hexameter and the elegiac couplet, Bede only discusses the hendecasyllable, the sapphic strophe, the "terentianean" metre, the iambic dimeter, the iambic trimeter, the anacreontic and the trochaic septenarius, all of which are illustrated with Christian examples.

Lupus's descriptions of metres are generally artfully combined from what he had found in Servius. To accommodate the nature of his commentary, Lupus has often inverted the order of Servius's presentation, as in his discussion of the anapaestic dimeter (in his, as in Servius's nomenclature "pindaric"):<sup>24</sup> a short characterisation of the metre (*quintum anapaesticum Pindaricum constans dimetro acatalecto*), quoted from Servius at *gramm.* IV,462,8, is followed by a lengthier exposition of anapaestic metres, taken from an earlier passage (*gramm.* IV,461,27–29). Similarly, Boethius's combinations of different metres have been assembled from the descriptions of the respective metres in Servius. Lupus has left out Servius's introduction to metrical terminology, which touches on the role of the two-foot metron or dipody as the building-block of iambic, trochaic and anapaestic metres. Servius appears to have regarded the concept of the metron as redundant: he neither mentions it nor explains its structure, being merely content to say that iambo-trochaic and anapaestic metres take their names from the number of "pairs of feet".<sup>25</sup> It is obvious that Lupus expects his readers to be acquainted with this information, as he does not specify what such terms as "dimeter" and "trimeter" (based on the number of metra rather than individual "feet") mean. His discussion of the structure of iambic metres is limited to a description of the differences between "odd and even feet" (*loci impares/loci pares*), borrowed from Servius's introduction to iambic verse,<sup>26</sup> which he has appended to his discussion of the iambic scazon (x – u – / x – u – / x – – –), in his, as in Servius's terminology, "hipponactic":

*Octavum genus iambicum est hyponactium constans trimetro acatalecto claudo. Iambica vero metra imparibus quidem locis possunt recipere iambum tribrachum spondeum dactylum anapestum. In paribus iambum tantum vel tribrachin et frequenter apud comicos anapestum ita tamen ut multarum brevium iunctura vitetur.*<sup>27</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Peiper (above n. 3) xxv–xxvi. The use of the term is exclusive to Servius and Lupus.

<sup>25</sup> *Gramm.* IV,457,16–18: *monometrum vel dimetrum vel trimetrum in iambicis trochaicis anapesticis metris per pedes duplices computari, in ceteris per simplices.*

<sup>26</sup> *Gramm.* IV,457,25–458,3.

<sup>27</sup> Peiper (above n. 3) xxvi. Lupus, as Servius before him, fails to specify what "limping" (*claudus*) means in this context, apparently expecting a remarkable knowledge of metrics from his readers. The suggestion that even feet may take the anapaest in comic verse is ostensibly a half-hearted effort on Servius's part to address the archaic forms of iambic verse employed in early Roman comedy.

[The eighth metre is the iambic hipponactic, which consists of a limping trimeter acatalectic. Iambic metres can take an iamb, a tribrach, a spondee, a dactyl or an anapest in the uneven feet, in the even ones only the iamb or tribrach, or frequently, in comic verse, the anapaest, in such a way, however, that a conjunction of many short syllables is avoided.]

Mallius Theodorus (saec. IV–V) had jettisoned the concept of the iambo-trochaic metron to the extent of altering his metrical nomenclature, casting e.g. the iambic dimeter as the "iambic tetrameter" and the iambic trimeter as the "iambic hexameter" on the strength of the number of individual feet in the line,<sup>28</sup> a solution followed by Bede in his *De arte metrica*.<sup>29</sup> Although it is probable that the classical concept of the metron was highly irrelevant to Lupus – and in this he is not alone among the authors of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages – he nevertheless followed the more traditional terminology of Servius while keeping technical discussion to a minimum.

In her exhaustive analysis of Lupus's treatise, Virginia Brown has concluded that the author reached a 75 per cent accuracy in his description of Boethius's huge variety of metres.<sup>30</sup> When it comes to dactylic and iambo-trochaic metres, Lupus is generally faultless, even when discussing such less usual lengths as the alcmnian trochaic tetrameter, the iambic scazon and even the meiuric ("mouse-tailed") dactylic tetrameter (labelled *faliscus* by both Lupus and Servius). His errors lie mainly in his sometimes mistaken analyses of aeolic, iambic and anapaestic lengths. In the case of aeolic metres, Lupus is inconsistent in his observation of some of the liberties which Boethius had taken in his use of this verse type.

In his discussion of the hendecasyllable, Lupus makes no mention of Boethius's idiosyncratic treatment of the middle of the line. Although the standard scheme of the metre, in its post-classical form, is (– – / – uu – / u – u – –), in *cons. 1 carm. 4* we encounter lines where the "third trochee" formed by the sixth and seventh elements has been substituted with an iamb (line 2), a dactyl (line 6) and a spondee (line 11):<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> *Gramm.* VI,593,6–9 and 21–23.

<sup>29</sup> Kendall (above n. 21) 135.

<sup>30</sup> Brown (above n. 5) 75. Brown notes generously that some of Lupus's mistakes may be due to faults in the manuscript at his disposal.

<sup>31</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 78.

*fatum sub pedibus egit superbum*  
 -- / - uu u / -- u --  
*versum funditus exagitantis aestum*  
 -- / - uu - / uu - u --  
*quid tantum miseri saevos tyrannos*  
 (-- / - uu - / -- u --)

This is an understandable oversight on Lupus's part, as such liberties are restricted to three lines in all of Boethius's hendecasyllables and are not described by late antique authorities on metre. Lupus also makes the mistake of analysing *cons. 3 carm. 10* as having been composed in hendecasyllables, whereas in reality the hendecasyllable alternates with the sapphic line. The apparent stumbling block seems to have been the opening of the poem, which consists of three consecutive hendecasyllables, and Lupus apparently did not proceed further in his analysis.

When it comes to the glyconic line (- - / - uu- / u -), Lupus ignored the fact that Boethius had used a pre-classical form of the line where the initial spondee can be substituted with an iamb or a trochee. This is understandable, as the poems where he used the metre (*cons. 1 carm. 6*; *cons. 2 carm. 8*; *cons. 3 carm. 12*; *cons. 4 carm. 3* and *cons. 5 carm. 4*) are generally consistent with classical practice; pre-classical liberties only occur in isolated cases (five lines altogether in *cons. 2 carm. 3*, *cons. 3 carm. 12* and *cons. 5 carm. 4* have an iambic base) apart from *cons. 4 carm. 3*, where all the lines open with a trochee with the exception of the final one.<sup>32</sup> Brown has been unwilling to attribute Lupus's lapse to any deficiencies in his understanding of syllable prosody, and she is probably correct: it is highly unlikely that a scholar of Lupus's calibre would have given an erroneous scansion to 38 consecutive lines in *cons. 4 carm. 3*. It is more likely that, having once correctly identified the metre, Lupus was unwilling to modify its description without support from the grammatical authorities, whose presentation of the glyconic metre is narrowly post-classical, or more simply neglected to scan the remaining poems composed in the metre.

When it comes to the metres which Lupus had actually misunderstood, his general tendency seems to have been to opt for a more familiar interpretation when dealing with less usual metres, and then introduce additional metrical "liberties" to make his description plausible. This is particularly the case in *cons. 3 carm. 6* and *cons. 4 carm. 2*, where the minor ionic dimeter (uu - - / uu - -) is combined, respectively, with the dactylic tetrameter catalec-

<sup>32</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 74–5.

tic and the trochaic dimeter. Here Lupus has, on both occasions, mistakenly interpreted the ionic dimeter as a pherecratic, or a catalectic form of the glyconic line (– – / – uu – / –). Indeed, the ionic dimeter can manifest itself as a pherecratic if the two initial short syllables are fused (– – – / uu – –), but not the other way around, as Lupus sees it: he assumes that the metre is a pherecratic with an occasional *resolution* of the initial long syllable and actually supplements Servius's description of the pherecratic with this observation.<sup>33</sup> We can surmise that the origin of this mistake lies not only in Lupus's relative unfamiliarity with ionic verse: namely, elsewhere in the *Consolatio*, Boethius does use the pherecratic proper with an anapaestic base twice (*cons. 2 carm. 2,14* and *18, cons. 2 carm. 4,8*). Although, in his discussion of these poems, Lupus makes no note of this idiosyncratic solution, it may have prompted him to apply it elsewhere and impeded his ability to recognise the minor ionic for what it really is.

Lupus's observation of anapaestic metres is deficient in a similar way: rather than recognising them consistently for what they are, he often suggests a dactylic interpretation – with the addendum that the poet has occasionally substituted anapaests for dactyls. Lupus's discussion of anapaestic metres is inconsistent in this respect: he has correctly recognised the anapaestic dimeter catalectic (uu – uu – / uu – –) of *cons. 2 carm. 5* and *cons. 3 carm. 5*.<sup>34</sup> When it comes to the anapaestic dimeter acatalectic (uu – uu – / uu – uu –), he wavers, analysing it correctly in *cons. 1 carm. 5* and *3,2*<sup>35</sup> but suggesting at *cons. 4 carm. 6* and *cons. 5 carm. 3* that the metre is dactylic, being either the "archilochean dactylic tetrameter catalectic" (– uu / – uu / – uu / – –) or a combination of two adonics (– uu – –) with occasional substitution of anapaests for dactyls.<sup>36</sup> He defends his interpretation by asserting that he views the metre as dactylic because the lines have "more spondees and dactyls than anapaests" (*nam anapesticum sentire ratio dissuadet quando spondeo vel dactilo quam anapesto compositum sit*). Here Lupus is obviously wrong, as dactyls are commonly substituted for anapaests in anapaestic verse but the anapaest is never employed in dactylic metres. His statement is not corroborated by any of the grammarians, nor does it hold water

<sup>33</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxvii: *Sed in hoc loco pro primo spondeo est ubi anapestum contra regulam in Servio traditam invenimus.*

<sup>34</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxvii.

<sup>35</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxv–xxvi.

<sup>36</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxviii.

statistically, as Brown has observed.<sup>37</sup> It is hard to see Lupus's motives for his presentation of the metres at *cons. 4 carm. 6* and *cons. 5 carm. 3*, apart from the fact that he obviously found dactylic metres more familiar and tractable than anapaestic ones; one must also note that already the ancient grammarians have a general tendency to give a dactylic or an iambo-trochaic interpretation to lyric metres of various metrical origins.<sup>38</sup> In medieval metrics, the tendency to derive all lyric metres from the hexameter became even more pronounced, and Lupus's conflation of dactylic and anapaestic metres is echoed in several later treatises.<sup>39</sup> Lupus's dactylic reinterpretation of the anapaestic dimeter acatalectic is, of course, faultless as a description of its prosodic structure as he found it, although his use of metrical nomenclature is misguided and has forced him to tie himself into knots to explain the metrical irregularities his definition appeared to suggest.

Another stumbling block for Lupus was the alcaic decasyllable (– uu – uu – / u – –), which Boethius used as a couplet with the hendecasyllable in *cons. 3 carm. 4*. Although the metre is described by Servius,<sup>40</sup> Lupus has apparently overlooked his presentation. Brown has assumed that he may not have encountered the line elsewhere, which is obviously unwarranted, as Lupus most certainly was acquainted with Horace's *Odes*.<sup>41</sup> However, in Horace, the alcaic decasyllable always forms the fourth line of the alcaic stanza, and its use as the second line of a couplet undeniably makes it here extremely difficult to recognise. Lupus has, once again, resorted to a simpler dactylic interpretation: he presents the line as a variant of the archilochean dactylic tetrameter (– uu / – uu / – uu / – –) with a voluntary "substitution of a trochee for the third dactyl in uneven feet" (*in quo tamen pro spondeo et dactilo imparibus locis etiam trochaeum reperies*).<sup>42</sup> Lupus's description is not precise, as what he calls the trochee appears constantly in what he terms the third foot of the line, but never in its beginning. Lupus has apparently drawn an analogy from the different roles of even and uneven feet in iambo-trochaic verse that obviously does not describe the poem accurately.

<sup>37</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 73.

<sup>38</sup> For the theoretical background of this thinking, see J. Leonhardt 1989, "Die beiden metrischen Systeme des Altertums", *Hermes* 117 (1989) 43–62.

<sup>39</sup> See P. Klopsch, *Einführung in die mittelalterliche Verslehre*, Darmstadt 1972, 97–8.

<sup>40</sup> *Gramm.* IV,466,20–22.

<sup>41</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 72. Lupus's own teacher Hrabanus Maurus himself emulated Horace's *Odes* in several of his hymns, see E. Dümmler (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* 2, Berlin 1884, esp. at 249–51.

<sup>42</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxvii.



Brown cites as one further "mistake" by Lupus his description of the ionic anacreontic (uu – u / – u – –), in *cons. 3 carm. 7* as an "iambic anacreontic",<sup>43</sup> but this is something he shares with Servius who groups the metre together with iambic metres.<sup>44</sup> Modern metrical literature sees the anacreontic as an anaclastic variant of the minor ionic dimeter (uu – – / uu – –), i.e. a form where the final element of the first foot and the first element of the second foot have switched places, but it was commonly presented as an iambic metre by grammarians who saw it as simply an iambic dimeter catalectic (x – u – / x – –), with resolution of the first element.<sup>45</sup> Lupus's use of the term is perfectly consistent with the late antique practice of conflating the anacreontic with the iambic dimeter catalectic, and the latter is precisely what both Servius and Lupus describe. Lupus has probably prefixed the name of the metre with "iambic" simply to avoid confusion: Servius elsewhere also uses the term "anacreontic" for the minor ionic dimeter and trimeter.<sup>46</sup> It is unfortunate that, in this instance, Lupus did not resort to the description of the metre given in Bede's *De arte metrica*, which is that of the anacreontic proper and would correspond perfectly with the metre as adopted by Boethius.<sup>47</sup>

As we can see, in most cases Lupus's inaccuracies are minor. Sometimes he has overlooked metrical liberties that Boethius had taken contrary to the descriptions of poetic metre in the grammarians; in other cases, he has started out with a mistaken classification of a metre and then tried to postulate additional metrical rules to make it fit. In most cases, however, the result is satisfactory as far as actual poetic scansion is concerned.

Virginia Brown has, with some justice, recognised Lupus's presentation of the unusual metre of *cons. 1 carm. 2* as particularly unhappy, as far as both metrical structure and nomenclature are concerned, and been unable to attribute it to Servius or any other source. The poem has been composed in a combination

<sup>43</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxviii.

<sup>44</sup> *Gramm.* IV,458,10.

<sup>45</sup> E.g., Mallius Theodorus, *gramm.* IV,593,24–27. Mallius uses the term "anacreontic" simply as a name for the iambic dimeter catalectic, although he also presents the anacreontic metre in a stricter sense as its aesthetically superior variant.

<sup>46</sup> *Gramm.* IV,464,17–20.

<sup>47</sup> Kendall (above n. 21), 136–7. Although Bede, too, classifies the metre as iambic, paraphrasing Mallius Theodorus at *gramm.* IV,464,17–20, he gives the structure of the metre as uu – u / – u – –: *recipit anapestum, duos iambos, et semipedem.* – See S. Heikkinen, *The Christianisation of Latin Metre: a Study of Bede's De arte metrica*, Helsinki 2012, 158–64.

of a hemiepes (– uu / – uu / –) and an adonic (– uu / – –). The first two feet can manifest themselves as any combination of dactyls and spondees, quite like the first half of a dactylic pentameter. So, in Boethius's poem, we encounter four line-types altogether:

1. spondee+dactyl:

*heu quam praecipiti / mersa profundo* (line 1)

– – / – uu / – // – uu / – –

2. dactyl+dactyl

*mens hebet et propria / luce relicta* (line 2)

– uu / – uu / – // – uu / – –

3. dactyl+spondee

*tendit et externas / ire tenebras* (line 3)

– uu / – – / – // – uu / – –

4. spondee+spondee

*hic quondam caelo / liber aperto* (line 6)

– – / – – / – // – uu / – –

In the poem, the first type, with an initial combination of spondee+dactyl predominates, appearing in seventeen of the poem's twenty-seven lines. This also corresponds with Lupus's description of the metre, which prescribes a spondee and dactyl for the beginning of the line: *Secundum dactilicum tetrametrum quod constat spondeo dactilo catalecto item dactilo spondeo* ("The second metre, the dactylic tetrameter, consists of a spondee, a dactyl, a catalecton, followed by a dactyl and a spondee").<sup>48</sup> What is remarkable is that Lupus ignores the other line-types, which occur no less than ten times in the poem, and characterises the line as a "dactylic tetrameter", which seems hugely inappropriate and likely to cause confusion. As Brown notes, "it would be an odd dactylic tetrameter indeed which allows a catalectic foot in the middle of the line."<sup>49</sup> Brown has not recognised the obvious source of Lupus's presentation: it is to be found in Bede's *De arte metrica*, where Bede describes the metre of two anonymous hymns which correspond entirely with the line type most common in Boethius, having always an initial spondee followed by a dactyl:<sup>50</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxv.

<sup>49</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 74.

<sup>50</sup> Bede has falsely attributed the hymns to Ambrose. For a discussion of Bede's mistake, see D. Norberg, *Au seuil du Moyen âge. II: Études linguistiques, métriques et littéraires 1975–95*

*Metrum dactylicum tetrametrum catalecticum constat ex spondeo, dactylo, catalecto, dactylo, spondeo. Quo usus est sanctus Ambrosius in precatone pluviae, cuius exordium hoc est: Squalent arva soli pulvere multo...*<sup>51</sup>

[The dactylic tetrameter catalectic consists of a spondee, a dactyl, a catalecton, a dactyl and a spondee. Saint Ambrose used this metre in a prayer for rain, of which this is the beginning: The fields lie deep in dust...]<sup>52</sup>

For the metre, Bede has used the equally perplexing term "dactylic tetrameter catalectic", which makes metrically even less sense than Lupus's "dactylic tetrameter", as, far from being catalectic, the line is actually *longer* than four feet. Bede's term may be based on analogy: it is possible that he viewed the line as a dactylic pentameter which lacked the two final syllables.<sup>53</sup> Bede's influence on Lupus's nomenclature is nevertheless apparent.

The metre, as Bede presents it, is in modern scholarship known as the "terentianean verse" because it first appears in Terentianus Maurus's second-century *De litteris, de syllabis, de metris*.<sup>54</sup> It was later used, among others, by Martianus Capella before becoming hugely popular with hymnodists of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.<sup>55</sup> The origins of the metre are obscure, and it would be tempting to view it as an aeolic form.<sup>56</sup> Terentianus himself is ambiguous on the matter: although he calls the metre by the name *hendecasyllabus alter*, he has interpreted the metre as dactylic, which is probably a back-formation. He also demonstrates its structure by stating that it can be formed from the begin-

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(Filologiskt arkiv 40), Uppsala 1998, 256–7.

<sup>51</sup> Kendall (above n. 21), 134.

<sup>52</sup> Trans. C. B. Kendall, *Bede. Libri II De arte metrica et de schematibus et tropis: The art of Poetry and Rhetoric* (Bibliotheca Germanica: Ser. nova 2), Saarbrücken 1991, 149.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid. The dactylic pentameter itself is, of course, inappropriately named. In the words of M. L. West, it does not "contain five of anything." – West (above n. 14), 44.

<sup>54</sup> Ter. Maur. 1939–1956.

<sup>55</sup> Norberg (above n. 1), 79–80.

<sup>56</sup> The most practical solution is to see the terentianean metre as a catalectic form of the minor asclepiad (– – / – uu – / – uu – / u –), as W. Meyer has done in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur mittellateinischen Rythmik 2*, Berlin 1905, 225. For a more detailed discussion of the various definitions of the terentianean metre, see Norberg (above n. 50), 257–8.

ning and the end of a hexameter line<sup>57</sup> and then presents several lines that have been assembled from bits and pieces of the *Aeneid*, starting with *postquam res Asiae primus ab oris*.<sup>58</sup> Although all of Terentianus's lines correspond to the type presented by Bede, his dactylic interpretation of the length may ultimately be behind Boethius's free use of dactyls and spondees for either of the first two feet: Boethius simply took Terentianus's "dactylising" approach one step further by subjecting the metre to the same rules as the dactylic hexameter and pentameter.<sup>59</sup>

It is difficult to see why Lupus used Bede's definition of the terentianean metre without any further adjustments that would describe all the verse types in *cons. 1 carm. 2*. Possibly he went no further than the first line in his scansion of the poem and was relieved to have discovered something familiar. Alternatively, it could be that he expected his readers to understand implicitly that dactyls and spondees are widely interchangeable in dactylic verse – obviously his target audience were the *docti* whom he mentions in his introduction. As the metre was highly popular in early medieval hymnody, it was certainly easy enough to recognise for his readers. It is equally obvious that Lupus and his readers alike were thoroughly acquainted with Bede's *De arte metrica*, and it is understandable that it was Lupus's final resort in the absence of a more comprehensive scholarly description of the metre.

Lupus's choice of the term "dactylic tetrameter" is one that could lead to terminological confusion, as Boethius also used metres that actually fit the term, but Lupus has solved the problem by resorting to the older terminology found in Servius. This has, however, led to an inconsistent terminological jumble: in the case of the dactylic tetrameter acatalectic (– uu / – uu / – uu / – uu), Lupus is careful to refer to it in *cons. 1 carm. 3* and *cons. 4 carm. 1* as an "alcmanian dactylic tetrameter acatalectic" (*dactilicum alcamanium tetrametrum acatalecticum*), also explaining thoroughly what the term "acatalectic" means,<sup>60</sup> but calls the same length the "bucolic tetrameter" in *cons. 5 carm. 5*.<sup>61</sup> This inconsistency

<sup>57</sup> Ter. Maur. 1940–1944.

<sup>58</sup> Ter. Maur. 1949.

<sup>59</sup> Pepe (above n. 10), 235.

<sup>60</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxv.

<sup>61</sup> Peiper (above n. 3), xxviii; Brown (above n. 5), 73. Brown also appears to suggest that Lupus calls the dactylic tetrameter catalectic by two different names at *cons. 3 carm. 6* and *cons. 5 carm. 2*, but these are, in fact, different metres, the former (– uu / – uu / – uu / –) being, in his nomenclature, the "alcmanian trimeter hypercatalectic" and the latter (– uu / – uu / – uu / – –), the "archilochean tetrameter catalectic".

is something that Lupus inherited from Servius and reflects earlier usage, but the fact that Lupus was unable to revise his terminology demonstrates his dependence on Servius's treatise.

Unfortunately, Lupus did not stop here: he claims that the "dactylic tetrameter" of *cons. 1 carm. 2* is shared by *cons. 4 carm. 5*, where, as we have noted, trochaic or iambic elements are combined with the adonic. The openings of the lines in *cons. 4 carm. 5* are obviously not dactylic in any sense, and if Lupus had taken the trouble of scanning them properly, he would certainly have discovered this. The metre of *cons. 4 carm. 5* is, of course, the most original of all the metres in the *Consolatio*, and it would appear that, in this case, Lupus simply gave up. Focusing on the adonic at the end of each line, he concluded that the presentation he had given for *cons. 1 carm. 2* was close enough for comfort.

Another probable sign of Bede's influence can be found in Lupus's definition of the dactylic hexameter, which Boethius used a number of times in combination with other metres, but only once on its own at *cons. 3 carm. 9*. As Brown has noted, the definition given in Lupus does not follow the one in Servius,<sup>62</sup> or, indeed, any of the sources which he cites in his letters when discussing metrics and prosody.<sup>63</sup> The hexameter according to Lupus is as follows:

*Primum et vicesimum est heroicum exametrum qui locis omnibus aliis dactilum sive spondeum, quinto solum modo dactilum recipit, sexto spondeum sive trocheum.*<sup>64</sup>

[The twenty-first metre is the heroic hexameter which takes the dactyl or the spondee in all other feet but only the dactyl in the fifth and a spondee or a trochee in the sixth.]

In other words, Lupus departs from traditional definitions of the hexameter in ruling out the use of spondees in the fifth foot, a construction known as a spondaic line. Spondaic lines are, admittedly, highly unusual in Latin hexameter verse, and there are none at all in Boethius,<sup>65</sup> making Lupus's description factually correct, although as a definition of the hexameter it is unusual and departs from the defini-

<sup>62</sup> *Gramm.* IV,461,10–11.

<sup>63</sup> Brown (above n. 5), 65. Brown mentions Caper, Donatus, Priscian and Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid* as sources to which Lupus refers.

<sup>64</sup> Peiper (above n. 5), xxviii.

<sup>65</sup> Pepe (above n. 10), 233.

tions given in the majority of grammarians. The major exception is Bede, who in his *De arte metrica* presents the first definition of the hexameter which rules out spondaic lines altogether:

*Constat autem ex dactylo et spondeo vel trocheo, ita ut recipiat spondeum locis omnibus praeter quintum, dactylum praeter ultimum, trocheum vero loco tantum ultimo; vel, ut quidam definiunt, spondeum ultimo loco semper et omnibus praeter quintum...*<sup>66</sup>

[It is formed from the dactyl, the spondee, and the trochee in such a way that it takes the spondee in every foot except the fifth, the dactyl in every foot except the last, and the trochee only in the final foot. Or, as some prosodists explain it, it takes the spondee in the last foot and in all feet except the fifth ...]<sup>67</sup>

Bede's redefinition of the hexameter reflects the declining popularity of spondaic lines in Latin verse and the disdain they had met with in earlier grammatical literature.<sup>68</sup> For Bede, spondaic lines constituted a severe prosodic flaw, symptomatic of what he considered "pagan" metrics,<sup>69</sup> and his views are reflected by the practices of Carolingian hexameter verse, which generally avoids spondaic lines altogether – Lupus's own verse being, to my observation, no exception.<sup>70</sup> We cannot be certain to what extent Lupus shared Bede's ferocious opposition to spondaic lines but his correspondence shows that in matters of prosody he was nothing if not meticulous. Lupus's paraphrase of Bede in his discussion of the most central quantitative metre in the Graeco-Roman heritage nevertheless indicates that he viewed Bede's revised definition of the hexameter as standard and that it required no further discussion.

<sup>66</sup> Kendall (above n. 21) 108–9.

<sup>67</sup> Trans. Kendall (above n. 52), 97.

<sup>68</sup> For a more extensive discussion, see S. Heikkinen, "*Quae non habet intellectum*: The Disappearance of Spondaic Fifth Feet from Dactylic Hexameter Verse", in: A. Hall – O. Timofeeva – Á. Kiricsi – B. Fox (eds.), *Interfaces between Language and Culture in Medieval England: A Festschrift for Matti Kilpiö* (The Northern World 48), Leiden – Boston 2008, 81–98.

<sup>69</sup> Kendall (above n. 21), 129–30; S. Heikkinen, "Vergilian Quotations in Bede's *De arte metrica*", *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 17 (2007) 101–9, at p. 107.

<sup>70</sup> Norberg (above n. 1), 64–5; Heikkinen (above n. 68), 95–6.

The impact of Lupus's treatise on later studies of Boethius's metre has been subjected to some study. However, it also seems to have indirectly influenced the composition of medieval verse. Paul Klopsch has plausibly attributed the metre of a poem by Lupus's pupil Heiric of Auxerre<sup>71</sup> to Lupus's erroneous description of *cons. 3 carm. 4*. In the poem, the hendecasyllable alternates with the archilochean dactylic tetrameter in emulation of what Lupus *thought* was Boethius's metre, although Boethius in reality used the alcaic hendecasyllable.<sup>72</sup> In the case of the terentianean metre, at least Sedulius Scottus seems to have composed poetry that follows Lupus's (or Bede's) "hypercorrect" description of the length even when he is otherwise Boethian in his diction,<sup>73</sup> although many medieval authors freely adopted the metrical innovations of Boethius in their use of the metre.<sup>74</sup>

Lupus of Ferrières was essentially right in his conclusion that, although many of the metres of Boethius seemed alien on the surface, they could ultimately be traced to more familiar lengths, and, in his presentation, resorted to the most exhaustive compendium of poetical metres accessible to him. Given the sparseness of Servius's presentation and his inconsistent use of metrical nomenclature – he often gives disparate metres the same name – we can but guess at the amount of work that went into the compilation of Lupus's short treatise. His shortcomings lie mainly in his neglect of such liberties in Boethius as are not found in late antique treatises on metre, and his occasional misidentification of individual metrical structures, although he usually tries to make amends for his failed analyses by suggesting additional metrical liberties that would make them plausible. Lupus's choices demonstrate that the nature of, above all, ionic, and, to a lesser extent, anapaestic metres was largely alien to scholars of his generation.

Virginia Brown's discussion of Lupus's treatise has charted admirably his use of Servius's *De centum metris* as well as pointing out the pitfalls in his adaptation of a work not always ideally suited to the task. I have ventured to suggest some probable reasons for some of Lupus's failings: Lupus largely continued a scholarly tradition that sought to derive all metres from dactylic and iambo-trochaic units, which, among others, had led to his superficially unwarranted "dactylisation" of anapaestic metres. Lupus was obviously largely unacquainted with,

<sup>71</sup> L. Traube (ed.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Poetae Latini aevi Carolini* 3, Berlin 1896, 436.

<sup>72</sup> Klopsch (above n. 39), 96–6.

<sup>73</sup> Note the opening line of Sedulius's *Tamquam praecipitans turbo regentes* with its allusion to *cons. 1 carm. 2,1* (*Heu quam praecipiti mersa profundo*). – Traube (above n. 71), 158.

<sup>74</sup> Norberg (above n. 1), 80; Norberg (above n. 50), 258–9.

and incapable of recognising, ionic metres, and the archaising liberties which Boethius took with the glyconic line escaped his attention, possibly for want of support from metrical theory. However, we must bear in mind that Lupus's treatise was mainly intended to be an aid to poetic scansion. As such, most of his definitions, even when theoretically mistaken, were perfectly adequate for this purpose, at least when taken together with the additional metrical rules and exceptions which Lupus was forced to postulate.

I have also ventured to give a plausible source for some of Lupus's presentations that are not traceable to Servius, and that source is none other than Bede's *De arte metrica*. It is telling that the presentation of the metre in *cons. 1 carm. 2* – and, less appropriately, that of *cons. 4 carm. 5* – is borrowed almost verbatim from the presentation of the terentianean metre in Bede, although the structure of the poem shows metrical liberties that Lupus does not discuss. Though possibly alien to modern classicists, for Lupus's audience the terentianean metre was one of the most familiar lengths in Boethius's *Consolatio*, although Boethius's usage departed from the traditional form of the metre described by Bede. Tellingly, in Cruindmel's ninth-century *Ars metrica*, which is largely an embellished version of Bede's treatise, the terentianean metre is, together with the iambic dimeter, the only lyric length the author discusses.<sup>75</sup> Indubitably, the erroneous attribution of the metre to Ambrose, together with its use by medieval hymnodists, had lent it increased authority.<sup>76</sup> As for the dactylic hexameter, Lupus's presentation is superficially his own, but the content, with its implied proscription of spondaic lines, is consistent with Bede's regularised definition of the metre. It is reasonable to assume that, in his treatise, Lupus gives the hexameter the same description he would have used in a classroom and that, by the ninth century, this reformed presentation had become standard.

To summarise: although, when dealing with the bulk of the *Consolatio* and its almost impenetrable metrical variety, Lupus resorted to Servius's *De centum metris* as the most wide-ranging compilation of poetic metres in existence, it is apparent that he relied on the tried and true when discussing those metres which he and his audience found to be the most familiar. It is equally apparent that, in these choices, his faith in Bede was implicit.

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<sup>75</sup> J. Huemer (ed.), *Cruindmeli sive Fulcharii Ars metrica: Beitrag zur Geschichte der karolingischen Gelehrsamkeit*, Wien 1883, 47–9.

<sup>76</sup> Norberg (above n. 50), 256–7.





## **$4\pi = 12.5?$ – THE PROBLEMS IN THE VITRUVIAN HODOMETER**

PANU HYPPÖNEN

### **Abstract**

In the tenth book of his work (10,9,1–4) Vitruvius describes a hodometer, a device meant to measure the mileage of a road. It has been questioned whether the hodometer of Vitruvius was ever built for actual use, but the reconstructions made by A. Sleswyk prove that it was technically realizable. However, the Vitruvian mathematics cause a significant problem for its usage – either one of the most prominent names in the history of engineering didn't have a clear conception of the value of  $\pi$  or the passage of his text got corrupt before the archetype of all the remaining manuscripts got formed. The first option seems unacceptable and in the worst-case-scenario its practical consequences would have led to every mile measured by the hodometer being c. 26.55 Roman feet<sup>1</sup> too long.<sup>2</sup> The second option is hard to verify even with a study of the manuscripts, but an explanation is searched for to clear Vitruvius's name.

### **Introduction**

Vitruvius gives the description of the functioning principles of the hodometer in

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<sup>1</sup> = c. 7.85 m.

<sup>2</sup> The terms *foot* and *mile* in this paper refer to Roman foot and mile, not to the foot and mile still in use in the Anglo-American world. The metric equivalent of the Roman foot used in this paper is 29.57 cm (see G. Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana*, Roma 1957, 189–90) hence the exact metric equivalent of the mile in this paper is 1478.5 m (see for example Vitr. 10,9,4).

the tenth book of his work.<sup>3</sup> He tells that it is used "to be able to know the distance traveled".<sup>4</sup> The function of the device shows that in principle it resembles the odometers or taximeters used in modern-day vehicles. It is probable that the machine was used in Roman road building to measure the mileage of the roads.<sup>5</sup>

This paper focuses on an inaccuracy found in Vitruvius's description. The parameters provided by him show that either Vitruvius was not aware of the value of  $\pi$  or the passage of his text containing the description got corrupt somewhere between Vitruvius's death and the formation of the archetype of all the extant manuscripts. The problem, although not widely studied, has been noted before. It has been suggested for example that instead of the value 3.125 (from the formula in the title), accepted by several critical editions of Vitruvius's work, the actual Vitruvian value of  $\pi$  was in fact 3.<sup>6</sup> For this reason this paper concentrates in paleographical and philological questions related to the passage, trying to clarify what might have happened to it. A study of the manuscript tradition will help in getting closer to what could have caused a possible posthumous misconception of Vitruvius's words.

### **A. Sleswyk's reconstruction and the possible Archimedean origins of the hodometer**

A. Drachmann, in his handbook *The mechanical technology of Greek and Roman antiquity*, shows skepticism towards Vitruvius's hodometer judging it as an unre-

<sup>3</sup> Vitr. 10,9,1–4. The editions examined for the original text are F. Krohn (ed.), *Vitruvii De architectura libri decem*, Leipzig 1912; L. Caillebat (ed.), *Vitruve, De l'Architecture, livre X*, Paris 1986. The text is from the latter.

<sup>4</sup> More precisely: *qua in via raeda sedentes vel mari navigantes scire possimus, quot milia numero itineris fecerimus* (Vitr. 10,9,1). The description of the nautical hodometer is given in Vitr. 10,9,5–8.

<sup>5</sup> C. Wikander, "Weights and measures", in J. P. Oleson (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*, Oxford 2008, 759–69, 766–7.

<sup>6</sup> See J. Pottage, "Vitruvian Value of  $\pi$ ", *ISIS* 59 (1968) 190–7. It seems however that Pottage hasn't read the text in Latin. Also E. Stone's (E. Stone, *Roman surveying instruments* [University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature 4:4], Seattle 1928, 215–42, 219) comprehension of the passage is incomplete. They both for example take for granted that the form in manuscripts considering the diameter of the wheel of the hodometer is *pedum quaternum et sextantis*. However, this is necessarily not the case, as will be seen.

alizable armchair invention, remarking that the dimensions of the gears in the device become impossible to realize in practice.<sup>7</sup> Skepticism towards the Vitruvian hodometer is expressed also by P. Fleury mainly due to challenges in gearing.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, alone the famous Antikythera mechanism shows that building gears of small dimension was possible in the Classical World. Also the reconstructions of the hodometer made by A. Sleeswyk first in 1981 on the basis of both Vitruvius's description and Leonardo da Vinci's failed attempts show that in practice the machine was realizable.<sup>9</sup> Sleeswyk argues that the genius responsible for the invention of the hodometer was originally Archimedes in the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BC, when Roman roads got their first milestones. The observations made by M. Lewis give further support for the Archimedean origin of the device.<sup>10</sup> Sleeswyk points out that Vitruvius may not ever have seen an actual hodometer because he starts his description by saying that he now starts to write about an invention made by ancestors, adding a notice made already by Drachmann, that throughout the description Vitruvius is using the subjunctive instead of the indicative mood.<sup>11</sup> This brings a feeling of Vitruvius making a summary of a hodometer manual to the reader. In other words Vitruvius is possibly only repeating what he has read in his Greek source.

<sup>7</sup> A. Drachmann, *The mechanical technology of Greek and Roman antiquity*, Copenhagen 1963, 157–9.

<sup>8</sup> P. Fleury, *La mécanique de Vitruve*, Caen 1993, 206–12.

<sup>9</sup> See for example A. Sleeswyk, "Vitruvius' odometer", *Scientific American* 245 (1981) 158–71. Following Sleeswyk's groundbreaking reconstruction O. Lendle presented improvements to the Sleeswyk-Vitruvian hodometer in his paper "Vitruvs Meilenzähler (De Arch. 10.9.1–4)" (in W. Görler – S. Koster (eds.), *Pratum Saraviense*, Stuttgart 1990, 75–88, 84–8).

<sup>10</sup> Sleeswyk 1981 (n. 9 above), 168–71; M. Lewis, *The surveying instruments of Greece and Rome*, Cambridge 2001, 135–6. To the arguments on behalf of the Archimedean origin of the hodometer presented by Sleeswyk and Lewis should be added that in his treatise right after the hodometer (10,10->) Vitruvius continues with *ballistae* and *scorpiones* – catapults are one of the most often praised Archimedean inventions. On the other hand right before the passage on the hodometer (=10.7–10.8) the inventions discussed by Vitruvius are commonly attributed to Ctesibius (the water organ and the water pump) – considering the description of hodometer written by Heron later in the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD thus also an Alexandrian origin of the device could be proposed. Another point are the words *Transfertur nunc cogitatio scripturae* Vitruvius uses in the beginning of the description: would he say so, if he were to continue with an invention made by Ctesibius?

<sup>11</sup> Sleeswyk 1981 (n. 9 above), 158.

However, given the prominence of Vitruvius as an architect and engineer it seems unlikely that he wouldn't have ever seen a hodometer, keeping in mind the fact that the reign of Augustus witnessed the rebuilding of some major Roman roads such as Via Flaminia and Via Salaria.<sup>12</sup> T. Howe also remarks how Vitruvius's choice of words, *ratio non inutilis*, in the beginning of his description might point out to the fact that the device was actually in use at the time when Vitruvius wrote his description.<sup>13</sup>

### The machine

Basically the hodometer was a device set in a cart drawn by horses or pushed forth manually on the road line. In order to understand better the mechanism of the hodometer, getting acquainted with Vitruvius's words is necessary. It is also useful to read Vitruvius's account with an eye on Sleeswyk's reconstruction,<sup>14</sup> which together will help to clarify how the machine worked.

The thread of writing moves now to a useful device of highest ingenuity, passed down to us by ancestors. With it we are able to know, while sitting in a carriage or sailing in the sea, how many miles we have traveled. This happens as follows. The wheels that will be in the carriage are to have a diameter of four feet<sup>15</sup> so that, when a point is marked in the wheel and the wheel begins to progress revolving from this point, touching the road ground, it revolves to the point where it began, after having completed an exact amount of distance of 12 and half feet.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> For epigraphical evidence, see for example *CIL* IX 5943, 5950.

<sup>13</sup> T. Howe, "Commentary and illustrations", in *Vitruvius, Ten Books on Architecture*. Translation by Ingrid D. Rowland, Cambridge 1999, 135–317, 296.

<sup>14</sup> See fig. 1.

<sup>15</sup> After the word *quaternum* all the manuscripts have either *et sextantes* or *et sextantis* or *et sextante*, which has traditionally been deleted since the edition made by C. Perrault in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century. This will be discussed further below in the chapter "*Pedum quaternum*" and "*pedes XII s*" in the manuscripts.

<sup>16</sup> Vitr. 10,9,1: *Transfertur nunc cogitatio scripturae ad rationem non inutilem sed summa sollertia a maioribus traditam, qua in via raeda sedentes vel mari navigantes scire possimus quot milia numero itineris fecerimus. Hoc autem erit sic. Rotae quae erunt in raeda sint latae per medium diametrum pedum quaternum [et sextantes], ut, cum finitum locum habeat in*

Having these prepared in this way a cylinder is to be inserted firmly to the inner part of the hub of the wheel, equipped with one tooth projecting outside from its perimeter.<sup>17</sup> To the body of the carriage above is to be fixed firmly a receptacle containing a revolving cylinder that is placed perpendicularly and fastened to a small axle. To the perimeter of this cylinder are to be shaped four hundred symmetrically distributed teeth that fit the tooth of the lower cylinder. Furthermore to the side of the upper cylinder is to be fixed another tooth projecting further<sup>18</sup> outside the teeth.<sup>19</sup>

Above this is to be located a horizontal one, toothed in the same manner and enclosed in another receptacle so that the teeth match up with the tooth that was fixed to the side of the second cylinder. In this (horizontal cylinder) are to be as many holes as it is possible to travel miles with the carriage on one day's journey. More or less doesn't impede anything. In all these holes are to be located round pebbles and inside this cylinder's box, or receptacle, is to be a hole with a small channel by which the pebbles that were located in the cylinder, after coming to that spot may fall one by one in to the carriage's body and to a bronze container, which has been placed below.<sup>20</sup>

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*se rota ab eoque incipiat progrediens in solo viae facere versationem, perveniendo ad eam finitionem a qua coeperit versari certum modum spatii habeat peractum pedes XII s.*

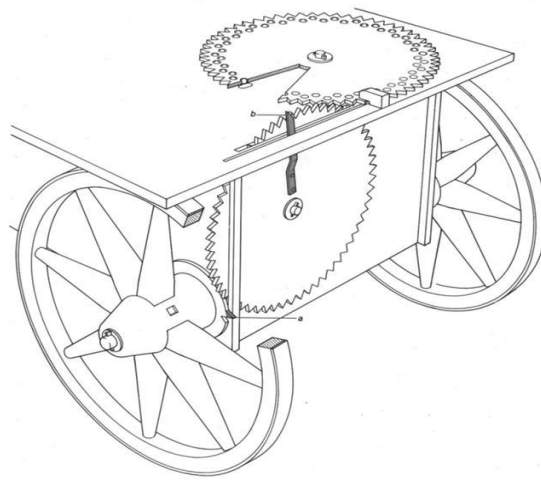
<sup>17</sup> See fig. 1.

<sup>18</sup> See fig. 1.

<sup>19</sup> Vitr. 10,9,2: *His ita praeparatis, tunc in rotae modiollo ad partem interiorem tympanum stabiliter includatur habens extra frontem suae rotundationis extantem denticulum unum. Insuper autem ad capsum raedae loculamentum firmiter figatur habens tympanum versatile in cultro conlocatum et in axiculo conclusum, in cuius tympani fronte denticuli perficiantur aequaliter divisi numero quadringenti convenientes denticulo tympani inferioris. Praeterea superiori tympano ad latus figatur alter denticulus prominens extra dentes.*

<sup>20</sup> Vitr. 10,9,3: *Super autem planum eadem ratione dentatum inclusum in alterum loculamentum conlocetur; convenientibus dentibus denticulo qui in secundi tympani latere fuerit fixus, in eoque tympano foramina fiant, quantum diurni itineris miliariorum numero cum raeda possit exire. Minus plusve rem nihil impedit. Et in his foraminibus omnibus calculi rotundi conlocentur; inque eius tympani theca, sive id loculamentum est, fiat foramen unum habens canaliculum, qua calculi, qui in eo tympano inpositi fuerint, cum ad eum locum venerint, in raedae capsum et vas aeneum quod erit suppositum singuli cadere possint.*

Thus, when the wheel progresses and makes the lowest cylinder and its tooth move, it forces with every rotation the teeth of the upper cylinder to pass by. This leads to, that when the lower has rotated 400 times, the upper cylinder revolves once and the tooth that is fixed to its side makes forth one tooth of the horizontal cylinder. When thus after 400 rotations of the lower cylinder the upper rotates once, it makes a distance of 5000 feet, that is one thousand *passus*. The sound of a falling pebble tells that a mile has been traveled and the number of the pebbles collected from below indicates the sum of the milestones of the day's journey.<sup>21</sup>



*Figure 1. The Vitruvian odometer as reconstructed by A. Sleeswyk. The cylinder with one tooth is marked with the letter a. The large vertical gear shows fewer than 400 teeth for the sake of clarity. The "tooth projecting outside the teeth" is marked with the letter b. The holes containing the pebbles are in the uppermost gear. Figure from Sleeswyk 1981 (n. 9 above), 166.*

The description is somewhat complicated to follow but the basic idea is clear: the measuring is based on the gears connected with the wheel that touches the ground. If the mathematics is in order, the odometer provides precise linear

<sup>21</sup> Vitr. 10,9,4: *Ita cum rota progrediens secum agat tympanum imum et denticulum eius singulis versationibus tympani superioris denticulos impulsu cogat praeterire, efficiet ut, cum CCCC imum versatum fuerit, superius tympanum semel circumagatur et denticulus qui est ad latus eius fixus unum denticulum tympani plani producat. Cum ergo CCCC versationibus imi tympani semel superius versabitur, progressus efficiet spatia pedum milia quinque, id est passus mille. Ex eo quot calculi deciderint sonando singula milia exisse monebunt. Numerus vero calculorum ex imo collectus summa diurni <itineris> miliariorum numerum indicabit.*

measures with minor effort. This is a clear advantage of the device when compared with other measuring equipment Romans had: *pertica/decempeda* ("ten-foot"), a ten-foot long rod was used to make linear measurements, but its use on longer distances is not probable.<sup>22</sup> In building roads Romans used also a *groma*, an instrument, which made it possible to plot straight lines and 90-degree angles of established lines – a kind of an ancient total station. However, the *groma* was not used to measure the mileage of a road.<sup>23</sup> One option for measuring longer distances in addition to the hodometer were the βηματισταί, professional "pace-counters" such as Baeton and Diognetus, referred to in Pliny's description of Alexander's conquests as *itinerum eius mensores*, who could provide remarkably accurate measures.<sup>24</sup>

### The function of the hodometer and the Vitruvian error

The proper function of the hodometer is dependent on a tolerably accurate value of  $\pi$ , fixed by Archimedes to  $3 \frac{10}{71} < \pi < 3 \frac{1}{7}$ .<sup>25</sup> This is important, because due to the functioning principles of the device even a minute error has drastic consequences for the result: on a mile's journey the error is multiplied 400 times. Nevertheless, regarding the dimensions provided by Vitruvius in his description there's a slight inaccuracy: he tells that the diameter of the wheels in the carriage of the hodometer should be four feet and the perimeter  $12 \frac{1}{2}$  feet.<sup>26</sup> With the equivalent of  $\pi$  known to us we get<sup>27</sup>  $C = 2\pi r \rightarrow C = 4\pi \rightarrow C \approx 12.566$ .<sup>28</sup> Thus, if

<sup>22</sup> Stone 1928 (n. 6 above), 218; the practicality and velocity of measuring with the hodometer is confirmed also by Heron of Alexandria (Her. *dioptr.* 34.).

<sup>23</sup> C. Wikander 2008 (n. 5 above), 767–8; Lewis 2001 (n. 10 above), 120–33.

<sup>24</sup> Plin. *nat.* 6,25.

<sup>25</sup> In decimals (the four decimal place):  $3.1408 < \pi < 3.1429$ . Archim. *circ.* 3; Ö. Wikander, "Gadgets and scientific instruments", in *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*, Oxford 2008, 785–99, 795–6. See also T. Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics*, vol. II: *From Aristarchus to Diophantus*, New York 1981, 50–6. It might be that Archimedes made an even closer approximation of the value. See T. Heath, *A History of Greek Mathematics*, vol. I: *From Thales to Euclid*, New York 1981, 232–4.

<sup>26</sup> Vitr. 10,9,1.

<sup>27</sup> From the familiar formula  $C = 2\pi r$ , where  $C$  stands for circumference and  $r$  for radius.

<sup>28</sup> With Archimedes's estimation of the value of  $\pi$  the perimeter of a circle with a 4 ft. diameter would measure between 12.563 and 12.571 ft.



the wheels were constructed with a diameter of exactly four feet, the mile measured by a Vitruvian odometer would become c. 26.55 feet too long.<sup>29</sup> If, on the other hand, the wheels were constructed with a perimeter of exactly 12.5 feet, the diameter would have to be<sup>30</sup>  $12.5 = 2\pi r \rightarrow \pi r = 6.25 \rightarrow r \approx 1.989 (*2) \approx 3.979$  feet. This is remarkably close to  $3 \frac{47}{48}$  (the fractions based on a denominator of twelve or one of its multiples were relatively easy to express for Romans, instead other than twelve-based fractions were expressed by adding small twelve-based fractions until a good approximation was reached – see the chapter *Roman fractions* below for more).<sup>31</sup>

On the other hand we could formulate an equation with the parameters provided by Vitruvius inserted in the formula  $C = 2\pi r$ :  $12.5 = 4\pi \rightarrow \pi = 3.125$  ( $3 \frac{1}{8}$  in fraction). This would point out to a fascinating conclusion: Vitruvius was not aware of the value of  $\pi$ ! Considering the prominence of Vitruvius as an engineer this seems a bit problematic, even though J. Coulton has shown that in the Greek architecture of the 6<sup>th</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC there was a notable tendency to approximations and thus mathematical errors.<sup>32</sup> Also, if Vitruvius is truly reading an account written originally by Archimedes, as Sleeswyk argues, this is hard to accept, as Archimedes's estimate of the value of  $\pi$  was quite accurate and at least not  $3 \frac{1}{8}$  (see note 25 above). However, the manuscripts show no hesitation with the word for 'four' (*quaternum*).<sup>33</sup> This reveals that the erroneous mathematics was already a part of the archetype.

### The manuscript tradition

All the remaining manuscripts can be divided into two families, both of which seem to derive from a 7<sup>th</sup> century manuscript (marked with x in the figure below) written in Anglo-Saxon script.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>29</sup>  $400(4\pi) \approx 5026.55$ . One mile is 5000 feet. See for example Vitr. 10,9,4 above.

<sup>30</sup> Again,  $C = 2\pi r$ .

<sup>31</sup> Maher, W. – Makowski, J. 2001. "Literary evidence for Roman arithmetic with fractions" in *CP* 96 (2001) 376–99, 379.

<sup>32</sup> J. Coulton, "Towards understanding Greek temple design: general considerations", *ABSA* 70 (1975) 59–99.

<sup>33</sup> *Quaternum*, although at first sight seems a singular accusative, is often used as a plural genitive (i.e. with a long last vowel). For other instances of the use, see for example Liv. 6,22.

<sup>34</sup> V. Rose in V. Rose – H. Müller-Strübing (eds.), *Vitruvii de Architectura libri decem*, Leipzig

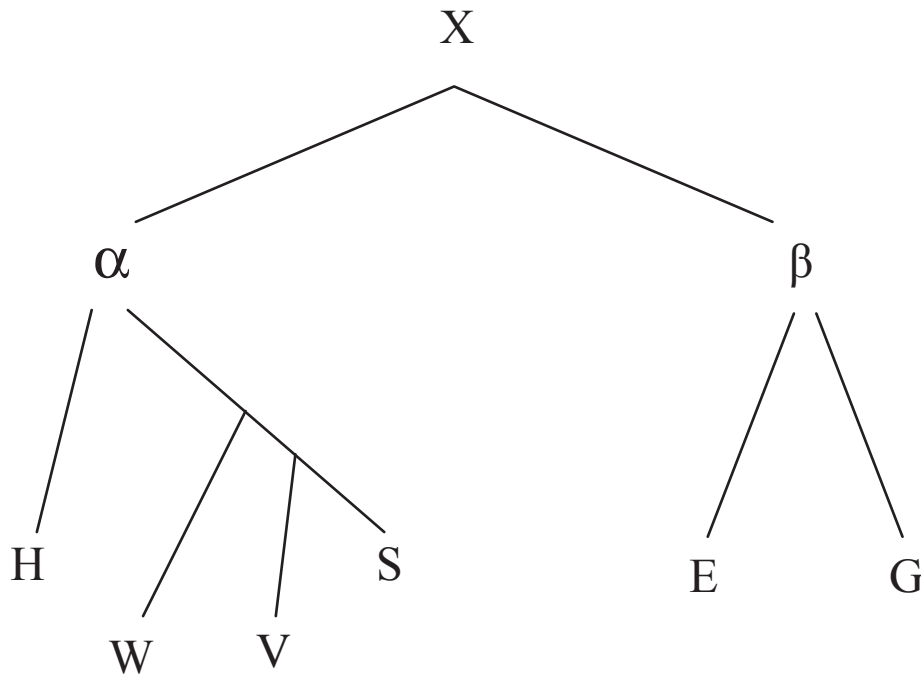


Figure 2. The manuscript tradition of Vitruvius's work.<sup>35</sup>

The family  $\alpha$  consists of four independent witnesses. The oldest and most prominent is the *Harley 2767* (H) from c. AD 800, now deposited in the British Library. It remained long as the only witness of the family, until in 1879 the *Bibliothèque et Archives Municipales MS 17* (S) was found in Sélestat (France), where it still is deposited. The other two, *Reg. lat. 2079* (W) (from the 12<sup>th</sup> century) and *Reg. lat. 1328* (V) (from the 15<sup>th</sup> century), are in the Vatican. The family  $\beta$  consists of *Gud. Lat. 132* (E) and *Gud. Lat. 69* (G), both deposited in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, former written in the mid/late ninth century and the latter in the 11<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>36</sup>

Thanks to digital technology it is possible now to consult half of these independent witnesses online: the manuscripts *S*, *E* & *G* can be found digitized on the internet. In other words the whole family  $\beta$  is available to public. When it comes to the representatives of the family  $\alpha$ , the situation is somewhat harder, because the only independent witness found online is *S*. The manuscripts *W* and *V*,

1867, vi, ([http://books.google.es/books?id=E6M9AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fi&source=gbs\\_ge\\_summary\\_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false](http://books.google.es/books?id=E6M9AAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&hl=fi&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q&f=false)).

<sup>35</sup> The figure is based on the study made by L. Reynolds in L. Reynolds (ed.), *Texts and transmission: a survey of the Latin classics*, Oxford 1983, 440.

<sup>36</sup> Reynolds 1983 (n. 35 above), 440–2.

in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, are not digitized. *H* is digitized only partly by the British Library. However, of the several descendants of *H*,<sup>37</sup> the early (9<sup>th</sup>-century) *Paris. lat. 10277* can be found online.

### ***Pedum quaternum and pedes XII s in the manuscripts***

The testimony of the witnesses from the family  $\alpha$  consulted for this article is wholly dependent on the *H*, where the loci in question are written *pedum quaternú & sextantes* and *pedes · XII · S* ·. The manuscript *S* is of no use here, because there is a lacuna in it between 10,6,1 *tigno* and 10,10,4 *Crassitudo I*.<sup>38</sup> As regards the manuscripts *W* and *V*, I have not had the possibility to consult them. The Budé edition of Vitruvius<sup>39</sup> anyhow shows that the 15<sup>th</sup> century *V* is the only one with the required genitive *sextantis*. At the same time *V* has dropped the half (*S*) from the correct *pedes · XII · S* ·. The manuscript *W* has both *pedum quaternum et sextantes* and *pedes XII S*.

The two witnesses of the family  $\beta$  show the loci as follows: in the manuscript *G* there is *pedu quaternu et sextante* (with an *s* added afterwards after *sextante*) and *pedes · XII · S* ·.<sup>40</sup> In the manuscript *E* one reads *pedum quaternum & sextante* (with the final *s* of *sextantes* erased, but visible). In *E* we also find *certum modum spatii habeat porrectum pedes · XV · S* · (the figure *XV* easily explainable with the misinterpretation *II* ->  $\setminus/$  -> *V*, often witnessed in paleography as well as in epigraphy).<sup>41</sup>

Considering the required length of the perimeter of the wheel, 12.5 ft., the manuscript tradition is unanimous enough and the two exceptions can be explained with minor effort. But as regards the length of the diameter, the study of the manuscripts shows that in none of them we see the word *quaternum* alone: they all have something pointing to a fraction after it. In only one of them (*V*) we encounter the required genitive form *sextantis*. Instead we find *sextante* (*G* & *E*) and *sextantes* (*H* & *W*). This shows that the locus is corrupt and the original concept of the passage is lost. The first editor to focus his attention on the locus

<sup>37</sup> Reynolds 1983 (n. 35 above), 441.

<sup>38</sup> [http://www.ville-selestat.fr/bh/index.php?page=affiche\\_ouvrage&type=flash&id=326](http://www.ville-selestat.fr/bh/index.php?page=affiche_ouvrage&type=flash&id=326).

<sup>39</sup> Caillebat 1986 (n. 3 above).

<sup>40</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/69-gud-lat/start.htm?image=00166>.

<sup>41</sup> <http://diglib.hab.de/mss/132-gud-lat/start.htm?image=00094>.

was C. Perrault in 1684, who noticed that *et sextantis* must be deleted to get the mathematics in order.<sup>42</sup> Since Perrault the tendency among editors has been to treat the *et sextantis/sextante/sextantes* as an error. The reason for this is clear: the problems with congruence refer to hesitation, and in addition, accepting the figure  $4 \frac{1}{6}$  in the formula  $12.5 = 2\pi r$  would mean that the actual value of  $\pi$  for Vitruvius would have been 3 – not exactly the estimate to produce perfect proportions with! On behalf of mathematics it seems quite obvious that Perrault was right with his correction.

Pondering the problematics, A. Choisy suggested in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that following the word *quaternūm* in the archetype there possibly was a group of dots to which the copyists attributed a numeral significance.<sup>43</sup> Choisy's suggestion has not gained much attention, but it is quite interesting regarding that in Latin the fractions were often marked with dots and other diacritics.

## Roman fractions

The Roman way of marking fractions was a bit more complicated than ours. Although their number system was a base ten system, their fractional system was twelve-based. The system was unitary with all the basic fractions having a nominator one and a denominator twelve or one of its multiples. These basic fractions were then combined in order to arrive to a close approximation.<sup>44</sup> The Roman convention for marking the value of the diameter<sup>45</sup> that gives the perimeter of 12.5 feet<sup>46</sup> would be expressed  $3 + \frac{11}{12} + \frac{1}{24} + \frac{1}{48}$ . The Romans did in any case not notate this in fractions as we do; instead the subparts of the unit were each marked with their own sign, that is, with an independent logograph (as all numbers are). The Roman way of marking the fraction  $3 \frac{47}{48}$  would

<sup>42</sup> C. Perrault, *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve*, Paris 1684 ([http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Images/B250566101\\_11604Index.asp](http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Images/B250566101_11604Index.asp)).

<sup>43</sup> A. Choisy, *Vitruve*, III: *Texte et traduction*, livres VII–X, Paris 1909 (<https://archive.org/stream/dearchitecturali03vitruoft#page/208/mode/2up>).

<sup>44</sup> Maher & Makowski 2001 (n. 31 above), 379.

<sup>45</sup> i.e.  $3 \frac{47}{48}$ . With the Archimedean value of  $\pi$  ( $3 \frac{10}{71} < \pi < 3 \frac{1}{7}$ ) we get 12.498–12.501 for the perimeter, if the diameter measures  $3 \frac{47}{48}$ .

<sup>46</sup> Rounded from the four decimal place 12.5009.

be III S = = – ℒ ∘.<sup>47</sup> Why didn't Vitruvius tell this? He had the terminology. Moreover, the operation would have been a rather simple one the denominator being a multiple of twelve. It could naturally be hypothesized that Vitruvius isn't being at his most accurate with the numbers here, rounding the complex III S = = – ℒ ∘ to IV.<sup>48</sup> This is however quite improbable, because Vitruvius doesn't tend to be too rough with figures, as for example in the chapter 10,10 (i.e. right after the chapter that contains the description of the odometer) where fractions, or better, each subpart is represented minutely. As Pottage notes, the context is also such that Vitruvius might be expected to be as accurate as possible.<sup>49</sup>

It could also be that the error has been made somewhere between Vitruvius's death and the compilation in the Late Antiquity of the archetype, from which the remaining manuscripts derive. This is also highly likely, considering the vulnerability of logographs for change. Taking for example the multiplication tables of Victorius of Aquitaine from the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century, the signs for the figures *deunx*, *semuncia* and *sicilicus* are expressed there as *fff*, ℒ and ? respectively.<sup>50</sup> The convention to mark fractions<sup>51</sup> with dots<sup>52</sup> seems to be prevalent as shown for example by early Roman coins (see fig. 4) and witnessed also in the

<sup>47</sup>  $11/12 = \text{deunx}$  (S = = –),  $1/24 = \text{semuncia}$  (ℒ, ε, ξ or ℒ),  $1/48 = \text{sicilicus}$  (∘). (OLD s.v. *deunx*; *semuncia*; *sicilicus*; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Manuel des institutions romaines*, Paris 1886, (<https://archive.org/stream/manueldesinstitu00bouc#page/ii/mode/2up>), 569; Lugli 1957 (n. 2 above), 189–90.) I have chosen ℒ for the sign of *semuncia* in this paper, because it appears in the majority of examples presented. However, see fig. 4 for an example of the sign ξ for *semuncia* in an early Roman coin.

<sup>48</sup> Or *quaternum*, 'four, four each, a set of four of anything' (OLD s.v. *quaterni*). Caillebat and Fleury see the figures used by Vitruvius as deliberate choices of simplification (Caillebat 1986 [n. 3 above], 190; Fleury 1993 [n. 8 above], 208.). It is also possible that the approximation is derived directly from the Greek source used by Vitruvius – a view which gains support from the studies of J. Coulton on the frequency of approximations in the Greek architectural context of the 6<sup>th</sup> – 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries BC (Coulton 1975 [n. 32 above], 79–83; 98) and for example still in Heron (the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD) the use of approximations in calculations results in several errors (Coulton 1975, 82; Her. *de mens.* 28,1).

<sup>49</sup> Pottage 1968 (n. 6 above), 192.

<sup>50</sup> The Unicode characters chosen are the ones that resemble the most the characters in the manuscript *Oxford, St. John's College MS 17* (<http://digital.library.mcgill.ca/ms-17/folio.php?p=57v>).

<sup>51</sup> Or better: subparts.

<sup>52</sup> To be more precise, dots were used to mark the subparts  $1/12 - 5/12$  and  $7/12 - 11/12$ .

manuscripts containing the treatise of Vitruvius.<sup>53</sup> In the *Harley 2767* the manner how the fractions are expressed varies even within the same chapter, as in *Vitr.* 10,10,4, where the fraction 9/12 is expressed with dots in one occasion and with S :-<sup>54</sup> in another. The latter is also an example of how combinations of lines and dots are used to denote a fraction. The lines are prevalent in the late 2<sup>nd</sup> century *Assis distributio* of L. Volusius Maecianus, where the signs for *deunx*, *semuncia* and *sicilicus* relevant for this paper are S = - =, ℓ and Ϸ respectively.<sup>55</sup> In an inscription in the Roman Colosseum, datable probably to the year 82, the signs of *deunx*, *semuncia* and *sicilicus* appear also as S = - =, ℓ and Ϸ, although the sign of *sicilicus* appears to be more elongated, resembling the letter rā' ( ر ) in Arabic.<sup>56</sup> It is not far-fetched to assume that such diversity in notation may easily have led to confusion and corruption of the original meaning.<sup>57</sup> If the notation originally or at some point was III S:: ℓ Ϸ, how did it then change to *quaternum* or *quaternum et sextantis* or *quaternum et sextantes*?<sup>58</sup>

## Pedum quaternum

Even though all the first generation manuscripts have, as seen, some version of *pedum quaternum et sextantes*, the bare *pedum quaternum* is the one accepted by the modern scientific editions. Considering the mathematics involved, it is also the most plausible one of the three available options, because it is only 1/48

<sup>53</sup> Vitruvius also tends to mark fractions occasionally with letters as for example FZ (= 2/3) in 10,10,4.

<sup>54</sup> The S stands for *semis*.

<sup>55</sup> Maecian. *assis distributio* 1,14; 27, 29.

<sup>56</sup> *CIL* VI 2059; 32363; J. & A. Gordon, *Contributions to the palaeography of Latin inscriptions*, Los Angeles 1957, 171.

<sup>57</sup> One question is how the notation of fractions changed during centuries and whether there was a uniform standard at all. The scarce evidence presented in this paper seems to point out that a change of notation had occurred when coming to the Late Antiquity. On the other hand the examples from Vitruvius and Volusius Maecianus as well as in early Roman coins (see fig. 4) and in the inscription of Colosseum point to a uniform system in use earlier.

<sup>58</sup> I haven't taken the option *et sextante* under examination: it is just erroneous with no story behind it. In addition, the manuscripts containing it show hesitation towards it (see chapter "*Pedum quaternum*" and "*pedes XII s*" in the manuscripts).

from the desired figure.<sup>59</sup> Mathematics was also the reason that made C. Perrault, the 17<sup>th</sup>-century editor of Vitruvius's work and the architect of the Louvre,<sup>60</sup> to make his correction. Krohn treats the words *et sextantes* as an interpolation from 10,9,5, where Vitruvius is describing a hodometer suitable for vessels.<sup>61</sup> This might well be the explanatory factor for the misconception concerning the extra "sixth" seen in the manuscripts. But it still leaves us with a Vitruvian value of  $\pi$  of  $3 \frac{1}{8}$ , which, as seen, when applied to a hodometer, produces a mile with 26.55 ft. in excess. How could, then, the required figure for the diameter (i.e. the one that produces a perimeter of exactly  $12 \frac{1}{2}$  ft.), *pedum trium deuncis semunciae sicilici* (III S:::  $\text{L } \circ$ ), have turned to *pedum quaternum*?

Let's suppose that instead of numeral, the notation originally or at some point before the making of the 7<sup>th</sup> century archetype was numeric. As for the figures II and V (see chapter '*Pedum quaternum*' and '*pedes XII s' in the manuscripts*'), also figures III and IV get easily mixed with each other: there's only one extra 'I' involved. So, the figure III transforms to figure IV in the same way: III  $\rightarrow \bigwedge \rightarrow$  IV. How to deal then with the remaining fractions S:::  $\text{L } \circ$ ? How could they have disappeared in order to leave us with the bare *quaternum*/IV? One option is that the figure was expressed with the subtractive principle which is witnessed in some occasions to have been used also with figures involving fractions. For example the figures  $89 \frac{1}{2}$  and  $79 \frac{1}{2}$  have been represented in some inscriptions with symbols SXC and SXXC respectively.<sup>62</sup> Applying the subtractive method to our figure III S:::  $\text{L } \circ$  ( $3 \frac{47}{48}$ ) gives thus  $\circ$ IV ( $\sim$ " $\frac{1}{48}$  to 4"). This is however to be left at the level of speculation since the evidence on the use of the subtractive method with Roman fractions is scarce. In addition this doesn't explain how the subtracted  $\circ$  got lost, but the loss of such an infrequent and easily misinterpreted sign is comprehensible. The symbol of *sicilicus* might easily have been interpreted for example as a comma, like the one preceding and following the figures in Vitr. 10,9,1 in the manuscripts (e.g. *pedes · XII · S ·* in the

<sup>59</sup> Compare also with the frequency of approximations in the ancient Greek architecture (see Coulton 1975 [n. 32 above]).

<sup>60</sup> L. Caillebat, "Éléments d'interprétation et problèmes de réception du Corpus vitruvien sur la mécanique", *Humanitas* 45 (1993) 137–54, 147 ([https://digitalis-dsp.sib.uc.pt/jspui/bitstream/10316.2/7264/1/Art\\_7\\_-\\_Problemes\\_de\\_reception\\_du\\_corpus\\_vitruvien.pdf](https://digitalis-dsp.sib.uc.pt/jspui/bitstream/10316.2/7264/1/Art_7_-_Problemes_de_reception_du_corpus_vitruvien.pdf)).

<sup>61</sup> Krohn 1912 (n. 3 above), 242–3.

<sup>62</sup> D. E. Smith, *History of mathematics II: special topics of elementary mathematics*, Boston 1925, 60 (<https://archive.org/details/historyofmathema031897mbp>). Smith doesn't anyhow specify these inscriptions.

	XX	X	XXX	X	XL	X	
20	XVIII	VIII	XXVII	VIII	XXXVI	VIII	20
	XVI	VIII	XXIII	VIII	XXXII	VIII	
	XIII	VII	XXI	VII	XXVIII	VII	
	XII	VI	XVIII	VI	XXIII	VI	
	X	V	XV	V	XX	V	
25	VIII	III	XII	III	XVI	III	25
	VI	III	VIII	III	XII	III	
	III	II	VI	II	VIII	II	
	II	I	III	I	III	I	
	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	
30	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	30
	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	
	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	
	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	
	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	
35	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	35
	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	
	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	
	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	IIII	

Figure 3. Excerpt from the multiplication tables of Victorius of Aquitaine showing part of the two, three and four times tables. Figure from G. Friedlein, "Victorii calculus ex Codice Vaticano editus", *Bullettino della bibliografia e della storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche* 4 (1871) 443–63, 447.

Harley 2767). The variation and changes in notation, as testified for example by the multiplication tables of Victorius of Aquitaine and the Colosseum inscription are naturally also cut out for the loss of the original meaning. This goes also with the whole sequence of fractions S::: L o, which is reflected in the grammatical confusion that defines the locus in the manuscripts. It is easy to understand that a sequence of symbols, which possibly had no meaning for the copyists got lost during the centuries between Vitruvius's death and the compilation of the Anglo-Saxon archetype in the 7<sup>th</sup> century. However, the strength behind the option *pedum quaternum* are the manuscripts. The form is grammatical and it appears in all the manuscripts and the grammatically incorrect *et sextantis* that follows it can easily be explained as an interpolation. But what is the story behind 4 1/6, the other grammatically correct form?

### Pedum quaternum et sextantis

The line of thought in Vitr. 10,9,1 suggests that if Vitruvius on one hand was not quite aware of the exact value of π, he on the other hand knew that the perimeter



of the wheel of the measuring device had to measure exactly 12.5 ft. (hence the choice of words *ut ... certum modum spatii* in 10,9,1) in order to give a mile of 5000 ft. The confusion on the length of the diameter and the certainty on the result of the multiplication (i.e. 12.5 ft.) might point out to the use of a multiplication table, which again familiarizes us with the multiplication tables of Victorius of Aquitaine.

Looking at the column of the three times table and supposing that Vitruvius knew that the value of  $\pi$  was a bit over three, the automatic parameters to get the exact result 12.5 are first IIII in order to get XII and then  $\text{J}$  (=1/6) in order to get S (=1/2). The multiplication table seems thus to give an automatic answer for the dilemma and turns the blame around to Vitruvius. Following this line of thought, the Vitruvian value of  $\pi$  truly seems to be 3 (*XII S* divided by *IIII J*). This is also the view supported by the grammar, because the forms preceding the fraction, i.e. *pedum quaternum*, indicate that a genitive is wanted. It is anyhow missing from all the first generation manuscripts except for the rather late (15<sup>th</sup>-century) *V*. Even though a methodological explanation of how Vitruvius might have arrived to the figure  $4 \frac{1}{6}$  is offered by the use of multiplication tables, the fact that it appears only in one manuscript might point out to that it is a correction made by a copyist, because the prevalent *et sextantes* is so evidently incorrect. Considering the prominence of Vitruvius as an architect and an engineer apparent in the pages of his treatise I find it also quite unlikely that the value of  $\pi$  for him would have been three. Vitruvius was also clearly aware of the achievements of Archimedes and in addition,<sup>63</sup> if the origins of the odometer are Archimedean, as Sleswyk suggests, it is odd that the value of  $\pi$  used in his treatise would originally have been something else than the estimate presented in Archim. *circ.* 3. Notwithstanding, accepting one of the options *pedum quaternum* or *pedum quaternum et sextantis* leaves a chance for this. What might then be the reason behind the prevalent and grammatically incorrect form *pedum quaternum et sextantes*?

### ***Pedum quaternum* and lots of *sextantes***

As stated before, the option *pedum quaternum et sextantes* is clearly the least plausible of the three because of the erroneous congruence. This applies also to the mathematical aspect on the question: to say "the diameter is four ft. and sixths" is an utterly imprecise expression. It is also very unlikely that Vitruvius would ever have written *sextantes*, because all the Roman fractions had their spe-

<sup>63</sup> See for example Vitr. 8,5,3.

cific names: *sextans* was one sixth, but two sixths was called quite logically *triens* and three sixths, then, formed a *semis* etc.<sup>64</sup> There is thus hardly any chance that *pedum quaternum et sextantes* was the original form written by Vitruvius. Perreault's deletion of it, based on mathematical necessity, and Krohn's interpretation of it as an interpolation from Vit. 10,9,5 gets thus support from Latin mathematical terminology.

At this point the observation made by A. Choisy is a step forward. His suggestion was that in the original manuscript following the word *quaternum* there probably was a group of dots to which the copyists attributed a numeric value.<sup>65</sup> I believe Choisy refers to the fact that the subparts of the unit were often symbolized with dots: a *sextans* with two dots, a *triens* with four dots etc. This convention is seen for example in the manuscripts studied for this paper as well as in early Roman coins (see fig. 4).<sup>66</sup> Even other subparts correspondent to 1/12–11/12 are occasionally marked with a group of dots.<sup>67</sup>



Figure 4. *Triens* (BMC Italy p. 48, no. 8), *sextans* (BMC Italy p. 49, no. 14) and *semuncia* (BMC Italy p. 49, no. 21) from 280–276 BC (Crawford 1974 [n. 66 below], 134.). The figures are from the *Catalogue of Roman Republican Coins in the British Museum* ([https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online\\_research\\_catalogues/rrc/roman\\_republican\\_coins.aspx](https://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/rrc/roman_republican_coins.aspx)), © Trustees of the British Museum.

<sup>64</sup> Smith 1925 (n. 62 above), 209; Maecian. *assis distributio* 1,2; 4; 21.

<sup>65</sup> A. Choisy, *Vitruve*, III: *Texte et traduction*, livres VII–X, Paris 1909, (<https://archive.org/stream/dearchitecturali03vitruoft#page/208/mode/2up>).

<sup>66</sup> See for example M. Crawford, *Roman Republican coinage* I, Cambridge 1974, 6; W. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman coinage*, New York 2012, 302. On the other hand also the letter Z is used for the sign of *sextans* (Lugli 1957 [n. 2 above], 190).

<sup>67</sup> See for example the text correspondent to Vit. 10,10 in the manuscripts *H*, *E* and *G*.

The option *pedum quaternum et sextantes* gains thus its validity from Choisy's observation. For grammatical, mathematical and terminological reasons its representation must originally have been numeric, the exact form of which anyhow remains obscure. It is to be said however, that a possible transformation from the required III S :: L ◊ (or even III ::::: L ◊) to IV :::: ( L ◊) to *quaternum et sextantes* becomes more comprehensible following this line of thought. It is also again easy to see how prone the original locus was to corruption. In fact, for all the reasons presented in this paper, the form *pedum quaternum et sextantes* that at first glance seemed the least plausible one hides behind its ungrammaticality a logical explanation of the destiny of the passage. I find it quite likely that the original notation used by Vitruvius was numeric, but my educated guess is that the final word hasn't been said yet.

### **Materialization of the immaterial?**

If the matter concerning the passage containing the Vitruvian error is so far to be left undecided, is there then something concrete to rely on at this point? The answer to the question is: limestone, and more precisely the milestones whose locations on the ancient roadside were presumably measured by the Roman surveyors with a hodometer. If a hodometer based on erroneous mathematics ever was built and used in Roman road building, the practical consequence would have been a road where milestones are not where they are supposed to be but depending on the distance of a milestone from the starting point of the measurement and on the scale of the mathematical error, misplaced by a distance from few meters up to kilometers. On the other hand, the actual hodometers used by Roman engineers were probably built with the knowledge of the effect the error would have had on measuring and tested before the actual use: the practice of trial and error would presumably have helped in building a correctly functioning machine. It is hard to imagine that a society that among other its architectural achievements built aqueducts relying on millimeter-sharp inclinations would have mismeasured its roads.<sup>68</sup>

Surprisingly, there are several Roman roads, on which the standard measure for a mile, ~1478.5m, does not hold good. The reason for this might naturally be a fluctuating standard or an incomplete present archaeological knowledge of

<sup>68</sup> Naturally a discrepancy in the length of a road would not have had such drastic consequences as one in the length of a planned aqueduct line.

the road lines in question, but also that an ancient measuring device that produced systematic error was used in their building. Roads on which this kind of anomaly is said to manifest itself are to my knowledge Via Appia, Via Laurentina, Via Salaria and Via Tiburtina.<sup>69</sup> On the other hand, on most of them the miles seem to be too short, contrary to the error produced by the parameters expressed by Vitruvius. According to A.-J. Letronne the mile measure on Via Appia for example was only 1471.23m, verifiable by the distance between the 42<sup>nd</sup> and the 46<sup>th</sup> milestones.<sup>70</sup>

If thus the Vitruvian value of  $\pi$  really was 3.125<sup>71</sup> and the hodometers used in Roman road building were actually built using the Vitruvian parameters, the consequences for measuring Roman roads would have been significant. As far as I know these possible practical consequences of the Vitruvian error for Roman road building have not been studied before. Using 3.125 for the value of  $\pi$ , the error would thus have led to every mile measured by the hodometer being c. 26.55 Roman feet too long. If we take the case of the ancient Via Salaria as an example, the measuring error of 0.066 ft. (1.95 cm) produced in this way per one rotation of the wheel of the hodometer would multiply to ~3670 ft.<sup>72</sup> on the whole road line.<sup>73</sup>

The best method to study this is to reconstruct the routes of the ancient road lines in question using e.g. the gates of the Servian wall and *in situ* -found milestones or other such fixed sites as points of reference, measure the reconstructed road lines and, if the result appears to differ from the standard mile measure, study the possible cause for this. This kind of a study has recently been done on the ancient road line of Via Salaria ending up in the conclusion that the reason for the view according to which the miles on the road are shorter than the standard, was based on an incomplete archaeological knowledge of the ex-

<sup>69</sup> See M. Capanna, "Il culto di Anna Perenna al I miglio", in A. Carandini – M.T. D'Alessio – H. Di Giuseppe (eds.), *La Fattoria e la villa dell'Auditorium nel quartiere Flaminio di Roma*, Roma 2006, 65–70; A.-J. Letronne, *Recherches critiques, historiques et géographiques sur les fragments d'Héron d'Alexandrie ou du système métrique égyptien* ([http://books.google.fi/books/about/Recherches\\_critiques\\_historiques\\_et\\_g%C3%A9ographiques\\_sur\\_les\\_fragments\\_d'Héron\\_d'Alexandrie\\_ou\\_du\\_système\\_métrique\\_égyptien.html?id=xhjPAAAAMAAJ&redir\\_esc=y](http://books.google.fi/books/about/Recherches_critiques_historiques_et_g%C3%A9ographiques_sur_les_fragments_d'Héron_d'Alexandrie_ou_du_système_métrique_égyptien.html?id=xhjPAAAAMAAJ&redir_esc=y)), Paris 1851, 10.

<sup>70</sup> A.-J. Letronne 1851 (n. 69 above), 10.

<sup>71</sup> Or Pottage's suggestion, 3, which makes the practical consequences naturally even worse.

<sup>72</sup> = c. 1085 meters.

<sup>73</sup> The road line of ancient Via Salaria was c. 139 miles long. See, for example, R. Talbot (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton 2000.

act route of the road line.<sup>74</sup> Such a study would be interesting to execute on the other roads mentioned above, even though the explanation for the anomalies in the mile measures witnessed on them is probably the same. It is anyhow intriguing to hypothesize that a hodometer built with Vitruvian parameters might be the reason behind some of the disturbances. Be that as it may, on a less specific scale this reveals that due to the functioning principles of the hodometer, the actual use of the device for measuring longer distances caused significant problems to the accuracy of the measuring.

## Conclusions

The passage in Vitr. 10,9,1 containing the specifications of the parameters with which a hodometer was to be built is clearly corrupt. The original form of the text cannot be ascertained, but the examination of the possible options seems to indicate that originally the notation in the locus was numeric and the fault carried to our days by the manuscripts is due to the mathematical difficulty of the passage and the variation in the notation of fractions. Vitruvius did possess the correct terminology as well as the knowledge to provide his description with the correct parameters and can also be thought to have used them when writing his treatise. Even so, the anomalies witnessed in the mile measures on certain Roman roads leave the possibility that a measuring device that produced systematic error was used in building them. The next step in studying the Vitruvian hodometer could thus be to examine whether the mathematical error in the text was, so to speak, a small drop for one pebble that cumulated to a giant leap with every mile the Vitruvian hodometer traveled. In addition, to understand better the difficulties involved in Vitruvius's description of the hodometer, other mentions of the device in ancient literature would have to be studied, first and foremost the hodometer Heron of Alexandria presents in his treatise *Dioptra*.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> P. Hyppönen, *Salaria via usque ad lapidem XVIII: a reconstruction of the ancient road line between Porta Collina and the 18th milestone of the road*, Oulu 2014 (<http://jultika.oulu.fi/Record/nbnfioulu-201404241310>).

<sup>75</sup> Her. *dioptr.* 34.

**TWO GREEK DOCUMENTS ON BRONZE**  
**(IG XIV 954; IG XIV 955 = IGUR 4)**

MIKA KAJAVA

The following note on a pair of Greek inscriptions from Italy addresses two of their interrelated aspects: the physical appearance of the objects, and their vicissitudes in ancient and modern times. Both texts seemingly concern Romans, perhaps office-holders from the late Republic or early Empire, who were honoured by Sicilian cities in recognition of their benefactions. *IG XIV 954* (now in Paris) from Gavignano, some 50 km southeast of Rome, bears a fragmentary decree of the Akragantines in honour of an anonymous man, while *IG XIV 955* (= Moretti, *IGUR 4*, with photograph) is a similar text reporting the honours given to a Pompeius by a Doric city, perhaps Akragas again. Each document records the appointment of the honorand as *proxenos* and *euergetas*.<sup>1</sup> Oddly enough, the objects have often been labelled as (original) discs,<sup>2</sup> even though their circular

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<sup>1</sup> In his comments on *ILLRP* 380 (= *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2710), a Roman monument erected in honour of Pompey the Great by [*I*]taliceii qui Agrigenti negoti[antur], Degrassi did not exclude the possibility that *IG XIV 955* also refers to Pompey himself (similarly G. Manganaro, *Kokalos* 9 [1963] 216). However, no reference was made to *IG XIV 954*. Nor did Moretti (*IGUR 4*) make a comparison between *IG XIV 954* and 955, except to note that both are on bronze discs (see next footnote).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. (the usually sagacious) Adolf Wilhelm, "Das Heiligtum der Artemis zu Lusoi. IV. Inschriften", *JÖAI* 4 (1901) 79 (= *Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* I, Leipzig 1984, 133): "aber noch in römischer Zeit sind Ehrenbeschlüsse ... auf ehernen Diskoi eingezeichnet worden"; P. Jacobstahl, *Diskoi* (93. Winckelmannsprog. Archäol. Gesellsch. Berlin), Berlin – Leipzig 1933, 30 no. 3: "Zwei eherne Diskoi römischer Zeit mit Ernennung zum Proxenos und Euergetes"; also Kaibel, *IG XIV 954*: "decreti fragmentum in disco aeneo scripti"; Moretti, *IGUR 4*: "discus aeneus"... "cfr. titulum similem, in eandem disci aenei formam, *IG XIV 954*". – For a general survey of Greek inscribed discs, see M. Kajava – E. M. Salminen, in: A. Kavoulaki (ed.), *'Reading' Greek Religion: Literary, Historical and Artistic Perspectives. A Conference in Memory of C. Sourvinou-Inwood, Rethymnon, Crete, 22–24*

form is clearly the result of re-use for secondary purposes. This was duly pointed out by Louis Robert, though only with respect to *IG XIV 954* (he did not mention no. 955).<sup>3</sup>

*IG XIV 954* (partly restored after no. 952; cited after Robert [n. 3], 130 no. 84):

[---]ος ἀναλω[μα ---]  
 [--- κατα]λογάν τᾶς πόλ[ιοσ ---]  
 [---]ς ὥστε αὐτοὺς ἐν[---]  
 [---]εσθαι τάν τε παροχ[άν ---]  
 [---] ἀπέλυσε τ(ᾶ)ς π(α)ροχ[ᾶς ---]  
 [--- τῶι δὲ μουνι]κιπίωι τῶν Ἀκραγαντί[νων πάτριόν ἐστι καὶ ἐκ  
 προγόνων]  
 [παραδεδο]μένον τιμεῖν τοὺς ἀ[γαθοὺς ἄνδρας ---]  
 [--- ἐ]πὶ ἀγαθῶ τύχᾳ καὶ σω[τηρία τοῦ δάμου· δεδόχθαι τῶι μου]-  
 [νικιπίωι] τῶν Ἀκραγαντίν[ων ---]  
 [εὔμειν πρό]ξενον καὶ εὐερ[γέταν ---].

*IG XIV 955* (cited after Moretti, *IGUR 4*):

[ἐπειδὴ --- Π]ομπήιος  
 [εὔνους ὦν διατελεῖ τᾶ] ἀμᾶ πόλει  
 [ἄξια πράσσω]ν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν  
 [προγόνων, δίκαιόν ἐ]στι καὶ καλῶς  
 [ἔχον ἐπαινέσαι αὐτὸ]ν τῶν καλῶν  
 [ἔνεκεν ὦν διαπέπρακται] τᾶι ἀμᾶ πόλει  
 [---] πρὸς τοῖς  
 [---] ΠΕΝΤΑΜΙ  
 [πρό]ξενον καὶ εὐε]ργέταν.

The fact that Akragas is μουνικίπιον in no. 954 shows that the decree was passed after 44 BC. Palaeography may be a risky guide in a case like this, but here it may suggest that the two inscriptions are not contemporary: for example, no. 955, which by its content has been considered to date from the late Republic, differs from no. 954 in that it seems to show a lunate sigma and epsilon as well as a cursive omega. Could this be an indication that no. 955 is a later copy, perhaps

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*September 2012, forthcoming.*

<sup>3</sup> L. Robert, *Collection Froehner I: Inscriptions grecques*, Paris 1936, 130 no. 84 (photograph on Pl. 43).

a substitute for a public document that had been destroyed by the great Capitoline fire of AD 69?<sup>4</sup> This seems unlikely on other grounds, however, as it would be difficult to explain why one of a pair of documents that – certainly after the Vespasianic restoration and probably also earlier – would have been on public display close to each other had been destroyed by fire and subsequently replaced by a copy, while the other remained intact. That the documents may indeed have once formed a pair, or at least had a moment of shared history, is suggested not only by their similar content, material, and letter size (height of letters 0.5–0.6 cm), but also and especially by the fact that both have been reshaped in the form of discs of exactly equal size (diameter 7.1–7.2 cm) by cutting them from larger bronze plaques. Whenever this happened, the objects were most likely kept together at the moment of their reshaping.

The following scenario may have taken place: the two bronze plaques were manufactured in Sicily and sent respectively to the honorands residing in Rome, while copies of the original documents would have been deposited in local civic archives (perhaps at Akragas in each case). The reason why the two documents were preserved together in Rome may have been that they concerned two members of one and the same *gens*, the Pompeii (one need not think of the family of Pompey the Great). If they lived in different generations, this might explain the variation in lettering between the two inscriptions. Whether or not they were originally displayed somewhere, the decrees would eventually have been deposited in the archives of the family. There they were stored until someone repurposed the bronze objects and recirculated them in a new form. This may well have happened in antiquity. Similar repurposing of bronze writing materials and other objects is well documented from archaic Greece onwards.

If both objects were reshaped in Rome, at some later stage one of them (*IG XIV 954*) was brought to Gavignano. When such a transfer may have occurred is impossible to establish, and it may have even been in early modern times. In any case, Moretti excluded this inscription from his collection, "cum alibi esset inventus", but as far as I can see, it is not absolutely certain that the object was literally unearthed in Gavignano. Froehner's indication reported by Robert (op. cit. n. 3, p. 130: "Trouvée en 1846 à Gavignano (entre Palestrina et Tivoli). Achetée par M. Charvet dans une vente publique à Gand") may be slightly inaccurate,

<sup>4</sup> Thus tentatively Manganaro (cit. n. 2), 216, though he also rightly observes that the palaeographic argument may not be decisive, citing Akragantine and other Sicilian evidence for different letter forms in contemporary and contextually similar inscriptions.



as the disc is actually said to have been "acquired" in Gavignano.<sup>5</sup> However, if acquired after (archaeological or similar) discovery (Garrucci 1847, 58: "trovato testè", see n. 5), the document in its reshaped disc format may have already arrived in this area from Rome in antiquity. On the other hand, though less likely, one cannot completely exclude the possibility that the two bronze plaques were both kept in a country villa, once (or still) the property of the Pompeian family, at the moment of their reuse. Or, perhaps the hometown of these Pompeii was somewhere around Gavignano (see n. 7). In either of these two cases, after the discs were reshaped one of them would then have been moved to Rome while the other remained in the countryside.

Regarding the find conditions of the Rome disc (*IG XIV 955*), the information provided by Wilhelm Henzen does not help very much ("frammentino d'una tavola di bronzo acquistato dal Rmo P. Tongiorgi per il Museo Kircheriano"),<sup>6</sup> as it is likely that Father Francesco Tongiorgi, the then director of the Museo Kircheriano, had acquired the piece from the antiquarian market to enrich the Museum's collections.

Finally, what is puzzling is that Gavignano is in fact not located between Praeneste and Tibur, but considerably (some 30 kms) towards the southeast, close to Segni and Colferro, and thus it evidently belonged to the administrative territory of ancient Signia. One wonders, therefore, if "Gavignano" is a slip for "Gallicano (nel Lazio)", which does lie exactly between Palestrina and Tivoli.

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<sup>5</sup> R. Garrucci, *Bull. Arch. Napol.* 6 (1848) 60: "sull'uscire del mese di ottobre del 1846 il mio amico sig. Hartung acquistò presso Gavignano, terra posta tra Palestrina e Tivoli, il disco di bronzo che è qui delineato. Esibillo gentilmente perchè lo facessi conoscere per le stampe, ed io, che ne aveva allora il destro, lo inserii alla pag. 59 dei *Piombi antichi* dell' Em. Altieri. --- Conviene primieramente notare che nel rovescio della piastrella si vede il segno della punta del compasso, che tracciò il cerchio dove la sega fece del monumento quel mal governo che deploriamo". However, as Garrucci on p. 58 of his *Piombi antichi* (Rome 1847) says that the disc was found ("trovato testè"), it may well be that Hartung bought it after its discovery, whatever "trovato" literally means. As for the identity of "sig. Hartung", he may be Johann Adam Hartung (1801–1867), a known scholar of Greek literature and religion. For information concerning both Garrucci and Hartung, I am indebted to Italo Iasiello and Heikki Solin. Cf. now also C. Ferone, *Opuscula III*, 2: *Scritti su Raffaele Garrucci* (Gervasiana 1), San Severo 2013, 135–333.

<sup>6</sup> *Bull. Inst.* 1862, 4 (cf. E. De Ruggiero, *Catalogo del Museo Kircheriano I*, Rome 1878, 59–60).

Alternatively, this latter definition is mistaken.<sup>7</sup> In either case, the error seems attributable either to Garrucci or to his informant.

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<sup>7</sup> As for the presence of Pompeii in southern or southeastern Latium, they are recorded here and there in inscriptions, but persons of any rank are poorly attested; note, for what it is worth, an equestrian from Praeneste and another from Trebula Suffenas (or an adjacent city): O. Salomies, "Senatori oriundi del Lazio", in H. Solin (ed.), *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico* (Acta IRF 15), Rome 1996, 117, 119. – It seems purely incidental, in the present context, that a considerable group of Greek inscriptions comes from a locality not far from Gavignano, see M. Kajava, *Arctos* 31 (1997) 55–86 (= *AE* 1997, 278; *SEG* XLVII 1517), *ibid.* 43 (2009) 31–40 (= *SEG* LIX 1172).



## SOME STEPS TOWARDS PLATO'S ECOPOLITICS IN THE *LAWS*

TUA KORHONEN

In recent years there has been a notable growing interest in and new readings of Plato's last and probably partly posthumous dialogue, the *Laws*.<sup>1</sup> Besides being a juridical treatise or a dialogue on the philosophy of law and political science, this longest work in the Platonic corpus offers broad perspectives on various topics, many of them already treated in the *Republic*. However, the political, educational, cultural, and theological ideas presented in the *Laws* are often combined with Plato's late metaphysics of divine cosmology comparable with that of in the *Timaeus*. Most famously, Book Ten includes the argument of the priority of the "psychical" over the "physical", i.e., that soul (*psychê*) is seen as prior to the natural world or 'nature' (*physis*) both ontologically and chronologically (10,888e–892c, 896c–897a).<sup>2</sup> In this connection it is stated that the cosmos as a whole has a superlatively *natural* existence due to its soul (10,892c).<sup>3</sup> While *physis* in

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\* Previous versions of this paper, though thematically quite different, were presented at two conferences (Conference of the International Association of Environmental Philosophy, Philadelphia in 2011 and the Symposium "Greening the Gods" in Cambridge, England, in 2014). I thank all the commentators as well as the inspiring reading group of the *Laws* directed by Dr Mika Perälä at the University of Helsinki 2012–13. I am also grateful to the anonymous reader appointed by the editorial board of *Arctos*.

<sup>1</sup> See, for instance, A. Peponi (ed.), *Performance and Culture in Plato's Laws*, Cambridge 2013; C. Bobonich (ed.), *Plato's Laws. A critical guide*. Cambridge 2010 and the extensive, three-volume commentary by K. Schöpsdau, *Nomoi (Gesetze)*, I–III, Göttingen 1994–2011. For earlier research, see T. Saunders – L. Brisson, *Bibliography on Plato's Laws*, Sankt Augustin 2000.

<sup>2</sup> See R. Mayhew, *Plato: Laws 10*, Oxford 2008, 130, 134–5 and R. Kamtekar's article in Bobonich (ed.) (above n. 1), 130–1.

<sup>3</sup> *Lg.* 10,892b–c: Φύσιν βούλονται λέγειν γένεσιν τὴν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα· εἰ δὲ φανήσεται ψυχὴ

this discussion is understood first and foremost as a metaphysical or theological principle, the *Laws* with its practical approaches – a foundation for a new Cretan colony called Magnesia – certainly contains references to man's relationship with his physical environment. Some of the agricultural laws (νόμοι γεωργικοί) of this new city-state take note of environmental protection of the countryside to such an extent that they nearly – as Glenn R. Morrow observes – manage to safeguard its natural resources and sustainability.<sup>4</sup> As Eberhard Klingenberg's study demonstrates, in some cases Plato's νόμοι γεωργικοί have their equivalent in the operative Greek legislation.<sup>5</sup>

The primary interest of this study is to examine the possibility of speaking about the "ecopolitics" of the *Laws*.<sup>6</sup> Plato has a special place in Greek ecological thinking due to the famous description in the *Critias* of the effects of erosion on the Attic landscape (*Crit.* 111a–c). It is quite unique in Greek literature – and in the Platonic corpus for that matter.<sup>7</sup> However, to what extent can we speak of Plato's concerns for sustainability in the *Laws* along the lines of the modern discourse of ecology? That is, does the sustainability of the environment of the Magnesian city-state in the *Laws* in fact mean nothing more than the (anthropocentric) safeguarding of the food supply and the health of its people? Moreover, if Plato's

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πρώτον, οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ ἀήρ, ψυχὴ δ' ἐν πρώτοις γεγεννημένη, σχεδὸν ὀρθότατα λέγοιτ' ἂν εἶναι διαφερόντως φύσει. ταῦτ' ἔσθ' οὕτως ἔχοντα, ἂν ψυχὴν τις ἐπιδείξει πρεσβυτέραν οὔσαν σώματος, ἄλλως δὲ οὐδαμῶς. "By 'nature' they mean the generation [or source] of the first things; but if soul turns out to be first, not fire or air, and soul is among the first things to have come into being, then it may well be most correct to say that *it* especially is by nature. This is how things are if someone demonstrates that soul is older than body, but not otherwise." Translated by R. Mayhew (above n. 2), 20. All other translations of the *Laws* in this article are R. G. Bury's (Loeb) with slight modifications.

<sup>4</sup> G. R. Morrow, *Plato's Cretan City*, Princeton (NJ) 1960, 188.

<sup>5</sup> E. Klingenberg, *Platons NOMOI ΓΕΩΡΓΙΚΟΙ und das positive griechische Recht*, Berlin 1976. See also C. Bruun's paper on Greek water legislation in Ö. Wikander (ed.), *Handbook of Ancient Water Technology*, Leiden 2000, 557–73.

<sup>6</sup> Ecopolitics is "the political policy that is motivated by concerns for the natural environment"; cf. *Oxford English Dictionary*, s.v. For ecological aspects in Plato's *Timaeus* and *Critias*, see the articles of T. A. Mahoney, M. R. Adams and O. Goldin in L. Westra – T. M. Robinson (eds.), *The Greeks and the Environment*, Oxford 1997; on the failure of the Athenians to maintain ecological sustainability, see J. Donald Hughes, *An Environmental History of the World*, London 2001, 59–66; for general works on environmental issues in Greek antiquity, see the bibliography in L. Thommen, *An Environmental History of Ancient Greece and Rome*, Cambridge 2009, 158–9.

<sup>7</sup> See Goldin in Westra – Robinson (eds.) (above n. 6), 75–7.

"ecology", as Timothy A. Mahoney argues on the part of the *Timaeus*,<sup>8</sup> contains cosmological and theological sophistication alien to modern ecological thinking (the idea of the divine, self-sufficient cosmos), how is this compatible with the idea of the sustainable relationship with our physical environment?

In the following, I will start with the physical setting both of the dialogue itself and of the new city-state. After that, I will briefly turn to the physical education and physical performances of Magnesian citizens, in which there has lately been considerable research interest,<sup>9</sup> ending, via the agricultural laws, with the acquisition of practical knowledge of the Magnesian environment. My method is to extract and use two philosophical images of the *Laws* – the ascent to the mountains and the spinning top or lathe – that help map the background of Plato's "ecopolitical" thinking in the *Laws*.

### Trekking towards the mountains

The setting of the *Laws* is, of course, extraordinary, even exotic, for a Platonic dialogue. The discussion of the partakers, the unnamed Athenian, the Cretan Cleinias, and the (quite taciturn) Spartan Megillus occurs while they are walking in the countryside in Crete.<sup>10</sup> It is said to be the longest day of the year, "the time when the God turns summer towards winter" (3,683c), that is, the summer solstice.<sup>11</sup> The journey has started at dawn from the city of Cnossus and the discussants are heading in the sultry weather "to the cave and temple of Zeus" (1,625b),<sup>12</sup> which has been interpreted to be the so-called Idaean cave dedicated to Zeus in the

<sup>8</sup> Mahoney in Westra – Robinson (eds.) (above n. 6) compares Plato's ecology to the so-called "deep ecology".

<sup>9</sup> See Kurke's and Kowalzig's articles in Peponi (ed.) (above n. 1) and Kamtekar in Bobonich (ed.) (above n. 1).

<sup>10</sup> On the setting of the *Laws*, see Schöpsdau (above n. 1), 102–5. All other dialogues are set in Athens or its near surroundings. The stage of the *Phaedrus* is the suburb outside the city walls, beside the river Ilissus; in the *Republic*, Socrates reports the discussion conducted in Piraeus. There are many references to the advanced age of the interlocutors, see, for instance, 1,625b.

<sup>11</sup> The summer solstice is an important point of time for the new polity; cf. 6,768c–d, 12,946a (the naming of three examiners of the laws).

<sup>12</sup> Travelling to a cave may evoke (for us at least) the philosophical image of the cave in the *Republic* (7,514a–517e) in which going *towards* the cave in clear sunshine equates to returning from the intelligible to the sensible realm, which accords with the practical approaches of the *Laws* in general.

mountain Ida.<sup>13</sup> King Minos, the mythical Cretan lawgiver, is mentioned with a reference to Homer at the very beginning. Minos is said to have received instruction from his father Zeus on how to make and maintain good laws (1,624b, cf. *Od.* 19,178–179).<sup>14</sup> The obvious suggestion is that these three men are imitating Minos by paying a visit, making a pilgrimage, to the sacred cave of Zeus.

Archaeological evidence shows that the Idaean cave had been a centre of worship already during the Minoan civilization and flourished in classical times and even later. There was surely a path or paths – or possibly even a route – from Cnossus to the Idaean cave.<sup>15</sup> Mount Ida, which is nowadays called Psiloriti ('high mountain'), is the highest mountain in Crete (c. 2460 metres) and is situated about 30 kilometres southwest of Cnossus. The walk to the cave (at c. 1500 metres) from the plain is a rocky ascent with many upland meadows. According to Morrow, the estimated walking-time along the possible pilgrimage route or mere path – depending of course, which possible way one then chose – from Cnossus to the Idaean cave was a maximum of 10–13 hours.<sup>16</sup> However, walking from Cnossus to Mount Ida was not a one-day hike – not at least for old men in hot weather.

The three men are thus travelling from *polis* to countryside, from the civilized world towards the wilderness and also upwards, from the plains country towards mountains. In Greek thought, the wilderness, especially the top of the mountains, were thought to be places to sojourn for the gods.<sup>17</sup> Crete for its part was venerated as having the oldest constitution and legislation in the Greek world (cf. *Lg.* 4,708a). In all, the discussants are as if seeking the inspiration and legitimation to their philosophy of law not only from the mythical example of Minos and from actual examples of the ancient and present polities of Crete, Sparta and Athens – the civilized world – but also from the countryside and untamed nature.

However, although the image of these old or middle-aged men discussing while hiking or trekking towards a mountainous wilderness is appealing, the ref-

<sup>13</sup> Morrow and others are of the opinion that it is not the so-called Dictaeon Cave, which was supposed to be the birthplace of Zeus and is situated east of Cnossus. Morrow (above n. 4), 27. Schöpsdau 1994 (above n. 1), 155–6.

<sup>14</sup> See also the pseudo-Platonic *Minos* 319e.

<sup>15</sup> On the roads between cities and sacred places, see M. Dillon, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece*, London 1997, 34–7, 139; on the Idaean cave, J. A. Sakellaris, *Kernos* 1 (1988) 207–14.

<sup>16</sup> Morrow (above n. 4), 27 n. 45. See also Schöpsdau I (above n. 1), 155.

<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., Alcman frg 47 (*apud* Athen. 11,498) and J. M. Rist in Westra – Robinson (eds.) (above n. 6), 20.

erences to the actual journey are concentrated only in the first third of the *Laws* (1,625b, 1,632e, 3,685a–b, 4,722c–d). Moreover, the natural environment, the landscape, is not described extensively – there is only a brief reference to the pine-tree forests (for which Crete was famous)<sup>18</sup> alongside the road, in the shade of which they could rest on their strenuous journey in the hot sunshine (1,625b). Cleinias even points to a certain pine-tree forest with meadows, which he knows to be an ideal resting place (1,625b–c). Furthermore, when this *locus amoenus* has been reached, it is also the last reference to the actual journey. The Athenian summarizes their morning hike as follows: "It was little more than dawn when we began talking about laws and now it is high noon, and here we are in this entrancing resting-place (παγκάλη ἀνάπαυλα); all the time we have been talking of nothing but laws [...]" (4,722c–d). This is reminiscent, of course, of the setting of the *Phaedrus* – first walking, then sitting in a shady place to continue and complete the discussion. However, the description and response to the physical environment are still more expressive in the *Phaedrus* (cf. 229a and 242a) than in the *Laws*.<sup>19</sup>

From then on, there are still some nature similes or analogies that are reminiscent of travelling through the countryside: the analogy of the crossroads (7,799c, 799e) and an impressive analogy of going over a flooding river supporting oneself with a "safe cable" (πεῖσμα) (10,892d–e, 10,893b)<sup>20</sup> both representing aporia situations in argument making. Comparing the progress of a discussion or a speech to a journey was of course a popular metaphor in Plato's works (cf., for instance, *Resp.* 7,533a; *Phil.* 16b) and elsewhere in Greek literature.<sup>21</sup> At the very end of the dialogue, Cleinias mentions that the god is now guiding their future "journey" (12,968b), that is, their task of actual legislation for the new city-state and, especially, of creating the nocturnal council, the highest governing body.

<sup>18</sup> Schöpsdau I (above n. 1), 156. Schöpsdau, among many others, questions whether Plato himself has travelled the road from Cnossus to Mount Ida.

<sup>19</sup> Mary Louise Gill notes that "all Socrates' senses are stimulated by his surroundings", *apud* P. Ryan, *Plato's Phaedrus*, Norman (OK) 2012, xvi. See also Schöpsdau I (above n. 1), 103.

<sup>20</sup> Another nature analogy is the lake in Book Five: the heterogeneous citizens of the polity – coming from many different cities all over Crete – are compared to different kinds of springs flowing into the same lake or reservoir (λίμνη) (5,736b).

<sup>21</sup> For other metaphorical uses of the word 'journey' and its like in the *Laws*, cf. 3,683a, 4,707d, 7,799c–e, 9,857c (Cleinias deliberately "collides" with the Athenian, who was going "full steam ahead").



In all, it seems that the old men walked only from dawn till midday until they reached the shady *locus amoenus* in which they continue to philosophize in a reposing position. Although they did not reach their ultimate destination, the cave of Zeus, Book Ten and its emphasis on theological matters, the law of *asebeia* and the proof of the existence of the gods who take care of mankind, along with Cleinias' above-mentioned later reference to the god guiding their future journey (12,968b), can be viewed as a symbolic approach or anticipation of that religiously emphatic cave. The discussants did not reach the cave of the supreme god in practice, but in thought, with their theological subject matter.<sup>22</sup>

Cleinias reveals his appointed task as a legislator for the new Cretan colony at the end of the Book Three (3,702b–c).<sup>23</sup> From then on, the discussion revolves around the concern of the new polity and drawing up a legal code for it although the range of subject matter oscillates between the actual laws and more abstract topics. With the reference to the resting-place (4,722c–d), the Athenian emphasizes that all their former, quite abstract discussion has been only a prelude or preamble (προοίμιον) to laws just as there are preludes for the *nomos*-songs.<sup>24</sup> In what follows, *prooimion* becomes a central concept, a method of persuading citizens to obey the laws, but the Athenian's words can be taken rhetorically as well: the first four Books of the *Laws* function as a means for us readers to "obey" the *Laws* – as a long *captatio benevolentiae*.

The philosophical image of the setting of the *Laws* is a journey, a strenuous trekking upwards in hot, glaring sunshine. It was a well-known poetic image composed by Hesiod, which the Athenian even cites: the path to virtue is a sweaty, steep and rocky ascent (4,718e–719a).<sup>25</sup> The setting of the dialogue, the mountainous Cretan landscape, functions as not only a mythic (Minos) but a moral (path to virtue) setting for the endeavour of the discussants. In general, the mountainous environment seems to have a pregnant meaning especially in the first part of the *Laws*: in the discussion of the past (the life after the flood, Book Three) and of the future (the new city-state Magnesia, Book Four).

<sup>22</sup> In the rest of the *Laws*, there is no reference that the discussants are continuing their journey to the cave after their midday rest. However, if we imagine that they do, they will reach the cave or its vicinity by sunset, before night. What could be a more convenient topic of discussion at midnight at the cave of the supreme god than the *nocturnal* council?

<sup>23</sup> The name Magnesia does not appear until 8,848d.

<sup>24</sup> The obvious pun with the word νόμος ('law' and 'nomos-song') comes only in 7,800a.

<sup>25</sup> Hes. *Op.* 287–292. Plato also cites the passage in *Prot.* 340d and *Resp.* 364d.

### The effects of the physical environment on human customs

Living in the demanding mountainous environment is suggested to be ethically more satisfying than a life lived on the fertile plain, in the level country. In Book Three, the Athenian gives a depiction of the life after the great flood,<sup>26</sup> when only those living on the tops of the mountains survived: the herdsmen, shepherds, and the animals pasturing or living on the mountains (3,677b, 677e).<sup>27</sup> There is the familiar connection between simple, frugal, self-sufficient life (before full-scale agriculture) and virtuousness comparable with the famous "city of pigs", Socrates' vegetarian utopia, mentioned in the *Republic* (2,369a–b). The frugality of these early mountaineers is combined with the physical effort that their simple life demands. It is seen as a promoter of a virtuous life because it teaches self-restraint (3,679b–c; cf. also 5,737d, 8,831c). These early nomadic people are said to have the noblest character because they are brave and temperate. Furthermore, due to their goodness of heart or simplicity (εὐήθεια), they needed no justification for the statements made about gods according to which they ordered their lives (3,679a–d). Thus, they need no laws and there were no non-believers among them. The cohesion of these small societies was great: the Athenian compares them to flocks of birds (3,680d–e).<sup>28</sup> But this kind of polity or non-polity – like the city of pigs of the *Republic* – is not steady and durable if the population grows.

Already at the very beginning of the *Laws*, Cleinias suggests that some Cretan customs are a consequence of their rugged country, their being completely different from those in the level (and fertile) country of Thessaly (1,625d, 2,625d). The concept that geography determines the disposition of people is for the first time most clearly explicated in the Hippocratic treatise *Airs, Waters, Places*, which circulated around the time of the writing of the *Laws* and affected most probably, or via the *Laws*, Aristotle's influential notions on the issue in *Politics* (VII 7, 1327b18–31). The treatise suggests that plains country with a mild and favourable climate best supplies the flora and fauna, but "courage, endurance,

<sup>26</sup> On ecologically disastrous floods, see also *Tim.* 23b and *Crit.* 111a.

<sup>27</sup> There was only scanty sustenance just after the deluge but a little later on there was no lack of food (3,677e; 3,679a).

<sup>28</sup> In their discussion of the emergence of the societies after the flood, the Athenian alludes to Homer's description of the life of the Cyclops, self-supporting nomads living in the caves of mountains who needed no laws (3,680b).

industry, and high spirit, could not arise in such conditions (ἐν τοιαύτῃ φύσει)" (Hippoc. *Aer.* 12; see also 24).<sup>29</sup>

The Athenian is, of course, against these kinds of materialistic assumptions, although he agrees that the terrain has a great impact on its inhabitants. The physical environment may in the long run modify human temperament and determine some customs, but not, of course, the laws, because true laws are seen as divine, immanent order (4,714a).<sup>30</sup> The discussion draws the conclusion that this divine order, which also prevails in human beings, easily gets distorted – "slackens" – especially in those whose rational part is not strong (5,728a–b).<sup>31</sup> Therefore, written, codified laws and other regulations are needed as well as an ordered daily life.

The effect of the geography on human cultural habits is discussed more extensively in the context of the future city-state for which the interlocutors are laying a foundation "in words" (3,702e). Cleinias does not give its precise geographical situation: the new settlement is to be located about eighty stadia, that is, c. 15 kilometres, from the coast (4,704b). However, the situation, geography and climate of that area are mentioned as being optimal (4,704b–705c). The vegetation is not highly productive because the environment is rocky, but it is all-productive (πάμφορος) (4,705b) supplying all that is needed. The distance from the coast is said not to promote foreign merchandise and the import of foreign luxury goods.<sup>32</sup> The countryside of the new Cretan city-state of Magnesia is mountainous, that is, a demanding environment resulting in a frugal, but self-supporting life-style (5,737d). Thus the geographical position of the new colony is seen to have an effect on the occupations of its people and in that way even on the morality of its citizens.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Translated by W. H. S. Jones (LCL 147, Hippocrates Vol. I.). On the Greek ideas of the impact of environment on human character and behaviour, see Thommen (above n. 6), 29–30 and Hughes (above n. 6), 60–1.

<sup>30</sup> Instead of immanent order, Terence Irwin speaks about "internal law", Irwin in Bobonich (ed.) (above n. 1), 98–9. The Greek environmental laws concerning cleanliness and order may have had a religious origin. See Bruun (above n. 5), 573.

<sup>31</sup> The verb χαλᾶσθαι 'slacken' occurs only in 2,653c–d. See Kowalzig and Kurke in Peponi (ed.) (above n. 2), 185 and 131.

<sup>32</sup> See Patricia Fagan's account of the effect of the Magnesian landscape in G. Recco – E. Sanday (eds.), *Plato's Laws. Force and Truth in Politics*, Bloomington (IN) 2012, 106–8.

<sup>33</sup> The description of the geography of ancient Athens and Atlantis in the *Critias* is, however, much more extensive than that of Magnesia in the *Laws*.

The Magnesian economy is based only on agriculture. However, although all routine and hard manual work would of course be left to slaves and servants, the average citizens were probably meant to be self-sustaining farmers – reminiscent of the independent hoplite-farmers of ancient Athens, as Thanassis Samaras has suggested.<sup>34</sup> Despite this industrious life-style, one aspect of everyday life in Magnesia would be frequent seasonal festivals with their choral performances. These performances bear in themselves another philosophical image of the *Laws* along with the ascending towards the mountains, namely the image of spinning tops – that is, circular instead of vertical movement.

### **Socialization by daily physical exercises and circular motion**

The discussants of the *Laws* reflect several times the manner of their discussion. The Athenian describes it as being circular and repetitive, circling in the same place (ταὐτὸν περιφερόμενος, 2,659d; cf. also 3,701c and 4,723d–e),<sup>35</sup> which truly acknowledges the fluctuating manner of argumentation of this dialogue.<sup>36</sup>

Circular motion as such plays a central role in Plato's metaphysics and cosmology of course. It is the perfect movement, the movement of the gods (*Lg.* 4,716a) as well as the movement of the rational part of our soul, which is compared to the movement around some fixed midpoint both in the *Laws* (10,893d, 10,898a) and in the *Republic* (4,436e). The image of a spinning top (στρόβιλος) from the passage of the *Republic* is probably also in mind in the first above-mentioned passage of the *Laws* (10,893d), although in the second case the image

<sup>34</sup> *CP* 107 (2012) 1–20, especially pp. 7–9 and 15. According to Samaras, the citizens will themselves be engaged more or less in agricultural labour, not as manual labourers, but as the supervisors of the work – they have of course slaves and servants – but probably even the members of the richest class were supposed to work on their farms to a greater extent than the gentleman-farmer Isomachus in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*.

<sup>35</sup> The Athenian notes that he should rein in his discourse and once again repeat the original question (3,701c, cf. also 7,812b). At the end of Book Four (4,723d–e), Cleinias suggests that they begin afresh and the Athenian should make a decent "prelude" for the subject matter of how much one ought to concern oneself with one's soul, body and property. There are several references to story-telling as a depiction of their talk (3,699e, 4,713a; cf. also 2,663e and 3,677a). See also 6,768e and 7,811c–d (their discussion is like a poem).

<sup>36</sup> On the characterization of the discussion in the *Laws*, see, for instance, R. F. Stalley, *An Introduction to Plato's Laws*, Oxford 1983, 4.

refers to a lathe (*Lg.* 10,898a).<sup>37</sup> In any case, it is a question of an axial rotation: the object is both moving in a circle around its centre, always in the same direction, and remaining at the same point (*Resp.* 4,436e). The movement is not irregular and wandering like the movement of a soul dominated by the irrational part (*Lg.* 10,898b–c). In *Timaeus*, soul is said to rotate itself and thus imitate the Difference and the Same, the Becoming and the Being (*Tim.* 37a, 47b) while the movement of the (divine) celestial bodies is compared to that of choral performance (*χορεία*) (*Tim.* 40c).<sup>38</sup> The circular orbits of the heavenly bodies should be observed and applied to the movement of our thought (*Tim.* 47b). All in all, the circular motion of the soul refers to the desirable harmony of the soul, which imitates the regularity of the cosmos.<sup>39</sup>

In the *Laws*, the soul's movements are equated with mental activities like the power of will, observation, fear, love and other cognitive and emotive qualities (10,896d). Furthermore, the movement of soul is prior to that of body – as is argued in Book Ten (cf. especially 10,897a) – which means that soul's movements have an effect on the movements of the body. However, besides the fact that the education program of the *Laws* speaks strongly on behalf of physical education, it also suggests the idea that the movement of body can have an effect on the soul, namely, on the harmony or regularity of the movement of the soul. One example is that constant regular movement, especially swinging of the body, is said to have a tranquillizing effect on the soul (7,789d–e, 790d, 791a).

Choral performances (*χορεία*, *χορός*, *ὄρχησις*)<sup>40</sup> were often circular dances.<sup>41</sup> Dancing in chorus – making ordered (also circular) rhythmic movements together with other dancers – is supposed (but not explicitly stated) to promote fellow-feeling and fellowship (*φιλία*, *φιλοφροσύνη*) among the citizens by form-

<sup>37</sup> See Mayhew (above n. 2), 27, 140 and Schöpsdau III (above n. 1), 84, 422.

<sup>38</sup> See also the pseudo-Platonic *Epinomis* 982e.

<sup>39</sup> See Kamtekar in Bobonich (ed.) (above n. 1), 130–1. The priority of the soul's motion may be understood as pointing to its intentionality and the rationally ordered soul is as such highly goal-oriented that it is fixedly in the one direction.

<sup>40</sup> *Lg.* 2,672e–673d, 7,814e; cf. also 7,789c–790e. All these words refer here (in the *Laws*) to choral dance, but the original or general meaning of *choreia* and *choros* was circular, round dance while *orchêsis*, which gave name to the orchestra, refers to pantomime dance – dance as *mimesis* (LSJ).

<sup>41</sup> See Kowalzig in Peponi (ed.) (above n. 1), 197, on the cyclic *choreia* and *choreia* as procession.

ing the same rhythmic unity (1,628c, 1,640b–d, 2,671e–673a).<sup>42</sup> The emphasis on choral performances in the *Laws* also involves the idea of gods as the original instructors of mankind in their feasts and as fellow-performers (συγχορευταί, 2,653e).<sup>43</sup> The importance of choral performances is expressed by considering it to be *the* education: an uneducated man (ἀπαίδευτος) is without choir-training (ἀχόρευτος) (2,654a, 2,672e). Within the ordered cosmos and ordered city-state an uneducated man strikes a disharmony. Χορεία is defined as the combination of the order of motion and order of voice, "rhythm" and "harmony" (2,665a). These elements affect the non-rational part, which is occupied by desires and appetites and bodily affections, by managing and regulating its unordered movement so that the rational part is able to operate with less interference and fewer disturbances (7,802a–d, 7,814e–816d). Moreover, during the choral performances, all gestures that express good character are beautiful (2,655b) and the performer who is imitating these gestures and movements solidifies the same characteristics within himself.<sup>44</sup>

The Athenian equates dance with joy by giving an etymology χορός > χαρά (2,665a)<sup>45</sup> and urges that "we should live out our lives playing at certain pastimes – sacrificing, singing, dancing" (7,803e). Later on, the Athenian even suggests that every day should be a feast, a sacrifice to some divinity (8,828b). The structuring effect of the festivals and their rites on the everyday life of the Magnesian citizens was to be considerable.<sup>46</sup> Later on, it becomes clear that participating in some public ceremonies would be obligatory for the Magnesians; a refusal would lead to a penalty, although not a severe one (12,949c–d).

Although the daily life of the Magnesians will not be just "sacrificing, singing and dancing", the daily rituals emphasize the importance of the connection between humans and the gods. Some of the famous non-anthropocentric statements of the *Laws* can be viewed in this context: human beings are said to be gods' puppets and playthings (παίγνια, θαῦμα) (1,644d–645b, 7,803c–804b) and property of gods (10,902c). Furthermore, we are said to be only a tiny part of

<sup>42</sup> Kowalzig and Kurke in Peponi (ed.) (above n. 1), 192–3 and 138. The utility of dance for military training, see 12,942d.

<sup>43</sup> Kurke in Peponi (ed.) (above n. 1), 129. Kamtekar in Bobonich (ed.) (above n. 1), 143–8.

<sup>44</sup> On the benefit of *choreia* and physical education, see Kamtekar in Bobonich (ed.) (above n. 1), 146, Calame and Kowalzig in Peponi (ed.) (above n. 1), 96–100 and 192–3.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. 7,792d about calm cheerfulness and gentle disposition (ἴλεως) as the most favourable state of soul.

<sup>46</sup> Kowalzig in Peponi (ed.) (above n. 1), 192–3.

the whole (πάνσμικρος) and generated for the sake of the whole: the cosmos did not come to be or exist for the sake of us, but we are born for the sake of it (10,903c).<sup>47</sup> Human affairs in general are "unworthy of earnest effort" (7,803b; cf. also 8,828d, 11,923a–b) and the measure (μέτρον) of all things is not human beings, but the god (4,716c).

Although a modern environmentalist would gladly embrace these holistic statements (we are seen as only tiny parts of a large interconnected system), they have almost nothing to do with man's relationship with his *physical* environment. However, the context is the cosmos understood as a living being:<sup>48</sup> the self-sufficient, self-moving, perfect cosmos.<sup>49</sup> The Magnesian polity also had to be self-sufficient and self-supporting. Therefore, it is not altogether irrelevant what man does with his natural environment, his *Umwelt*.

### The circular spatial imaginary and the Magnesian city-state

The circular spatial imaginary prevails also in the description of the new city-state. Magnesia is meant to consist of a city and its surrounding countryside (χώρα); the *polis* is situated at the centre of it (5,745b).<sup>50</sup> The *chôra* will produce all that is necessary for daily life.<sup>51</sup> The families or households were basically self-support-

<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, the greatest evil a human being can commit is stated to happen through her excessive love of self (διὰ τὴν σφόδρα ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν) (5,731e). 'Self-love' in this context means, however, that man values what is his own more than what is true. One of the consequences is that one must follow and obey those who are better than himself – there are thus natural rulers and ruled. Cf. 6,757b–c on "true" equality.

<sup>48</sup> Although human beings are like a tiny part of an enormous divine organism, an essential part like any other part, we are also a special and specially cared for part (cf. 7,804b and 10,905a).

<sup>49</sup> In the *Timaeus*, the self-sufficiency is so all-inclusive that the cosmos is said even to use its own waste (φθίσις) as nourishment (*Tim.* 32d–34b). *Tim.* 33c: ἀπήει τε γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδὲ προσήειν αὐτῷ ποθεν — οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν — αὐτὸ γὰρ ἑαυτῷ τροφήν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φθίσιν παρέχον. "Waste" (*phthisis*) can also mean "that which perishes".

<sup>50</sup> See the picture in Schöpsdau II (above n. 1), 338. The Magnesian land distributions have two parts, one close to the city, including most probably a townhouse, and one further away, constituting a working farm (*Lg.* 5,745c). The colonists are not just anyone but will be drawn from different Cretan cities consisting of a total of 5040 families (5,737e), each of which has their share of land. Aristotle's critique of the number of families, see *Pol.* II 6,1265a.

<sup>51</sup> Mine industry and foreign trade are supposed to lead to immoderateness, which for its part is in contrast to the ideal of the frugal and industrious, physical, lifestyle. Also, internal trade

ing, selling their surplus in local agorae and contributing to the common meals (συσσίτια). The agricultural laws (νόμοι γεωργικοί) regulate the selling of these goods in the agora as well as the partial control of agricultural production: farming, husbandry (shepherding and bee-keeping), and harvesting (7,842b–848c).<sup>52</sup> The most elaborate legislation is formulated for the regulation of water supplies, which is said to be based on ancient water regulation (6,844a).<sup>53</sup> The reason for this concentration on water supplies is stated to be that water can more easily be polluted than land or air.<sup>54</sup> The pollution of water (διαφθορὰ ὕδατος) can happen, for instance, by malicious poisoning of one's neighbour's water.<sup>55</sup>

For administrative purposes, the *chōra* is marked out into twelve equal portions, which are assigned to different Magnesian tribes (φυλή), twelve in number (6,760b).<sup>56</sup> Each twelfth part is consecrated to gods and divinities. In all, the land is said to belong to "all gods" (τῆς γῆς ἱερᾶς οὔσης τῶν πάντων θεῶν) (5,741c). Notwithstanding the private ownership of the land, the owners are advised to care for the land as common property: "tend the land [...] more diligently than a mother tends her children, inasmuch as it, being a goddess, is mistress over its mortal population, and should observe the same attitude also towards the local gods and

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is minimal and the financial management is simple (no usury, no big loans). See K. R. Moore, *Plato, Politics and a Practical Utopia*, London 2013, 28–9.

<sup>52</sup> The organization of the food supply (βίου κατασκευή) is not described minutely. The agricultural laws pay more attention to the penal aspects of the law and to the possible conflicts between neighbouring farmers than to the actual farming. There are laws concerning boundary-marks, wrongs done to one's neighbours – for example, if burning on one's own land damages the land of one's neighbours – and wrongs done while fruit harvesting. Furthermore, there are laws on hunting, which is to be only a noble pastime. Fishing and fowling are thought to be not quite fitting food supplies (7,823a–824c). A curious notion is that young men are not encouraged to practice fishing (7,823d). Fishing is allowed for "fishermen", but not in sacred lakes and rivers. There are restrictions on hunting too (hunting in the night with nets and snares). Fowling is forbidden on fields and sacred glebes.

<sup>53</sup> For inscriptions concerning the Greek water supply, see Klingenberg (above n. 5), 63–132 and Bruun (above n. 5), 557–73.

<sup>54</sup> *Lg.* 8,845d–e: οὔτε γὰρ γῆν οὔτε ἥλιον οὔτε πνεύματα, τοῖς ὕδασι σύντροφα τῶν ἐκ γῆς ἀναβλαστανόντων, ῥάδιον φθείρειν φαρμακεύσεσιν ἢ ἀποτροπαῖς ἢ καὶ κλοπαῖς, περὶ δὲ τὴν ὕδατος φύσιν ἐστὶν τὰ τοιαῦτα σύμπαντα δυνατὰ γίγνεσθαι· διὸ δὴ βοηθοῦ δεῖται νόμου. Cf. also 7,842b–848c.

<sup>55</sup> See Klingenberg (above n. 5), 108–16 on the historical context of this detail.

<sup>56</sup> Stalley (above n. 35), 103.



daemons" (5,740a–b).<sup>57</sup> The divine ownership is in accordance with the above-mentioned non-anthropocentrism of the *Laws*. However, a good relationship with the gods may presuppose a good, "motherly" care of land and thus a more or less balanced relationship with the environment – which for its part would guarantee the productivity of the *chôra* and the food supply of its citizen.

The task of "guarding" (φυλάττειν) the *chôra* is given to the office-holders called ἀγρονόμοι and phourarchs (φρούραρχοι), who "keep guard" (φρουρεῖν) over the borders of the polity as well (6,760b–763c).<sup>58</sup> Every Magnesian *phylê* selects five chief country guardians, so that their number is sixty ( $12 \times 5 = 60$ ) and they hold office for two years. Each of these guardians – or each group of five – has as his/their assistants 12 men aged 25–30, who are called φρουροί, guards, their number thus being either over a hundred ( $12 \times 12 = 144$ ) or over seven hundred ( $60 \times 12 = 720$ ).<sup>59</sup> For these youngish men this two-year service seems to be a kind of military or national service including guarding the borders and reminiscent of the Spartan κρυπτεία (6,763b, cf. also 1,633c).<sup>60</sup> The lifestyle of the country guardians and their assistants is ascetic and self-supporting. Their food is simple (ταπεινός) and uncooked (ἄπυρος) and the assistant guardians "had to be their own servants" (6,762e–763b; cf. also 6,777d and 1,633c). This resembles of the lifestyle of the guardian class in the *Republic* (3,416d–417a), which is likened to living in a war camp (3,416e).<sup>61</sup>

Some of the assistant guardians of the *chôra* are later to be selected and educated to function in other magistral duties, even in the highest ones.<sup>62</sup> The dif-

<sup>57</sup> *Lg.* 5,740a–b: τῆς χώρας θεραπεύειν αὐτὴν δεῖ μειζόνως ἢ μητέρα παῖδας, τῷ καὶ δέσποιναν θεὸν αὐτὴν οὖσαν θνητῶν ὄντων γεγονέναι, ταῦτα δ' ἔχειν διανοήματα καὶ περὶ τοὺς ἐγγωρίους θεοὺς τε ἅμα καὶ δαίμονας. Compare with *Xen. Oec.* 5,12: Socrates states that earth (γῆ) is a god and teaches justice, and the better it is tended, the more it gives back, the more it produces. See also Hughes (above n. 6), 62–3.

<sup>58</sup> Aristotle mentions that the names of the magistrates in the countryside are called in some states οἱ ὑλωροί, in others οἱ ἀγρόνομοι καὶ φυλακτῆρια (*Pol.* VII 12, 1331b15–24). However, only the first one (ὑλωρός) is known to be in use in Thessaly. Morrow (above n. 4), 186 n. 80.

<sup>59</sup> Morrow (above n. 4), 186 n. 81 notes that 720 would require a population of 40,000 citizens.

<sup>60</sup> Athenian *ephebeia*, which was probably established in the time of the writing of the *Laws* or slightly later. Moore (above n. 49), 25.

<sup>61</sup> There are also monthly athletic contests that mimic warfare, which happen throughout the whole *chôra* (*Lg.* 8,830e) as well as running contests that culminate in a race where a runner in armour runs 60 or 100 stadia (about 11 or 18 kilometres), the latter dressed as an archer and running "over hills and varied country" (8,833c).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Lg.* 12,964e–965a where the assistant guardians are said to be the eyes of the polity and

ference from the education of the guardian class of the *Republic* is that the Athenian emphasizes the experience, the practical contact with the *chôra*: the assistant guardians should gain knowledge of all parts of the countryside (ἐμπειροὶ τῆς χώρας γένεσθαι), and not only in one season, but should also learn the seasonal changes in other districts rotating in order from one district to the next (6,760e).<sup>63</sup> They are also encouraged to hunt in order to have an accurate knowledge of the *chôra* (6,763b). Thus, each of these groups of the twelve assistant guardians guards each portion of the countryside in rotation for a month. The space orientation here is that the *polis* is in the centre and the *chôra* surrounds it and the guardians circle the centre in their rotation – in their first year in an easterly direction, and in the second, westward. This recalls the image of a spinning top/lathe discussed before: the guardians are both moving in a circle around the centre of the *chôra* (that is, *polis*) and still remaining at the same *chôra*. Furthermore, the movement of these men is dictated by the seasons: the seasons determine their movement just as they determine the seasonal festivals with their obligatory choral performances and, therefore, the daily life of the Magnesians.

The guardians also contribute to the modification of the *chôra*. They are responsible for fortification by making channels, digging moats and building crosswalks, getting the help of the people of each district. They are thus not only protecting the *chôra* and the whole polity from the enemy, but also help its inhabitants, "friends" (6,761d). It is especially pointed out that the guardians and their assistants should always choose the times when these people and their animals are free from their agricultural labour (so as not to disturb the farming) (6,761a).<sup>64</sup> Although the empirical knowledge of the environment that the guardians acquire is certainly useful in the interest of military defence, there is also concern about the general well-being of the people living in the *chôra*. The guardians build recreational places, like *gymnasia*, for "those whose bodies are worn with the toils of husbandry" (6,761d).<sup>65</sup> There are quite detailed directions for caring for the water supply of the *chôra*, in particular what pertains to the rainwater and spring-water

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"selected as the most intelligent and nimble in every part of their soul".

<sup>63</sup> *Lg.* 6,760e: περιελθόντος δὲ τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, τῷ δευτέρῳ ἔτει, ἵνα ὡς πλεῖστοι τῶν φρουρῶν μὴ μόνον ἐμπειροὶ τῆς χώρας γίνωνται κατὰ μίαν ὥραν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ, πρὸς τῇ χώρᾳ δὲ ἅμα καὶ τῆς ὥρας ἐκάστης περὶ ἕκαστον τὸν τόπον τὸ γιγνόμενον ὡς πλεῖστοι καταμάθωσιν.

<sup>64</sup> The Athenian refers here to the peasants and even their domestic animals as friends (φίλοι). A "friend" is not only the opposite of enemy. The expression reflects the importance of cohesion and fellowship in the Magnesian polity.

<sup>65</sup> *Lg.* 6,761d: ἐπ' ὀνήσει καμνόντων τε νόσοις καὶ πόνοις τετραμμένα γεωργικοῖς.

(6,761a–c). Furthermore, the Athenian depicts how the assistant guardians should beautify or embellish (κοσμεῖν) the *chôra* by means of plantations especially around shrines and temples.<sup>66</sup> Thus they help to create cultural landscapes and sustain holy places with protected natural surroundings.<sup>67</sup>

### Concluding Remarks

The journey to the cave of the supreme god planned by the three discussants in the *Laws* is a spatial philosophical image. Just as the ideal polity depicted in this dialogue is only the polity in words and not yet in practice, the discussants seem to reach only the middle of their planned journey. When they reach their resting place, they cease to be "peripatetic" philosophers, who both walk and talk. This seems to contradict the emphasis on the idea that moving one's body may also "move" one's mind or thoughts presented elsewhere in the *Laws* (7,790c–791a). However, these men are advanced in years and of the four song choruses presented in Book Two, theirs is the last one, not confined to singing and dancing, to moving one's body, but extending to telling edifying stories (μυθόλογοι, 2,664d). The Athenian later suggests that their present discussion, which includes telling "stories", would be most adequate reading for young people (7,811d). The meandering, repetitive and circular character of their discussion may, however, be difficult to follow. It recalls a mountainous journey, which is a circular ascent, the serpentine mountainous road leading in its semi-spiral approach towards the top.

Circular motion plays an important part in the *Laws* as an ideal motion of the soul, as the actual motion of heavenly, divine bodies, as the motion of choral performances, and as the yearly rotation of the country guardians in the countryside, *chôra*, around the *polis*. The emphasis on the daily physical, especially choral, performances of the citizens is connected with the concept of the ordered cosmos, which for its part points to the non-anthropocentrism of the *Laws*.

In the *Laws*, to sustain one's physical environment, the *chôra*, is to sustain it for the well-being of the body (for food supply and for the health of the citizen body). However, a healthy, well-nurtured body is able to regulate with its movements the irrational part of the soul and the well-ordered irrational part is an es-

<sup>66</sup> *Lg.* 6,761c–d: "by using water pipes they shall beautify the sacred groves at all seasons of the year".

<sup>67</sup> Embellishment seems to reflect the biophilic idea that a natural or natural-seeming environment may have recreational and healing effects on humans.

stantial support for the divine part of the soul, its rationality. The other way round, to maintain a sustainable relationship with one's physical environment – which secures self-sufficiency and continuity of one's physical well-being – can probably be realized only by well-ordered, rational souls. Beyond practical reasons, self-sufficiency and continuity reflect the idea of the self-moving and the around-its-own-centre-moving rational part of the soul. In addition to this, the "land ethics" of the *Laws* includes respect for the physical world because the *chôra* in general (and sacred places especially) belongs to the gods. The good care of land is thus linked with its divine ownership. Furthermore, the education of selected men includes practical knowledge of the environment and not just from a military point of view as military service. Some of the young assistant guardians of the *chôra* may even proceed to the highest positions, perhaps even become members of the nocturnal council. The place of the council is said to be situated ἐν ἀκροπόλει τῆς χώρας (12,969c). "Acropolis" in this phrase refers both to the high status of the council<sup>68</sup> and to the actual spatial situation.<sup>69</sup> The nocturnal council, which the Athenian, the Cretan and the Spartan are going to establish at the very end of the *Laws*, is the highest place on the entire psychical and physical *chôra* – the end of their "mountainous" journey.

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<sup>68</sup> See Schöpsdau III (above n. 1), 606 (references to *Resp.* 560b and *Tim.* 70a).

<sup>69</sup> In its vicinity is the σωφρονιστήριον, the place where the righteous non-believers are being re-educated as believers by the members of the nocturnal council (10,908a). See also 5,745b.



## FRAGMENTS FROM THE 'MIDDLE GROUND' – POSIDONIUS' NORTHERN ETHNOGRAPHY\*

ANTTI LAMPINEN

### Introduction

Posidonius of Apamea (d. 51 BCE) is often described as a fundamental contributor to ancient ethnographic writing, perhaps most famously about the northerners. A polymath of Stoic persuasion, he is among other accolades regarded as the first and authoritative source on druids, bards, and many 'Celtic' customs, and possibly the first ancient writer to mention the ethnonym Γερμανοί.<sup>1</sup> Although we only possess a fraction of the original contents of Posidonius' works via fragments, he has been a consistent favourite figure for scholars of ancient history seeking a point of transition where the broadly "Herodotean" style of sparsely confirmed, anecdotal 'ethnography' gave way to a purported autopsy-based precursor of anthropology. The existence of such a point in the history of ancient ethnographic writing has now been called into question by many scholars.<sup>2</sup>

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\* This article is based to a great extent on the relevant chapters (II.1c–d) of my doctoral thesis (Lampinen 2013, 177–99). It has greatly benefited from the helpful and learned comments by my external assessors Prof. Thomas Harrison and Prof. Greg Woolf. When preparing the chapters on Posidonius for my thesis manuscript, I also gave a conference presentation on 'Over-Posidonisation' of Gallic ethnography in the XII International Symposium of Societas Celtologica Nordica, organised in Helsinki 11–13 July 2012. In addition to the lively discussion among the participants, I would in particular like to thank Dr. Jane Webster for her feedback.

<sup>1</sup> With reference to 'Celts', these modern interpretations are summed up in *CCHE s.v.* 'Athenaeus', 'bard [I] in classical accounts', 'Diodorus Siculus', 'druids [I] classical accounts', and 'Posidonius'. For the idea that Posidonius was the first to mention Germania, see Hansen 1989; also Dobesch 1995, 61–3. Mazzarino 1957 dates the ethnonym to already before Posidonius.

<sup>2</sup> Herodotus' example remained influential for most of antiquity, as has been noted about Posidonius in particular by Clarke 1999, 164f. That Herodotus continued to enjoy remarkable

Based on these advances, this article will attempt to provide a realistic, contextualised estimate regarding the formation and extent of Posidonius' literary contribution to the description of Gauls – and less directly, northerners as a commonality. The significance of being able to assess correctly the contents and the context of Posidonius' so-called 'ethnography' is obvious, especially when keeping in mind the optimistic and trusting tone that some reconstructions of his fragments have exhibited. With all the accruing understanding of the tradition of ancient ethnographical writing, a critical eye must be cast at a contribution so often postulated as unsurpassed in its influence.<sup>3</sup> It cannot be doubted that Posidonius' impact in antiquity was significant – that is borne out by the amount of his preserved fragments and testimonies – but he may have been given undue prominence because of the more complete loss of his contemporaries has blurred our picture of the cultural dynamics at play.

The main problem in assessing Posidonius' role in the ancient tradition of ethnographic writing seems to be that he is such a plausible candidate for an autoptic, "scientific" observer of anthropological realities in the field. Posidonius' perceived methodological "modernity" was favourably commented upon by A. Momigliano, and he was, conveniently, "one of the most acute observers of antiquity" to J. J. Tierney. E. R. Dodds characterized Posidonius as "the first true field anthropologist".<sup>4</sup> Such ahistorical favouritism, or at least an admiration towards Posidonius' apparently encyclopaedic and doctrinally homogeneous oeuvre, led already in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to warnings about an "over-Posidonization" of the history of ancient philosophy.<sup>5</sup> But what is necessary to realise is that most of the glowing assessments of Posidonius' impact on several fields of knowledge is crucially facilitated by the fragmentary status of his writings. This has enabled

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exemplarity, is demonstrated in the context of Late Antique and Byzantine ethnography by Kaldellis 2013.

<sup>3</sup> For recent contributions to our understanding of ancient ethnographical writing, see, for instance, many of the articles edited in Raaflaub – Talbert 2010 and Almagor – Skinner 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Momigliano 1975, 69; Tierney 1960, 223; Dodds 1973, 19.

<sup>5</sup> This was noted early-on by Dobson 1918, 179–95, but his sensible view seems to have only a limited impact; possibly the scholarly trends were against rigorous minimalism, rather favouring contributions such as Trüdinger 1918. Later, Nock 1959 sketched out some of the developments in the Posidonian reception that led to his glowing reputation already in antiquity, though Nock's attributions of Posidonian fragments are notable in their convenience and capaciousness, and he often expresses the view that Posidonius produced a body of work with a consistent, rational Stoic foundation. Thomas 1982, 117f. pointed to criticism of 'panposidonianism' that saw Posidonius' philosophical influence in poetry.

modern scholars to project – often almost unwittingly – their own expectations and desires onto the interpretations drawn from both the extent and the content of the Posidonian fragments. Clarke put it in a typically succinct way: "[a]s Diodorus and Strabo are stripped of their 'clever' passages, they become increasingly unworthy of such pieces and all the more likely to lose them. As Posidonius is accorded more of these intellectual highlights, he becomes proportionately more intelligent and all the more likely to have been the source of high-level discourse".<sup>6</sup> Diodorus has particularly suffered in this process, silent as he often is about his sources.

The early 20<sup>th</sup> century enthusiasm in Posidonius was directed at this ethnographic contributions by Eduard Norden, who assessed the Posidonian input as crucial for ethnographic writing, though he also recognised the literary character of many of the components in the tradition. These he named *Wandermotive*.<sup>7</sup> While the term is in some ways problematic – not least because it implies some agency on the part of the motifs themselves, instead of authorial strategies, literary *imitatio*, and culturally shared discourse as vehicles of transmission – Norden's idea of literary stock descriptions has in its essentials endured. In the more recent, post-(socio)linguistic-turn scholarship, our understanding of *topoi* and literary commonplaces has become much more nuanced than at Norden's time, even though much of the modern scholarship is hampered by our less encyclopaedic knowledge of the literary tradition itself. A sad symptom of our times and the compromised state of classical curricula.

Perhaps no wonder, then, that the subject of a fragmentary polymath's relation to the tradition of ethnographical writing has lain largely dormant for some years now. Posidonius' significance has been reassessed in many other regards, but his ethnography is still treated in a capacious way in many modern contributions – partly because he forms a passable framework to compilations of things written in antiquity about the Celts, and partly simply because his fragmentary status seems to allow it.<sup>8</sup> I hasten to add that this current article is but a narrow venture, addressing only the material considered to have originated in Posidonius' 'ethnography of Gaul'. Regarding this subject, two contributions with a still-evident influence are the 1960 article by Tierney, and the 1976 response to

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<sup>6</sup> Clarke 1999, 132.

<sup>7</sup> Norden 1922, 56.

<sup>8</sup> Two examples of recent books, partly directed at the general audience, which use Posidonius as a framework are Freeman 2006 and Martin 2011.



it by D. Nash.<sup>9</sup> Tierney's article included a lengthy treatment of the formation of the Greek ethnographical tradition, pointing out particular subjects with a long standing among the elements included in ethnographic descriptions (e.g. 192). He likewise noted the connections that ethnographic writing exhibits to other literary registers, such as wonder-writing and utopias, though he worked still on the assumption that writing on 'Celts' formed a process of accruing information, forming a more and more 'truthful' picture of an anthropological reality.<sup>10</sup> Posidonius' Celtic ethnography was, according to Tierney, reconstructable from the fragments preserved in Caesar, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Athenaeus.

Tierney's conclusions on Posidonius became quite influential – partly through Rankin 1987 – even though they also elicited a spirited response from Nash. Her much-praised contribution introduced a welcome note of caution into Posidonian studies, and successfully demolished Tierney's argument of Caesar's dependence on Posidonian ethnography – a claim that was somewhat untenable to begin with. Nash is entirely correct in pointing out that Posidonius was not the only source available to the Late Republican or Augustan writers on Gauls.<sup>11</sup> Nor was he necessarily the most authoritative one at that stage: Caesar's recent first-hand experience and attractive style would have steered many writers to consult him. Moreover, as will be discussed more fully below, there would have been even more plentiful oral sources than were available for Posidonius: after the Gallic Wars and the first decades of Roman rule in Gaul there were naturally more Roman informants available than ever before, ready to narrate their anecdotes and pronounce their opinions on northerners.

Other enthusiastic expositions of Posidonius' role, such as Freeman 2006 and Martin 2011, will largely be left out of consideration in this instance on account of their semi-popular nature, though it must be said that their sweeping claims (such as his *History* being an account of his journey to the west, 'a marvel of ethnic study that became a best-seller across the Mediterranean world', Free-

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<sup>9</sup> Tierney 1960; Nash 1976.

<sup>10</sup> Tierney 1960, 195: "these stories must be echoes of some contemporary disaster", when discussing the motif of an oceanic inundation harassing a northern population. Such an explanation is not needed: the element, already attested in Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* 1115b) and Ephorus (*ap. Str.* 7,2,1–3), could simply result from Greek knowledge about the Atlantic tides, perhaps accentuated by climatological considerations, which ever since the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places* had envisioned the western lands rendered unamenable for human habitation on account of the overabundance of water.

<sup>11</sup> Nash 1976, 112.

man, 4) in no way help to dispel the simplistic lumping that seems to characterise Posidonian reception. It seems plausible that Posidonius did travel to the Atlantic coast in order to observe tidal movements, and (on the basis of T 1a and T 23 Edelstein-Kidd) he is attested to have visited both Liguria and Rome, but he was no explorer. Even more importantly, he certainly did not travel as extensively in Gaul as has occasionally been claimed.<sup>12</sup> In fact, in his testimonia and fragments there is no explicit confirmation of his visit even to Massilia. Even so, it would have been a natural port of call in his westward journey.<sup>13</sup> If he did observe old displays of decapitated heads (F 274, see below), he need not have wandered deep into the province: skull niches have been found in pillars from both Roquepertuse and Entremont, near Aquae Sextiae.<sup>14</sup>

### Posidonius' fragments *sensu stricto*

A crucial prerequisite for the study of Posidonius' contribution to ancient writing about the northerners is a plausible delineation of the extent of his fragments. We are fortunate to be able to rely on the excellent critical edition begun by L. Edelstein and finalised by I. G. Kidd (first edition in 1972). The Edelstein-Kidd edition is more rigorous in tone than the *FGrH* 97 of Jacoby (a great admirer of Posidonius), and much more so than the posthumous edition of W. Theiler (1982) – the publication of which prompted Kidd to issue a second, revised edition in 1989. While the Edelstein-Kidd edition has been very well received within the classics, its impact among the Celtic studies has not been very visible.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, J. Ma-

<sup>12</sup> E.g. Hatt 1984, 82: "Posidonius, qui avait séjourné longtemps en Gaule". This is not only a completely unsupported claim, but also emblematic of the wishful thinking often met in connection with Posidonius; just cf. Freeman 2006, 121f.; Martin 2011, 61f.

<sup>13</sup> A visit to Massilia seems to be implied by F 269, although the meaning would strictly speaking be that Charmoleon, himself a Massiliote, was his host at Liguria. The tenuous evidence of Posidonius' Massilian visit was noted by Laffranque 1964, 82 with admirable minimalism. Posidonius' return trip took him along the coast of Africa: T 21–22.

<sup>14</sup> Kidd 1988, II 937. The numbering of Posidonius' fragments in this article corresponds to the Edelstein – Kidd edition.

<sup>15</sup> Edelstein – Kidd 1989 (1972); Theiler 1982. Rankin 1987, though aware of the Edelstein – Kidd edition, avoids the implications of their work, and on several occasions attributes to Posidonius passages that either are wholly topical, relate to a commonly shared pool of cultural stereotypes (and hence are barely attributable), or are derived from authors that could have had independent or non-Posidonian sources on 'Celts', too. Even the recent and valuable sourcebook

litz's widely cited study of Posidonius' *Histories* has propagated Theiler's broad attribution of Posidonian fragments, which often included passages unattributed to any particular author, but which could on wholly external and preconceived grounds imagined to stem from Posidonius. The 2004 edition of Vimercati explicitly aims to find a middle way between Edelstein – Kidd and Theiler, and will be occasionally referred to.<sup>16</sup>

The method of Edelstein and Kidd was to reject every purported fragment not attributed to Posidonius by name – the only conceivable way to build a reasoned and truly trustworthy corpus of fragments. It is undeniable, however, that because of the laxity of attributions in ancient citing habits this minimalistic outlook will result in some genuine fragments being omitted. In what follows, I will first look at the securely attested Posidonian fragments stemming from his possible 'Gallic' ethnography. Afterwards, I will look at a few of the passages attributed to him by Vimercati but omitted by Edelstein and Kidd. Since these have most often been included as fragments by Jacoby and Theiler, the whole problem of over-capacious 'Posidonianism' is focused on their interpretation and attribution. Often, the minimalistic and rational argumentation in Clarke's *Between Geography and History* helps us to question certain givens which even Kidd has taken for granted in his interpretation of Posidonian fragments.

### On Κελτοί

We first look at Posidonius' F 67 (*ap.* Athen. 4,151e–152f), which concerns Celtic banqueting customs, and is thus quite typical of fragments cited by Athenaeus. A particularly interesting detail is the description of a Gallic noble Luvernius, who appealed to the masses by distributing precious metals from his chariot and arranging sumptuous feasts. This is not Posidonian autopsy. Firstly, the passage refers to the father of Bituitus, who himself was deposed after the Allobrogan war in 121 BCE by Fabius Maximus.<sup>17</sup> Secondly, the theme of populist members of

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Hofeneder 2005 bases its discussion of Posidonius (112–57) prevalently on Theiler. Ruggeri 2000, though using the Edelstein – Kidd edition of Posidonian fragments, is determinedly optimistic about its subject.

<sup>16</sup> Malitz 1983; Vimercati 2004, 14.

<sup>17</sup> As noted by Clarke 1999, 364f., this reference cannot even be made to support the old idea of Jacoby (which Kidd still retains) that saw it as a proof for the context into which Posidonius inserted his 'Gallic ethnography' in his *Histories*. The fragment can be compared with App.

the elite currying the favour of the *plebs* was a source of increasing unease for the Late Republican political establishment, and hence can reflect Roman concerns and focus.<sup>18</sup> Thirdly, the motifs connecting northerners in general and 'Celts' in particular with precious metals and banquets had a long literary history by the time of Posidonius.<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, the inclusion of both silver and gold among the metals that Luvernius scatters to the common folk seems to contrast Diod. 5,27, commenting on the rarity of silver in Gaul. The phrase in Athenaeus may be a stylistic elaboration, and must alert us to the possibility that Athenaeus may have modified other Posidonian material, as well.

F 68 (*ap. Athen.* 4,154a–c) continues the theme of bangueting, with special attention paid to the duels fought during the feasts. The theme of Celts being always armed makes its appearance; this notion was a long-lived topos used in connection with primitive societies (even the early Greek society).<sup>20</sup> A notional connection with the Homeric descriptions of bangueting culture is possible, especially in the common element of portions of meat being divided on the basis of perceived virtue of the participants.<sup>21</sup> It is possible that this theme adds Posidonius' own information to themes which earlier Greek writing had already taken up, for instance in Phylarchus' writings.<sup>22</sup> Within Athenaeus' work, Posidonius' F

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*Celt.* F 12,1–3 *ap. Exc. de legationibus* 1,2 524,7–18. One cannot discount the possibility that references to Celtic praise singers in Appian and Athenaeus share a link.

<sup>18</sup> It may also have been a focus for Posidonius' moral condemnation: Malitz 1983, 178f.; Kidd 1988, I 315 compares this with Pos. F 75 *ap. Athen.* 4,153b–c on Heracleon of Beroia and F 253 *ap. Athen.* 5,211d–215b on Athenion the tyrant.

<sup>19</sup> Valuable metals and other 'bling' is also present in Polybius' description (sourced from Fabius Pictor) of the Gallic host at the battle of Telamon: Polyb. 2,29,6–9, and hence may testify to a relatively early perception among the Romans. Posidonius himself in F 273 *ap. Str.* 4,1,13; the theme of Gallic greed was well-known to Romans: Polyb. 1.66f., 2,17,11; 2,22,2; 4,46,3; Liv. 5,48; 44,26.

<sup>20</sup> Already Thuc. 1,5,5–6,1. The theme of fights or duels during the feasts was an ethnographic commonplace, and amidst his Posidonian quotations about Celts Athenaeus has, interestingly, placed a fragment from Nicolaus of Damascus and another from Euphorion of Chalcis (from whom *Et. Magn. s.v. Γαλιζήται* preserves an etymology for this name of invaders fought against by Romans: οἱ Γαλάται· οἱ τὴν γῆν ζητοῦντες) pertaining to Roman duels and decapitation contests: Nic. Dam. *ap. Athen.* 4,153f, Euph. Chalc. F 4 *ap. Athen.* 4,154c.

<sup>21</sup> The connection between Homeric and Celtic feasting customs is more accentuated in Diod. 5,28, which refers to *Il.* 7,321 after describing the Celtic dining practice of awarding choicest portions to the bravest fighters.

<sup>22</sup> On banquets: Phylarchus' *FGrH* 81 F 2 *ap. Athen.* 4,150d–f particularly speaks of Galatians'

69 (6,246c–d) seems more connected with F 67, focusing as it is on the role of the eulogising 'parasites' who accompany their patrons even to war. The mention is not neutral in tone: it stands in relation to Greek discourse on the nature of autocratic power and the moral defects of parasites and hangers-around.<sup>23</sup> F 69 extends to the mention of the apparently separate group of βάρδοι: Athenaeus' wording does not resemble Ammian's rendition of Timagenes of Alexandria, though the contents agree (τὰ δὲ ἀκούσματα αὐτῶν εἰσιν οἱ καλούμενοι βάρδοι: ποιηταὶ δὲ οὗτοι τυγχάνουσι μετ' ᾠδῆς ἐπαίνους λέγοντες).<sup>24</sup>

F 274 *ap. Str.* 4,4,5, perhaps the most famous 'Celtic' fragment of Posidonius, concerns the display of decapitated heads. Diodorus' unattributed account (5,29,4–5), incorporating many similarities, probably embroiders more basic – probably Posidonian – information (as Kidd 1988, II 938 suggests). But Diodorus would also undoubtedly have benefited from the increased currency of colourful tales about Gauls, newly circulating in Rome after Caesar's wars. It has often been supposed that Posidonius' autopsy would have taken place near Massilia; this view is made more attractive by the ostensible confirmation it gets from the archaeological material unearthed close to Marseille (see above fn. 13).<sup>25</sup> Even this supposition, however, relies on conjecture. We know that Charmoleon, who hosted Posidonius in Liguria, was a Massiliote, and it would seem likely that Posidonius would have stopped in Massilia on his way to the west. His extant fragments discussing the area, though, do not explicitly mention his presence in the city, and the one citing his autopsy (our fragment F 274 about the display of heads) does not mention Massilia. The contents of this fragment are, besides, quite topical. Northerners had been described as decapitating their enemies since

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feasts, and Athenaeus' own discourse includes another potentially influential example in the form of Xenophon's description of Thracian feasts (*ap. Athen.* 150f–151e; Xenoph. *Anab.* 3,21). *CCHE s.v.* 'Champion's portion': "it is clear from the account of Athenaeus that Posidonius did not claim to have witnessed the practice."

<sup>23</sup> Posidonius' own moralising judgement comes clear from F 56, on Hierax, a parasite of the Ptolemies.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Amm. 15,9,2 (Timagenes F 2 *FGrH* 88) *et bardī quidem fortia virorum illustrium facta heroicis composita versibus cum dulcibus lyrae modulīs cantitarunt*, which bears more similarity with Diodorus' account on bards.

<sup>25</sup> A very worthwhile critical treatment on the difficulty of relating archaeological material to literary accounts on 'Celtic' ritual life can be found in Fitzpatrick 1991.

Herodotus, and the Roman family traditions seem to have referred to particular occasions of this happening.<sup>26</sup>

### On 'Hyperboreans' in the Alps

F 270 *ap. Schol. in Apoll. Rhod.* 2,675 is a garbled but intriguing reference to Posidonius' view on Hyperboreans, which has been rather briefly treated in previous scholarship.<sup>27</sup> I will tentatively argue that Posidonius' treatment of the Hyperboreans, in the form transmitted by the scholiast, exhibits a complex relation with the inherited form of Herodotean ethnographical enquiry, and Posidonius' own drive towards harmonization of received knowledge instead of overturning it. Herodotus (4,36) was famously sceptical regarding the existence of Hyperboreans, and Posidonius may have attempted to reconcile the epic ethnonym to the contemporary situation. In this, his method may resemble that of Heraclides Ponticus, but it also allowed Posidonius to pose an alternative to Eratosthenes' view (cited in Str. 1,3,22), which sought to abolish the use of 'Hyperboreans' when speaking of contemporary groups.

It is very difficult to reconstruct the original context of Posidonius' Hyperborean passage, and while it is possible that he was offering a euhemerizing *ἄτιον*, it would not be unparalleled within the tradition of ancient ethnographical writing for this note to represent a less defined intermediate space between mythogeography and ethnography. In such a space, historians, geographers, and mythographers were all able to operate within the parameters of inherited elements, while offering their own interpretations of the material's relationship with their current worldview.<sup>28</sup> Another, more famous, fragment in which Posidonius

<sup>26</sup> Hdt. 4,64–5; 4,103 (on the Taurian habit of impaling the enemies' heads next to their dwellings as an apotropaic ward: the similarity to Str. 4,4,5 is striking); the element possibly existed in Hellenistic tradition, too: cf. Polyb. 21 F 38 *ap. Plut. De mul. virt.* 22; Parth. *Narr. amat.* 8. Roman cases include the fate of Postumius Albinus, Polyb. 3,118,6, and that of Gaius Acilius, Polyb. 2,28,10, possibly on the basis of Fabius Pictor; a possible inversion of the motif is found in *Quadr. F 7 Chassignet ap. Gell. NA* 17,12,14.

<sup>27</sup> Dobesch 1995, 106f.; Marco Simón 2000, 133; even Bridgman 2005, 153, otherwise offering enthusiastic (over)interpretations on many passages on Hyperboreans, seems unsure what to make of it. Laffranque 1964, 207 connected the motif with Pytheas' periplotic narrative of the North, but the link seems rather tenuous.

<sup>28</sup> For an examination of such textual-epistemic negotiations, one may refer, for instance, to

seems to have exhibited a desire to reconcile Homeric ethnonyms and geography with his current-day understanding is F 276 *ap. Str.* 7,3,2–7 on the Mysians and *Il.* 13,3–5. It seems that in his remark about the Hyperboreans in the Alps, Posidonius has put a contemporary concern with the area into a relation with the literary tradition, and given the mythogeographical detail an ethnographicizing turn, though not without a moralizing component.<sup>29</sup>

Another Posidonian fragment may help us explain what Posidonius was trying to achieve with his Hyperboreans. In detailing the peoples encountered by the westward-wandering Cimbri in F 272 *ap. Str.* 7,2,1–2, Posidonius included the detail about how Helvetii, "peaceable men rich in gold", were induced to join the Cimbri after they witnessed the even greater amount of gold that the invaders had gathered. This is probably the original context of Posidonius' Hyperboreans in the F 270, too. It would have been a natural occasion to euhemeristically associate the peaceable and bounteous Hyperboreans, living behind their mountain wall, with the Helvetii of his own day. This Alpine mountain wall, moreover, was further etymologized by Posidonius into the Rhipaeian mountains of legend, behind which the Hyperboreans were said to live, via the intermediate stage of 'Olbian mountains' in F 240a *ap. Athen.* 6,233d. Kidd (1988, II 919) compares F 270 with F 240a and sees this, plausibly, as another instance of Posidonius' claimed euhemerizing or realist method; Posidonius was writing of a historical state of affairs, explaining the Alps as an area where the Hyperboreans had previously lived. If in so doing he could challenge the stance of his influential predecessor Eratosthenes, so much for the better.

### On Cimbri<sup>30</sup>

So it would seem that the Cimbric wanderings gave an occasion to Posidonius to not only suggest an emendation to the other conjectures regarding the mythical Hyperboreans, but also to issue moralizing debates about the influence of min-

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Zuckermann 2006.

<sup>29</sup> See Kidd 1989, 46f. for the view that ethnography was fundamental for Posidonius' conception of history, which in turn was a subservient component for moral philosophy.

<sup>30</sup> For the sake of simplicity, I will not distinguish between the literary attestations of Cimbri, Teutones, Ambrones, and Tigurini – groups which all were described, often in interchangeable textual constructions, to have taken part in the barbarian *tumultus*. Posidonius' fragments only seem to contain the name of Cimbri, which otherwise, too, came to be used *pars pro toto*.

eral wealth to the character of peoples. His F 239 *ap.* Str. 3,2,9 (on the metals of Hispania) also exhibit a concern with the moral corollaries of excessive wealth, and the same can be said of F 240a *ap.* Athen. 6,234a–c on the Scordisci, a reference closely connected with his remark on the Helvetii (Athen. 6,233d–e), examined above.<sup>31</sup> Barbarian greed was a wholly established Hellenistic topos, which would have been recognizable for most of Posidonius' audience. Cimbri, for their part, would no doubt have been a natural source for such a moralizing rhetoric, since their vast and disruptive wanderings seemed to have been motivated by depredation.<sup>32</sup> No doubt there was much interest in the Cimbri during Posidonius' lifetime, and their final defeat after many years of panic and vexation was still within the recent Roman memory.<sup>33</sup> F 272a–b *ap.* Str. 7,2,1–2 is a lengthy explanation of their origin and wanderings, interspersed with Strabo's own additions (mentioning Augustus) and probably summarizing a more spread-out discussion in Posidonius. The theory of their departure resulting from marine floods is debunked (a), and the name of the Cimmerian Bosphoros is derived from their name (b). It is however important to note that he would not have been able to observe their sacrificial customs (described in Strabo's follow-up in 7,2,3) in person – he was at least a decade too late for that.<sup>34</sup> Instead the most natural assumption is that he relied upon Roman informants. It also seems likely that in explaining the origins of this sudden barbarian *tumultus*, Posidonius was responding to a Roman epistemic demand.

Essentially, Posidonius' Herodoteanising take on the 'Cimmerian' Cimbri parallels his identification of the Helvetii as Hyperboreans.<sup>35</sup> The stories of their

<sup>31</sup> Posidonius' interest in Scordisci would no doubt have been affected by the recent Roman military campaigns against them, as Kidd 1988, II 839 notes. They, too, just like the Cimbri before Caesar, were classed as 'Celts': *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 710 A–B; Liv. *per.* 63; Dio 22,74,1.

<sup>32</sup> See Kidd 1989, 47.

<sup>33</sup> The first Roman consular army defeated by the Cimbri was that of Cn. Papirius Carbo at Noreia in 113 BCE (Liv. *epit.* 63). In 109 BCE they bested the consular army of M. Iunius Silanus (*ibid.* 65), and in 107 that of L. Cassius Longinus suffered a defeat at the hands of the Tigurini, allies of the Cimbri (Caes. *BG* 1,7,4; Liv. *epit.* 65). Lastly, in 105 BCE the heavy Roman defeat at the Battle of Arausio led, according to Sallust (*Iug.* 114 *advorsum Gallos ab ducibus nostris Q. Caepione et Cn. Manlio male pugnatum. Quo metu Italia omnis contremuit.*), to a fundamental crisis of confidence.

<sup>34</sup> This information's possible Posidonian derivation is unnecessarily judged as inconclusive by Günnewig 1998, 128.

<sup>35</sup> On the Cimbri as Cimmerians, see e.g. Dobesch 1995, 63–70. There is also a structural parallel in Ephorus *FGrH* 70 F 134a *ap.* Str. 5,4,5, which explains Cimmerians as formerly



depredations could have cast an almost titanic colouring on them (Dobesch 1995, 64), much like what happened with the Greek reaction to the Galatian attack on Delphi. Another 'historical' exemplum would have been the wide-ranging wars of the Scythians and Cimmerians.<sup>36</sup> Their ethnographical classification had by Posidonius' time not been affixed; it has been noted that for him, the identity of the Cimbri would have been either Celtic or Scythian.<sup>37</sup> The 'Germanic' identification of Cimbri only took rise after Caesar, and even then, Diodorus numbers Cimbri among Γαλάται (5,32,4). If Diodorus is so fundamentally dependant on Posidonius as some scholars deem him to be, and if Posidonius wrote about Γερμανοί – a question we turn to next – it would be surprising that Diodorus does not distinguish between Κελτοί and Γερμανοί. As things are, though, Diodorus chose to ignore even Caesar's use of the ethnonym – unlike Strabo (4,4,2).<sup>38</sup>

### On Γερμανοί

Posidonius' F 73 (*ap.* Athen. 4,153e), the only one purporting to come from Book 30 of the *Histories*, is a brief remark about Γερμανοί eating meat roasted in whole joints and drinking milk or unmixed wine. Contents-wise this is not ethnography: such an image had become a proverbial marker of a semi-nomadic or nomadic groups in all climes.<sup>39</sup> The fragment has been much discussed, as it would seem to date the origin of the Germanic ethnonym at least to Posidonius, if not earlier. Many scholars have just taken the fragment for its face value. Dobesch thought it likely that the ethnonym Γερμανοί predates Posidonius, but this view is very difficult to substantiate fully.<sup>40</sup> Contributions discussing the pre-Caesarian 'Germani' are mostly focused on the possible real-life referent groups of this ethno-

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living underground near the oracle at Κύμη (Cumae).

<sup>36</sup> The 'latter-day Titans' in Callim. *Hymn* 4,171–76. Also see Lampinen 2013, 297–300. On the Scythians and Cimmerians in Herodotus, e.g., 4,11f.

<sup>37</sup> Tierney 1960, 199f. 'Celtoscythians' (Κελτοσκύθαι) as an ethnographicising portmanteau, its use partly reinforced by the established position of the 'Celtiberians' (Κελτίβηρες), is in Str. 11,6,2 (Hell. *FGrH* 4 F 185) a general name for all northern peoples, though this could have reached him through Ephorus (cf. *FGrH* 70 T 30a *ap.* Jos. *C. Ap.* 1,16).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Perl 1978, mostly focused on Diodorus' use of ethnonyms.

<sup>39</sup> As well demonstrated by Shaw 1982.

<sup>40</sup> Dobesch's references (1995, 62 fn. 233 and 234) make quite clear that there has been no lack of attempts; also see Dobesch 1982.

nym, which certainly keeps the discussion going, but also ensures its conjectural nature. Such discussion is grounded on the presupposition that there must have existed 'Germanic' groups which would in due time become so denoted, and often seeks to downplay studies that demonstrate the extent of the Roman 'invention' of the Germania.<sup>41</sup> As an example of taking Athenaeus' apparent citation as it is, one may mention Hansen's ill-advised emendation of Tac. *Germ.* 2,5 from *a victore ob metum* to *viatore*, with the assumption that such a 'traveller' would have been Posidonius. This relies on the assumption of Posidonius having had a reputation in antiquity of travelling deep into Europe, and omits the question of the fragment's integrity.

Whatever the actual first appearance of the ethnonym *Germani* was, it seems rather unlikely that Posidonius used its Greek form, despite what F 73 seems to state. I would prefer the explanation that Athenaeus or his source to Posidonius (whether direct or anthologized) had substituted Γερμανοί pro Καρμάνιοι, using a much better-known ethnonym, though in so doing relocating the group in question from Persia to Europe.<sup>42</sup> This is not as unlikely as it may first appear. *Excerpta Latina Barbari* 34a demonstrates the possibility of such an error, as it records that in his will Alexander the Great left *Germania* (pro *Carmania*) to Tlepolemus.<sup>43</sup> If this is deemed inconclusive, one may refer to Hdt. 1,125 (Rosén) where the 'Καρμάνιοι' has demonstrably been corrupted in the manuscript tradition into 'Γερμάνιοι' by the greater familiarity of the latter name: by the Imperial Era Γερμανοί would arguably been a more familiar ethnonym of the two. While Athenaeus' methods of working are a matter of conjecture, the corruption itself may not have been due to a purposeful change by Athenaeus.<sup>44</sup> At any rate, he

<sup>41</sup> For the essentialist presupposition of 'German' pre-existence, see the points made in the preface of Goffart 2006. For the Germania and its inhabitants as a construct permeated by Caesar's artifice, see Riggsby 2006, 21–45; Schadee 2008, 158–80, 167–71.

<sup>42</sup> For the idea that the ethnonym is Athenaeus' substitution, see Pekkanen 1974 with notes. Alternatively we can entertain the possibility that the error has crept in during the manuscript transmission of the *Deipnosophistae*, but the closely similar F 277b *ap.* Eustath. *Ad Il.* 13,6, almost certainly not a direct quote from Posidonius, would in that case be the *terminus ante quem*.

<sup>43</sup> See Garstad 2011, 16 fn. 43 on the understandable error in *ELB*, probably a Merovingian translation from Greek.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Clarke 1999, 135 with several good points built upon the observations in Pelling 1999, such as the probable lack of textual consultation in passages where an associative chain of examples under a certain topic was influencing the writer. Athenaeus' incorporation of F 73 would appear to be one such instance, with several geographically diverse nations being paraded

refers separately to Posidonius' description of the Carmanian friendship toasts (F 283 *ap. Athen.* 2,45f). It is probably more economical to suppose that Posidonius was only writing about Carmanians in his work instead of introducing an ethnonym which has its first, although still very tentative, attestations at least couple of decades later.<sup>45</sup> That the Γερμανοί here are described as drinking milk is no indication of cultural or geographical belonging, since the element is wholly conventional.

### On druids

As we then move to some of the fragments insecurely attributed to Posidonius – the ones upon which the over-confident Posidonisation of ancient northern ethnography often hinges – the first claim to be discussed must be the assumption, made on the basis of Diod. 5,25, that Posidonius described the druids or at least referred to them. Kidd (1988, I 317) thinks it an accident of survival that none of the attested Posidonian fragments mentions the Gallic philosophical class: in his thinking "there can be little doubt that Posidonius knew of their importance, and included them in his ethnography". The common image of druidic importance among the Gauls is mostly built upon Caesar and post-Caesarian sources, as well as the vernacular Insular sources of a much later era; this naturally poses a danger of circularity.<sup>46</sup> There are, however, grounds for arguing that the notion of wise men among the Celts was of Hellenistic pedigree, and hence was probably known to Posidonius and maybe even his audience.

Diodorus 5,25–32, regarded by Vimercati in its entirety as Posidonius' F B17, includes a piece of information that exhibits a long life within ancient lit-

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in a rather complex sequence with several cited authors from Timaeus and Megasthenes to Nicolaus of Damascus and Eratosthenes. Nor should we think his memory absolutely retentive: in introducing F 52 he seems to forget the exact title of Posidonius work.

<sup>45</sup> Possibly transmitted in Liv. *per.* 97; Plut. *Cass.* 9,7; both of whom, of course, post-date Caesar and the construction of *Germani* as the free and uncivilised northerners in the place of the now-subjugated Gauls.

<sup>46</sup> Starkly demonstrated by Tierney 1960, 223f., who argued that what he judged as the sources' ahistorical magnification of the druids' role in Gallic society was already the creation of Posidonius, and Caesar simply found it politically expedient to follow what he found in Posidonius. Nash 1976, on the other hand, wanted to rescue Caesar's source value about Gallic realities, and relegated his role into that of a reporter (122f.). Against these, cf. the modern view of Schadee 2008, 177.

erature, and has a questionable relationship with the more likely Posidonian parts of Diodorus. Using the Celtic dinner practices and duels as a bridge to include the motif of this people's disregard for death, Diodorus goes on to note their confidence in Pythagoras' λόγος on human souls being immortal and returning after an assigned period into other bodies (5,28). This does have a likely Caesarian basis (6,14), but the explicit mention of Pythagoras is a notable addition. Diodorus' methodology has not received all the attention it deserves, but on the basis of our current knowledge and the contents of his relevant *loci* themselves it is safe to say that he could not have and did not depend solely on Posidonius for his 'Celtic ethnography'.<sup>47</sup> There were other and more recent sources available, among them Timagenes' writings – as Kidd notes.<sup>48</sup> Diodorus' information on Gauls demonstrates strong Caesarian influence, as is natural: at the time of his composition, the *Commentarii de bello Gallico* would have had the greatest prestige among works purporting to describe Gauls, and we know that Diodorus knew Latin (1,4,4). It is certain, though, that Vimercati's inclusion of the whole of Diod. 5,25–32 as Posidonian is far too admissive.

There are alternatives to Posidonius. By the time that Caesar, Diodorus and possibly Timagenes were referring to the druids, Alexander Polyhistor, a creative antiquarian and polymath originally from Miletus but working in Rome, had quite likely treated them.<sup>49</sup> Polyhistor, so nicknamed because of his voluminous oeuvre and his wide interests (including thaumasiography and geography), can believably be shown to be a fundamental contributor for many of the associations that the druids elicited in early imperial and later authors, such as their connection with the doctrines of Pythagoras.<sup>50</sup> Among his works two in particular, the *Φιλοσόφων Διαδοχαί* and the *Περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν*, could easily have featured the relationship between the Druids and the Pythagoreans – even if he was only

<sup>47</sup> The conventional notion of Diodorus choosing a single source to act as his base (cf. Kidd 1988, I 308f. noting the difficulties involved) for each topic has some merit, but should not be taken as a rigid rule. Cf. Yarrow 2006, 116f. Especially in a subject as salient as the Gauls he would have included 'commonly known' details from memory.

<sup>48</sup> Kidd 1988, I 309. Caesar may have been a shared influence behind both Timagenes and Diodorus, partly explaining the similarities between Diodorus and what seems like a predominantly Timagenian fragment in Amm. 15,9,2–7.

<sup>49</sup> For the dating (c. 80–35 BCE) of Polyhistor's historiographical writings, produced at Rome, Troiani 1988, 9 fn. 1, 15. On Polyhistor as compiler and antiquarian: Long 2013, 141.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Brunaux 2006, 107ff. In more detail, Lampinen 2013, 193f. On Polyhistor's Pythagoreanism, see Long 2013 – noting the importance of Polyhistor as Diogenes' source for Pythagoreanism (140).

transmitting an idea already showcased by the second-century Alexandrian doxographer Sotion, to whom Diogenes Laertius (*VP* 1,1) refers to, alongside the pseudo-Aristotelean *On Magic*, regarding the druids.<sup>51</sup> Clement of Alexandria in his *Stromata*, however, cites Polyhistor's 'On Pythagorean Symbols' about Pythagoras consulting Γαλάται (*strom.* 1,15,70,1). The lists of foreign 'wise men' given by Diogenes and Clement are very similar, reinforcing the argument that not only did Polyhistor mention the druids, but that he also connected them with the Pythagoreans. Polyhistor seems a likelier source than Sotion to be read by Timagenes and Diodorus (in addition to Caesar's input, lacking a mention of Pythagoras), even if he simply transmits Sotion's innovation. It would be incautious to ignore the potential influence of a prolific author (Polyhistor) whom we know to have treated the druids, in favour of a slightly earlier one (Posidonius) whose fragments contain no secure mentions of this group.

With most fragments attributed to Posidonius stemming from the Augustan era or later, the idea of Posidonius as the pre-eminent contributor in exclusion to such writers as Polyhistor, Timagenes, and others, is hard to justify. Nothing except the old over-Posidonising view (cf. Tierney 1960, 220) supports the idea that the material found in Ammianus Marcellinus on the authority of Timagenes (Amm. 15,9,2) derives from Posidonius. Timagenes, writing after 55 BCE, had many alternative sources to druids and bards (including, crucially, Caesar), and he certainly did not follow Posidonius in writing about the treasure at Tolosa.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the actions of Servilius Caepio at the Gallic sanctuary, his eventual fate, and the possible Delphic provenance of the treasure he looted were almost certainly based on information sourced from Romans – providing another testimony for the modes of enquiry for the Late Republican Greek writers. Timagenes was

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<sup>51</sup> Diogenes Laertius' reference is sometimes regarded as the earliest testimony about Greek writing on druids: both Sotion and *On Magic* would be of Hellenistic date. Polyhistor may have been repeating a connection made before him by Sotion or the writer(s) of *Pythagorean Hypomnemata* (Diog. Laert. *VP* 1,1–3, 8,25; cf. Brunaux 2006, 108f.), but for the reception of such information, Polyhistor would have been quite crucial. If Sotion really mentioned the Druids in his Διαδοχὰ τῶν φιλοσόφων, its doxographic emphasis on successive philosophers within their schools would probably have attempted to connect the Druids with some Greek or barbarian group (cf. Hdt. 4,95). Polyhistor, then, would have found the connection between druids and Pythagoras in a doxographical context, and transmitted it in a context where another Pythagorean connection with the West, namely king Numa of Rome (Cic. *Tusc.* 4,1; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2,59; Plut. *Numa* 1,2f., 8,4–10) enjoyed some currency.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Kidd 1988, II 933–36; on Posidonius' own argument about the gold of the Tectosages, *ibid.* 1989, 48.

available to Strabo (4,1,13) though the latter refers to the Alexandrian by name only once. Timagenes and Polyhistor would have been active in Rome at roughly the same time, and the information on the Pythagorean connection of the druidic learning found in Ammianus – though by his own time quite conventional, even a *topos* – could have been showcased in Timagenes' work as a recently made, intriguing connection with a respectably Herodotean antecedents. Another demonstration of Timagenes' creative combination of inherited elements and contemporary concerns also engaged with by Posidonius can be glimpsed in Ammianus' description of the druids transmitting the memory of part of the Gauls to have moved there following an oceanic inundation (15,9,4). Speculations engendered by the migration of the Cimbri seem to stand behind this interpretation, too, but Timagenes has harmonised his theory with originally Aristotelian speculation, yet presents it with the additional inclusion of the druids.

### **Ethnographical writing , Posidonius, and his predecessors**

Momigliano (1975, 69) imagined that "[Posidonius'] approach to the Celts was deliberate; he intended to preserve the physiognomy of a world in danger of disappearing". This is, of course, an exceptionally deterministic sentiment, and can in no way be justified by the Posidonian fragments on Gauls. Providing an observationally based, 'anthropological' description of the Celts was neither Posidonius' own intention, nor a recognizable aim for any of his ancient predecessors – or followers, for that matter. While ethnographical description would have been almost by default a part of a historical narrative for Posidonius, T 80 (*ap.* Athen. 4,151e) seems to bear out a belief – at least in Athenaeus' mind – that Posidonius' way of writing about population groups was strongly connected with his philosophy.<sup>53</sup> In this, he certainly differed from his predecessor Polybius, though the resulting moralizing tone may have brought him closer to the 'rhetorical historiography' of Ephorus, full of pathos and moral evaluations.<sup>54</sup>

The role of Posidonius has partly been played up by contrasting him with 'romantic' or 'thaumasiographic' predecessors or contemporaries; in this F 49c (*ap.* Str. 2,3,4) has often given the cue for modern attitudes, though properly speaking it reflects Strabo's polemic against what he perceived as fabulistic tendencies.

<sup>53</sup> This allegation is examined in Kidd 1989, 39–41, who suggests that for Posidonius, history performed the same function to moral philosophy as sciences did to natural philosophy.

<sup>54</sup> Kidd 1989, 46; on Ephorus see Parmeggiani 2011, 34–66.

Importantly, we note in F 49c that after partly excusing Antiphanes of Perge, Eudoxus of Rhodes, and others on account of their faulted genre of writing, Strabo directs his particular rebuke at Posidonius, who should have known better.<sup>55</sup> A look at Eudoxus, a third-century BCE historian, affords a glimpse on what Greek audiences in the generations before Posidonius wanted to learn about the Κελτοί. Eudoxus' F 4 *ap. Ael. NA* 17,19 tells of 'eastern Γαλάται' who combat invasions of locusts by charming birds through prayer and sacrifice, and protecting these birds on the pain of death.<sup>56</sup> His F 2 *ap. Apoll. mir.* 24 is more bizarre, telling of a Celtic ἔθνος which τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ βλέπειν, τὴν δὲ νύκτα ὀρᾶν.<sup>57</sup>

The appraisal of previous scholarly generations should not blind us to the fact that Posidonius could certainly report thaumasiographic elements on his own, too. Perhaps not incidentally, Strabo introduces F 276 (4,4,6), which certainly is rather fabulistic in content, right before continuing with paradoxographic material from the geographer Artemidorus of Ephesus, who predated Posidonius only slightly. The fragment records the Dionysiac rites, complete with frenzy and *sparagmos*, of a group of female priests of Namnitai (*Namnetes* in *Caes. BG* 3,9). As Kidd (1988, II 940) notes, Posidonius had not been to the mouth of the Loire, where he located the holy island of the Namnitai. Artemidorus was also suggested by Norden (1922, 468) as the author who propagated the already existing idea of

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Romm 1992, 198, correct in pointing out the context of describing the peripheric areas, which could open, it seems, even otherwise well-reputed geographers to aspersion.

<sup>56</sup> A minor late-Hellenistic motif seems to have connected 'Celts' with sacred birds in particular. Trogus (*Just. epit.* 24,4,3) reported that *in augurandi studio Galli praeter ceteros callent*; in 32,3,9f. the Tectosagi use augury to a good effect in order to rid themselves of the curse of their Delphic loot (unlike Pos. F 273 *ap. Str.* 4,1,13 and slightly differently from Timag. F 11 *ap. Str. loc cit.*). Str. 4,4,6 cites Artemidorus on the Celtic harbour town of 'Two Crows' where the eponymous birds arbitrate in disputes. Cic. *div.* 1,15 and 1,90 may tap into these common perceptions.

<sup>57</sup> The interpretation of Marco Simón 2007, 174f., taking this as a reference to the importance of night-time to Celtic rituals (largely in much later contexts and among far removed groups), seems far too literalist a reading. A possible parallel for this motif is met in the context of Antonius Diogenes' romantic tale *Unbelievable Things Beyond Thule* (*ap. Phot. Bibl.* 166,109b). A literary inspiration for this group of Κελτοί may be the Homeric Cimmerians, whom Ephorus had explained as underground-dwelling caretakers at the oracle of Cumae (*FGrH* 70 F 134a *ap. Str.* 5,4,5). Also related may be the entry in Steph. Byz. *ethn. s.v. Γέρμαρα*: Κελτικής ἔθνος, ὃ τὴν ἡμέραν οὐ βλέπει, ὡς Ἀριστοτέλης περὶ θαυμασίων, τοὺς δὲ Λωτοφάγους καθεύδειν ἐξάμηνον. Mazzarino 1957, 79 regards this piece of pseudo-Aristotelian thaumasiography as connected to current of thought that sought links between Homeric peoples with contemporary northern groups. The technique seems akin to what Posidonius attempted with the Hyperboreans.

oceanic inundation as the cause of the Cimbric (or Celtic, which would also have been the pre-Caesarian affiliation of the Cimbri) migrations, which Posidonius criticises in F 272. Among the Greek writers on the West, Artemidorus' information on Spain would certainly have been something Posidonius would have had to take into account. Indeed, the problem of distinguishing between potentially Posidonian elements in Strabo from those of Artemidorus was already noted by Tierney (1960, 219). Nonetheless, the power of Posidonisation was demonstrated by Tierney's confident claim that Posidonius' views on ethnography were "so very much his own that they stand out clearly against of the normal pedestrian periplus of Artemidorus" (*loc. cit.*). Along similar lines, Momigliano (1975, 67) envisioned, somewhat deterministically, Artemidorus providing important ground work for Posidonius' more sober writings. The same consensus in condemning by faint praise is echoed by Alonso-Núñez, calling Artemidorus the most important figure between Polybius and Posidonius, but "not in the same class" as these two authors.<sup>58</sup> This sentiment (for it is barely anything more) hardly helps us form an accurate picture of Posidonius' relationship with earlier writers on the West.

It has already been noted above that Posidonius probably sought to compete with Eratosthenes' ethno(geo)graphy of Europe. There has been discussion about whether it was the famous Eratosthenes of Cyrene or a younger namesake of his whom Stephanus of Byzantium (*s.v.* Κυρήνη) claims wrote a *Galatica*. P.-M. Duval favoured the identification of Eratosthenes of Cyrene, as seems sensible concerning the fact that the only testimony to this younger Eratosthenes is found in Stephanus, who refers to Eratosthenes' *Galatica* in six instances; this is now supported by K. Geus.<sup>59</sup> Momigliano 1975, 67 disagreed on somewhat obscure grounds, and suggested a dating of c. 150 BCE for Eratosthenes Junior. He may have been influenced by Strabo accusing Eratosthenes 'Senior' on ignorance about the Celts (2,1,40; 2,4,2), as well as F 5 of Eratosthenes' *Galatica*, which ostensibly refers to a battle in Asia Minor in 156 BCE, well after the death of the Cyrenean. The similarity of patronymics in Stephanus (Agacles vs. Aglaos) is close enough to invalidate this as a serious obstacle. Strabo's rebuke would only make sense if Eratosthenes in fact had devoted some attention to Celts, and Geus has dated the battle reference in F 5 to c. 195. It thus seems that Eratosthenes of

<sup>58</sup> Alonso-Núñez 1980, 259.

<sup>59</sup> Duval 1971, 173ff.; Geus 2002. Jacoby treated the 'Younger' Eratosthenes as a distinct historian: *FGrH* 745 F 1–6.



Cyrene did write a *Galatica*, though it is unknown whether it was mostly devoted to matters in Asia Minor (which Strabo's opinion could support).<sup>60</sup>

Polybius is no doubt the most important historiographical predecessor for Posidonius: this has been recognized for a long time, and is reinforced by several points of comparison between the two *Histories*.<sup>61</sup> Importantly, Polybius had investigated the coast of Africa under Scipio, as well as travelled in Spain. Already Nock (1959, 4) pointed out the likely influence of Polybius' example on Posidonius' later travel in addition to the joint geographical and historical investigation. We may ask if it was simply his interest in the Atlantic tides that led him to travel to the west, or if the reasons might not in fact combine literary emulation with Roman patronage. In any case, ethnographic investigation was hardly the primary motivation. Strabo, writing confidently in possession of latest information on Gaul and Britain, lumps up Polybius and Posidonius as predecessors whose ignorance on north could not be excused (unlike the similar lack in Eratosthenes and Dicaearchus) since they were supposed to have had first-hand information (T 25). This passage (Str. 2,4,2) should alert us to the limits of Posidonius' enquiry: it is relatively safe to say that Polybius had not ventured very far north even along the Hispanian coast, and there is little in Posidonius' extant testimonia or fragments which would support any more substantial travel north of Narbonensis and Roman Spain.<sup>62</sup> Moreover, Polybius provided a rather extensive treatment of the Gauls of North Italy, which exhibits many connections to the modes of Herodotean ethnography, and certainly was tailored to reflect the shared Greek and Roman interest in 'Celts', as well as using Roman family traditions as its sources.<sup>63</sup> Polybius' description was authenticated by claims of autopsy, and it

<sup>60</sup> Geus 2002, 333–35. Nachtergaele 1977, 55 thinks Eratosthenes' *Galatica* treated also the western Celts, but the only fragment to bear out this opinion is F 3 (s.v. Διονείζ), the ethnonym of which is a *hapax*. An indication to the contrary is provided by F 1 (s.v. Τολιστόβιοι), which details this group as ἔθνος Γαλατῶν ἐσπερίων μετοικησάντων ἐκ τῆς Κελτογαλατίας εἰς Βιθυνίαν. It would seem, then, that Eratosthenes' particular attention was not directed at the western Κελτογαλατία, except as a place of origin for the Galatians of Asia Minor.

<sup>61</sup> Marincola 1997, 239. Posidonius seems to have produced his historical work to stand either in continuation to (Kidd 1999, III 25 on the basis of T 1a–b) or contrast with (Yarrow 2006, 162) that of Polybius.

<sup>62</sup> Str. 4,2,1 refers to Polybius and Scipio conducting interviews about Britain with traders from Massilia, Narbo, and Corbilo (a trading port on the coast of Bay of Biscay).

<sup>63</sup> Williams 2001, 80f. shows that in describing the Transpadane Gauls Polybius had trawled the Greek ethnographical tradition for markers of the primitive. Also see Berger 1992. A good example of Polybius using Roman sources is his reliance on Fabius Pictor on the battle of

is difficult to imagine his continuator and competitor (F 271, 225) to have been content with anything less. Polybius' description was the benchmark Posidonius' *Histories* needed to surpass.

When put into their place next to other Late Hellenistic writings on Gauls, and stripped from their former extra burden in terms of scope and contents, Posidonius' securely identified fragments lead us to call into question the uniqueness of his contribution.<sup>64</sup> It is worth bearing in mind that Posidonius wrote in an age with a keen interest in the weird and wonderful. Besides, the ethnographical register was hardly dissociated from themes and motifs that are wont to be labelled 'thaumasiographic' in modern studies. The division between 'serious' writers and reporters of miracles was far from as clear-cut as it is sometimes taken to be, and both the Greek and Roman audiences of Posidonius would have yearned also for the 'enhanced' thrill of the unfamiliar. That the motif of head-hunting happened to fit both the demands of Posidonius' audience and the actual archaeologically testified practices on the ground, does not mean that the fragments of Posidonius' 'Gallic ethnography' should be read as the remains of a work of anthropology.

In short, Sassi may be close to the truth when she observes that the 'ethnographical' contents of Posidonius' works essentially represent a synthesis.<sup>65</sup> He had plenty of predecessors in writing about the northerners, and he had plentiful sources – both Greek and Roman, oral and written – to build upon as he compiled his own work. Authenticating details, expected curiosities, and epideictic moral points were incorporated into the whole, and the end result cannot easily be slotted into our narrow generic categories. But if not anthropology, what, then, was Posidonius' so-called ethnography? Ancient ethnographical writing has in recent years become under increasing and critical attention. One prominent example of this is the recent collected volume Almagor – Skinner 2013, the contributions in which do a fine job of demonstrating the methodological range and challenges posed by a register of writing that is so diverse both in form. The term 'ethnographical writing' is purposefully chosen to challenge connotations rising from unreflective use of 'ethnography', which has partly obscured the interpretational

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Telamon: Polyb. 2,29. Polybius clearly uses the 'Celts' as a moralizing tool for comparing the Greeks and Romans: Polyb. 2,35,2–9.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. above, and also Tierney 1960, 201: "Posidonius, of course, does not belong to this category [of 'less able ethnographers']."

<sup>65</sup> Sassi 2001, 128. It may be noted that many of the known titles of Posidonius' writings carry titles which could belong to works of compilation and harmonisation, such as *On Heroes and Demons*, *On the Gods*, and also his influential *On the Ocean*.

difficulties between the ancient literary register and the modern scholarly field denoted by the same name. As pointed out by Clarke (1999, 142f.), both in terms of sources of enquiry, registers of writing, and subject of interest, geographical and ethnographical writers exhibit numerous cross-overs which stymie the neat distinction often constructed between the two. Moreover, ancient tradition of ethnographical writing influenced other registers beyond historiography and geography. Occasionally, elements with apparent anthropological or ethnographical content appear for instance in poetry, in the form of conventional themes and *topoi*.<sup>66</sup>

The recent monograph of Greg Woolf, in addition to providing a nuanced study of the Late Republican and Imperial ethnographical writing about the western provinces, turned attention to the contexts of enquiry and exchange through which 'ethnographical knowledge' was created in the Roman empire.<sup>67</sup> He applies to these situations the term 'middle ground', which was originally coined in the context of colonial encounters of information exchange and the creation of shared signifiers on the American continent between Europeans and the original inhabitants. While the precise processes of literary transmission between the cultural encounters on the middle ground and the acts of creating our surviving written reflections of them in the centre (whether in Rome or elsewhere), are hard to reconstruct exactly, local communities and learned visitors selectively interviewing their informants would both have been involved.<sup>68</sup> The narrative processes on the 'middle ground' can also be seen to be the epistemic parallels to the concurrent process of 'creolization'.<sup>69</sup> But for a Greek writer to encounter connection-building new narratives worth transmitting it was not always necessary to travel to the provincial 'middle ground': there existed a contested and manipulated source of – often oral – information about the provincials in the very centre of the realm. Competing variant versions of partisan family traditions (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 62), war memories of the members of Roman elite, and their exaggerated flaunting in the funeral orations would all have shaped the way the likes of Posidonius were informed about the subject peoples of Rome.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> E.g. Thomas 1982.

<sup>67</sup> Woolf 2011.

<sup>68</sup> On ethnographic 'middle grounds' in antiquity: Woolf 2011, 17–9, with the Iberia as a case study 24–29.

<sup>69</sup> For this more nuanced way of understanding processes which previously were dubbed 'Romanisation', see Webster 2001 and Woolf 1998.

<sup>70</sup> Woolf 2011, 60ff. on the interplay of Roman elite power and Greek writers of history

## Posidonius and the Romans

In his *Commentary* Kidd repeatedly stresses the need to recognise the existence of Posidonius' oral sources (see, e.g., 1988, I 309). Among these, members of the Roman elite circles would appear as plausible candidates, and very relevant to our current scrutiny. Indeed, to quote Kidd's pithy phrase, Posidonius in his later career was "hobnobbing [...] freely with the Roman nobility" (1988, II 896). Yarrow (2006, 101–3) warns against over-interpreting Posidonius' Roman sympathies, and especially against conflating his point of view with those of the Roman elite. Such a conflation would, indeed, be short-sighted, but it is at least safe to say that what is known of Posidonius' Roman friends would seem to support the image of optimate connections.<sup>71</sup> Yarrow herself notes that in the Posidonian references to Celts and Gauls, in particular, the Roman reference points are particularly prevalent (2006, 165). We have seen this point well demonstrated.

For the Romans, relations with Posidonius might have appeared in the light of the famous *exemplum* of Alexander and his tutor Aristotle. The desire to mimic such glorified models was probably part of the motivation for Pompey to correspond with Posidonius: we know from elsewhere that he had aspirations to pose as a latter-day Alexander at least in the connection of his Eastern campaign. For Caesar, likewise, the role model offered by the Macedonian conqueror was quite important, though he seems to have preferred to pose as his own Aristotle.<sup>72</sup> It would have been tremendously advantageous to have such a figure reproduce a particular *gens'* own version of their family history, such as when Posidonius was defending the claim of the Iunii Bruti to descend from the founder of the Republic

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and ethnography; 66–79 on the libraries available to writers at Rome – an asset which would naturally have interfered with a straightforward transmission into literature of both the stories from the 'middle ground' and oral narratives of all kinds. On Roman family traditions as contested partisan narratives, see Rawson 1985, 12, 218f.; Cornell 1986, 52–8, 73–6; Flower 1995, 180; Williams 2001, 41ff., 143; Lampinen 2013, 107–13.

<sup>71</sup> Strasburger 1965, 40f., 49; Potter 2011, 73.

<sup>72</sup> Spencer 2002, 2–4, 34, 119, 138–42. As is well known, the only reference to Greek authors in the *Gallic War* is to Eratosthenes and '*quidam Graeci*' (*BG* 6,24), but tellingly enough this is located in the "ethnographical" excursus about the Gauls and Germans, where such an epistemic support could have been needed. Posidonius' criticism of Eratosthenes is not the likeliest explanation of Caesar's mention, but it may be significant that Caesar glosses over Eratosthenes' most recent challenger, especially if Posidonius was aligned with the optimates (see above fn. 71).

(F 256 *ap.* Plut. *Brut.* 1).<sup>73</sup> Posidonius even cited as evidence the similarity between living Bruti and the Capitoline statue of Brutus – this would no doubt have been a statue modelled after some Republican Iunius Brutus, and quite plausibly shown to the philosopher in order to propagate the family's claim. Posidonius also included in his *History* an encomium of M. Claudius Marcellus (F 257–59 *ap.* Plut. *Marc.* 20), and speculated as to the possible reason of such an inclusion. I would argue that Momigliano was exactly right (1975, 37f.), and that the encomium reflects the influence of the later Claudii on Posidonius.

Vimercati (2004, 400: F B16a) attributes Diodorus' description of the Ligurians in 4,20 to Posidonius, and indeed the detail of Ligurian women giving birth to their children in the midst of field-work and returning to the task immediately afterwards – so as not to lose any payment – is found in Str. 3,4,17, attributed to Posidonius (F 269 Ed.-Kidd).<sup>74</sup> The information comes across as broadly ethnographical in form, but it is crucial to note the fact that Strabo mentions Charmoleon, Posidonius' Massilian host (though not necessarily his host *in* Massilia), as the source for this information (φησὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος διηγῆσασθαι τὸν ξένον ἑαυτῶι Χαρμόλεων Μασσαλιώτην ἄνδρα). This points us to an important aspect of such quasi-ethnographic details; that they would often have been obtained from Greek-speaking informants. These, in turn, could reflect narrative or literary motifs which were comparatively widespread (in connection with this particular motif, Kidd quotes Varro *RR* 2,10,9, Ps.-Arist. *mir.* 91, and Clem. Alex. *strom.* 4,8,62,2). Ligurians had been subjected to ridicule among the Romans from Cato onwards, and Cicero apparently found it easy to build upon these perceptions as he joked about Aelius Ligus in a way that approaches an ethnic slur.<sup>75</sup> So, while it may be true that before Posidonius (and Polybius) Romans had not been exposed to ethnographical writing in their historiography (Kidd 1988, I 309), they certainly had inherited a vast amount of orally transmitted elements which were of a similar nature as many of those used in Greek ethnographical register, sometimes even by historians. And when a Greek historian such as Posidonius seems to be recording a personally heard testimony from a local informant, he may in fact be

<sup>73</sup> For the fragment, see Kidd 1988, II 893–96.

<sup>74</sup> As Kidd (1988, II 918) notes, the unattributed version of Diodorus is told in entirely different words, and hence should warn us to Diodorus not being a simple copyist. In retelling material from other authors, his own context and accumulated narrative material (compared with the earlier authors, e.g. Posidonius) would have shaped his rendition.

<sup>75</sup> Cic. *har. resp.* 5,18; also Cic. *Clu.* 72. Cato 2,31–2 *HRR* Peter *ap.* Serv. *Aen.* 11,715, 710 is an early example of Ligurians as an object of scoffing. Also see Williams 2001, 75f., 80.

re-recording a travelling anecdote which this informant has picked to elucidate a perceived characteristic among a local population.

## Conclusions

In this contribution – partly a review article of previous scholarship and partly a source critical case study – I have endeavoured to show, firstly, that Posidonius' ethnography should always remain adorned with at least notional scare quotes, with a full recognition of the difficulties associated with the term; and secondly, that the creation of his "ethnographic" Gauls prevalently did not take place in a middle ground of Southern Gaul as the result of the author's personal anthropological autopsy, but instead as the result of a far more complex and politically involved exchange of questions, stories, and literary elements between the writer and his Greek and Roman informants and audiences. His other northerners were similarly contingent, and in the case of the Γερμανοί, may not have been part of the original text at all.

Although Posidonius' contributions to the ancient ethnographical writing on northerners was much less formative than has so often been claimed in the past, it is still quite crucial to 'get Posidonius right'. This is not only because he still retains eminent representativeness as a member of Greek intelligentsia writing in a Roman world, but also because of the dangers posed by attributing to his influence elements which were rather parts of an associative commonality, or entered Posidonian writings from somewhere else than his personal autopsy. Kidd notes rather grandly – almost as if referring to Diodorus' passage (5,26,2) about Celts enjoying their ζῦθος – that of Posidonius' "potent historical brew" of Gallic ethnography, "only the superficial froth has survived" thanks to the selective preservation of his fragments (1988, I 310). But many things can froth when left to stand long enough; and Posidonius' surviving fragments consist, to a notable degree, of long-standing tropes connected with northerners in the Greek tradition of ethnographical writing.

## On Posidonius' Gallic "ethnography"

Time and our growing understanding of the ancient tradition of ethnographic writing have, I would argue, partly vindicated some of Tierney's points which ap-

peared so untenable to Nash. I am not claiming that Tierney's vision of Posidonius' influence is correct as such; his capacious view of Posidonius' survival within Strabo and Diodorus, his downplaying of Caesarian influence on the latter two, and indeed his almost complete denial of independent literary creativity to Caesar's *Commentarii* are all demonstrably wrong. I do argue, however, that Nash, in her eagerness to retain the source value of ancient authors to Iron Age Europeans, overlooked aspects in the Greek and Roman sources which complicate the overall image. If most of the ethnographical elements do not relay autoptic observations on the ground, their differences cannot codify anthropological changes. Tierney did take into account the ancient tradition of ethnographic writing in a way that Nash did not, but much like Norden before him, he built upon too capacious an understanding of the Posidonian fragments, and underestimated the social contexts involved in creating ethnographical writing in the Late Republic.

Which among the 'ethnographic' elements which Posidonius are often thought to have introduced, seem to have a topical literary origin instead? The feasting and conspicuous consumption by the 'Celtic' elite should certainly be counted among these. Phylarchus had provided material on this already in the third century BCE, and the dramatic themes of accompanying violence during the feasts can would accord well with Phylarchus' style of historiography (Pol. 2,56). Even if the notion of heroic duels and ritual beheading were introduced by Posidonius, on notional level it would have been connected with the commonly shared idea of northerners decapitating their enemies, already met in Herodotus, and in the context of Celts in Polybius, Hellenistic novelists, and the Roman narrative tradition. Posidonius, even though ostensibly referring to autopsy as regards the display of heads, cannot be pinpointed to have visited any particular sanctuary, or even having incontestably been to Massilia. As to the element of 'hero's portion', found both in Athenaeus and Diodorus, the comparison with Homeric practice may have been present in Posidonius – but this sort of search for literary parallels hardly reinforces the idea of autopsy as Posidonius' prime method.

Elements which seem like uncontestably Posidonian contributions to the ancient tradition of septentriography are the non-Delphic provenance of the Tolosan treasure and his account of the origins of the Cimbri. He also may have been the first to mention the Celtic parasites. Moreover, as has been proposed above, Posidonius sought to rehabilitate the Herodotean or mythical Hyperboreans with the European continental ethnography of his own time. A similar aim was partly obtained by his postulated Cimmerian origins of the Cimbri. His counterarguments against the 'flood theory' of the Cimbric migration became authoritative,

but by no means hegemonic despite Strabo's endorsement.<sup>76</sup> Posidonius wrote in a context where the Roman gaze towards the northerners was strongly coloured by the recent shock of the Cimbric *tumultus*, and his motives of discussing them can believably be argued to be motivated by the same Roman concern with northerners that seems to be behind most of his 'Celtic' fragments. It should be noted that all of the securely Posidonian introductions to ethnography of the northerners seem to echo the Romans' focus.

The description of druids and their creed, so often credited to Posidonius, is a complex question. The connection of the northerners' belief in a transmigration of souls – later attributed to druids by Caesar and writers following him – with Pythagoras could be more believably credited to Alexander Polyhistor or perhaps Sotion. While the scant references in Posidonius to Pythagoras have been interpreted by Nock to testify to a Posidonian philosophy of the soul, the passage in Sext. *Adv. Phys.* 1,71ff. is difficult to rely on, and I have suggested above that the druids were more likely to have entered the Greek literature in the context of doxographic writing.<sup>77</sup> As things stand, we should treat Caesar as the first attestation of the druids in Latin literature, and Timagenes and Polyhistor in Greek literature, closely followed by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus.

### **On Posidonius' ethnographic 'middle grounds'**

The optimistic view that Posidonius is objectively reporting his anthropological observations in Gaul, along the lines celebrated by Dodds or Momigliano, can no longer be sustained, though it continues to surface even in scholarly literature. Even if he visited Massilia or Narbo, Posidonius did not venture deep into Narbonensis. His ethnographic descriptions were born primarily through discussions with Greeks and Romans, as well as Posidonius' own reading. But these contexts pose no less a middle ground. Knowledge was created through informants, but they were not necessarily 'native' informants. The old idea of Roman elite

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<sup>76</sup> As Kidd 1989, 47 notes, the main import of Posidonius' explanation was that the migrations of the Cimbri were most crucially the consequence of their barbarously greedy nature. This would have been most attractive to the Roman audiences in the immediate aftermath of the Cimbric wars, but the later tradition might have found the notion of the Oceanic inundations more fascinating – pitting against each other the explanatory potential of a topical barbarian characteristic and a famed property of the outer Ocean which had been opened for enquiry under the Romans.

<sup>77</sup> Nock 1959, 11; for a critical and careful view see Long 2013, 145.



hiring Greeks to do the job of observing barbarians for them is too one-sided. Polybius had found use for Fabius Pictor's passages about on the Celts, and like Polybius, Posidonius wrote in a context where the Roman gaze was to a certain extent directed at northern and western barbarian groups. But did this mean that Posidonius would have dutifully gone off to conduct observational anthropology without collecting material from his Roman patrons, culturally conversant (urban) provincials, and other learned writers? The thought seems quite unlikely.

The similarities in Caesar and Posidonius' fragments, previously explained by simple unattributed borrowing, are most believably explained by the similarity in the knowledge base of their audiences – which, though certainly not identical, would have included a number of influential Roman patrons. Likewise, other writers on Celts active during the Late Republic would have been able to tap into a pool of established, orally propagated, and seemingly authoritative traditions of the Romans concerning these northerners. Some of these stories were used to maneuver for galatomachic prestige among Roman elite *gentes*, others were retellings of Greek tales or provincial rumors, and some other would have been based on personal experiences and reminiscences of actual events. There was potentially a wealth of competing interpretations that could be projected into the narrative space between an event in the provincial 'middle ground' and its eventual literary manifestations after all the political, judicial and partisan mutations that took place in the capital. And then there were the provincial informants, such as Charmoleon: ready to entertain a traveller with tales, reminiscences, and excursions.

There existed a wide range of interlocking 'middle grounds' which the ethnographical writers of the Late Republic navigated, even when they pursued goals to which ethnography was wholly subservient – as ancient ethnography nearly always was. Rather than being a record of his personal observations and meetings with Gauls, to a much greater extent the northern ethnography of Posidonius was constructed through literary processes based on his reading and his conversations with Romans and Greeks. The only exceptional thing about the Posidonian 'ethnography' is the amount of modern over-interpretation it has undergone.

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**A REAPPRAISAL OF THE FIRST PUBLICATION  
OF STIRRUP JAR INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRYNS  
BY JOHANNES SUNDWALL:  
PHOTOGRAPHS, LOST SHERDS AND THE  
'A-NU-TO/NO-DI-ZO WORKSHOP'**

JARI PAKKANEN

Transport stirrup jars were exported into the Aegean from Crete quite soon after their first manufacture on the island in the Middle Minoan III period, though they only appear in larger numbers outside Crete in the Late Bronze Age.<sup>1</sup> They were used to transport and store liquids, most probably olive oil. Inscribed stirrup jars (ISJs) are a small sub-group of this type of vessels produced in Crete during the Late Bronze Age III period and they have painted inscriptions with Linear B signs, typically on the shoulder or body: the earliest ISJs are dated to the LB IIIA2 period and the peak in the production continues into LB IIIB1.<sup>2</sup> As such, ISJs form the largest group of Greek Bronze Age textual material after the Linear B tablets. It is quite generally held that the primary function of the inscriptions

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<sup>1</sup> Haskell 1985. This paper grew out of the introduction *Johannes Sundwall and the Decipherment of Linear B* presented at the 2014 Sundwall lecture given by Bernard Knapp on maritime transport containers of the East Mediterranean. The lecture series is held at the Finnish Institute at Athens and it is funded by a grant from Stiftelsen för Åbo Akademi, the endowment fund of the Swedish-language university in Turku. In the decipherment of Linear B Ventris and Chadwick (1973, 12) highlight the importance of both Evans's and Sundwall's publications in the period before 1944 over any other scholar. I wish to express my gratitude to the anonymous referee, Ann Brysbaert, Mika Kajava, Elina Kardamaki and Bernard Knapp for reading the manuscript and many valuable comments. Anne Fohgrub and Joachim Heiden from the Photoarchive of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens provided invaluable help with Figures 1–3 of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> Zurbach 2006, 49–54; Haskell 2011, 10; Sacconi 2012, 127. For ISJs produced in LB IIIB2, see nn. 36 and 48 below.

was administrative and related to their place of manufacture in Crete – the vessels discovered in the mainland, such as the ones from Tiryns, would in this case be indicators of trade of Cretan oil from the island to mainland Greece.<sup>3</sup> Alternative hypotheses for the inscriptions are that they record the name of a member of the elite giving the oil as part of gift-exchange or that the Cretan communities were vassals of particular mainland palaces and sent the stirrup jars as part of a tribute.<sup>4</sup>

Most of the painted Linear B inscriptions of the ISJs discovered in the excavations at Tiryns in 1909 and 1910 were first published by Johannes Sundwall in the 1915 *Jahrbuch* of the German Archaeological Institute.<sup>5</sup> He was given permission in Berlin by Kurt Müller, Hans Dragendorff and Georg Karo to use photographs of the vases and report the findings in his article.<sup>6</sup> Sundwall stresses that the vessels are technically different from other Tirynthian pottery; he correctly identifies them as originating from Crete and from a centre other than Knossos. He disputes Evans' vague suggestion that the inscriptions are an earlier form of a Cretan script and correctly interprets them as Linear A or B signs. Sundwall hesitates in which script the texts were written, but he does propose that the script is a developed, local and late type of Linear A. He interprets the inscriptions as Linear A or B signs: he hesitates in which script the texts were written, but he does propose that the script is a developed, local and late type of Linear A.<sup>7</sup>

The main aim of this paper is to re-examine the material published by Sundwall. I will present the ISJs in the order they are in his article and give an update on the current state of research on these artefacts. Emmett Bennett has suggested that several of these ISJs can be attributed to the same workshop<sup>8</sup> which I discuss here as the '*a-nu-to/no-di-zo* workshop'. Their production is studied at the end of the paper and I suggest a chronological framework for these stirrup jars.

All the inscriptions drawn by Sundwall can be matched with published texts with a high degree of confidence, but his full list of noted signs from Tiryns has not subsequently received any attention.<sup>9</sup> Sundwall's illustrations, the pub-

<sup>3</sup> For recent overviews of ISJs, see van Alfen 2008; Haskell & al. 2011a; Judson 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Gift-exchange: Duhoux 2010; tribute: Maran 2005, 427–9.

<sup>5</sup> Müller 1913, 90; Sundwall 1915, 63–4; Sacconi 1974, 35–42.

<sup>6</sup> Sundwall 1915, 63.



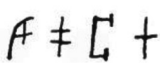

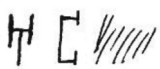

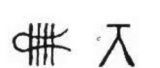



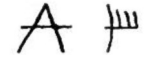
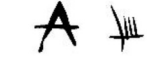
<sup>7</sup> Sundwall 1915, 63; for short mentions of the Tiryns inscriptions and their script, see also Evans 1912, 282; Müller 1913, 90.

<sup>8</sup> Bennett 1986, 136–40.

<sup>9</sup> Both Raison (1968, 156 n. 1) and Sacconi (1974, 78–9, 83, 97) refer very briefly to Sundwall's

lished drawings, their transcriptions and references are summarised in Table 1. Several fragments have since been lost and no photographs or drawings of them exist:<sup>10</sup> the only potential early publication of these sherds' Linear B signs is Sundwall's article, so the matter warrants careful examination. Based on Müller's unpublished manuscript at the German Archaeological Institute we can form an idea of what is currently missing of the ISJs discovered at Tiryns: Anna Sacconi has numbered the lost inscriptions for which no photograph or other representation exists as TI Z 40, 42–48 and 51.<sup>11</sup> In addition, 22 ISJs from Müller's excavations are currently only known from a photograph or a drawing.<sup>12</sup> The date of the Tiryns ISJs is LH IIIB.<sup>13</sup>

Table 1. Sundwall's drawings compared with inscriptions from Tiryns.

Sundwall's illustration	Published drawing	Transcription	References
		*56-ko-we	TI Z 27; Sacconi 1974, 97
		u-pa-ta-ro	TI Z 1 (pictured, more complete) and TI Z 2; Sacconi 1974, 77–8
		a-ta-ma-no-we[	TI Z 7; Sacconi 1974, 83
		]no-di-zo[	TI Z 11 (pictured) and TI Z 17; Sacconi 1974, 86, 91
		]ru[	TI Z 39; Sacconi 1974, 106
			Åkerström 1974, 44–47; Döhl 1979, 52, 65

article but they do not analyse its contents.

<sup>10</sup> The Second World War caused serious damage at the Nauplion Museum where the material was kept; Sacconi 1974, 38; for the lost fragments, see Sacconi 1974, 41–2.

<sup>11</sup> Sacconi 1974, 42. On Müller's manuscript, see Sacconi 1974, 39–42.

<sup>12</sup> TI Z 2, 3, 7, 10, 12–14, 20–23, 25–26, 32–33, 35, 37–38, 41, 43, 49 and 50; Sacconi 1974, 77–108; she also gives full bibliographies of the inscriptions.

<sup>13</sup> Sacconi 1974, 35–36.



The first inscription in Table 1 can now be deciphered as indicating a place name in Crete, *\*56-ko-we*.<sup>14</sup> The general shape of Sundwall's Linear B signs can be identified as the same as in the published inscription, though the sizes of the particular features of the signs can be different: for example, the curves of the reversed *we* are more pronounced in the actual inscription than in Sundwall's drawing. We need to keep in mind that Sundwall was working from photographs



Figure 1. Tiryns-0235: TI Z 2 (left) and TI Z 1 (right).

Photograph: DAI Athens, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-Tiryns-0235. All rights reserved.

<sup>14</sup> The glass plate negatives of the photographs seen by Sundwall are stored at the photographic archive of the German Archaeological Institute at Athens: the ISJ is depicted both on Tiryns-0234 and 0654 (permanent links to the image record: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3778732> and [3780286](http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3780286)). For a thorough discussion of *\*56-ko-we* on this ISJ, see Killen 2011, 102–3: according to Sacconi (1974, 97) it was accessible to her, but not anymore for chemical analysis. The ISJ is the only known one which gives a toponym without a personal name linked with it; Judson 2013, 84 n. 63. Most recently, see Olsen 2014, 179–80 for the parallels in the Knossos tablets: KN Ap 618 + 623 + 633 + 5533 + 5922 gives *\*56-ko-we* as the ethnic origin of *ki-nu-qa*; KN G 820 + fr. vi-70 has the feminine ethnic *\*56-ko-we-i-ja*.



Figure 2. Tiryns-0651: TI Z 7 (left) and TI Z 26 (right).

Photograph: DAI Athens, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-Tiryns-0651. All rights reserved.

and that his aim was to recognise the individual signs and not to document them in minute detail.

The second inscription records a personal name possibly only attested at Tiryns, *u-pa-ta-ro*;<sup>15</sup> the most common form of inscriptions on ISJs is a single personal name, though it has been debated what the exact relationship of these names is with the longer formulas which give a personal name in nominative followed by a toponym and a personal name in genitive.<sup>16</sup> Comparison of Sund-

<sup>15</sup> Ventris – Chadwick 1973, 589. Sacconi (2012, 127) argues that KH Z 9 is a parallel and that the text should be read ] *u-pa-ta*], but Hallager (2011, 415–6) observes that the third sign most likely is *wa* or *su*, not *ta*. For references to different interpretations of the name, see Aura Jorro 1999, 387. Even though same personal names appear both on ISJs and Linear B tablets, the associations between them are not unquestionable; van Alfen 2008, 236. TI Z 1 is among the group of recently chemically analysed ISJs: Haskell & al. 2011b, 13, 95, 98, 115 (their reference is TI01).

<sup>16</sup> For the most recent discussion with references, see Judson 2013, 83–96. For different views



Figure 3. Tiryns-0236: TI Z 17 (middle) and lower part of TI Z 11 (right).  
 Photograph: DAI Athens, Neg. D-DAI-ATH-Tiryns-0236. All rights reserved.

wall's rendering with the archival negatives at the German Archaeological Institute shows that his drawing is based on Tiryns-0235 (Figure 1), 0648 and 0650: the first shows both TI Z 1 and 2, the second TI Z 1 and the third TI Z 2.<sup>17</sup>

The inscription of the third row in Table 1, *a-ta-ma-no-we*, is also a personal name known only from Tiryns.<sup>18</sup> Sundwall denotes only the first two signs

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of the function of the inscriptions, see Maran 2005, 427–9; Duhoux 2010; Judson 2013, 83–93; Driessen – Farnoux – Langohr forthcoming (the text without illustrations is available at [www.academia.edu](http://www.academia.edu)).

<sup>17</sup> Links: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3778734>, 3780276 and 3780279. Sacconi (1974, 77–9) does not refer to Sundwall in the case of TI Z 1 as she does with TI Z 2 and 3. I do not think Sundwall would have been able to identify correctly the Linear B signs from the fragmentarily preserved TI Z 3.

<sup>18</sup> Ventris – Chadwick 1973, 535; the closest parallel is from Pylos (PY Cn 131.10 and Cn 655.10), *a-ta-ma-ne-u*, a shepherd from *ma-ro* with 140 and 60 male sheep; see Nakassis 2013, 214.

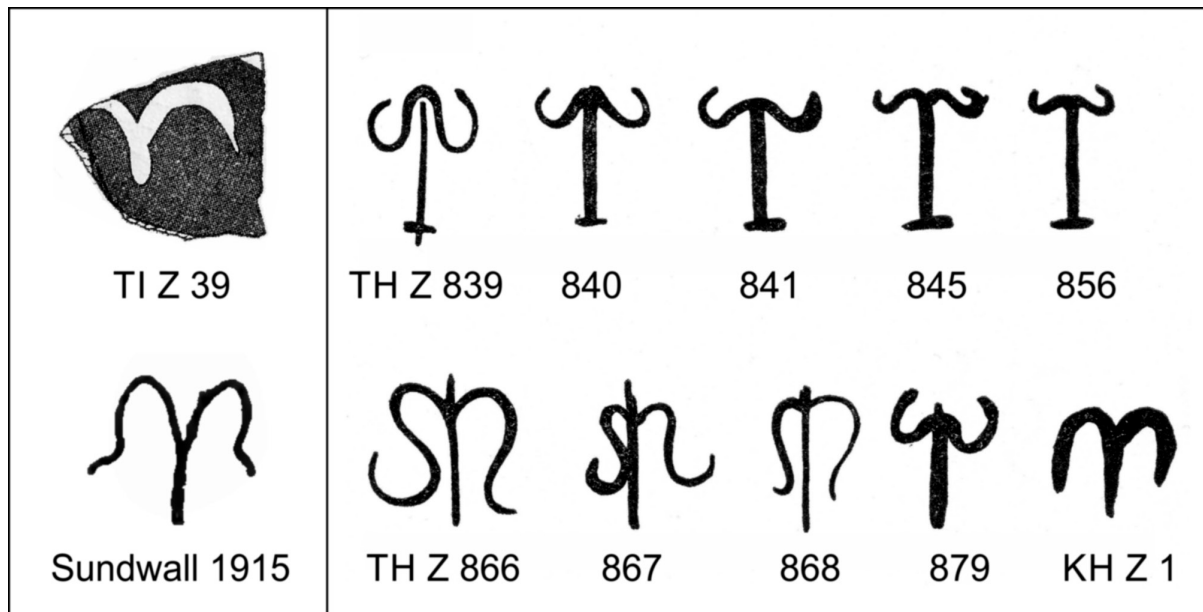


Figure 4. Comparison between Sundwall's drawing of *ru* with TI Z 39 and other ISJs (comparative data based on Sacconi 1974, 106, 196).

*a-ta* and indicates the rest as a series of diagonal strokes: taking into consideration the state of research at the time, the photograph at Sundwall's disposal would not have allowed him to further try to interpret the signs of the inscription (in Figure 2 on the left).<sup>19</sup>

The *no-di-zo* ISJs form a sizable group of vessels produced in West Crete.<sup>20</sup> The distinctive form of *no* facilitates recognising a member of the group even on the basis of partially preserved inscriptions.<sup>21</sup> The reason why Sundwall reads the *no* as two separate signs (fourth row of Table 1) is evident from Figure 3: Tiryns-0236 shows TI Z 17 in the middle and TI Z 11 on the right.<sup>22</sup> In the first only the upper part of *no* is preserved and in the second the lower part of the sign can be recognized followed by *di-zo*. The joining top part of the *no* in TI Z 11 was later discovered by Sacconi. The form of the individual elements of *no* in Sundwall's drawing makes the identification of the fragments he studied with Tiryns-0236 certain, and this is further supported by the fact that he also lists *di* and *zo* among the signs he recognised (see below).

<sup>19</sup> On the left side of Tiryns-0651; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3780281>.

<sup>20</sup> Most recently, see Killen 2011, 93, 95, 99 with references.

<sup>21</sup> Sacconi 2012, 129; Judson 2013, 79, 100–3.

<sup>22</sup> Tiryns-0236; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3778735>. TI Z 11 and 17 are both among the group of chemically analysed ISJs: Haskell & al. 2011b, 14, 22, 95, 97–9, 106, 115 (their reference for TI Z 11 is TI02 and for TI Z 17 it is TI12).

It is perhaps conceivable that Sundwall's drawing of the sign *ru* matches with the unique form of *ru* in the vases of the *i-ru* group<sup>23</sup> (TH Z 866–68 in Figure 4): in that case an *i-ru* ISJ would have been excavated by Müller at Tiryns already before the three vessels discovered by Keramopoulos at Thebes in 1921.<sup>24</sup> The results of the chemical analyses carried out indicated that this particular group of vases was produced in Central Crete or Boeotia, and only one of the eighteen ISJs analysed from Tiryns matches this classification – all the other ones were produced in West Crete.<sup>25</sup> However, a more likely explanation is that Sundwall's drawing is based on TI Z 39 (*[ru]*):<sup>26</sup> even though the sign is only partially preserved, it is possible to see how the details of Sundwall's rendering could be matched with the features of the sign. Therefore, this sherd and its sign fit squarely with the ISJs produced in West Crete.

The final two signs illustrated by Sundwall (fifth row in Table 1) are a dipinto and an inscribed graffito from two handles of a LH IIIB piriform jar. The first is possibly a potter's mark<sup>27</sup> and even though the second resembles the Linear B sign *se*, it does not have exact parallels.<sup>28</sup> Åke Åkerström rediscovered the fragments in the Nauplion Museum storerooms: he was able to trace the photograph of the sherds at the German Archaeological Institute and assign their provenance to Tiryns.<sup>29</sup> However, he was not aware that Sundwall had published the inscriptions already in 1915; Hartmut Döhl also misses this fact in his very thorough discussions of graffiti from Tiryns.<sup>30</sup> Due to Sundwall's publication we know that the photograph Tiryns-0562 was among the set he was shown by Müller.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>23</sup> For the most recent discussions of the *i-ru* group (TH Z 866–68), see Killen 2011, 101 and Judson 2013, 78: the first describes the shape of *ru* as 'most idiosyncratic' and the second as 'incompetent', though in quotation marks.

<sup>24</sup> Sacconi 1974, 144–145.

<sup>25</sup> The chemical analyses were carried out using atomic absorption spectrometry; see Jones 2011, 29–39; for a discussion of analysed pottery with Linear B inscriptions, see Killen 2011, 91–107.

<sup>26</sup> Sacconi 1974, 106; in Tiryns-0653 on the bottom row; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3780285>. TI Z 39 is among the group of chemically analysed ISJs: Haskell & al. 2011b, 95 (their reference is TI07).

<sup>27</sup> Raison 1968, 213 n. 3, fig. 179; Åkerström 1974, 46; Döhl 1979, 65.

<sup>28</sup> Åkerström 1974, 46; for possible parallels and a discussion, see no. 88 in Döhl 1979, 52.

<sup>29</sup> Åkerström 1974, 44.

<sup>30</sup> Åkerström 1974; Döhl 1978; 1979.

<sup>31</sup> The two piriform jar fragments are on the second lowest row of Tiryns-0562 (<http://arachne>).

In addition to the illustrations discussed above, Sundwall gives a list of signs he read on the sherds and it can be transcribed as follows:<sup>32</sup> \*56-ko-we-u-pa-ro-ta-ka-a-di-zo-wa. Is it possible to assign all these to published inscriptions?

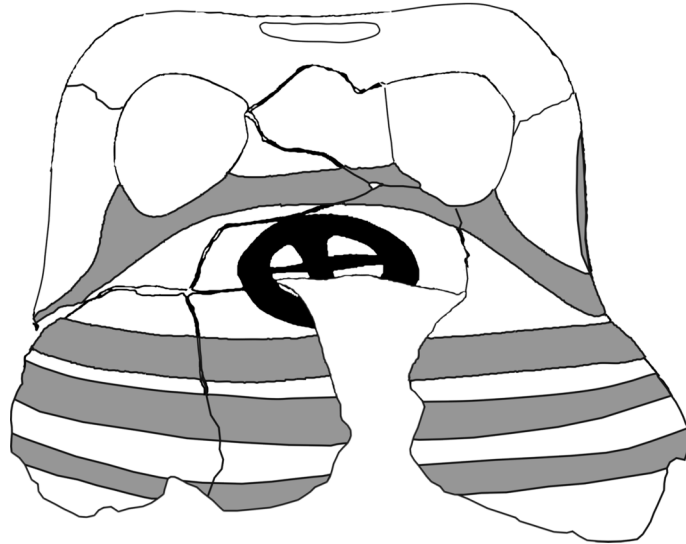


Figure 5. TI Z 10  
(J. Pakkanen based on Tiryns-0649A).

The first seven are derived from TI Z 27 (\*56-ko-we) and TI Z 1 (*u-pa-ta-ro*). The eighth sign *ka* is not illustrated by Sundwall, but the publication of the now lost inscription TI Z 10 is based on photograph Tiryns-0649A which was certainly seen by him.<sup>33</sup> Sacconi omits the inscription from her corpus as a potter's mark,<sup>34</sup> but I disagree with her: the highly prominent location of *ka* on the shoulder of the vessel suggests (Figure 5) that its function was the same as the so-called 'producer' names. However, the short inscription is perhaps better explained in terms of tribute or gift-exchange than administrative purposes:<sup>35</sup>

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[uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3780187](http://uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3780187)).

<sup>32</sup> Sundwall 1915, 63; the order of the signs in my list is the same as Sundwall's.

<sup>33</sup> Tiryns-0649A; Raison 1968, 168; Döhl 1979, 66.

<sup>34</sup> Sacconi 1974, 209.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Maran 2005, 427–9; Duhoux 2010. Judson (2013, 83–93) argues for a primary administrative purpose of the inscriptions. The proposal that ISJs are guest-gifts recording the names of persons and their actual visits and travels is perhaps pushing the limits of the archaeological material (Driessen – Farnoux – Langohr forthcoming): there is no need to assume that the donor would have personally accompanied the jar.



Figure 6. Photomontage matching TI Z 8 with TI Z 26 (*a-nu*) – the outlines of the Linear B signs are enhanced, and TI Z 8 is the triangular sherd in the middle (J. Pakkanen based on Tiryns-0651, 0653 and Sacconi 1974, 84).

in order for an ISJ to function as a reminder of the donor it would be enough to abbreviate his name with a single sign. MY Z 713 provides the most apparent parallel: the first line of the preserved part of the inscription reads ]*mā-pu*[ and on the second line *ka* stands alone with space on both sides of the sign.<sup>36</sup> The names in which the sign itself is repeated, such as *ka-ka-* (KH Z 17) and *ka-ru-ka* (KH Z 1), are perhaps the most likely candidates for an abbreviation with a single *ka*, though several other attested ISJ names also start with *ka*.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Sacconi 1974, 73. An ISJ from Midea with a single sign *ka* on the shoulder (catalogue number 650, M90Nb5–307C) is possibly a direct parallel of TI Z 10: it also has three decorative bands on the shoulder, though based on the drawing its body shape is slightly more ovoid than TH Z 858 and Thebes 902 (Walberg 1998, 217, pl. 87; cf. Raison 1968, 101–2, figs. 130–2); I wish to thank Elina Kardamaki for pointing out to me the Midea vessel and its late context. MI Z 4 is another ISJ which can highly likely be dated to LB IIIB2; Demakopoulou – Dinari-Valakou 1994–5, 326–7, pl. 2; Demakopoulou 2009, 248–9, 251, fig. 5d. Raison's 'Groupe de TH Z 867' (*i-ru*) also includes TH Z 860 with a single *ka* painted on the body of the ISJ; Raison 1968, 87–91 and esp. 91 for further references to ISJs with single signs *ka*.

<sup>37</sup> On KH Z 1 and 17, see Hallager 2011, 415–6 for brief descriptions and further references; for a possible parallel of *ka-ru-ka* at Malia, MA Z 3, see Driessen – Farnoux – Langohr forthcoming. The earliest known ISJ dated to LH IIIA2 also records a name starting with *ka*:

Before starting a more in depth analysis of TI Z 10, Sundwall's list needs to be completed. The ninth sign *a* is likely to be based both on the first syllables of TI Z 7 (*a-ta-ma-no-we*[]) and TI Z 24 (*a-ḏo-wē*[]).<sup>38</sup> The tenth and eleventh signs in the list, *di* and *zo*, are quite certainly the second and third signs of TI Z 11 as discussed above (see also Figure 3). This leaves the last sign *wa* unaccounted for. The only attested case of *wa* at Tiryns is in a fragment discovered at the 1972 excavations by Peter Gercke (TI Z 29, *si-ra-]ri-jo wa-na-ka[-te-ro*).<sup>39</sup> There are two possible explanations: Sundwall either saw a now lost photograph or misread one of the signs, and the latter is the most likely alternative. His *wa* is best seen as a misinterpretation of TI Z 8 (*a*-[]). In the preserved sherd the lower part of the sign *a* is missing and the correct reading is only possible because of the match of TI Z 8 with TI Z 26 (Figure 6).<sup>40</sup> Jacques Raison made independently the same mistake as Sundwall by publishing the sign of TI Z 8 also as *wa*.<sup>41</sup>

In order to place TI Z 10 in its wider context, it is necessary to study also other aspects of the containers than just the inscription. In his 1968 monograph Raison established the typological groups of ISJs based also on the provenance, shape, size, clay texture, slip, colour and decoration of the jars and comparisons with uninscribed stirrup jars. One of his largest groups is 'Groupe de TH Z 858' (*di-no-zo*): it includes eight inscribed and four uninscribed jars.<sup>42</sup> The slender ovoid jars have a loop connecting the bases of the handles and the false neck, and a wavy band on the handles going across the disc at the top; the inscriptions are

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*ka-ra-u-ko* (MY Z 717); see Melena 1977; Sacconi 2012, 127. For other names, see e.g. MY Z 202, TH Z 839 and 850 (Sacconi 1974, 69, 121–2, 132). Raison (1968, 215 n. 18) discusses the *ka* in TH Z 860 and TI Z 10 as an abbreviation for *ka-ra-re-we*, an ovoid-conic vase, but he himself is not satisfied with the hypothesis; his other possibilities include *ka-pa* and *ka-po*, but he makes no definitive suggestion. Using an abbreviation could be seen as a parallel with the single sign *wa* in KH Z 16 which could be shortened from *wanax*; Hallager – Vlasakis 1976, 215–8; Hallager 1987, 177 n. 61; cf. also Shelmerdine – Bennet 1995, 130–1; Duhoux 2010, 48. For full references to KH Z 16, see Hallager 2011, 416; for further discussions on *wa* and *wanax*, see van Alfen 1996–97, 255 n. 14, 260; Judson 2013, 73, 84–5.

<sup>38</sup> TI Z 7 is discussed above; TI Z 24 is shown in Tiryns-0649B: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3780278>. Also TI Z 24 is among the chemically analysed ISJs: Haskell & al. 2011b, 13–4, 95, 99, 115 (their reference is TI04).

<sup>39</sup> For the supplements, see Godart – Olivier 1975, 38–43.

<sup>40</sup> For a photograph of TI Z 26, see Figure 2 above.

<sup>41</sup> Raison 1968, 166–7.

<sup>42</sup> TH Z 842, 857, 858, 863–65, 961, 965 and Thebes 890, 902, 923, 927; Raison 1968, 101–7. Haskell's typegroup IX follows largely Raison's original grouping; Haskell 2011, 13–4.



on the shoulder. Bennett proposes that the jars of the group are best discussed as the produce of a single workshop and that the parallel ISJs from Tiryns should be included in the group.<sup>43</sup> He recognises different production batches and the subgrouping in Table 2 is largely based on his observations. Bennett argues that a chronological sequence for the inscriptions of the *no-di-zo/di-no-zo* group can be established. It should also be pointed out that the only ISJ with three bands below the inscription is TH Z 858,<sup>44</sup> the inscription which is the most different compared with the 'archetype' TI Z 12 and, therefore, the latest<sup>45</sup> – all the other well-preserved ones have only two bands. A similar development in complexity can be observed in the *a-nu-to* ISJs: TH Z 864 is the simplest with only a single band below the inscription and no neck band. Sacconi attributes TH Z 864 and 863 to the same hand and TI Z 8, TI Z 54 and TH Z 865 to a different one, and on TH Z 961 she is undecided. I place the ISJs with the inscription *a-do-we* in between these two groups: both preserved examples most likely have two bands below the text.<sup>46</sup> Table 2 summarises the ISJs attributable to the workshop: A01 is the only subgroup with a single band under the inscription and subgroups A09–11 have three, all other ones have two bands. The chronological sequences of the workshop presented in Figure 7 are partially tentative and a more thorough study of the preserved original pieces should be undertaken: for example, it is only possible to place the uninscribed stirrup jars from Thebes in their approximate positions in the sequences. The chronological outline in Figure 7a is based on the assumption that only one hand was active at any given time in inscribing the ISJs.<sup>47</sup> In Figure 7b the timeline is significantly condensed due to the work of Hands 510, 514 and 502a partially overlapping. In Figure 7a the lifespan of the workshop is five generations of hands and in Figure 7b possibly only three. If Hand 511 inscribed ISJs only late in his career and 502b early in his, also the first model could be fitted into an approximate period length of LB IIIB1 of three generations – however, it

<sup>43</sup> Bennett 1986, 136–40. He does not propose that 'batches' 12–15 were the produce of the same workshop, though this could be more clearly stated in the paper; cf. Bennett 1986, 140–3.

<sup>44</sup> Raison 1968, 101, fig. 132.

<sup>45</sup> Bennett 1986, 138–9.

<sup>46</sup> Haskell (2011, 14) points out that the clay fabric of TI Z 25 is different from the other two fragments, so it should be excluded from the subgroup. Bennett also notes that the shape of the *do* is different.

<sup>47</sup> The attribution of the hands is based on Bennett 1986, 136–40 and Sacconi 2012, 129. I have divided Sacconi's Hand 502 into 502a and 502b, though based on Bennett's argument three different hands could have been involved in inscribing the *no-di-zo/di-no-zo* ISJs.

Table 2. Subgroups of the stirrup jars produced by the a-nu-to/di-no-zo workshop.

Subgroup	ISJs	Inscription	References
A01	TH Z 864	<i>a-nu-to</i>	Bennett 1986, 139–40; Raison 1968, 106, figs. 137–8; Sacconi 1974, 142; 2012, 129
A02	TH Z 863	<i>a-nu-to</i>	Bennett 1986, 139–40; Raison 1968, 104–5, figs. 135–6; Sacconi 1974, 141; 2012, 129
A03	TH Z 865 & 961, TI Z 8 (+ 26) & 54	<i>a-nu-to</i>	Bennett 1986, 139–40; Raison 1968, 106–8, figs. 139–40; Sacconi 1974, 84, 143, 162; 2012, 129
A04	TH Z 842, TI Z 24	<i>a-do-we</i>	Bennett 1986, 139; Raison 1968, 103–4, fig. 134; Sacconi 2012, 129
A05	Thebes 923, 927	uninscribed	Bennett 1986, 136–7; Raison 1968, 101, figs. 129
A06	TI Z 12	<i>no-di-zo</i>	Bennett 1986, 137–9; Raison 1968, 170, fig. 170
A07	TI Z 11, 13–23, KH Z 27	<i>no-di-zo</i>	Bennett 1986, 138–9; Raison 1968, 169–76, figs. 170–4; Sacconi 2012, 129
A08	TH Z 857	<i>di-no-zo</i>	Bennett 1986, 137; Raison 1968, 103, fig. 133
A09	TH Z 858	<i>di-no-zo</i>	Bennett 1986, 137; Raison 1968, 102, fig. 132
A10	TI Z 10, Midea 650?	<i>ka</i>	Raison 1968, 168, fig. 169; Walberg 1998, 217, pl. 87
A11	Thebes 890, 902	uninscribed	Bennett 1986, 136–7; Raison 1968, 101–2, figs. 130–1

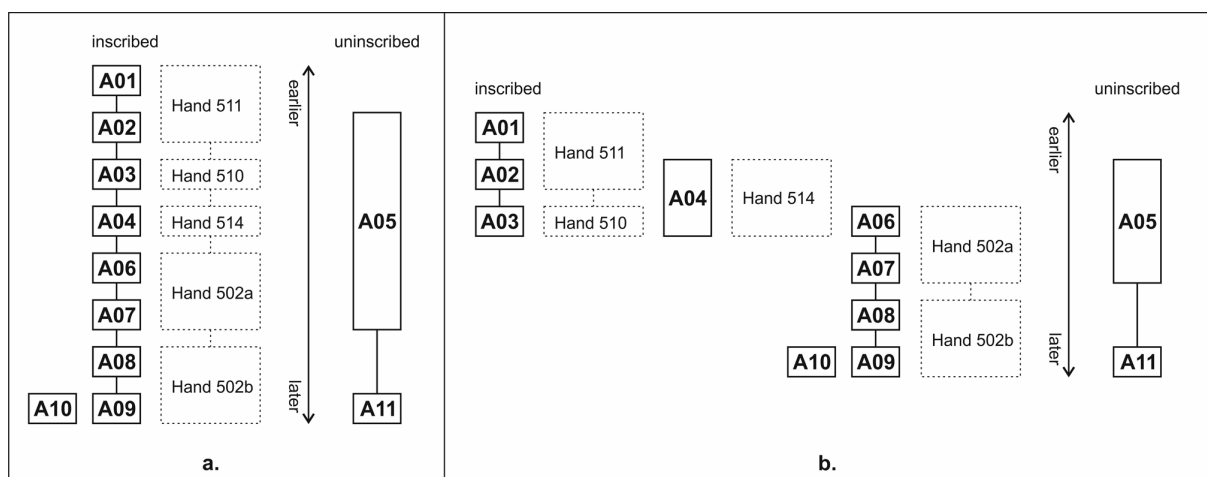


Figure 7. Two alternative chronological sequences of the subgroups produced by the a-nu-to/di-no-zo workshop.

is quite probable that the latest subgroups A09–A11 can be dated to the LB IIIB2 period.<sup>48</sup>

Now it is time to return to TI Z 10 (Figure 5). It is a late production of the *a-nu-to/no-di-zo* workshop. The closest typological parallel for the jar is TH Z 858: both have three bands on the shoulder, a wavy band connecting the handles over the top (visible in Tiryns-0649A on the left side of the left handle) and a loop around the false neck and the handles; also, the wide expressive brush strokes of the signs are similar. To sum up, seventeen ISJs from Tiryns, seven from Thebes, one from Khania, four uninscribed stirrup jars from Thebes and probably also one from Midea can be attributed to the workshop. TI Z 10 fits well into the tail end of this group and I see no reason for omitting this inscription from the corpus of Tirynthian ISJs.

Some interesting further observations can be made on the basis of Table 2 and Figure 7. Two individuals, *a-nu-to* and *no-di-zo*, are the prominent persons connected with the early and the late vessels produced by the workshop. If the hypothesis that the ISJs were connected with gift-exchange or tribute rather than local administration in Crete is correct, these persons were sending quite a few jars inscribed with their names and filled with olive oil to Thebes and Tiryns. Two other persons are also documented in the inscriptions: *a-do-we* and an individual with his name starting with *ka*. The latter can be connected with the breakdown of paleographic tradition in the workshop: in the late vessels the name of *no-di-zo* is misspelled twice and elements of the individual signs are misplaced in the final one; only the first syllable of the name is painted in TI Z 10 and Midea 650 – was there no one available to guide the painter how to denote the complete name of the person commissioning the ISJ?<sup>49</sup> Even if the inscriptional tradition is fading, the products of the workshop are finding their way to Thebes and Tiryns.

Although no new textual evidence arises from the detailed inspection of the very first publication of the Tirynthian stirrup jar inscriptions, it is now more certain that the lost sherds from Müller's excavations did not contain any easily decipherable material. With one exception Sundwall's list covers all the known

<sup>48</sup> The context of the ISJ from Midea (650, M90Nb5–307C) discussed above in n. 36 can be taken as further support of a LB IIIB2 date for subgroups A09–A11; I have tentatively assigned this vessel as a second member of subgroup A10 in Table 2, though for a more certain attribution a direct comparison with the other products of the *a-nu-to/di-no-zo* workshop should be carried out. For the context at Midea, see Walberg – Giering 1998, 85.

<sup>49</sup> The differences in the *no-di-zo/di-no-zo* inscriptions indicate rather a paleographic tradition than a single hand; Bennett 1986, 137–9; Haskell 2011, 14. However, Sacconi (2012, 129) attributes the inscriptions to a single hand.

published complete Linear B signs from the early 20th-century excavations at Tiryns:<sup>50</sup> the missing sign is a *do* in TI Z 25 (J*a*-*do*-*we*), but the very faint *do* would have been difficult to render on the basis of the existing photograph.<sup>51</sup> We can confidently propose that Sundwall had full access to Müller's photographs of the pottery with Linear B signs and that the negative archive at the German Archaeological Institute at Athens is complete in this regard. Currently, Sundwall's contribution to the decipherment of Linear B often tends to be overlooked,<sup>52</sup> but as the study of the Tirynthian signs shows, his pioneering work should not be forgotten: Sundwall's observations are quite remarkable considering how little of the Linear scripts was known at the time and that he was only working from photographs of the objects. Re-examination of TI Z 10 has prompted a suggestion for the chronology of the production of the '*a-nu-to/di-no-zo* workshop' and reinstatement of the inscription back to the corpus of inscribed stirrup jars from Tiryns.

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<sup>50</sup> For an overview of published inscriptions from Müller's excavations, see Sacconi 1974, 77–108. For references to TI Z 10 (*ka*), see n. 33 above.

<sup>51</sup> The sherd can be seen in Tiryns-0653 on the second row from the bottom; <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/3780285>. The identification of *do* in TI Z 25 is largely based on comparison with the later discovered same inscription TH Z 842; cf. Sacconi 1974, 96, 124. On TI Z 25, see also Haskell & al. 2011b, 14, 39, 95, 99–100, 106, 115 (their reference is TI09).

<sup>52</sup> For example, Pope (2008) omits Sundwall from his recent account of the decipherment of Linear B.

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**VERG. ECL. 6,13–30**  
**MIMIC HUMOUR IN SILENUS' SCENE\***

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*Eclogue* 6 could be considered as the most complicated poem in Vergil's collection (perhaps after *Eclogue* 4) due to the oddity that its non-pastoral content shows. It begins with an explanation to Varus (in all probability the consul in 39 BC and jurist, P. Alfenus Varus)<sup>1</sup> that Vergil cannot write on great deeds (*ecl.* 6,1–12). Vergil's explanation (i.e. *recusatio*)<sup>2</sup> is followed by a scene which describes Silenus' capture by two fauns or satyrs<sup>3</sup> with the assistance of a naiad (*ecl.* 6,13–30) and culminates in Silenus' song that contains several mythological stories (*ecl.* 6,31–86). Scholars have sought numerous unifying principles or codes in the *Eclogue*, laying special emphasis on the content of Silenus' song and the rationale that governs the selection and arrangement of the mythological stories

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\* I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the anonymous readers of *Arctos* for their constructive suggestions, comments and criticisms which significantly improved the first draft of this paper. Furthermore, special thanks go to Dr. Costas Panayotakis who kindly allowed me to consult the manuscript of his forthcoming paper on the Hellenistic mime and its reception in Rome, lightening the burden of my research.

<sup>1</sup> For Varus' identity see, e.g., Coleman 1977, 177; Clausen 1994, 181 and more recently Cucchiarelli 2012, 329.

<sup>2</sup> For the *recusatio* motif see, e.g., Wimmel 1960, *passim*. See also Cairns 1972, index s.v. *recusatio*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Serv. *ecl.* 6,13–15: *Chromis et Mnasyllus isti pueri satyri sunt. pueri nonnulli 'pueri' non absurde putant dictum, quia Sileni priusquam senescant, satyri sunt. utrum ergo aetate pueros, an ut ministros et familiares solemus communiter pueros vocare?* and 24: *sufficit enim, quia potui a vobis, qui estis homines, videri: quod ideo dicit, quia hemithei cum volunt tantum videntur, ut fauni, nymphae, Silenus*. See also Coleman 1977, 178; Clausen 1994, 182 and Cucchiarelli 2012, 334–5.



that are traced in the song.<sup>4</sup> However, there seems to be a consensus among critics on the role which Silenus' song has in the *Eclogue* and on the role which the *Eclogue* has in the entire collection. Hence, the introductory section (*ecl.* 6,1–12) along with Silenus' song (*ecl.* 6,31–86) and more generally *Eclogue* 6 constitute a literary composition that reflects Hellenistic (i.e. Callimachean) and Neoteric (i.e. Gallan)<sup>5</sup> literary principles.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, scholarship has ignored or failed to offer a convincing or satisfying explanation for *ecl.* 6,13–30 (i.e. Silenus' capture) and their function in the *Eclogue*. This paper aims to fill the specific interpretative gap by examining *ecl.* 6,13–30, trying to show that Silenus' scene can be considered as a pastoral Greco-Roman mime<sup>7</sup> whose function and role in the *Eclogue* is also associated closely with that which critics have already suggested for Silenus' song and more generally for the entire *Eclogue*.

Silenus' capture by Chromis and Mnasyllus has not received exhaustive critical attention<sup>8</sup> by modern scholars who have characterised the specific episode

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<sup>4</sup> Convenient reviews regarding the main literary interpretations that are concerned with Silenus' song can be found in, e.g., Stewart 1959, 180–3; Saint-Denis 1963, 23–35; Segal 1969, 407 with n. 1; Schmidt 1972, 261–8; Coleiro 1979, 198–208; Briggs 1981, 1327–30; Papanghelis 1995, 132 with relevant notes and more recently in the bibliographical list for *Eclogue* 6 in Cucchiarelli 2012, 321–3.

<sup>5</sup> These literary principles are identified with the literary manifesto which was first conceived by Callimachus, was then adopted by poets after Callimachus and was later embodied in Gallus. See also Smith 2011, 69–70 who considers that Gallus in *ecl.* 6,64–71 symbolises the best of Rome's Neoteric tradition.

<sup>6</sup> Cf., e.g., Wimmel 1960, 132–48; Coleman 1977, 205–6 and Clausen 1994, 176–7. See also, e.g., Skutsch 1956, 193–5; Stewart 1969, 179–205; Ross 1975, 18–38; Courtney 1990, 99–112 and Papanghelis 1995, 131–72.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2014, 379, who nicely argues that the Hellenistic mime has entered into the Roman literary mime and other Latin literary genres where there also existed a strong native theatrical tradition (e.g. *fabula Atellana*) with which the Hellenistic mime was combined in a form that should be more rightly termed as the "Greco-Roman mime". See also Panayotakis 2005, 139 and Panayotakis 2010, 1–2.

<sup>8</sup> Cf., e.g., Skutsch 1956, 193–5; Stewart 1959, 179 and 197; Elder 1961, 119–20; Williams 1968, 243; Segal 1969, 414–8; Coleman 1977, 178–83; Rutherford 1989, 42; Courtney 1990, 101; Baldwin 1991, 103–4; Clausen 1994, 182–9; Papanghelis 1995, 141–3 and Hubbard 1998, 101.

as "little drama",<sup>9</sup> "rustic comedy",<sup>10</sup> "oneiric drama",<sup>11</sup> "pantomime"<sup>12</sup> and "bucolic farcical scene".<sup>13</sup> On the other hand, much more attention has been given to the much debated subject that deals with whether the *Eclogues* have ever been performed publicly in theatre;<sup>14</sup> and indeed scholars have variously correlated the *Eclogues* with the genre of mime based on the ancient sources that related Vergil's *oeuvre* to theatrical performance.<sup>15</sup> The *Vita Suetoniana-Donatiana* relates the success which the *Eclogues* had on stage, stressing also their frequent theatrical performances:

*bucolica eo successu edidit ut in scaena quoque per cantores  
crebro pronuntiarentur (VSD 26)*

Yet, the biographer's ambiguous meaning based on the ambiguous terms he uses (namely, *edidit* (i.e. either "to publish"<sup>16</sup> or "to exhibit publicly"),<sup>17</sup> *in scaena quoque* (i.e. "also on stage", a phrase that can mean that the *Eclogues'* first *editio* should had not occurred in theatre but in some other literary medium),<sup>18</sup> the *cantores* (i.e. either "singers" or "persons who are playing-singing the musical parts in a play")<sup>19</sup> and finally *pronuntiatur* (i.e. either "to give out publicly" or "to speak one's lines")<sup>20</sup>) cannot testify that the *Eclogues'* success (*eo successu*) is

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Segal 1969, 416.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Coleman 1977, 182.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Papanghelis 1995, 142.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Kohn 1999–2000, 271–3, although he is not referred exclusively to Silenus' capture by Chromis and Mnasyllus but to *Eclogue* 6 and its "protopantomimic style".

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2008, 193. See also Panayotakis 2010, 251.

<sup>14</sup> Cf., e.g., Hight 1974, 24–5; Quinn 1982, 152–3; Kohn 1999–2000, 267–74; Panayotakis 2008, 185–97 and Höschele 2013, 44–7. See also Panayotakis 2010, 251 and Panayotakis 2014, 392.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Ziolkowski – Putnam 2008, 162–78 who have collected all the ancient sources which are referred to performances of Vergilian poetry.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *OLD* s.v. *edo* 9. See also *TLL* s.v. *edo* I.C.1a.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *OLD* s.v. *edo* 12. See also *TLL* s.v. *edo* I.D.2a.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Höschele 2013, 46 with n. 39.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *OLD* s.v. *cantor* 1a and 1b respectively with Walter 1972, 1–14. See also Höschele 2013, 47.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. *OLD* s.v. *pronuntio* 1a and 7b. See also *TLL* s.v. *pronuntio* II.A.1b.a.I.

related to the genre of mime. However, much more information for the Vergilian collection and its relation to mime is given by Servius, who records that the famous mime actress Cytheris performed *Eclogue* 6 in theatre:

*dicitur autem ingenti favore a Vergilio esse recitata, adeo ut, cum eam postea Cytheris meretrix cantasset in theatro, quam in fine Lycoridem vocat, stupefactus Cicero, cuius esset, requireret. et cum eum tandem aliquando vidisset, dixisse dicitur et ad suam et ad illius laudem "magnae spes altera Romae": quod iste postea ad Ascanium transtulit, sicut commentatores loquuntur. (Serv. ecl. 6,11)*

The ancient commentator's testimony has significantly preoccupied modern scholars whose suggestions for the literary form that Cytheris' performance could have vary. Quinn argues that Cytheris' recital was accompanied with some interpretative dance<sup>21</sup> and he is later followed by Kohn who further suggests that *Eclogue* 6 is a pantomime.<sup>22</sup> Panayotakis claims that Cytheris could have acted out those lines from the *Eclogue* which were the more suitable for dramatic representation (i.e. ecl. 6,13–30).<sup>23</sup> Höschele observes that we cannot be sure for the form which Cytheris' recital had; and she suggests that Vergil's *Eclogues* can be related to the mime genre in the sense that the herdsmen perform mimes on the level of the text by imitating life and performing songs that are sung in their fictional world (i.e. "the mimesis concept").<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, there are certain inconsistencies in the passage which have already been noticed by modern critics<sup>25</sup> (i.e. given that Cicero's death happened in 43 BC, his occurrence in Cytheris' performance is inconsistent with the period 42–39 BC when the *Eclogues* seem to have been first composed before their circulation)<sup>26</sup> and can also confirm that our ancient sources do not allow to draw certain conclusions for the literary form

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Quinn 1982, 152–3.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Kohn 1999–2000, 272–3. See also above p. 2 with n. 12.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2008, 192–3.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Höschele 2013, 48–58 and esp. 58 who, based on Schmidt's suggestion that the *Eclogues* are "*Dichtung der Dichtung*", argues that the *Eclogues* are also "mimes about mimes".

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Quinn 1982, 153; Kohn 1999–2000, 268–69 with n. 13 and 14; Panayotakis 2008, 191–2 and Höschele 2013, 49–50.

<sup>26</sup> For the exact date of the collection's composition that remains a matter of discussion among scholars see, e.g., Coleman 1977, 14–21 and more recently Paraskeviotis 2009, 1 n. 2 with further bibliography.

which Cytheris' spectacle, if it actually happened, could have.<sup>27</sup> In other words, while scholars recognise that *Eclogue* 6 had actually a dramatic form, they strive to relate it to the mime genre based on the *Eclogue's* extra-textual testimonies; although, they also argue that these extra-textual testimonies (i.e. ancient sources) should not be considered as unequivocal evidence for the theatrical performance of the Vergilian collection.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, turning to the *Eclogue* itself and examining thoroughly Silenus' scene it would be shown that this scene can be considered as a pastoral Greco-Roman mime, confirming that the mime genre, although allusively, is actually found in *Eclogue* 6. This is either the "literary" (i.e. a mimic drama composed in verse and presented in theatres with subjects that dealt with political satire, literary parody, philosophical burlesque and mythological travesties)<sup>29</sup> or the "popular" (i.e. a mimic drama enacted in streets, squares, theatres and houses whose repertory contained adulteries, mock-marriages, staged-trials, staged-shipwrecks performed in humorous manner)<sup>30</sup> mime; since the ancient authors scorned all these shows and did not divide the mime genre into "literary" and "popular",<sup>31</sup> a distinction which is only made by modern scholars.<sup>32</sup> In other words, the mime constitutes a performative genre which had gained great success on the Roman stage<sup>33</sup> and its influence had also been well established in the Roman literature during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC<sup>34</sup> when Vergil created his pastoral corpus; and this can also suggest that Vergil should have been familiar with mime and especially with the mimic conventions from first-hand experience of these shows.<sup>35</sup> Yet, how the lines under examination could be considered as a pastoral Greco-Roman mime,

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2008, 192–3. See also Höschele 2013, 48–58 and esp. 58.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2008, 191–4 and esp. 194. See also Höschele 2013, 48–60 and esp. 58–60.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2005, 140.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2005, 140.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Esposito 2010, 279–80; Panayotakis 2005, 140; Panayotakis 2010, 3–4; Höschele 2013, 41–2 with n. 19. See also Panayotakis 2014, 382.

<sup>32</sup> Cf., e.g., Fantham 1989, 153.

<sup>33</sup> Cf., e.g., Wiseman 1999, 195–203 who nicely observes that mimes were conventionally associated with an obscene festival, the *Floralia* which had been instituted in or after 173 BC (cf. Val. Max. 2,10,8; Ov. *fast.* 5,347–50 and Lact. *inst.* 1,20,10) See also Panayotakis 2008, 141 and Höschele 2013, 42.

<sup>34</sup> Cf., e.g., Fantham 1989, 153–63. See also Panayotakis 2010, 30–1 with n. 59 and further bibliography and Panayotakis 2014, 385.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Höschele 2013, 42.

since the genre of mime has survived only in meagre fragments and cannot be readily defined? The answer is found in the same goal which Silenus' scene and the mime genre have, namely to cause laughter (i.e. *mimicus risus*)<sup>36</sup> or in other words humour.

Before examining the verses under consideration in order to trace humorous elements, we should originally consider their subject, their main character and their metre; because these also constitute evidence for the humour to be found in Silenus' scene. *Ecl.* 6,13–30 describe how the fauns or satyrs Chromis and Mnasyllus joined and aided by the naiad Aegle bind with his garlands the satyr Silenus who is found lying asleep and drunk in a cave after the last night booze in order to hear from him a song. The incident is clearly amusing and humorous and causes laugh not only to the reader, but also to Silenus who wakes up, smiles with the trick (*ille dolum ridens*, *ecl.* 6,23) and agrees to deliver to Chromis and Mnasyllus the requested song (cf. *ecl.* 6,23ff.). The always drunk Silenus (*inflatum hesternu uenas*, ***ut semper***, *Iaccho*, *ecl.* 6,15) can recall the drunkard figure who constitutes a beloved subject in the mime genre. Athenaeus, based on the musicologists Aristoxenus from Tarentum and Aristocles, refers to several solo performers (i.e. ἰλαρωδός, λυσιωδός, μαγωδός, μίμαυλος, μιμωδός, σιμωδός) whose shows seem to have been similar;<sup>37</sup> and he continues by quoting Aristocles' brief information concerning the subjects that the μαγωδοί selected for their shows, namely the adulteress, the bawd, the drunkard and the revel,<sup>38</sup> which can also be traced in the Greek literary and popular mime.<sup>39</sup> Moreover, the drunkard figure is also a subject that can be found in the Roman mime. Though Publilius' mimes have come down to us in fragmentary form and we have only two titles (i.e. *Murmurco*, "the Mutterer"<sup>40</sup> and *Putatores*, "the Pruners" which is a manuscript reading that has been emended either to *Portatores* or more plausibly to

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *Lyd. mag.* 1,40 and *Chor. Apol. mim.* 30. See also Panayotakis 2013, 140.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2014, 380 who nicely observes that the foregoing terms seem to have the same meaning.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. *Athen.* 14,14,8ff. ὁ δὲ μαγωδὸς καλούμενος τύμπανα ἔχει καὶ κύμβαλα καὶ πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδύματα γυναικεῖα: σχινίζεται τε καὶ πάντα ποιεῖ τὰ ἔξω κόσμου, ὑποκρινόμενος ποτὲ μὲν γυναικῆς καὶ μοιχοῦς καὶ μαστροπούς, **ποτὲ δὲ ἄνδρα μεθύοντα** καὶ ἐπὶ κῶμον παραγινόμενον πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2014, 380ff.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2010, 27 with n. 52. See also Panayotakis 2008, 144.

*Potatores*, "the Drinkers"<sup>41</sup>) and four lines,<sup>42</sup> however, the title *Potatores* could suggest that the drunkard subject have been employed by this Roman mimographer. On the other hand, the information drawn from Laberius' mimes is much more useful. His mimes once again survive in meagre fragments but here we have at least five times where we trace words that are closely associated with drunkenness,<sup>43</sup> something that suggests that the drunkard figure could be a source of humour in those plays.<sup>44</sup> Undoubtedly, it should not be argued that the verses under examination are entirely based on the foregoing fragmentary sources and scholars have already suggested the sources from which Vergil could have drawn Silenus' scene;<sup>45</sup> but, it should also be noticed that its humorous nature seems to have its roots in the mime genre.

The humorous tone traced in Silenus' scene is also enhanced from its main character. The legendary creature (i.e. satyr)<sup>46</sup> Silenus is the third hand singer in the *Eclogue*,<sup>47</sup> who incongruously stands for the herdsmen or the mythical bards (e.g. Amphion or Orpheus) that are usually found in this role<sup>48</sup> thereby causing

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2005, 144. See also Panayotakis 2010, 27 with n. 52.

<sup>42</sup> For Publilius' life and *oeuvre* see, e.g., Skutsch 1920–1928, 28. See also Panayotakis 2005, 144–5 and Panayotakis 2010, 51ff. with n. 85 and 86.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. *Laber. fr.* 8, 26, 52, 56 and 87. See also Panayotakis 2010, 141 who nicely observes that the drunkenness-motif constitutes a continuous humorous source also in Petronius' comic novel that shares many elements with mime (cf. *Petr. sat.* 26,1; 52,8; 65,7; 70,6; 72,7; 73,3; 78,5; 79,2; 79,9; 95,7 and 96,5).

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2010, 141.

<sup>45</sup> It has been argued even from antiquity that the motif of the captured satyr who relates philosophical (i.e., cosmological) subjects comes from the historian Theopompus (*Serv. ecl.* 6,13: *sane hoc de Sileno non dicitur fictum a Vergilio, sed a Theopompo translatum* and 6,26: *haec autem omnia de Sileno a Theopompo in eo libro, qui Thaumasia appellatur, conscripta sunt*. See also *Ael. VH* 3,18), while modern scholars suggested Plato's or Cicero's influence (cf. Hubbard 1975, 53–62 and Coleman 1977, 179). See also Segal 1976, 53–6, who argues that there are analogies between Silenus' scene and two Theocritean epigrams (i.e., 18 G-P = *A.P.* 12,135 and 19 G-P = *A.P.* 9,338).

<sup>46</sup> Cf., e.g., *OCD* s.v. *Satyrs and Sileni*.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *ecl.* 6,82–84: *omnia, quae Phoebus quondam meditante beatus/ audiit Eurotas iussitque ediscere lauros,/ ille canit, pulsae referunt ad sidera ualles*; where it becomes evident that Silenus' song is related at third hand, since Silenus heard the song from the laurels that heard it from the river Eurotas who originally learned it from Apollo.

<sup>48</sup> Cf., e.g., *ecl.* 1,1–5 (the archetypical herdsman Tityrus); 3,44–46 (Orpheus' influence over nature); 8,1–5 (Damon's and Alpheus' song whose orphic power can magically charm the flora and fauna).

laugh and humour.<sup>49</sup> Yet, Silenus is also inconsistently identified with a mythical singer who can charm all nature through his music and song (cf. *tum uero in numerum Faunosque ferasque uideres / ludere, tum rigidas motare cacumina quercus; / nec tantum Phoebos gaudet Parnasia rupes, / nec tantum Rhodope miratur et Ismarus Orphea; ecl. 6,27–30*),<sup>50</sup> generating in that way laugh and further reinforcing the humorous nature of the scene. Most significantly, the opening of Silenus' song (cf. *ecl. 6,31–40*) is concerned with philosophical (i.e., cosmological) subjects that can clearly echo epicurean philosophy<sup>51</sup> which denies the very existence of the legendary creatures (cf. *Lucr. 5,888–925*) such as the satyr Silenus who is humorously described relating epicurean doctrines.<sup>52</sup> In other words, the old satyr Silenus is emphatically incongruous with the role of the typical herdsman-singer<sup>53</sup> and of the mythical singers who charm the natural world and most significantly with the philosophical doctrines that are traced in his song. This characterisation creates a crucial incongruity between the conventional Silenus and the Vergilian Silenus creating laugh and humour (i.e. "the incongruity theory").<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the "philosopher" Silenus could be seen as a humorous representation of Lucretius and the *Eclogue* as a reply to the epicurean poet who ridicules the rustic belief that music comes from several country divine creatures (cf. *Lucr. 4,580–594*),<sup>55</sup> causing not only laugh and humour but also recalling the philosophical burlesque which constitutes a beloved subject in the mime genre.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Rutherford 1989, 45.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Rutherford 1989, 45.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Lucr. 2,1052–63; 5,65–70; 5,416–31 and 5,783–1455*. See also Clausen 1994, 189ff. For Vergil's relationship with the Epicurean philosophy concerning the verses under consideration (*ecl. 6,31–40*) see, e.g., Paratore 1964, 509–37 and Spoerri 1970, 144–63.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Baldwin 1991, 102.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Schmidt 1972, 108 who, observing that the Vergilian collection is always concerned with herdsmen-singers, reached the final conclusion that the *Eclogues* are indeed "Dichtung über Dichtung". See also Davis 2012, 10–11.

<sup>54</sup> For the three common humour theories (i.e. incongruity theory, superiority theory and relief theory) see Plaza 2006, 6–13. See also Raskin 1985, 30–41; Attardo 1994, 47–50 and Morreall 2009, 4–23. For more bibliography on humour see Plaza 2006, 6 with n. 10 and more recently Michalopoulos 2014, 36–7 with n. 4 [in Greek].

<sup>55</sup> Cf. Baldwin 1991, 102–3.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2010, 10–1 with n. 20. See also Panayotakis 2005, 140 and Panayotakis 2014, 385–6.

The incongruity theory is also associated with the metrical form used by Silenus, which constitutes yet another feature that reinforces the humour traced in the scene. Aristotle argued that the literary characters can be separated in three basic categories: σπουδαῖοι or βελτίονες, φαῦλοι or χείρονες and finally τοιοῦτοι or καθ' ἡμᾶς.<sup>57</sup> The σπουδαῖοι are concerned with the superior characters that are found in epic and tragedy, the φαῦλοι are identified with the inferior characters that are traced in comedy and the τοιοῦτοι are referred to the average citizens or everyday characters.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, he continues stressing that the dactylic hexameter is a grand metrical form which constitutes a suitable medium to be used by the σπουδαῖοι or βελτίονες;<sup>59</sup> but, it is also incongruous for the φαῦλοι or χείρονες to use high-flown diction in a literary composition, given that they should use a metre in keeping with their status.<sup>60</sup> These Aristotelian views concerning the congruity between subject and metrical form in a literary genre (i.e., τὸ πρέπον) bequeathed in the Hellenistic and Augustan Age.<sup>61</sup> However, the Hellenistic and Augustan writers set free poetry from its formal occasions and metrical bonds, suggesting also that a literary genre should not be limited by classical strictures on the association between subject and metrical form.<sup>62</sup> Vergil's main literary model, Theocritus used the dactylic hexameter for dramatic dialogues or monologues that deal with low characters (i.e. herdsmen) and their lives, creating in that way an incongruity which is ironical and humorous to the audience.<sup>63</sup> Hence, the satyr Silenus who has long history as an inferior character (i.e. φαῦλος) in the Greco-Roman literary tradition<sup>64</sup> speaks in dactylic

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Ar. *pol.* 1448a 1–5. See also Zanker 1987, 139–42 and esp. 142.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Ar. *pol.* 1448a 16–18.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Ar. *pol.* 1449b 9–10. See also Zanker 1987, 11.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Ar. *rh.* 1404b 12–25. See also Zanker 1987, 142.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Hor. *ars* 73–98 where the Aristotelian theory concerning the appropriateness can also be found since Horace argues that the subject should be in accordance with the metrical form in a literary genre, laying also special emphasis on yet another two literary features: the use of an example *par excellence* (i.e. *auctor*) that can define a literary genre and the fact that a literary genre can contain elements drawn from another genre (i.e. blending of genres) in order to serve special goals.

<sup>62</sup> Cf., e.g., Zetzel 1983, 99–100 with n. 32.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Zanker 1987, 11–12 with n. 56. For humour and irony in the Theocritean collection (i.e. *Idyll* 11) see, e.g., Kantzios 2004, 49–62.

<sup>64</sup> Cf., e.g., Strab. 10,3,19: οὔρειαι νύμφαι θεαὶ ἐξεγένοντο καὶ γένος οὔτιδανῶν Σατύρων καὶ ἀμυχανοεργῶν Κουρήτες τε θεοὶ φιλοπαίγμονες ορχηστήρες.



hexameter (cf. *ecl.* 6,23–26) which is a medium used to celebrate the actions of gods, heroes, kings and warriors; and therefore, it can be argued that here there is the same incongruity with Theocritus. In other words, Silenus enjoys Chromis', Mnasyllus' and Aegle's joke calling for his freedom in the heroic metre which is a significant incongruity that generates humour. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that by Vergil's time dactylic hexameter had already adapted by Lucilius, Lucretius, Catullus, Vergil and Horace for less elevated literary forms and therefore it had become so common in the descriptions of lower characters (e.g. Horace's *Satires*),<sup>65</sup> thereby losing its humorous function. Nonetheless, it should also be mentioned that the conventional metrical forms used by Greek and Roman mimographers in the fragmentary texts that have come down to us are the iambic, choliambic and trochaic rhythm but not the dactylic hexameter,<sup>66</sup> something which can create yet another substantial incongruity that causes humour; namely, Silenus humorously calls for his freedom in the dactylic hexameter and not the in the iambic, choliambic and trochaic rhythm that are found in the mime genre, thereby reinforcing the suggestion that Silenus' scene is related to this literary genre. Finally, the metrical form used in Silenus' song is also the dactylic hexameter that constitutes the right medium for a song that is reported rather than dramatized.<sup>67</sup> However, its incongruous recital by the uneducated satyr Silenus rather than by someone royal bard (e.g., Phemius or Demodocus) causes not only laugh and humour; but, it can also ridicule these mythical characters and the scenes in which are found, something which is among the favourite subjects employed in the mime genre.<sup>68</sup>

Examining closely the scene we first come across Silenus' hangover (*ecl.* 6,13–17) that constitutes the conventional behaviour for someone who is Dionysus' follower;<sup>69</sup> however, it has already been noticed that here we do not deal with the typical Silenus but with the Vergilian Silenus who can charm the natural environment with his music and song (*ecl.* 6,27–30) and can also recount

<sup>65</sup> Cf., e.g., Hor. *sat.* 1,8 where Priapus' figwood statue relates the way in which he scared the witches Canidia and Segana who desecrated by performing a magical ceremony in his garden and 2,2 where the countryman Ofellus, whose farm has been confiscated, criticises the fashionable gluttony and suggests austerity and simple living.

<sup>66</sup> Cf., e.g., Panayotakis 2005, 139–140. See also Panayotakis 2014, 382.

<sup>67</sup> Cf., e.g., Hom. *Od.* 1,325–27 (Phemius' song); *Od.* 8,499–520 (Demodocus' song) and Verg. *Aen.* 1,740–46 (Iopas' song).

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2010, 10–11 with n. 20. See also Panayotakis 2005, 140.

<sup>69</sup> Cf., e.g., Hartmann 1927, 39 and 43. See also Notopoulos 1967, 308–9.

philosophical subjects (*ecl.* 6,31–40), namely two activities which are humorously incongruous with the satyr's hangover. The next incongruity that causes humour is found in the satyr's capture (*ecl.* 6,18–22). Silenus' binding with his own garlands by two hesitant fauns or satyrs that are encouraged and aided by a naiad who daubs the satyr's face with mulberry juice constitutes a joke which can actually cause laugh (cf. *ille dolum ridens*, *ecl.* 6,23).<sup>70</sup> But, the martial language (*adgressi* "to assault", *ecl.* 6,18; *uincula* "chains", *ecl.* 6,19 and *sanguineis* "bloody", *ecl.* 6,22)<sup>71</sup> used to describe Silenus' binding is also funny; given that the trivial incident, which is concerned with the capture of the drunk satyr, is incongruously described through serious martial terms causing not only humour, but also recalling the mime genre where similar trivial situations (i.e., "low subjects") are conventionally portrayed through a very learned or even artificial language.<sup>72</sup> Finally, Silenus' answer shows that he enjoys the joke agreeing to offer Chromis and Mnasyllus the long requested song and Aegle some another reward (*ecl.* 6,23–26).<sup>73</sup> The satyr's reaction confirms his playful character (cf. *nam saepe senex spe carminis ambo / luserat*, *ecl.* 6,18–19) that is reinforced from his sexual innuendo to Aegle.<sup>74</sup> Such an obscene innuendo accords very well with the conventional lecher Silenus; but, it is entirely incongruous with the Vergilian Silenus who is identified with the mythical singer that can charm natural world (*ecl.* 6,27–30) and with the "philosopher" that relates cosmological subjects (*ecl.* 6,31–40) causing also humour.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, such obscene humour has

<sup>70</sup> See also Law 1978, 85–89, who nicely argues that Silenus' face smeared by Aegle constitutes a typical humorous element that further reinforces the scene's humorous nature.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Segal 1969, 417.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. Panayotakis 2014, 382 who nicely quotes Herondas' *Mim.* 1 where an old matchmaker tries to convince a woman whose mate is away from home for some time to yield to another man's sexual advances, thereby identifying the woman with another Penelope who is waiting for Odysseus' return.

<sup>73</sup> Here, it should be mentioned that the female mimes had usually names that reflected show business e.g. Thymele ("Stage"), Eucharis ("Miss Charming"), Paizousa ("The Player"), Anapauma ("Respite") or Mimesis (cf. Garton 1964, 238–9), something that can suggest that the non-pastoral name Aegle ("The Shining") could have its roots in the same tradition.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Baldwin 1991, 103 who also argues that Silenus' sexual innuendo can recall that found in *ecl.* 3,7–9: *Parcius ista uiris tamen obicienda memento. / nouimus et qui te transuersa tuentibus hircis / et quo sed faciles Nymphae risere sacello.*

<sup>75</sup> Cf., e.g., Cic. *de orat.* 2,242 and 251–52.

also been recognised as a central mimic feature,<sup>76</sup> reinforcing in that way the relationship between Silenus' scene and the mime genre.

To sum up, the subject, the basic character and the metre of Silenus' scene create an amusing *mise en scène* which is the most suitable context for its humorous elements. The satyr's hangover, binding and reaction to Chromis' and Mnasyllus' "assault" constitute the elements which show that here we do not deal with the typical Silenus. The Vergilian Silenus is the herdsman-singer who is a typical figure in the *Eclogues*, the legendary singer who can charm the flora and fauna through his music and song and finally a polymath singer who recounts philosophical (i.e. cosmological) subjects. These activities are emphatically incongruous with those in which the typical Silenus used to be engaged, creating notable incongruities that generate laugh and humour. However, the laugh and humour traced in Silenus' scene are not a mere coincidence; its subject (i.e. the drunkard), main character (i.e. Silenus) and metre (i.e. dactylic hexameter) along with its constituent elements (i.e. Silenus' binding and his obscene joke to Aegle) shows that the humour of Silenus' scene comes from the mime genre. In other words, *ecl.* 6,13–30 can be characterised as a pastoral Greco-Roman mime which is intended to generate laugh and humour (i.e. *mimicus risus*) to the reader. This conclusion can explain the function which Silenus' scene has in the *Eclogue*, justifying also his bizarre role as the "singer" of the ensuing song (*ecl.* 6,31–86). Furthermore, the same inference accords very well with the suggestion that *Eclogue* 6 is a literary composition which reflects Hellenistic and Neoteric literary principles; since mime (i.e. Hellenistic and Roman) that drew its material from everyday life and exploited realistic subjects along with low-life situations in a learned and stylised way can actually reflect the literary trend that prevailed in Rome during the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC; and finally, it also accords well with the *Eclogue's* introductory section (*ecl.* 6,1–12) which clearly anticipates not only its humorous-playful nature but most significantly the Hellenistic-Neoteric character traced in Silenus' song.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Cf., e.g., Panayotakis 2010, 22. See also Panayotakis 2005, 141.

<sup>77</sup> Note the verb *ludere* (*ecl.* 6,2) that refers to the composition of light or playful verse (cf. *OLD* s.v. *ludo* 8a) and has also Neoteric overtones (cf. *Cat.* 50,1–2 *hesterno, Licini, die otiosi/multum lusimus in tuis tabellis*), while it is contrasted with the verb *canerem* (*ecl.* 6,3) that is related to epic poetry. Furthermore, *Thalea* denotes the Muse Thalia who is identified with the genre of comedy and light verse (cf. Roscher 1916–1924, s.v. *Thaleia* and *Thalia*.) whose occurrence is in emphatic contrast to Apollo's epiphany (*ecl.* 6,3–5) and entirely in accordance with the humorous character of Silenus' scene (*ecl.* 6,13–30).

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**IN SEARCH OF PEER SUPPORT:  
CHANGING PERSPECTIVES ON SISTERHOOD  
IN ROMAN IMPERIAL EPIC**

ELINA PYY

**Introduction**

The significance of familial relationships in the Roman politics has been widely discussed in numerous studies concerning the Roman late Republic and the Principate. It has been shown that among the political elite, in particular, the connections and allegiances provided by family were of immeasurable value. Without undermining the importance of marriages in forming political unions, the bonds of blood often carried the most lasting significance in the politically unstable environment.<sup>1</sup> During the civil war period in particular, familial relations played a considerable role in power struggles between the *optimates* and the *populares*, and between the triumvirs.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> J. P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family*, Princeton 1984, 214, 224–6. Hallett emphasises the volatile and temporary nature of marriages, and argues that the stories of loyal and trustworthy wives in the Roman historiography are, at least partially, unrealistic illusions and attempts to shape reality through representation (see App. *BC* 4,39–40; Vell. 2,67,2; Dio 47,7,4–5). See also Valerius Maximus' exemplary stories on spousal love, where loyalty is attributed mostly to husbands, not wives (Val. Max. 4,6; 6,7).

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., J. Martin, "Familie, Verwandtschaft und Staat in der römischen Republik", in J. Spielvogel (ed.), *Res Publica reperta. Zur Verfassung und Gesellschaft der römischen Republik und des frühen Prinzipats, Festschrift für Jochen Bleicken zum 75. Geburtstag*, Stuttgart 2002, 13–24; R. A. Bauman, *Women and Politics in Ancient Rome*, London 1994; S. Dixon, "A Family Business. Women's Role in Patronage and Politics at Rome 80–44 B.C.", *C&M* 34 (1983) 91–111; S. Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, London 1988; J. P. Hallett, "Matriot Games? Cornelia, Mother of the Gracchi, and the forging of family-oriented political values", in F. McHardy – E. Marshall (eds.), *Women's Influence on Classical Civilization*, London 2004, 26–40; T. Hillard, "Republican Politics, Women, and the Evidence", *Helios* 16 (1989) 165–82.



Parent-child relationships were, of course, extremely important in Roman politics and public life. Not only fathers, who wielded *patriapotestas* over their adult children, but mothers, too, often held major *auctoritas* in the lives of their children and could significantly advance or hinder their sons' political aspirations.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, parents were certainly not the only relatives that were in a position to influence the public life and the political career of their sons. In effect, mutually beneficial relationships between brothers and sisters are a characteristic feature of the historiography of the late Republic and the early Principate.<sup>4</sup> Clodia Metelli, for instance, was well-known for her close relationship with her brother, P. Clodius Pulcher, whose subversive politics she was rumoured to have actively endorsed in the 60's BC.<sup>5</sup>

A more flattering image is accorded to Octavia, who is usually not only depicted as a flawlessly virtuous woman, but also praised for offering immeasurable aid and support to her brother during the difficult years of the 30's BC.<sup>6</sup> It appears that in good or bad, blood was indeed thicker than water in the Roman political machinations. The men of the elite benefitted from their sisters' social connections, and the sisters were assessed by the reputation of their brothers. What is particularly intriguing is that the tensions and the aggravations that often characterise brotherly relationships both in Roman recorded history and in the legendary stories, are mostly absent from the literary depictions of Roman sister-brother relationships – presumably because the gender difference eliminated the threat of direct competition between sisters and brothers.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Hallett 1984 (above n. 1), 243–60; Dixon 1988 (above n. 2), 168–208.

<sup>4</sup> A.-C. Harders, *Suavissima Soror. Untersuchungen zu den Bruder-Schwester-Beziehungen in der römischen Republik*, München 2008 (see 51–60, 163–312 in particular).

<sup>5</sup> Cic. *Att.* 2,12,2; Cic. *Cael.* 20,50; 32,78; 50. See M. B. Skinner, "Clodia Metelli", *TAPhA* 11 (1983) 273–87; M. B. Skinner, *Clodia Metelli. The Tribune's Sister*, Oxford 2011 (1–19 in particular); J. L. Butrica, "Clodius the Pulcher in Catullus and Cicero", *CQ* 52 (2002) 507–16; Harders (above n. 4), 215–48. Skinner (cit. 230) proposes that Clodia's bad reputation, based strongly on Cicero's public defamation of her, was due to the fact that she openly took her brother's side in the political rivalries, regardless of the tension between P. Clodius Pulcher and Q. Metellus Celer. On Clodia's role as an intermediary between her brother and his adversaries, see Cic. *Att.* 2,9,1; 2,14,1.

<sup>6</sup> Plut. *Ant.* 31,2–3; 35,1–3; 52,2. Octavia's role as a mediator between her husband and her brother was at its most significant in 37 BC, when the treaty of Tarentum was formed. Plut. *Ant.* 35,1–4, Dio 48,54, App. *BC* 5,93–5. See Harders (above n. 4), 281–8; Bauman (above n. 2), 93–7.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., Harders (above n. 4), 71–86.

The value and significance of sibling relationships are reflected not only in the historiographic sources of the late Republic and the Principate but in Roman poetry, too. In particular, in epic poetry of the early Principate, the sisters of the protagonists are often given a personal character and a voice of their own. Nor are they merely supplementary to the depiction of their brothers, but agents in their own right, who actively contribute to the development of the narrative.

What is particularly interesting is that instead of only depicting relationships between sisters and brothers, the Roman epic poets thoroughly describe relationships between two sisters. The predominately male viewpoint that marks sibling relationships in Roman historiography is complemented in epic with familial relationships between women. The sisterhood of Dido and Anna in the *Aeneid* is one of the most elaborate depictions of an intimate human relationship in the whole of Roman literature. Ovid's version of the myth of Procne and Philomela, for its part, can be read as a story about a strong sisterly bond and the female opposition to male violence and domination.<sup>8</sup> As for Flavian epic, Statius' two pairs of sisters in the *Thebaid* – Argia and Deipyle, Antigone and Ismene – are deliberately contrasted with the incendiary brotherly relationship between Polynices and Eteocles.<sup>9</sup> It appears that in Roman imperial epic, pairs of sisters enable the poets to discuss the multiple issues of familial relationships from a female perspective that is rare in most genres of Roman literature.

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<sup>8</sup> The recurring rape theme and the discourses of power in the *Metamorphoses* have been widely discussed in postmodern feminist studies; the case of Procne and Philomela is often used as an example. See, e.g., L. C. Curran, "Rape and Rape Victims in the *Metamorphoses*", in J. Peradotto – J. P. Sullivan (eds.), *Women in the Ancient World. The Arethusa Papers*, Albany 1984, 265–86; M. J. Cutter, "Philomela Speaks: Alice Walker's Revisioning of Rape Archetypes in the *Color Purple*", *Melus* 25 (2000) 161–80; E. Marder, "Disarticulate Voices: Feminism and Philomela", *Hypatia* 7 (1992) 148–66; A. Richlin, "Reading Ovid's Rapes", in A. Richlin (ed.), *Pornography and Representation in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Oxford, 158–79; C. Segal, "Philomela's Web and the Pleasures of the Text: Reader and Violence in the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid", *Arion* 5 (1994) 9–41; B. E. Stirrup, "Techniques of Rape: Variety of Wit in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*", *G&R* 24 (1977) 170–84.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., F. Bessone, "Voce femminile e tradizione elegiaca nella Tebaide di Stazio", in A. Aloni – E. Berardi – G. Besso – S. Cecchin (eds.), *I sette a Tebe. Dal mito alla letteratura. Atti del seminario Internazionale, Torino 21–22 febbraio 2001*, Bologna 2002, 18–218; R. Lesueur, "Les femmes dans la Thébaïde de Stace", in M. Woronoff (ed.), *L'univers épique. Rencontres avec l'antiquité classique II*, Paris 1992, 230–242; A. La Penna, "Tipi e modelli femminili nella poesia dell'epoca dei Flavi (Stazio, Silio Italico, Valerio Flacco)", in *Atti del congresso di studi Vespasiani*, Rieti 1981, 223–51; D. Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid*, Cambridge 1973.

From the historian's perspective, the most intriguing matter about these epic representations of sisterly relationships is how they reflect the family values and ideas of contemporary Roman society. It is crucial to notice that chronologically, Virgil and Statius' epics are more than a century apart, and that during these hundred years Roman society went through considerable changes in the political, economic and ideological fields. It is only natural to presume that to some extent, the structural changes of society affected family life as well. This can be observed, for instance, in the Augustan legislation concerning marriage, reproduction and sexual morals that was in a sense a direct reaction to the social phenomena of the late Republic.<sup>10</sup>

The Flavian emperors appear to have had similar concerns about the Romans' family life as did Augustus – this is likewise reflected in the legislation of the era. In the field of family politics, the most important singular act was doubtless Domitian's renewal of *lex Iulia de adulteriis coercendis*.<sup>11</sup> This act conveys both a message that the Augustan moral legislation had been quite inefficient, and a message that this particular aspect of it was considered important enough to be reestablished.

Nevertheless, the Flavian dynasty appears to have had no more success in their attempts to stabilise Roman family life than Augustus had. Low reproductivity and high divorce rates are matters that – despite the relative peace and prosperity among the Roman elite – are often associated with the end of the first century CE.<sup>12</sup> These matters are, of course, very difficult to examine let alone prove due to the lack of statistics that would offer reliable numbers about the Roman family life.

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<sup>10</sup> For further analysis of the family values and sexual morals during the Augustan period, see P. Csillag, *The Augustan Laws on Family Relations*, Budapest 1976; G. Rizzelli, *Le donne nell'esperienza giuridica di Roma antica: il controllo dei comportamenti sessuali. Una raccolta di testi*, Lecce 2000, 41–7; Dixon 1992, 78–79. As for the family values in the Flavian period, see A. Agoustakis, "Per hunc utero quem linquis nostro: Mothers in Flavian epic", in L. Hackworth Petersen – P. Salzman-Mitchell (eds.), *Mothering and Motherhood in Ancient Greece and Rome*, Austin 2012, 205–24; A. J. Boyle, "Reading Flavian Rome", in A. J. Boyle – W. J. Dominik (eds.), *Flavian Rome. Culture, Image, Text*, Leiden – Boston 2003, 1–67 (see 16); C. Newlands, "Mothers in Statius' Poetry: Sorrows and Surrogates", *Helios* 33 (2006) 203–28.

<sup>11</sup> Boyle (above n. 10) 16.

<sup>12</sup> See Boyle (above n. 10), 24–7, Newlands (above n. 10) 221.

It has been argued that the decreasing birthrates, in effect, led to a degradation in the reputation of motherhood in the Flavian age.<sup>13</sup> In contrast with the preceding Julio-Claudian period, motherhood had no significant part in the public art or politics of the Flavian emperors.<sup>14</sup> Carole Newlands suggests that the authoritative role of a Roman mother that had risen to unprecedented heights during the late Republic and the Julio-Claudian era, visibly declined during the late first century.<sup>15</sup> The hypothesis is rather daring and impossible to discuss in depth in the limits of this paper. Newlands' argument is based mainly on the negative representation of motherhood in the poetry of the Flavian period, particularly in Statius.<sup>16</sup> Obviously, the limited amount of source material can be misleading for various reasons, and I emphasise that no definitive conclusions about familial dynamics during the Flavian era will be made in this paper.

Nevertheless, Newlands' reading of Statius is particularly interesting considering the scope of my study, since I will be examining epic as my primary source material, and Statius as one of the most prominent authors of the genre. The representation of motherhood in Roman epic can be compared to the representations of other familial relationships in the genre – those between women in particular. Therefore, ideas concerning motherhood and its putative decline might be useful and enlightening when studying family dynamics in the epic depictions of sisterhood.

### **The *Aeneid*: Dido and Anna**

Before digging deeper in Flavian epic's family dynamics, it is necessary to examine its background by studying its Virgilian and Ovidian models more closely. The most famous representation of a sisterly relationship in Roman epic is doubtlessly that of Dido and Anna in the *Aeneid*. Surprisingly, it has not been one of the most popular topics in the studies of Virgil's epic; most of the earlier studies

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<sup>13</sup> Newlands (above n. 10), 221.

<sup>14</sup> Newlands (above n. 10), 203.

<sup>15</sup> Newlands (above n. 10), 204–5, 221; compare, for instance, with the representation of maternal authority in Augustan epic: e.g. A. Brazouski, "Amata and her Maternal Right", *Helios* 18 (1991) 129–36; J. W. Zarker, "Vergil's Trojan and Italian *Matres*", *Vergilius* 24 (1978) 15–24.

<sup>16</sup> Thus also L. Micozzi, "Pathos e figure materne nella *Tebaide* di Stazio", *Maia* 50 (1998) 95–121. Recent discussion on the subject can be found in Agoustakis (above n. 10).

focusing on the subject are brief and somewhat outdated.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, they do make some perceptive points about Virgil's technique in depicting emotional and psychological overtones in his narrative. What is important is that in these studies – the articles of Swallow, Barrett and West, for instance – Anna is treated as a significant character in her own right.

Anna is present throughout Dido's story in book four of the *Aeneid*. Her first significant act is to convince Dido of what she is all too willing to believe – that falling in love with Aeneas and forgetting her vows of chastity would not violate her pact with the gods but rather bring happiness and success to both Dido and her people.<sup>18</sup> The episode makes evident Anna's strong influence on Dido and the confidential relationship between the two: After Anna has finished her speech it is stated that *His dictis incensum animum inflammavit amore / spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem*.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, the very fact that Dido opens up to Anna so freely speaks for the confidential nature of their relationship. In effect, the first time Anna is mentioned, she is characterised as *unanima* in relation to Dido; the sharer of her mind.<sup>20</sup>

The second time Anna appears in a crucial role is upon Aeneas' departure from Carthage. The heartbroken queen begs her sister to go and talk to the man, in order to delay his departure. Anna appears to have a special connection with Aeneas, or so Dido believes, stating that *solam nam perfidus ille / te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus*.<sup>21</sup> For one reason or another, Dido seems to think that Anna may wield some power over Aeneas that she herself does not.

Barrett considers this passage to be an implication that Anna, too, might have been having an affair with Aeneas – or at least that this is what Dido assumes.<sup>22</sup> It is worthwhile noting that there actually was an earlier tradition according to which Anna, not Dido, had a romantic relationship with Aeneas. Servius mentions this alternative tradition, stating that Varro favoured this version of the

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<sup>17</sup> See, e.g., E. Swallow, "Anna Soror", *The Classical Weekly* (1951) 14–50; A. Barrett, "Anna's Conduct in the *Aeneid* 4", *Vergilius* 16 (1970) 21–5; G. West, "Vergil's helpful sisters: Anna and Iuturna in the *Aeneid*", *Vergilius* 25 (1979) 10–19.

<sup>18</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,31–53.

<sup>19</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,54–55.

<sup>20</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,8.

<sup>21</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,421–22.

<sup>22</sup> Barrett (above n. 17), 23.

story.<sup>23</sup> As Barrett argues, Virgil's allusion to the alternative version of the myth is most likely deliberate, and the probable reason is that it deepens the psychological portrait of Dido – having a mental breakdown, she suspects her own sister of treachery and unfaithfulness.<sup>24</sup>

However, what is more interesting than the putative love triangle is the elaborate choice of words that the poet uses to convey a vivid psychological picture of the relationship between the two sisters. Dido is pathetic and selfish; she does not care for anything but her own pain and does not mind putting Anna in an uncomfortable position. Moreover, she blatantly exploits Anna's worry and affection; *miserere sororis* implies that Dido does not command Anna as a queen but begs her as a sister.<sup>25</sup>

And Anna obeys, albeit reluctantly: ironically *she* is now depicted as *miserima soror* as she carries messages back and forth (*fertque refertque*) between Dido and Aeneas.<sup>26</sup> The unbalanced power dynamics of their relationship are evident in the episode. Even though Dido is the queen, Anna appears to be the adult. Whereas Dido is needy, she is supportive; when Dido is weak, she must stay strong.

As Dido sinks deeper in despair, she breaks the bond of trust and confidentiality between herself and Anna. When the queen has premonitions of her death, Virgil explicitly states that she does not mention these visions to anyone – *non ipsi effata sorori*.<sup>27</sup> Instead, she deliberately conceals her suicidal plans and deceives Anna into thinking that she is trying to cure her hopeless love by means of magic. Dido's choice of words, *gratare sorori*, is a striking echo of *miserere sorori* only thirty-two lines earlier.<sup>28</sup> Once again, Dido expects Anna to do whatever it occurs to her in her madness to ask; and once again, Anna does. The poet states that *non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris / germanam credit, nec tantos mente furores / concipit aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei*.<sup>29</sup>

These lines imply that Dido has gone through a breakdown before, at the time of her husband's death, and that Anna took care of her then. Presumably, it is

<sup>23</sup> Serv. *Aen.* 4,682; 5,4.

<sup>24</sup> Barrett (above n. 17), 23–4.

<sup>25</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,435.

<sup>26</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,437–38.

<sup>27</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,456.

<sup>28</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,478.

<sup>29</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,500–502.

the very memory of this earlier incident that keeps Anna on the alert and makes her yield to her sister's every need. The social dynamics between Anna and Dido are determined by Dido's character that is *varium et mutabile*, and by Anna's fear that her sister will go overboard.<sup>30</sup> What establishes the irony is that Anna is worried, but not worried enough. Her caring and help is supposed to ease Dido's pain but instead she ends up aiding her sister in carrying out her suicidal schemes. In the end, Dido is unpredictable even to the person closest to her.

Anna's cup of bitterness overflows in a tumultuous rush of grief when she hears Dido's dying wail and storms into the room to find her sister severely wounded. Anna, who is usually characterised as a rational, practical and unemotional character, is anything but in her last speech to Dido.<sup>31</sup> Virgil's tendency to introduce a hint of dramatic, tragic pathos in his epic can be clearly observed in this speech:

*"hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas? / - - comitemne sororem / sprevisti moriens? Eadem me ad fata vocasses; / idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset. / his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi / voce deos, sic te ut posita, crudelis, abessem? / exstincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque / Sidonios urbemque tuam."*<sup>32</sup>

What is more remarkable than Anna's emotional turmoil, however, is the bitter and accusatory tone of her speech. Although she is grief-stricken by the loss of her beloved sister, she also bitterly blames Dido for deceiving her, for leaving her alone and for destroying their city and their people. It seems as if at the moment of Dido's death, Anna is freed from her paralysing fear that something bad might happen to her sister. Now, the worst *has* happened to Dido, and in a state of shock, Anna's resentment of Dido bursts forth.

That, however, does not mean that she did not dearly love Dido until the end. Virgil captures the incongruity of a close sibling relationship when Anna climbs the pyre and cradles her sister's body in her embrace. After letting out her bitterness and her grudge, she lovingly wipes Dido's blood away and kisses her goodbye.<sup>33</sup> Despite Dido's deception, and despite the hopeless situation in which

<sup>30</sup> For further discussion, see Swallow (above n. 17), 149; West (above n. 17), 18.

<sup>31</sup> See, e.g., Swallow (above n. 17), 147–9; West (above n. 17), 18.

<sup>32</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,675; 4,677–83.

<sup>33</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,683–85.

she has left her, Anna cannot help but miss the sister she has lost. In a sense, Dido's death removes the underlying tensions and restores the power balance in their relationship. In the end, Anna gets the last word, but it is not one of bitterness and blame but of sincere longing.

### **The *Metamorphoses*: Procne and Philomela**

Sisterly devotion in challenging circumstances is a central topic in book six of the *Metamorphoses*, too, where Ovid relates the myth about Procne and Philomela. In the gory and macabre story, the poet simultaneously discusses various moral and philosophical themes: Most importantly, the crossing of natural and divine laws, the excessive use of violence to justify one's aspirations, and the power of speech.<sup>34</sup> The strong influence of Hellenistic poetry – Apollonius of Rhodes and Callimachus, in particular – can be observed in Ovid's version of this Greek myth.<sup>35</sup> The poet puts considerable emphasis on the grotesque, sensual, emotional and erotic elements; moreover, the pathos and passion expressed in familial rela-

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<sup>34</sup> The breaking of *ius* and *fas* is an omnipresent theme in the story; it is most elaborately expressed in Philomela's accusations to Tereus; *omnia turbasti*, she cries, referring to Tereus' treachery towards her father and to his position as her own brother-in-law (6,537). Later, the distortion of all things natural is most aptly shown in Procne's Medea-like resolution to kill her own child. The power of speech, too, is repetitively brought to discussion; see, e.g. the episode where Tereus cuts Philomela's tongue off after she threatens to tell of his actions (6,549–62). Later, when Procne reads the woven message sent to her by Philomela, she, in turn, is muted by outrage: *et (mirum potuisse) silet: dolor ora repressit, / verbaque quaerenti satis indignantia linguae/defuerunt* (6,583–85).

<sup>35</sup> Hellenistic poetry was a crucial model that influenced to some extent all the poets of the Augustan period. As Fowler points out, the depiction of personal passions and the particulars of life were among the most important and influential characteristics of the Hellenistic aesthetics. The heightened expressions of emotion, and their physical expressions, as well as the emphasised tendency towards pathos, eroticism and the grotesque – themes that are central to the visual arts of the Hellenistic period – can be found in the works of Apollonius, Callimachus and Theocritus. B. H. Fowler, *The Hellenistic Aesthetic*, Madison 1989 (see, e.g., 3–4, 32, 79, 85, 97). These themes are clearly reflected in Augustan poetry; the elaborate use of Hellenistic elements is very typical to Ovid's love elegies and to the *Metamorphoses*, in particular. In the *Amores*, Ovid explicitly names Callimachus as his third most important poetic model, after Homer and Hesiod (Ov. *am.* 1,15). For further discussion of Ovid's relationship to Hellenistic models, Callimachus in particular, see R. Armstrong, *Ovid and His Love Poetry*, London 2005, 19–20.



tionships – something that is characteristic of the *Metamorphoses* as a whole – is conspicuous in the story about Procne and Philomela.

For this paper, the most intriguing themes of the story are the conflicting loyalties in different familial relationships, and their breaking. These issues, in effect, characterise the tale from the beginning to the end. Firstly, Tereus breaks his bonds of loyalty with his father-in-law Pandion by abducting, raping and savagely abusing his daughter Philomela. Simultaneously, he betrays his wife Procne by violating her beloved sister and lying about her fate. When captive Philomela finally manages to send a word to her sister, Procne instantly turns against her husband, claiming that *scelus est pietas in coniuge Tereo*.<sup>36</sup> The breaking of familial bonds climaxes in the final episode of the story, where vengeful Procne slaughters her son Itys, and the sisters offer the child as a meal to the father.

After all, the only familial relationship that stays strong throughout the story is that between the two sisters. Moreover, a continuous fear of damaging that special relationship is an intrinsic element of the story. During the course of events where she is abducted, raped and finally saved, Philomela repeatedly expresses her concern that by being violated by Tereus she has been untrue to her sister. *paelex ego facta sororis, / tu geminus coniunx, hostis mihi debita Procne*, she cries to the rapist.<sup>37</sup> And when Procne comes to her salvation, at first Philomela feels ashamed. Ovid relates that *non attollere contra / sustinet haec oculos paelex sibi visa sororis*.<sup>38</sup>

But Philomela underestimates Procne's sisterly devotion. Ultimately, it is a feeling strong enough to overcome even her motherly love and make her take her son's life. Ovid deliberately contrasts Procne's affections for Itys and Philomela when he depicts her decision-making:

*sed simul ex nimia mentem pietate labare / sensit, ab hoc iterum est ad vultus versa sororis / inque vicem spectans ambos "cur admovet" inquit / "alter blanditias, rapta silet altera lingua? / quam vocat hic matrem, cur non vocat illa sororem? - -".*<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Ov. *met.* 6,635.

<sup>37</sup> Ov. *met.* 6,537–38.

<sup>38</sup> Ov. *met.* 6,605–06.

<sup>39</sup> Ov. *met.* 6,629–33.

The bond of loyalty between the sisters, thus overrules all other familial bonds, including that between mother and child.<sup>40</sup> Procne's devotion to Philomela makes her carry out her destructive schemes that finally end up with the destruction of both the family and the dynasty. In this aspect, she resembles Virgil's Anna. Although Procne, unlike Anna, is well aware of her actions' destructive results from the beginning, the two women are alike in the respect that they are both willing to do whatever it takes to restore to their miserable sister some dignity and peace of mind – no matter what it means to their other familial relationships or to the continuance of the family line. Due to the strong influence of Hellenistic literary techniques and aesthetic ideals, the story of Procne and Philomela has even more pathos and passion than that of Anna and Dido. However, the basic idea – the unbreakable bond of trust between two sisters – appears to be the same in both poems.

The representation of sisterly devotion in these two stories within Augustan epic, therefore, seems rather consistent: In a turbulent and violent world, peer support from a sibling of the same age and gender appears precious and indispensable. There are tensions in the sisterly relationships, too – guilt, fear and bitterness – but in the end, these are not severe enough to come between the sisters. In her moment of despair, Dido calls upon Anna alone.<sup>41</sup> And when Philomela finds a way to convey her cry for help, she, though ashamed and afraid, sends a word to Procne and no one else.<sup>42</sup> In their hour of misery and humiliation, the heroines of Augustan epic find solace in their sisters' embrace.

### **The *Punica*: Dido and Anna**

In some aspects, the situation is remarkably different in the epics of the Flavian period. A valuable point of comparison is Silius Italicus' *Punica*, where the poet relates the fate of Anna after Dido's death. Intertextual elements play a strong role in Silius' version of the story – as Dietrich notices, Silius takes various details directly from the *Aeneid*.<sup>43</sup> The episode as a whole is a respectful nod towards his

<sup>40</sup> Lateiner briefly analyses Procne's motherhood and her cruel behaviour towards her son in his article about complex mother-figures in the *Metamorphoses*; D. Lateiner, "Procul este parentes: Mothers in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*", *Helios* 33 (2006) 189–201 (see 194–5 in particular).

<sup>41</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,634–36.

<sup>42</sup> Ov. *met.* 6,572–79.

<sup>43</sup> See J. S. Dietrich, "Rewriting Dido: Flavian Responses to Aeneid 4", *Prudentia* 36 (2004)

poetic predecessor. Nevertheless, when we examine the social dynamics between the sisters in Silius' account a little more closely, and compare it with Virgil's, notable differences can be observed.

In the *Punica*, Anna is first introduced as Anna Perenna, a river nymph whose cult was honoured in ancient Latium.<sup>44</sup> In book eight, Juno sends her to boost Hannibal's morale in the war, and in this context, the poet relates her background.<sup>45</sup>

According to Silius', after Dido's death, the throne of Carthage was seized by African prince Iarbas, and *tepido fugit Anna rogo*.<sup>46</sup> After years of wandering in exile, Anna finally strays to the coast of Italy. By chance, she encounters Aeneas, now the king of the Latins, who recognizes the exile and invites her to stay at his home.

However, as soon as Anna begins to feel comfortable among the *Aeneadae*, the story takes a grim turn. In a dream, Dido's ghost appears to Anna, warning her about Lavinia's jealousy and urging her to leave the palace immediately. Panic-stricken, Anna rushes into the dead of the night and throws herself in the Numicus river close by. According to Silius' version, she is taken among the crowd of water nymphs, and thereafter honoured as a divinity.<sup>47</sup>

One of the most remarkable differences between the versions of Silius and Virgil is Anna's tangible loneliness in the *Punica*. Dido's death has cast Anna into a life of danger and uncertainty; she lives on the mercy of strangers' and is uncertain of what each new day will bring.<sup>48</sup> Silius emphasises Anna's lack of control by describing her as *donec iactatam laceris, miserabile*.<sup>49</sup> Thus, the poet deepens the psychological portrait of Anna by representing how helpless she is without Dido's protection. When Dido was alive, Anna was always taking care of her; now that she is dead, Anna realises that she, too, depended upon Dido. The unbalanced social dynamics between the sisters, clearly observable in the *Aeneid*, are thereby called to question by Silius.

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1–30 (see 2–7).

<sup>44</sup> On Anna Perenna, see also Ov. *fasti* 3.

<sup>45</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,25–38.

<sup>46</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,55.

<sup>47</sup> The whole story covers the beginning of Book 8 from 8,50 to 8,201.

<sup>48</sup> On Anna's constant otherness, see A. Agoustakis, *Motherhood and the Other. Fashioning Female Power in Flavian Epic*, Oxford 2010, 140–2.

<sup>49</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,67.

Moreover, the guilt that Anna feels over Dido's death does not seem to grow weaker as the years pass. The beloved sister now exists only in her memories, but they are excruciating and constantly present. Twice in the *Punica* Anna expresses her wish to have died together with Dido<sup>50</sup> – and, when she relates her story to Aeneas, she claims that she actually thrice tried to throw herself on the same sword with her sister.<sup>51</sup> As every reader of Virgil knows, no such thing happens in the *Aeneid* – why is Silius emphasising a detail that is contradictory to Virgil's version? Is he deliberately altering the tradition? Or does he wish to convey an impression that Anna is either deliberately or unconsciously misleading Aeneas?

The second option appears more plausible considering Silius' detailed faithfulness to Virgil's story in other aspects. If he, as a well-versed poet and admirer of Virgil, breaks away from the Virgilian tradition, there should be a good reason for it. The reason, I propose, is to be found in Anna's confused state of mind, constantly haunted by guilt and self-accusations. These feelings appear to guide all her actions. When she speaks of Dido's crazed behavior after Aeneas' departure, Aeneas asks: *sed cur - - tempore tali / incustodito saevire dedistis amori?*<sup>52</sup> Whereas the tone of Aeneas' question is calm and neutral, the same cannot be said about Anna's answer. Silius states that *contra sic inquit, volvens vix murmur anhelum / inter singultus labrisque trementibus Anna*.<sup>53</sup> Remarkably, it is

<sup>50</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,65–6; 8,82–3.

<sup>51</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,155–56: *ter diro fueram conata incumbere ferro, / ter cecidi exanimae membris revoluta sororis*. The emphasis put on the sword itself as the means of suicide seems significant. Right before expressing her desire to throw herself on it, Anna describes Dido's death stating that *'haec dicens ensem media in praecordia adegit, / ensem Dardanii quaesitum in pignus amoris'* (Sil. *Pun.* 8,148–49). This is a clear allusion to the *Aeneid*, where Aeneas' sword is described as *ensemque - - Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus* (Verg. *Aen.* 4,646–77). It carries with it strong symbolic overtones, standing for Aeneas' Trojanness, manliness and virility. Therefore, Dido's suicide by the means of this particular sword appears as a terrifying distortion of her relationship with Aeneas (See P. Hardie, *Rumour and Renown: Representations of Fama in Western Literature*, Cambridge 2012, 97; E. Pyy, *Feminam et arma cano: Gender and Roman Identity in War-Centred Epic of the Early Principate*, Academic dissertation, University of Helsinki 2014, 272, 284). In the *Punica*, Silius follows this tradition; he also mentions the sword in the beginning of his epic, when he depicts Dido's statue in her temple (*ante pedes ensis Phrygius iacet*, Sil. *Pun.* 1,91).

<sup>52</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,112–13.

<sup>53</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,114–15.

not the memory of Dido's death that makes Anna break into tears, but her own inability to protect her sister.

Furthermore, her explanation is focused on apologising for her own actions. Anna answers that when Dido committed suicide, she herself was carrying out piacular rites to turn around a bad omen. In a dream, she had seen Sychaeus from the underworld claiming Dido as his own. After waking up she, afraid of her sister's life, went to purify herself in a running stream. Alas, in the meantime, Dido actually took her own life.<sup>54</sup>

When Anna relates the finding of Dido, she stresses her own despair and misery. She refers to herself as *infelix* – an articulate allusion to Virgilian Dido – and to her manner of moving as *lymphatus*, 'frenzied' or 'crazed'.<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, when her story has won Aeneas' sympathy, Silius states that *iamque omnes luctus omnesque e pectore curas / dispulerat, Phrygiis nec iam amplius advena tectis illa videbatur*.<sup>56</sup> It appears that Anna's misery is not so much due to Dido's death, which by now has become a tragic but an irreversible event of the past, but to her own harrowing feelings of guilt. As the ending of the story reveals, it is not Aeneas but herself that Anna is trying to convince, and, for a moment, it looks like she succeeds.

However, Anna's guilt comes back to her in a dream, and this time, in the most powerful form of all – that of her dead sister. In the night, Dido's ghost appears to Anna, with a face of grief and sorrow,<sup>57</sup> blaming her:

*"his, soror, in tectis longae indulgere quieti, / heu nimium secura, potes?  
Nec, quae tibi fraudes / tendantur, quae circumstent discrimina, cernis? / ac  
nondum nostro infaustos generique soloque / Laomedontae nosis telluris  
alumnos? / dum caelum rapida stellas vertigine volvet, / lunaque fraterno  
lustrabit lumine terras, / pax nulla Aeneadas inter Tyriosque manebit."*<sup>58</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,119–49.

<sup>55</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,152; 8,153. Compare also with Virgil's depiction of Amata's emotional turmoil in Book 7: *tum vero infelix ingentibus excita monstribus / immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem* (Verg. *Aen.* 7,376–77).

<sup>56</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,162–64.

<sup>57</sup> *Tristi cum Dido aegerrima vultu / has visa* (Sil. *Pun.* 8,166–67).

<sup>58</sup> Sil. *Pun.* 8,168–75.

In his account of Anna's dream, Silius reverses the situation that is familiar to the reader from the end of *Aeneid* IV, replacing Anna's bitter speech to dying Dido with Dido's accusative speech to sleeping Anna. In this insightful intertextual play, Dido's ghost becomes a reminder of what constantly haunts Anna: The fear that she might have betrayed her sister's trust. Indeed, if she did not when she failed to protect Dido from suicide, she certainly has now, befriending Aeneas and staying under his roof. This realisation is enough to drive tormented Anna out of her bed and make her drown herself in the river. With this desperate act, Anna hopes to finally fulfill her promise to die with her sister, and sets herself free from loneliness and guilt.

Silius' account of the relationship between Anna and Dido, therefore, is much grimmer and gloomier than Virgil's. Codependence and guilt associated with a close sibling relationship are strongly stressed and, in the end, become the defining characteristics of the Carthaginians' sisterhood. Instead of the security and comfort of a peer relationship, Silius stresses the anxiety caused by its loss. Without Dido, Anna is completely alone in the world. If she was not utterly happy with her difficult and demanding sister, she is certainly lost without her.

### **The *Thebaid*: Ismene and Antigone**

Keeping in mind the differences between Silius and Virgil, it is intriguing to compare the representation of sisterhood in the *Punica* with an epic of Silius' coeval Statius. The sensitive depiction of female characters in the *Thebaid* has been discussed by scholars before – as Lesueur, Bessone and Micozzi notice, Statius paints vivid pictures of daughters, wives and mothers in the midst of epic warfare.<sup>59</sup> Statius' epic is particularly rich in sisters: There are two pairs of sisters in significant roles in the *Thebaid*, the Argive princesses Argia and Deipyle, and the Theban princesses Antigone and Ismene. Of these pairs, the relationship between

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<sup>59</sup> Lesueur (above n. 9); Bessone (above n. 9); Micozzi (above n. 16), 95–121. Statius' ability and tendency to include female voices in his poetry has been noted also by Newlands, La Penna and Malamud: Newlands (above n. 10); La Penna (above n. 9); M. Malamud, "Happy Birthday, Dead Lucan: (P)raising the Dead in *Silvae* 2.7", in A. J. Boyle (ed.), *Roman Literature and Ideology: Ramus Essays for J.P. Sullivan*, Berwick 1995, 169–98 (see 188). See also G. Mazzoli, "Giocasta in prima linea", in A. Aloni – E. Berardi – G. Besso – S. Cecchin (eds.), *I sette a Tebe. Dal mito alla letteratura. Atti del seminario Internazionale, Torino 21–22 febbraio 2001*, Bologna 2002, 155–68.

Antigone and Ismene is more elaborately depicted, and I will be focusing on it, using, however, the Argives as a point of comparison.

Throughout the *Thebaid*, Antigone and Ismene are represented as a sort of antithesis to their quarreling brothers. At first sight, they appear as the only sane and virtuous persons in the deeply disturbed royal family of Thebes – in this matter, Statius clearly relies on the model of Euripides and Seneca.<sup>60</sup> Statius' Oedipus is a grotesque version of a Roman *paterfamilias*; delusional and furious, he addresses the Furies and begs destruction for his sons and his household.<sup>61</sup> As for Jocasta, in her attempts to reconcile her sons, she appears more like a demented bacchant than a caring mother, and ends up distorting the role of a respectable Roman *matrona*.<sup>62</sup> Eteocles and Polynices, for their part, embody relentless anger and selfish greed, the horrors of the fraternal strife.

Compared to the other members of their family, Antigone and Ismene admittedly seem immaculate. They are deeply devoted to their perverted family and strive to make peace within it. They follow Jocasta on her failed visit to the enemy camp; Antigone even makes a plea of her own (more convincing than that of her mother's) before the final duel.<sup>63</sup> Moreover, Antigone is represented as loyally standing by Oedipus' side, guarding his steps and sharing his cares, while Ismene is the one to lament Jocasta's suicide by taking her own life.<sup>64</sup> The characterisation of the Theban sisters as the antithesis of their wicked brothers, and as the *melior sexus*<sup>65</sup> is, therefore, to some extent justifiable.<sup>66</sup> The phenomenon is the most

<sup>60</sup> In the *Phoenissae* of Euripides and in the *Phoenissae* of Seneca, Antigone is consistently depicted as more virtuous than her father, mother and brothers. See, e.g., Sen. *Phoen.* 80–81, 309–11. For further discussion of the family dynamics in the *Thebaid*, see, e.g., F. Delarue, *Stace, poète épique. Originalité et cohérence*, Louvain – Paris 2000, 209–14.

<sup>61</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 1,46–87. For a thorough discussion of Oedipus as an antithesis of a Roman *paterfamilias*, see N. W. Bernstein, *In the Image of the Ancestors. Narratives of Kinship in Flavian Epic*, Toronto 2008, 85–94.

<sup>62</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 7,470–527; 11,315–53. Agoustakis (above n. 48), 62–66; R. T. Ganiban, *Statius and Virgil. The Thebaid and the reinterpretation of the Aeneid*, Cambridge 2007, 164–5; Bernstein (above n. 61), 88–90.

<sup>63</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 11,354–87.

<sup>64</sup> See e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 11,627–33, 11,642–47.

<sup>65</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 7,479.

<sup>66</sup> For these kinds of readings of the women in the *Thebaid*, see, e.g., Lesueur (above n. 9); La Penna (above n. 9); Vessey (above n. 9).

evidently present in the episode where the princesses hide in the palace worrying about the war:

*Interea thalami secreta in parte sorores, / par aliud morum miserique innoxia proles / Oedipodae, varias miscent sermone querelas. / nec mala quae iuxta, sed longa ab origine fati, / haec matris taedas, oculos ast illa paternos, / altera regnantem, profugum gemit altera fratrem, / bella ambae. - - nutat utroque timor. Quemnam hoc certamine victum, / quem vicisse velint?*<sup>67</sup>

It is important to notice, however, that this familial devotion tells us little about their sisterhood. In effect, it appears that Antigone and Ismene's relationship with *each other* is the one that most severely suffers from their excessive devotion to the other members of their family. For Antigone, her relationship with the men of her family – Polynices and Oedipus in particular – is the most defining characteristic of her personality.<sup>68</sup> Ismene, for her part, is only ever her mother's minion, and never appears as an independent character in her own right. The depiction of the relationship between the sisters is left tenuous and unsatisfactory. In effect, the episode above is the only one in the whole epic where Antigone and Ismene are depicted as having a conversation with each other.

This is somewhat puzzling considering Statius' literary models in his version of the Theban story. As mentioned above, the two main models of the Flavian poet are Euripides and Seneca, and neither of them, in their *Phoenissae*, really discusses the relationship between Antigone and Ismene. Indeed Ismene does not appear at all in their plays<sup>69</sup> – it is Antigone alone who takes on the duties of the obedient daughter, supporting her mother and guarding her father's steps. It seems that neither Euripides nor Seneca is particularly interested in the sisterly relationship – they only need one princess, and Antigone's fearless character seems to be enough. Therefore, Statius' choice to include Ismene in his epic as a character in her own right seems important – it is a deliberate choice that enables the poet to scrutinise the relationship between the two sisters. In effect, that is the

<sup>67</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 8,607–15.

<sup>68</sup> This is the defining characteristic of Antigone in the tragedies of Euripides and Seneca as well (see, e.g., Sen. *Phoen.* 1–4, 51–79). Both of the playwrights also depict the bond between Jocasta and Antigone as particularly strong (Sen. *Phoen.* 403–26, Eur. *Phoen.* 1264–82).

<sup>69</sup> Ismene is not mentioned by name in these tragedies; however, both Euripides and Seneca make evident that there are two daughters in the family. Eur. *Phoen.* 616–17, Sen. *Phoen.* 551.



only likely reason for having Ismene around. From a narratological perspective, her actions are not highly significant – she only exists in regard to Antigone, to make the depiction of a sisterly relationship possible.

Examined against this background, the tenuous and superficial relationship between the Theban princesses is all the more confusing. It is crucial to notice that if Statius had wanted to depict their relationship as complicated, yet loving and caring, there was a model for that, too. Whereas Euripides and Seneca overlook Antigone and Ismene's sisterhood in their tragedies, Sophocles, on the contrary, puts a considerable emphasis on it. In his *Antigone*, Sophocles depicts sisterly love as overwhelming and consuming. In the beginning of the play, Antigone asks Ismene's help in the forbidden burial of Polynices – when she refuses, Antigone is clearly offended and holds a grudge until her death.<sup>70</sup> Ismene, however, soon comes around and is consumed by guilt. When Antigone is caught in the act, she is heartbroken and tries to take responsibility.<sup>71</sup> Sophocles' play is a masterful depiction of a conflicted sibling relationship where the feelings of bitterness, anger and affection are confused. Despite the guilt and the grudge, it is clear that Ismene and Antigone love each other and find solace in each other's company.<sup>72</sup>

Why does Statius so clearly refuse this literary model in his depiction of the Theban sisters? Obviously, the Flavian poet considers it important to include the sisterly relationship in his epic, otherwise he would have followed the example of Euripides and Seneca and left Ismene out altogether. However, his depiction of Antigone and Ismene has none of the love, anger and passion that characterises their relationship in Sophocles' play. On the contrary, the lack of emotion, either positive or negative, is what marks their coexistence in the *Thebaid* throughout. We can only conclude that this is how Statius wants it to be – for narratological or ideological purposes, the poet *wants* to underline the estranged relationship between the two sisters in the royal family of Thebes.

This impression is strengthened by Statius' use of intertextual elements. What is particularly telling is how the poet, immediately after depicting Antigone and Ismene's fearful wait in their chambers, utilises an Ovidian metaphor, recalling Procne and Philomela. He speaks of the Theban princesses stating that:

<sup>70</sup> See Soph. *Ant.* 21–97, 538–55.

<sup>71</sup> Soph. *Ant.* 490, 526–37.

<sup>72</sup> Clear tokens of affection and loneliness can be found in Soph. *Ant.* 1, 38–39, 49, 58–59, 96–97, 526–27, 543–45, 566.

*Sic Pandioniae repetunt ubi fida volucres / hospitia atque larem bruma pul-  
sante relictum, / stantque super nidos ueterisque exordia fati / annarrant  
tectis: it truncum ac flebile murmur; / verba putant, voxque illa tamen non  
dissona verbis.*<sup>73</sup>

At first sight, the purpose of the allusion seems obscure. *Pandioniae* clearly refers to nightingales, the birds that Procne and Philomela were turned into. The birds' speech-like utterance represents another theme crucial to Ovid's version of the story – the power of speech.<sup>74</sup> The literary allusion, therefore, is clear, but its purpose ambiguous. Even after a careful reading, Antigone and Ismene appear little like Procne and Philomela in the *Metamorphoses*. They are a pair of royal sisters who suffer from injustice and distorted familial relations, but that is as far as the resemblances go. Antigone and Ismene do not stand up against the injustice they experience, nor do they seek control over their own lives. Furthermore, the strong sisterly bond that is the defining characteristic of Procne and Philomela's tale is absent from the Theban princesses' story. While Ovid's heroines are ready to sacrifice all the other familial relationships for each other, Antigone and Ismene do exactly the opposite – they define themselves through their relationships with their father and mother, and even with their worthless brothers. Therefore, I suggest that the Ovidian allusion should be read as the poet's ironic observation of how *unlike* their literary paragons the daughters of Oedipus really are.

Moreover, Procne and Philomela are not the only literary models that Statius contrasts with the Theban sisters. After mentioning the nightingales, the poet depicts Ismene confiding in Antigone about her recent dream. In her sleep, she has seen her forthcoming wedding with her betrothed Atys – a matter that greatly disturbs the chaste maiden's mind. What is more worrying, however, is that the dream had a grim turn: suddenly, a flame emerged between the bride and the groom, and Atys' mother appeared, frantically crying and demanding her son back.<sup>75</sup> Ismene is worried about what the dream might mean; she worries about the war and is concerned for their house and family.<sup>76</sup>

The episode bears striking, and hardly accidental, resemblance to a passage in *Aeneid* IV. When Dido tells Anna about her feelings for Aeneas, she first

<sup>73</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 8,616–20.

<sup>74</sup> This is a repetitive topic in Ovid's version of the myth: see n. 34 above.

<sup>75</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 8,632.

<sup>76</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 8,633–635.

disguises them in a mention about strange dreams: *quae me suspensam insomnia terrent! / quis novus hic nostris successit sedibus hospes*.<sup>77</sup> Statius emphasises the allusion by stressing Ismene's chaste shame about the erotic elements in her dream. The princess states that *ecce ego, quae thalamos, nec si pax alta maneret / tractatem sensu, (pudet, heu!) conubia vidi / nocte, soror*.<sup>78</sup> This is an explicit allusion to Dido's struggling with her vows of chastity. Dido strives to conceal her excruciating desire for Aeneas from her sister, and emphasises her own *pudicitia*, claiming that she would rather die than break the laws of chastity.<sup>79</sup> While Dido's speech appears to be mere verbiage, Ismene actually seems sincere – however, that is not the most relevant issue concerning the topic of this paper.

What is, instead, is Antigone's reaction to her sister's outburst. Evidently, it is as difficult for Ismene to confide in her sister about her fears as it is for Dido to utter aloud her secret feelings. These confessions, thus, can be understood as the ultimate expressions of trust. And Anna proves to be trustworthy: She perceptively sees through Dido's pretence of chastity but is tactful enough to pretend otherwise. She notices her sister's genuine suffering, and is able to say all the right things, emphasising the beneficial sides of the union with Aeneas. Dido's lovesick mind could not hope for a better affirmation than the one she gets from Anna.

In the *Thebaid*, Statius completely reverses the situation, denying Antigone any chance of rising to the role of Anna. After Ismene has finished her story, the poet briefly states that *talia nectebant*, before proceeding to depict the bringing of Atys' body.<sup>80</sup> It remains ambiguous what *talia nectebant* refers to; does Antigone actually answer, and if she does, how? Is her response so indifferent that there is no need to relate it? Or is Ismene's speech cut off by the turmoil in the palace? In either case, the lack of a response seriously undermines the depth and intimacy of the sisterly relationship.

Moreover, when Ismene is left grieving by the side of her dying fiancé, there is no mention of Antigone supporting her in the difficult task. It is Jocasta

<sup>77</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,9–10.

<sup>78</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 8,625–7. She goes on to emphasise that when she looked at her fiancé in the wedding chamber, it happened *non sponte*, "not of my will". Stat. *Theb.* 8,630. For further discussion, see L. Micozzi, "Eros e pudor nella Tebaide di Stazio: lettura dell'episodio di Atys e Ismene (*Theb.* VIII 554–565)", *Incontri triestini di filologia classica* 1 (2001–2002) 259–82; see also Agoustakis (above n. 48), 72–5.

<sup>79</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,24–7.

<sup>80</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 8,636.

who brings her reluctant daughter to the dying warrior – along with her, Statius mentions a group of *famulae* who accompany the royal women.<sup>81</sup> After Atys has died, Ismene is left alone with him.<sup>82</sup> Antigone disappears from the scene immediately after Ismene's recollection of her dream. No sisterly support comparable to that of Anna and Dido can be observed between the Theban princesses.

By his elaborate use of intertextual elements, Statius, therefore, contrasts the sibling relationship between Ismene and Antigone with its parallels in Augustan epic: First, with Procne and Philomela, and then, with Dido and Anna. These literary allusions underline the message that is already obvious by his refusal of the Sophoclean model in his depiction of the Theban sisters. Ultimately, the pair of royal sisters becomes, not the antithesis of the Theban corrupted familial relationships but yet another manifestation of them.

This impression is strengthened by the depiction of the Argive princesses, Argia and Deipyle, whose relationship remains equally tenuous. Moreover, even more than that between Antigone and Ismene, it appears to be unbalanced. Argia, wife of Polynices, has an active and visible role in the epic – she is the trusted ally of her husband and her father, and has a crucial role in the beginning of the war. Deipyle, on the contrary, is very passive and invisible, she is constantly overshadowed by her sister whenever they appear together.<sup>83</sup> Whereas Argia boldly addresses the men of her family and argues her case, Deipyle never speaks once in the whole epic.<sup>84</sup>

What seems even more significant is that we never hear the two sisters having a conversation with each other. The closest Statius gets is in book two, when Deipyle tries to stop her husband Tydeus from volunteering as an envoy – the poet states that *sed iussa patris tutique regressus / legato iustaeque preces vicere sororis*.<sup>85</sup> However, since he does not specify the content of Argia's pleas, the passage does not greatly enlighten the nature of their relationship. In three other episodes, where the Argive sisters appear together – the banquet at

<sup>81</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 8,641–47.

<sup>82</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 8,653–54.

<sup>83</sup> The impression that Deipyle is overshadowed by her sister is strengthened by the recurring reassurances that she is not. In their first appearance, Deipyle is depicted as *nec formae laude secunda* (Stat. *Theb.* 2,203). In book twelve, when the grieving women hurry for Thebes, Statius states that *proxima Lernaeo Calydonidas agmine mixtas / Tydeos exsequiis trahit haud cessura sorori / Deipyle* - - . Stat. *Theb.* 12,117–19.

<sup>84</sup> For Argia's speeches, see e.g. Stat. *Theb.* 2,334–52; 3,687–710.

<sup>85</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 2,373–74.

the palace, their ill-omened double wedding, and the Argive women's march to Thebes – they do not have any contact with each other.<sup>86</sup> Argia and Deipyle are depicted as obeying and respecting their father, as fearing the war and as grieving for their husbands, but never as doing anything for each other. As in the case of the Theban princesses, it seems that their close and confidential relationships with the other members of their family overshadow and impede their relationship with each other.

In the end, the closest thing to sisterly solidarity there is in the *Thebaid* can be perceived between Antigone and Argia, the two princesses of the enemy cities. In their encounter in book twelve, they are both strongly defined by their relationship with Polynices – Argia as his wife and Antigone as his sister; they both look for the prince's body in the battlefield. A strong bond of loyalty immediately emerges between the two women. Together they wash and burn the body, lament by its side and volunteer to be punished for doing so. The sister-like nature of their relationship is emphasised when the poet compares Argia and Antigone to Phaëthon's sisters, the mythical mourners turned into poplars by their weeping.<sup>87</sup>

The solidarity between Argia and Antigone has often been interpreted as the ultimate expression of *pietas* in the corrupted world of war.<sup>88</sup> In a sense, this reading is justifiable – undeniably, these characters represent the ability to reach across the battle lines and see the humanity in the opposing side. Nevertheless, the affectionate encounter between Antigone and Argia inevitably brings to mind their (and everyone else's) basic shortcoming in the *Thebaid*: the inability to maintain and cherish functional relationships within the birth family. Argia and Antigone's bonding highlights the absence of their sisters, and emphasises the princesses' inability to create a similar connection with them.<sup>89</sup> The downfall of familial relationships in Statius' epic is complete when genuine sisterly cooperation can only exist between those who are not, actually, sisters.

<sup>86</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 1,533–39, 2,230–43.

<sup>87</sup> Stat. *Theb.* 12,413–15.

<sup>88</sup> Thus, e.g., La Penna (above n. 9), 231; Leuseur (above n. 9), *passim*; H. V. Lovatt, "The female gaze in Flavian epic: looking out from the walls in Valerius Flaccus and Statius", in R. R. Nauta – H.-J. Van Dam – J. J. L. Smolenaars (eds.), *Flavian Poetry*, Leiden 2006, 59–78.

<sup>89</sup> The situation is very similar in the case of Polynices and Tydeus – their close, brotherly relationship appears as a substitute for the relationship that Polynices is lacking with his actual brother. I suggest that the strong bond between Polynices and Tydeus is, actually, a narrative tool that emphasises the estranged relationship between the Theban brothers – just like in the case of Antigone and Argia. See, e.g., Stat. *Theb.* 2,112–13; 2,363–66.

## Conclusion

From these episodes within Roman epic, we can observe that the upsides and downsides of a sibling relationship are repetitive themes in the genre. Noticeably, the Roman epic poets' representations of sisterhood are in a constant dialogue with each other. Ovid varies Virgilian themes in his version of the Procne and Philomela story. Silius, for his part, deliberately rewrites Virgil's tale about Dido and Anna, giving the story a melancholic, desperate twist. Statius takes the use of intertextual elements the furthest when he aptly contrasts the tenuous relationship of the Theban sisters with that of their Ovidian and Virgilian paragons. All in all, one can perceive an ongoing discourse concerning sisterhood and its problems running through the imperial epic tradition. In a sense, this is hardly surprising, considering the significance of *fraternas acies* as a recurring theme in the genre.<sup>90</sup> Sisterhood provides a point of comparison for the poets, when discussing the struggles between brothers and other familial conflicts. What is noteworthy is that the sisterly relationships in Roman epic seldom emerge as a positive polar opposite to the fraternal hatred. Like brotherly relationships, they can appear as an arena for highly negative feelings, as in the *Punica*, or as a relatively indifferent matter, as in the *Thebaid*.

What is common to all episodes discussed in this paper is that in them, a sibling relationship functions as a substitute for parental protection. The women of these poems do not get the support they need from their mothers and fathers because their parents are deceased, absent, or simply incapable of parental love and caring. In the absence of parental protection, the anxious women turn to their sisters. The seeking of peer support within the family is an omnipresent feature in Augustan and Flavian epic.

What changes, instead, is a response to that need. In the Augustan epics, the women who seek help and companionship from their sisters usually get more than is healthy for them. Anna and Procne are prepared to undertake outrageous acts to help their suffering sisters. No rite of black magic is too daring for Anna, no violent deed too abhorrent for Procne. They sacrifice other familial relation

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<sup>90</sup> Compare, for instance, with the *Pharsalia*, where Lucan depicts the civil war between Caesar and Pompey as *cognatas acies*. Luc. *Phar.* 1,4. For further discussion of the intertextuality between Statius and Lucan in this matter, see R. T. Ganiban, "Crime in Lucan and Statius", in P. Asso (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Lucan*, Leiden 2011, 327–44 (see 328–33). Ganiban suggests that Statius deliberately narrows Lucan's *cognatas acies* to *fraternas acies* in order to emphasise the criminality of his topic.

ships in order to save or avenge their sisters – ultimately, this leads to the destruction of the whole family and the household.

In Flavian epic, instead, sisterly support is lacking. What marks the story of Anna in the *Punica* is a constant feeling of loneliness and insecurity. The similar feeling is conveyed by Statius' depiction of Ismene's futile turning to Antigone in her moment of anxiety and fear. The sisters of Flavian epic have an aching need for peer support, but in their hour of need, they never get it from their closest family members. The intimacy that characterises the Augustan epics' representations of sisterhood is mostly absent from Flavian poetry. In the epics of Statius and Silius, the sisterly relationship appears as a *locus* for strongly negative feelings – guilt, anxiety and indifference.

This appears in a particularly intriguing light when analysed against the putative downfall of motherhood in Flavian poetry, argued by Newlands and briefly discussed above. In the end, it seems that it is not only mother-child relationships that grow weak and futile in the poetry of the period, but the same applies to the sibling relationships. Compared to the epics of the Augustan era, the representation of familial relationships seems just as important, maybe even more accentuated in the epics of the 80's and the 90's – however, the Flavian versions express very little trust in the support and the consolation offered by family in the turmoil of a violent world. Based on these sporadic episodes from a few of the most significant literary works of the period, little can, of course, be concluded about the overall change or continuity of family dynamics during the first century of the Principate – however, what appears indisputable is that the literary construction of family dynamics went through a transition during the Flavian era. In the epic representations of sisterhood from this period, we can perceive a longing for safety and security that is never fulfilled – a harrowing feeling of insecurity and fear that could, perhaps, be observed as a reflection of the atmosphere in the intellectual, literary circles of the late first century.

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## SOME PUBLISHED, BUT NOT VERY WELL KNOWN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

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It is my aim in this article to point out the existence of some Latin inscriptions of more than average interest which have been published even in widely known journals and monographs (as contrasted with publications of a more local nature and interest, likely to be ignored by many scholars) but in spite of this do not seem to have received the attention they might deserve. In most cases the reason for this is that these inscriptions have for some reason been overlooked by the editors of the *Année épigraphique* (henceforth *AE*). Of course it must be noted that the non-inclusion of an inscription in the *AE* may have its reasons; in the early volumes, the editors do not seem to have been too keen on including simple funerary texts, especially if they came from Africa (note R. Cagnat referring to African funerary inscriptions as "la plaie de l'épigraphie africaine", *AE* 1888, p. 33), and it has always been the policy of the *AE* not, or at least not necessarily, to include inscriptions which were published within corpora or similar publications. One can of course see the point of this, but as a result many inscriptions may remain unnoticed by those who, as many scholars do, approach the epigraphical evidence simply by checking the indexes of the *CIL* volumes on the one hand and, in order to cover the more recent finds, of the *AE* volumes on the other, at this point assuming – incorrectly – that the *AE* will have on offer all or at least most of the texts that were not yet included in *CIL*. Of course this problem is mitigated by some factors. Especially the more recent *AE* volumes often do include also inscriptions published within corpora, especially the more important ones,<sup>1</sup>

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\* Thanks are due to Professors A. R. Birley and Werner Eck, who have been kind enough to read the manuscript and to furnish me with some observations and addenda.

<sup>1</sup> Of course, the importance of an inscription depends somewhat on the point of view of the editor. Observe, e.g., that it is announced in *AE* 2011, 1681 that this *AE* volume will include texts



or at least informative references to them. There is also the fact that a normal corpus as a rule includes many inscriptions published in various journals, and as such ending up in the *AE*, before the publication of the corpus in question (e.g., before being published in 2010 in the *Tituli Aquincenses* as no. 643, an inscription from Aquincum = Budapest had already been published elsewhere, ending up in *AE* 2004, 1141 and 2009, 1168). This means that these inscriptions can be approached at least through their presence in *AE* volumes antedating the corpus. Moreover, there are of course nowadays also various epigraphical databases of which the Clauss-Slaby database certainly does cover a very wide range of published inscriptions. However, although epigraphical databases are extremely useful, the problem is that in order to use them one needs to know exactly what one is looking for, namely one or at the most two keywords – a name, a certain expression, etc. However, there are many phenomena that cannot be located simply by searching for the attestations of a particular keyword, and this is where the indexes of epigraphical publications can be of use. Those studying, for instance, all possible expressions or phrases used to describe children or wives or husbands or other relatives in inscriptions simply must turn to epigraphical indexes (e.g., the section "Épithètes ; termes laudatifs" in the *AE*). Moreover, some inscriptions are published in corpora in an unsatisfactory way and thus, as editors of databases are not necessarily expected to correct the readings of the inscriptions they are adding to the database, risk ending up in epigraphical databases as originally published. For instance, in the volume published by M. A. Byrne and G. Labarre, *Nouvelles inscriptions d'Antioche de Pisidie d'après les Note-books de W. M. Ramsay* (2006), there is, as no. 176, the votive inscription addressed to *L(una)* of a certain *M(arcus) Oppius Sp(urius) f(ilius) Col(lina) Gemellus, "prae(fectus) co(hortis)"*. Unfortunately, this particular inscription is not among the four inscriptions cited from this book in *AE* 2006, 1495–98, but it is included in the Clauss-Slaby database on the basis of the original publication. On its way from the *editio princeps* to an item in the database, the inscription has received two modifications, namely the correction of *Sp(urius)* to *Sp(uri)* and that of *L(una)* to *L(unae)*, a dative rather than a nominative being required in this dedication, but even here the man still appears as the prefect of an unnamed cohort. But *prae(fectus) co(hortis)* is cer-

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from the corpus of Z. B. Ben Abdallah & L. Ladjimi Sebäi, *Catalogue des inscriptions latine païennes inédites du Musée de Carthage* (2011), but only "les textes principaux". However, at least nos. 98–104 and 107–13 have not been included in *AE* 2011, although nos. 98ff. seem to be fragments of inscriptions honouring senators and equestrians (note, e.g., no. 98 with the mention of *[Laurentium L]avinatium*, no. 99 with the mention of the legion *II Trai[ana]*, etc.).

tainly not a plausible abbreviation of *praefectus cohortis*, and what one reads in Ramsay's drawing of the inscription (which by the way according to the commentary still exists)<sup>2</sup> is not *PRAE·CO* but *PRAECO*, the result being that the man is simply a *praeco*, which of course suits well his tribe *Collina*. Persons referred to as *praecones* not being that common, and *praecones* attested outside Italy being of especial interest, it is in a way sad that the only possibility of stumbling upon this particular *praeco* is to read through the pages of the *Nouvelles inscriptions*.

In any case, with the exception of inscriptions published in large corpora, it has always, and especially in the more recent volumes, been the policy of the editors of the *AE* to try to include in the *AE* volume of a particular year all inscriptions of some importance published during that year. However, seeing that so many inscriptions are published every year, it is no wonder that the editors of the *AE* might have now and then missed an inscription or two and sometimes even a whole publication. It is surely only by an oversight that the editors of *AE* 1920, who say on p. 41 that they have taken into account the 1919 volume of the *Notizie degli Scavi* and who do quote and refer to inscriptions published in this volume on pp. 199ff. (no. 97) and on pp. 212ff. (nos. 98ff.), say nothing of the inscriptions from Volsinii (Bolsena) published by G. Bordinelli on pp. 206–9, among which there is (p. 207 no. 1) a "lastra rettangolare di marmo ... m. 0.90 x 0.37", the letters being 6.2 cm, dedicated *Tulliae P. f. Marsillae Quentinae Ros-siae Rufinae Rufiae Proculae c(larissimae) f(eminae)*. Surely this inscription, the only source for the existence of this senatorial woman (illustrating for her part P. Tullius Marsus cos. 206, attested in a diploma published only in 1993)<sup>3</sup> and of the nomen *Quentinius*, would have merited an inclusion in the *AE*, although it must at the same time be admitted that this woman can be found in reference works such as the *PIR* and in the Claus-Slaby database (but not yet in the EDR).<sup>4</sup>

But whatever the reason for this omission, the fact is that quite a few other inscriptions which could be of interest at least to some scholars have shared the same or even a worse fate. Let me illustrate this with some instances of inscrip-

<sup>2</sup> One thus wonders whether the authors could not have added a photo not only of Ramsay's drawing of the inscription, but also one of the inscription itself.

<sup>3</sup> *AE* 1993, 1789 = *RMD* III 189.

<sup>4</sup> See *PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 396 (with further references). However, the advantage of the possibility of checking a particular text via the *AE* is illustrated by the fact that the *PIR* entry for this woman does not mention the fact that she had the filiation *P. f.* which establishes a connection with the consul of 206 (taken to be her father by F. Chausson in Id. [ed.], *Occidents romains* [2009] 241) and with other P. Tullii (for whom see Chausson *ibid.* 237–46).

tions published since the 1980s which for some reason have not been included in the pages of the *AE* and in some cases not even to any epigraphical database.<sup>5</sup>

There is a small collection of antiquities in Falcognana on the Via Ardeatina south of Rome. The material was published by P. Brandizzi Vittucci in 1983 in *La collezione Lanza nella tenuta di Falcognana* (Roma 1983). Although the collection includes some inscriptions, apparently mainly from the same area, this publication seems to have been disregarded by the editors of *AE* 1983. Some of the inscriptions do appear in other volumes of the *AE* in which they have ended up from other publications (e.g., from G. M. De Rossi, *Tellenae* [1967, in the series *Forma Italiae*]; thus no. 184 = *AE* 1967, 67; no. 185 = *AE* 1967, 57), but there are also inscriptions which do not, as far as I know, figure in any printed publications. Of these two, nos. 182 and 186, may well deserve to be better known. They are not in the *AE* and do not appear in the Clauss-Slaby database, but there is a "scheda" of no. 182 – but only of no. 182 and not also of no. 186, which to me seems mysterious – by A. Ferraro and based on the publication of Brandizzi Vittucci, in the EDR database (as no. 103223, without a photo). However, this inscription has not been rendered correctly, for line 2, with the cognomen of the first man, has been omitted altogether and line 4 has been interpreted incorrectly. The correct reading of this inscription, which I would date to the first half of the first century AD, goes as follows: *C. Volumnius C. Col. (sic) / Philargyrus, / Volumnia C. l. Lais uxor, / C. Volumnius C. f. Col. Paetus, / Sex. vac. C. f. Col. Veiento, / C. Volumnius C. (et mulieris) l. Salvius, / Occia Acte Salvi uxor*. We thus have here a couple, their two sons, the elder having his father's praenomen, and in addition a freedman with his wife. There are some interesting things here, namely the fact that the indication *filius* or, preferably (thus correctly Brandizzi Vittucci), *libertus* has been omitted before the tribe in line 1 (the point must have been not to stress the man's libertine status),<sup>6</sup> and that the nomen has not been repeated in l. 4 when the younger son is mentioned. This is misrepresented in EDR, where this

<sup>5</sup> From the 1970s one could note the publication by H. Solin, *Epigraphische Untersuchungen in Rom und Umgebung* (Helsinki 1975), which was not covered by *AE* 1975 (some of the inscriptions appear in the *AE* from other publications, e.g. no. 67 = *AE* 1974, 198, no. 122 = *AE* 1983, 161), although there are many interesting new texts (e.g., no. 50 with *mili[ti] --- ] questionari[o]*; no. 52, a *vestiarius de Cermalò minuscul(o)*; no. 111, the senatorial cursus of a certain [*Q. Mar*]cius *Q. f. Q[uir. Victor?] Faustinia[nus]*, referred to in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 232). However, the texts do appear in the Clauss-Slaby database, and many also in the EDR database (but some seem to have been omitted, e.g., nos. 50, 55).

<sup>6</sup> In inscriptions of soldiers, *filius* is sometimes omitted in filiations (especially in inscriptions from Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior), but this is not quite the same phenomenon.

line is rendered as follows, "*Sex(tus) [+4?+] C(ai) f(ilius)*" etc., implying that the (abbreviated) nomen would be missing. However, the fact is that the nomen was never inscribed, the blank space between the praenomen and the filiation being meant to indicate that the nomen *Volumnius* would have to be supplied here from the preceding line in a way which is especially common in Aquileia.<sup>7</sup> It is also interesting to note that we have here a freedman's son with the cognomen *Veiento*, which one would expect to have been considered "noble";<sup>8</sup> one wonders whether this could point to a connection of sorts of this family with Veii (for a freedman C. Volumnius in Veii in the time of Augustus note *CIL* XI 3782).

But the other inscription in this collection, no. 186, is perhaps even more interesting. As mentioned above, this text, unlike no. 182, has not been included in the EDR database, and, being absent also from the other epigraphical databases, is practically untraceable. What we find here is a marble statue base (130 x 70 x 60 cm, with letters varying between 4.5 and 8 cm) with *urceus* and *patera* on the two sides. The text runs as follows: *C. Iulio / Erucio / Gemino / lictori / III decuria/rum*. Lictors not being very commonly mentioned in inscriptions,<sup>9</sup> any new attestation is surely welcome, but I think that the main interest of this inscription lies in the fact that this lictor must, to judge from his names, be somehow connected with a senatorial family, namely that of C. Iulius Erucius Clarus cos. 193 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 97),<sup>10</sup> although the exact nature of this connection must remain unknown. What can be said is that it would be most remarkable if this man were a freedman of the consul in 193 (or of this consul's father, cf. n. 10) and had as such been able to secure not only the main nomen *Erucius* of his patron but also his secondary nomen *Iulius*.

In 1985, M. S. Bassignano published in the *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia Patavina di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti* vol. 97 (1984–85), Parte III, pp. 139–50, a fragmentary inscription found in the Chiesa di Ognissanti in Padua and pertaining to a senator. What is left of the inscription is the middle part of it, a limestone fragment (96 x 75 x 20, with letters varying from 3.2 to 7.8 cm) clearly belonging to an impressive monument. The reading is given (on p. 139) as [ --- Po]mponiano [ --- / --- ]ç̄o Ducenio P[ --- / c]o(n)s(uli) (vac.) / [ --- XV]vir(o) sacr(is)

<sup>7</sup> See C. Zaccaria, *AAAd* 35 (1989) 133–49.

<sup>8</sup> But note a freedman called *Veiento* in *CIL* VI 7813.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. N. Purcell, *PBSR* 51 (1983) 148–52.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps already this man's father, the consul of 170, had the same two nomina *Iulius* and *Erucius* (cf. my *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature* [1992] 104).

*fac(iundis), sod[al(i) --- / --- ]tr(icis) p(iae) f(idelis) et VII Gem(inae) fid(elis), pra[et(ori) --- / --- X]viro stlitib(us) iudicand(is), [ --- / --- ]ni ex a[ere conlato].* In the commentary, the author says (in addition to many other things) that the first legion mentioned in line 6 (the man having been the legate of two legions) must be the *VI Victrix*, and that this man may well be identical with the senator appearing in the dative in another fragment from Padua, *CIL V 2824* (apparently seen by Mommsen), with the text [ --- ] *C. f. Fab. Sa[rdo --- ]/do P. Cesti[o --- / --- Su]brius Dextro / Ducenio [ --- / --- proco(n)]s(uli) provincia[e --- / --- ]+[ --- ]*, and in the nominative in the fragmentary inscription *CIL V 7447*, copied in the 16th century in Quargnento (just NW of Alessandria) in the territory of Forum Fulvii Valentia (and thus pretty far from Padua), which has the following text: [ --- *Po]mponianus Secundus P. Cest[ius --- / --- ]ius<sup>11</sup> Priscus Ducenius Proc[ulus --- / --- leg(atu)s Imp(eratoris) Ca]es(aris) Nervae Traiani Aug(usti) legion[is ---, / --- sevir eq(uitum) R(omanorum)] turm(ae) VI, tribun(us) milit(um) legion(is) XXI Ra[pacis --- ]*. The result is that the man – if indeed we are dealing with the same man – seems to have been called [*C. Asconius*] *C. f. Fab. Sa[rdu)s Po]mponianus Secun]dus P. Cesti[us --- Sex. Su]brius Dexter Cornelius Priscus Ducenius Proculus*. Surely all this would have merited a presentation in the *AE*, but this publication seems to have escaped the editors of *AE 1985*.<sup>12</sup> Luckily it did not escape the editors of the *PIR*, for one can find this inscription being referred to in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 685, in an entry dedicated initially to the senator known from *CIL V 7447* (see above), of whom it is said (following Bassignano) that he seems to be identical with the man honoured in the inscription from Padua published by Bassignano and perhaps ("fortasse") also with the man mentioned in *CIL V 2824*. However, in order to be able to locate this man and the offices included in his career, one must be able to trace this particular entry in the *PIR*, for otherwise the inscription from Padua has not left many traces. The inscription has not been

<sup>11</sup> It is not correct to conflate *Cest[ --- ]* and [ --- ]*ius* into *Cest[ius* (thus L. Lastrico in EDR010414), for from the descriptions of this inscription it emerges clearly that something is missing both after *Cest* in line 1 and before *ius* in line 2.

<sup>12</sup> The same goes for the other inscription published by Bassignano (pp. 135–8), found in the same church, a "stele funeraria centinata ... in trachite grigia" measuring 171 x 60 x 24.5 cm, with letters varying between 3.5 and 6.3 cm.: *P. Terentio C. f., / L. Terentio C. f., / [ --- ]iae matri, / C. Moenio C. l. / Ciloni / Secunda Teren]tia C. f. sibi et fra]tribus et viro / fecit* (as for line 2, Bassignano thinks that the reading could have been [*Cass]iae*). This early imperial inscription is ignored by all epigraphical databases known to me and is thus in practice untraceable, but is of some interest, mentioning as it does a freeborn woman with a female praenomen married to a freedman who has the extremely rare nomen *Moenius*.

included in the EDR database, but does appear in that of Claus-Slaby – but in a peculiarly truncated form as "[Po]mponiano [3]co Ducenio" (and thus without the consulate and the other offices), the source of this information being given as *AE* 1993, 772. The explanation of all this must be relegated to a footnote.<sup>13</sup>

In 1988, I published an article consisting of four sections, all of an epigraphical nature (*Arctos* 22 [1988] 113–32). Only section 4 was registered in *AE* 1988 as no. 626, whereas sections 1, 2 and 3 were apparently ignored. In my view, at least section 1 (pp. 113–20) would have merited inclusion in the *AE* volume, as this is the publication of the preserved part (the upper right side, consisting of several fragments) of an impressive marble slab (97 x 79 x 13 cm in its present state, with letters varying between 6 and 12.5 cm) now kept in two different locations in Sermoneta between Cori and Sezze south of Rome, but originating, as Heikki Solin tells me, from Campoverde di Aprilia belonging to the territory of Antium. The text goes as follows: [ --- ]ano / [proc(uratori) Imp(eratoris) --- ]ani Aug(usti) / [ --- prov(inciae) Hi]span(iae) citerior(is), / [ ---- praef(ecto) ala]e I Cannan(efatium) (these four lines are followed by three further lines with only a few letters left). In the commentary, I discuss the career of the man and observe, e.g., that the emperor mentioned in line 2 must be someone from the series starting with Vespasian and ending with Hadrian. As mentioned above, there is no trace of any of this in *AE* 1988, but the inscription, mentioning as it does an *ala* stationed in Pannonia, appears in the book of B. Lőrincz, *Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit I* (2001) on p. 302 as no. 500, from where it ended up in the Claus-Slaby database (as no. 18300385).<sup>14</sup> However, although

<sup>13</sup> The story goes like this. *AE* 1993, 772 was devoted to the presentation of two allegedly unpublished inscriptions from Padua not published, but mentioned by C. Morello in *Bull. Mus. Civico di Padova* 81 (1992) pp. 60f. The first one, that of "une famille de *Terentii*", is identical with the inscription quoted in n. 12, the second inscription is said to be the "Cursus sénatorial d'un [ --- ] Aponianus [ --- ]us Ducenius" (only the right part of the *M* in *Po]mponiano* is visible and was taken by Morello to represent an *A*). I had a look at this *AE* volume at its manuscript stage and observed, giving the reference, that the inscription had in fact already been published and that Bassignano had correctly read the name in l. 1 as *Po]mponiano*. Rather than just pointing out the correction of the name, my aim was of course that the *AE* entry should be modified to reflect the original publication with all its details. However, although the original publication is mentioned in *AE* 1993, 772, it was clearly not consulted, the result being that the entry only mentions, as an addendum, that I had pointed out that the reading of what is left of the name is in fact *[Po]mponiano [---]co Ducenio*; and only the erroneous reading *Aponianus* has been mentioned in the index of cognomina (p. 597), where also the nomen *Ducenius* has been deposited (p. 601), leaving the index of nomina without *Ducenii*.

<sup>14</sup> The number of this text in Lőrincz's book is, however, mistakenly given in the database as

the existence of this inscription has been registered in these two places, it could be said that it is more or less unknown. This is surely the reason for the fact that, although mentioning a procurator of Hispania Citerior, this inscription seems to be referred to absolutely nowhere in the most recent exposition of the administration of this particular province, namely that of P. Ozcáriz Gil, *La administración de la provincia Hispania Citerior durante el alto imperio romano* (2013), which has a section on procurators on p. 185–200.

In 1990, P. J. Sijpesteijn published in *ZPE* 81 (1990) 243f. (with a photo in Tafel VII) the left side of a small bronze tablet (5.7 x 9.5 cm, weight 59 g.) kept in a Dutch private collection, the owner of which claims to have himself seen (*sic*) how the tablet was found somewhere "near Rome" (to me this seems a pretty questionable assertion). According to Sijpesteijn, the tablet was subjected to something called atom absorption analysis ("Atomabsorptionsanalyse"), the exact meaning of which escapes me, but which is said to show that the object does date to the "Roman period". The tablet contains (the left part of) an inscription in five lines, the letter forms of which, especially the *P* in line 3, leave the general impression of being archaic. A "colon" (:) is used as interpunct, this also pointing to an early date;<sup>15</sup> Sijpesteijn thinks that the plate could be dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> century. The inscription was published by him as follows (I reproduce his orthography with *U* instead of *V*):

AN:MATELIU[S]  
 V:SEMINIAI:F *vacat* A:V[  
 TRIBUNEI:PLEBE[I  
 QU:QUAS:EIS:FE[  
 MAGISA:TE

*TE* in l. 5 seems to be followed by a blank space indicating that the inscription, or at least this particular word, ended here. When this inscription was published, I assumed that a lively discussion would follow; but the inscription did not appear in *AE* 1990, and it seems that it has been all but ignored in the sequel (however, it can be found in the Claus-Slaby database as no. 51100442, with a photo). I

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499 instead of 500.

<sup>15</sup> R. Zucca, "Sui tipi di interpunzione nelle iscrizioni latine dall'età più antica alla fine della repubblica", *MGR* 18 (1994) (123–150) 137 says that this type is attested only until about 200 BC.

referred to it in a shortish article a long time ago,<sup>16</sup> but the text has now secured the interest of Michael Crawford, who has included this inscription in a discussion of "tribunes in Italy";<sup>17</sup> hopefully this will arouse new interest in this text. As for its interpretation, according to the photo there is an interpunct also between *SEMINI* and *Ai* in line 2, and the reading must surely be *Semini(us)* followed by the filiation *Ai(-) f(ilius)* (see n. 16). *Seminius*, apparently not otherwise known, must be identical with *Siminius* attested, e.g., in Rome, Puteoli and Pompeii.<sup>18</sup> But if this nomen is abbreviated in this way (an abbreviation one would in any case expect to have been used in an inscription of – say – c. 200 BC), one would expect the first nomen to have been abbreviated in the same way. That is why I wonder whether one could not assume that an interpunct was omitted in l. 1 and that one should read not *Mateliu[s]* but *Mateli(us)*, this being followed by the filiation *V. [f.]* (note that *V(ibius)* is the praenomen of *Seminius* in l. 2). In any case, *Matelius* does not seem to be otherwise attested, but could perhaps be regarded as a variant of *Matilius*.<sup>19</sup> To come back to line 2, the name of the first person is followed by *A:V*, the text breaking off in the middle of the *V*. Clearly we have here another person with the praenomen *A(ulus)* and a nomen beginning with a *V*. As Crawford observes, the letters in line 1 are larger than in line 2, and thus it

<sup>16</sup> *Arctos* 29 (1995) 155–61, where I suggest that the reading in l. 2 could be *V(ibius) Semini(os) Ai(-) f(ilios)*, observing at the same time that according to the Capitoline *fasti* for 315 BC (*Inscr. It.* XIII 1, 36), Q. Aulus Cerretanus, master of the horse in that year, was the grandson of someone with the praenomen *Ai(-)*, which I suggested could be the same praenomen.

<sup>17</sup> M. Crawford, in G. Rocca (ed.), *Atti del Convegno Internazionale Le lingue dell'Italia antica (Ἀλεξάνδρεια/Alessandria. Rivista di glottologia* 5 [2011]), 46. It cannot of course be assumed that we are dealing with tribunes in Rome, although Sijpesteijn seems to think of this possibility.

<sup>18</sup> R. Friggeri & C. Pelli, in *Miscellanea (Tituli* 2, 1980), 130 n. 40 (Rome); *CIL* X 2960 (Puteoli); *NSA* 1898, 500 (Pompeii); cf. perhaps *Simnius* in *CIL* IX 5772 and XI 6449 (adduced by Friggeri and Pelli in the commentary). For the variation of <e> and <i> in the same position cf. *Simonius* = *Semonius* (cf. the senator D. Simonius Proculus Iulianus [*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 748] being called *Semonius Iulianus* in *CIL* XV 7528).

<sup>19</sup> For *Matilius* see *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 195f. (Praeneste); *CIL* VI 17533A; *CIL* XIV 4569, dec. XV, A, 15. If the *i* in *Matilius* is short (and this may well be indicated by the existence of the nomen *Matlius* [*AE* 1992, 137 from Rome; *CIL* XIV 3167 = I<sup>2</sup> 197 from Praeneste], apparently the same name with syncopated short *i*), the orthography *Matelius* could perhaps receive illustration by, e.g., the fact that *Vergilius* is written *Vergelius* in *AE* 1982, 295 (Falerii Novi), *Tutilius* (for the short *i* see W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* [1904 and later editions] 248) *Tutelius* in *CIL* VI 26500, or that *Caecilius* is often written *Καικέλιος* in older Greek inscriptions (thus in inscriptions of various Caecilii Metelli, e.g., *IG* VII 3490, *IG* IX 2, 37, *IG* X 2, 1, 1031; *I. Delos* 1604bis, *I. Olympia* 325, etc.).



seems that line 1 contained only one name, line 2 two names, as a result of which "it looks as if we have a board of three [tribunes]" (Crawford). In line 3, we have the title *tribunei plebe[i]*<sup>20</sup> possibly originally followed by something, but the rest, in lines 4 and 5, remains a mystery, except for the letters *FE* at the end of line 4, where Sijpesteijn and Crawford plausibly assume that this a form of the verb *facere* (thus probably *fe[cerunt]* or perhaps rather *fe[cere]*).

All the inscriptions mentioned above have been taken into consideration in at least one publication not identical with the original publication or at least in one database. But let us proceed to some inscriptions apparently from Alsium (in S. Etruria) and its environs published in 2001 which do not seem to have been observed by anyone, or at least not by anyone with epigraphical interests. The publication of F. Enei, *Progetto Ager Caeretanus. Il litorale di Alsium. Ricognizioni archeologiche nel territorio dei comuni di Ladispoli, Cerveteri, e Fiumicino* (Santa Marinella 2001) contains on pp. 301–4 "Appendice 2: iscrizioni latine nel Castello Odescalchi di Palo". The inscriptions published here are known from a source which cannot be regarded as typical, namely from a single piece of paper found among "numerosi altri documenti, relazioni e disegni di vario tema e provenienza" on a "banco occasionale di Porta Portese" in Rome. This paper has the heading, written in very clear capitals, "Nel castello Odescalchi a Palo"; this is followed by facsimiles, clearly drawn by the same person with utmost care, of sixteen inscriptions, all of them fragmentary except for the last one at the bottom of the page (fig. 1). One fragment (no. 4) is described as being "in tufo"; this must mean, as assumed by Enei (p. 301), that the other stones are of marble or perhaps of limestone. Enei goes on to observe that it is not possible to enter the castle (which must mean those parts of the castle which contain the epigraphical collection, for the castle does have a homepage – <http://www.castelloodescalchi.com> – and invites reservations for "matrimoni, eventi, meetings, aste, sfilate di moda"), as a result of which this sheet of paper is "l'unica testimonianza relativa all'esistenza di iscrizioni antiche all'interno del complesso". Although a piece of paper coming from the market at Porta Portese saying that it contains inscriptions from a castle in S. Toscana might raise some questions, even a quick look at the facsimiles shows that we must be dealing with copies of actually existing inscriptions, especially as one text is identical with an inscription seen by Bormann (cf. below).

<sup>20</sup> For *plebei* as the genitive of *plēbēs* (= *plebs*) see, e.g., M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (1977) 444f. The genitive *plebei* is still found in some imperial inscriptions (*CIL* II 4110 = II<sup>2</sup> 14, 971 = *ILS* 2931; *CIL* III 254; *AE* 1908, 237, etc.).

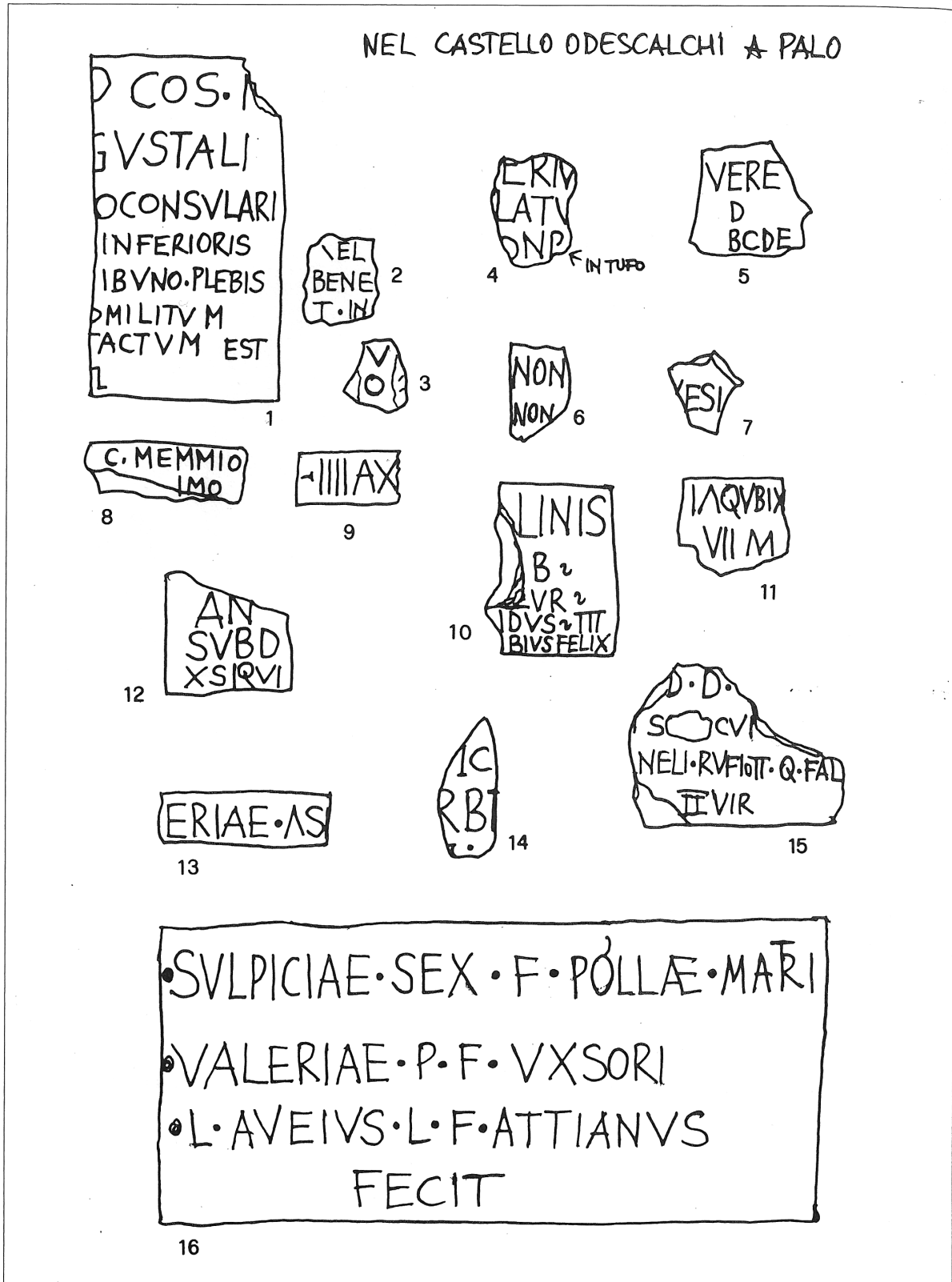


Fig. 1. Inscriptions in Castello Odescalchi, Palo. From F. Enei, *Progetto Ager Caeretanus. Il litorale di Alsium* (Santa Marinella 2001) 304, fig. 64.

As noted by Enei, only one of the inscriptions seems to have been published, no. 15, which is identical with *CIL* XI 3721, an inscription seen by Bormann in the same castle in 1874 and said to have been found in the vicinity a few years earlier.<sup>21</sup> A search in the Clauss-Slaby database indicates that Enei is right in asserting that the other inscriptions, some of them perhaps Christian,<sup>22</sup> are unpublished. The majority are fragments which are difficult to interpret, although something can be made of some of the texts.<sup>23</sup> But there is an attractive fully preserved early imperial funerary inscription and another text which is clearly of great interest. As for the first one, it goes like this:

*Sulpiciae Sex. f. Póllae matri,  
Valeriae P. f. uxori  
L. Aveius L. f. Attianus  
vac. fecit vac.*

In l. 1, *matri* has been inscribed with *T* and *R* in a ligature. That this is an early imperial text is obvious because of the archaic orthography *uxori* and because of the fact that this wife has no cognomen. These people are not necessarily of local origin; certainly this seems to be the first attestation of *Aveius* in Etruria, the attestations of this nomen concentrating on Central Italy.

But no. 1 is, of course, even more interesting. This inscription is clearly the right side of a *tabula*; on the basis of the drawing and the contents of the inscription one can conclude that the upper, right and lower borders have been preserved in their original form. It follows that the first line must have contained the whole

<sup>21</sup> "princeps Ladislaus Odescalchi mihi narravit, se eam ante aliquot annos prope invenisse" (Bormann). According to the drawing, the letters *VB* (in *sub*) are no longer visible, and what was correctly read by Bormann as *IIII* in line 3 appears in the drawing approximately as "*oII*" (Enei seems to assume that this could in fact be the correct reading – no doubt with the *o* being interpreted as an interpunct – but I cannot see how the anonymous author of the drawing could be regarded as a more reliable witness to the text of the inscription than Bormann, and, moreover, apparently the same Cornelius Rufus is designated as *IIII viro* in *CIL* XI 3722).

<sup>22</sup> Thus possibly no. 12, where the reading *SVBD*[ --- ] in line 2 makes one think of *sub d*[*ie* --- ] or perhaps *subd*[*iacon*-].

<sup>23</sup> No. 8 is dedicated *C. Memmio* / [*Max?*]*imo* / [ --- ]; no. 10 clearly ends with (at least) two names in ll. 4–5, [ ---- *Cand?*]*idus III* / [ ---- *Fa?*]*bius Felix*, and begins with [ ---- ]*LINIS*, written with larger letters, in l. 1, which should probably be understood as [*Apol*]*linis*; no. 13 could be a dedication [*Val?*]*eriae Asi*[*ae?*] or perhaps *Asi*[*aticae*] (in which case one could, as pointed out to me by Professor Eck, think of a connection with the senatorial *Valerii Asiatici*).

nomenclature of the honorand, and this again means that the width of this inscription must have considerably exceeded the height. As also the left side has been drawn as a straight line, it seems that this part of the inscription was sawn off from a larger slab or that the original inscription was inscribed on several separate *tabulae*. According to the drawing, this particular fragment is undamaged with the exception of a part of the upper right corner which has been broken off, with one character having disappeared. The inscription is presented as follows:

[--]O·COS I[-]	i.e. [----]o co(n)s(uli) I[I]
[--]GVSTALI	[----] sodali Au]gustali
[--]OCONSVLARI	[----] legat]o (?) consulari
[--]INFERIORIS	[----] Inferioris
[--]IBVNO·PLEBIS 5	[----] tr]ibuno plebis
[--]O MILITVM	[----] tribun]o militum
[--]+ACTVM EST	[----] +actum est
[--]+	[----] + (vac.)

According to the drawing, the letters in lines 1–2 seem to be almost twice as high as those in lines 4ff. In line 7, *ACTVM* is preceded by a part of an upper horizontal stroke which might belong to a *T* or an *F*; in line 8, the person who made a copy of the inscription seems to have tried to reproduce a letter looking like an *L*, but with an additional upper horizontal stroke pointing to the left (this might represent almost anything in the original; but *L* would in fact be plausible, cf. below). As for line 1, one character is clearly missing at the end of this line (cf. above),<sup>24</sup> and the only possible restoration is of course *co(n)s(uli) I[I]* (as the honorand must be a senator who held his first consulate after AD 106 – cf. below – it is not possible to assume that the drawing is not altogether accurate and that the restoration should in fact be *co(n)s(uli) I[II]*, for senators – as contrasted with emperors – who held the consulate three times are not attested after L. Iulius Ursus Servianus in AD 134, whose first consulate dates back to AD 90).

As pointed out above, the width of this inscription must have exceeded its height (for the implication of this see below). Unfortunately, it is not possible to say by how much, for everything depends on how many names the honorand had and on whether his filiation and tribe were mentioned or left out. As for the num-

<sup>24</sup> And that one character is missing is, of course, also clear from the fact that the reading *co(n)s(uli) I* would be impossible, as a person who has held the consulate only once is referred to as *co(n)s(uli)*, not as *co(n)s(uli) I*.



This again must mean, e.g., that another priesthood must have been mentioned in the beginning of line 2 and that the term *consulari* at the end of line 3 cannot be attached to *Inferioris* at the end of line 4 (cf. fig. 1).

As for the honorand, in order to be able to identify him one would need to find a senator who had been tribune of the plebs (and thus at least at that time a plebeian), legate of a province with the specification *Inferior, sodalis Augustalis* and twice consul, and whose (last) cognomen ended in *-us*.<sup>25</sup> As for the province, from the position of the mention of this particular province in line 4, just above line 5, which ends with the mention of the tribunate, and below line 3, which seems to end with the mention of a consular assignment, one surely has to conclude that this governorship is praetorian. This leaves us with just one province, Pannonia Inferior and with the *terminus post quem* of AD 106,<sup>26</sup> when Pannonia was divided into the two provinces of *Pannonia Superior*, which was consular, and *Pannonia Inferior*, which was praetorian (but at least in the earlier period normally governed immediately before the consulate).<sup>27</sup>

As far as I can see, a senator who would fulfil all of these requirements is at least for the moment not known. It thus seems sensible to look for possible candidates by starting with senators whose first consulate can be dated after 106 and who are attested as having held the consulate for a second time, this being a category of persons of whom all are known.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, only senators either

<sup>25</sup> It is of course possible in theory that *cos. I[II]* was preceded not by a cognomen but by an office or priesthood ending in the nominative *-us*; but the fact is that an iterated consulship, a rare honour, is as a rule mentioned as the first office, following on the (last) cognomen, of twice consuls in inscriptions setting out the whole career; see, e.g., *CIL* VI 41140; *CIL* X 408. 3853. 8291; *CIL* V 6981ff.; *ILAfr.* 43; *AE* 1995, 355. Note, however, that in *AE* 1964, 223 *cos. II* is preceded by *c(larissimo) v(iro)*, in *CIL* VI 1410 by *praef(ecto) urb(i), c(larissimo) v(iro)*, in *CIL* X 6764 by *c(larissimo) v(iro), praef(ecto) urbi, pr[o]co(n)s(uli) provinciae Asiae II, proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Africae* (these three inscriptions are all from the third century).

<sup>26</sup> F. Enei thinks (p. 301) that the inscription dates from the first century but does not give a reason for this dating.

<sup>27</sup> For 106 as the probable date of the provincial division see J. Fitz, *Die Verwaltung Pannoniens in der Römerzeit* II (1993) 371f.

<sup>28</sup> For senators labelled as *cos. II* but not attested as such, and who accordingly must have died before taking up the office, and for some uncertain or unplausible cases known from the *Historia Augusta* and other literary sources, see A. R. Birley, *ZPE* 116 (1997) 230–3. On second (and third) consulates in general between Augustus and Severus Alexander, see W. Eck, "Consules, consules iterum und consules tertium – Prosopographie und Politik", in G. Zecchini (ed.), *'Partiti' e fazioni nell'esperienza politica romana* (2009) 155–81. The evidence for C. Bellicius Torquatus *cos.* 143 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> B 104) having been consul for the second time

attested as having been legates of Pannonia Inferior or who at least *could* have been legates of the province, and *not* attested as descendants of patricians or as aediles (instead of tribunes), and, to conclude this list, whose (last) cognomen ends in *-us* can be taken into consideration. As for twice consuls known to have been legates of Pannonia Inferior and otherwise meeting the above requirements, none seem to be known. Ti. Claudius Pompeianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 973), cos. I in 162,<sup>29</sup> cos. II in 173, is attested, exceptionally as consular, as governor of Pannonia Inferior in 167 (*CIL* XVI 123), but if, as G. Alföldy suggests with good reason, *CIL* VI 41120 is an inscription in his honour, he seems to have been an aedile rather than a tribune; and C. Octavius Appius Suetrius Sabinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> O 25), cos. I in 214 and II in 240, also attested as a (consular) governor of Pannonia Inferior in 217, can because of his attested priesthoods hardly be expected to have also been a *sodalis Augustalis*.<sup>30</sup> (Moreover, the inscription from Alsium does not leave the impression of being from the middle of the third century.)

It thus seems that we will have to look for twice consuls who *could* have been governors of Pannonia Inferior as well as meeting the other requirements. In order to do this, it seems best to have a look at governors of Pannonia Inferior who still seem to be unattested by studying the *fasti* of this province in order to find suitable periods for which a governor still seems to be unattested. Now if one combines the information available through the books of J. Fitz (n. 27) vol. IV (1995) p. 1464–6 and B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* I (1984) and I<sup>2</sup> (2009) and supplements this with some observations made by B. Lőrincz

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(some manuscript *fasti* and an inscription from Serdica, to be contrasted with several Italian inscriptions *not* mentioning an iteration) is negligible (for the iterations, in most cases of no value at all, in the ms. *fasti* see *Arctos* 25 [1991] 107–20).

<sup>29</sup> That Pompeianus held his first consulate as early as in 162 is now attested by a diploma published in 2010 (*AE* 2010, 1854).

<sup>30</sup> As for Claudius Pompeianus, fragment b of the inscription *CIL* VI 41120 seems to refer to the aedileship in lines 6 (--- *cum aed]ilis fuiss[et ---*) and 7 (*aedil[ ---*). As Pompeianus held Pannonia Inferior exceptionally as a consular, he would per se be a good candidate for the honorand (assuming of course that he is *not* the honorand of *CIL* VI 41120, honouring an aedile), as his exceptional command could explain the stress laid on *consularis*. However, as mentioned above, because of the probable original width of the inscription it seems clear that *consulari* cannot be a definition of [*Pannoniae*] *Inferioris*. As for Suetrius Sabinus, the fact that he was both *pontifex* and *augur* at the same time and held, apparently as the earliest attested senator, two major priesthoods, seems to rule out the possibility that he also held the priesthood of the *sodales Augustales*, not mentioned in his inscriptions.

in 2004,<sup>31</sup> and adds some new finds,<sup>32</sup> one observes that there seem to be, or at least may be, be the following gaps between attested governorships of Pannonia Inferior:<sup>33</sup>

– Perhaps between Cornelius Latinianus, attested in 119 (n. 33) and [ --- ] anus, attested in 125/6 (n. 32).<sup>34</sup> However, the existence of this gap is not at all certain, as Latinianus' governorship may have extended to (say) 122/3, and the governorship of [ --- ] anus (if at all to be distinguished from Latinianus, cf. n. 34) must have begun before 125/6, as his successor is attested in the province already in 127 (n. 32).

– Perhaps between [ --- ] o, attested in 127 (n. 32) and Attius Macro (Thomasson no. 6), consul in 134, attested in Pannonia Inferior as *co(n)s(ul) des(ignatus)* and thus in 133/4. However, the first legate (who came to Pannonia only after 125/6, cf. above) might have stayed there for some years, whereas Macro must have come to the province some years before his consulate in 134, which means that he could in fact be the successor of the governor attested in 127.<sup>35</sup> In the years after Attius Macro, there do not seem to be any vacant governorships, as no less than nine governors of Pannonia Inferior are attested in the years between 135 and 157 or 158.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> B. Lóricz, "Zur Statthalterliste der römischen Provinz Pannonia Inferior", in L. Ruscu & al. (eds.), *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis* (2004) 35–40. Not all of the suggestions made by the author are registered in Thomasson<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>32</sup> [ --- ] anus in 125/6 (*AE* 2010, 1862); a governor whose cognomen ended in [ --- ] o in 127 (*AE* 2009, 1830).

<sup>33</sup> There is perhaps no gap after Afranius Flavianus (Thomasson no. 3), attested in 114 (see now also *AE* 2010, 1860), for he cannot have been consul already in 115 (Fitz), and seems in fact to have held the consulate in 117 (see W. Eck, *ZPE* 185 [2013] 237f.). Whatever the exact status of Marcius Turbo (Thomasson no. 4) at the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, Cornelius Latinianus is in any case attested already in 119 (Thomasson<sup>2</sup> no. 8).

<sup>34</sup> But could we be dealing with the same man? In any case, W. Eck and A. Pangerl, when publishing the diploma *AE* 2010, 1862, observed that the only known consul with whom this legate could be identified is A. Egrilius Plarianus, consul in 128 (*Tyche* 25 [2010] 30).

<sup>35</sup> J. Fitz vol. IV p. 1465 dates his governorship to 130/1 – 133/4. Incidentally, one wonders whether it would be possible to assume that the governor with the cognomen ending in *o* could be identical with Macro, who would, then, have held the province for a period longer than normal; P. Weiß, *ZPE* 171 (2009) 240 does consider this possibility, but says that, as Macro's governorship would then have been exceptionally long, we would need to know special reasons for this, "die aber nicht zu erkennen sind" (but how *could* we normally know anything about the reasons behind a long or a short governorship?).

<sup>36</sup> Thomasson nos. 6a (M. Nonius Mucianus cos. 138, now attested in 135), 7, 9, 10 (M. Pontius



– Perhaps between 157/158 (cf. n. 36) and 162, Haterius Saturninus (consul in 164; Thomasson no. 16) now being attested on 25 August 162 (*AE* 2010, 1854. 1855).<sup>37</sup> After Haterius Saturninus there do not seem to be any gaps until the governorship of Ulpus Marcellus in c. 169–172.<sup>38</sup>

– Possibly in the early seventies between Ulpus Marcellus (cf. above) and Vettius Sabinianus (Thomasson no. 19), whose career suggests that he must have governed Pannonia Inferior in the mid-seventies (c. 175 according to Thomasson, 173–175 according to Fitz).

– Perhaps in c. 175–178 after the governorship of Vettius Sabinianus and before the in my view fairly uncertain governorship in 178 of Quintilius Condi-anus (Thomasson no. 20).

– Apparently between c. 185 and c. 188, as Pomponius Bassus is now attested in 193 (Professor Eck assures me that the consular date should be attributed to this year, not to 192), and as Valerius Pudens must have been his predecessor (see Lőrincz [n. 31] 37f., who places Bassus' governorship in 192–194, Pudens' in 188–191/2).

– Between c. 194, the probable end of the governorship of Pomponius Bassus, and c. 197, the beginning of the governorship of Claudius Claudianus (Thomasson no. 26).

– Between c. 202 and 205 (or 208), after the governorship of Baebius Caecilianus (Thomasson no. 27) and before that of Iulius Septimius Castinus (*ibid.* no. 28). The diploma *AE* 1998, 1116, adduced by Thomasson (no. 27a) and Lőrincz (p. 39) as attesting perhaps the governorship of Egnatius Victor in this period, be-

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Laelianus, now attested in 143), 11 (attested in 145 and 146), 12, 13, 14, 15 (C. Iulius Geminius Capellianus, attested on 6 December 157 by the diploma *AE* 2009, 1079 and probably on 27 December 158 by the diplomas *CIL* XVI 112 and 113; for their probable date see W. Eck, in W. Eck – B. Fehér – P. Kovács (eds.), *Studia epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy* [2013] 79).

<sup>37</sup> His governorship is dated to 161–164 by Thomasson and Fitz.

<sup>38</sup> Haterius Saturninus seems to have been followed by Q. Caecilius Rufinus Crepereianus (Thomasson no. 17), as P. Weiß must be right in assigning the diploma published by him in R. Haensch & J. Heinrichs (eds.), *Herrschen und Verwalten* (2007) 160–72 (this is another text which does not seem to have found its way into the *Année épigraphique*) to Pannonia Inferior and to the reign of Marcus and Verus (161–169) and in reading the name of the legate as *Caecilio Ru[fi]no*. Caecilius Rufinus is followed by Claudius Pompeianus, attested in 167 (Thomasson no. 18), who must again have been followed by Ulpus Marcellus (Thomasson no. 53), who is without any doubt identical with the legate of Britain (see, e.g., A. R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain* [2005] 165f.) and who must, then, have been in Pannonia Inferior in the early years of Marcus' sole reign (cf. Lőrincz [n. 31] 37, suggesting the years 169/170–172).

longs to a different period and context (see *RMD* V 405; *AE* 2006, 1184); and the suggestion of Fitz (vol. II, p. 544f. no. 326) of considering the inscription *CIL* XI 569\* = V 486\* as genuine and dating the governor Aur(elius) Victor to the period "205–208?" is to be firmly rejected, as the inscription is manifestly a fake. Even if it were genuine it would surely have to be dated much later.

– Perhaps in c. 210/212 between Castinus and L. Cassius Marcellinus (Thomasson no. 30). After this legate, there do not seem to be gaps in the list of governors until the end of the reign of Severus Alexander.

If we now compare these gaps with men attested as twice consuls, whose first consulates can be dated to the 120s or later, and who are in other ways suitable (not attested as aediles or as sons of patricians, etc.), we find the following senators:<sup>39</sup>

<sup>39</sup> The following consuls II apparently cannot come into question: (1) Sex. Erucius Clarus cos. II 146, who seems to have held his first consulate already in 117 (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> E 96; G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* [1977] 108); (2) L. Venuleius Apronianus cos. II 168, who was *sodalis Hadrianalis* and *Antoninianus Verianus* (*CIL* XI 1432f.) and moreover a patrician (below n. 46); (3) Cn. Claudius Severus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1024; H. Halfmann, *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum* [1979] no. 101), cos. II in 173, who is attested in several inscriptions (only) as *pontifex* (C. Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia* [1993] 136ff. no. 2 ff.), and who as the grandson and the son of consuls may well have been a patrician; (4) T. Pomponius Proculus Vitrasius Pollio (*PIR*<sup>1</sup> P 558), cos. II in 176, who was a patrician, *pontifex* and *sodalis Antoninianus* (J. Rüpke, *Fasti sacerdotum* II [2005] no. 2784); (5) P. Martius Verus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 348), cos. I in 166, II in 176, fought in the Parthian war under Verus in the years preceding his first consulate and cannot thus be assigned a governorship in Pannonia Inferior in the same period; (6) C. Bruttius Praesens (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> B 165), cos. I in 153, II in 180 cannot come into question, as his career and priesthoods are known (from *ILS* 1117) and as both his main cognomen *Praesens* and his (last) secondary cognomen *Veiento* belong to the third declension; (7) C. Aufidius Victorinus, cos. I in 155, II in 183 was *fetialis*, *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* and *sodalis Antoninianus* (and later *Verianus Marcianus*) (*CIL* VI 41140; J. Rüpke, *Fasti Sacerdotum* II [2005] 793 n. 786); (8) M'. Acilius Glabrio, cos. I 173 (?), II 186, was a patrician; (9) P. Helvius Pertinax (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 73), cos. II in 192, has a cognomen not ending in *-us* and his career is known from his *vita* and from *AE* 1963, 52; (10) L. Fabius Cilo (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 27), cos. II in 204, cannot be considered, as the details of his career are known; (11) P. Septimius Geta (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 453) and (12) C. Fulvius Plautianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 554), cos. II in 203, cannot come into consideration as Geta's career is known, and as Plautianus was praetorian prefect before his consulate, which was regarded as his second only because of the *ornamenta consularia* awarded earlier; the same goes for (13) Q. Maecius Laetus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 54), "cos. II" in 215, (14) T. Messius Extricatus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 518 cf. *CIL* VI 41190–91), "cos. II" in 217, and also for (15) M. Oclatinus Adventus, cos. in 218 and (16) P. Valerius Comazon, cos. in 219, who are in some inscriptions referred to as consuls "II" (for these cases see B. Salway, in A. Kolb [ed.], *Herrschaftsstrukturen und Herrschaftspraxis* [2006] 121–3); (17) D. Caelius Balbinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 126), cos. II in 213, was a patrician; (18) P.

– Q. Iunius Rusticus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 814), cos. I in 133, legate of Hispania Citerior under Pius (*AE* 2003, 960), cos. II 162;

– L. Sergius Paullus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 530), cos. I probably at the end of the reign of Hadrian,<sup>40</sup> legate of Pannonia Superior in 139 (*AE* 2010, 1262 of July 1, 139) and 140 (see W. Eck & A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 188 [2014] 258 n. 9), legate of Syria in 144 (*Idd. ibid.* 255ff.; W. Eck, *RhM* 157 [2014] 221ff.), cos. II 168 (Professor Birley tells me that Paullus, a man with an eastern background, could be an attractive candidate, as the dedicator of the inscription could, then, also be an easterner which, again, could mean that *consularis* could be a translation of ὑπατικός, in Greek inscriptions sometimes used simply in the meaning 'governor'; however, this seems to be the funerary inscription of the honorand, and the formulations at the end of the inscription – cf. below – may be interpreted as implying that the honorand's son, whom I would not define as an 'easterner', is the dedicator of the inscription);

– M. Flavius Aper (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 209), cos. I perhaps between 155 and 160,<sup>41</sup> cos. II in 176;

– P. Seius Fuscianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 317), cos. I probably in 151,<sup>42</sup> II in 188;

– M. Servilius Silanus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 599), cos. I in 152, II in 188;

– C. Domitius Dexter (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 144), legate in Syria in 183–5 and thus cos. I before that, cos. II in 196;

– P. Cornelius Anullinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1322), cos. II in 199, governed an imperial praetorian province, the name of which has not been preserved in the inscription *CIL* II 5506 = *II*<sup>2</sup> 5, 623 = *ILS* 1139, before his first consulate in perhaps 175 (Alföldy [n. 41] 189f.);<sup>43</sup>

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Catius Sabinus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 571), cos. II 216, was legate of Noricum before his first consulate just before 210; (19) Q. Tineius Sacerdos (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> T 229), cos. I in 192, II in 219, was a patrician; (20) L. Marius Maximus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 308), cos. I in 198/199, II in 223, cannot be considered, as the details of his career are known, and the same goes for (21) Ti. Manilius Fuscus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 137), cos. I in 195/196, II in 225; (22) Q. Aiadius Modestus Crescentianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 470), cos. II in 228 was legate of Arabia before his first consulate in c. 200, and there designated to the consulate.

<sup>40</sup> See W. Eck & A. Pangerl, *ZPE* 188 (2014) 258 on *CIL* VI 253; W. Eck, *RhM* 157 (2014) 223.

<sup>41</sup> G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977) 194.

<sup>42</sup> Alföldy (n. 41) 159f.; there are still vacancies for at least two consuls in this year (W. Eck, in W. Eck, B. Fehér, P. Kovács [eds.], *Studia epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy* [2013] 76).

<sup>43</sup> P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander* [1989] gives the date of Anullinus' first consulate several times – e. g. pp. 60 n. 158, 113, 115,

- C. Iulius Asper (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 182), cos. II in 212;
- Ap. Claudius Iulianus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 901), cos. II in 224;
- C. Aufidius Marcellus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1389), proconsul of Asia in 220/221 and thus cos. I around 205, cos. II in 226;
- L. Cassius Dio (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 492; *RMD* II 133), proconsul of Africa in c. 222 (Leunissen [n. 43] 219) or c. 223/224 (Thomasson 39:132) and thus cos. I around 205 (Leunissen 163), cos. II in 229;
- M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1179), cos. II in 234.

If we now compare these men with the gaps attested in the list of governors of Pannonia Inferior, it seems that we could conclude that the two consuls II in 188, Seius Fuscianus and Servilius Silanus, cannot come into question, as Silanus was cos. I in 152 and Fuscianus probably in 151, and as there seem to be no vacancies for previously unknown governors of Pannonia Inferior in the years preceding consulates in 151 and 152. As for the rest, all of them could, as far as I can see, in some way be accommodated; Iunius Rusticus or Sergius Paullus could be accommodated in the gap – assuming there is a gap – in the early thirties before Attius Macro; Flavius Aper, whose first consulship is only vaguely datable, could have been governor in the late 150s; Domitius Dexter could perhaps be accommodated in the gap in c. 175–178, and the same may go for Cornelius Anullinus; Aufidius Marcellus, if cos. I around 205, could be accommodated in the gap between c. 202 and 205 or 208, and one could perhaps say the same about Cassius Dio; and there are also Iulius Asper, Claudius Iulianus and Pupienus Maximus, of whose careers we know almost nothing and who could, then, be accommodated in the gaps attested under the Severans.

Of course one could say that some of the above consuls II are less, some more probable candidates. Flavius Aper was the son of an ordinary consul (in 130), and possibly the grandson of a suffect consul in 103,<sup>44</sup> and Iunius Rusticus seems to have been the grandson of Q. Iunius Arulenus Rusticus, consul in 92, and both may well have been patricians and as such less likely to have governed a province such as Pannonia Inferior (and could as patricians of course not have held a tribunate of the *plebs*). On the other hand, Sergius Paullus was a member of an ancient family that had been senatorial from at least the time of Claudius (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S p. 214) and was surely, if not already patrician, at least a man of highly

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134, 214 – as c. 174, but as "um 175 oder 178/9" on p. 347. D. Okon, in K. Twardowska & al. (eds), *Within the Circle of Ancient Ideas and Virtue. Studies in Honour of Professor Maria Dzielska* (Krakow 2014) 221, seems to follow Alföldy in suggesting "perhaps in 175".

<sup>44</sup> See L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (21982) 46.

regarded status, but is now attested as having, as consular, governed Pannonia Superior and Syria (see above). He could as such be a credible candidate also for the post of governor of Pannonia Inferior, as several governors of Pannonia Superior, in fact almost one third of them, are known to have previously governed Pannonia Inferior.<sup>45</sup> However, one could come to Pannonia Superior also via a praetorian province other than Pannonia Inferior, and even patricians are known to have held unexpected appointments.<sup>46</sup> It thus seems advisable not to speculate further on the question of the identity of the honorand and to conclude that we could be dealing with anyone on the following list (personally I would prefer one of the earlier candidates but cannot find a good reason for ignoring the later ones): Q. Iunius Rusticus cos. 133, II 162; L. Sergius Paullus cos. II 168; M. Flavius Aper cos. II 176, C. Domitius Dexter cos. II 196; P. Cornelius Anullinus cos. II 199; C. Iulius Asper cos. II 212; Ap. Claudius Iulianus, cos. II 224; C. Aufidius Marcellus cos. II 226; L. Cassius Dio cos. II 229; M. Clodius Pupienus Maximus cos. II 234. Let us thus go on with the discussion of the text.

In line 3, an office is referred to as having been *consularis*. The term *consularis* is as such of course not that rare,<sup>47</sup> but it is only extremely rarely found within a *cursus* enumerating the stages of a senatorial career. Here we can, I think, distinguish between two main scenarios. From about the time of Caracalla, we can observe the term *consul*, used previously to refer also to persons who had in fact already held the consulate, now and then being substituted by *consularis* or even *vir consularis*.<sup>48</sup> In these cases, it is the senator's consular status that is being stressed. But there is also another scenario, namely that in which the consular status not of the senator himself, but of a certain office within his career is being stressed (there is also the alternative that a function itself is called not

<sup>45</sup> See W. Eck & M. Roxan, in R. Frei-Stolba & M. A. Speidel (eds.), *Römische Inschriften – Neufunde, Neulesungen und Neuinterpretationen. Festschrift für Hans Lieb* (1995) 75 with n. 100; W. Eck, in A. K. Bowman & al. (eds.), *Representations of Empire. Rome and the Mediterranean World* (2002) 142.

<sup>46</sup> L. Venuleius Apronianus, cos. II in 168, had been legate of the legion *I Italica* (see Alföldy [n. 41] 327).

<sup>47</sup> Cf. H.-G. Pflaum, in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (1970) 166–75; O. Salomies, *Arctos* 44 (2010) 206–9, with references also to work by M. Christol, B. Rémy and G. Camodeca.

<sup>48</sup> *Arctos* 44 (2010) 208f., where I cite (in n. 8) as an example *CIL* XIV 3900 = *ILS* 1182 = *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 102 (Tibur), *C. Caesonio ... Macro Rufiniano consulari, sodali Augustali, comiti Imp(eratoris) Severi Alexandri Aug(usti), cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae) Lanivino(r)um II, proco(n)s(uli) prov(inciae) Africae*, etc.

*legatus* etc. but *consularis*, but that is another story).<sup>49</sup> This scenario is attested in some inscriptions from the early second century. In the inscription from Nedinum in Dalmatia in honour of the jurist Iavolenus Priscus, *CIL* III 9960 = *ILS* 1015 (mentioning the proconsulate of Africa in c. 101),<sup>50</sup> the first two consular appointments, following on three praetorian offices, are equipped with the qualifier *consularis*, clearly in order to point out that the career, in which the consulate itself is not mentioned, had now entered the consular stage.<sup>51</sup> At about the same time a somewhat different state of affairs is expressed in the inscriptions of A. Larcus Priscus cos. 110 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> L 103), who had, as only quaestor of Asia, during an emergency in c. 97 been nominated legate of the legion *III Scythica* stationed in northern Syria probably in Zeugma<sup>52</sup> and apparently simultaneously been appointed acting governor of the whole province of Syria. The fact that Priscus acts as a substitute for a governor who is in normal circumstances a consular is expressed in both of Priscus' inscriptions as *pro legato consulare provinciae Syriae*.<sup>53</sup>

Q. Pompeius Falco's (cos. in 108, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 602) appointment in Judaea, previously a praetorian province, is described in two inscriptions in a striking way.<sup>54</sup> In the inscription *CIL* X 6231 = *ILS* 1035 (Tarracina), the governorship is rendered as *leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) [Iudaeae e]t leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis)*; *CIL* III 12117 = *ILS* 1036 from Hierapolis Castabala offers a similar phrasing but concludes the formulation of the office with the term *consularis* as *leg(ato) Aug(usti) leg(ionis) X Fret(ensis) et leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) [pr]ovinci-*

<sup>49</sup> I mean the type (attested from about the time of Marcus Aurelius) *consularis III Daciarum* (as an item of the career, e. g., in the inscription from Apulum in honour of L. Marius Perpetuus, *CIL* III 1178 = *ILS* 1165 = *IDR* III 5, 436), for which see Pflaum (n. 47) 170f.

<sup>50</sup> For the date see B. E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani* (1996) 49 no. 57.

<sup>51</sup> The career is rendered in this way: *leg(ato) leg(ionis) IV Flav(iae)*, *leg(ato) leg(ionis) III Aug(ustae)*, *iuridic(o) provinc(iae) Britanniae*, *leg(ato) consulari provinc(iae) Germ(aniae) superioris*, *legato consulari provinc(iae) Syriae*, *proconsuli provinc(iae) Africae*, *pontifici*.

<sup>52</sup> M. A. Speidel, in Y. Le Bohec (ed.), *Les légions de Rome* (2000) 330–2.

<sup>53</sup> *CIL* VIII 17891 = *ILS* 1055; *AE* 1908, 237. For a reconstruction of the events resulting in this appointment see G. Alföldy – H. Halfmann, *Chiron* 3 (1973) 331–73 (= G. Alföldy, *Römische Militärgeschichte* [1987] 153–201).

<sup>54</sup> The combination of Judaea and the legion *X Fretensis* stationed in Judaea also appears perhaps in *CIL* VI 41113 (but this inscription is very fragmentary) and certainly in the Greek inscription from Caunus *AE* 2003, 1706, but in this inscription the text is not preserved after the mention of the legion. In other inscriptions (*AE* 1957, 336 = *ISM* II 46; *I. Ephesos* 713) only Judaea and not the legion is mentioned.

*ae Iudaeae consularis*. Since this inscription does not mention Falco's consulate which must have followed on from the governorship of Judaea (or at least followed on from its beginning, as Falco may have held the consulate *in absentia*), it has of course been assumed that *consularis* is a mistake for *co(n)s(uli)* (thus Dessau on *ILS* 1036; *PIR*<sup>1</sup> R 68). However, the prevailing opinion nowadays seems to be that the expression has to be taken at face value, and the most convincing explanation for the use of this term at this point seems to me that of W. Eck, who assumes that Judaea became a consular province with two legions during Falco's governorship.<sup>55</sup> In my view, the main problem is rather this: can we accept the formulation *consularis*, or should it be corrected in *consulari{s}*? In the first alternative, *consularis* would have to be a genitive defining [*pr*]ovinciae *Iudaeae*, whereas the dative *consulari* would define *leg(ato)*. That this is a genitive is the opinion of W. Eck and other scholars (and there is of course the fact that the inscription does read *consularis*),<sup>56</sup> whereas A. R. Birley and some other

<sup>55</sup> See W. Eck, *BASP* 21 (1984) 55–67; cf. Id., *Rom und Judaea. Fünf Vorträge zur römischen Herrschaft in Palaestina* (2007) 112–5 and in O. Hekster & al. (ed.), *Ritual Dynamics and Religious Change in the Roman Empire* (2009) 218. Cf. also G. Labbé, *L'affirmation de la puissance romaine en Judée (63 a.C.–136 p.C.)* (2012) 413f., although I am not sure about the author's exact position on this question. In the inscription of Pliny the Younger from Comum (*CIL* V 5262 = *ILS* 2927) his mission in Pontus-Bithynia around 110 is described as *legat(us) pro pr(aetore) provinciae Pon[ti et Bithyniae pro]consulari potesta[t(e)]*, not *consulari*, cf. G. Alföldy, *AAntHung* 39 (1999) 21–44 (*AE* 1999, 747).

<sup>56</sup> W. Eck, *BASP* 21 (1984) 58 and in an article on the administration of Judaea not yet published (cf. below); L. Vidman, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 602 (the command in Judaea being "valde insolitum", this may be the reason why "provincia quoque consularis appellatur"; however, Vidman himself admits that he had once interpreted *consularis* as pertaining to Falco himself: "De legato consulari, id est praeside provinciae qui consularis nuncupatur, cogitabam quondam ipse, in: *Studi in honore di C. Sanfilippo* 1 (1982) 661 sq." – this book has not been available to me); G. Labbé, op. cit. (n. 55) 413 ("*consularis*, venant qualifier un poste"). The exact position of those scholars who quote the full title in the nominative as *leg(atus) ... Iudaeae consularis* (thus G. Alföldy, *FBW* 8 [1983] 61 = Id., *Römische Heeresgeschichte. Beiträge 1962–1985* [1987] 400; B. Rémy, *Les carrières sénatoriales dans les provinces romaines d'Anatolie au Haut-Empire* [1989] 295) or who just write *leg.* (Thomasson 34:22) must remain uncertain. In the still unpublished article (cf. above), Professor Eck writes that if the legion *II Traiana* was sent to Judaea in c. 108 (i. e. at about the time of Falco's consulate *in absentia*), Judaea now becoming a province with two legions (and thus "consular"), this uncommon scenario could have been referred to by describing the province as *Iudaea consularis*. However, I am still worried about the complete lack of parallels for the expression *provincia consularis* during the empire. Professor Eck reminds me of the fact that, in the inscription from Hierapolis, *consularis* is attached to the name of the province, whereas in the inscriptions of Iavolenus Priscus and Larcus Pricus the expression is attached to *legatus*. However, in my view there is not necessarily a difference between the

scholars assume that the dative should be understood.<sup>57</sup> As Pompeius Falco is not my subject in this paper, I shall not deal with this question at length, but let me observe that in my view, the genitive would be quite out of the place here, whereas the dative *consulari* would be just right. During the Roman Republic, a *provincia* as a general term could be designated as *consularis*, and there is even an instance of *consularis* being attached not to the term *provincia* but to the name of a province.<sup>58</sup> But during the empire, the expression *provincia Iudaea consularis* would be without a parallel (the *provinciae consulares*, as opposed to *provinciae proconsulares*, in *HA* Aur. 22.8, are based on the author's imagination). Instead, we have seen that there are a couple of examples of a legate being designated as *consularis* (and the inscription from Alsium must, I think, be added to them), and correcting *consularis* to *consulari{s}* and understanding *leg(ato) pr(o) pr(aetore) [pr]ovincia Iudaeae consulari* has the advantage of furnishing this inscription with a fairly exact parallel, namely the inscription of Iavolenus Priscus mentioned above. Both in the inscription of Priscus and in *ILS* 1036 pertaining to Falco the mention of the consulate itself is omitted,<sup>59</sup> but the appointments of consular status are designated as such. The only difference is that in the inscription of Iavolenus Priscus, both consular governorships in imperial provinces are designated as such, whereas in Falco's case this is indicated only in the case of his first consular assignment. Finally, the interpretation *consulari{s}* may

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formulations *legatus consularis provinciae xyz* and *legatus provinciae xyz consularis*, the latter formulation, with hyperbaton, only perhaps being a little more elegant.

<sup>57</sup> A. R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain* (2005) 115 ("[sic]" being added to *consularis* in quoting the text), 117 (Falco's consulate perhaps held *in absentia*); in an e-mail of Dec. 9, 2014, Professor Birley assures me that he still thinks that *consularis* is a slip for *consulari*. That *consularis* defines Falco rather than Judaea also seems to be the opinion of L. Maurizi, *Il cursus honorum senatorio da Augusto a Traiano* (2013) 117. For L. Vidman's opinion in 1982 see n. 56.

<sup>58</sup> Cic. *Tull.* 15, *a consulari Macedonia et Asia*, cited in *TLL* IV 572, 44; see *ibid.* 37–45 for *consularis* being applied to *provincia*.

<sup>59</sup> In *ILS* 1035, the consulate is mentioned at the beginning of Falco's career. In the Greek inscription *I. Ephesos* 713, there is no reference to the consulate, but this is a striking text with a rather impressionistic résumé of Falco's career including an obscure reference to "several other commands" (not named). *AE* 2003, 1706 from Caunus does not mention the consulate in the beginning of the inscription, but may have mentioned it in the part now lost, as the text, clearly mentioning (in this order, which is the same as in *ILS* 1036) both the legion *X Fretensis* and Judaea, now breaks off after the mention of the legion. The fact that the praetorship is in this inscription rendered not as στρατηγός but as στρατηγικός makes one wonder if the consulate could not similarly have been rendered as ὑπατικός = *consularis*.



perhaps receive some support from the fact that in *AE* 2003, 1706 from Caunus (and thus another inscription from Asia Minor), the praetorship is rendered not as στρατηγός but strikingly as στρατηγικός which may mean that in this inscription, too (the end of which is now lost), the consulate could have been rendered as a translation of *consularis* (see n. 59). Of course, taking Falco, rather than the province of Judaea, to have been referred to as consular must mean that Falco (consul in 108) had in fact held the consulate which again must mean that he had held it *in absentia* during his governorship in Judaea, but exactly that is, as far as I can see, the unanimous assumption of scholars dealing with Falco (for A. R. Birley, see n. 57).

Coming back to the inscription from Alsium, in what is left from the text the term *consulari* is preceded by an *O*. The most probable supplement is surely *legat]o consulari*. Other supplements seem less plausible, as there are not good parallels for the term *consularis* being inserted in the middle of the description of a cursus (as contrasted with the beginning as in *ILS* 1180, 1182, *AE* 2008, 434, or the end, as in *CIL* II 4115 = II<sup>2</sup> 15, 978) in some other way. There is an inscription in which (*vir*) *consularis* appears in the middle of a cursus (*EE* IX 593 = *ILS* 8979 from Lavinium),<sup>60</sup> but it would be rather strange if the author of the inscription from Alsium, who had mentioned the honorand's iterated consulate – an unusual honour – in the inscription's first line, had returned to the subject of the honorand's – as contrasted with an office's – consular status two lines later. Again, although one can observe titles of the type *consularis III Daciarum* used in the beginning of a cursus (thus at least *CIL* III 1178 = *ILS* 1165 = *IDR* III 5, 436), I have not been able to trace instances of titles of this type *within* a cursus, which is understandable inasmuch as this type is more informal than the solemn denomination of the type *legatus Augusti pro praetore III Daciarum* (used in the inscriptions of P. Septimius Geta, see Thomasson 21:45). Of course this does not mean that something like this would be impossible, but perhaps this observation could be taken to imply that *legat]o consulari* may indeed well be the correct supplement in the inscription from Alsium. Unfortunately this does not take us very far, for taking into account the (very few) parallels which were discussed above, the use of the term could be meant to point out either that a command was by definition consular (as in the inscription of Iavolenus Priscus) or that the command,

<sup>60</sup> Note that Dessau in *ILS* 8979 did not take into account his own addendum in *EE* IX p. 706, according to which one has to read not *a]uguri* but *c.] v., cur*. Incidentally, I am pretty sure that in this inscription one has to read *viro cons]ulari ordinar(io)* rather than just *cons]ulari ordinar(io)*.

normally or at least previously praetorian, was (or became) in this particular case consular (as in the inscription of Falco). This latter alternative would at least in my view *a priori* seem to be the more probable one, and there was (as mentioned above) a moment when I thought that Claudius Pompeianus, consular legate of Pannonia Inferior, would have been a likely candidate. However, the fact that he seems to have been aedile rather than tribune (cf. above) rules him out, not to speak of the fact that *consulari* clearly cannot be combined with *[Pannoniae] Inferioris*, as the layout of the text, as observed above, shows that the width of the inscription must have been considerable, this resulting with *consulari* necessarily referring to something mentioned in the lost beginning of line 4, not to something mentioned in the end of the same line. Perhaps, then, we could assume that, as in the inscription of Iavolenus Priscus, *consulari* was used to point out that the office following on the governorship of Pannonia Inferior was the honorand's first consular appointment.

As for the last two lines which offer us the possibility of identifying the context of this inscription, in line 7 the reading must, I think, be *factum est*, as *tactum est* (cf. phrases of the type *de caelo tactum est* in references to objects struck by lightning) and *actum est* (common in deeds of sale, etc.) would require quite a different scenario. Now in an earlier version of this paper, I thought, keeping in mind inscriptions such as *CIL VI 562 = ILS 202 Pietati Augustae ex s(enatus) c(onsulto) quod factum est D. Haterio Agrippa C. Sulpicio Galba co(n)s(ulibus)* etc.,<sup>61</sup> that one could think of a supplement of the type *[ex d(ecurionum) d(ecreto) quod] factum est*, followed in the next (and last) line, taking the letter seen in this line as an *L*, by the date ending in *[ --- Apri]l(es)* or *[ --- Iu]l(ias)* or *[ --- Apri]l(ibus)* or *[ --- Iu]l(iis)*; in this case we would be dealing with a monument set up by the local *ordo*. But Professor Eck reminds me of the fact that the format of the inscription, the width of which must have exceeded the height, very much points to a funerary context, also indicated by the findspot Alsium, and that, moreover, the phrase *factum est* is indeed attested (also) in this context, mentioning *AE 1990, 74* from Rome as an instance; the text of this inscription ends with the formulation *hoc sepulcrum factu(m) est ex testamento arbitrato A. Histumenni A. l. Philomusi*. There are, moreover, several inscriptions with similar formulations.<sup>62</sup> Taking

<sup>61</sup> Cf. also *ILGN 419* (Nemausus); *CIL VIII 26588* (referring to a *senatus consult(um)* of the local senate).

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *CIL VI 33855*, *arbitratu heredum hoc monumentum factum est*; *CIL IX 3739* (Marruvium), *monument(um) ex testamento factum est arbitrato libertorum*; *AE 1968, 180* (Rome), *[m]onumentum factum est ex testimonio* (sic!) *Rufi, Chilonis, Luperci*; *CIL VI 27023* (cf. <http://>

this into account, it thus seems preferable to see the inscription as belonging to the tomb of the honorand, perhaps (as also suggested by Professor Eck) set up by the honorand's son. In this case, the original text could have run, e. g., as follows: *[monumentum ex testamento] factum est / [arbitratu --- fi]l(ii).*

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*archeoroma.beniculturali.it/ParoleDiPietra/epigrafi\_6nice.htm*), *iussit monumentum HS [ --- fieri] ... ; factum est HS etc.; maesoleum (sic): CIL VIII 2841 = ILS 8097, maesoleum Romae in praedis suis ex HS L m(ilibus) n(ummum) factum est. Without a mention of the monument: CIL VI 14616, Q. Caulius Q. l. Philoxenus, Salvidena C. l. Statia; eiusde(m) arbitratu factum est (this being followed by several further names); AE 2009, 1256 = U. Ehmig – R. Haensch, *Die Lateinischen Inschriften aus Albanien* (2012) 150, Urbica ... *hic sita est ...; de eius peculi[o] permissu dominae factum es[t]; ILS Alg. I 3121 (Theveste), exs testamento ar[bi]tratu Fulviae Saturninae f[actu]m est.**

## ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

### CCXCII. WEITERE LATEINISCHE COGNOMINA

Hier nochmals eine Auslese zum x-ten Mal.<sup>1</sup> Zu den im Folgenden gebrauchten Abkürzungen und diakritischen Zeichen s. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 475. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 189.<sup>2</sup>

**Ἀβιδιανή:** *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 7701 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) Αἰλία Ἀβιδιανή. Der Männernamen *Abidianus* in Kajanto 139 mit zwei Belegen. Vom Männernamen *Abidianus* kennt Kajanto 139 zwei Belege. Unser griechischer Beleg mag *Avidiana* vertreten, auch dies ein neues Cognomen. Den Männernamen *Avidianus* belegt Kajanto 141 zweimal; dazu *Arctos* 35 (2001) 192.

!*Abulliane*: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg, jetzt *ICUR* 16253 zu zitieren, wo *Habulliane* gelesen wird.

*Aciliana*: Kajanto 139 mit zwei Belegen (von denen 1 aus dem Senatorenstand, Verwandte des Konsuls 193). *Arctos* 41 (2007) 89. 42 (2008) 215. Dazu *ITCC* 81 (Caiatia) *Vibia Aciliana*.

*Acilianus*: Kajanto 139 mit 12 Belegen (davon ein Senator, Konsul 193). Dazu *AE* 1939, 178 (Syrien) *Postu[miu]s Acili[a]nus p[r]oc(urator) Aug(usti)*; *MNR* I 8, 2, 334 (Rom) *Q. Asinius Acilianus praefectus fabrum, praefectus cohortis II Raetorum*; *NSc* 1938, 64 (Ostia) (Sklave); *InscrIt* X 5, 194 *M. Calpurnius M. f. Fab. Acilianus praef. aed. p(otestate)*; *IConcordia* 154 *T. Domitius Acilianus*; *CILA* II 934 (Siarum); 1220 *M. Aemilius Afer Acilianus*; IV 173 *C. Iulius Acilianus*; *IGLS* 2793 (Heliopolis) *P. Statilius Acilia[nus]* (Freigelassener); *AE*

<sup>1</sup> Wolfgang Günther (München) danke ich für die Revision meines deutschen Ausdrucks. Olli Salomies danke ich für Diskussion.

<sup>2</sup> Hinzugekommen ist folgende Abkürzung: *Names on Terra sigillata* = B. R. Hartley – B. M. Dickinson, with G. B. Dannell (et al.), *Names on Terra sigillata. An index of makers' stamps & signatures on Gallo-Roman Terra sigillata (Samian ware)*, London 2008–.

1969/1970, 633 V, 20 (Nicopolis in Ägypten, 157 n. Chr.) Zenturio in der legio II Traiana. – Vgl. noch *Acilian*(---) Sexus unbekannt: *AE* 2006, 901 (Colonia Ulpia Traiana in der Germania inferior).

*Acutianus*: Kajanto 139 mit acht Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 163. 42 (2008) 215. Dazu *ICUR* 11328 *Iunius Acutianus*; *AE* 2009, 1004 (Dalmatien) *Aelius Acutianus*; *IMS* I 120 *Ael(ius) Acutianus*; *CBI* 784 (Lambaesis) *Calvent(ius) Acutian(us)*; *BCTH* 1909, 198 (Thamugadi) *Q. Antonius Maximus Acutianus*.

*Adlecta*: *ILAlg* II 6359 (Numidien, Sklavin) *Adl[ec]ta*. Trotz des fragmentarischen Zustandes des Steines scheint die Lesung wie auch die Ergänzung plausibel; der dritte Buchstabe scheint, aus dem Druckbild der Edition zu schließen, kein I zu sein, auch wenn *Adiecta* als ein üblicher Name eine verlockende Lesung darstellen würde.

*Adlectus*: Kajanto 349 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *PLRE* I 45 *Allectus* Usurpator, der 293–296 über das britannische Sonderreich herrschte; *AE* 1951, 184 (Rom, eques singularis, 153 n. Chr.) *Adlectus*; *ILAlg* II 2682 *L. Herenius Adlectus*.

*Advectus*: *TabVindol.* II 309 (Ende 1. Jh. / Anfang 2. Jh.). Der Namensträger ist der Empfänger des Briefes, so dass seine Zugehörigkeit zum Militärlager unsicher bleibt. Die Lesung des Namens ist nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben, denn in der Tafel scheint *ADVESTO* zu stehen (so liest man eindeutig anhand des Fotos in der Edition), da aber *\*Advestus* sich unmöglich erklären lässt, kann man mit den Editoren *Advectus* emendieren, das ein neues Cognomen wäre.<sup>3</sup> Von Namen auf *-vectus* ist mir nur *Revecta* aus Rom bekannt (*ICUR* 15301).

*Aequitas*: Kajanto 256 mit zwei Belegen als Männernamen und einem Beleg als Frauenname.<sup>4</sup> Dazu *AE* 1978, 181 (Brundisium, 2./ 3. Jh.) Frauenname.

*Afinianus*: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 13987 *Afinian[us]*.

*Agilianus*: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *HEp* 14, 24 (Hispanien). Kajanto stellt den Namen zum nur selten belegten, dazu hauptsächlich in Provinzen gebrauchten Gentilicium *Agilius* (freilich mit dem Vermerk 'cf. *Agilis*'), doch ist es vorzuziehen, ihn zur Sippe *Agilis* mit *Agilio* zu stellen. – Zum vermeintlichen Frauennamen *Agilis* s. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 215.

*Agilio*: Kajanto 248 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *IAquileia* 770 *Agilioni*; Pais 516 (Ateste) *Q. Acutius Q. l. Agilio*; *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 7, 378 (Sklave; doch wohl identisch mit dem von Kajanto angeführten Sklaven 382).

<sup>3</sup> A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen im römischen Britannien*, Hildesheim 2011, 219, hält den Namen für keltisch, doch ohne jeglichen Grund.

<sup>4</sup> In Kajanto korrigiere *CIL* VI 1003 zu 10003.

*Albicianus*: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg (der aber möglicherweise einen Gentilnamen vertritt). Dazu *AE* 2003, 1016 (Londinium, flavisch bis hadrianisch).

*Albinianus*: Kajanto 139 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1996, 755 (regio XI) *C. Albinus Albinian(us)*.

*Alfianus*: Kajanto 140 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 23785; *AE* 1989, 342i (Syracusae, spät, etwa 3. Jh., vom Editor zu einem *vir egregius* ergänzt); *RIB* 436 (Goldamulett) φύλαπτέ με Ἀλφιανόν (britannische Herkunft problematisch; der Editor nimmt keine Stellung zur Frage); *ILAlg* II 5581 (Thibilis) *Q. Lutatius Q. f. Quir. Alfianus*.

*Allatus*: Kajanto 349 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* IV 8124 vgl. *Epigraphica* 30 (1968) 109 *Utied(ium) Allatum* (Lesung steht nicht ganz mit Sicherheit fest, ist aber möglich); *TabVindol* II 190 (scheint Eigenname zu sein).<sup>5</sup>

*Allianus*: Kajanto 140 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 164 mit drei Belegen aus dem Osten. Dazu *CIG* 2221b (Chios) Ἀῦρ. Ἀλλιανός Τροφίμου.

*Alpinianus*: Kajanto 140 = 195 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus Greg. Tur. Dazu *RIB* II 7, 2501, 45 (Fragment auf Terra sigillata).

! *Amaracus* in *Rep.* 291 aus *CIL* VI 978 ist eher als griechisch zu beurteilen.

*Ambianus*: *CIL* XIII 10010, 106 und sonst, Aufstellungsort im Gebiet der Mediomatrici und Leuci; vgl. *Names on Terra sigillata* 1 (2008), 80. Zum Personennamen gewordenes Ethnikon. Vgl. *Ambiana Rep.* 291 aus *CIL* VI 11522, wo der Name in zwei Varianten, *Ambiana* und *Ambiviana*, auftaucht, d. h. die Existenz der beiden Frauennamen ist fraglich.

*Ambivianus*: *Rep.* 291. Dazu *Milet* VI 3, 1285 (2./3. Jh.) Π. Ἀῖλ(ιος) [Ἀμ]-βειβιανός Αἰσχίνης (notiere, dass die gens *Ambivia* gut bekannt in Milet ist). Zum Frauennamen *Ambiviana* s. gleich oben unter *Ambianus*.

! *Amianus -a*: Kajanto 140 als Nebenform von *Ammianus -a*. Das Bild ist aber dasselbe wie bei *Ammianus*: der Gentilname *Amius* war ausschließlich in den westlichen und nord-westlichen Provinzen in Gebrauch, welcher Umstand den davon abgeleiteten Cognomina wie *Amio* einen zweifelsfrei keltischen Charakter verleiht. Ich würde anders als Kajanto *Ammi-* und *Ami-* voneinander trennen und die Cognomina auf *Ami-* als keltischen Stoff betrachten, abgesehen von den wenigen in Italien gefundenen Belegen auf *Ami-*, die als Nebenformen von Namen auf *Amm-* zu beurteilen sind (wie z. B. *Amias* in den stadtrömischen Urkunden *CIL* VI 15352. *ICUR* 4246. 16047. 23194. 23788).

<sup>5</sup> Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen*, zit. 231 sieht hier einen keltischen Namen, doch ohne triftige Argumente.

*Amica*: Kajanto 305 mit einem heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg (den heidnischen führt Kajanto aus *CIL* VI an, wo der Name aber zweimal vorkommt: 17110 *Egnatiae Amica[e]* [die Ergänzung scheint recht plausibel zu sein]; 20365 *Iulia Amica*). Dazu *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 14, 64 (Valentia) *Iulia Amica*. Dagegen ist es sehr unsicher, ob in *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3556a der Name *Amica* vorliegt, wie des öfteren vermutet; so zuletzt G. Fratianni, *SupplIt* 27 Terventum 39.<sup>6</sup>

! *Ammiana*: Kajanto 140 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 13280. 23789. Zur Erklärung s. *Ammianus*.

! *Ammianus*: Kajanto 140 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 13280. 14005. 16981. 17115 *Val(erius) Ammianus*. 21648. 27058 *M. Aur. Ammianus*; *CAG* 60 (1995) 273 (Bellovacii); *Names on Terra sigillata* 1 (2008) 182 Nr. I (Lezoux/Ager Arvernorum in Aquitanien, 2. Jh.); Nr. II (Tabernae/Rheinzabern, 160–260). Der Name kann auch als griechisch aufgefasst und neben die große griechisch-kleinasiatische Gruppe von Namen *Amme Ammia Ammi(a)s* usw. gestellt werden (zur Verbreitung dieser Namen in Rom s. mein griechisches Namenbuch 1027–29, in Kleinasien L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Praha 1964, 55–65). Der Grund warum Kajanto von diesen Namen nur *Ammianus* in sein Cognominabuch aufgenommen hat, liegt daran, dass ihm zufolge speziell das Suffix *-ianus* typisch für Ableitungen aus Gentilicia ist. Man muss aber bedenken, dass der Gentilname *Ammius* selbst keine alte italische Bildung darstellt, sondern hauptsächlich nur in den nordwestlichen Provinzen gebraucht wurde.<sup>7</sup>

*Amniana*: *ICUR* 22991 Dat. *Amnianeti*; Lesung sicher, der Editor vermutet den Namen *Ammiana*. Von dem Männernamen *Amnianus* kennt Kajanto einen Beleg. Er leitet den Namen aus dem Gentilicium *Amnius* ab. Dies ist möglich, aber dieses Gentile ist nur wenig belegt.<sup>8</sup> Ich frage mich, ob *Amnianus* irgendwie mit *amnis* zusammenhängt; vgl. *Amnicus* (s. *Anal. epigr.* 305), das freilich keine Ableitung von *amnis* darstellt, sondern direkt zu *amnicus* gebildet wurde.

<sup>6</sup> Unbegreiflich ist die Behauptung des Editors, *Amica* sei des öfteren als Sklavename belegt, was unmöglich stimmen kann. Es könnte auch das Appellativ *amica* vorzuliegen, und wenn der lateinische Text eine (teilweise) 'Übersetzung' des oskischen darstellt, dann könnte *amica* das osk. Wort DEFTRI wiedergeben. Doch bleibt die Sachlage unsicher. Zur Deutung siehe auch M. Crawford, *Imagines Italicae. A corpus of Italic inscriptions*, London 2011, 1186 Terventum 25 (ihm zufolge Sklavename).

<sup>7</sup> Zum Gentilnamen vgl. A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in den zwei germanischen Provinzen* I, Rahden 2006, 71, mit weiterer Literatur.

<sup>8</sup> Vgl. aber solche Belege von Berühmtheiten wie *CIL* VI 1754 *Aniciae Faltoniae Probae Amnios Pincios Aniciosque decoranti, consulis uxori, consulis filiae, consulum matri* (dagegen *Amm-* in *CIL* VI 1682 *Ammio Manio Caesonio Nicomacho* κτλ).

**Amnicus:** *AE* 1988, 168 C. *Domiti C. f. Vol. Amnici*. Vgl. *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) 305.

**Ampiana:** Kajanto 140 mit einem Beleg (aus Umbrien). Dazu *AE* 1985, 191 (Ostia) *Aelia Ampiana*.

**Anicianus:** Kajanto 140 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 190. 41 (2007) 89. Dazu J. R. S. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, Boston 1888, 349 Nr. 491 (Pisidien) Γ. Ἰ(ούλιος) Ἀνικιανός.

\***Anitianus** Kajanto 140 ist zu streichen: der aus *CIL* V 7349 zitierte Name lautet *Avitianus*: *SupplIt* 16 Forum Vibii Caburrum 9.

**Antianus:** Kajanto 140 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 497. Dazu *IG* XII 5, 998 (Tenos, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) [Κ]όν[τος] Οὔλπιος Ἀντιανός.

**Antonilla:** Kajanto 168 mit fünf Belegen aus den germanischen und Donauprovinzen. *Arctos* 38 2004) 164 aus Kleinasien. Dazu *AE* 1990, 96 (Rom) *Aurelia Antonilla*; *InscrIt* X 1, 67 (Pola, ca. Mitte 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Palpellia Sex. fil. Antonilla*; *ILGN* 118 (Arelate) (*Attia*) *Antonilla* Freigelassene; 37./38. *BRGK* 33 (Augusta Vindelicorum in Rätien) *Aurelia Antonilla*; *IL Afr.* 169, 52 vg. *AE* 2011, 1644 (Ammaedara) *Licinia Antonila*; *IL Alg* I 27 (Thubursicu Numidarum) *Iulia An[t]onila M. Iuli Quirina filia*.

**Aponianus:** Kajanto 140 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 41 (2007) 90. Dazu *CAG* 21, 3 (2009) 377 (Vertillum im Gebiet der Lingones in Germ. sup.) *Aponianus*; *Names on Terra sigillata* 1 (2008) 221 (Heddernheim in Germ. sup., 150–250) *Aponian(us) f(ecit)*; *SB* 11011 (Mitte 2. Jh. Chr.) Οὐαλέριος Ἀπωνιανός aus Karanis.

**Apriana:** *Arctos* 37 (2003) 173 (in dem dort angeführten Beleg *CIL* XIII 8525 liegt aber ein Gentilname vor). Dazu *ICUR* 20617 (verschollen) Dat. APRIANE (war vielleicht *Apriliane* gemeint?).

**Aprianus:** Kajanto 140 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.* 294 (aus Cirta). *Arctos* 37 (2003) 173 (in dem dort angeführten Beleg *CIL* XIII 8512 liegt aber ein Gentilname vor). Dazu *Names on Terra sigillata* 1 (2008) 221 (Tabernae/Rheinzabern, 150–250) Töpfer (er hat wohl *CIL* XIII 10010, 147 a–c signiert); *IMagnesia* 122 a, 11–12 χωρίον Ἀπριανός.

**Apriliana:** *ICUR* 17705 *Apriliane mortua*. Vgl. auch oben zu *Apriana*. Zum Männernamen *Aprilianus* s. gleich unten.

**Aprilianus:** Kajanto 140 = 219 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 10249 C. *Val(erius) Aprilian[us]*; *CAG* 80, 1 (2009) 139 (Samarobriva in Belgica) *Apriliani*.



*Ap(p)uleianus*: Kajanto 140 mit zwei Belegen (beide *Apu-*). *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 497. Dazu *NSc* 1923, 360 (Rom) *L. Baebius L. f. Pub. Appuleianus*; A. Marinucci, *Disiecta membra. Iscrizioni latine da Ostia e Porto, 1981–2009*, Roma 2012, 72 *Claudius Prochus Apuleianus*; *CIL* IX 2704 [---] *Judius L. f. Apuleia[nus]* (Deutung nicht sicher); *CIL* III 3897 [*A*] *puleianus* (die Ergänzung ist sicher).

*Aquileia*: Kajanto 198 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 22333 *Dat. Aquileie*; *Milet* VI 2, 501 (wohl Milesierin, 2./ 3. Jh.) Ἀκυληία (so wird der Name der Stadt in griechischen Urkunden geschrieben: *IAquileia* 3032 ἐν Ἀκυλ[ηία]; 3036 ἦν δὲ πατρίς μου Ταύχειρα, νῦν δὲ Ἀκυληία).<sup>9</sup> – Zu einem vermeintlichen Beleg vgl. unten S. 381.

*Aquiliana*: *Arctos* 38 (2004) 164 aus *MAMA* VI 373 Ἀκυλιανή. Dazu *CIL* VI 30381; *ISide* 142 Ἀκυλιανή Μοδέστα (wenn nicht Patron.). Zum Männernamen *Aquilianus* vgl. gleich unten.

*Aquilianus*: Kajanto 140 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 164 mit Belegen aus dem griechischen Osten. Dazu *IRT* 666 *M. Aqu(i)li(us) Aquilianus*. Weitere Belege von Ἀκυλιανός aus dem Osten: *IPrusias ad Hyprium* 81;<sup>10</sup> *IGR* III 207 (Ankyra, 1. Jh. n. Chr.); *IGR* III 396 (Kremna in Pisidien, 3. Jh.) [M.? O] ὑλίφιω Ἀκυλιαν[ῶ ---]ωνι ἐπάρχῳ χώρ[της] α' Ἀκυιταν[ῶ]ν [---] Βρε[ταννι---];<sup>11</sup> *SEG* IV 719 (Caesarea Hadrianopolis).

*Aquinus*: Kajanto 184 mit zwei Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 132. 43 (2009) 162. 47 (2013) 265. Dazu noch *AE* 2011, 664b (Vindolanda, flavisch).

*Araricus*: *CIL* XIII 5711 (Andemantunnum in Germ. sup., 2. Jh. n. Chr., Sklave oder Freigelassener); *AE* 1996, 1172a (Rossdorf in Germ. sup., 2. Jh.) *Gn. Hor[at]ini(us) [C]n. l. Araricus*. Der Name, der an sich keltischer Herkunft ist,<sup>12</sup> lässt sich mit vielen anderen geographischen Namen des gallischen und

<sup>9</sup> Ganz unsicher bleibt *CIL* VI 8395.

<sup>10</sup> Der ganze Text lautet Ἀκυλιανός [Κ]αλλίσστρα[το]ς τὸν βωμὸν [ἀνέ]στησα [τῷ γλυ-]κυτάτῳ [ὀδε]λφῷ. Wenn die zwei Namen sich auf eine Person beziehen, dann hätte Ἀκυλιανός die Funktion eines Gentilnamens übernommen. Man könnte den Text aber auch so verstehen: Aquilianus ruht hier; sein Bruder Kallistratos errichtete das Grab.

<sup>11</sup> Devijver, *PME* II 798 Nr. U 4 meint, das Cognomen des Mannes war *Acilianus*. Wenn dem so wäre, würde man erwarten, es hieße im Griechischen Ἀκιλιανός. Es sollte doch allgemein bekannt sein, dass *Aquila* und die anderen Namen der Sippe Ἀκύλας usw. wiedergegeben werden. Das heißt auch, dass *M. Ulpius Acilianus* *bf. cos. leg. II Ital.* nicht mit unserem Mann homonym sein kann, wie Devijver, *PME* V 2259 meint. Ähnlich irrtümlich A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen im römischen Britannien*, Hildesheim 2011, 217.

<sup>12</sup> Wie üblicherweise angenommen; Literatur bei A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in den*

des Donaumaumes dem lateinischen Namengut einordnen. Arar war ein wohlbekannter Fluss in Gallien, heute Saône, dessen römische Schriftsteller seit Caesar oft gedenken, darunter auch Dichter. Das davon abgeleitete Ethnikon *Araricus* kommt auch literarisch wie epigraphisch vor. Das Cognomen *Araricus* gehört zu derselben Gattung von Namen wie *Rhodanus* oder *Danuvius* (zu ihnen vgl. meine Ausführungen in *ZPE* 156 (2006) 311f. und in "Danuvius", in "Eine ganz normale Inschrift" ... und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber. Festschrift zum 30. April 2005. Hg. von F. Beutler und W. Hameter unter Mitarbeit von R. Beutler, M. Gerhold, V. Scheibelreiter und I. Weber-Hiden (Althistorisch-epigraphische Studien 5), Wien 2005, 125–32.

*Arcanus*: Kajanto 181 mit drei Belegen. Dazu ein Töpfer mit dem Aufstellungsort Lezoux im Gebiet Augustonemetum in Aquitanien; vgl. *Names on Terra sigillata* 1 (2008), 244–6 (120–140 n. Chr.); *Tab. Vindol.* II 162 und sonst (Ende 1./Anfang 2. Jh.); *SCIVA* 47 (1996) Nr. 672 (Tibiscum) [---] *Arcanus* (scheint als Eigenname auszulegen zu sein); Ineditum aus Xanthos in Lykien (s. *LGPN* V.B 59) Ἀρκανοῦ.

*Ardalio*: *RIB* 1436 Gen. *Hardalionis* (kaum Appellativ); *ILAlg* I 1054 (Thagura) *Callistus qui et Ardalio* (als Supernomen vielleicht als redender Name zugelegt); *CIL* VIII 9154 *Hardalio* (im Index des *CIL* wird als Nominativ *Hardalius* festgelegt, doch schon Bücheler *CLE* 1289 hat gesehen, dass *Hardalio* Nominativ ist; so auch Chr. Hamdoune (Hg.), *Vie et mort dans l'Afrique romaine d'après un choix de Carmina Latina epigraphica* (CollLatomus 330), Bruxelles 2011, 171 Nr. 95).

*Areianus*: Kajanto 140 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ISide* I 64 (1. Hälfte des 4. Jh.) Φλ. Ἀρηιανὸς Ἀλύπιος διασημ(ότατος) ἡγεμῶν; derselbe *CPR* V 12 (Arsinoites, 351 n. Chr.).<sup>13</sup> Da *Flavius* in der Spätantike mehr ein Titel geworden war, wäre zu erwägen, ob Ἀρηιανός hier eher als Gentilname gemeint war.

*Arruntianus*: Kajanto 141 mit acht Belegen. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 195. Dazu *IAnazarbos* 219 (1./2. Jh.) Ἀρρουντιανοῦ Δημονεΐκου (vielleicht eher Gentilname, wenn nicht Arruntianus Sohn des Demonikos war).

*Asicianus*: A. Valentini, *Antichità altinati*, Venezia 1893, 32 = *AE* 2011, 408 (Altinum, 1./2. Jh.) *Q. Carminius Q. fil. Sca. Asicianus*. Vom Frauennamen *Asiciana* kennt Kajanto 141 einen Beleg.

*Asinari*: Kajanto 323 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *PLRE* III 136 Gote, Offizier; *AE* 2011, 1559 (Aradi in der Byzacena, 5. Jh.).

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zwei germanischen Provinzen II 1, Rahden 2007, 117.

<sup>13</sup> Die Person in *PLRE* I 49.

*Asinianus*: Kajanto 141 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu ein paar Fälle unsicherer Lesung: *CIL* VI 7498 *C. Iu[lius A]sinianus* (andere Ergänzungen möglich); *RIB* 2041 vgl. R. W. Davies, *Epigraphische Studien* 12 (1981) 193f. *Q. Pius C. f. Claud. Asinianus*.

*Aterianus*: Kajanto 141 mit einem Beleg (*CIL* IX 5589. 5590), der aber in beiden Inschriften akephal ist. Sichergestellt in *CIL* VI 13344 *Cn. Numisius Aterianus*, XIV 39. 912. 4569 *Q. Domitius Aterianus* und VIII 3875 *Felix Aterianus* (Vater *Aterius*). Man nimmt üblicherweise an, dass hier nur eine Nebenform von *Haterianus* vorliege (so in den betreffenden Cognominaindices). Andererseits ist auch *Haterianus* nur selten belegt (s. unten S. 368 und, was noch mehr wiegt, ist *Aterius -ia* alles andere als selten (in EDCS sind die Belegzahlen von *Aterius -ia* 60, und von *Haterius -ia* 116). [Korrekturnachtrag. Vgl. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 195.]

**Ἀτικιανή**: *TAM* III 1, 290 (Termessos) Ἀϋρ. Ἀρμαστα ἢ καὶ Ἀτικιανή, ἡ θυγάτηρ Τρο(κονδου) τοῦ καὶ Ἀργύρου, γυνὴ Μάρκου Ἀϋρ. Διοτίμου δις Ἀμερίμνου. Obwohl in der Familie sonst griechisch-kleinasiatische Namen gebraucht wurden, lässt sich das Supernomen der Frau am besten als lat. *Aticiana* auffassen, um so mehr als hier nur eine Nebenform von *Att-* vorliegen mag. Das in der römischen Namengebung lateinisch gewordene *Atticus* war in der Kaiserzeit auch im griechischen Osten ein beliebter Personennamen, auch in Kleinasien. *Aticianus* in Rom: *ICUR* 1516. [Vgl. schon *Arctos* 38 (2004) 165f, wo *Aticianus* auf den Gentilnamen *Aticius* zurückgeführt wird, der nicht eine bloße Nebenform von *Atticius* sei.]

*Atiliana*: Kajanto 141 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *RIB* I 560 (Deva) Dat. *Ati[l]iane*.

*Atteianus*: Kajanto 141 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CAG* 45 (1988) 107 *Atteiani officium*.

*Attilianus*: Kajanto 141 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *Attilianus* öfters in Gallien auf dem Instrumentum (in verschiedenen Bänden von *CAG*).

**Ἀϋγεντία**: *ICUR* 14996 Ἀϋγεντίης. Zum Männernamen *Augentius* s. gleich unten.

*Augentius*: Kajanto 234 mit sechs Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *CIL* VI 749–753 (357–362 n. Chr.) *Aur. Victor Augentius v. c.* (*PLRE* I 125 Nr. 2) und sein mutmaßlicher Sohn *Tamesius Olympius Argentius* (*CIL* VI 754; vgl. *PLRE* I 124 Nr. 1).

*Aulianus*: Kajanto 141 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* XIII 10010, 239 auf dem Instrumentum.

*Aureliana*: Kajanto 141 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *IGUR* 434 (lateinische mit griechischen Lettern geschriebene Inschrift) Αβρελιαννα. Im griechischen Bereich üblich in Makedonien, wo oft auch Gentilname; mehr oder weniger sichere Fälle cognominalen Charakters in *ILeukopetra* 47; *IG X* 2,2, 44 (Lynkestis). Sonst *IAdramytteion* 11 (5./ 6. Jh.); *IHerakleia Pont* 8 Τιβ. Κλαυδεία Αύρηλιανή Ἀρχελαΐς (ob als Gentilname aufzufassen?).

*Auruncus*: Kajanto 180 mit mit einem Beleg (Konsul 501 v. Chr.). *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 299 = 497. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 160. Dazu *IG XII* 8, 540 (Thasos) Ἰούλιος Αύρουνοκος.

*Axianus*: Kajanto 141 mit drei Belegen (davon 1 Supernomen). Dazu *CIL VI* 10528 *P. Verrius Axianus*. Der Name könnte auch als griechisch aufgefasst werden, denn Ἀξίος war ein üblicher Name in der griechischen Anthroponymie, auch in der römischen Welt belegt, und andererseits gehörte der Gentilname *Axianus* nicht zu den am meisten verbreiteten.

*Babullianus*: Kajanto 141 mit drei Belegen. Dazu Segre, *ICos* ED 228 (2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.) Βισέλλιος Βαβυλλιανός.

*Baebiana*: Kajanto 141 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 166 aus Bithynien. Dazu *I GLS XVII* 1, 492 (Palmyra) *Baebia Baebiana*. Der Männername *Baebianus* ist üblicher.

*Baianus*: Kajanto 142 mit vier Belegen. Dazu Audollent, *DT* 241 (Carthago, 2./ 3. Jh.).

*Balbina*: Kajanto 240 mit acht (heidnischen) Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 872 Βαλβίνη; *AE* 2009, 195 (Tusculum) *Antestia Balbina*; *NSc* 1901, 464 (Aufidena) *Flavia Balbina*; *AE* 1981, 323 (Sentinum) *Pontia Balbin[a]*; 1993, 1268 (Asseria in Dalmatien) *Aufidiae C. f. Balbine*.

**Βαρβαρίς**: *ICUR* 16811 Βαρβαρίς ἡ μόνανδρος. Die Namen der Sippe *Barbarus* wurden in Rom zweifellos als lateinisch empfunden, und da das Suffix *-is* vielfach auch lateinischen Namen angehängt wurde, besteht kein Grund, eine Bildung *Barbaris* in Rom als griechisch aufzufassen.

*Barbas*: Kajanto 224 mit zwei Belegen, die er als gräzisierungsförmig erklärt. Dazu *CIL III* 10542 = *TitAquinc* 572 *Aur(elius) Barbas* (3. Jh. n. Chr.); *AE* 2011, 1085 (Sarmizegetusa, 2. Hälfte des 2./1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.) *Ant(onius) Barbas* Malagbel-Verehrer, also wohl syrischer Abstammung.

*Bassiana*: Kajanto 142 mit drei Belegen (davon 2 aus dem Senatorenstand). Dazu *IG XIV* 2490 Vienna) Βασσ<ι>ανή (als Βασσ<ι>ανή zu verstehen?).

*Bassio*: *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 301. 497. *Arctos* 47 (2013) 266. Zu den dort verbuchten östlichen Belegen noch *AE* 2011, 1332 (Apameia Kibotos, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

*Bellicianus*: Kajanto 142 = 258 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *RIB* 495 besser O. Salomies *AnzAW* 65 (2012) 187 (Deva) *L. Eclanius Bellicianus Vitalis*; *AIJ* 491 (Pann. sup.) (eine nahe Verwandte, wahrscheinlich die Tochter, heißt *Bellicina*); *CIA* Albanie 133 (Dyrrachium); *AE* 1969/1970, 504 (Virunum) *Ael(ius) Bellicianus*; *AE* 1917/1918, 72 (Lambaesis) *Caecilius Bellicianus*.

*Bellicina*: Kajanto 258 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AIJ* 491 (Pann. sup.) Dat. *Bellicine* (mutmaßlicher Vater heißt *Bellicianus*).

*Blaesianus*: Kajanto 240 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 497. Dazu *AE* 1984, 202 (Puteoli); *BCTH* 1934/5, 379 (prov. proc.) *Sex. Iulius Blaesianus*.

! *Blaesianus*: Kajanto 241 aus *IRT* 635 ist Senator, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 466.

*Britto*: Kajanto 201 mit neun Belegen (davon einer christlich). Dazu *EE* IX 62 (Emerita) *M. Cornelius Britto*; *HEp* 2, 143 (Clunia) *Sempronius Britto*; 275 (Laminium) *D. Cor(nelius) Britto*; *ICH* 305 (Myrtilis in Lusitanien, 546 n. Chr.) *Britto presb(byter)*. Der Name war vor allem in den keltischen Provinzen (besonders in den hispanischen) in Gebrauch, wurde also von seiner sprachlichen Umgebung nicht losgelöst.

*Bruttianus*: Kajanto 142 = 193 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *RMD* V 385/260 (138 n. Chr.) [*B*] *ruttianus* (Soldat der cohors I Cispadensium, aus Perinthos). Die Ergänzung scheint sicher zu sein.

*Caedicianus*: Kajanto 142 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Mart.* 1, 118, 2. 8, 52, 5. 10, 32, 2. 10, 84, 2 (braucht nicht eine fingierte Person zu sein, wie Friedländer in seinem Komm. meint); *Marc. Aur. med.* 4,50 Κα<ι>δικιανός (ansprechende Änderung von Reiske).

*Caelestius*: Kajanto 338 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Zos.* 4, 16, 4 (vgl. *PLRE* I 190 s. v. *Celestius*) Κελέστιος Senator um 373 n. Chr. (in *Amm.* 29,6,4–5 ist derselbe als *Marcellinus* angeführt); *PCBE* Afrique 204 s. v. *Celestius* Bischof von Karthago, 1. Hälfte des 4. Jh.

*Caeliana*: Kajanto 142 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *IL Afr* 342 (Mauret. Caes.) *Caelia Caeliana*; *IPrusa ad Olympon* 91 Καιλιανή Ἑλπίς (oder Gentilname?).

*Caelina*: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 192. Dazu *ILingons* 475 (Andemantunnum) *Caelina* (der letzte Buchstabe bleibt unsicher und so auch der Sexus). [Mirac. Theclae 9 (173, 13) *Celina* wird heute als unecht beurteilt.]

*Caerellianus*: Kajanto 142 mit zwei(?) Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 498. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 197. Dazu noch *CIL* VI 38027.

*Caesetianus*: Kajanto 142 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 498. Dazu *Hist. Aug. Tac.* 7,2 vgl. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 159 (275 n. Chr.) *Aelius C.* (v. l. *Cescetianus*, zu *Caesetianus* emendiert; die Person scheint fiktiv zu sein).

*Caesiana*: Kajanto 142 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 167. Dazu *AE* 2000, 693 (Norba in Hisp. cit., Sklavin).

*Caeso*: Kajanto 172 mit sechs Belegen. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 146. Dazu *PCol* VII 171 (Karanis, 324 n. Chr.) Διοσκόρω Καίσιωνι πραιπ(οσίτω) ε' πάγου; es bleibt vorerst unsicher, ob wirklich zum alten römischen Vornamen *Caeso* gehörig; ausgeschlossen braucht das nicht zu sein.

*Caesonianus*: Kajanto 142 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 146. Dazu *Cod. Theod.* 1,15,2 (vgl. *PLRE* I 172, 348 n. Chr.) *vic(arius) Africae*.

*Caiana*: Kajanto 143 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 19334 *Sempronia Caiane*.

*Caianilla*: *RIU* I 237 (Pannonia sup.) *Aur(elia) Caianilla*. Vgl. *Gaianilla ILAfr* 412.

*Caianus*: Kajanto 243 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *RIU* I 237 *Val(erius) Caianus mil(es) ducen(arius)*; 250 vgl. *PME* G 28 mit S. 509 (Arrabona in Pannonia sup., severisch) *C. I[u]lius(?) Caianus praef(ectus) [a]l[ae] I] Ulp(iae) contarior(um) ⊂ milliariae ⊃ civium Romanorum*; *IMS* VI 124 (Scupi) *C. Iul(ius) Caianus*; *AE* 1981, 732 (Ulpiana in Moesia sup.) *Aurelius Caianus(?)*; 1992, 1493 (Moesia sup.); *SEG* XXXIV 1512 (Arabien, christl.) ὑπὲρ μνήμης Καιανοῦ [ὁ καὶ ἀναπ]αύσεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἡ[μῶν] (die Ergänzung des Namens ist praktisch sicher). Die Existenz eines Gentilnamens *Caius* (wozu s. *ThLL* Onom. II 6360–72) sowie die griechische Schreibweise weisen darauf hin, dass *Caianus* nicht eine bloße sekundäre Graphie für *Gaianus* ist (wie in *ThLL* Onom. II 59. 14 angenommen wird).

*Calaviana*: Kajanto 143 mit einem Beleg. Als Gentilname in *IG* X 2, 1, 485.

*Calpurniana*: Kajanto 143 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *IGR* III 782 (Attaleia in Pamphylien) Κλ(αυδία) Τιβ(ερίου) Θυ(γάτηρ) Καλπουρνιανή. So scheint die Namenformel zu verstehen zu sein; die Editoren haben bisher Α(ύλου) Τιβ(ερίου) Θυ(γάτηρ) Κ. (*SEG* XVI 761 aus M. H. Ballance, *PBSR* 23 = n. s. 10 [1955] 111 Nr. 1) oder Α(ουκία) Τιβ(ερίου) Θυ(γάτηρ) Κ. (die editio princeps *BCH* 10 [1886] 156 Nr. 3, woraus *IGR*; *BullEpigr* 1958, 495; so auch *LGPN* V.B 227) gelesen, doch findet sich links vor TIB Raum für zwei Buchstaben, wie man dem Foto bei Ballance entnehmen kann, von denen Α sicher zu sein scheint (vom Querstrich eines Α ist auf dem Foto nichts ersichtlich), so dass die Lesung Κλ(αυδία) sich von selbst ergibt (und das ist, was man auch erwartet).

*Calumniosus*: Kajanto 267 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *PTjäder* 4–5 B III, 9 (ca. 552 n. Chr.) *Popilius Calomniosus principalis* in Ravenna; Greg. Tur. *Franc.*

8,30 und sonst (vgl. *PLRE* III 268f) *Calumniosus cognomento Aegyala* Patrizier in Burgundien 584–585 n. Chr.; Martyrol. Hier. *Kal. Aug.*

*Calventianus*: Kajanto 143 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu Pais 624 (Verona) *C. Papius L. f. Pob. Macer Calventianus* städtischer Magistrat.

*Calvisianus*: Kajanto 143 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 41 (2007) 92. Dazu *Acta S. Eupli* (Studi e Testi 49 [1928] 47f) ὁ λαμπρότατος κορρέκτωρ im Jahre 304 (verdächtig; vgl. *PLRE* I 177).

*Calvulus*: Kajanto 235 mit einem Beleg. Dazu Anth. 378,12 *Calvulus*; in der Überschrift *Calbuli grammatici*.

*Camerianus*: Kajanto 143 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIG* 3662 (Kyzikos) Ἐώρτιος Καμεριανὸς Πωλλίων (ob als Gentilname empfunden?).

*Camianus*: Kajanto 143 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *RIB* III 3327  $\subset$  *centuria*  $\supset$  *Camian[i]*.

***Camillianus***: Conc. Aurel. a. 511 p. 13, 7 *Camillianus episcopus de Tre-cassis* und öfters (die Namensform schwankt zwischen *Camilli-*, *Camelli-*, *Cami-li-* und *Cameli-*), Bischof der Civitas Tricassium in der Lugdunensis (vgl. *PCBE* Gaule 415).

*Campanianus*: Kajanto 143 mit vier Belegen (davon zwei Senatoren). Dazu *CIL* III 4462 (Carnuntum) *C(---) Campanianus fr(umentarius) leg(ionis) I Adiu(tricis)*; *ILAlg* II 855 (Cirta) *Q. Cassius Campanianus*. Öfters bei spätantiken Persönlichkeiten: Sidon. *epist.* 1, 10; Cassiod. *var.* 9,4,2 *vir disertissimus*; Greg. M. *epist.* 1,42 *gloriosus magister militum*.

*Campensis*: Kajanto 309 mit einem Beleg (aus Ammianus). Dazu *AE* 1997, 1622. 1624 (Ammaedara) *M. Maevius Campesis veteranus leg. III Aug.*; *ILTun* 1708 Thabraca, christl.) *Canpesis Domitius*.

*Canidianus*: Kajanto 143 mit einem senatorischen Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VI 6239 als zweites Cognomen eines mutmaßlichen kaiserlichen Sklaven *Antigonus atriensis Canidianu(s)*.

*Canilla*: *Arctos* 37 (2003) 175 aus Tarraco. Dazu G. E. D. Bean – T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1962–3* (1965) 35 Κάνιλλα.

*Caninianus*: Kajanto 143 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* V 6766 *C. Antonius Kaninianus*.

*Caninus*: Kajanto 326 mit drei Belegen (davon 2 von Senatoren aus der spätrepublikanischen Zeit). *Arctos* 40 (2006) 134. Dazu Gild. *Brit.* 30 chron. III p. 43, 3 *Aureli Canine*.

***Cannulianus***: *CIL* X 3937 = 8184: s. unten S. 387.

\**Cannutianus*: Kajanto 143 verschwindet; s. unten S. 382.

**Capidianus:** *CIL* XV 4241 (Amphoradipinto, 149 n. Chr.) *Capidia(nus)*. Vgl. unten *Casidianus*.

**Capillianus:** Kajanto 143 mit einem Beleg unter *Capellianus* (d. h. *CIL* XIII 10010, 441. Dazu *CIL* X 7054 (Catina) *M. (Caeparius) Capillianus* (so würde ich den Text auslegen; Mommsen im Cognominaindex versieht *Capillianus* mit einem Asterisk, doch der Text scheint heil überliefert zu sein).

!**Capitonianus:** der von Kajanto 143 = 235 verzeichnete Beleg aus *CIL* XI 3003 ist Name eines *fundus*. Belege aus dem griechischen Bereich, die teilweise als Gentilnamen aufzufassen sind: *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 498 aus Ephesos; *IGB* V 5896 Parthiropolis in Makedonien) *M. Αὐρ. Καπιτωνιανὸς Ἀλέξανδρος*; 5904 (ebda.) *Καπιτωνιανὸς Φίλιππος ὁ καὶ Λιβόνις* (aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach eher Gentilname); *ICentral Pisidia* 34. 35. 39. 40. 41 (Kremna) *Φλ(άουιος) Ἀουίδιος Φαβιανὸς Καπιτωνιανὸς Λούκιος*; *IKibyra* 369 [---]ς *Καπιτωνιανός*.

**Cappianus:** Kajanto 143 mit einem Beleg (*Kappianus*). Dazu *CIL* XI 5180 vgl. *Suppllt.* 27 Urvinum Hortense 2 mit gutem Photo (Vettona) [---]lius *T. f. T. n. [---]vius Cappianus (Carpianus* Bormann, am Stein stand aber sicher CAPP-, wie aus dem Foto ersichtlich).

**Capra m.:** Kajanto 326 mit einem Beleg.<sup>14</sup> Dazu Varro *rust.* 2,1,10 *nomina multa habemus ab utroque pecore ... sic a maiore Equitius, Taurius ... cognomina assignificari [quod] dicuntur, ut Anni Caprae* usw.; *AE* 1990, 223c (Allifae) *M. Granus M. f. Ter. Capra* (Bruder oder sonst ein naher Verwandter *Capella*).

**Capua:** s. unten S. 387.

**Carianus:** Kajanto 143 mit vier Belegen. Dazu (als Cognomen) *AE* 2004, 1303 (Marcianopolis in Moesia inf., 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *Carianus Cari* (ein mutmaßlicher Bruder heißt *Primus Cariani*, so dass der cognominale Charakter feststehen dürfte).

**Carisianus:** Kajanto 143 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *IRProvPalencia* 592 *Licinus Carisianus*; *ILAfr* 592 (Aunobari, prov. proc.) *L. Pomponius Carisianus scriba librarius*.

**Carissimus:** Kajanto 284 mit vier mehr oder weniger einwandfreien Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 235. Dazu noch Symm. *epist.* 2, 10.

**Carosa:** Kajanto 284 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *PLRE* I 182 Tochter des Kaisers Valens; *CIL* XIII 4672 (kann einheimischen Stoff vertreten).

**Carosus:** Kajanto 284 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 235. Dazu noch Name mehrerer Bischöfe: Leo *M. epist.* 13 (446 n. Chr.). Conc. Rom. a. 501, 419;

<sup>14</sup> In *ICUR* 7483 *Capra*, von Kajanto als Frauennamen registriert, bleibt der Sexus unsicher.



a. 531; a. 649; Optat. *app.* 1 ein Subdiakon in Cirta; Leo M. *epist.* 141. 142, 2 Mönche; Coripp. *Ioh.* 7,436.

*Carpentarius*: Kajanto 322 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *NSc* 1947, 189 (Syracusa, spät); *Tab. Vindol.* II 184 (92–115 n. Chr.).

*Carula*: Kajanto 284 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* III 10547 = *TitAquinc* 626 *Flavia Carula*; XV 4230 (Deutung unsicher; 149 n. Chr.).

*Casaria*: Kajanto 312 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *Ven. Fort. carm.* 8,3,39 und sonst.

*Casarius*: Kajanto 312 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* XI 6700, 203 (arretinische Ware) *L. Corneli Casari(?)* (überl. CASART).

*Casidianus(?)*: *CIL* XV 4032 (Amphoradipinto) *Casidian(us)()*; Lesung etwas unsicher, vgl. auch 4241, wo *Capidia(nus)* festzustehen scheint (vgl. oben unter *Capidianus*).

*Caspianus(?)*: *CIL* VIII 16107 (Sicca Veneria) *Q. Licinius F[e]lix Caspianus*. Abgeleitet vom Gentilnamen *Caspus*; kann bei Kajanto fehlen, wenn er es zum Kaspischen Meer gestellt hat, was aber weniger wahrscheinlich ist (das Ethnikon *Caspianus*, das einmalig ist [nur in *Chron. Alex. chron.* I p. 127, 297 überliefert] würde man nicht bei einem Einwohner von Sicca Veneria erwarten).

*Cassio*: Kajanto 163 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VIII 11610 vgl. *AE* 2011, 1635 (Ammaedara, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *C. Marius Cassio*.

*Castellana*: *AE* 1972, 18 (Rom) *Flavia Castellana* (Freigelassene); *HEp* 12, 377 (Munigua) *Ser(gia?) Castellana*; *IAlbanien* 68 (Dyrrachium) *Fulvia Castellana*. Den Männernamen *Castellanus* belegt Kajanto 208 dreimal.

*Castricianus*: Kajanto 144 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ISmyrna* 238b *Καστρικι[ων]ός* (die Ergänzung ist ansprechend).

*Catilina*: Kajanto 340 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Sil.* 15,448 *incestum Catilina Nealcen germanae thalamo obtruncat*, römischer Soldat;<sup>15</sup> augenscheinlich fiktiver Name, soll doch hier angeführt werden, mentalitätshistorisch interessanter Fall.

*Catillus*: *CIL* IV 4227. 4228. Dieser Name lässt sich auch im gallisch-germanischen Raum belegen,<sup>16</sup> wo er wahrscheinlich als einheimischer Name zu

<sup>15</sup> Zum Namen vgl. Fr. Spaltenstein, *Commentaire des Punica de Silius Italicus (livres 9 à 17)*, Genève 1990, 372; aus seinen Ausführungen wird man auch nicht klüger, was den wahren Charakter des Namens betrifft, doch hat Silius ihn als fiktiv gebraucht; interessant zu notieren, dass Catilina hier als echter tugendhafter Römer dargestellt wird, während sein karthagischer Gegner Nealces der Unzucht beschuldigt wird.

<sup>16</sup> Vgl. A. Kakoschke, *Personennamen in den zwei germanischen Provinzen* (s. oben Anm.

bewerten ist. Die Belege aus Italien gehören aber eher zur lateinischen Onymie und sind zu *catillus* zu stellen (wenn nicht zum Namen des Gründers von Tibur). So auch der Fraunname *Catilla*, wozu s. *Rep.* 311 (vgl. aber *HEp* 9, 736).

*Cattianus*: Kajanto 144 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 498. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 167 (aus Antandros in Troas). Dazu *ILS* 9098. 9100 (Lambaesis) *L. Aemilius Cattianus cornicular(ius)*.

*Catulina*: Kajanto 326 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CAG* 89, 2 (2002) 725 (Lugdunensis) *Catulina Magni*.

*Catulinus*: Kajanto 326 mit sechs Belegen (davon zwei christl.). Dazu *Tac. ann.* 15, 71 (vgl. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> B 138) *Blitius Catulinus*, Teilnehmer der pisonischen Verschwörung 69 n. Chr.; *Cod. Iust.* 9,47,10 (224 n. Chr.). Öfters in der Spätantike: *AE* 1996, 1100 (Trier) *Catulini v. c.* (scheint schwerlich identifizierbar; wenn nicht für *Catull*- verschrieben, wie es im Namen des Konsuls 349 passieren kann, dessen Name oft *Catulin*- geschrieben wird). Andere: *IGR* I 1214, derselbe J. Baillet, *Inscr. grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes à Thèbes*, Cairo 1926, 1828 (3./4. Jh.) Λούκιος Αὐρήλιος Κατυλῖνος ὁ διασημ(ότατος) ἡγεμὼν Θηβ(αίδος); *Liber pontif.* p. 77, 12 (vgl. *PLRE* I 187 Nr. 1; *PCBE Italie* 425) *agens in rebus* um 358 n. Chr.; Bischöfe: *PCBE Afrique* 201 (um 411); *Gaule* 441 (Conc. Matic. a. 585 p. 249, 385 *Catholini episcopi a Niccia*), 444 (um 517–524; auch *Catolinus* überliefert). Sonst *Martyrol. Hier.* 14 Kal. Apr. 9 Kal. Mai.

*Cautinus*: Kajanto 250 mit zwei Belegen, einem heidnischen aus Lusitani- en und einem christlichen, *Cautinus episcopus Arvernae urbis* um 551–571. Dazu *Conc. Aurel.* a. 549 p. 160, 321 *Cautinus* (v. l. *canthinus*) *arcidiaconus directus a domno meo Melanio episcopo ecclesiae Albensis* (vgl. *PCBE Gaule* 445 Nr. 1).

*Cavarianus*: Kajanto 144 mit einem Beleg aus Aquitanien. Dazu *CAG* 2 (2002) 164 (Belgica). Der Name ist eher als keltisch aufzufassen.

! *Cavarinus*: *Rep.* 312. Der Name ist vielmehr als keltisch einzustufen, so sicher der des von Caesar (*Gall.* 5,54,2. 6,5,2) zum König der Senones eingesetzten Fürsten.

*Celeriana*: Kajanto 144 = 248 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1975, 54 (Rom) *Clodia Celeriana*; *RIT* 905 *Sulpicia Celeriana*; *ILAlg* II 2864 (Celtianis) *Iulia Ce[l]eriana*.

*Celerianus*: Kajanto 144 = 248 mit sieben Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 167. 39 (2005) 162 (der dort aus Londinium angeführte ist ein Bellovaker). Dazu noch

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6) II 1, 22; ders., *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Gallia Belgica*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2010, 267; *Names on Terra sigillata* 2 (2008) 289f.

Ulp. *dig.* 48, 18, 1, 22 *Hadrianus Calpurnio Celeriano*; Marcell. *chron.* II p. 101, 520; aus Inschriften *AE* 1977, 72 (Rom) *M. Tillius Celerianus*; *Names on Terra sigillata* 2 (2008) 320 Töpfer im gallich-germanischen Raum (150–250); *ISM V* 268 (Noviodunum) *Celsius Celerian[us]*; *FD III* 4, 106 Λ. Ἰούλιος Κελερια[νός] (unbekannter Herkunft).<sup>17</sup>

*Celsianus*. Kajanto 230 mit zehn Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 163. Dazu Ulp. *dig.* 5,1,2,3 *divus Pius Plotio Celsiano*; *AE* 1988, 306 (Puteoli) *P. Clodius Celsianus* (2. Jh. n. Chr.); *ILTun* 767f *P. Suficius Celsianus*; *IRT* 240 (Oea) *L. Aemilius Celsianus*; *IEphesos* 719 (trajanisch) Ἀρριος Κελσιανός; 1143 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) Ἀμόντας Κελσια[νός Εὐτύ]χης; *TAM V* 2, 963. 992 (beide Thyatira, 2./3. Jh.) Γ. Ἰούλιος Κελσιανός; *ISide* 79 (kaiserzeitl.).

*Celsilla*: Kajanto 230 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 20945; *SupplIt* 2 Velitrae 34 [*Ce]lsilla* (Ergänzung plausibel); *NSc* 1898, 419 (Carsoli) *Publicia M. f. Celsilla*.

*Celsio*: Martyrol. Hier. 12 Kal. Febr. *Celsionis* (v. l. *Celsiani*). Plausible Bildung und in handschriftlicher Tradition lectio difficilior.

*Celticus*: Kajanto 199 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *NSc* 1894, 17 (Brundisium) [-] *Octavius [C]elticus sacerdos* (die Ergänzung dürfte sichergestellt sein); *CAG* 81 (1995) 130 *Celticus*, 188 *Celtici officina*. Ich lasse Belege aus den hispanischen Provinzen aus, von denen es nicht sicher ist, ob sie Cognomina oder Ethnika vertreten.

*Censilla*: Kajanto 350 mit einem Beleg aus Vienna in der Narbonensis. Dazu K. Matijević, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Saarlandes* 59 (2011) 19 Nr. 4 (Belgica, 2./ 3. Jh.).

*Cereus*: Kajanto 343 mit einem Beleg. Dazu Audollent 159 A 12. 60 (Rom, 4. Jh.) Εὐγένιος ὃς καὶ Κήρεος ὁ υἱὸς Βενερίας (Wagenlenker).

*Cestianus*: Kajanto 144 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 167. 45 (2011) 146. 47 (2013) 268. Dazu *OKrok.* I 47 (109 n. Chr.) Κλαύδιος Κεστιανὸς δεκ[ουρ]ίων εἴλης Οὐοκοντ(ίων).

*Ceticula*: *CIL XI* 3012 *Annia Ceticula*. Könnte als Weiterbildung des Gentilnamens *Cetius* (vgl. auch *Caetius*) und von *Ceticus* (nur als Einzelname eines afrikanischen Bischofs belegt [s. *ThLL Onom.* II 359, 48f]) aufgefasst werden.

<sup>17</sup> Unsicher. Den Autoren zufolge "the existence of a Celerianus seems unlikely" und vermuten im ersten Exemplar eine Verlesung für *Severianus* (das zweite von den Editoren angeführte Exemplar ist ]LII×RIANI×I× überliefert, muss es sich aber überhaupt um denselben Stempel handeln?). *Celerianus* ist im gallisch-germanischen Raum bezeugt: *RIB III* 3014 *Tiberinius Celerianus c(ivis) Bell(ovacus)*; *CIL XIII* 6659 (204 n. Chr.) *Gellius L. f. Flavia Celerianus Nemes*.

*Cicada*: Kajanto 333 mit einem Männernamen- und einem Frauennamenbeleg. Dazu *CIL* VI 14404 vgl. *Anal. epigr.* (1998) 98. 178 (Männernamen); *Roma. Via Imperiale* (1985) 15 L. *Nomisius [C]icada* (die Ergänzung ist ansprechend); *CIL* IV 2993 d β *Cicada* (Lesung bleibt sehr unsicher); *AE* 1992, 560 (HisPELLUM) *Apionia P. l. Cicada*.

**Ciceronius**: Cassiod. *hist.* 7, 9 *hoc praecepimus in Megetio et Ciceronio ... qui auditores fuerunt. Ciceronius -a* ist ein paarmal als Gentilname belegt (in Afrika), doch würde man im Namen des von Cassiodor erwähnten Mannes eher einen Einzelnamen sehen.

*Cilonianus*: Kajanto 144 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *HEp* 8, 131 (HisP. cit.).

*Cirrenianus*: Kajanto 144 mit einem Beleg aus Calama in prov. proc. Dazu *ILS* 9097 (Lambaesis) *Porcius Cirrenian(us)*.

*Claranus*: Kajanto 278 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 36850 (46 n. Chr.) *Clari avi et Clarani avunculi* (die vermutliche Identität mit dem von Sen. *epist.* 66, 1 erwähnten *condiscipulus* des Philosophen [s. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 745] ist möglich, aber unsicher); *IRCPacen* 220 (Caetobriga) *C. Servilius Claranus*; *SEG* XXXI 639 (Makedonien, 2./ 3. Jh.) ἐπιμελητοῦ Π. Αἰλίου Κλαρανοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου.<sup>18</sup>

*Clarentius*: Kajanto 279 mit drei späten Belegen. Dazu *Epist. pontif. Gas-só-Battle* 64,3 (559 n. Chr.) *Clarentius quidam nomine ex ancilla, ut perhibetur, ecclesiae procreatus* (in Bruttium);<sup>19</sup> *Auson.* 208, 5 *nobilis hic* (sc. Narbone) *hospes Clarentius*; *Conc. Aurel. a.* 533 p. 103, l. 111 *Clarentius episcopus*;<sup>20</sup> *Conc. Tolet. a.* 633 Mansi 10, 641 *Clarentius Accitanae ecclesiae episcopus*; *Conc. Carth. a.* 411, 1, 187, 96 *Clarentius episcopus Tabracensis* (derselbe 1, 126, 31. 3, 2, 3).<sup>21</sup>

*Clarissimus*: Kajanto 279 mit einem Beleg aus dem Jahr 579. Vgl. noch *Hist. Aug. Did.* 2,1 *per quendam Severum Clarissimum militem*, wie es in älteren Editionen steht; *clarissimum iuvenem* Mommsen, *classiarium militem* Novák (s. Hohls Edition).

**Claudicus**: Martyrol. Hier. 3 Non. Dec. *Claudici* (Überlieferung und auch Deutung bleiben etwas unsicher).

**Claudio**: Martyrol. Hier. 3 Non. Ian. *Claudionis*.

<sup>18</sup> In *EE* IX 737 C. *Iulius Aug. lib. Crescens Claranus* ist wahrscheinlich *Clarianus* zu verstehen oder sogar zu lesen.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. *PCBE* Italie 443.

<sup>20</sup> Vgl. *PCBE* Gaule 479.

<sup>21</sup> Vgl. *PCBE* Afrique 209. Der von Kajanto aus *Aug. epist.* 70,1 angeführte Bischof könnte derselbe sein.

**Κοαρπάνη:** *ICUR* 913 Κοαρπάνη Κοτύκου νύμφη. Scheint den sonst bisher unbelegten Namen *Quartana* zu vertreten (auch *Quartanus* ist nicht belegt). Es besteht kein Grund, hier an Κουαρτιανή zu denken; auch *Quartiana* ist bisher nicht belegt). Nur fragt man sich nach den Namengebungsmotivationen, denn die einzige uns bekannte Bedeutung von *quartana* als viertägiges Fieber ist nun nicht passend als Namenwort. Wenn aber *Quintanus* -a und *Sextanus* als Namen gebraucht wurden, warum dann nicht *Quartanus* -a? Vielleicht war das so genannte Kind in der Geburts- oder in einer anderen Ordnung das vierte.

**Cocceianus:** Kajanto 144 mit zehn Belegen (davon zwei senatorisch). Dazu *SEG* XXXIII 549 (Serrai in Makedonien) Λ. Φίρμιος Κοκκειανός; *IG* X 2, 2, 222 (Pelagonien); *IPrusias ad Hypium* 26 Λ. Οὐαλέριος Κοκκειανός Καλλικλῆς, 99 Κοκκειανός [Δη]μοσθένης; *IAnkyra* (2012) 273 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) Παπείριος Κοκκηιαν[ός]; *SEG* IX 121 (Kyrene) Μ. Ἰούλιος Κοκκηιανός Πειθαγόρας Πλάτων (1. Jh. n. Chr.).

**Coelianus:** Kajanto 144 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Dalmatia. Research in the Roman Province*, Oxford 2006, 114.

**Columbanus:** Kajanto 331 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *PCBE* Gaulle 497–508 Nr. 1, Ire, Abt von Luxovium, und 508 Nr. 2 ein *frater* (erwähnt 590 n. Chr.), kam mit dem vorigen nach Luxovium.

**Commodianus:** Kajanto 256 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 169. 42 (2008) 218. 43 (2009) 165. Dazu noch *RE* IV 773 (der christliche Dichter, 5. Jh.); *BGU* II 460 (3. Jh.) Κλαύδιος Κομμοδιανός.

**Conantius:** Kajanto 357 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus dem Jahre 460. Dazu Act. synod. Tolet. a. 610 Mansi 10, 508 *Conantius sanctae ecclesiae Palentinae episcopus*; Act. conc. Tolet. VIII a. 653 Mansi 10, 1223 *Conantius diaconus*.

**Consors:** Kajanto 306 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1982, 137 (Nomentum in Latium) [*C*]onsortis fili; *AE* 1972, 326 (Lattara in der Narbonensis) *Consors Nigri f.*; *ILAlg* II 2279 (Celtianis) *G. Benius Consors*; II 3868 (Castellum Tidditanorum) *M. Iunius Consors*.

**Consortianus:** Fr. Sinn, *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen*, Mainz 1987, 155 Nr. 25 *Spendon Caesaris Consortianus*, Agnomen eines Sklaven des Vespasianus, dessen früherer Besitzer ein Consors war. Vom Frauennamen *Consortiana* bei Kajanto 307 ein Beleg (senatorisch).

**Cordianus:** Kajanto 144 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 146 mit zwei Belegen aus Jonien. Dazu *CIL* VI 31966 = *ICUR* 3529 vgl. *PLRE* I 229 (etwa 4. Jh.) *Cordiano v. c.* (er starb als einjährig, hätte also als *c. p.* benannt werden sollen).

Κορελλιονός: Kajanto 144 mit einem Beleg, jetzt *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 608 zu zitieren (er war der Epistrategus Minicius Corellianus 144–147 n. Chr.). Dazu *BGU* XII 2132 (Hermopolis, 242–243 n. Chr.).

*Cornutianus*: *Rep.* 318 aus Kleinasien. Dazu *AE* 2011, 1109 (Moesia sup.) *Cor[n]utianus*.

*Cossutianus*: Kajanto 14 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* XIV 4571. 5012 *T. Magnius Cossutianus*.

*Crepereianus*: Kajanto 145 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 1057 I, 120 (205 n. Chr.) *M. Aureli(us) Crepere(i)anus*, Soldat der cohors V vigilum.<sup>22</sup>

*Critonianus*: Kajanto 145 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *IPerinthos-Herakleia* 24 und *ILaodikeia am Lykos* 51 Στατεῖλιος Κριτωνιανός, ὁ κράτιστος (Xp- *IPerinthos*). Doch mag der Name hier eher als griechisch zu beurteilen sein.

*Cuspianus*: Kajanto 145 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 2086, 65 (155 n. Chr.) *Epictetus Cuspianus publicus*, also Agnomen eines öffentlichen Sklaven.<sup>23</sup>

*Damianus*: Kajanto 145 mit sechs Belegen (davon zwei senatorisch). *Arctos* 46 (2012) 200. Dazu *InscrIt* X 1, 549 (Pola, christl., 6. Jh.).<sup>24</sup> Der Name des Bruders des Kosmas ist als griechisch zu bewerten, wie überhaupt die Belege aus dem griechischen Osten. Auch der Beleg aus Pola mag als Namensvorbild den heiligen Arzt haben, denn der Kult der zwei Brüder verbreitete sich schon früh auch im Westen, seit dem 4. Jh.<sup>25</sup>

*Decidianus*: Kajanto 145 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 147. 46 (2012) 201. Dazu *AE* 2011, 759 (Lugdunum) *Cn. Namerio Cn. fi. Volt. Decid[i]ano*.

*Densus*: Kajanto 289 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *TitAquinc* 1305 (Lampengraffito, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Densi*.

*Dextrianus*: Kajanto 250 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 219. Dazu *AE* 2011, 1247 (Boiotien, 3. Jh.) Ἀὐρ. Εὐτυχίδης Δεξτριανοῦ.

*Egnatianus*: Kajanto 146 mit sieben Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 499. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 171. 39 (2005) 168. Dazu *IG* XIV 2353 = *IAquileia* 3029 (christl.) Ἐνατανός (sic).

<sup>22</sup> Bang im Namenindex von *CIL* VI löst ohne Not *Crepere(us)* auf; ähnlich Vidman im Congominaindex.

<sup>23</sup> Fehlt in Vidmans Cognominaindex.

<sup>24</sup> Zur Inschrift und zu ihrer Datierung vgl. J.-P. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien en Italie et à ses marges*, Rome 1993, 344–6.

<sup>25</sup> Vgl. *LThK* VI<sup>3</sup> 395f.

*Elegans* f.: Kajanto 231 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1980, 51 (Rom) *Cascelia Elekans*.

*Eminens*: Kajanto 275 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 238. Dazu *AE* 2011, 1179. 1179 (2. Jh. n. Chr.); wohl identisch mit dem in *Arctos* angeführten. *OClaud* II 342. 346. 350 (Mons Claudianus in Ägypten, etwa Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Ἡμίνης; vgl. unten 400. Auch Pferdenamen: Audollent 237, 6. 26 (Carthago, 2./3. Jh.) Ἡμινεντε (Akk.); 275, 16 *Eminentu cadat* (Hadrumetum, 2./3. Jh.), derselbe *ibid.* 284, 12 *Eminente cadat*.<sup>26</sup>

*Ennianus*: Kajanto 146 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2011, 420 (Brixia, 1./2. Jh.) *L. Cl(audius) Ennianus*.

*Epidiana*: *AE* 1994, 698d (Concordia in der regio X) *Valeria Magna Epidian(a)*. Kajanto 146 kennt nur den Männernamen *Epidianus*.

*Epidianus*: Kajanto 146 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 219. Dazu *ILJug* 211 (Iader) *L. Tettius Epidianus*.

*!Eques*: Kajanto 313 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 176 mit zwei Belegen (von denen *AE* 1966, 84 jetzt *SupplIt* 24 Sipontum 3). Dazu noch *RIB* II 3, 2441, 4 (Graffito auf einem Knochenschaber, gemacht aus einem Ochsen Schulterbein) CIIRIIS IIQITIS 'Ceres, (property) of Eques', doch bleiben die Lesung und besonders die Deutung vage; 7, 2501, 170 (überliefert ist IIQVIIS, was auch auf *Equester* führen könnte); III 3138 ([---]IIQIIS, wo der Editor *Eq(u)es* vermutet, was nun ganz unsicher bleibt).

*Erucianus*: Kajanto 146 mit sechs Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 219. Dazu *AM* 13 (1888) Beilage zu S. 304 (Kyzikos, hadrianisch) Λόλλι(ος) Ἐρυκιανὸς προσο(δάρχων).

*Fabricianus*: Kajanto 146 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 328. 499. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 177. 46 (2012) 201. Dazu noch *AE* 1902, 11 (Lambaesis) *Iulius Fabricianus*; *IG* X 2, 2, 72 (Heraclea Lynkest., ca. 150–250) Μαρκ(ία) Ἄκυλία Φαβρικιανοῦ Ἄπερος θυγάτηρ (also eher als Gentilname zu bewerten).

*Facillimus*: *Names on Terra sigillata* 4 (2009) 6 FACILLIMV überliefert. Der Töpfer arbeitete möglicherweise im Gebiet der Remi (der Stempel wurde in Reims gefunden).<sup>27</sup> *Facilis* ist als Cognomen einigermaßen belegt – Kajanto 256 zählt für den Männernamen 13 Belege –, ist also kein populärer Namen gewor-

<sup>26</sup> *Eminente* vertritt das wohlbekanntes spätlateinische Phänomen der Verwendung des Akkusativs anstelle des Nominativs. *Eminentu* wiederum ist eine pure Nachlässigkeit.

<sup>27</sup> Die Autoren von *Names on Terra sigillata* denken als Produktionsgebiet Argonne, d. h. der Mediomatriker.

den; auch *facilis* wird nicht so sehr von Menschen als von Sachen gebraucht.<sup>28</sup> Die Superlative wurden nicht nennenswert zu Eigennamen. Das einzige Cognomen, das populär wurde, ist *Felicissimus*, ein sehr beliebtes Cognomen in der Kaiserzeit. Einigermaßen verbreitet war ferner *Verissimus*. Doch besteht kein Grund, an der Deutung des Namens des gallischen Töpfers aus dem Superlativ *facillimus* zu zweifeln.

*Fadus*: Kajanto 178 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 197 (Prusias ad Hypium). 38 (2004) 172 (Sinope). Dazu noch *TabVindol* II 321 (um die Wende des 1. und 2. Jh.) *Fado suo sal(utem)* im Anfang eines Briefes.

*Favorianus*: Kajanto 285 mit einem Beleg aus Aquincum (jetzt *RIU* 1306). Dazu *AE* 2011, 954 (Savaria, 2./ 3. Jh.) *G. E(---) Favorianus*.

*Fruenda*: Kajanto 360 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1974, 44 (Rom, Sklavin); *CollEpigrCapitol* 112 *Luculeia Fruenda*.

*Fruendus*: Kajanto 360 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *InscrIt* X 5, 492 (Brixia); *IKöln* 102; *AE* 1928, 190 (Augusta Treverorum); *TabVindol* II 187 *Frue[ndus]* (die Ergänzung ist ansprechend; daneben existiert nur *Fruens*, einmal durch *CIL* X 1524 [chr.] belegt).<sup>29</sup>

*Frugilla*: *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 335. 499. Dazu weitere Belege aus dem Osten: *IEphesos* 3072 Gen. Ἀντ(ωνίας) Φρουγίλλης; *TAM* V 1, 122 (Saittai) Ἀὐρ. Φρούγιλλα; *MAMA* I 273 (Laodicea Combusta in Lykaonien, 4. Jh.); *SEG* VI 429 (Ikonion) Dat. Ἐγνατία Φρουγίλλη.

*Fulgentia*: Kajanto 287 mit einem christlichen Beleg. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 239. Dazu *Φωλγεντία* Audollent 155 (Rom, 4. Jh.).

*Fulgentius*: Kajanto 287 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 46 (2010) 240. Dazu *HEp* 3, 33 = 10, 15 (Hispanien, 6. Jh.). Öfters belegt als Name von Beamten, Klerikern und Literaten: *PLRE* I 375 *v. c.* (im Westen, erwähnt 384 n. Chr.); II 487f Nr. 1–3: Quaestor sacri palatii (im Westen) Mitte 5. Jh.; Bischof von Ruspae in der Byzacena (468–533); *Fabius Claudius Gordianus Planciades Fulgentius* Mythograph, 1. Hälfte des 6. Jh.; *PCBE* Afrique 513 Nr. 2 *episcopus Vagadensis*, 2. Hälfte des 5. Jh.; II 877f Nr. 1–3: Presbyter in Rom 487 n. Chr.; Archidiakon in Rom 499; Bischof von Oriculum 2. Hälfte des 6. Jh.

*Fuscilla*: Kajanto 228 mit sechs Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 1999, 881 (Caurium in Lusitanien) *Fuscilla Fusci*; *CPILCaceres* 763 (Turgalium in Lusitanien).

<sup>28</sup> Zu *facilis* auf Menschen bezogen: *ThLL* VI 57,84–58,14. 60,83–61,19. 61,69–82. 62,28–75.

<sup>29</sup> A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen*, zit. 376 meint, der Namen sei keltisch. Alles spricht aber dafür, dass er ein gut lateinisches Cognomen ist.



*Fuscillus*: *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 499 (der dort genannte Mann ist Milesier). Dazu *ILAlg* II 9218 *T. Iulius Q. f. Qui(rina) Fuscillus*.

*Gaiana*: Kajanto 172 mit vier heidnischen Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 173. 39 (2005) 169. 42 (2008) 221. 43 (2009) 167. Dazu drei stadtrömische christliche Belege in griechischer Schrift: *ICUR* 11035 (Γαειανή). 10583. 22783.

*Garamantius*: *Arctos* 43 (2009) 167. Vielleicht hierher gehörig *CIL* V 1642 (Aquileia, christl.) [---] *Jius Caramantius*.

***Geminula***: *AE* 2011, 1586 a (Aradi in der Byzacena, 5. Jh.) *Gemnula* mit Synkope, wie oft in Namen der Sippe *Geminus*.<sup>30</sup>

**Γεμνιανός**: *INikaia* (*IK* 10) 1383 Αὐρήλιος Μαρκιανός Γεμνιανοῦ. Kajanto 147, der nur *Gemniana* (mit einem Beleg; nachzutragen *CIL* XIII 2975 [225–160 n. Chr.<sup>31</sup>] *Gemnian(a)*) kennt, hält es für ein selbständiges Cognomen, doch haben wir es wohl nur mit einem synkopierten Form von *Geminianus -a* zu tun, die mehrmals in der Sippe *Geminus* belegt ist.

*Genitor*: Kajanto 303 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 47 (2013) 271. Dazu *Names on Terra sigillata* 4 (2009) 174–8 mit drei Töpfen: Nr. I aus dem Ager Arvernorum (120–145), Nr. II ebenfalls aus dem Ager Arvernorum (160–200), Nr. III aus Belgica (130–160); *TabVindol* III 256 App. S. 299 *Genito[ri]*.<sup>32</sup>

*Gentilla*: *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 300 mit drei christlichen Belegen aus Rom. Dazu *AE* 2011, 934 (Rider in Dalmatien, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Gentila* (die Inschrift weist auf eine Vereinfachung von *-ll-* auch in *Amarulini*). Es sei noch angemerkt, dass der in *Rep.* verbuchte Beleg *ICUR* 23182 GENTILIE hat, was ich mit dem Editor Ferrua als *Gentille* erkläre.

*Germanio*: Kajanto 201 mit sechs Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 170. 46 (2012) 202. Dazu *AE* 2011, 1177 (Dyrrachium) *Coelio Germanioni*.

*Groma*: Kajanto 342 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *RIB* 503.

*Habulliane*: vgl. oben zu *Abulliane*.

*Haterianus*: Kajanto 148 mit vier Belegen (von denen 2 Senatoren). Dazu *CIL* VI 41132 L. *Caecilius Rufinus Haterianus*. Die Zahl der senatorischen Namenträger ist nunmehr drei: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 465. 466. S 717.

<sup>30</sup> Die Editoren der Erstpublikation meinen, *Gemnula* stehe für *Gemmula*. Und freilich ist *Gemmula* sonst belegt, doch ist *Gem(i)nula* eine plausible Bildung (so auch O. Salomies in *AE*).

<sup>31</sup> Zur Datierung J. Mander, *Portraits of children on Roman funerary monuments*, Cambridge 2013, 229 Nr. 321.

<sup>32</sup> So nach einem neuen Vorschlag zu lesen.

**Herbonianus:** *AE* 2008, 785 (Britannien, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *L. L(---) Herbonianus*. Der zugrunde liegende Gentilname war besonders üblich in Norditalien; dessen Anlaut schwankt, aber *Erb-* ist beträchtlich üblicher als *Herb-*.

**Honorina:** Kajanto 279 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 241. Dazu *AE* 2011, 1596 (Aradi in der Byzacena, 5. Jh.).

**Indulgentia:** *AE* 2011, 1658 (Ammaedara in prov. proc., 4. Jh.). Kajanto 256 (mit zwei Belegen) kennt nur den Männernamen *Indulgentius*.

**Iuba:** Cognomen in der senatorischen Familie der Desticii aus Concordia: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 53–56 (etwa zwischen Mitte 2. Jh. und Mitte 3. Jh.).<sup>33</sup> Die übrigen Belege kommen aus Rom: *CIL* VI 33843 *Q. Ancarenus Q. l. Iuba cubicular(ius)*. 33848 (vielleicht Sklave oder Freigelassener). 35602 (vielleicht Sklave). Dagegen sind die Belege aus Afrika bei gemeinen Leuten besser als lokale Namen aufzufassen: *CIL* VIII 9924. 15763 (dazu Frauennamen); Audollent, *DT* 242 *Ἰούβαν* (3. Jh. n. Chr.). Für Kajanto 111 ist *Iuba* ein afrikanischer Name,<sup>34</sup> d. h. nicht lateinisch, in welchem Fall er metonymisch zu *iuba* 'Mähne, Federbusch' gebildet wäre. Doch würde man den senatorischen Desticii kaum ein erbliches libysches Cognomen zutrauen. Namen dieser Art, aus Namen von Körperbestandteilen gebildete Cognomina sind im lateinischen Namenschatz vorhanden, so sind etwa *Coma* 'Haar' und *Crista* 'Raupe, Helmbusch' zu erklären; neben sie würde ich *Iuba* einreihen. Den Sklavennamen *Iuba* in Rom habe ich früher innerhalb der 'politischen' Namensgebung einzuordnen tendiert, nach dem König von Numidien zugelegt (*Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen* 22), was an sich gut möglich wäre, denn der König Iuba war eine bekannte Figur im kollektiven Gedächtnis der Römer. Bei den senatorischen Desticii ist diese Erklärung aber nicht stichhaltig, denn Senatoren wurden Namen berühmter ausländischer Persönlichkeiten nicht als Cognomina zugelegt (wenigstens nicht vor der Spätantike), während im Patriziat, später auch bei Plebeiern, Cognomina, die sich auf körperliche Eigenschaften jeder Art beziehen, üblich wurden.<sup>35</sup> Da nun diese Art Namenbildung seit alters in der lateinischen Anthroponymie bekannt war, wäre es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass auch

<sup>33</sup> Vgl. G. Alföldy, *EOS* II 334f.

<sup>34</sup> Ähnlich K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, 70, der unkritisch allerlei Formen (*iuba*, *iubae*, *iubam*) verzeichnet, ohne sie überhaupt in einen Kontext zu setzen. Darunter findet sich auch *CIL* V 1875 ein Desticius registriert, inmitten von anderen, afrikanischen Belegen.

<sup>35</sup> Dazu vgl. H. Solin, "Sulla nascita del cognome a Roma", in *L'onomastica dell'Italia antica. Aspetti linguistici, storici, culturali, tipologici e classificatori*, a cura di P. Poccetti (Collection de l'École française de Rome 413), Roma 2009, 251–93.

in der Zulegung von *Iuba* bei den stadtrömischen Sklaven und Freigelassenen wenigstens zum Teil die Namengebungsmotivationen ähnlich waren, d. h. die fraglichen Sklaven erhielten ihren Namen aufgrund des lateinischen Wortes *iuba*. Auch sonst war diese Art Namengebung, vor allem den Sklaven Namen großer afrikanischer historischer Persönlichkeiten zu geben, nicht sehr modisch in Rom, ist aber einigermaßen belegt; ein handfestes Beispiel ist *Hannibal*, wie wir aus Sueton, *Dom.* 10, 3 erfahren, der erzählt, dass der Senator Mettius Pompusianus seinen Sklaven Namen wie *Hannibal* und *Mago* gab und deswegen von Domitian getötet wurde (*Hannibal* sonst als Sklavennamen in Rom: *CIL* VI 6461; *NSc* 1915, 47 Nr. 32). So habe ich auch *Iugurtha* aufgefasst (als Sklavename in Rom: *CIL* VI 7605; *GraffPal* I 177),<sup>36</sup> doch könnten diese Fälle auch so erklärt werden, dass wir es mit zwei aus Afrika importierten Sklaven zu tun haben.

*Iulina*: Kajanto 162 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *IGUR* 697 Ἀγριπίνη τῆ καὶ Ἰουλίνη; *ICUR* 4007 Αἰλία Ἰουλίνη (oder Ἰουλι<α>νή?); *AE* 1971, 160 (Lusitanien) *Iulina Saelgi f.*; *CIL* XII 5105 vgl. *CAG* 11, 1 (2003) 450 (Narbo) *Catia Iulina*; *PHamb* I 110 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) Νομισσία Ἰουλίνα. Es kann in westlichen Provinzen teilweise epichorisches Namengut vorliegen.

*Iulinus*: Kajanto 162 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *IGUR* 60 (4. Jh., aus Sizilien); *ICUR* 26573. Aus den gallischen Provinzen kommen zwei Töpfer: *Names on Terra sigillata* 4 (2009), 329 Nr. I (30–70 n. Chr.?) und III (140–200 n. Chr.); diese Form kann sich teilweisen mit keltischem Namengut decken, worauf auch der als gallischer Töpfername üblich *Iullinus* hinweist (*Iullus* ist in den Provinzen als eigenständiger Name zu nehmen).

*Iunctinus*: *AE* 2009, 690 (Calleva in Britannien) *Iu[n]ctinus*. Der Erstherausgeber Tomlin möchte den Namen in *Iuncinus* ändern, doch unnötigerweise, denn *Iunctinus* wäre ein möglicher Name; außerdem ist auch *Iuncinus* kein üblicher Name (dazu s. *Arctos* 46 [2012] 230).

*Iuncus*: Kajanto 334 mit acht Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 354 Aemilius Iuncus, Procurator Augusti provinciae Syriae, wahrscheinlich Vater des Consuls 127 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 355); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> J 711 vgl. *PME* IV Suppl. I 1560 Nr. 52bis [T. Flavius] Iuncus, Procurator Ciliciae et Cypri unter Hadrian, usw., aus Samaria; *AE* 2003, 1443 (Pann. inf., 2./ 3. Jh.) *Fl. Iuncus pr(a)ef(ectus) equi(tum)*; 2011, 1703 (Carthago, augusteisch) [- *Mae*]cenas *Iuncus, aed(ilis)*; G. E. Bean – T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964–8* (1970); 262 (Claudio-polis) Ἰοῦνκος; *CIP* II 1740 (Caesarea Maritima, 3. Jh.); *SB* 8542 (Hiera Sykaminos in Nubien) Ἰοῦνκος.

<sup>36</sup> *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen* 22.

*Iunonia*: Kajanto 212 mit zwei Belegen aus Afrika. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 204 ebenfalls aus Afrika. Dazu noch einmal aus Afrika *IL Afr* 162 p. 50 I, 17 vgl. *AE* 2011, 1641 (Ammaedara).

*Iustiana*: Kajanto 252 mit drei Belegen (von denen zwei christlich). Von ihnen ist aber zu entfernen *ICUR* 2293, wo *Iustînhâe* zu lesen ist. Dagegen kommt hinzu *CIL* VI 34047 (= 11796) *Annia Iustiane*.

*Iuventinus*: Kajanto 162 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *Names on Terra sigillata* 4 (2009) 400 mit einem Töpfer aus Tabernae/Rheinzabern in *Germ. sup.* (180–260?);<sup>37</sup> 2011, 831 (Nida in *Germ. sup.*); Leber, *IKärnten* 177 (Virunum). Unbekannter Herkunft *PIR*<sup>2</sup> R 78 *M. Romanus Iuventinus, proc. Aug. XX her. provinci[a]e Asiae* zwischen 198–209.

*Laetinus*: Kajanto 261 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1979, 149 (Teatum Sidicinum) *Aelius Laetinus vet. Aug.*; 1994, 864 (Emerita) *Marcius Laetinus*; *HEp* 10, 3 (Hispanien) *M. Cornelius Laetinus*; *IRomProvCadiz* 396; *Names on Terra sigillata* 5 (2009) 10 (Condatomagus in Aquitanien, 40–100); *ILAlg* I 1698 *Iulia Saturnina Laetini f.*

*Lanarius*: Kajanto 322 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1971, 49 (Rom) *C. Furius Lanarius*;<sup>38</sup> *AE* 2011, 1611 (Aradi, Byzacena, 6. Jh.); vgl. unten S. 386 unter *Ranarius*; die Lesung steht nicht mit völliger Sicherheit fest.

*Larciosus*: *AE* 1982, 972 (Tipasa in Maur. Caes.) *C. Iul(ius) Larciosus*. Das Suffix *-osus* konnte auch Gentilnamen angehängt werden, vgl. etwa *Variosus*.

*Lucerinus*: Kajanto 193 mit einem Beleg (und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen *Lucerina*). Dazu *EE* VIII 477<sup>39</sup> (erste Hälfte des 4. Jh.) *[Eg?]natus Caeci[lius? A]ntistius Luce[rinus?] v. c.*; die Ergänzung ist ansprechend, wenn auch nicht völlig sicher.

*Maecianus -a*: Kajanto 149 mit 16 Belegen für den Männernamen und zwei Belegen für den Frauennamen. Dazu gehört vielleicht *ICUR* 13262 *Μηκειον[ἡ καὶ Μη]κειονός* (wohl ein Ehepaar; wenn dem so ist, rührt ihr Name vielleicht daher, dass sie demselben Gesinde gehörten).

<sup>37</sup> Dazu gehört wohl auch *AE* 1994, 1302.

<sup>38</sup> Die Deutung von *Lanarius* als Cognomen ist nicht ganz sicher. Ich habe *Analecta epigraphica* 52 *lanarius* in der Inschrift als Appellativ erklärt. Doch angesichts des Fehlens der Filiation oder der Angabe des Patronus wäre es letzten Endes vielleicht vorzuziehen, *Lanarius* als Cognomen zu nehmen.

<sup>39</sup> Letzte Edition L. Chioffi, *Museo Provinciale Campano di Capua. La raccolta epigrafica*, Capua 2005, 15, mit Foto.

*Maioricus*: Kajanto 294 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus Afrika. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 150. Dazu zwei weitere Belege aus Afrika: *AE* 2011, 1583 (Aradi in Byzacena, 5. Jh.) *Maioricus subzaconus*; *CIL* VIII 11560 vgl. *AE* 2011, 1629 (Ammaedara) *L. Atilius Maioricus*.

*Marsicus*: Kajanto 185 mit fünf Belegen aus Rom. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 171. Dazu *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2785 vgl. *SupplIt* 15 Ateste 168 *T. Rutilius L. f. Marsicus* (dieser Beleg ist kaum zum Marsernamen zu beziehen); *OClaud* II 338. 342. 346 (um Mitte 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

*Mauricella*: *AE* 2011, 1578b (Aradi in der Byzacena, 5. Jh.). Kajanto 206 belegt nur den Männernamen *Mauricellus* einmal (ebenfalls christlich).

*Maximosa*: Kajanto 276 mit drei afrikanischen Belegen. Ferner aus Afrika: *AntAfr* 17 (1981) 185 Nr. 42 *Flavia Annia Maximosa*. Der Männernamen *Maximosus* ist ebenfalls nur aus Afrika bekannt: *Rep.* 361 aus *ILAlg* II 5646.

*Memorianus*: Kajanto 255 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2008, 783 (Britannien) *Bell(---) Memorianus*.

*Mercatio*: *Arctos* 38 (2004) 178 mit einem Beleg aus Trebula Mutuesca. Dazu *CAG* 80, 1, 124 (Amiens, Samorobriva) *Mercatio* (Kasus steht aber nicht fest).

*Meritus*: Kajanto 353 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2011, 579 (Segobriga in Hisp. cit., 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Domitius Meritus*; *IMS* II 160 (Viminacium, 2/ 3. Jh.) *Ael(ius) Meritus* (Lesung bleibt etwas unsicher).

*Miles*: Kajanto 320 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 178 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VI 27082; M. P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter* (1994), 87 *P. Ael. Milis dec(urio)*. Eigenname liegt wahrscheinlich vor auch in *CIL* XIII 2578 vgl. *ILAin* 1 mit Foto.<sup>40</sup> Weitere eventuelle Belege kommen aus Rom: *AE* 2011, 175 *Militi milites auxliari(?)*, wobei die Bedeutung des ersten Wortes in der Schwebe bleibt;<sup>41</sup> und aus Minturnae: *Epigraphica* 2015 (im Druck) *MILIS* (unsicher, ob Name oder Appellativ).

*Minuciana*: *Arctos* 46 (2012) 207 aus Regium Lepidum. Dazu *IG* X 2, 1, 170 (Thessalonike, 269/270 n. Chr.) Ἀνθεστιανὴ Μινουκκιανὴ Προκοπή.

*Minucianus*: Kajanto 150 mit acht Belegen. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 183. 46 (2012) 207. Dazu *IG* X 2, 1, 160 vgl. *SEG* XXVI 739 (Thessalonike, 242/243 n. Chr.) [Αῦ]λ[ος Πόν]τιος [Μι]νουκκιανός.

<sup>40</sup> Dagegen liegt in *RIB* 1490 eher das Appellativ *miles* vor, das A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen im römischen Britannien*, zit. 472 CN 899 als Name bewertet (in Kakoschkes Kommentar zu streichen auch *CIL* XIII 3259, wo ebenfalls das Appellativ vorliegt).

<sup>41</sup> Problematisch bleibt die Lesung des letzten Wortes, verfochten in der Erstpublikation.

*Mutata*: *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 501. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 178. 43 (2009) 169. Dazu noch *AE* 2011, 864 (Rätien, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Veid[fi]a Mutata*; *MAMA* I 262 (Laodicea Combusta in Lykaonien) Ἀὐρ(ἥλιος) Σκόπων Μουτάτη.

*Mutatus*: Kajanto 353 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 210. Dazu *Ilasos* 414 Μουτᾶτος Gladiator.

*Natalio*: Kajanto 290 mit einem Beleg (Rom, chr.). Dazu *ICUR* 18507; *ILJug* 1964 (Dalmatien, Vater eines *decurio coloniae Aequeusium*, 2. Jh.).

*Natalius*: Kajanto 290 mit einem Beleg. Vgl. die griechische Form Νατάλιος, die den Namen *Natalis* vertritt (*CIL* IV 27\* vgl. H. Solin, "Falsi epigrafici II", in *L'iscrizione e il suo doppio. Atti del convegno Borghesi 2013*, Faenza 2014, 236f; *IG* XIV 1125 = *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 33 im Namen des Suffektkonsuls 139), außer in Fällen wie *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2132 (196–201 n. Chr.), 2223 (ca. 196–221 n. Chr.) oder *ISM* II 17 (Tomis), in denen die Datierung der Belege schon die Deutung als *Natalius* zulässt. – *Natalia* in *Arctos* 35 (2001) 210.

*Norica*: Kajanto 204 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 23068; *ICUR* 24895 *Aelia Norica* (Vater *Noricus*); *RIU* I 199 (Scarbantia) *Norica Olicanti f.*; *TitAquin* II 501 *Aur. Norica*. Ein Bärenname *SEG* LIV 791, 1 (Mosaik auf Kos, Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

*Noricus*: Kajanto 204 mit zehn Belegen (davon 1 senat., 1 chr.). Dazu ein weiterer Senator, Stertinius Noricus, Suffektkonsul 113 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 909): Sonst *ICUR* 24895 *P. Ael. Noricus*; *ILALg* II 685 (Cirta) *P. Iulius P. f. Quir. Noricus equo pub(lico)*.

*Novata*: Kajanto 353 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 5, 1238 (Astigi) *Publicia Novata*; *IBaelo* 28 *Siscinia Q. f. Novata*.

*Numerianus*: Kajanto 151 mit acht Belegen (davon 1 Kaiser). *Arctos* 38 (2004) 179. Dazu *SupplIt* 1 Ferentinum 5; *RIB* I 1064 *equus alae I Asturum*; *AE* 2009, 1721 (Ammaedara) *Sex. Aemilius Numerianus*; *TAM* II 1165 (Olympos) Θεοδώρα Νομεριανοῦ Συέδρισσα; *IGLS* XXI 5, 1, 136 εὐχὴ Νομεριανοῦ Ἰωάννου (christl.).

*Nutrix*: Kajanto 323 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *RIB* II 2503, 362 *Nutricis* (das ist der ganze Text; unsicher, ob Eigenname).

*Occianus*: *AE* 2011, 876 (Noricum, severisch) *Occianus* (die Lesung ist umstritten, aber aus den zur Verfügung stehenden Fotos zu schließen scheint *OC-CIANVS* ansprechend). Vgl. K. Matijević, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Saarlandes* 59 (2011) 21 Nr. 5 (Belgica) [---]occian[---]; es sind keine anderen Cognomina auf *-occianus* bezeugt, doch könnten außer dem verbreiteten *Occius* auch

andere Gentilnamen wie *Broccius Coccius Doccius Moccius Poccius Roccius Soccius* Ausgangspunkte sein.

**Ὀρνᾶτος:** *MAMA* IX 13 vgl. *AE* 2011, 1303 (Aizanoi in Phrygien) Ὀφίλι[ο]ς Ὀρνᾶτος ἐπίτροπος. Kajanto 232 kennt nur den Frauennamen *Ornata* (mit einem Beleg).

*Ostorianus:* Kajanto 152 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *RIB* I 1676 *coh(ortis) V* ⊂ *centuria* ⊃ *Ostoriani*.

*Paetina:* Kajanto 239 mit neun Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *SupplIt* 18 Ameria 50 (Freiegeborene); 24 Sipontum 11 *Raia Paetina*; *AE* 2002, 609a (Gela) *Pop(ilia) M. f. Paetina*; *EE* IX Hisp. 328 (Castulo) *Valeria C. f. Paetina sacerdos coloniae ... Cordubensis*; *AE* 2011, 898 (Butua in Dalmatien) *Pinnia Paetina*; *ILAlg* I 1738 (Thubursicu Numidarum in prov. proc.) *L[a]vinia M. f. Paetina*; *MAMA* I 220 (Laodicea Combusta in Lykaonien).

*Papinianus:* Kajanto 152 mit einem Beleg (Senator). Dazu *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 388 *Aemilius Papinianus*, Jurist, Praefectus praetorio, Freund des Severus (er hatte vielleicht einen gleichnamigen Sohn: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> 389).

**!Pater:** *Arctos* 46 (2012) 209f. Es sei noch hinzugefügt, dass ein ähnlicher, wenn auch noch unsicherer Fall in *JJWE* I 1 vorliegt, wo der Stein PA/[T]ER hat, was als *Pater* oder *pater* oder noch als etwas anderes gedeutet werden kann. Abwegig T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity 3: The Western Diaspora 330 BCE – 650 CE*, Tübingen 2008, 529.

*Paulacius:* *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 376. 502. Dazu *PHaun* III 64 (Oxyrhynchites, 6. Jh.).

*Pistor:* Kajanto 322 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *RIB* II 2410, 1 ⊂ *centuria* ⊃ *Candidi Pistoris*; *ILAlg* II 4268 *L. Iulius Pistor. 4309 Q. Tongiu[s] Pistor*.

*Poplicola:* Kajanto 256 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 41 (2007) 101. Dazu *InscrIt* X 5, 188 (Brixia) *P. Balbillius L. f. Pub. Ppublicola Vvir Aug.*; *AE* 2011, 939 (Scardona in Dalmatien) *P. Do[mi-]tius Publico[la]*; *IKourion* 89 (150–250) = *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 1048 Ποπλικόλαν Πρεῖσκον, wahrscheinlich ein Prokonsul von Kypros im der zweiten Hälfte des 2. oder im 3. Jh.;<sup>42</sup> *IPompeiopolis* (Marek) 1 (97–102 n. Chr.) Καικίλιος Πουβλικόλας.

*Praetorianus:* Kajanto 317 mit drei Belegen. *Rep.* 382. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 181. 39 (2005) 176. Dazu *ICUR* 26135 Πραιτωριανός.

**Primaciana:** *ICUR* 3640 aus alten Gewährsleuten Πριμακιονα (lateinisch geschrieben mit griechischen Lettern).<sup>43</sup> Wenn die Lesung stimmt, muss

<sup>42</sup> Zur vermeintlichen Identität mit L. Val. Helvidius Priscus Ppublicola siehe *PIR*.

<sup>43</sup> Fehlt im onomastischen Index von *ICUR* I.

die eigentümliche Bildung erklärt werden. Es scheint die Weiterbildung auf *-ianus -iana* des im ausgehenden Altertum gelegentlich vorkommenden Suffixes *-(a)cius -(a)cia* vorzuliegen. Von Namen auf *-acius -acia* kenne ich folgende (sie sind alle durch Überspringung des Suffixes *-acus* direkt aus dem zugrunde liegenden Cognomen gebildet): *Emptacius* (484 n. Chr., aus *Emptus*; vgl. aber *empticius*),<sup>44</sup> *Fabacius* (Mauretania Caes., 429 n. Chr.; gehört aber eher zu *fabaceus*), *Paulacius* (Ravenna und Ägypten, kaum vor dem 6. Jh. belegt; aus *Paulus -a*), *Ῥουφινάκιος* (Assos in der Troas, vielleicht nachantik; aus *Rufinus*), *Scolacius* (Rom, frühestens seit dem 4. Jh. belegt; aus *schola Schola*; sicher nicht zum Namen der Stadt), *Ursacius -ia* (belegt in Italien, in westlichen und Donau-provinzen [einschl. Illyricum] und Afrika, vor allem christlich; aus *Ursus Ursa*; vgl. auch *Ursacina* [CIL III 5420 vgl. *Rep.* 416] und *Ursacianus* [ILJug 2773], überhaupt sind Namen dieser Sippe in vorchristlichen Urkunden typisch für westliche und nördliche Provinzen). Wie aus diesem Verzeichnis hervorgeht, kommt das Suffix nur in späten Urkunden vor, im ganzen nicht vor dem 5. Jh. (von *Ursacius* abgesehen, das schon in nichtchristlichen Inschriften einigermaßen belegt ist). Mit dem Suffix *-ācus* wurden im Lateinischen Substantiva und Adjektiva gebildet (Leumann, *Lat. Laut- und Formenlehre*<sup>2</sup> 339f), in der Bildung von Namen war es nicht sehr produktiv; es soll nach gängiger Ansicht vornehmlich keltisch sein,<sup>45</sup> die hier verzeichneten Fälle zeigen aber, dass das Element *-ac-* später überall Boden gewann. Auch im Griechischen wurde das Suffix *-ακ(ο)-* in der Bildung von Eigennamen gebraucht, war aber ebenfalls nicht sehr produktiv (Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* I 496f). Bemerkenswert ist, dass bei allen hier verzeichneten Namen kein Zwischenglied auf *-acus* bezeugt ist; Namen mit dem neuen Suffix *-acius* wurden also aus bestehenden 'Grundnamen' direkt abgeleitet.

**Primatus:** CIL VIII 11604 vgl. AE 2011, 1634 (Ammaedara) Q. *Caecilius Primatus*. Bekannt waren die Ableitungen *Primatianus* Kajanto 276 und *Primatius* oder *Primatio Arctos* 44 (2010) 248.

<sup>44</sup> Kajanto 351, der einen Bischof aus Series episc. 468 zitiert. Er war *episcopus Siccesitanus* aus Afrika, erwähnt in Not. episc. Maur. Caes. 80.

<sup>45</sup> Zur keltischen Herkunft Schulze, ZGLE 11–25. 29–49; Leumann, *Laut- und Formenlehre*<sup>2</sup> 338. Kajanto 129f nennt nur keltischen Namen angehängte oder in keltischen Gebieten belegte Cognomina und einen einzigen rein lateinischen Namen aus nicht-keltischen Gebieten, *Victoriacus*. Doch gibt es andere rein lateinische Bildungen außerhalb von keltischen Gebieten: *Ἀγριππικός* (POxy 1837, 6. Jh.), *Caelestiacus* (*Rep.* 305 aus Afrika), *Martiacus* (Kajanto 166), *Sabiniacus* (AE 1968, 159 aus Pinna), *Titiacus* (CIL VI 3642), *Trebianicus* (IAesernia 50).



*Primina*: Kajanto 291 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1988, 82 (Rom) *Flavia Pr[i]mina*.

***Procellianus***: *RIB* II 2501, 456 (Graffito) *Procelliani* (geschr. PROCILL-). Könnte für *Procillianus* (Kajanto 177. *Arctos* 35 [2001] 215. 38 [2004] 181. 39 [2005] 176) stehen.

***Proculeiana***: *CIL* VI 1791 (Anfang des 5. Jh.) [--- *P*]roculeianae (es ist nicht ganz sicher, dass hier ein Cognomen vorliegt, man hat auch an den Namen eines Landguts oder einer Juristenschule des Proculus gedacht);<sup>46</sup> 34697 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Carsidia Proculeiana*. Kajanto 153 belegt nur den Männernamen *Proculeianus* (25mal).

!Publica: *Rep.* 386 aus *EE* VIII Hisp. 266 (Pax Iulia) *Publica liberta*. Zur Deutung des Namens s. gleich unten unter *Publicus* und ferner S. 393f.

***Publicianus***: Kajanto 153 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 502. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 215. 38 (2004) 182 (in beiden mit Belegen aus dem griechischen Osten). Dazu *ICUR* 9498 Πουβλικιαῖν ὄς; *IG* XIV 2413, 3 (auf einem Goldamulett) Πουβλικιαῖνέ; *AE* 1989, 876 (Lambaesis) *C. Coscon[iu]s Publicianus*.<sup>47</sup>

***Publicus*(?)**: *TabVindol* III 639 (zwischen Ende 1. Jh. und Anfang 2. Jh.): *Publicum* (Lesung nicht ganz sicher, doch möglich, ja sogar plausibel).<sup>48</sup> Trotz des fragmentarischen Zustandes des Textes scheint die Deutung als Eigenname plausibel, da der Text mit *Publicum* beginnt (es wäre weniger ansprechend einen Brief, dazu im Akkusativ, mit der Erwähnung einen *servus publicus* zu beginnen). *Publicus* (zu *Publica* s. gleich oben) war bisher nicht als Personennamenname bezeugt.<sup>49</sup> Überhaupt sind bedeutungsmäßig verwandte Wörter wie *libertus* und *servus* nur ganz vereinzelt zu Personennamen übergegangen, weil ihr Begriffsinhalt hemmend auf ihre Wahl als eigentlicher Name wirkte. Es ist bemerkenswert, dass die einzigen ganz einwandfreien Belege von *Libertus* als Personennamen

<sup>46</sup> Siehe R. Scharf, *Tyche* 8 (1993) 149–53; dort auch zur Datierung.

<sup>47</sup> *CIL* VI 32515 e II, 12 (116 n. Chr.) *P. Precilius Public[---]* (Prätorianer) kann entweder zu *Publicianus* oder zu *Publicola* (wenn nicht sogar zu *Publicus*) ergänzt werden.

<sup>48</sup> Der Name könnte noch in *IRT* 517 vorliegen: *M. Atilio Metilio Bra[d]uae Cauci[dio Tertullo [---]blico [Vige?]llio Pollion[i] Gavidio [L]atiari Atrio Basso proco(n)s(uli)*. An Cognomina mit der Endung *-blicus* kenne ich nur *Stablicus*, auch ein seltener Name, nur aus *AE* 1982, 958 bekannt.

<sup>49</sup> Auszuscheiden hat das Cognomen *Publicus* in *CIL* V 7784 (wo Mommsen im Text noch PVBLICO druckte) = *SupplIt* 4 Albingaunum 8 (vgl. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 696), das noch in *OPEL* III 170 geistert; die Inschrift, die Mommsen nur aus alten Abschriften kannte, ist wiedergefunden worden; der Stein hat *P. Muc(io) P. fil. Pub(lilia) Vero* (übrigens fehlt *Publicus* im Cognominaindex von *CIL* V).

aus Athen kommen,<sup>50</sup> wo ja eine solche Hemmung weniger wirkte, im Gegenteil konnte *libertus* in den Ohren der Athener, wenn sie es auf Lateinisch hörten, leicht als ein onomastisches Element identifiziert werden und so leichter zu einem Personennamen übergehen. Dass gerade *publicus* als Name vermieden wurde, ist verständlich, denn wer wollte sein Kind schon bei der Geburt als Gemeinskclave bezeichnen?

\**Pulchronius*: Kajanto 231 aus Gams, *Series episcoporum* (1873) 652, das Kajanto zur Namensippe *Pulcher* stellt, muss verschwinden. Der Mann, *episcopus ecclesiae Viridunensis* Mitte des 5. Jh., hieß nach der besten Überlieferung *Polychronius*; vgl. *PCBE Gaule* 1497.

*Pulicio*: Kajanto 333 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.* 387. Dazu *AE* 2011, 579 (Segobriga, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Pulicio Domitior(um) Meriti et Statuti*.

*Pusinnio*: Kajanto 299 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1987, 157–158 (Rom) *M. Ulpus Pusinnio* Vater und Sohn; 1993, 302 (Rom, Prätorianer) *M. Ulpus Pusinnio*; *LSO* Appendix 1; *InscrIt* X 5, 363 (Brixia) *Ti. Claudius Pusinio*; *RIU* 727 (Brigetio) *Camurius Pusinnio*.

*Quadratiana*: *Rep.* 388 aus Side. Dazu *AE* 2011, 179 (Rom, 2./ 3. Jh.) *Iulia Quadratiana c. f.*; *IPergamon* III 48 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) Φουρ(ία) Κοδρατιανή.

*Quadratianus*: Kajanto 232 mit fünf Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 215. 38 (2004) 182. Dazu A. Šasić, *Anticki epigrafski Hercegovine* (2011) 38 *Caesidio Quadratiano patri Quadratianus*; *BCTH* 1904, 214 (Thamugadi in Numidien) *P. Cuculnius M. f. Arnens. Quadratianus*.

*Quaestor*: Kajanto 317 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 502. Dazu *TabVindol* I 22 vgl. III p. 157 Nr. 250 *Annius Questor* ⊂centurio⊃.

*Quartana*: s. oben S. 364 Κοαρτάνη.

*Quietula*: Kajanto 262 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 43 (2009) 171. Dazu *CIL* VIII 11606 vgl. *AE* 2011, 1619 (Ammaedara) *Memmia Quietula*.

\**Quietulla*: Kajanto 262 aus *CIL* VIII 11606 verschwindet, zu lesen ist *Quietula*, vgl. *AE* 2011, 1619.

*Refrigeria*: Kajanto 364 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 15111 κατ(άθεσις) Ῥεφριγερίας; *AE* 1994, 289 (Rom, christl.) *Refrigeria[e ---] bene merenti*.

*Refrigerius*: Kajanto 364 mit fünf Belegen (von denen vier christl.). Dazu *ICUR* 19439 *Valerio Feliciano Refrigeria* (überliefert REFRPEERIO); der Editor Ferrua versteht ganz anders, doch kaum zurecht. Ferner *ICUR* 27235 Ῥεφριγερείω.

<sup>50</sup> Dazu vgl. *Arctos* 25 (1991) 152f.

*Revocatus*: Kajanto 356 mit zehn Belegen (von denen sieben christl.). Dazu *AE* 1981, 619bj (Portus Veneris in der Narbonensis) *Q. Urittius Revocatus*; Ined. (Foto Lupa 1909, Pann. sup.); *AE* 2011, 1594 (Aradi in Byzacena, 5. Jh.).

*Rhenus*: Kajanto 203 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 183. 42 (2008) 226. Dazu *CIL* XV 4353 (161 n. Chr.); *IGUR* 160 (Mitte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.); *Tab-Vindol* II 347 (Sklave).

\**Roboratus* Kajanto 247 verschwindet. Er zitiert einen christlichen Beleg aus Marini, *Vat.* 9072 p. 552. Dieser ist aber weder christlich noch ein Name: *CIL* VI 30128 (daraus *CLE* 601) *hic iacet exanimis dulcis roboratus enixus* al.<sup>51</sup>

*Rufia*: *AE* 2011, 1183 (Dyrrachium, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Licia Rufia*. Der Männername *Rufius*: *Rep.* 392.

*Rusticiana*: Kajanto 311 mit drei Belegen (davon zwei christlich). Dazu *ICUR* 15920 Πουστικειανη. 15927 Πουτικιανή, Tochter von Αιλία Πουστικιανή (die erstgenannte ist identisch mit 15920). Der Männername *Rusticianus* ist üblicher.

*Sabinillus*: Kajanto 186 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 20336 Σαβεινίλλου.

*Scaurianus*: Kajanto 242 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 218 mit einem östlichen Beleg; 42 (2008) 227. Weitere östliche Belege: *IGBulg* III 1, 1318. 1690 (Vater und Sohn); *IEphesos* 452 (Architekt); *CIG* 3664 (Kyzikos, hadrianisch); *SEG* VII 342 (Dura-Europos, 3. Jh. n. Chr.); 964 (Arabien).

*Scitus*: Kajanto 250 mit elf Belegen. *Arctos* 47 (2011) 276. Dazu aus dem östlichen Reichsteil *OClaud* II 339. 347 (136/7) Σκεῖτος.

*Sennianus*: Kajanto 155 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 186. Dazu *RIB* II 6, 2495, 1. Zum epichorischen Charakter des Namens s. *Arctos*, aaO. Vgl. *Sennianus* in *Arctos* 43 (2009) 172.

*Serenilla*: Kajanto 261 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *IGUR* 633 Ἰουλίᾳ Σερηνίλλῃ; *ICUR* 4032 Σερηνίλλῃ (die Eltern Ägypter). 14062 *Aurelia Serenilla*; *IGChrEgypte* 127 (Akoris, 5./ 6. Jh.) [Σ]ερήνιλλα Ἀντινόου. Üblich in ägyptischen Papyri: 34mal in der Datenbank "Papyri.info" (vom 2. bis 6. Jh.). Namen aus Dieser Sippe begegnet man oft in Ägypten, und einige von ihnen sind ausschließlich in ägyptischen Urkunden belegt (s. *Rep.* 401), so Σερηνίων und Σερηνίσκος (der erstere ist in der genannten Datenbank 15mal verzeichnet).

*Servator(?)*: s. unten S. 388, 395.

*Setina*: Kajanto 183 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *ILAlg* I 2241 (Madauros) *Iulia Setina* (Sohn *Setinus*).

<sup>51</sup> In 30128 in den Literaturangaben ist Marini nachzutragen.

**Setinianus:** *BCTH* 1927, 193 (Madauros) *M. Aemilius Aquilinus Setinianus*. Weiterbildung aus dem Gentilnamen *Setin(i)us* oder aus dem Cognomen *Setinus*.

*Setinus:* Kajanto 183 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *EE VIII Hisp.* 79a (Lusitanien); *RIB II* 1, 2410, 8 Dat. *Setino*; *ILAlg I* 2241 (Madauros) *M. Aemilius M. f. Quirin. Setinus* (Mutter *Setina*).

*Severanus:* Kajanto 257 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *JIWE II* 246 = *ICUR* 15422 (jüdisch) Dat. Σεβηρανώ. Es besteht kein Grund, den Namen in *Severianus* zu ändern.<sup>52</sup>

*Silvicola:* Kajanto 310 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 32 (1998) 248 aus Britannien. Dazu *AE* 1987, 738 (Fluchtafel, Londinium).

**Similianus:** *CIL XIII* 10017, 49 *Catillus Similianus*; *RIB II* 7, 2501, 519, wo *Simulianus* gelesen wird, eher unwahrscheinlich. *Similianus* ist eine plausible Bildung neben den übrigen Ableitungen von *Similis*, das ein übliches Cognomen war, wie *Similinus* und *Similio* Kajanto 289; zum letzteren ein neuer Beleg gleich unten).

*Similio:* Kajanto 289 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *NSc* 1961, 38 (Placentia) *L. Curius Similio Vvir*.

*Sobrinus:* *Rep.* 405 aus Saguntum. Dazu *AE* 2011, 1180 (Dyrrachium, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) [---] *mulier(is) l. Sobreinus(?)*.

*Sollers:* Kajanto 250 mit vier Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *CIL XV* 887 *L. Velici Sollertis*; *AE* 1994, 554 (Tibur) *Ti. Natronius Sollers* (Tochter *Sollertilla*); *HEp* 13, 270 (Corduba) [*L. Nu]misio L. f. Se[rg(ia) So]llerti*.

*Sollertius:* *Rep.* 405 (aus *AE* 1981, 238, Signum, Beneventum). Dazu *ICUR* 9426 [*S]ollertius* (die Ergänzung ist sicher).

*Spenica:* Kajanto 286 mit vier Belegen (davon drei aus Afrika). Dazu *AE* 2011, 1747 (Carthago). Den Männernamen *Spenicus* belegt Kajanto einmal, wozu *Arctos* 44 (2010) 251 mit zwei Belegen, beide aus Afrika.

\**Squillacius* Kajanto 333 aus Series episc. p. 468 verschwindet. Er wird des Öfteren erwähnt in Conc. Carth. a. 411, in 1, 143, 21 als *episcopus ecclesiae Scilitanae* (sonst 1, 2, 7. 1, 55, 361. 2, 2, 5. 3, 2, 6), wobei die beste Überlieferung *Scylacius* bietet (vgl. den Apparat in Lancel's Ausgabe).

*Stablicus:* *Rep.* 407 (Thamugadi). Dazu *CIL VIII* 8640 (Sitifis, jüdisch) *Istablici qui et Donati*; oder zu *Stablicius?* (so im Index des *CIL*).

<sup>52</sup> Wie z. B. H.- G. Pflaum, *REL* 39 (1961) 400, J. & L. Robert, *BullEpigr* 1963, 312 und B. Lifshitz, *CIJ I*<sup>2</sup> S. 30 meinen.

**Sterculina:** *IL Afr* 162 p. 50 I, 12 vgl. *AE* 2011, 1639 (Ammaedara) *Titinia Laeta Sterculina*. Der Grundname *Sterculus -a* in Kajanto 216 (dazu *Sterculia* Kajanto 215). Belegt ausschließlich in Afrika.

**Successio:** *AE* 2011, 1179 (Dyrrachium, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Successio* (Nom.), wahrscheinlich Sklave.

**Surgentius:** Kajanto 359 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *PCBE* Italie 2139 (Mitte 6. Jh.) *primicerius scholae notariorum* in Rom; *AE* 2011, 1562 (Ara-di, Byzacena, 5. Jh.).

**Τιτῖνος:** *ICUR* 12860 Τιτῖνος. Einwandfreie Bildung.<sup>53</sup> Vgl. noch *CIL* XI 5406a (Asisium) *Titini*; die Überlieferung steht aber auf keinem sicheren Boden.

**Tulla:** Kajanto 177 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 43 (2009) 175. Dazu *AE* 2011, 854 (Rätien) *Tulla Tr(---) fil.* (Lesung bleibt unsicher, und es kann sich um epichorisches Namengut handeln).

**Tullio:** Kajanto 165 = 178 mit einem Beleg, der aber zu streichen ist.<sup>54</sup> *Rep.* 414 aus Rom (etwas unsicher). Außerdem ist der Name öfters im keltischen Bereich belegt und kann hauptsächlich lokales Namengut vertreten. Belege bei A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in den zwei germanischen Provinzen I* 2, Rahden 2008, 402f; dems., *Die Personennamen im römischen Britannien*, Hildesheim usw. 2011, 613; der Autor hält den Namen für rein lateinisch. Dazu noch ein weiterer Beleg: *AE* 2011, 1792 (Militärdiplom, 123 n. Chr.) *Tullio Vegeti f. Tunger*.

**Tutinus:** *AE* 2011, 662 (Vindolanda) *Q. Licinius Tutinus Arelate*.

**Ummidianus:** Kajanto 159 mit einem Beleg aus *CIL* VI 16329 (wo Vater und Sohn diesen Namen tragen). Dazu *CIL* VI 1917 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Catilia Ummidiani filia*.

**Valentianus:** Kajanto 247 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 46 (2012) 216f mit mehreren weiteren Belegen. Dazu noch *AE* 2011, 862 (Castra Regina in Rätien) *Val(erius) Vale[n]tianus*; *TitAquinc* II 520 *Elius Valentianus*.

**Varilla:** Kajanto 242 mit 12 Belegen (von denen 1 aus dem Senatorenstand). Dazu *AE* 1992, 196 (Rom) *Ostoria Varilla*; *SupplIt* 18 Reate 44 eine Nonia; *ERBeira* 116 (Civitas Igaeditanorum) *Iulia Varilla Celeris f.*; *ILAlg* I 1921 (Thurbursicu Numidarum) *Varilla V[a]ri filia*; *IEphesos* 986 Κωντιλίαν Οὐάρ[ιλ-] λαν (dieselbe *ibid.* 429, 119 n. Chr.; vgl. die Quintilii Vari, von denen wir nach

<sup>53</sup> Unverständlich bleibt die Anmerkung des Editors "Potuit esse *Pitinus* vel alius nominis clausula".

<sup>54</sup> Siehe D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature*, New York 1976, 70; H. Solin, *Gnomon* 59 (1987) 599f.; Ders., "Three Ciceroniana", *CQ* 37 (1987) 521.

dem Sohn des augusteischen Feldherrn freilich nichts mehr wissen); *CIG* 2824 (Aphrodisias kaiserzeitl.) Βάριλλα; *IMagnesia* 122 (298–310 n. Chr.) Βαρίλλας προ(φήτιδος?) Τραλλ(ιανῆς).

! *Varillus*: von den von Kajanto 252 aufgezeichneten Belegen gehören alle dem Frauennamen *Varilla* an. Nunmehr lässt sich aber *Varillus* belegen: *CAG* 59, 2 (2011) 320 (Bagacum) *Varilli*, vgl. *ibid.* 280 und 362 *Varillo Variati*. Es kann aber keltisches Namengut vorliegen.

*Verecundinus*: Kajanto 264 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 505. Dazu *ICUR* 23739 Βερεκουνδίνος; *IQuae Sulis* 54 *Verecundinum Ter[en]ti c[ons]umas*; *RIU* 1177 Intercisa) *L. [Aur. Ve]recundinus dec(urio)* (er bestattet einen Soldaten der cohors milliaria Emesenorum); *AE* 1993, 1577 (Apamea) *Ael. Verecundinus, natus in Dacia*, Zenturio der legio III Scythica.

*Verulus*: Kajanto 254 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2009, 540 (regio XI) *Vero Veruli filio*; *RIB* III 3217 *Aurel. Verulus*; *IFunChrCarthage* III 566 *Verulus Sidoniensis*. Von *Verullus*, das auch als Βήρυλλος *Beryllus* erklärt werden kann, fernzuhalten.

*Vettonianus*: Kajanto 158 mit sieben Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes aus *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 1967, 126 (Pax Iulia in Lusitanien) *Q. Cassius Vettonianus Pacensis*; *ILGN* 474 (Nemausus, Sklave); *ILAlg* I 2142 (Madauros).

*Vetula*: Kajanto 302 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *RIB* II 8, 2503, 446.

*Vetulus*: Kajanto 302 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *SupplIt* 13 Nursia 94 *C. Vettidienus C. [f.] Vetulus*; *CILA* III 393 (Baetica) *C. Sempronius Vetulus*.

*Vibiana*: Kajanto 158 mit sieben Belegen. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 161. Dazu *ICUR* 10640 Βιβιανό, 14699 *animae pudicae Vibiane*, 19477a *Viviana*, 23309 *Bibiane*, 25071 *Cl. Vibi[anae]* (die Errgänzung ist sicher).

### CCXCIII. FALSCHER NAMEN

Ἀκυληία, d. h. *Aquileia*. Der Name der Dedikantin in *ISM* II 357 (Tomis) wird [Ἀ]κυλ<η>ία wiedergegeben und als *Aquileia Herac[---]* erklärt. Ein seltsamer Einfall der Editoren, der Stein hat ja ΑΚΥΛΙΑ. Die Frau gehörte der gens Aquilia an, deren Gentilname auf Griechisch regelrecht Ἀκύλιος -ία wiedergegeben wird. Ἀκυληία wäre Transkription von *Aquileia*, das aber kein Gentilname ist. Das sollte selbstverständlich sein. Wenn wir überhaupt anderer Zeugen bedürfen, gibt der bilinguale Meilenstein aus Tralles *CIG* 2920 = *CIL* III 479 = 14201, 11 =

*ITralles* 170 den Namen des Konsuls M. Aquilius 129 v.Chr. im griechischen Teil als Μά<ι>νος Ἀκύλιος Μά<ι>ου wieder.



Fig. 1. Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, CIL X 3937 = 8184. Foto Solin.

*Cannutianus*. In dem Bleirohrstempel CIL X 3937 lesen wir in der Fassung von Mommsen *C. Velleio Cannutiano*. In CIL X 8184 wurde dieselbe Inschrift aufgrund einer Abschrift von Dressel aufs Neue publiziert, ohne dass die Identität vom Editor erkannt worden wäre (auf S. 1009 hat Mommsen dann die Identität nachgeholt); Dressel las *Cannuliano*. Ich habe den Text in 1987 im Archäologischen Museum von Neapel mit Mika Kajava aufgenommen. Die Entscheidung zwischen den zwei Lesarten fällt nicht leicht. Der sechste Buchstabe des Cognomens hat in dem heutigen Zustand keinen Querstrich oben, während Mommsen ihn als eine T longa angibt. Aber auch der Querstrich eines L bleibt recht unsicher, auch wenn zuzugeben ist, dass davon ein winziger Rest doch erkannt werden kann (der Fuß des folgenden I ist nicht ganz identisch). An den zwei L in VELLEIO können wir beobachten, dass der Querstrich des ersteren erkannt werden kann, während der des zweiten so gut wie unsichtbar geworden ist. Eine neue Autopsie am 15. 10. 2014 hat die Lesung CANNVLIANO weiter bestätigt. Nur fragt man sich, wie die Angabe von Mommsen, der sechste Buchstabe des Cognomens sei eine T longa, zu erklären ist. Es ist gut möglich, dass er selbst

die T longa erkannt hat; dafür könnte sprechen, dass Fiorelli, *Catalogo del Museo Nazionale di Napoli. Raccolta epigraphica* II (1869) 1413 CANNVLIANO bietet, was Mommsen stillschweigend verbessert hätte. Oder aber er hätte die T longa aus der durch Iannelli überlieferten (uns unbekannt) Abschrift eines Pasquale Matarazzo; zuweilen hat Mommsen Lesungen, richtige wie falsche, seiner Vorgänger übernommen, auch in Fällen, wo er den Text selbst gesehen hat (das habe ich des Öfteren beobachtet). Wie dem auch sei, es kann sein, dass der höherstehende Querstrich des T sich auf der bleiernen Oberfläche einfach dermaßen abgenutzt hat, so dass er von Fiorelli nicht mehr unterschieden wurde, wohl aber von Mommsen oder von seiner Quelle (also Matarazzi). Doch bleibt dies recht unsicher, und nach sorgfältiger Erwägung würde ich der Lesung CANNVLIA-NO zuneigen. Nun ist ein Gentilname *Cannulius* nicht mit Sicherheit bezeugt, doch vgl. *ILAlg* II 4189 [---] *Iuli Cannuli* (wenn nach einem äußerst populären Gentilnamen wie *Iulius* ein zweiter Gentilname folgt, so hat er nicht immer einen cognominalen Charakter eingenommen). *Cannutius* dagegen ist seit der republikanischen Zeit gut belegt (die Zeugnisse gesammelt von H. Jacobsohn, *ThLL* Onom. II 141, 44–71), doch lässt sich ein Name *Cannulius* leicht erklären, denn das Suffix *-ulius* kann neben *-utius* und anderen sehr wohl existieren (also *Cannulius* neben *Cannutius* aus *Cannius* wie *Carulius* und *Carutius* zu *Carius*, *Tarulius* und *Tarutius* zu *Tarius*, *Verulius* und *Verutius* zu *Verius* usw. Das Fazit: Ich würde *Cannulianus* dem lateinischen Cognomenrepertoire einverleiben und *Cannulius* dem der Gentilnamen.

*Dulcius*. In *RIB* II 3, 2425, 2 (a) geben die Editoren für den mit gepunzten Lettern auf einem Helm geschriebenen Text folgende Form:  $\subset centuria \supset M. Val(eri) Urs(i) L. Dulci$  'Property of Lucius Dulcius in the century of Marcus Valerius Ursus'. Bedenken erregt *Dulcius*,<sup>55</sup> das weder als Gentilicium noch als Cognomen (abgesehen von einem sehr späten Beleg als Name eines Bischofs 492/496: *Epist. pontif. Thiel* p. 484) irgendwo belegt ist. Anhand des Fotos (die auf S. 44 gegebene Zeichnung gibt nicht ganz genau das wieder, was am Foto ersichtlich ist) würde ich aus der nicht sorgfältigen Ausführung der Punzen, freilich mit Vorbehalt, *L. Duili* herausholen. Das zweite L ist nicht ganz sicher, doch vertretbar; das I hat in beiden Fällen eine schräge, \ -ähnliche Form. Der Gentilname *Duilius* ist einigermaßen in Italien belegt.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>55</sup> Die Bemerkung der Editoren "The nomen *Dulcius* seems to be unattested, but can be inferred from the place-name *Dulciacum*" führt nicht weiter.

<sup>56</sup> Rom: *AE* 1941, 71; Aquinum: *CIL* X 5500; Interpromium: *CIL* IX 3044.



*Frigetia*. Diesen Namen wollen die Editoren in einer späten christlichen Inschrift (6. Jh.) aus Aradi in Byzacena festlegen, der sie folgende Form geben: *Frigetia fide/lis in pace* usw.<sup>57</sup> *Frigetia* ist aber kein Name. Aus dem beigegebenen Foto liest man eher TRIGETIAE. Hier liegt eine für die Spätantike charakteristische Bildung mittels des Suffixes *-ius -ia* aus dem gut griechischen Namen Τρύγητος *Trygetus* vor, ein Gebilde der Namengebung römischer Zeit, das sowohl im griechischen Osten als auch im römischen Westen belegt ist. Im griechischen Bereich ist die Namensippe wie folgt belegt: aus Larisa *IG IX 2, 905* (nicht näher datierbar); Epeiros *CIL III 619* (Dyrrachium, etwa 2. Jh.); *Iliria 6* (1976) 344 (6. Jh.); Capidava in Moesia inferior *ISM V 43 Trygitianus* (3./4. Jh.); Thasos *IG XII 8, 493 Τρυγήτιον* (Frauennamen, nicht näher datierbar, doch spät). Im Westen üblich etwa in Rom.<sup>58</sup> Ferner Vibo Valentia (*CIL X 84*); Mediolanum (*CIL V 5891*); Sizilien Τρυγήτη (*IG XIV 255a; SEG IV 14*, christl.; *XXVII 662*, christl.); Baetica (*CIL II<sup>2</sup> 5, 493*, Gen. *Trigeti*); Gallien *Trygetius* Freund des Sidonius Apollinaris (*PLRE II 1129* Nr. 2 = *PCBE* Gaule 1897, ca. 461–467). Öfters im römischen Afrika: aus Thagaste in der provincia pronsularis stammt der palatinus und Augustinus-Freund *Trygetius* (*PLRE I 923* Nr. 2 = *PCBE* Afrique 1117–9, erwähnt für die Zeit vor 386); Numidien (*BCTH 1902, 318; CIL VIII 2403 I, 11. 16 Cessius Trigeti v. c.*,<sup>59</sup> 363 n. Chr.; 4354 *Trigeti*, 578–582); unbekannter Herkunft *CIL II 4975, 22 = X 8059, 156; XI 6712, 75*. Wir sehen also, dass der Name in der späteren Kaiserzeit im Westen gut bekannt war, besonders auch in Afrika, und zwar sowohl in der Schreibung *Tryg-* als auch *Trig-*. Die Frau aus Aradi hieß zweifellos *Trigetia = Trygetia*.

*Geniolus*. In *Tituli Aquincenses III 1086 (AE 2011, 1039)* liest der Editor B. Fehér das fragmentarische Graffito [---]mì Genioli. Ein Name *Geniolus* existiert aber nicht. Hier liegt wahrscheinlich *Primigenius* vor. Anhand des Fotos kann man nicht mit letzter Sicherheit festlegen, ob der Text rechts intakt ist. Wenn dem so ist, dann ist zu verstehen [Pri]mìgeni Oli; es geht um Primigenius, Sklave eines Olus, d. h. Aulus, eine verständliche Schreibweise in einer Urkunde dieser Art. Wäre der Text rechts nicht intakt, könnte man auch [Pri]migenio LI[---] lesen. Doch scheint der Text rechts intakt zu sein (mündliche Mitteilung von Bence Fehér, dem gedankt sei). So drängt sich die Vermutung auf, hier liege das Cog-

<sup>57</sup> A. Ben Abed-Ben Khader – M. Fixot – S. Roucole, *Sidi Jhidi II. Le groupe épiscopal*, Rome 2011, 335 Nr. 9. Daraus *AE 2011, 1598* ohne Einwände.

<sup>58</sup> Siehe mein griechisches Namenbuch 1200 (belegt seit dem 2. Jh.): außer *Trygetus* ist im 5. Jh. *Trygetius* bei zwei Senatoren, Vater und Sohn, belegt.

<sup>59</sup> *PLRE I 924* Nr. 3, vielleicht identisch mit dem Freund des Symmachus *PLRE I 923* Nr. 1.

nomen *Primigeniolus* vor. Dieser Männernamenname war bisher nicht belegt, vgl. aber *Primigenivola Mevi ser(va)* auf einem Relief unbekannter Herkunft, das aber aus Dalmatien stammen dürfte, vorzugsweise aus der Gegend von Salona: *InscrIt X 3, 2\**.<sup>60</sup> Mit dem Suffix *-(i)olus* wurden nicht selten neue Cognomina aus bestehenden Cognomina gebildet.<sup>61</sup> – Dass nach M eine uneigentliche I longa folgt, braucht in einem Graffito dieser Art nicht zu verwundern.

*Inofilus*. Diesen Namen lesen wir in der späten christlichen Inschrift (5. Jh.) *AE 2011, 1599* aus Aradi in Byzacena. Den Editoren der Erstpublikation zufolge (s. oben zu *Frigetia*) soll er "éventuellement être compté au nombre des transcriptions d'une forme grecque et désigner l'amateur de vin, voire l'ivrogne". Das leuchtet durch nichts ein. Leider wurde kein Foto beigegeben, aber anhand der in Fig. 123 wiedergegebenen Zeichnung könnte man eventuell an *Inofitus* denken. INOFITVS ist eine wilde Schreibung, die in christlichen Urkunden gelegentlich für NEOPHYTVS steht, sowohl als Appellativ wie als Eigennamen: *ICUR 6099 inofita*; *8997 inofito*; *10351b ino[fit---]*; *15454 Inofiti*; *ICI XII 81 (Mediolanum) inofita*; *CIL XII 5403 (Tolosa) inofitus*; vgl. auch *ICUR 16383b Nofit[---]*.

*Philoma*. Diesen Namen hat man aus *CIL IX 274 = SupplIt 26 S. 24 Nr. 3 Flavia Aug. lib. Philoma* herauslesen wollen (so Mommsen in *CIL* [von ihm ohne Asterisk im Cognominaindex registriert] und A. Mangiatordi in *SupplIt*).<sup>62</sup> Ein Frauenname *Philoma* wäre aber schwerlich zu rechtfertigen, nicht einmal im Griechischen. Höchstens könnte man an eine abgekürzte Form denken. Das Griechische kennt Männernamen wie Φιλόμας (oder Φιλομάς?) Φιλομάτης Φιλόμαχος (s. z. B. *LGPNI 468. II 457. III.A 458. III.B 428*; *Philomat(h)es* auch in Rom: *CIL VI 4669*) und die Frauennamen Φιλομάθεια (*SEG XVI 249. XLI 285*; beide aus Argos und kaiserzeitl.) und Φιλομάθη (Bosnakis, *Epigr. Kos 115*,

<sup>60</sup> Dort wird die Inschrift Iustinopolis zugewiesen, "muro inserta in area domus Tommasich", es handelt sich aber um eine Privatsammlung des Lokalgelehrten Tommasich, in der sich Stücke weiterer dalmatischer Herkunft fanden. Jedenfalls haben wir es wohl mit einem echten Stück zu tun. Weitere Literatur: *CSIR Italia Trieste 4r*, wonach das Relief aus Koper/Capodistria stamme; F. Mainardis, *Aliena saxa. Le iscrizioni greche e latine conservate nel Friuli-Venezia Giulia, ma non pertinenti ai centri antichi della regione* (MemLincei ser. IX, 18, 1), Roma 2004, p. 73 n. 26, die für eine generelle dalmatische Herkunft plädiert. Derselben Meinung ist Claudio Zaccaria, den ich in dieser Frage konsultiert habe; ihm sei dafür herzlich gedankt.

<sup>61</sup> Vgl. z. B. unser *Repertorium*<sup>2</sup> 453. 507.

<sup>62</sup> Außerdem A. M. Stall – V. Volterra – R. G. V. Hancock, *JRA 16* (2003) 195 Nr. 24, die darüber hinaus den Namen des Mannes von Flavia falsch *Dapinus* wiedergeben.

1. Jh. v. Chr.).<sup>63</sup> Einer von diesen könnte hier abgekürzt vorliegen. Oder aber, und ich würde das vorziehen (wegen der Seltenheit der Namen auf *Philoma-*), liegt hier eine Verlesung des einzigen Zeugen namens Mola aus dem 18. Jh. (dessen Abschriften Mommsen zufolge [CIL IX S. 9] freilich von nicht schlechter Qualität sind) für *Philema* vor. *Philema* war ein gut bekannter griechischer Frauennamen in Rom, und noch verbreiteter war *Philematio*.

*Prudentius*. Dieser Name soll in *TabVindol* III 604 vorliegen. Der betreffende Passus lautet *in campagonibus Prudenti clavos n(umero) XX*. Hier wird vom Eigennamen der Genetiv erfordert, wie man aus den anderen ähnlichen Angaben im Text sieht (*in calciamentis Tetrici, in galliculis [---]se*). Nun ist aber *Prudentius* eine spätantike Bildung, während die Vindolanda-Tafel aus flavischer Zeit stammt. Die Editoren diskutieren die Namensform und notieren, dass da Raum für den Genetiv *Prudentis* des üblichen Namens *Prudens* ist, stellen aber fest, dass in der Tafel nur *Prudenti* steht; sie haben aber nicht bemerkt, dass *Prudentius* in einer Urkunde des 1. Jh. ausgeschlossen ist. Nun ist *Prudentius* in der Tat nur in der späteren Zeit belegt, was im Einklang damit steht, dass das Suffix *-ius* in Cognomina charakteristisch für die spätantike Namenbildung ist. Der Name, der auch sonst nicht besonders üblich auftritt, ist kaum vor dem 3. Jh. belegt.<sup>64</sup> Das Fazit: in der Tafel aus Vindolanda ist eindeutig *Prudenti(s)*, wenn nicht *Prudenti[s]*, zu lesen.

*Ranarius*. Diesen Namen wollen die Editoren in einer späten christlichen Inschrift (6. Jh.) aus Aradi in Byzacena festlegen, der sie folgende Form geben: *(R)anarius fide/lis in pace [...]*.<sup>65</sup> Aus der beigegebenen Zeichnung zu schließen kann der erste Buchstabe kein R sein, denn man würde erwarten, dass in ihr vom rechten Teil des Buchstabens etwas erkannt worden wäre. Viel leichter ist es anzunehmen, dass vom Querstrich eines L, der recht kurz gewesen sein mag, vom Zeichner nichts erkannt wurde, um so mehr, als im unteren Teil dieser Zeile Beschädigungen eingetreten zu sein scheinen, wie man daraus entnehmen kann, dass der untere Teil der linken Haste des nachfolgenden A vom Zeichner nicht beachtet wurde. Vor allem aber ist eine Name *\*Ranarius* höchst suspekt, denn eine solche Bildung mit dem Suffix *-arius* würde ein zugrundeliegendes Appellativ

<sup>63</sup> Der letztere Beleg könnte auch den Vokativ des Männernamens Φιλομάθης vertreten, der Text lautet Φιλομάθη, Ἰσιάς, Θεών, χαίρετε.

<sup>64</sup> CIL XIII 3688. 4180. 7006 (Gentilname). 10024, 257 sind frühestens aus dem 3. Jh., ebenso wohl auch 6143 (wo Gentilname).

<sup>65</sup> A. Ben Abed-Ben Khader – M. Fixot – S. Roucole, *Sidi Jhidi II. Le groupe épiscopal*, Rome 2011, 335 Nr. 9. Daraus *AE* 2011, 1611.

voraussetzen, aber die ganze Existenz eines Wortes *\*ranarius* steht in Frage (s. *ThLL* XI 2, 71, 19–22). Dagegen war *lanarius* eine genügend bekannte Dienstbezeichnung, auch in der spätesten Antike und noch im Mittellatein ist sie bestens belegt und wurde auch Eigenname (dazu s. oben S. 371). Oder aber man liest den ersten Buchstaben als I, also *Ian(u)arius*.<sup>66</sup> Die Formen auf *Ianari-* sind üblich in späten Urkunden, auch in Afrika (*CIL* VIII 6038. 6140. 18603. 23575).

#### CCXCIV. VERKANNTEN NAMEN

*Caelina*. Aus Andemantunnum an der Grenze zwischen Belgica und Germania superior publiziert Y. Le Bohec, *ILingons* 475 folgenden Text: [---] *Iamma sibi e[t] Caeli(a)na[e](?) u[xor]i*. Es besteht aber kein Bedarf, CAELINA[---] in *Caeliana[e]* zu ändern. Zu *Caelina* vgl. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 192 mit einem Beleg aus dem griechischen Osten. Aber auch *Caeliana* ist ganz dünn belegt, s. oben S. 356.

*Cannulianus*: s. oben S. 382.

*Capua*. Dies Cognomen fehlt in Kajantos Cognominabuch und in anderen Repertorien. Dafür können aber zwei Belege gewonnen werden, von denen der erste sicherer Zuweisung sein dürfte: *CIL* VI 29317 (verschollen) *Ulpiae Kapu-  
eni M. Ulpus Faor* κτλ. In *ThLL* Onom. II 177, 21 wird es als *Καπύη* erklärt, aber ein solcher Name ist völlig unbekannt (Kapys hießen einige Trojaner und der König der Albaner, ihr Name hat aber keine historischen Personennamen erzeugt). Der Verfasser des Thesaurus-Artikels hat an griechische Herkunft vielleicht wegen der Flexion *-eni* gedacht, doch ist diese Art Flexion sehr üblich in rein lateinischen Namen. Dass Städtenamen metonymisch zu Personennamen übergehen konnten, ist gut bekannt (besonders leicht wurde ein solcher okkasioneller Gebrauch bei einem Namen wie *Capua*, bei dem keinerlei morphologische Schwierigkeiten für den Übergang zum Frauennamen im Wege standen). Ich jedenfalls sehe keine andere Erklärungsmöglichkeit für *Kapu-  
eni*. Der zweite Beleg kommt von einem Karneol unbekannter Herkunft mit dem bloßen Text CAPVA (*CIL* XIII 10024, 373). Wenn er vollständig ist und nichts anderes beinhaltet, könnte man darin auch den Namen der Stadt sehen, vgl. *CIL* XIII 10024, 378 *Corint(h)us* (freilich war *Corinthus* ein geläufiger Männername). Für einen Frauennamen hält ihn der Editor; so auch *ThLL* Onom. II 177, 19f.

<sup>66</sup> So auch im Komm. von *AE*.

*Sapricius* oder *Sapricia*. Die stadtrömische jüdische Inschrift *CIJ* I 420 = *JIWE* II 200 aus der Monteverde-Katakombe lautet in der Lesung des einzigen Zeugen Antonio Bosio, *Roma sotterranea* (1732) 142 ΑCΑΠΠΙΚΗ (wiederholt von Franz, *CIG* IV p. 587 ad 9901), demzufolge der Text intakt sei (*in un monumento, rimaneva ancora intiero in lettere rosse questo nome*). Frey, *CIJ* deutet das als "d'*Apricius*"; auf ähnliche Weise sieht Noy, *JIWE* hierin den Namen *Apricius*. Das ist nicht besonders überzeugend. Auf das Zeugnis von Bosio ist kein Verlass, wenn er den Text als intakt angibt, denn in der Lesung einer aufgemalten Inschrift kann es sehr leicht passieren, dass man einen unvollständig erhaltenen Text als komplett nimmt. *Apricius* ist ein nur selten belegter Gentilname, den man in einer jüdischen Katakombe des 3. oder 4. Jh. nicht erwarten würde. Wahrscheinlich liegt Σαπρίκιος oder Σαπρικήα vor. Wenn Frauennamen, dann könnte das am Anfang von Bosio überlieferte Α das Ende des Gentilnamens der Frau sein, und der letzte senkrechte Strich könnte für Α verlesen sein. Oder es kann etwas anderes vorliegen; CΑΠΠΙΚΗ könnte z. B. ein latinisierender Genetiv sein. *Sapricius* ist im spätantiken Rom gut belegt (auch *Sapricia* fehlt nicht),<sup>67</sup> auch in jüdischen Urkunden (*JIWE* II 432). Die Bestattung könnte sich auf eine Frau beziehen, deren Name mit -Α endete: -α, Frau des *Sapricius*. – Neuerdings publiziert von A. Negroni, in *La catacomba ebraica di Monteverde: vecchi dati e nuove scoperte*, a cura di D. Rossi e M. Di Mento, Roma 2013, 307 Nr. 201 (dort wird als Name des Verstorbenen das Gentilicium *Apricius* oder das Cognomen *Apricus* vorgeschlagen).

*Servator*(?). *IDR* III 2, 14 (Sarmizegetusa) vgl. I. Piso, *Sargetia* 27 (1997–1998) 261–264 (= *AE* 1999, 1289) *cu[m S]ervatore lib(erto) publico*. Piso versteht *servator* 'Wächter', vgl. aber unten S. 395. Ein weiterer, etwas unsicherer Beleg kommt aus Mauretania Caesariensis, *CIL* VIII 21606a vgl. M. Leglay, *Saturne africain* 2, Paris 1966, 327 *Lucius Se[r]vatoris de(o?)* (es kann sich auch um eine Götterepiklese handeln).

*Victrix*. Im Boden eines Zinngefäßes findet sich ein Graffito VICTRICI eingeritzt (*RIB* II 2, 2417, 33), das die Editoren als Genetiv von *Victricius* deuten. *Victricius* ist aber ein nur ein einziges Mal belegter Gentilname (*CIL* XI 1901 aus Saena), den man in einem späten Graffito in Britannien nicht erwarten würde. Es

<sup>67</sup> S. mein griechisches Namenbuch 732f. Auch sonst in Italien und Provinzen: in Etrurien (*CIL* XI 2890), in der Transpadana (*CIL* V 5513), in Sizilien (*NSc* 1893, 340, in westlichen Provinzen (*CIL* III 8741; XII 449. 1920. 1937. 1998; XIII 671. 2204). Auch in östlichen Provinzen: Popescu, *IGLRomânia* 149 (Istros-Histria, 5./ 6. Jh.); *IEphesos* 1346 (christl.); *IKyzikos* 120 (3. Jh. n. Chr.); *TAM* III 1, 751 (3. Jh. n. Chr.); *IGLS* IV 1327; J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes* 1279 (σχολαστικός, Thebai in Ägypten).

dürfte auch kein Genetiv sein von einem sonst nicht belegten Namen *Victricus*, das außerdem undurchsichtiger Bildung wäre.<sup>68</sup> Warum nicht *Victrix*, ein bestehender Frauennamen neben dem beliebten Männernamen *Victor*? Das Graffito hätte den Dativ *Victrici* oder aber den Genetiv *Victrici[s]*, wie man wohl aufgrund der in *RIB* publizierten Zeichnung ergänzen kann.

### CCXCV. VERKANNTEN IDENTITÄTEN

*CIJI* 144 = *ICUR* 15422 = *JIWE* II 246 Ἀλεξανδρία Σεβηρανωῶ κτλ. Weder Ferrua, *ICUR* noch Noy, *JIWE* haben die Identität der zwei Exempla der zuerst von Frey, *CIJ* allgemein zugänglich gemachten Inschrift bemerkt. Die Inschrift, die in der Vigna Randanini gefunden wurde, ist zweifellos jüdisch, was außer dem Fundort die am Ende der Inschrift eingehauenen Symbole wie auch der Wortlaut nahelegen. Dass Antonio Ferrua, der bewährte Altmeister der jüdisch-christlichen Epigraphik, sie dem altchristlichen stadtrömischen Inschriftenwerk einverleibt hat, ist überraschend, denn er hatte den Text in einem 1936 publizierten Aufsatz als jüdisch erklärt.<sup>69</sup> Quandoquidemque bonus. Ferruas Unachtsamkeit wird dadurch verständlicher, dass er den Text das erste Mal in 1952 in fragmentarischem Zustand außerhalb der Katakombe sah; später ist ihm mitgeteilt worden, die Fragmente seien gestohlen. Der beste Text steht jetzt in Noys Edition und ein gutes Foto bei Frey.

*ICUR* 8953–8954 und 9923 geben den Text ein und derselben Inschrift wieder. 8953–8954 gibt der Editor Ferrua aus R. Venuti, der die Inschrift "In coem. Calixti a. 1748" angibt, und aus Galletti, der sie ebda. "die 13 februarii 1748" mitteilt, Ferrua sie aber nach der von ihm *ICUR* III S. 328 aufgestellten Regel, wonach die Inschriften, als deren Fundort etwa seit Boldetti bis in die Mitte des 19. Jh. die Kallistus-Katakombe angegeben wird, der Domitilla-Katakombe zuschreibt. Diese an sich richtige Erkenntnis hat aber einige Ausnahmen aufzuweisen, wie die Paare *ICUR* 9133 = 10154 und 9141 = 10177 zeigen, die in die Kallistus-Katakombe gehören (s. *Arctos* 9 [1975] 105 = *Analecta epigraphica* 72). Dieselbe Ausnahme liegt auch hier vor, denn 9923 wurde von de Rossi und Ferrua in der Kallistus-Katakombe gesehen. Was die Textform angeht, so haben

<sup>68</sup> Dieser Ansicht ist A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen im römischen Britannien* (2011), 646, der aber zugeben muss, dass ein solches Cognomen sonst nicht bekannt ist.

<sup>69</sup> A. Ferrua, "Epigrafia ebraica", *Civiltà cattolica* 87, 4 (1936) 131; "Addenda et corrigenda al *Corpus inscriptionum Iudaicarum*", *Epigraphica* 3 (1941) 33.

Venuti und Galletti gut gelesen, die von 8953–8954 muss also als die rechtmäßige gelten. Wenn de Rossi und Ferrua in 5 am Ende III lesen und es *fil(io)* erklären, während Venuti und Galletti FILIO am Stein lasen, so haben de Rossi und Ferrua die Stelle schon in beschädigtem Zustand gesehen.

Die Editoren von *RIB* II 3, 2427, 26 haben nicht bemerkt, dass die heute in Paris im Cabinet des médailles aufbewahrte bronzene Scheibe von Dressel in *CIL* XV 7164 herausgegeben wurde. Die Editoren von *RIB* haben die Scheibe wegen der Erwähnung der zwei Legionen XX Valeria Victrix und II Augusta, die ja bekanntlich seit Claudius in Britannien stationiert waren, aufgenommen, auch wenn sie sich dessen bewusst waren, dass das Stück ein Alienum ist. Wenn aber Dressel darin Recht hat, dass Aurelius Cervianus (dessen Cognomen er mit der Zeichnung des Hirsches im unteren Teil der Scheibe verbindet) derselbe ist wie der in *CIL* XV 7183 erwähnte Aurelius, unter dessen Namen der Kopf eines Hirsches abgebildet ist, dann ist die Scheibe eine stadtrömische Arbeit, denn der Aurelius von 7183 wohnte in Rom in der ersten Region. Man kann sich übrigens fragen, warum die Scheibe überhaupt in die *RIB* aufgenommen wurde.

#### CCXCVI. VARIA URBANA

1. In der stadtrömischen jüdischen Inschrift Frey, *CIJI* 234 = Noy, *JIVE* II 323 ist der Name der Verstorbenen nach gängiger Ansicht FLAVIAE CARITINEN geschrieben. Frey druckt das *Caritin(a)e<n>* und Noy *Caritine{n}*, beide fassen also das Schluss-N als parasitär auf. Das Cognomen der Frau, *Charitine*, muss aber wohl CARITINENI gelesen werden (auf dem von Frey publizierten Foto kann man Reste des Schluss-I unterscheiden), hat also eine heteroklitische Flexion angenommen, wie es so oft mit Namen dieser Art geschieht. Die identische Form *Caritineni* begegnet in *ICUR* 24666.<sup>70</sup> [Korrekturzusatz. Die richtige Form wurde schon von A. Ferrua, *Nuove correzioni alla Silloge del Diehl* ILCV, Città del Vaticano 1981, 194 erkannt.]

2. *ICUR* 12659 findet sich auch in Diehls *ILCV* 3113 (ein Hinweis auf Diehl fehlt im Lemma von 12659), aber falsch *Ianuario digno filio* κτλ. statt *Ianuarino*. Diehl schöpft aus Oderici, *Dissertationes et adnotationes in aliquot ineditas veterum inscriptiones et numismata* (1765) 255, der den Text wiederum

<sup>70</sup> Abwegig T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity 3: The Western Diaspora 330 BCE – 650 CE*, Tübingen 2008, 574, wonach es sich hier um eine 'Variation' des lateinischen Gentilnamens *Carittius* oder des lateinischen Cognomens *Caritas* handelte.

aus Marangonis Scheden hat (er hat ihn auch in seinen *Acta S. Victorini* [1740] 107, und zwar richtig *Ianuarino*, dagegen falsch *quescit* gegenüber dem richtigen *quaescit* bei Oderici). Die in 12659 gebotene Lesung ist richtig (Autopsie 1995).

3. *ICUR* 17911, heute in S. Lorenzo fuori le mura, lautet *Lucia se / viva locum / sibi emit / ☐christogramma☐*. Ich nehme diesen Fall auf, weil das Lemma der *ICUR* keine genaue Auskunft über die Geschichte des Textes gibt. An sich bestehen über seine Erklärung keine Zweifel, der Stein ist erhalten und bietet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten hinsichtlich der Lesung. Es sei aber hinzugefügt, dass Boldetti 53, der den Text gesehen hat (wie aus S. 52 hervorgeht), comparavit statt emit hat;<sup>71</sup> aus Boldetti schöpfen Muratori 1904, 9 und Diehl *ILCV* 3732 (dieser gibt dann 3739 E aus Bosio und anderen den korrekten Text). Boldetti hat *comparavit* vielleicht aus der vorhergehenden Inschrift *ICUR* 18857 *hic est locus, quem se viva Gentia bisomu comparavit* versehentlich übernommen.<sup>72</sup>

4. *ICUR* 23906 *Eucarpia, / dormis / in pace* wurde von vielen alten Autoren mitgeteilt, darunter von G. Brunati, *Musei Kircheriani inscriptiones ethnicae et christianae*, Mediolani 1837, 111, aber falsch *Eunapia* κτλ. Ferrua in *ICUR* zitiert Brunati, verzeichnet aber dessen falsche Lesart nicht. Aus Brunati habe ich den Namen *Eunapia* irrtümlich in mein griechisches Namenbuch 65 übernommen. So wird der auch sonst höchst seltene spätantike Name *Eunapius -ia* um einen Beleg reduziert. Außerhalb von Rom (wo jetzt vier Belege übrigbleiben, alle spät und christlich) sind mir nur bekannt: *SEG* XIX 371k (Thespiiai, spät) Εὐνάπιον (ohne Kontext, Kasus bleibt also unbestimmt), *SB* 13738 (Arsinoites, 7./ 8. Jh.) Εὐνάπιος und zwei literarische Persönlichkeiten, ein Rhetor aus Phrygien, aktiv in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh., und der Rhetor und Historiker zwischen Ende des 4. und Anfang des 5. Jh. (*PLRE* I 295f).

#### CCXCVII. ELIUS ELIA

Wenn im Namen einer Person die Form ELIUS ELIA als Cognomen oder allein-stehender Name erscheint, wie steht es mit ihrer Deutung und sprachlicher Zugehörigkeit? Steckt dahinter *Aelius -ia* oder *Helius -ia*? Oder noch etwas anderes? Die Unsicherheit wird noch dadurch verstärkt, dass A und H, die graphisch nicht unähnlich sind, miteinander leicht verwechselt werden (*Anal. epigr.* 164), was

<sup>71</sup> Außerdem plaziert er das Christogramm ans Ende der dritten Zeile, obwohl es unter dieser letzten Zeile steht.

<sup>72</sup> Auch ist *comparavit* üblicher als *emit* in in stadtrömischen christlichen Inschriften.



in Fällen wie *Aeliodoros* (*CIL* III 10873; XIII 7333; *RIT* 958), *Aeliadora* (*ICUR* 1672. 7633), *Aeliades* (*CIL* VI 14905. 23153), *Aelias* (*CIL* VI 23153; XIV 4956) begegnet.<sup>73</sup> Vgl. auch *Haelico* für *Helico* (*ILAlg* II 4179). Ein Grenzfall ist *Aelia Haeliana* (*ICUR* 22308), aber wie steht es mit dem Einzelnamen *Haelia* aus *Aquileia* (*CIL* V 1583)? Dass der Gentilname *Hael-* geschrieben werden konnte, zeigt *CIL* VI 19138 *Haelia Rodias ... Haelius Alypus*. An sich könnte ein Name wie *Aeliades* mit *Aelius* zusammenhängen, denn das Suffix *-iades* konnte zuweilen unstrittig lateinischen Namen angehängt werden: Ἰουλιᾶδης, recht üblich im griechischen Bereich (s. *Arctos* 35 [2001] 203. 36 [2002] 112. 38 [2004] 175), *Planciades* Name eines vir clarissimus, Schriftsteller aus dem 6. Jh. (*PLRE* II 388 s. v. Fulgentius 3), vgl. auch *Caecilides* Coripp. *Ioh.* 3, 47, zweiter Name von Liberatus, tribunus in Afrika etwa 545–548 n. Chr. (zur Erklärung *Arctos* 36 [2002] 108f). Das lateinischen Namen angehängte feminine Suffix *-ias* ist üblich: *Aelias Αἰμιλιάς Ἀντωνιάς Ἀπρωνιάς Aurelias Bruttias Clodias Δομιτιάς Ἰουλιάς Lucias Πλωτιάς Saenias Τερτιάς Βαλεριάς*. Die meisten der Belege kommen aber aus dem griechischen Bereich, weswegen man die stadtrömischen Belege für *Aeliades Aelias* eher zur Sippe *Helius* stellen möchte.

Im Allgemeinen ist zwischen den zwei ersten Alternativen zu wählen. So in Rom: *CIL* VI 13049 *Elius l.*; 23796 *Elius lib.*; XV 8366 *P. Octavi Eli*; *GraffPal.* I 119 *Elius(?)*.<sup>74</sup> In erster Linie würde man die stadtrömischen Belege dem griechischen *Helius -ia* zuordnen, ohne die Möglichkeit auszuschließen, dass in späteren Belegen dahinter *Aelius* in cognominaler Funktion stecken kann, da die Verwendung von Gentilnamen als Cognomina sich mit der Zeit etwas mehr einbürgert. Hier seien noch die christlichen Belege von *Elius -ia* aus Rom zusammengestellt: *ICUR* 6733 *Elius in pace*, 7639b *Elius*,<sup>75</sup> 7771c [---]us *Elius*, 10234 *Titius Eliu[s]*, 17279e [---] *Elius*,<sup>76</sup> 17482 (383 n. Chr.) *Elia f(ilia)*, 22724 *ELIAE* (so überliefert in den *Acta Lipsanothecae*; ob fragmentarisch, lässt sich nicht sagen), 24063 *Mesia Elia*. Unter den Frauennamen *Elia* dürfte die Möglichkeit bestehen,

<sup>73</sup> Hierzu könnte auch *L. Vinicius Aelius* in *CIL* VI 28975 gehören (so in meinem Namenbuch 398). Ebenso gut kann aber *Aelius* den Gentilnamen in cognominaler Funktion vertreten.

<sup>74</sup> Mit Sicherheit steht *Elius* für *Helius* in einigen Ziegelstempeln des *Sex. Pompeius Helius: Heli* in *CIL* XV 757 gegenüber *Eli* 758.

<sup>75</sup> Der Stein hat, nach der vom Editor publizierten Zeichnung zu schließen, E×LIYS[---]. Es könnte sich also auch um einen Gentilnamen handeln.

<sup>76</sup> Aus der vom Editor publizierten Zeichnung geht nicht mit völliger Sicherheit hervor, ob vor *ELIVS* genügend Raum vorhanden ist, um annehmen zu können, dass *Elius* und nicht [---]elius zu verstehen sei.

dass die Belege teilweise als *Aelia* aufzufassen sind, da *Helia* im Vergleich zu *Helius* nur selten bezeugt ist (die Zahlen aus stadtrömischen Urkunden sind 137 gegen 3).<sup>77</sup> Wenn es aber um Ableitungen vom Typ *Elianus* geht, würde man eher an eine Nebenform von *Aelianus* denken (doch existiert *Helianus*). Ein Grenzfall ist *Elio(n)* in *ICUR* 13552 *Elioni filio*, das auch zu *Aelio Rep.* 289 gehören kann (dies ist aber nur selten belegt). In keltischen Gebieten kommt hinzu, dass in der Graphie *Elius Elia* Einfluss durch keltische Vollnamen wie *Eliomarus* vorliegen kann (doch ist Sicherheit über die *Elio*-Formen nicht zu erlangen, wenigstens nicht im gallischen Raum, wo die Formen auf *(H)elv-* überwiegen).<sup>78</sup> Wenn etwa auf dem Instrumentum inscriptum in Aquitanien der Text aus dem Namen *Elius* besteht (*CAG* 3 [1989] 117; 63, 1 [1994] 252), kann dahinter auch ein gallischer Name stecken, doch ebenso gut *Helius*.<sup>79</sup> Ebenso *o(fficina) Iani Eli* auf einer Vase (*CIL* XII 5686, 414) oder *Elius f(ecit)* auf dem Instrumentum, gefunden in Raetien (*CIL* III 12014, 263). Diskussion hervorgerufen hat ein Fall wie *CIL* XIII 5711 *Eliae libertae p(ublicae)*. Für *Aelia* treten ein z. B. Le Bohec, *ILingons* 375 und A. Kakoschke, *Personennamen in den zwei germanischen Provinzen*, zit. II 1, 67. Zum Schluss vereinzelte Belege aus anderen Provinzen: *CIL* III 2747 (Dalmatien) *Iulia Elia*; 11237 (Carnuntum) *[I]ul(iae) Elie*; 12014, 263 auf einer Vase *IIIIVS F*; VIII 26002 *Abdilia Elia*;<sup>80</sup> 27489 *Elius* (der Textzusammenhang ist nicht ganz eindeutig). Am Ende eine hübsche nivellierende Schreibung: *HEp* 7, 92 *Elia Eliodora*.

#### CCXCVIII. PUBLICA LIBERTA ODER PUBLICI LIBERTI

Der Ausgangspunkt der folgenden Note ist ein mutmaßlicher Beleg für den Fraunennamen *Publica* aus Pax Iulia in Lusitanien *EE* VIII Hisp. 266 *Publica liberta*

<sup>77</sup> Mein Namenbuch 398–400.

<sup>78</sup> Vgl. K.-H. Schmidt, Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen, *ZCPH* 26 (1957) 203–205, dort weitere Literatur (kritisch). Ferner z. B. F. Lochner von Hüttenbach, *Die römischen Personennamen der Steiermark*, Graz 1989, 73; A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Noricum*, Hildesheim 2012, 398.

<sup>79</sup> Paralleler Fall auf dem Instrumentum *Eli m(anu)* in den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen: *BCTH* 1913, CXLVI; *CAG* 19 [1992] 95; 41 [1988] 126; 79 [1996] 311.

<sup>80</sup> Der Textverlauf bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten: Es werden zwei nahe Verwandte bestattet, *Abdilia Elia* und *Abdilius Marcianus*. Zur Erklärung des Gentilnamens *Abdilius* vgl. K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, 2.

(daraus *Rep.* 386). Das wäre der einzige Beleg für diesen Frauennamen (zur Möglichkeit eines solchen Namens s. oben S. 376 unter *Publicus*, von dem erst jetzt möglicherweise das erste Zeugnis ans Licht getreten ist). Aus dem Druckbild in EE zu schließen war die Lesung schon zu jener Zeit etwas unsicher (aber ihm zufolge versicherten die spanischen Gewährsleute die Lesung). Die Inschrift ist später durch J. d'Encarnação, *IRomConventus Pacensis* 240 publiziert worden; er liest am Ende *publici liberti* und sieht in den Dedikanten ehemalige Sklaven der Kolonie Pax Iulia, die D. Iulius Saturninus während seiner Amtszeit als städtischer Würdenträger freigelassen hätte. Er datiert die Inschrift in die erste Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. Auch nach Besichtigung der Fotos, die der Editor mir zur Verfügung gestellt hat (wofür ihm herzlichst gedankt sei), bleibt die Lesung sehr problematisch. Zuletzt wurde die Inschrift von R. Portillo, P. Rodríguez Oliva und A. Stylow, *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 26 (1985) 202f Nr. 25 aufgenommen (dort ist weitere Literatur verzeichnet); auch sie lesen *publici liberti* (neben den vorgeschlagenen Deutungen erwägen sie noch *Publici(i) liberti*, was recht ungewöhnlich wäre, wie auch sie zugeben). Der ganze Text lautet *D. Iulio D. f. Gal. / Saturnino / Publica liberta* oder *publici liberti*.<sup>81</sup> Wie schon angedeutet, fällt es mir schwer, in der letzten Zeile anhand der mir zur Verfügung stehenden Fotos zwischen den zwei Lesungen zu entscheiden. Die übrigen A in der Inschrift zeigen eine deutliche rechte Haste, während man eine solche weder in PVBLICA noch in LIBERTA am Foto gut erkennen kann. Andererseits ist die erste Haste in beiden Fällen nach C und T etwas schräg (soweit sich das mit Sicherheit feststellen lässt, denn besonders nach PVBLIC ist die Schriftoberfläche so beschädigt, dass keine sichere Entscheidung möglich ist), während die I mehr oder weniger deutlich senkrecht sind.

Wir müssen also zwischen zwei Alternativen wählen. Wie schon angedeutet, ist ein Frauenname *Publica* sonst nirgendwo anders belegbar. Die Möglichkeit einer okkasionellen Verwendung eines solchen Namens besteht aber, und jetzt steht uns ein (wenn auch ein wenig unsicherer) Beleg des Männernamens *Publicus* zur Verfügung (s. oben S. 376), auch wenn *Publicus* etwas sonderbar anmuten kann – wer möchte seinem Kind einen Namen zulegen, der auf die Herkunft eines Gemeindesklaven hinweist (dazu mehr oben S. 376f)? Andererseits lassen sich bei *publicus* andere Bedeutungen finden, die sich auf Menschen beziehen und den Namen positiv konnotieren – verwiesen sei auf solche Wortpaare wie *sacerdotes* oder *augures publici* (und der Kaiser konnte *parens publicus* genannt

<sup>81</sup> Alle Editoren lesen in 2 *Sat[ur]nino*, doch erkennt man anhand des Fotos winzige Reste von VR.

werden) oder mit einem lockereren Gebrauch wie *adsentatores publici* von den Tribunen in Liv. 3,68,10.<sup>82</sup> Dennoch wurde *publicus -a* in Bezug auf Menschen, im allgemeinen Bewusstsein doch vor allem mit dem Begriff des öffentlichen Sklaven identifiziert (da das Wort allein in dieser Bedeutung substantiviert wurde), und das hemmte seine Entfaltung als Personennamen.

Was die alternative Lesung *publici liberti* angeht, so möchte ich in aller Kürze Folgendes anführen. Die Freigelassenen einer Gemeinde konnten ausnahmsweise *liberti publici* genannt werden, in Anlehnung an *servi publici* (normalerweise wurden sie *coloniae* oder *municipii libertus* genannt oder erhielten bei der Freilassung den Namen *Publicius* oder einen aus dem Namen der Stadt abgeleiteten Gentilnamen).<sup>83</sup> Ich stelle im Folgenden die mir bekannten Belege zusammen: *CIL XIII 5695* (Andemantunnum in Germ. sup., 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Eliae libertae p(ublicae) Araricus frater*;<sup>84</sup> *AE 1933, 113* (Alta Ripa im Gebiet der civitas Vangionum in Germ. sup., 250 n. Chr.) *Decorata libert(a) public(a)*; *CIL III 7906 = IDR III 2, 218* (Sarmizegetusa) *Genio lib(ertorum) et servorum P. Publicius Anthus et Publ(icius) Cletus*. Vgl. ferner Fälle wie *corpus familiae public(a)e libertorum et servorum* in Ostia *CIL XIV 32 (= VI 479)* und damit zusammenhängend *CIL XIV 255 familia publica* mit Namen von Gemeindeskulaven und -freigelassenen (diese haben bei der Freilassung den Gentilnamen *Ostiensis* angenommen). Etwas unsicher bleibt *IDR III 2, 14* vgl. I. Piso, *Sargetia 27* (1997–1998) 261–264 Nr. 1 (= *AE 1999, 1289*) mit besserer Lesung (Sarmizegetusa, etwa Mitte 2. Jh.) *Cl(audius) Maximus et Ing(enuius) Superst(es) [s]tateram publicam cu[m] S]ervatore lib(erto) publico po[suer(unt)]*. *L. d. d. d.*; die Bedeutung von *publico* steht nicht mit Sicherheit fest, da aber *publico* als alleinstehend, etwa in der Bedeutung von *publice* nicht gebraucht wurde (eine Sondierung von *publico* in den Datenbanken von Brepolis und Clauss-Slaby hat die Abwesenheit diesbezüglicher Belege im Thesaurus-Artikel von *publicus* [K.-H. Kruse, *ThLL X 2, 2448–73* (bes. 2458, 29–60 müssten derartige Belege stehen)]

<sup>82</sup> Dazu vgl. K.-H. Kruse, *ThLL X 2, 2458, 61–2459, 68*. Zur Benennung des Kaisers als *parens publicus* ist den dort gegebenen Beispielen noch hinzuzufügen *AE 1993, 473* aus Misenum, von Traianus).

<sup>83</sup> Im Allgemeinen vgl. etwa G. Vitucci, s. v. *Libertus*, *Diz. epigr. IV* (19589 913f.; A. Weiß, *Untersuchungen zur öffentlichen Sklaverei in den Städten des Römischen Reiches* (Historia Einzelschriften 173), Stuttgart 2004, 236–45; dort ältere Bibliographie).

<sup>84</sup> Die Auflösung von P in *publicae*) ist nicht ganz sicher, doch ansprechend. *CIL* und L. Lazzaro, *Esclaves et affranchis en Belgique et Germanies romaines*, Paris 1993, 146 Nr. 117 bevorzugen *p(ientissimae)*, dabei wirkt aber *libertae pientissimae* seitens des Bruders etwas eigentümlich.

bestätigt), könnte man in der Tat an einen Nexus *liberto publico* denken. Dass ein Gemeindefreigelasener zur Installation einer öffentlichen Waage mit beauftragt worden wäre, würde nichts Verwunderliches darstellen. Auch Piso denkt an einen Gemeindefreigelasenen, der von Claudius Maximus und Ingenuus Superstes als Wächter, *servator* der Waage eingesetzt worden wäre. Die Verwendung von *servator* als Bezeichnung der Tätigkeit eines Freigelasenen wäre aber etwas eigentümlich; mir scheint vorzuziehen zu sein, *Servator* als den Namen des Freigelasenen aufzufassen (dazu s. oben S. 388). – Oder aber *publico* ist hier ausnahmsweise frei gebraucht worden, etwa mit der Bedeutung *in publico*. – Dagegen ist auszuschneiden *Aquae Flaviae*, ed. A. Rodríguez Colmenero 452 = *HEp* 2, 844 (*Aquae Flaviae* in *Hisp. cit.*), wo man am Ende *l(iberti p(ublici) [p(atrono)?]* hat verstehen wollen (am Anfang des Textes soll ein *Caesar divi [---] consul* oder ein *consul designatus proconsul* gestanden haben). Das nun gibt keinen Sinn. In der letzten Zeile kann anhand des (nicht guten) Fotos nur ein deutliches L gelesen werden, worauf möglicherweise ein P folgt (aber trotz des unscharfen Fotos könnte man denken, der Text habe mit dem ersten P geendet). Was den ersten Teil des Textes angeht, so ist in 2 COS sicher, aber in 1 bleibt in S DI oder S DE der letzte Buchstabe unsicher.

Was mich aber bei dieser Auslegung der Inschrift von Pax Iulia irritiert, ist die Wortstellung *publica liberta* anstelle der zu erwartenden *liberta publica*. Doch war *publicus servus* in Gebrauch: in Minturnae in den Stelen der republikanischen Zeit *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 2960 und *AE* 1988, 229; sonst *CIL* VI 2346. 32510; XI 5968 (Pitinum Mergens); III 4872 (Virunum).

Als Fazit lässt sich sagen, dass beide Lesungen vertretbar, aber ähnlich problematisch sind: im ersten Fall hätten wir einen sehr schwach überlieferten Namen, der jedoch eine nicht auszuschließende onomastische Bildung darstellen würde, im zweiten einen ungewöhnlichen administrativen Terminus, von dem sich aber heute einige wenige Fälle zusammenstellen lassen.

#### CCIC. GRAECA BRUNDISINA

In *Acta. XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, Barcelona, 3–8 Septembris 2002*, Barcelona 2007, 1243–46 publiziert C. Romano zwei hochinteressante auf Wandverputz geschriebene Graffiti aus Brundisium (*AE* 2007, 421f. *SEG* LVII 914f). Die Editorin datiert sie ins 2.–4. Jh. Ich würde sie etwa ins 3. Jh. ansetzen, auch wegen einiger Buchstabenformen, wie der

des H, das die kursive Form *h* aufweist. Die Graffiti sind in den Tabulae ansatae eingeritzt. Romano gibt den zwei Graffiti folgenden Text: ἀπὸ [Ρ]ώμης / δεύτερα νείκ<ω>/<ν><sup>85</sup> und Ἀσίας πρό/τοις Βε/νεβεντά/νοις.<sup>86</sup> Im ersten Text steht am Ende deutlich NEIKO/M geschrieben, Romanos Änderung ist in einer sonst einwandfrei ausgeführten Inschrift unnötig gewaltsam. Den ersten Text deutet sie im agonistischen Sinn und übersetzt "Da Roma vincitore del secondo posto"; der zweite sei Akklamation eines brindisinischen Mannes namens Asia "ad una delegazione di notabili beneventani, giunti a Brindisi, forse in transito per l'Oriente". Man hat auch für beide Texte agonistischen Inhalt beanspruchen wollen;<sup>87</sup> so denkt Chaniotis im ersten Text an einen bei den Kapitolia errungenen Sieg, im zweiten an das agonistische Festival Κοινὰ Ἀσίας. Man wäre versucht, dem zuzustimmen; zum Beispiel hätten beide Texte denselben agonistischen Charakter. Dagegen spricht aber der Textbefund (und die zwei Graffiti brauchen nicht unbedingt zusammenzuhängen); am Ende des ersten Textes steht nun einmal NEIKO/M, und das mit einer unbedachten Konjektur abzuschaffen ist methodisch bedenklich. Ich schlage vor, hier zwei Personennamen zu sehen, wobei der zweite Männernamen sein und im Dativ oder Genetiv stehen mag: Δευτέρα Νεικομ(άχω /-άχου) oder Νεικομ(ήδη /-ήδου(ς)). All diese Namen waren beliebte Anthroponyme in Rom und Italien.<sup>88</sup> Also Deutera aus Rom begrüßt Nicom- oder Deutera aus Rom, Tochter oder Frau des Nicom-. Es sei noch hinzugefügt, dass eine Wendung δεύτερα νικῶν κτλ. inschriftlich nicht belegt ist.<sup>89</sup> Was das zweite Graffito angeht, so wäre bei einer agonistischen Deutung

<sup>85</sup> Man müsste νεικῶν akzentuieren.

<sup>86</sup> Oberhalb der Tafel links stehen ein paar Buchstaben, die ich anhand des Fotos nicht zu deuten wage (die Editorin lässt sie in ihrer Abschrift weg). Sie können von einer anderen Hand stammen.

<sup>87</sup> A. Chaniotis, im Komm. von *SEG*; Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion 2007, *Kernos* 20 (2007) Nr. 121. Ferner G. Alföldy, *ZPE* 178 (2011) 103.

<sup>88</sup> *Deutera* 37mal in Rom belegt (s. mein griechisches Namenbuch 1123f; dort hinzuzufügen *BollSocPavese Storia patria* 1982, 2 *Ulpia Deutera*); öfters auch in Italien, weniger in den Provinzen (ich kenne nur *CIL* XIII 2301 (Lugdunum) *Velleia Deutera* (Freigelassene); *InscrRomProvCadiz* 391 (Gades) *Iunia Deutera*. Angemerkt sei, dass Δευτέρα im griechischen Bereich nur ganz okkasionell belegt ist (*Corinth* VIII 3, 583, christl., fragmentarisch, auch Δευτερία möglich; *IByzantion* 318, 3. Jh. n. Chr.; *JRS* 14 [1924] 44, 31 [Ikonion, spät]), was gut zur evtl. stadtrömischen Herkunft der Frau passt. *Nicomachus* 35mal, *Nicomedes* 34mal in Rom (mein Namenbuch 123f. 228f). Beide üblich sonst in Italien, einigermaßen belegt auch in den westlichen Provinzen.

<sup>89</sup> In literarischen Quellen: Aristid. *Panath.* 215 εἰ δ' ἄρα καὶ τὰ δεύτερα νικῶν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον

die Auslassung von κοινά etwas ungewöhnlich, in einer Urkunde dieser Art doch wohl vertretbar. Sonst bleibt es nur übrig, ACIAC als Personennamen aufzufassen. Der Männernamen Ἀσίας war seit dem 5. Jh. einigermaßen im Gebrauch,<sup>90</sup> auch wenn er nie üblich wurde.<sup>91</sup> Die griechische Onymie kennt auch den Frauennamen Ἀσιάς, dazu aus früherer Zeit, dem 4. Jh., eine Knidierin: *IG IX 2, 774* Ἀσιάς Κνιδία Ὀνησίμου γυνή. Aus dem Westen ist ein einziger Beleg aus Rom überliefert: *JWE II 334* ACIAC TO NHPIION (Lesung sicher), aber der Sexus bleibt unbestimmt, es könnte auch der Frauennamen Ἀσιάς vorliegen.<sup>92</sup> Wenn diese Auslegung richtig ist, dann begrüßt ein Mann Asias (weniger wahrscheinlich eine Frau) unbekannter Herkunft (in einer Hafenstadt wie Brundisium könnte man sich einen Griechisch Schreibenden leicht als einen Griechen vorstellen) eine Gruppe von vornehmen Beneventanern, die aus einem uns unbekanntem Grund nach Brundisium gereist waren. Mehr kann man aus der Kritzelei nicht herausholen.

### CCC. ZU NAMEN AUF DEM MONS CLAUDIANUS

Unten erfolgen einige Bemerkungen zu Namen der *vigiles* (in den Ostraka als βίγλης ούίγλης wiedergegeben) benannten Wachen, die in den Ostraka des Mons

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λύσειν πολιορκίαν, τὴν Αἰγίνης.

<sup>90</sup> Zur Herkunft des Namens Fr. Bechtel, *Historische Personennamen des Griechischen* (1917) 85, der ihn als einen Kurznamen zum Stamm φασι- stellt; er zitiert einen Beleg aus dem 2. Jh. aus Lebadeia, jetzt kennen wir mehrere ältere (und auch der von Lebadeia gehört ins 3. Jh.). Im allgemeinen Sprachbewusstsein war es auch möglich, besonders in späterer Zeit, den Namen mit Asien in Verbindungen zu bringen; so den Frauennamen Ἀσιάς, soweit er in der Überlieferung vorkommt.

<sup>91</sup> *CID II 31, 79* aus Thronion in Lokris Epikn. (zweite Hälfte des 4. Jh. v. Chr.); sonst in Mittelgriechenland in Boiotien, in Hyettos (*IG VII 2815, 206* v. Chr.?) und in Lebadeia (*IG VII 3068*, ca. 237–230 v. Chr.); öfters in Thessalien, in Gyrtion (*SEG XXIII 444*, ca. 40 v. Chr.), Larisa (*SEG XXXV 599*, 1. Jh. v. Chr.; *XLIV 450*), Gonnoi (Helly, *IGonnoi 74. 76*, 2. Jh. v. Chr.; 142, flavisch); in Lete(?) in Makedonien (Dimitsas, *Sylloge 678, 22* oder 139 n. Chr.). Aus Chios kommt der älteste Beleg von allen (5. Jh. v. Chr.), Ἀσίης im Gen. Ἀσιῶ (Schwyzer, *DialGrEx 688*).

<sup>92</sup> In meinem Namenbuch 652 ist Ἀσιάς als Frauennamen verbucht; so auch Frey, *CII I 90* und Noy, *JWE II 334*. Aber wie gesagt, der Sexus des Verstorbenen geht aus dem Textverlauf nicht hervor.

Claudianus belegt sind.<sup>93</sup> Sie waren entweder Zivilpersonen oder Soldaten. Über ihre Herkunft kann nicht viel gesagt werden. Von den Namen sind manche (besonders in der ersten Abteilung der Listen von 'four vigiles') ägyptisch, viele sind griechisch, andere lateinisch. Die Ostraka werden etwa um die Mitte des 2. Jh. n. Chr. datiert.

Αιούτωρ 335. Das ist natürlich lat. *Adiutor*. Es ist interessant zu notieren, dass, während in lateinischen Urkunden *Adiutor* gegenüber *Aiutor* deutlich überwiegt, in den wenigen griechischen Belegen öfter Αιούτωρ geschrieben wird (*IG* X 2, 1, 888 [Thessalonike, 3. Jh.]; *JlWE* II 436 [Rom, 3. Jh.]; *PVindob Bosw* 15 [3./ 4. Jh.]); Ἀδιούτωρ nur *PFlor* I 6 (Hermopolis, 210 n. Chr.) Καλουέντιος Ἀδιούτωρ ὁ κράτιστος διοικητής;<sup>94</sup> hier wird sozusagen eine mehr 'offizielle' Graphie vorgezogen.

Δαμαστι 337 bietet Schwierigkeiten. Wahrscheinlich steckt dahinter Δαμάστης mit nachlässiger Wiedergabe. Dieser Name lässt sich seit dem Anfang des 4. Jh. hie und da in der griechischen Welt belegen.<sup>95</sup> Der vom Editor als Alternative präsentierte Δαμάστιχος kommt nicht in Frage, er ist ein einziges Mal in Epidauros belegt (*BSA* 61 [1966] 307 Nr. 20 aus dem Anfang des 3. Jh.) und stellt keinen Namentyp dar, der sich leicht entfalten könnte.

Διγνιτα. So liest man in 349. Wenn richtig gelesen, dann kann, wie auch der Editor annimmt, wohl nichts anderes vorliegen als eine schlampige Wiedergabe des lateinischen Cognomens *Dignitas* (DIGNITA wäre nichts).<sup>96</sup> *Dignitas* ist aber ein Frauenname, einigermaßen in der römischen Anthroponymie verbreitet, und zwar alleinig als Frauenname.<sup>97</sup> Überhaupt wurden aus Abstrakta gebildete Cognomina auf *-itas* zunächst nur als Frauennamen verwendet, mit einigen markanten Ausnahmen wie *Pietas*, als Männername sogar üblicher als als

<sup>93</sup> *Mons Claudianus. Ostraca Graeca et Latina* II, [ed.] J. Bingen – A. Bülow-Jacobsen – W. E. H. Cockle – H. Cuvigny – F. Kayser – W. van Rengen, Le Caire 1997. Diese Gruppe von Ostraka wurde von Bülow-Jacobsen 165–92 Nr. 309–56 publiziert.

<sup>94</sup> Dagegen wird das Appellativ *adiutor* in den Papyri durchgehend ἄδιούτωρ transskribiert, mit Ausnahme von αἰούτωρες in *PWorp* 48 (Elephantine, 152 n. Chr.). In Inschriften ist das Appellativ in griechischer Schrift nicht belegt.

<sup>95</sup> Alt sind z. B. ein Epidaurier *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 103 aus dem Anfang des 4. Jh und ein Thasier, der um 400 ein eponymer Beamter war.

<sup>96</sup> Aus dem Foto in Pl. XLIII zu schließen scheint die Lesung sicher zu sein. Oder könnte doch ΔΙΓΝΙΤΑC gelesen werden?

<sup>97</sup> S. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* 280 mit neun Belegen (davon übrigens fünf christlich). *Arctos* 44 (2010) 237 mit weiteren sieben Belegen.



Frauennamen (s. Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 251); *Felicitas*, ein beliebter Frauenname, wurde okkasionell Männern zugelegt (*CIL* X 6713 I, 7); *Veritas*, ein selten gebrauchter Name, einmal als Männer-, zweimal als Frauennamen belegt (Kajanto 254); *Severitas*, einmal belegt (*CIL* VIII 26953), und zwar als Männername. Einen Sonderfall stellt *Aequitas* dar: als Frauennamen in *CIL* X 257 und *AE* 1978, 181, als Männername in *CIL* VI 282. *AE* 1980, 54 N. *Lucius Hermeros Aequitas*, der sein zweites Cognomen als eine Art Zunamen oder Spitznamen wegen seiner Beschäftigung mit den Gewichten erhielt, und 10003, auch dort zweites Cognomen eines Freigelassenen. Es sei noch betont, dass unter den Cognomina auf *-(i)tas* viele Frauennamen beliebte Bildungen wurden, dass also im ganzen unter den mit diesem Suffix versehenen Cognomina die Frauennamen deutlich überwiegen. Zurück zu unserem Ostrakon. Man kann wohl davon ausgehen, dass die *vigiles* regelmäßig Männer sein mussten. *Dignitas* aber ist Frauennamen. Um einen Ausweg aus dem Dilemma zu finden, bleiben zwei Möglichkeiten der Erklärung: entweder ist *Dignitas* hier doch Männername – wie wir gesehen haben, findet sich unter den Cognomina auf *-(i)tas* eine gewisse Zahl von Männernamen, entweder Bildungen, die hauptsächlich Männern zugelegt wurden, oder einige wenige okkasionelle Bildungen, die für beide Geschlechter belegt sind. Oder aber wir hätten hier eine Losung, *password*, die in der ersten Abteilung der *Vigiles*-Texte regelmäßig vorkommen (dort erscheint z. B. eine morphologisch ähnliche Losung Πιετατις). Dagegen spricht aber, dass die Losungen immer am Ende des Textes platziert und ihnen das Wort *είνεν* vorangestellt ist.

Ημινης. 342. 346. 350 und 351, wo nachlässig Ημινος geschrieben ist. Dem Editor zufolge soll der Name möglicherweise semitisch sein, woran man zweifeln kann.<sup>98</sup> Vielmehr haben wir es mit dem gut lateinischen Namen *Eminens* zu tun, der hier nach griechischer Art ohne *n* geschrieben ist, wie es oft in der Nominativform passiert; geläufig sind in griechischer Schrift Formen wie Κλήμης Κρήσκης Ουάλης/Βάλης Πούδης Πραΐσης (in lateinischen Inschriften stellten besonders *Clemes* und *Pudes* eine übliche Schreibweise dar, die auch sonst, etwa in pompejanischen Graffiti, verbreitet war). Zur Verbreitung von *Eminens* siehe oben S. 366.

Κωνωπέιτης 340. 345 war im Griechischen bisher nur als Götterepitheton (vor allem des Sarapis) und als Ethnikon bekannt: *IG* XII 6, 2, 589 (Samos, 3.

<sup>98</sup> Er weist auf H. Wuthnow (nicht Wüthnow!), *Die semitischen Menschennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930, 45 hin, der Ειμην und Ειμινις zitiert, das hilft aber nicht weiter.

Jh.) Κωνωπίτης; öfters in ägyptischen Papyri.<sup>99</sup> Hier haben wir es mit einem reinen Personennamen zu tun. Um einen Personennamen scheint es auch bei Celsus 6,6,25 *Canopitae collyrium*. 6,6,28 *id* (sc. *collyrium*) *quod Canopitae est* zu handeln. Dagegen war Κώνωπος (und im Lateinischen *Canopus*) ein gängiger Personennamen (notiere auch Κώνωπις *IG XII 9,916,24* aus Chalkis von 34 v. Chr.), den Griechen war also der Begriff des Kanopos wohlbekannt, was auch dem okkasionellen Gebrauch von Κωνωπίτης als Name förderlich war.

Κεφαλάς 339. 341. 343. 344 ist guter griechischer Name,<sup>100</sup> mehrmals in Ägypten belegt,<sup>101</sup> was ihn aber noch nicht zu einem ägyptischen Namen macht, wie mitunter vermutet worden ist.<sup>102</sup>

Μείνωσ 339. 341. 343. 344. Das kann wohl nichts anderes als Μίνωσ sein; das *iota* im Namen des kretischen Königs war lang und konnte in der Kaiserzeit beliebig durch *ei* wiedergegeben werden, und in der Tat wird sein Name in *SEG XVII 365* (Karpathos) und *IG XII Suppl. 165a* (Melos, beide kaiserzeitlich) Μείνωσ geschrieben. Als historischer Personennamen wurde der Name des kretischen Königs nur spärlich verwendet; mir sind drei mehr oder weniger sichere Belege bekannt: 1) ein Athener, Olympiasieger 400/399, *PA 10223* aus Diod. Sic. 14,35,1, dessen hsl Überlieferung einhellig Μίνωσ Ἀθηναῖος hat (von Dindorfs alter Konjektur Μένων kann man sowieso absehen); dagegen hat Iulius Africanus ap. Eus. I 203–4 Schoene Μένων Ἀθηναῖος, was, wohl aufgrund von Diodor, in Μίνων geändert wird, doch ohne jeglichen Grund, denn Diodor vertritt zweifellos bessere Überlieferung, und der Euseb-Text ist sowieso korrupt; auch ist ein Name Μίνων sonst unbekannt und morphologisch kaum erfolgreich erklärbar (vgl. jedoch Μείνων *SEG XLV 1378* aus Leontinoi in Sizilien, ca. 500–475 v.

<sup>99</sup> *BGU VIII 1744–1746*; *PCairZen I 59138–9*.

<sup>100</sup> Fehlt bei Bechtel, *HPN 479f* unter den Bildungen aus der Sippe um Κέφαλος, kann aber schon früh belegt werden: *IPhilae 47* (vor 80 v. Chr.) Kreter aus Gortyn; *IGLS III 699* (Ende 2. Jh. v. Chr.); vielleicht auch *IPE I<sup>2</sup> 349* (120–110 v. Chr.) [--- Κε]φαλά Ἀμι[σηνός].

<sup>101</sup> J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou Syringes 239. 1054*; *SB V 8066* (Hermoupolis, 78 v. Chr.) Κεφαλάς Κεφάλωνος; *I. Fayoum II 134* (79 v. Chr.); *IGR I 1122* (109 n. Chr.), 1228 (163 n. Chr.); *SEG XIV 870* (Terenuthis, 3./ 4. Jh.). Aus den Papyri: *BGU II 483*, IX 1900, XI 2072, XIV 2425; *ChrWilcken 474*; *CPR V 26*; *OLeid 37*; *OMich I 249*, II 713, III 1050; *OWadi Hamm 45*, usw.; in der Datenbank "Papyri.info" sind allein vom Nominativ Κεφαλάς 64 Belege enthalten.

<sup>102</sup> So meint T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity. III: The Western Diaspora 330 BCE – 650 CE*, Tübingen 2008, 9f. 627–62, dieser sei mit anderen Namen ägyptisch, weil er nur in Ägypten gebraucht worden sei. Ein absurder Gedanke.

Chr.);<sup>103</sup> 2) [Hippocr.] *Epid.* 4,39 (ca. erste Hälfte des 4. Jh.) ἡ Μίνωος, Frau des Minos, unbekannter Herkunft;<sup>104</sup> 3) Ineditum aus Myra in Lykien (s. *LGPN* V.B 298) (212 n. Chr.) Λέαίνα Μείνωτος (lässt sich ungezwungen zu Μίνωος stellen). Dass Minos' Name in der griechischen Anthroponymie historischer Zeit so selten auftaucht, braucht nicht zu wundern. Wenn man einen Blick wirft in die Liste bei Bechtel, *HPN* 571–578, wo wo Namen aus Namen von Heroen zusammengestellt sind, so bemerkt man, dass die Zahl solcher Bildungen freilich nicht gering ist, dass aber nicht alle dieser Namen sehr beliebt wurden und dass sie sich erst in der Kaiserzeit vollends entfalteteten. Aus Gründen, die uns natürlich verborgen bleiben, wurde Μίνωος nicht mehr verwendet, trotz seiner positiven Konnotation im allgemeinen Bewusstsein (war ein Grund möglicherweise der nicht geläufige Deklinationstyp des Namens?).

Ξίφος 338. 347 ist in der Tat einmalig als Personennamenname, vielleicht eine Art Spitzname für einen Soldaten.

Σκεῖτος 339. 347 ist lat. *Scitus*, wie der Editor richtig bemerkt (zu dessen Verbreitung s. *Arctos* 47 [2013] 277). Scheint sonst nicht im griechischen Osten belegt zu sein.

Χρῦσανθος 350. Der Editor behauptet auf S. 337, dieser Name sei "so far unattested in the onomastica, but Χρῦσαντᾶς exists".<sup>105</sup> Doch der Name war

<sup>103</sup> Trotzdem plädiert man meistens für Μίνων: so J. Kirchner, *PA*; *LGPN* II 315; J. S. Traill, *Persons of Ancient Athens*, 12, Toronto 2003, 378 (freilich mit Vorbehalt). Für Μίνωος tritt ein L. Moretti: *Luigi Moretti e il catalogo degli Olympionikai. Testimonianze epigrafiche, letterarie, papirologiche e numismatiche sui vincitori degli agoni olimpici panellenici (Ellade e Magna Grecia: 776 a.C. – 393 d.C.)*, a cura di M. E. Garcia Barraco e I. Soda (*ArchelogaMente* 7), Roma 2014, 80 Nr. 357.

<sup>104</sup> In *LGPN* IV 237 wird der Beleg Perinthos zugeschrieben (freilich mit Fragezeichen), doch ohne hinreichende Gründe. Der nächste vom Autor vorher genannte Ort ist Krannon (37), der nächste nachher genannte Korinth (40). Blättert man solche Werke durch wie K. Deichgräbers Untersuchungen *Die Epidemien und das Corpus Hippocraticum. Voruntersuchungen zu einer Geschichte der koischen Ärzteschule*, Berlin 1971 (Nachdruck, ursprünglich in *Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.- hist. Kl.* 3, 1933 erschienen) oder *Die Patienten des Hippokrates. Historisch-prosopographische Beiträge zu den Epidemien des Corpus Hippocraticum* (Abhandlungen der Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1982, 9), Mainz 1982, so findet man keine Hinweise auf gerade Perinth.

<sup>105</sup> Ein merkwürdiges Missverständnis; gleich danach widerspricht er sich, wenn er schreibt "A Χρῦσανθος is known in inv. 8574 ... also from 153".

überall in der griechischen Welt in Gebrauch,<sup>106</sup> bestens auch im römischen Westen bezeugt.

### CCCI. IMMUNIS

Hier wird kurz die Frage berührt, ob in der römischen Anthroponymie ein Eigenname *Immunis* möglich war.

Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 315 verzeichnet von *Immunis* zwei Belege, beide aus Germania superior, von denen der zweite, *CIL* XIII 4016 aus dem Gebiet der Treverer korrupt sei. In der Tat ist das Vorhandensein des Cognomens in dem nur von Alexander Wiltheim überlieferten (und von ihm selbst nicht einmal gesehenen) Text recht suspekt, der in Wiltheims Zeichung<sup>107</sup> folgendermaßen lautet: DM / TORNIONIIVS / IMVNNIS ET COIV/GI IVLINIA POPILLVS. Die Editoren von *ILBelg*<sup>2</sup> 109 vermuten im Gentilnamen einen Nexus und lesen *Tornionêius*,<sup>108</sup> das macht aber den Textverlauf nicht verständlicher, denn ein Gentilname *Tornioneius* bleibt nach wie vor höchst obskur, ein derartiges Geschöpf wäre einfach eine Unmöglichkeit,<sup>109</sup> seine Bildung bliebe völlig unmotiviert auch deswegen, weil überhaupt keine Namen mit ähnlichem incipit bekannt sind; die am nächsten kommenden Bildungen aus keltischen Gebieten wie *Tornis(?) Tornus Tornos Tornaco* helfen nicht weiter. Bei dieser Lage der Dinge wird auch die Deutung von *Imunnis* als eine sekundäre Graphie des Cognomens *Immunis* sehr suspekt. Aber auch in *CIL* XIII 6710 (Mainz, 205 n. Chr.) ist es alles andere als sicher, dass dort der Name vorliegt; die Lesung dürfte freilich feststehen, da sie von Zangemeister stammt, die Deutung aber ist schwierig; vielleicht kann man Mommsen zustimmen, der *immunis* als Appellativ erklärt.

<sup>106</sup> Er war freilich kein früher Name; die Bezeugung beginnt erst in der frühen Kaiserzeit, doch setzen die frühen Belege von Namen wie *Χρυσανθίδα* *IG* VII 14 (Megara aus dem frühen 3. Jh.) oder *Χρυσανθίς* *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 11144. 13072 (beide 4. Jh.) oder auch *Χρυσανθή* *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 13071 (4. Jh.) die Verwendung auch von *Χρυσανθος* in vorrömischer Zeit voraus.

<sup>107</sup> Wiltheims Zeichnung ist in *ILBelg*<sup>2</sup>, Pl. XLVI wiedergegeben worden.

<sup>108</sup> Mir ist nicht klar, wie die Editoren sich den Nexus denken. Wiltheim hat TORNIONIIVS, mit welchem Nexus kann davon aber *-êius* werden?

<sup>109</sup> Trotz Versuche mancher erlauchter Namen wie J. L. Weisgerber und anderer, dies Gentile als indigen unbestimmter Herkunft zu erklären; Bibliographie bei A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Gallia Belgica*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2010, 174.

Andere Belege des Cognomens *Immunis*, die möglich sind oder vorgeschlagen wurden:

1) *CIL* VI 11734 (etwa 2./ 3. Jh.) *Annio Immun[---] filio*, also deutlich Cognomen. Gesehen von Dessau, Lesung dürfte infolgedessen feststehen. Trotz der abweichenden Schreibung *Imun-* kann es kaum um etwas anderes handeln als um das Cognomen *Immunis*.

2) *CIL* III 6178 = *ISM* V 137 I 8 (Entlassungsliste von Veteranen, Troesmis in Moesia inferior, 134 n. Chr.) *Iul(ius) Imu[---]* in Mommsens Lesung; heute sieht man auf dem in *ISM* publizierten Foto vom Cognomen nichts.

3) *CIL* VIII 21094 (Caesarea Mauret., 23–40 n. Chr.) *[I]mmunis et Cinnamus*. Warum hier gerade *[I]mmunis* und nicht *[Co]mmunis* (ein geläufiges Cognomen) ergänzt werden muss, sehe ich nicht ein. Haben die Editoren aus Raumgründen *[I]mmunis* als die alleinige Lesung vorgezogen? Nota bene, dass Schmitter vor M ein O hat sehen wollen. Jedenfalls scheidet diese Inschrift als ein sicherer Zeuge von *Immunis* aus.

4–5) Aus dem gallisch-germanischen Raum kommen zwei mehr oder weniger sichere Belege: *CIL* XIII 10021, 44 (Augenarztstempel, gefunden in Epamanduodurum in Germania superior, d. heutige Mandœuvre in Frankreich) *C. Cl(audi) Immunis*;<sup>110</sup> und *CIL* XIII vol. 6, S. 61 Nr. 280 (Ziegelstempel im Lager der legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis in Mainz, 2. Jh.) *Iul(ius) Immunis*. Aber *CAG* 89, 2 (2002) 704 (Agedincum in Lugdunensis) *Immunis* steht ohne Kontext, weswegen sein onomastischer Charakter offen bleibt. Dazu kommt der Gentilname *Immunius*, aus *Immunis* nach der gut bekannten germanischen Namensitte gebildet), belegt in *AE* 1985, 682 (Colijnsplaat in Niederlanden, röm. Ganventa) *Immun(i) Primus et Ibliomarus*, die eine Stele der Dea Nehalennia weihen; etwas suspekt bleibt das Zeugnis von *CIL* XIII 4043 (Gebiet der Treviri) *Immunie [---] / Viscarevi[---] / IELARI*; doch auch wenn das Cognomen korrupt sein mag, könnte der Gentilname als *Immunia* festgelegt werden. – Zuletzt sei die Frage gestellt, ob im keltischen Gebiet möglicherweise indigene Bildungen zugrunde liegen könnten, im Stile von *Immunus*, belegt aus der Lugdunensis (*CAG* 1 [1990] 101) und aus Aquitanien (*CAG* 63, 2 [1990] 179).<sup>111</sup> Doch könnte diese Form durch Deklinationswechsel erklärt werden, wie *Communus* statt *Communis* (belegt in *CIL* VIII 11706. 17705). Im Bewusstsein der Namengeber und Sprachteilhaber

<sup>110</sup> Neue Edition bei J. Voinot, *Les cachets à collyres dans le monde romain*, Montagnac 1999, 166 Nr. 115 mit Foto.

<sup>111</sup> Auszuscheiden hat ein vermeintliches *Imunica* in *CIL* II 3007 (von A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* II 37 herangezogen), denn dort ist *Terentia [-] f. Munica* zu lesen: *HEp* 5, 361.

auch im keltischen Gebiet wurde doch der Name wohl als lateinisch empfunden und mit *immunis* in Verbindung gebracht.

Unsere Schlussfolgerung ist, dass *Immunis* ein mögliches Cognomen war, von dem jedoch sehr selten Gebrauch gemacht wurde. Die meisten Belege kommen aus den Provinzen, wo der Name im Bewusstsein der Namengeber und Sprachteilhaber leichter als in Italien mit *immunis*, und zwar im positiven Sinn des Wortes, in Verbindung gebracht werden konnte. Doch auch in Provinzen blieb die Verwendung dieses Namens gering. Überhaupt konnten sich manche Begriffe, die sich auf den Status von Personen beziehen, nicht als Namen entfalten und wurden nur selten in der lateinischen Namengebung praktiziert, so etwa *Libertus -a*, zu dessen Wahl als Rufname sein Begriffsinhalt aus gut verständlichen Gründen hemmend wirkte;<sup>112</sup> aber auch ein Name mit an sich positivem Begriffsinhalt wie *Patronus -a* wurde nie üblich. Auch *Pater* und *Mater* wurden nur sehr selten zu Personennamen.<sup>113</sup> Andererseits war ein Name wie *Ingenuus* in der Kaiserzeit beliebt. Unerforschlich sind die Wege der Namengebung.

## CCCII. ESURIO

In der Namenliste von Malagbelvereherrern *IRD* III 2, 65 (Sarmizegetusa, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) lesen wir *a 8 [--- Vi]talianus Esurio* (Lesung sicher). Was ist *Esurio*? Ist das ein scherzhafter Zuname oder Spitzname des [---] Vitalianus: ein Hungerer, Hungerleider (im alten Latein ist *esurio* nur aus Plaut. *Persa* 103 belegt)? Oder liegt ein nichtlateinischer Name vor? Im Keltischen sind Namen wie *Aesurilinus* (*RIB* I 193) oder *Aesurius* in *AE* 2003, 862 = 2004, 718 = *HEp* 13, 867 (Lusitanien) *genti[s] Aesuriorum* bekannt. Doch der Mann war wahrscheinlich ein Syrer, aus dem Semitischen scheint der Name aber nicht ableitbar zu sein.

<sup>112</sup> Vgl. H. Solin, *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) 354f. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 230. Ein vermeintlicher Beleg ist hier gleich unten S. 406 angeführt.

<sup>113</sup> Zu *Pater* H. Solin, *Graecolatina*, in *Polyphonia Romana. Hommages à Frédérique Biville*. Édité par A. Garcea, M.-K. Lhommé et G. Vallat (*Spudasmata* 155), Hildesheim 2013, 483–9; *Arctos* 46 (2012) 209f., und oben S. 374.

## CCCI. DERTONENSIA PAUCA

Ein paar Bemerkungen zu dem von V. Pettirossi besorgten Supplement der Inschriften von Iulia Dertona im Rahmen von *Supplementa Italica* 26 (2012) 55–187.

Nr. 3. Pettirossi publiziert aus einer sehr korrupten Abschrift eine Grabinschrift, deren Text sie nach besten Kräften zu heilen versucht. Der Name des ersten Verstorbenen lautet in der Abschrift ARIO M F / LIBERTO TRIB CO/HOR; Pettirossi macht davon [- M]ario M(arci) f(ilio) 'Tu'berto. Im Kommentar begründet sie auf keine Weise die Ablösung von *Libertus* durch *Tubertus*, von welchem sie nur bemerkt, der Name komme sonst nicht in der regio IX vor, während sie keine Notiz davon nimmt, dass *Libertus* bei Kajanto (auf den sie sonst hinweist) 314 vorkommt. Nun kam aber *Libertus* in der Tat aus gut verständlichen Gründen im römischen Westen überhaupt nicht in Gebrauch (s. meine Ausführungen in *Anal. epigr.* 354f. *Arctos* 35 [2001] 230 und hier gleich oben S. 405). Es ist aber schon methodisch sehr bedenklich, LIBERTO durch einen Namen zu ersetzen, der nur bei zwei Beamten der frühen römischen Republik überliefert ist, wie die Editorin aus Kajanto hätte entnehmen müssen. Wahrscheinlich liegt hier etwas ganz anderes vor. Nicht sehr weit weg vom Überlieferten würde zum Beispiel M(arci) f(il)io Certo führen. *Certus* war ein sehr gebräuchliches Cognomen.

14. In 1 liest die Editorin [---]ntis v[iri] verecund[ia]. Eher wohl [emine]ntis(simi) v[iri]. Der Nexus *eminens vir* war nicht gebräuchlich, wie auch nicht *vir verecundus*, weswegen in [---]ntis kein Eigename stecken kann.

27. Der Anfang des erhaltenen Textes (vielleicht bis 4) scheint metrisch zu sein. Die Editorin ergänzt in 1 gegen das Metrum [funere mers]os acerb[o], mit Verweis auf *CLE* 629 und 1822, die aber gar nicht hierher gehören (außerdem würde *mersos* keinen rechten Sinn ergeben). Anhand des Fotos würde ich eher [funere mers]us acerb[o] lesen (freilich hat der erste erhaltene Buchstabe am Foto den Schein eines O, doch ist der erhaltene rechte Teil nicht ganz identisch mit dem der anderen O); so würden wir eine einwandfreie hexametrische Klausel erhalten, mit einer vergilianischen Reminiszenz des berühmten Verses *Aen.* 6, 429 = 11, 28 *abstulit atra dies et funere mersit acerbo*,<sup>114</sup> der als ganzer oder teilweise (besonders wurden *abstulit atra dies* oder *funere mersit acerbo* als solche gebraucht) oder aber in verschiedenen Adaptionen oft in der epigraphischen Poesie wiederkehren.<sup>115</sup> Die Klausel *funere mersus acerbo* in *CIL* IX 5012 = *CLE*

<sup>114</sup> Dazu vgl. H. Solin, Epigrafia, in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* II, Roma 1986, 336.

<sup>115</sup> Siehe R. P. Hoogma, *Der Einfluss Vergils auf die Carmina Latina epigraphica. Eine Studie*

649 (359 n. Chr.) *hic est Simplicius nam funere mersus acerbo*; vgl. *AE* 1974, 695 = 1981, 874 (Belalis Maior in prov. proc., ca. 600–630 n. Chr.) *funere est mersus acerbo*.<sup>116</sup> – 2 *[ulti]ma fatorum* auch in *CIL* VI 20132 = *CLE* 1171 und *CIL* XI 1563 = *CLE* 1130.<sup>117</sup> – 4 *[---] priva[---]* kann noch zum metrischen Teil gehören; zum Beispiel *privatus*: der Verstorbene ist des Lebens beraubt, oder *privati*: die Eltern sind des gestorbenen Sohnes beraubt. – 5 Pettirossi liest *[---]ur loci nu[men]* (?), was keinen Sinn gibt. Wenn man in dem fünften Buchstaben statt C ein V sehen darf (auf dem Foto kann man mit gutem Willen Reste der linken Has-te von V erkennen), sei hier der Name des Verstorbenen in der Form *[A]ur(elius) Iovinu[s]* vorgeschlagen. Das Cognomen *Iovinus* wurde üblich in der späteren Kaiserzeit, was mit der Datierung der Inschrift in Einklang steht.

#### CCCIV. NOCHMALS VERKANNTHE CHRISTLICHE INSCHRIFTEN

In Fortsetzung zur Serie von Beobachtungen zu stadtrömischen christlichen Inschriften, die in den zehn Bänden der *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* fehlen (zuletzt *Arctos* 37 [2003] 204f), seien noch folgende Fälle mitgeteilt.

O. Marucchi, "La recente controversia sul cimitero Ostiano e sulla sede primitiva di S. Pietro in Roma", *Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana* 9 (1903) 199–273 publiziert auf S. 215 und 233 beiläufig zwei Inschriften aus der Priscilla-Katakombe, die im neunten Band des altchristlichen Inschriftenwerkes fehlen. Ihre Nichtbeachtung seitens der Editoren mag darauf zurückgehen, dass Marucchis Aufsatz sich nicht mit den inschriftlichen Funden von Priscilla befasst.<sup>118</sup> Auf S. 215 findet sich ein Graffito (im Stile von *ICUR* 24867) KATPETA,

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mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der metrisch-technischen Grundsätze der Entlehnung, Amsterdam 1959, 285–287.

<sup>116</sup> Zur Inschrift Chr. Hamdoune (Hg.), *Vie, mort et poésie dans l'Afrique romaine*, Bruxelles 2011, 105 Nr. 52.

<sup>117</sup> Die von der Editorin präsentierte alternative Ergänzung *[supre]ma fatoru[m]* verstößt gegen das Metrum und ergibt keinen guten Sinn.

<sup>118</sup> Notiere auch, dass in den Lemmata der von Marucchi in seinem Aufsatz behandelten anderswo früher publizierten Inschriften von Priscilla kein Hinweis auf diesen Aufsatz enthalten ist (*ICUR* 24867, 25709, 25962). Was 25709 betrifft, wählt der Editor die falsche Lesart OCTRI AGA / [K]AL SEPT von Marucchi, *Nuovo Bullettino* 8 (1902) 262 (so schon *Giornale degli scavi* 13, 22 Nr. 14), ohne zu verstehen, dass die richtige *[---]o Cyriago* nicht nur von Marucchi in dem zu Rede stehenden Aufsatz 232, sondern schon von de Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 5. serie 3 (1892) 113 gegeben war.



was Marucchi zufolge eine Metathese von KATETPA sein könnte. Wenn er richtig gelesen hat (was gut möglich ist trotz des nicht guten Ruhmes von Marucchi als Editor von Inschriften),<sup>119</sup> dann könnte hier in der Tat das Wort καθέδρα mit Metathese vorliegen. Dass auf der Wand τ statt θ geschrieben steht, ist kein Hindernis, denn in römischer Umgebung konnte die Schwäche der Aspiration leicht dazu führen, dass auch in griechischer Schrift τ für θ stehen konnte (außerdem könnte das Graffito selbst lateinisch, nur mit griechischen Lettern geschrieben sein). Beispiele davon aus späten griechischen stadtrömischen Urkunden fehlen nicht: ἔντα (*ICUR* 5696d), κατάτεσις (11700), μνήστητι (26107), παρτένος (8680), Παρτέν(ι)ος (22847), ἐν τεῶ (15129). Ebenfalls lässt sich τ für δ als eine Art Fernassimilation erklären. Wenn dem so ist, dann steht nichts auf dem Wege, KATPETA als eine einseitige Distanzmetathese, regressive Fernversetzung eines R aus καθέδρα anzunehmen. Ein solcher Vorgang lässt sich oft belegen: *Pranctius* < *Pancretius* (üblich in späten Inschriften; die stadtrömischen Belege in meinem griechischen Namenbuch 722), *pristinum* < *pistrinum* in mittelalterlichen Plautus-Handschriften (s. *ThLL* X 1, 2221, 38–42), *pristinarium* (Audollent, *DT* 140), usw.<sup>120</sup> Der Vorgang ist auch im Griechischen nicht selten,<sup>121</sup> und erst recht in römischer Umgebung zu erwarten. – Ob dieses Graffito etwas mit *cathedra Petri* zu tun hat, wie Marucchi meint, bleibe dahingestellt; mit der Beurteilung dieser Frage muss man sehr vorsichtig vorgehen.

Auf S. 233 publiziert Marucchi zwei Inschriften aus Priscilla (ohne den genaueren Aufbewahrungsort anzugeben) als Beispiele für die Vermengung von lateinischen und griechischen Lettern in derselben Inschrift (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 771): *Vibian/eti filie / δούλ(η)* und *Iunie / φιλε*.

Ebenfalls aus der Priscilla-Katakombe kommt eine von de Rossi, *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 4. Ser. 4 (1886) 52 Nr. 37 publizierte metrische Inschrift, deren Weglassung in *ICUR* IX nur aus einem Versehen herrührt. De Rossi macht 49ff zwei metrische Grabinschriften bekannt, von denen die erste, eine Marmortafel, ihren Weg in *ICUR* 25963 gefunden hat. Die zweite, eine mit Meninge aufgemalte Inschrift, ist aber der Aufmerksamkeit der Nachfolger de Rossis

<sup>119</sup> Marucchi sagt, er habe den Text mit mehreren anderen verglichen, die ihn auf dieselbe Weise gelesen haben.

<sup>120</sup> Zur Sache vgl. E. Schopf, *Die konsonantischen Fernwirkungen: Fern-Dissimilation, Fern-Assimilation, und Metathesis. Ein Beitrag zur Beurteilung ihres Wesens und ihres Verlaufs und zur Kenntnis der Vulgärsprache in den lateinischen Inschriften der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Göttingen 1919, passim, zur einseitigen Fernumstellung eines R 197–201.

<sup>121</sup> Vgl. etwa Schwyzer, *Griech. Gramm.* I 268f.

entgangen, warum, bleibt ein Geheimnis des Editors. Nach de Rossi handelt es sich um einen alten, mit schönen priscillianischen Buchstaben aufgemalten Text, auf dessen Wortlaut wir hier nicht näher eingehen; er findet sich bei Diehl *ILCV* 2188 (mit ein paar kleineren Anmerkungen) nachgedruckt – sehr viel ist aus dem fragmentarischen Text auch nicht zu entnehmen. Der Stil ist gehoben, mit Wendungen, die sonst nicht in epigraphischen Carmina vorkommen. Gesucht ist etwa [*implent* (o. ä.) *pl*] *angoribus auras* von den Hinterbliebenen (wozu *ThLL* X 1, 2315, 41–44).

Ferner fehlt aus reinem Versehen in *ICUR* IX die von Fabretti 759, 648 (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 2573) publizierte Grabinschrift aus Priscilla:  $\subset$  *christogramma*  $\supset$  *in pace / Septimia Ilara, vixit / anus XX. III Calend. Acust.* Auch in Muratori 1939, 8 aus Gori, den der Text in Florenz bei derselben Edelfrau wie Fabretti bekanntgibt; mit der Variante AVGVST.

Aus der Hermes-Katakombe kommt die folgende Inschrift, die man vergebens im zehnten Band der *ICUR* sucht: *Vitalissimus Rufi/ne dulcissime, quae vixit / annis XXXII, d. X, karissime / coiug., que mecum bene laboru*, deren Text man in Muratori 1959, 6 aus Marangoni liest (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 4325, der *labor(a)-v(it)* schreibt). [Vgl. schon *Arctos* 46 (2012) 231.]

De Rossi publizierte in der ersten Serie des altchristlichen Inschriftenwerkes *ICUR* I 113 (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 2941) eine stadtrömische Inschrift unbekannter Herkunft aus dem Jahre 352; nunmehr wissen wir, dass sie aus einer Katakombe der via Salaria nova stammt (Ferruas Mitteilung aus de Rossis Nachlass in *ILCV* IV S. 26). Sie müsste also im neunten Band von *ICUR* stehen. Da schon maßgebend von de Rossi veröffentlicht, ist das Weglassen in *ICUR* IX nur ein Flüchtigkeitsfehler.

Dagegen wurde de Rossi I 174 (vgl. S. 575, Suppl. 1525 und Ferrua, *ILCV* IV S. 38) von den Editoren der neuen *ICUR* als Fälschung verworfen. Die auf uns gekommenen drei Exempare der Inschrift sind in der Tat neu, sie geben aber zweifellos den Text einer echten Inschrift wieder, deren Archetyp verloren gegangen ist. So hätte die Inschrift den Zugang in den ersten Band der *ICUR* verdient.

Um bei dem Begründer christlichen Archäologie zu bleiben. Er publizierte I 1359 (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 3858 A) eine Inschrift ohne genau verifizierbares Konsulardatum aus Manuzio, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5241 p. 700. Dort stellt dieser eine Gruppe von christlichen Inschriften von S. Maria in Domnica alias S. Maria della Navicella zusammen (auf derselben Seite finden sich auch die heidnischen *CIL* VI 20189, 30166, 1–3 [die letztere auch in *ICUR* 497, ohne dass Silvagni die

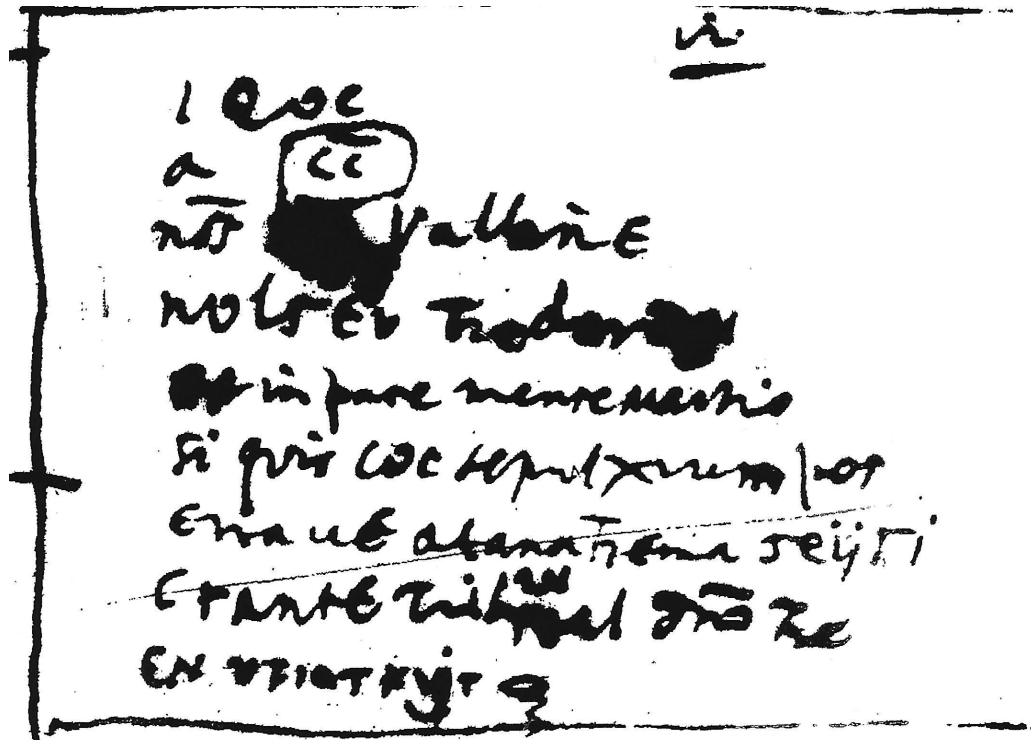


Fig. 2. Manuzio, *Cod. Vat. Lat. 5241 p. 700*.

Identität bemerkt hätte]),<sup>122</sup> darunter die vorliegende. Aus Manuzio schöpft Silvagni *ICUR* I 494–497, 499–501, 503. Er nahm aber de Rossi I 1359 nicht auf, trotz der Tatsache, dass de Rossi die ersten drei Zeilen der Inschrift für antik hielt und ins 4./ 5. Jh. datierte, während der Rest mittelalterlich sein soll und etwa ins 9. Jh. gehöre. Auch wenn einiges in der Lesung unsicher bleibt (die Handschrift von Manuzio ist zum Teil so gut wie unleserlich), so ist der Anfang des Textes sicher antik.<sup>123</sup> Freilich ist sein Vorschlag, *consulibus clarissimis* aufzulösen, etwas unüberlegt, denn der Ausdruck *illis consulibus (viris) clarissimis* wurde in

<sup>122</sup> Zur Kirche vgl. M. Armellini, *Le chiese di Roma dal secolo IV al XIX*, Roma 1942, 611–613. Manuzio sagt nirgends explizit, dass die Inschriften auf S. 700 sich in S. Maria in Domnica befänden; er schreibt am Anfang der Seite *Nella pietra dell'altare grande*, aber ohne den Namen der Kirche, der auch nicht auf der vorhergehenden Seite erscheint; dort finden sich nur zwei nachantike Urkunden: ein Gedicht des Paulinerordens, das beginnt *sancte Paule heremita, infirmorum spes et vita*, usw.; und *salve mater misericordiae*, usw. Dass Manuzio aber die Inschriften in S. Maria in Domnica abgeschrieben hat, wird dadurch sichergestellt, dass die erste von ihnen, *CIL* VI 20189, von anderen alten Autoren in der Kirche abgeschrieben worden ist.

<sup>123</sup> De Rossi liest in der dritten Zeile [--- co]NSS CC KAL.....E, was (abgesehen von de Rossis KAL) eindeutig, auch wegen der Supralineatur, zur Konsuldatierung gehört.

Datierungen nicht gebraucht (schon die Wortstellung wäre dabei künstlich).<sup>124</sup> Vielmehr liegt hier *conss. illius et illius cc. v<v>*. vor. (POST) CONSS erscheint in christlichen Inschriften oft vor den Namen der Konsuln. Man könnte etwa folgenden Wortlaut konjizieren: [--- *co*]nss(ulatu) cc(larissimorum) v<v>(irorum) *Albin(i) e[ft Eusebi]*. Das wäre 593 n. Chr. De Rossi las KAL....E.... In der Abschrift Manuzios ist der erste Buchstabe aber nicht ein K, sondern vielmehr V, wobei die Inschrift möglicherweise VV (= *viris*) hatte. Die Lesung des Namens des Konsuls steht nicht mit letzter Sicherheit fest, aber nach *al* wäre wohl *bin* möglich; dass der Name abgekürzt war, darauf könnte das Abkürzungszeichen  $\bar{n}$  hinweisen. Diese Deutung begegnet aber gewissen Schwierigkeiten: man würde nach CONSS zuerst die Namen der Konsuln und dann CC VV erwarten; entscheidend ist dieser Einwand aber nicht. Sodann erscheint Albinus in den Inschriften im Westen als alleiniger Konsul, Eusebius nur im Osten (s. *CLRE* 520f). Die gemeinsame Nennung der beiden in Victor. *pasch.* p. 726, 493 Mommsen und Pasch. Camp. *chron.* I p. 746 könnte aber darauf hinweisen, dass Eusebius' Konsulat im Westen gelegentlich gebraucht werden konnte (notiere, dass im Paschale Campanum sonst östliche Konsuln nur ganze selten auftreten).<sup>125</sup> Auch sonst begegnet man in Inschriften des Westens ab und zu Fällen, dass der östliche Konsul gelegentlich in Datierungen auftaucht. Ein Beispiel bietet das Jahr 539: der Name des östlichen Konsuls Apion ist vor kurzem in Nola (G. Camodeca, *Oebalus* 8 [2013] 115) und möglicherweise in Abellinum (*AE* 1998, 358) aufgetaucht. Es sei noch beiläufig notiert, dass auch für dieses Jahr Victorius und das Paschale Campanum den Apion anführen. [Schon in *Arctos* 46 (2012) 230 kurz behandelt.]

Zuletzt eine Inschrift unbekannter Herkunft (doch stadtrömisch). A. de Waal, *Römische Quartalschrift* 26 (1912) 90 Nr. 16 publiziert eine in Campo Santo Teutonico aufbewahrte Inschrift, die aus einer römischen Katakombe stammt: *Beneriose / coniugi / sancte, / que bixit / ann. XXX / in pace* ⊂*christogramma*⊃ (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 3256 F). Sie fehlt im ersten Band der *ICUR*, wo sie hingehört. Die Auslassung beruht auf einer reinen Nachlässigkeit, denn die

<sup>124</sup> Ganz unsicher bleibt *ICUR* 15352, wo der Editor in der letzten Zeile [--- *et Pro]bo coss. c[c. vv.]* ergänzt und an die Jahre 371 oder 406 denkt; doch der letzte Buchstabe C kann was auch immer bedeuten. Ebenso unsicher bleibt *ICUR* 3174, auch wenn man dort zögernd *FFll. Vince[ntio et Fravitta co[ns.] vv. [cc.]* (401 n. Chr.) erkennen mag. Endlich ist in *AE* 2011, 298 (Beneventum) [---]S CONSS / VVCCSS statt *conss(ulibus) [---] vv(iris) cc(lari)ss(imis)* eher [po]s(t) *conss(ulatum) [illius et illius] vv(irorum) cc(lari)ss(imorum)* zu verstehen. [*CIL* X 1401 *Hosidio Geta et L. Vagellio cos., clarissimis viris* vom Jahre 47 steht ganz anders.]

<sup>125</sup> Dazu s. *CLRE* 50.

übrigen christlichen Inschriften unstimmter Herkunft, die in Campo Santo aufbewahrt werden, finden sich in *ICUR* I 1350–1400 gesammelt, so die vorangehenden Nr. 14 (*ICUR* 1392, 3) und Nr. 15 (1392, 4) und die nachfolgenden Nr. 17 (1399) und Nr. 18 (1361).

Ich möchte mit einer Anregung enden. In dem altchristlichen Inschriftenwerk Roms fehlt noch eine ganze Serie von verschiedenen Inschriften. Ich meine nicht nur die Intramurana, die in einem elften Band der *ICUR* erscheinen sollten (von dem man aber seit einiger Zeit nichts mehr hört), sondern auch manche in den Katakomben gefundene Stücke, wie Grabinschriften auf Instrumentum inscriptum und Ähnliches. Einiges hat Ferrua in seinem Buch *Sigilli su calce nelle catacombe*, Città del Vaticano 1986 bearbeitet.<sup>126</sup> Manches aber fehlt. So Inschriften auf Gläsern, die aus Katakomben stammen, vom Typ *Pompeiane, Teodora, vibatis* (Diehl *ILCV* 861 B).<sup>127</sup> Desgleichen manche Stücke auf verschiedenen Objekten wie zum Beispiel die Grabinschrift *Hilarus Zoticensi* auf einem Elfenbeinapfel aus der Kallistus-Katakombe.<sup>128</sup> Und die Zusammenstellung der *Falsae* steht immer noch aus.

#### CCCV. MAGULLA

Durch eine Frage inspiriert, die mir vor kurzem Marco Buonocore über die Erklärung der in *CIL* IX 3216 = I<sup>2</sup> 1783 (Corfinium, spätrepublikanisch) vorkommenden Namen stellte, habe ich im letzten Moment noch folgende Note diesen *Analecta* hinzufügen können. Die genannte Inschrift heißt *Caesia V. f. Magula, / Caesia C. f. Scina*. Sie wurde von Heinrich Brunn und Heinrich Dressel abgeschrieben, über ihre Lesung dürften also keine Zweifel bestehen. Schwierigkeiten bereiten die zwei Cognomina. Von ihnen lässt sich *Scina* kaum erfolgreich erklären; vgl. immerhin *CIL* VIII 4924 *Scinus* (hier kann aber eine epichorische

<sup>126</sup> Dort füge hinzu etwa de Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana* III, Roma 1877, 319 mit tav. 27, 42 *Ispes in Deo*.

<sup>127</sup> Eine ganze Anzahl findet sich bei R. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte cristiana* III, Prato 1876; einiges auch in C. R. Morey, *The gold-glass collection of the Vatican Library*, Città del Vaticano 1959. Gelegentlich können aus der ältesten diesbezüglichen Publikation, F. Buonarruoti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro ornati di figure trovati ne' cimiteri di Roma*, Firenze 1716 können einige nachgetragen werden, die bei Garrucci fehlen, z. B. 129 Tav. 19, 2 (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 2233); jetzt aber Morey 40.

<sup>128</sup> De Rossi, *La Roma sotterranea cristiana* I, Roma 1864, Taf. 17, 3 (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 4050 B).

Bildung vorliegen),<sup>129</sup> VI 12806 *Schinus* mit *Schinas* AE 1947, 3 aus Samothrace von 19 n. Chr. und *Scinus* (hierher gehörig?) NSc 1946, 104 aus Pompeji, die zum griechischen Pflanzennamen σχίνος (daraus lat. *sc(h)inus*)<sup>130</sup> gestellt werden und so der griechischen Onymie zugerechnet werden können; dazu müsste dann *Sc(h)ina* durch Motion gebildet sein, was möglich, wenn auch nicht sehr wahrscheinlich anmutet. Dagegen kann *Magula* als ein echt lateinisches Cognomen erklärt werden, wenn wir hier eine sekundäre Graphie für *Magulla* sehen dürfen (Degrassi in CIL I<sup>2</sup> S. 1040 war auf richtiger Spur, als er CIL 23294 *Magullinus* heranzog). *Magulla* ist sonst nirgends bezeugt, kann aber vorzüglich als Suffixbildung aus dem verbreiteten Gentilnamen *Magius* (in Corfinium CIL IX 3242) erklärt werden. Suffixbildungen aus Gentilnamen waren ja ein charakteristischer Zug in der Bildung von Cognomina; und dabei wurde *-ulla* (weniger üblich waren die Männernamen auf *-ullus*) einigermaßen gebraucht;<sup>131</sup> freilich wurden nur zwei Cognomina etwas üblicher, nämlich *Fabullus -a* aus *Fabius* und *Titullus -a* aus *Titius* (dieses Cognomen ist aber charakteristisch für westliche Provinzen und dort als epichorisch zu deuten). Doch dürfte es keinerlei Schwierigkeiten bereiten, *Magulla* als eine Ableitung aus *Magius* zu verstehen.

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<sup>129</sup> So fasst den Namen auf K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin sources*, Leiden 1994, 130 (der Name hat sonst aber keine Parallelen in lateinischen Inschriften aus Afrika).

<sup>130</sup> Vgl. J. André, *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin*, Paris 1956, 284 und dens., *Les noms de plantes dans la Rome antique*, Paris 1985, 229.

<sup>131</sup> Vgl. Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 31. 128 mit dem Verzeichnis auf S. 170f. Kajantos Listen können hinzugefügt werden *Creperulla* (AE 1983, 168), *Pompulla* (CIL XII 3123, wenn zu *Pompilus*); vgl. auch Τιβούλλη *IERYthrai* 413 (bisher war nur der Männernamenname *Tibullus* bekannt).



## L'ESORDIO ἦν ὅτε (CYPRIA FR. 1,1 BERNABÉ) E LE SUE CONNOTAZIONI NARRATIVE

PIETRO VERZINA

Il perduto *Ciclo troiano* mostra, per quello che è possibile ricostruire, un elevato grado di originalità rispetto all'epica greca arcaica superstite,<sup>1</sup> originalità che va di pari passo al mistero in cui tali opere sono avvolte. Ed è certo significativo trovare i germi di siffatta natura particolare in quello che ne è considerato il primissimo esordio. In *Cypria* fr. 1,1 Bernabé (= 1,1 Davies, West) ἦν ὅτε, espressione che apre il proemio del primo poema della saga troiana ciclica in ordine narrativo, si può vedere infatti, seguendo alcune ipotesi interpretative, un elemento in qualche modo caratteristico e distintivo.

Vediamo i primi due versi del frammento (che di per sé pone problemi e questioni molteplici<sup>2</sup>) così come edito da Bernabé nell'edizione teubneriana (*Cypria* fr. 1,1s. Bernabé):

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<sup>1</sup> Indagini e giudizi in questo senso non sono stati molti. Vedi soprattutto J. Griffin, *JHS* 97 (1977) 39–53 (il cui giudizio in termini estetico-qualitativi non è sempre condivisibile), A. Bernabé, *Fragmentos de épica griega arcaica*, Madrid 1979; M. Davies, *The Greek Epic Cycle*, Bristol 1989; M. L. West, *The Epic Cycle: A Commentary on the Lost Troy Epics*, Oxford – New York 2013; sullo stile del *Ciclo* vedi M. Curti, *SCO* 43 (1993) 33–47. L'impostazione recente più profonda e organica della natura del ciclo è quella di J. S. Burgess, *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*, Baltimore – London 2001.

<sup>2</sup> Fra l'altro, si sospetta che il frammento, che mostra elementi linguistici particolarmente tardi, possa rappresentare un'aggiunta posteriore al poema, o anche un brano aggiunto all'inizio dei *Cypria* come proemio dell'intera saga: cf. M. Davies, *Glotta* 67 (1989) 98; L. Sbardella, *Cucitori di canti: Studi sulla tradizione epico-rapsodica greca e i suoi itinerari nel VI secolo a.C.*, Roma 2012, 146–50. La distinzione linguistica tra il fr. 1 e gli altri è un'ipotesi assai ragionevole che tuttavia è stata spesso trascurata, essendo spesso il brano usato per datare il poema tutto intero: cf. di recente West (sopra, n. 1), 63–5.



ἦν ὅτε μυρία φύλα κατὰ χθόνα πλαζόμεν' αἰεὶ  
 <ἀνθρώπων ἐπίεζε> βαρυστέρνου πλάτος αἴης

V'era un tempo in cui innumerevoli stirpi sparse sulla terra  
 opprimevano la superficie della Terra dal petto gravoso.

Il nesso ἦν ὅτε, che è l'oggetto di questo lavoro, è il rimando "vago e indefinito", sicuramente evocativo, ad un tempo ancestrale in cui gli uomini crescevano e si moltiplicavano tanto da divenire un peso insopportabile per la Madre Terra, così che Zeus (vv. 3ss.) decise di sterminarli dando luogo a una guerra particolarmente sanguinosa e tale da decimarli,<sup>3</sup> la guerra troiana appunto. Anche a livello sintattico il costrutto (su cui vedi anche *infra*) è abbastanza originale.

Premesso che sussistono dubbi che fr. 1,1 Bernabé sia in effetti il primo verso del poema<sup>4</sup> e che alcuni preferiscono credere che esso fosse preceduto da un'invocazione proemiale alle Muse o da qualcosa del genere,<sup>5</sup> si potrebbe invece vedere nell'espressione iniziale un tipo di esordio da contrapporre all'invocazione iniziale tipica dell'epica arcaica. Ci si può chiedere quindi se si possa considerare

<sup>3</sup> Si tratta di un motivo folkloristico antico e diffuso: cf. H. Schwartzbaum, *Numen* 4 (1957) 59–74; R. Scodel, *HSPH* 86 (1982) 33–50; W. Burkert, *Die orientalisierende Epoche in der griechischen Religion und Literatur*, Heidelberg 1984, 95ss.; K. Mayer, *AJPh* 117 (1996) 1–15; C. Vielle, "Les correspondances des prologues divins de la guerre de Troie et du Mahābhārata", in L. Isebaert – R. Lebrun (edd.), *Quaestiones Homericae. Acta Colloquii Namurcensis. Namur, 7–9 septembre 1995*; Louvain – Namur 1998, 277–90; M. L. West, *The East Face of Helicon. West Asiatic Elements in Greek Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 1997, 481s.; M. L. West, *Indo-European Poetry and Myth*, Oxford 2007, 23; E. T. E. Barker, "Momos Advises Zeus: Changing Representations of 'Cypria' Fragment 1", in E. Cingano – L. Milano (curr.), *Papers on Ancient Literatures: Greece, Rome and the Near East. Proceedings of the "Advanced Seminar in the Humanities" – Venice International University 2004–2005*, Padova 2008, 42ss.; M. Davies, *Classic@* 6 (2010); West (sopra, n. 1), 66.

<sup>4</sup> Ad esempio J. Marks, *Classic@* 6 (2010) crede che sia possibile vedervi un'analessi. La cosa sarebbe plausibile anche in considerazione del fatto che abbiamo un'altra analessi correlata alla genesi del conflitto, ovvero la narrazione della nascita di Elena (*Cypria* fr. 9 Bernabé). Tuttavia gli elementi tardi concentrati nel frammento spingono piuttosto a crederlo un proemio.

<sup>5</sup> Credono alla presenza originaria di un'invocazione alle Muse o comunque di un proemio tematico introduttivo E. Bethe, *Homer. Dichtung und Sage*, II/2: *Kyklos*, Leipzig – Berlin 1929, 164; F. Cassola, *SIFC* 26 (1952) 142–8; Davies (sopra, n. 1) 33; J. Marks, *Phoenix* 56 (2002) 6; West (sopra, n. 1), 65, ma l'ipotesi è indimostrabile (cf. A. Bernabé, *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta – Pars I*, Stuttgart – Leipzig, 1996<sup>2</sup>, *ad loc.*). Di parere nettamente contrario Ch. Xydas, *Τὰ Κύπρια ἔπη. Προλεγόμενα, κείμενον, ἐρμηνευτικὸν ὑπόμνημα*, Ἀθῆναι 1979, 46s.

tale scelta narrativa e compositiva riflesso di una tradizione in certa misura separata da quella che meglio conosciamo, o comunque frutto di una modalità epica alternativa. La *Piccola Iliade* è l'unico poema ciclico troiano, oltre ai *Canti ciprii*, di cui la tradizione indiretta abbia tramandato i versi iniziali,<sup>6</sup> e non contiene l'invocazione alla Muse,<sup>7</sup> così come alcuni degli *Inni omerici* maggiori. Tuttavia i proemi di tali composizioni fanno riferimento alla materia del canto usando un verbo alla prima persona,<sup>8</sup> uso che può essere ricollegato a una convenzione del genere epico che avrà grande fortuna (si pensi ad Apollonio Rodio, Virgilio, Ariosto, Tasso etc.).

L'inizio per così dire *ex abrupto* dei *Cypria* sarebbe normalissimo in qualsiasi tipo di racconto in prosa, ma ciò che suscita sorpresa in un poema epico è la scarsa aderenza a una convenzione, nonostante si possa citare qualche parallelo in espressioni analoghe in poesia, ovvero alcuni passi non provenienti dall'epica arcaica interessanti a livello comparativo soprattutto per la valutazione dell'espressione in sé (vedi *infra*). L'epica arcaica più nota tuttavia non è assolutamente priva di esempi che possano fornire un valido raffronto più propriamente compositivo e stilistico, e forse perfino tematico. L'esordio "nudo" dei *Cypria* può essere confrontato infatti con un noto verso esiodeo che occorre subito dopo il proemio degli *Erga* (Hes. *Op.* 11):

οὐκ ἄρα μόνον ἔην Ἐρίδων γένος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν

Il discorso esiodeo inizia quindi con la stessa voce dell'imperfetto di εἶμί;<sup>9</sup> si noti anche il riferimento alla terra, che certo in *Cypria* fr. 1 è più specifico, ma che in ogni caso non si allontana moltissimo dai richiami di *Op.* 11, in cui la menzione della terra vuole essere un riferimento, per così dire, alla condizione umana,

<sup>6</sup> Caso particolare è quello dell'*Etiopide*, il cui esordio tramandato si riallaccia all'ultimo verso dell'*Iliade* (cf. *Aethiopsis* fr. 1 Bernabé). Sui confini dei poemi ciclici e la loro relazione narrativa in prospettiva oralistica vedi soprattutto I. Holmberg, *Oral Tradition*, 13/2 (1998) 456–78.

<sup>7</sup> Fr. 28 Bernabé (= 1 Davies = 1 West) Ἴλιον ἀεῖδω καὶ Δαρδανίην εὐπωλον, / ἦς πέρι πόλλ' ἔπαθον Δαναοί, θεράποντες Ἄρης. Un altro esempio rilevante di proemio senza invocazione viene dal poema parmenideo (fr. 1 Diels – Kranz). Il fr. 28 della *Piccola Iliade* è posto da Bernabé (sopra, n. 5) all'inizio di un poema diverso da quello da cui verrebbe *Ilias Parva* fr. 1 Bernabé, contenente l'invocazione alle Muse e non da tutti accettato come genuino.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Davies (sopra, n. 1), 61.

<sup>9</sup> Per l'uso dell'imperfetto nel verso esiodeo vedi M. L. West, *Hesiod. Works and Days*, edited with *Prolegomena and Commentary*, Oxford 1978, *ad loc.*

all'umanità che *su questa terra* era ed è destinata alla discordia e allo sterminio reciproco.

Vi sono testimonianze circa l'esistenza di edizioni antiche di Esiodo prive del proemio degli *Erga*, che era sospettato come allogeno già dagli antichi,<sup>10</sup> ipotesi che, vera o meno, era senz'altro agevolata dallo iato che innegabilmente sussiste tra *Op.* 1–10 e il verso immediatamente seguente,<sup>11</sup> così diverso dalla gradualità che caratterizza l'*Inno alle Muse* della *Teogonia*, poema nel quale il passaggio tra l'invocazione e il racconto vero e proprio è abilmente mediato (vedi *Theog.* 104–16). Eppure il proemio teogonico sta anch'esso a sé, è isolabile dal resto.<sup>12</sup>

Per concentrarci comunque sugli *Erga*, che offrono il parallelo più interessante, il citato v. 11 costituiva secondo alcuni eruditi il vero e proprio *incipit* esiodico.<sup>13</sup> Che accettiamo o meno l'ipotesi dell'esistenza di un'originaria invocazione alle Muse anche nei *Cypria* e che accettiamo o meno l'originalità del proemio esiodico trådito *Op.* 1–10, il confronto di *Cypria* fr. 1,1 Bernabé con il vero e proprio esordio del soggetto degli *Erga* mi pare assai utile. Indipendentemente

<sup>10</sup> Ad esempio Pausania (9,31,4) conosceva un'edizione degli *Erga* priva del proemio, e prima di lui Prassifane: cf. fr. 28 Matelli = 22 Wehrli, che riporta anche la notizia dell'atetesi da parte di Aristarco (fr. 5 Waesche). Cf. West 1978 (sopra, n. 9), 137. Per una rassegna recente delle fonti antiche sul proemio esiodico e della bibliografia sul problema rimando a E. Matelli, "Praxiphanes of Mytilene Called 'of Rhodes'. The Sources, Text and Translation", in A. Martano – E. Matelli – D. Mirhady (edd.), *Praxiphanes of Mytilene and Chamaeleon of Heraclea. Text, Translation, and Discussion*, New Brunswick 2012, 116–9. Cf. anche P. Pucci, *Inno alle Muse (Esiodo, Teogonia, 1–115). Testo, introduzione, traduzione e commento*, Pisa – Roma 2007, 23s. Quasi la totalità degli studiosi odierni accetta invece i proemi esiodici come genuini; cf. West (sopra, n. 9), 137.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. West (sopra, n. 9), 136.

<sup>12</sup> Infatti anch'esso era espunto nell'antichità, sebbene in maniera meno insistente: cf. Pucci (sopra, n. 10), 23. Va specificato che quelli esiodici si distinguono per essere "proemi innici fissi" (West [sopra, n. 9], 136, Pucci [sopra, n. 10], 23), cioè veri e propri inni alle Muse in sé compiuti ma caratterizzati dall'essere legati al tema del poema specifico, e sono da alcuni messi in rapporto comparativo non coi proemi che troviamo nella tradizione della poesia eroica (cioè *Il.* 1,1–5, *Od.* 1,1–5 e *Cypria* fr. 1 Bernabé), bensì coi "proemi non fissi" che venivano premessi alla poesia eroica e di cui potremmo avere un esempio almeno in alcuni degli *Inni omerici*: per questa impostazione cf. Pucci (sopra, n. 10), 23s. Poiché ad ogni modo i proemi iliadico e odissiaco contengono un'invocazione alle Muse e un riferimento specifico alla materia del canto, proprio come i più lunghi proemi esiodici, ritengo ampiamente coerente mettere a confronto questi ultimi con i proemi di *Iliade*, *Odissea* e *Cypria* appunto come esempi di "proemi fissi" (innodici o meno) connaturati al poema specifico.

<sup>13</sup> Ad esempio Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 736e si riferisce ad *Op.* 11 come τὰ πρῶτα τῶν Ἔργων.

dalle diverse sfumature o implicazioni semantiche dei due usi (certo più gnomico quello esiodeo), infatti, il verbo εἰμί ha a livello stilistico e narrativo una simile funzione, che è quella di ricondurre in maniera immediata al tema,<sup>14</sup> certo con un approccio stilistico e compositivo assai diverso rispetto ai proemi epici canonici, di tipo sia omerico (con invocazione alle Muse) che virgiliano (cioè tematico e in prima persona), nei quali dopo un esordio introduttivo e tutt'altro che brusco ottenuto con riferimenti metapoetici al canto stesso che sta avendo luogo, il passaggio al tema è moderato da una gradualità ricavata di solito per mezzo di relative, e prosegue verso la storia avvicinandosi a piccoli tratti.<sup>15</sup> Oltre che nell'*Iliade*, nell'*Odissea* e in tutti gli *Inni omerici* maggiori, è così anche nella *Tebaide* ciclica (*Thebais* fr. 1 Bernabé):

Ἄργος ἄειδε, θεά, πολυδίψιον, ἔνθεν ἄνακτες

L'esordio di *Cypria* fr. 1 e di *Op.* 11, che si voglia far precedere qualcosa o meno, è invece in ogni caso netto, staccato, autosufficiente da qualsiasi possibile riferimento metapoetico o da qualunque mediazione incipitaria.<sup>16</sup>

Questo discorso chiarisce la particolare natura del fr. 1. Se esso può essere considerato un proemio, o piuttosto un *sommario appositivo*<sup>17</sup> di tutto il poema, giacché racchiude in sette versi una visione generale della storia, allo stesso tempo entra nel vivo della narrazione, non tanto pronunciandosi sulla materia, quanto

<sup>14</sup> Si noti comunque che il fr. 1 non costituisce la fabula primaria vera e propria, come nota Marks (sopra, n. 5), 5, ma un sommario anticipatorio di quanto verrà narrato (vedi anche *infra*). Questo, considerate le differenze tra i due generi (l'uno propriamente narrativo, l'altro meno), è tuttavia vero anche per il discorso di Esiodo sui due generi di Eris, che è in qualche modo introduttivo.

<sup>15</sup> Ad esempio è noto il meccanismo dell'*Epische Regression* (vedi T. Krischer, *Formale Konventionen der homerischen Epik*, München 1971, 136–40) secondo cui la narrazione principale è raggiunta per mezzo di una regressione temporale, come è chiaramente visibile nel proemio iliadico.

<sup>16</sup> Se è vera l'ipotesi della presenza di un'invocazione originaria, si dovrà pensare che come nel poema esiodeo l'assolutezza dell'*incipit* ha agevolato l'atetesi antica del proemio, così per i *Cypria* essa ha agevolato la mancata citazione dell'ipotetica invocazione originaria in Schol. *Il.* 1,5. Va infatti notato che lo scolio, pur mettendo in relazione il brano al proemio iliadico, è interessato essenzialmente al mito riferito nel frammento, che il testo non definisce esplicitamente un proemio.

<sup>17</sup> S. D. Richardson, *The Homeric Narrator*, Nashville 1990, 21s. Cf. anche Marks (sopra, n. 5), 7s., che considera il proemio anteriore alla "primary fabula" del poema.

esponendo gli antefatti narrativi. Per poter dire di più, comunque, dovremmo sapere con certezza dove fosse posizionato il brano e se un proemio anteriore fosse effettivamente presente, cose che non possiamo postulare che con un certo margine di dubbio.

Definita l'essenza formale dell'incipit col verbo εἰμί, si possono apprezzare alcune connessioni tematiche dell'espressione. Per quanto riguarda l'espressione in sé come uso poetico, a volte per sua natura incipitario, il v. 1 è stato raffrontato a un frammento orfico (Orph. fr. 641,1s. Bernabé):<sup>18</sup>

ἦν χρόνος ἠνίκα φῶτες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων βίον εἶχον  
σαρκοδακῆ

che va raffrontato a sua volta a un esempio correlato ad esso,<sup>19</sup> ma indipendentemente significativo per l'uso di ὅτε (Crit. *Sisyph.* fr. 19,1s. *TrGF* = Orph. fr. 644,I,1s. Bernabé):<sup>20</sup>

ἦν χρόνος, ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος  
καὶ θηριώδης ἰσχύος θ' ὑπερέτης

Va aggiunto il confronto con un altro frammento epico incipitario (Lin. fr. 80 Bernabé) che narra l'origine del cosmo usando un'espressione molto simile (vedi *infra*) e altri esempi tratti dalla prosa forse in relazione con quelli citati.

Come si vede l'espressione è naturalmente votata al richiamo ed alla tematizzazione di un tempo atavico della storia (o della preistoria) umana. L'espressione, nella sua specifica forma sintattica, può considerarsi quindi caratteristica di questo argomento, che affiora talvolta nell'epica,<sup>21</sup> e a cui è evidentemente legata.

<sup>18</sup> Xydias (sopra, n. 5), 47, che ritiene che proprio il nesso ἦν ὅτε, tra le altre cose, deponga a favore del fatto che il fr. 1 sia l'*incipit* effettivo del poema. Il frammento appartiene a un poema sull'origine dell'agricoltura e le leggi abbastanza antico da essere (presumibilmente) imitato da Crizia nel V secolo; cf. A. Bernabé, *Ítaca* 18 (2002) 61–78 e Id. *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta. Pars II, Fasc. 3*, Berolini et Novi Eboraci 2007, 207.

<sup>19</sup> Per i rapporti tra il frammento tragico e il presunto originale orfico vedi A. Bernabé, *Poetae epici Graeci. Testimonia et fragmenta. Pars II, Fasc. 2*, Monachii et Lipsiae 2005, *ad loc.* e riferimenti bibliografici. Il testo è imitato anche da Moschione (fr. 6 *TrGF* = Orph. fr. 644,II Bernabé), che mostra un'espressione altrettanto interessante, ma con πότε (vedi *infra*).

<sup>20</sup> Citato da Xydias (sopra, n. 5), 47 fra alcuni altri esempi tratti dalla poesia ellenistica e dalla prosa. Lo studioso insiste sul ruolo di *incipit* delle varianti dell'espressione.

<sup>21</sup> Nella poesia omerica i richiami al passato come epoca atavica sono, com'è noto, esigui e

Il nesso, soprattutto nella variante che include l'altrimenti ellittico χρόνος, ricorre anche in significativi esempi tardi come *Anth. Plan.* 270,1s.:

ἦν χρόνος, ἠνίκα γαῖα βροτοὺς διὰ σείῳ, Γαληνέ  
δέχνυτο μὲν θνητούς, ἔτρεφε δ' ἄθανάτους

interessante per il riferimento alla terra, ai mortali e al nutrimento (quindi affine alle tematiche di *Cypria* fr. 1 Bernabé). Vedremo anche più avanti degli interessanti esempi tardi.<sup>22</sup>

Tale modello ha dunque una connotazione tematica ben definibile. Ma è possibile vedere nel nesso specifico ἦν ὅτε un'espressione *fissa* avente un preciso valore funzionale? Il nesso è stato messo in relazione alla tipica formula d'esordio delle fiabe,<sup>23</sup> che nella tradizione italiana risulta fissata in *c'era una volta*<sup>24</sup>

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non particolarmente insistenti (vedi *infra*). È noto invece il mito esiodeo delle cinque età (*Op.* 106–201) in cui le varie epoche sono messe in relazione al presente, e in cui la cui narrazione dell'età degli eroi periti a Tebe e Troia (*Op.* 156–173) è senza dubbio da mettere in relazione con *Cypria* fr. 1 Bernabé. Leggendo la storia alternativa tramandata da Schol. *Il.* 1,5, che tramanda *Cypria* fr. 1 Bernabé ma lo introduce con un mito alternativo, la vicinanza al mito esiodeo delle cinque età è ancora più forte, poiché nello scolio si rimanda anche alla saga tebana e si citano miti di distruzione. Naturalmente le varie tradizioni differiscono molto nei dettagli, e il fr. 1 dei *Cypria* è relazionabile non solo all'età degli eroi, ma anche ad altre, soprattutto a quella del bronzo. Cf. Scodel (sopra, n. 3) e Ead., "Hesiod and the *Epic Cycle*", in F. Montanari – A. Rengakos – C. Tsagalis (edd.), *Homeric Contexts. Neoanalysis and the Interpretation of Oral Poetry*, Berlin – Boston 2012, 505ss.

<sup>22</sup> Vedi anche *Anth. Pal. App., Ep. Sep.*, 2,158,1 Cougny ἦν χρόνος ἠνίκα τόνδε σοφώτατον Ἑλλὰς ἔκλειζεν. Tra questi usi epigrammatici, che potrebbero far pensare a imitazioni di un uso precedente e che sembrano decisamente delle rifunzionalizzazioni, va citato soprattutto *Anth. Pal.* 14,54, enigma poetico in cui due episodi mitici sono introdotti da ἦν ὅτε (vv. 1 e 3) e il nesso si ritrova all'inizio dell'epigramma, anche se si tratta di un esordio di diverso ordine espressivo (vedi *infra*).

<sup>23</sup> Naturalmente questo tipo di "formula" usata per le fiabe va distinto dall'accezione parryana di "formula" intesa come espressione più o meno fissa dai determinati valori metrici, oltre che semantici, usata per la composizione in esametri.

<sup>24</sup> Davies (sopra, n. 1), 34; Burkert (sopra, n. 3), 95; cf. Barker (sopra, n. 3), 38 (vedi *infra*). Il primo a fare tale associazione pare essere stato Xydias (sopra, n. 5), 48 (che raffronta l'espressione al neogreco μια φορά κι ἕναν καιρό e alle corrispondenti formule nelle altre lingue). Sorprende l'assenza del riferimento in G. Anderson, *Fairytales in the Ancient World*, London – New York 2000, 4–8, che esamina proprio la diffusione di questo tipo di espressioni nell'antichità. Il collegamento di Davies è stimolato dalla constatazione che il poema si mostra particolarmente legato al racconto folkloristico: vedi Davies (sopra, n. 3), ma anche Davies

e che trova occorrenza, per genesi più o meno spontanea, in moltissime lingue e culture del mondo. Questa identificazione, oltre a offrire un interessante dato comparativo, potrebbe evidenziare il conferimento all'espressione di una funzione specificamente narrativa nell'ambito della poesia arcaica. Tuttavia va valutato se i paralleli appena presentati non escludano tale identificazione, e se altri la supportino; inoltre andrebbe specificato se tale ipotetico richiamo alla formula fiabesca debba intendersi come utilizzo spontaneo (cioè un impiego tipico di una specifica convenzione poetica o narrativa, oppure un uso che il motivo espresso nel brano porta con sé) o come, per così dire, una suggestione metaletteraria che l'autore dei *Cypria* ha voluto impiegare per iniziare il proprio poema in maniera originale.

Al di là di un certo valore idiomatico che le va riconosciuto, non si hanno prove sufficienti che la presunta formula, in questa forma specifica, costituisca un *cliché* riconoscibile e caratteristico come *c'era una volta*, né l'espressione ἦν ὅτε di per sé presenta nella letteratura greca occorrenze che possano ricollegarla al mondo del racconto popolare o della fiaba. L'occorrenza più antica dopo quella in questione si trova in Pind. fr. 83 Snell – Mahler:

ἦν ὅτε σύας Βοιωτίων ἔθνος ἔνεπον

Tale passo non pare essere legato a un racconto folkloristico propriamente detto o a una fiaba; è possibile che esso impieghi, con l'espressione ἦν ὅτε, una suggestione proveniente da quell'ambito, ma data la decontestualizzazione del frammento non è dato provarlo. West<sup>25</sup> segnala anche Cratin. fr. 269 *PCG*,<sup>26</sup> che è ancor meno associabile all'ambito in questione.

Altre attestazioni dell'uso specifico del puro nesso ἦν ὅτε nel senso di: "Vi fu un tempo in cui" sono alquanto tarde,<sup>27</sup> e tale uso sintattico si diffuse in particolare nella prosa tardo-antica e cristiana, ma senza divenire mai un esordio tipico. Un'occorrenza all'inizio di un'epigrafe funeraria<sup>28</sup> in cui si parla degli affetti

(sopra, n. 1), 33ss.

<sup>25</sup> West (sopra, n. 1), 67.

<sup>26</sup> ἀλλ' ἦν ὅτ' ἐν φώσωνι τὴν ἴσην ἔχων / μετ' ἐμοῦ διήγες οἴναρον, ἔλκων τῆς τρυγός.

<sup>27</sup> Non contano varianti sintattiche come Thuc. 2,99,6 Περδίκκας Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἦν ὅτε Σιτάλκης ἐπήει in cui la temporale non funge da soggettiva.

<sup>28</sup> *GVI* I, 1021 Peek = *IG* XIV 1971, Roma I/II sec. d.C.: ἦν ὅτε μόνον Ὑγεινον ἀδελφεὸν οἱ με τεκόντες / πένθειον, ἠνίκ' ἐγὼ πενταετιζομένη / παρθένος ἐν γονέεσσιν ἐθήλεον· ἡ δ' ἀγαπητὴ / ἦλυθα τὴν φρικτὴν εἰς Αἶδαο πόλιν, segnalato da Bernabé (sopra, n. 5) *ad* fr. 1,1.

della defunta e si allude a un'età di cinque anni potrebbe forse essere un riflesso del linguaggio fiabesco: il riferimento alle fiabe potrebbe essere stato usato allusivamente come dedica per la bimba,<sup>29</sup> ma è solo una vaga possibilità; da alcuni paralleli citati *supra* (in particolare *Anth. Pal. App., Ep. Sep.*, 2,153,1 Cougny) ad ogni modo si capisce piuttosto che l'uso poteva essere in voga come esordio degli epigrammi sepolcrali, quindi senza preciso riferimento al racconto popolare, come dimostra anche, in qualche modo, l'epigramma epidittico dedicato a Galeno (*Anth. Plan.* 270,1s.).

In questo senso spinge a credere forse anche un altro particolare uso che ritroviamo *Anth. Pal.* 14,54:

ἦν ὅτε σὺν Λαπίθησι καὶ ἀλκίμῳ Ἡρακλῆι  
 Κενταύρους διφυεῖς ὄλεσα μαρνάμενος·  
ἦν ὅτε μουνογένεια κόρη θάνεν ἐν τρισὶ πληγαῖς  
 ἡμετέρας, Κρονίδην δ' ἥκαχον εἰνάλιον·  
ῶν δέ με Μοῦσα τρίτη πυρίναις Νύμφαισι μιγέντα  
 δέρκεται ὑελίνῳ κείμενον ἐν δαπέδῳ.

In questo enigma, in cui il κόρη polisemico del v. 3 costituisce un gioco di parole e si riferisce alla pupilla di Polifemo, la somiglianza all'epigramma sepolcrale è significativa, e in questo senso spinge anche a credere il patetico (nella sua ambiguità) μουνογένεια. Nei due versi dell'epigramma in cui è usato, ad ogni modo, ἦν ὅτε potrebbe mostrare una vocazione spiccatamente narrativa, anche se introduce miti legati a personaggi ben noti alla tradizione greca (Eracle, Centuari e Lapiti, Polifemo), e non elementi favolistici o folkloristici; ad ogni modo in questo caso l'espressione risponde più, per così dire, ad uno stile da indovinello che non ad uno stile da racconto, e la reiterazione e la correlazione con ῶν permette di capire facilmente il senso del suo impiego, che si mantiene in ogni caso distinto da eventuali utilizzi della formula come esordio di favole:<sup>30</sup> l'espressione nell'epigramma determina specifiche *occasioni* più che introdurre fatti a fini

<sup>29</sup> Per la connessione dei racconti popolari al mondo dell'infanzia vedi sempre Anderson (sopra, n. 24), 3ss.

<sup>30</sup> Si pensi, per avere un raffronto della possibile relazione, a indovinelli come "I don't have eyes, / But once I did see. / Once I had thoughts, / But now I'm white and empty", in cui "once" ha una funzione formulare ben distinta da *once upon a time* (lo stesso vale per la versione dell'indovinello diffusa in italiano: "Una volta vedevo ma ora non ho occhi, una volta pensavo ma ora sono bianco e vuoto", in cui "una volta" non fa pensare a *c'era una volta*).



narrativi. Gli usi idiomatici dell'espressione, insomma, potrebbero essere vari o, per meglio dire, potrebbe trattarsi di un'espressione di per sé più o meno neutra adattata a vari tipi di impiego.

Barker<sup>31</sup> ritiene che la formula rimandi in qualche modo al *folk-tale*,<sup>32</sup> ma i paralleli esopici cui lo studioso rimanda in nota sono tutti nella forma ὅτε ἦν, e non si tratta di formule incipitarie, bensì di espressioni banali in ogni caso difficilmente raffrontabili con *Cypria* fr. 1,1.<sup>33</sup> L'unico luogo esopico che può fornire un raffronto accettabile a *Cypria* fr. 1,1 è Aesop. 302,1,1:

ὅτε ἦν ὁμόφωνα τὰ ζῶα, μῦς βατράχῳ φιλιωθεὶς ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν εἰς δεῖπνον...

Quando gli animali parlavano la stessa lingua, un topo che aveva stretto amicizia con una rana la invitò a cena...

L'espressione evoca in questo caso un tempo ancestrale dove è situata la vicenda, proprio come nel fr. 1. Ma va detto che la marcata differenza grammaticale del nesso pregiudica l'identificazione, oltre al fatto che si tratta di un esempio limitato esclusivamente a una favola, non certo di una formula esopica ricorrente e convenzionale, e che l'espressione è grammaticalmente molto banale e diffusa. Peraltro, come molti esempi di ἦν ὅτε e ἦν χρόνος ὅτε / ἦνικα, l'espressione ὅτε ἦν come introduzione a una specifica età si trova impiegata nel linguaggio prettamente filosofico: tra gli esempi più antichi cf. Euhemer. fr. 27 Winiarczyk: ὅτ' ἦν ἄτακτος ἀνθρώπων βίος, citato da Bernabé fra i *loci similes* ai frammenti orfici citati, ma raffrontabile anche all'esempio di Esopo sopra riportato.

La letteratura greca superstite quindi non offre usi di ἦν ὅτε che provino che l'*incipit* dei *Cypria* facesse un riferimento al racconto popolare, alla fiaba o alla favola, anzi dai paralleli si ricava forse il contrario. L'associazione comunque

<sup>31</sup> Barker (sopra, n. 3), 38.

<sup>32</sup> "Our fragment opens with the words, 'there was a time when' (ἦν ὅτε), which has a ring of the 'folk-tale' about it".

<sup>33</sup> Per capirlo basta citare un solo esempio: Aesop. 253,1,10 μὴ λυποῦ· λαβὼν δὲ λίθον κατάθες ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ καὶ νόμιζε τὸ χρυσίον κεῖσθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ ὅτε ἦν ἐχρῶ αὐτῷ ("Non preoccuparti: prendi una pietra, mettila nello stesso posto e pensa che sia l'oro; infatti neanche quando c'era davvero te ne servivi"). Cf. anche 253,2,10 oppure anche il lacunoso 4,11 (*P.Ryl.* 493) ἦν, ὅτε δ' ἦν, anche questo posto non a inizio favola ma all'interno di un periodo: si tratta di semplici temporali col verbo εἶμί come se ne trovano tante nella prosa di ogni genere.

potrebbe essere fatta a partire da alcune assonanze con altre lingue e ad alcuni altri esempi.

Le formule associabili con sicurezza a *c'era una volta* sono attestate anche nell'antichità classica, sia in ambito greco che latino, sebbene non prima della fine del V secolo a. C. Naturalmente l'attestazione bassa non può essere in alcun modo segno che in epoca arcaica l'uso non esistesse, in quanto trattasi di una convenzione orale non poetica che difficilmente poteva trovare spazio nelle testimonianze letterarie pervenuteci; e infatti, la formula ci è tramandata principalmente tramite usi metaletterari, ovvero rimandi alla fiaba o alla favola presenti in opere d'altro genere.

Anderson<sup>34</sup> esamina le probabili attestazioni della formula nell'antichità. Solo una forma è attestata per il greco. Essa si trova in Ar. *Vesp.* 1179 (e relativo scolio): οὕτω πότε ἦν,<sup>35</sup> con la variante, citata dallo scolio ἦν οὕτω, che assicura che questa formula era tipica e riconoscibile.<sup>36</sup> Pare tuttavia di capire seguendo il ragionamento di Anderson che non si trova un'unica formula per tutta l'antichità greca,<sup>37</sup> così come non se ne trova una per tutta l'antichità latina, com'è ragionevole prevedere avendo a che fare con tradizioni plurisecolari e in particolare dipendenti da contesti orali. È evidente anche dall'allusione aristofanea e da alcune altre possibili allusioni metaletterarie che certe formule d'esordio di fiabe o favole fossero riconoscibili come tali. Tuttavia queste formule, e quasi la totalità di quelle attestate nelle varie lingue, presentano una differenza fondamentale con il nesso ἦν ὅτε, ed è soprattutto una ragione sintattica che distanzia questa ipotetica formula da esse.

<sup>34</sup> Anderson (sopra, n. 24), 4ss.

<sup>35</sup> οὕτω πότε ἦν μῦς καὶ γαλῆ è l'esordio della favola che propone Aristofane.

<sup>36</sup> Lo scolio esemplifica anche l'incipit ἦν οὕτω γέρων καὶ γραῦς; cfr. Pl. *Phdr.* 237b ἦν οὕτω δὴ παῖς, μάλλον δὲ μειρακίσκος· τούτω δ' ἦσαν ἐρασταὶ πάνυ πολλοί... Xydas (sopra, n. 5), 46–8 non porta ἦν οὕτω come termine di confronto, ma cita altri passi platonici come paralleli di ἦν ὅτε.

<sup>37</sup> Scarse sono le attestazioni al di là della tipologia di formula di cui parla lo scolio ad Aristofane. Anderson cita la traduzione di un trattato di Giovanni Crisostomo (*De inani gloria et educandis liberis*) in cui la frase ἦσαν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν è resa con "Once upon a time there were...". La traduzione è, a mio avviso, fuorviante in questo caso, giacché le parole παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν non vogliono rendere una formula fiabesca, ma sono usate in quanto la storia riportata dal Crisostomo sotto forma di fiaba è quella di Caino e Abele tratta dalla Genesi, per cui παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν non è altro che un riferimento temporale *specifico* che indica che la storia si svolge all'inizio dei tempi.

Davies<sup>38</sup> traduce i primi versi del fr. 1 in questo modo: "Once upon a time the countless tribes <of mortals thronging about weighed down> the broad surface of the deep-bosomed earth".<sup>39</sup>

La formula standardizzata in inglese (così come la formula neogreca richiamata da Xydas<sup>40</sup> μιὰ φορά κι έναν καιρό), a differenza di quanto avviene in molte altre lingue, non prevede un verbo fisso ma solo espressioni temporali,<sup>41</sup> e ciò causa difficoltà nel valutarne l'adattamento nella versione inglese del fr. 1: la traduzione libera che impiega la formula sostanzialmente avverbiale *once upon a time* in corrispondenza dell'espressione dei *Cypria* deve sacrificare il valore subordinante della congiunzione ὅτε, quindi l'uso della formula inglese implica un cambiamento sintattico che non è affatto indifferente sul piano espressivo.

Volendo invece relazionare ἦν ὅτε alle formule che, per la presenza del verbo *essere*, sembrerebbero più vicine,<sup>42</sup> come appunto *c'era una volta*, il raffronto sintattico regge altrettanto poco, in quanto il verbo *essere* è nelle suddette formule sempre predicato di un soggetto espresso,<sup>43</sup> solitamente costituito dal protagonista o da un'entità ad esso legata, mentre la determinazione temporale è sempre avverbiale. In altre parole usando la preposizione con ὅτε il fuoco dell'attenzione è posto sull'epoca in cui è situata la vicenda, mentre questo è sempre di

<sup>38</sup> Davies (sopra, n. 1), 34.

<sup>39</sup> La traduzione pone nella lacuna il riferimento agli uomini, un participio e il verbo principale che esprime il dato del peso. L'edizione di M. Davies, *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta*, Göttingen 1988, non tenta congetture sulla lacuna, che lascia nel testo tra *cruces*.

<sup>40</sup> Xydas (sopra, n. 5), 49.

<sup>41</sup> Di solito la formula in inglese è integrata da "there was" (cf. neogreco μιὰ φορά κι έναν καιρό ἦταν ένα...), il che la avvicina a *c'era una volta*, ma non è raro che, come nella traduzione proposta, il verbo proponga un'azione e che quindi la formula si limiti a un mero complemento di tempo (si confronti questo esempio inglese: "Once upon a time, a mouse, a bird, and a sausage entered into partnership and set up house together" e il già citato richiamo aristofaneo οὕτω πότε ἦν μῦς καὶ γαλῆ, in cui la formula più i soggetti costituiscono un periodo compiuto, o l'italiano: "C'era una volta un re. Il re aveva un figlio" o "C'era una volta un re che aveva un figlio... e altri varianti del genere). Un'espressione greca antica che più si avvicina alla forma inglese è ἦδε ποτέ: cf. Anderson (sopra, n. 24), 8; ma c'è da dubitare che si tratti di una formula usata per le favole.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. greco antico οὕτω πότε ἦν / ἦν οὕτω; latino *erant in quaedam civitate...* (usata da Apuleio per l'inizio della favola di Amore e Psiche, *met.* 4,28,1); italiano *c'era una volta*, tedesco *es war einmal*, francese *il était une fois*, spagnolo *había una vez*.

<sup>43</sup> Spesso il verbo resta al singolare anche se questi sono più d'uno (ad esempio "C'era una volta un uomo e una donna"; cf. il brano di Aristofane citato).

contorno nelle formule come *c'era una volta*, dove sono i personaggi i soggetti grammaticali, logici e tematici. Non v'è dubbio che nel fr. 1 dei *Cypria* l'attenzione generale sia posta sull'epoca e sulla situazione generale, e non sui personaggi protagonisti; i protagonisti della saga troiana, anzi, sono resi anonimi, una massa indistinta, nella prima parte del fr. 1: solo alla fine (v. 7) essi diventano "eroi". L'atteggiamento di distanza del narratore verso questi personaggi può apprezzarsi confrontando il brano con Hes. *Op.* 156–173, o con gli stessi poemi omerici.

In *Cypria* fr. 1,1 l'uso della congiunzione ὅτε implica senza dubbio una relativa temporale,<sup>44</sup> come presupposto dagli editori che integrano il v. 2 con un verbo in un modo finito.<sup>45</sup> Inoltre la proposizione con ὅτε funge verosimilmente da soggettiva al verbo ἦν.

Interessante a questo proposito risulta esaminare la traduzione di Jouan:<sup>46</sup> "C'était au temps où mille tribus humaines errant sur la terre (écrasaient de leur poids) la surface du vaste sein terrestre".

Questa traduzione è leggermente diversa da quella da me proposta *supra*, e differisce per il fatto che in essa il soggetto sottinteso del verbo è il fatto narrato, e viene meno il valore soggettivo della proposizione temporale. L'interpretazione di Jouan potrebbe essere parafrasata in questo modo: "Tutto ciò avvenne quando gli uomini opprimevano la Terra col loro peso. Zeus...". In altre parole i primi due versi del frammento costituirebbero una sorta di introduzione funzionale alla collocazione temporale della vicenda, rispetto alla quale avrebbe un valore prolettico. Tuttavia, a parte il fatto che i primi due versi (cioè il primo periodo) del frammento non costituiscono una mera collocazione temporale ma sono invece in tutto e per tutto parte integrante dell'episodio la cui narrazione prosegue nei vv. 3ss. (nei quali Zeus decide di prodigarsi per la Terra così oppressa), tale interpretazione si scontra con gli usi documentati di ἦν ὅτε in cui la temporale funge certamente da relativa e da soggetto al verbo ἦν, e con gli esempi proposti *supra* che usano la variante ἦν χρόνος (ὅτε / ἦνικα). Per esempio nell'enigma poetico citato *supra* (*Anth. Pal.* 14,54) è inammissibile pensare a una traduzione siffatta:

<sup>44</sup> ὅτε in senso avverbiale non è mai attestato in greco.

<sup>45</sup> Tale struttura sintattica è confermata, peraltro, dalla totalità dei paralleli di ἦν ὅτε; l'uso con vari tempi del verbo εἰμί+ὅτε nel senso "V'è (ci fu, ci sarà) un tempo in cui" è ampiamente attestato, anche se non in Omero (per l'uso di ὅτε in Omero vedi soprattutto P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique*, II: *Syntaxe*, Paris 1953, 241s., 254ss.). Inoltre si trovano anche in prosa frasi come ἦν ποτε χρόνος ὅτε (*Pl. Prt.* 320c. etc.), di cui εἰμί+ὅτε è considerato una forma ellittica.

<sup>46</sup> F. Jouan, *Euripide et les légendes des Chants Cypriens*, Paris 1966, 43.

il poeta dice invece che "ci fu una volta in cui" il vino sterminò i Lapiti, e "ci fu una volta in cui" il vino rese cieco Polifemo. Così spingono a credere anche il frammento pindarico e tutti gli altri paralleli.

Pertanto è più condivisibile la traduzione di West<sup>47</sup> (scelte testuali in v. 2 a parte): "There was a time when the countless races <of men> roaming <constantly> over the land were weighing down the <deep->breasted earth's expanse". O quella di Bernabé:<sup>48</sup> "Hubo un tiempo en el que innumerables tribus (de hombres,) errantes por la tierra, (agobiaban) la superficie de la tierra de profundo pecho".<sup>49</sup>

In questo senso l'espressione ἦν ὅτε non si comporta come le formule del tipo di *c'era una volta* o *once upon a time* che mirano a determinare e mettere in luce una vicenda o un personaggio particolare, e a far emergere la sua esistenza e la sua individualità anonima e comune nel mare indeterminato del tempo. ἦν ὅτε, così come le sue varianti ἦν χρόνος ἦνικα / ὅτε, mira piuttosto al contesto temporale stesso, e non solo a determinarlo in certa misura (come vuole l'interpretazione di Jouan), ma a farlo oggetto primario della stessa narrazione, almeno nell'evocazione dei primi versi, e per questo ha importanza affermare e conservare nella traduzione il valore soggettivo della temporale. La presenza di questa rende la tipologia della presunta formula ἦν ὅτε diversa dagli esordi formulari delle fiabe, o almeno da quelli a cui essa è stata paragonata, e la differenza sintattica marca una differenza tematica tra quanto espresso da queste espressioni e il racconto popolare propriamente detto;<sup>50</sup> l'approccio delle espressioni come ἦν ὅτε o ἦν

<sup>47</sup> M. L. West, *Greek Epic Fragments. From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC*, Cambridge, Ma. – London 2003.

<sup>48</sup> Bernabé (sopra, n. 1), 128.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. anche Burkert (sopra, n. 3), 96: "Es war eine Zeit, als unendlich viele Völker der Menschen über die Erde sich hinund herbewegten ... (Lücke; sie bedrängten?) die Breite der tiefbrüstigen Erde". Si nota, nella traduzione inglese (W. Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*, Cambridge, Ma. 1991), l'interferenza che produce l'uso di *once upon a time* e la volontà di mantenere il riferimento al valore soggettivo della proposizione temporale: "Once upon a time, when countless people moved on the face of the earth ... [lacuna; they oppressed?] the breadth of the deep-chested earth".

<sup>50</sup> Cf. A. Bernabé, *Dioses, héroes y orígenes del mundo. Lecturas de mitología*, Madrid 2008, 353: "En cuanto a los temas, el mito tiende a referirse a cuestiones de interés general, que afectan a la comunidad entera – incluso a toda la humanidad –. Es el caso de los mitos del origen del mundo, de las razones de la organización del mundo religioso o del origen de determinados hábitos sociales, mientras que el cuento tiende a moverse en asuntos más bien privados".

χρόνος ἦνικα / ὅτε è, per così dire, più storico-filosofico o storico-cosmogonico che semplicemente narrativo. L'espressione determina un'epoca avente marcata differenza con quella attuale, di cui il racconto seguente espone il rivolgimento che porta alla situazione attuale, e fa di questa epoca il soggetto grammaticale e tematico.

Rispetto a ἦν ὅτε, l'espressione ἦν ποτε (ovviamente con differente impiego sintattico) è la forma più simile, metricamente equivalente, che avrebbe reso meglio un *incipit* fiabesco assimilabile agli esordi fiabeschi, in quanto formata da un elemento verbale e uno avverbiale che la rendono praticamente identica a *c'era una volta*.

Tuttavia troviamo sì esempi significativi di tale formula ἦν ποτε in posizione incipitaria nella letteratura greca, ma non la troviamo mai associata a racconti folkloristici. Al contrario, la troviamo usata ancora una volta nell'epica. Diogene Laerzio (1,4) tramanda il primo verso di una cosmogonia attribuita a Lino che è interessante richiamare in questa sede (lin. fr. 80 Bernabé):

ἦν ποτέ τοι χρόνος οὗτος, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντ' ἐπεφύκει

Il verso iniziava l'opera perduta, confermando che l'uso incipitario poteva discendere da una tradizione epica alternativa a quella della tradizione narrativa omerica, e più votata alla speculazione filosofica e religiosa che alla narrazione in sé e per sé.<sup>51</sup> Si vede infatti nel frammento come non sia sfruttata la modalità sintattica tipica delle fiabe nonostante la ricorrenza avverbiale del ποτε,<sup>52</sup> ma si insista ancora sull'epoca (χρόνος) e sull'uso della relativa; qui il richiamo al χρόνος è esplicito come nelle traduzioni proposte *supra*. L'uso dunque è connesso ad un certo ambito culturale, e la vicinanza tematica e compositiva ai frammenti orfici e ad Esiodo, oltre alla ricorrenza dell'espressione nella prosa filosofica a partire da Platone,<sup>53</sup> la dice lunga sui riferimenti principali dell'espressione iniziale di

<sup>51</sup> Sulla cronologia e i riferimenti filosofici del frammento cf. M. L. West, *Orphic Poems*, New York 1983, 56–8.

<sup>52</sup> Il frammento di Lino va a sua volta associato ai frammenti orfici citati: Bernabé (sopra, n. 18) *ad loc.*; per l'uso del ποτε è interessante l'imitazione di Moschion. fr. 6,3 *TrGF* = Orph. fr. 644,II,3 Bernabé ἦν γάρ ποτ' αἰὼν κείνος, ἦν ποθ' ἦνικα, come si vede usato anche in questo caso per introdurre un'epoca e in associazione alla relativa.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Pl. *Prt.* 320c ἦν γάρ ποτε χρόνος ὅτε θεοὶ μὲν ἦσαν, θνητὰ δὲ γένη οὐκ ἦν e altri esempi tardi che confermano che l'ambito di utilizzo è prettamente filosofico. Platone è citato da Xydias (sopra, n. 4), 47, anche con altri esempi, e, come si è visto *supra*, anche lo scolio ad Aristofane cita un brano di Platone per un esempio di *incipit* folkloristico, ma naturalmente i

*Cypria* fr. 1 Bernabé, che va quindi avvicinata con una certa prudenza alle convenzioni del racconto folkloristico.

Tali connessioni sono dunque evidenti. Ma qual è il significato dell'uso in un poema prettamente narrativo, o meglio, quali sono le implicazioni e caratterizzazioni narrative di questo uso? Si è detto che l'espressione mette in risalto un'epoca più che dei personaggi, ma questo ha anche un ruolo di supporto alla narrazione, alla quale fornisce una contestualizzazione temporale. In questo senso il riferimento può essere considerato in certa misura, e da un punto di vista soprattutto narratologico, affine allo stile del racconto popolare, e soprattutto in poemi epici narrativi come i *Cypria* che non in cosmogonie o testi filosofico-religiosi. Il suo richiamo vago ed evocativo alla temporalità certo differisce dall'atteggiamento narrativo dei proemi omerici, i quali più che altro alludono a una collocazione temporale relativa degli eventi nella *fabula*, ma sono in sostanza reticenti sulla collocazione temporale del narratore rispetto alla vicenda narrata: a parte pochi spunti il narratore omerico non insiste sul carattere remoto e lontano della vicenda che riferisce, men che meno nei proemi.<sup>54</sup> Tuttavia in Omero stesso si può isolare una tendenza alla collocazione degli eventi in un passato mitico, ad esempio nelle scene tipiche in cui il narratore descrive un suo eroe sollevare enormi massi per poi affermare che neanche in due *per come sono ora i mortali* (οἶοι νῦν βροτοί εἶσι) vi riuscirebbero; tale aspetto è estremizzato in Esiodo, come mostra ad esempio il mito delle cinque età e la relativa collocazione dell'epoca presente (*Op.* 174ss.). In un testo narrativo come quello omerico la funzione di questi richiami è quella di fornire una collocazione cronologica della vicenda narrata rispetto al narratore.

Il richiamo ad un passato lontano ha quindi una sua logica narrativa, che ancor di più possiamo apprezzare se tale richiamo è posto all'inizio del racconto. In questo senso parlare dell'associazione di *Cypria* fr. 1,1s. con elementi che fanno più o meno parte dello spirito folkloristico ha un senso, ed in questo senso vale il raffronto con l'unico parallelo esopico valido (302,1,1 ὅτε ἦν ὁμόφωνα τὰ ζῶα...), che pone i personaggi in un tempo atavico, implicando quindi il richiamo a nozioni storicistiche e cosmogoniche di contorno.

Tenuto conto di questo, possiamo dunque trovare termini di confronto

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due ambiti vanno separati, per quanto la convergenza potrebbe essere significativa.

<sup>54</sup> Su questi elementi narratologici cf. I. De Jong, *Narrators and Focalizers. The Presentation of the Story in the Iliad*, London 2004<sup>2</sup>, 44s.; Ead., *A Narratological Commentary on the Odyssey*, Cambridge 2001, ad *Od.* 1,1–10; Ead. "Homer" in I. De Jong – R. Nünlist (edd.), *Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative*, II: *Time in Ancient Greek Literature*, Leiden – Boston 2007, 18–37.

dell'espressione ἦν ὅτε in funzione strettamente narrativa, tenendo conto anche della sua forma fonico-ritmica? Cercando di rispondere a questa domanda troviamo ancora una volta riscontri nell'epica. Sebbene la formula ἦν ὅτε e l'uso εἰμί+ὅτε non trovi attestazioni nell'epica arcaica superstite, ὅτε si trova spessissimo in Omero e soprattutto negli *Inni* nella medesima posizione metrica, ovvero a formare i due *brevia* del primo dattilo; anzi, esistono, oltre a questi casi, dei nessi abbastanza frequenti in Omero e negli *Inni* come πρίν δ' (γ') ὅτε, ὡς δ' ὅτε, ἀλλ' ὅτε,<sup>55</sup> οἱ (αἰ) δ' ὅτε, οὐδ' ὅτε, νῦν δ' ὅτε e in due casi (omerici) Ζεύς ὅτε (in Esiodo solo ἀλλ' ὅτε 2x), sempre a inizio verso.

Si ha poi un'espressione formulare (in senso parryano) composta da ἦν a inizio verso + monosillabi, un nesso in qualche modo simile a quello in questione: ἦν δέ τις,<sup>56</sup> usato spesso per introdurre un personaggio e la sua storia. La somiglianza non è solo fonico-ritmica, ma anche semantico-funzionale: come demarcatore dell'*inizio* di episodi ben definiti l'espressione ἦν δέ τις è caratteristica, così come alcune varianti, ad esempio ἔστι δέ τις. Vediamo che Omero usa ἔστι δέ τις (a volte come voce di narratori secondari, ma anche per il narratore principale) per contestualizzare l'ambiente della vicenda, rimandando a luoghi; ἦν δέ τις è invece usato per introdurre dei personaggi ed episodi in cui essi compaiono. Il significato di questa variazione (presente-imperfetto) è chiaro: mentre i luoghi continuano ad esistere anche al tempo del narratore principale, i personaggi appartengono invariabilmente al passato.<sup>57</sup> ἦν δέ τις ha dunque in sé una chiara demarcazione temporale, e, a confronto di ἔστι δέ τις, funziona anche se solo implicitamente come distanziatore tra l'epoca del narratore principale e l'epoca narrata.

<sup>55</sup> Tale nesso è frequentissimo, a volte corrisposto da καὶ τότε o δὴ τότε al principio del verso seguente o due o tre versi dopo. Barker (sopra, n. 3), 38 mette in relazione il fr. 1,1. con *Od.* 1,16 ἀλλ' ὅτε, che ricorre nella primissima parte del poema: "Having given a brief sketch of the background, the narrator moves to Odysseus' current predicament via the phrase 'but when'". Tuttavia bisogna ricordare che *Cypria* fr. 1, che si consideri proemio o meno, rispetto al poema racconta un antefatto e dà un prospetto riassuntivo di tutta la vicenda.

<sup>56</sup> *Il.* 3x, *Od.* 1x. In *Od.* 9,508 si ha anche la variante ἔσκε τις, mentre ἔστι δέ τις è usato per introdurre luoghi. In *Od.* 21,237, 383 e *Hymn. Aphr.* 280 si ha l'espressione formulare quasi omofona ἦν δέ τις, dove il primo elemento non è un verbo ma una congiunzione.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. De Jong 2004 (sopra, n. 54), 44s.; De Jong 2001 (sopra, n. 54) *ad Od.* 3,293–6: "The present tense in these descriptions is timeless or generic, which in the instances occurring in the narrator text collapses the distance in time between the narrator and his story"; cf. anche *ad Od.* 20,287–90.



Vediamo com'è usata la formula ἦν δέ τις per presentare Dolone nella *Doloneia* (*Il.* 10,314):

ἦν δέ τις ἐν Τρώεσσι Δόλων Εὐμήδεος υἱὸς  
κῆρυκος θείοιο πολύχρυσος πολύχαλκος,  
ὄς δὴ τοι εἶδος μὲν ἔην κακός, ἀλλὰ ποδώκης·  
αὐτὰρ ὁ μῦθος ἔην μετὰ πέντε κασιγνήτησιν.

Questa presentazione di un personaggio alquanto indeterminato, privo di una tradizione mitica,<sup>58</sup> di cui si presenta l'esistenza particolare, non è del tutto lontana dagli esordi folkloristici. Si pensi a tutte le fiabe che al loro inizio presentano un figlio cadetto e lo introducono proprio in virtù della sua collocazione e distinzione nell'ambito della famiglia e soprattutto in relazione al padre e ai fratelli, parlando delle sue caratteristiche e proprietà eccezionali per introdurre poi la sua avventura. Non è quindi casuale il fatto che espressioni come ἦν δέ τις ed ἔστι δέ τις inaugurino spesso lunghi *excursus* e digressioni, come dire episodi o comunque brani a sé stanti.<sup>59</sup> La funzione incipitaria della formula può essere quindi considerata simile a quella di ἦν ὅτε.

Gli esempi esaminati sembrano da un lato, per le ricorrenze che incontriamo, ricondurre ἦν ὅτε all'epica narrativa troiana, cioè l'epica omerica, ma rimandare allo stesso tempo all'uso a tradizioni e convenzioni narrative che appaiono in Omero stesso e nell'epica arcaica in generale marginali in virtù della scarsa attestazione (comprensibile in opere che si contraddistinguono già per genere e poetica) o per l'oscurità delle loro sporadiche manifestazioni.

Ma sulla base della similitudine narrativa delle espressioni ἦν δέ τις ed ἦν ὅτε e della differenza sintattica che le distingue rimane qualcosa da dire. Il rapporto tra ἦν δέ τις ed ἦν ὅτε è chiaro se si considera che il verbo ἦν è teso alla presentazione di un soggetto, da intendere sia come "soggetto grammaticale" sia come "soggetto tematico", ossia argomento di quanto segue nel canto. In un caso il soggetto (τις ... Δόλων) è un personaggio particolare protagonista di una determinata avventura, cioè nel caso di *Il.* 10 la cosiddetta *Doloneia*; nel caso di

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Bernabé (sopra, n. 50), 354.

<sup>59</sup> Vedi *Il.* 2,811–5 (che inizia il catalogo degli alleati dei Troiani); 11,711–3, 722–4; 13,663–72; *Od.* 3,293–6; 9,508–10 etc. Non è forse neanche un caso che nell'*Iliade* tali *incipit* compaiano o in relazione a tradizioni, come quella di Darete (presentato con ἦν δέ τις in *Il.* 5,9, cf. G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad: a Commentary*. Vol. II: *Books 5–8*, Cambridge 1990, *ad loc.*) probabilmente allogene, o in parti particolarmente autonome del poema, come appunto la *Doloneia*.

*Cypria* fr. 1 (ὅτε μυρία φύλα ... ἐπίεζε ... αἴης) il soggetto, come si è già fatto notare, è tutta l'epoca evocata e presentata come argomento della narrazione che seguirà, ovvero, trattandosi di un proemio, l'intera storia narrata nel poema.

Un esordio come quest'ultimo, in cui a un personaggio individuale o a un gruppo ristretto di personaggi è sostituita tutta un'epoca, l'epoca degli eroi di cui parla Esiodo in *Op.* 156–73, è particolarmente adatto a un'epopea per così dire "corale" quale quella dei *Cypria*, in cui, benché singoli eroi e singole tradizioni potessero qua e là prevalere, non si ha un Achille o un Odisseo come protagonista e oggetto tematico principale, né altri protagonisti individuali; il protagonista è invece tutto l'esercito acheo che parte alla conquista di Elena, o per meglio dire, almeno nelle intenzioni dell'autore del fr. 1, tutta una generazione di eroi greci. E infatti il proemio dei *Cypria* presenta un elevato grado di anonimato e di corallità (della stessa natura di Hes. *Op.* 156–73) anche rispetto ai proemi dell'*Iliade* e dell'*Odissea*, i quali sin dal primo verso restringono il loro soggetto a un solo personaggio, protagonista dichiarato del poema.

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## CHILDREN IN THE ROMAN WORLD: CULTURAL AND SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES. A REVIEW ARTICLE

VILLE VUOLANTO

This article analyses the contemporary flowering of scholarship on ancient, especially Roman, childhood and children. I will concentrate here mostly on social and cultural historical perspectives, as it is especially in this field (rather than, for example, in studies concentrating on ideological representations of childhood) that there is a change taking place in research orientation, both thematically and theoretically. The studies selected here for indepth attention represent three different ways of approaching the field of ancient family research. Christian Laes' book is an example of a book-length study aiming at giving new perspectives on Roman childhood in a synthetizing manner; the volume edited by Sabine Hübner and David Ratzan represents an attempt to open up a field hitherto unexplored in the context of ancient childhood; and the work by Cornelia Horn and John Martens draws together the work done in New Testament and Early Christian Studies, while also pointing to new directions.<sup>1</sup>

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\* As the field of the childhood studies in the Roman world is quite small, I notify here that I have done research co-operation in the past with Cornelia Horn, Sabine Hübner and Christian Laes. Most notably I am now co-authoring an article with Christian Laes to a book co-edited by Sabine Huebner. I hope this would not affect the impartiality of my judgement below. Moreover, I need to thank April Pudsey for her comments and fruitful advice during the preparation of this article, and Brian McNeil for correcting my English.

<sup>1</sup> Cornelia B. Horn – John W. Martens, *"Let the Little Children Come to Me". Childhood and Children in Early Christianity*. The Catholic University of America Press, Washington D.C. 2009. ISBN 978-0-8132-1674-4. XV, 438 pp. USD 44.95; Sabine R. Hübner – David M. Ratzan (eds.), *Growing Up Fatherless in Antiquity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-49050-4 (hb). XVI, 333 pp. GBP 55, USD 99; Christian Laes, *Children in the Roman Empire. Outsiders Within*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-89746-4. XV, 334 pp. GBP 65, USD 105.

During the last decade, a new phase in the study of the history of childhood in the Roman world has been developing quickly. The field has been able to leave behind the thematic framework set by the discussions on Philippe Ariès and his immediate followers. Their heritage was twofold: firstly, methodologically, to point out that childhood is a culturally conditioned and thus historically changing concept, and secondly, thematically, to seek for development and progress in the field of the history of childhood. These trends led to the dominance of two main questions for scholarship: How did the parent-child relations change in the past, and: Did people in antiquity and the middle ages perceive childhood as a separate phase of life? Among classical scholars, and, more particularly, scholars of the Roman world, these themes led to a concentration on cultural views of childhood. Childhood was approached as an institution, seen as one and shared in a certain cultural milieu. In consequence, the (elite) ideals with regard to childhood, how children fit in to the 'adult' society and public life, and attitudes towards children were at the centre of the research interests. For the most part, scholarship was not directly preoccupied with children themselves, as agents in their own right and as producers of their own culture.<sup>2</sup>

For Roman social history in particular, the influence of historical demography and women's studies, intersecting with studies of Roman family in the late 1980s onwards, was profound. Children – especially via the theme of *patria potestas* – became one of the focal points in highlighting Roman (patriarchal) family relations and studying family life. At the same time, the studies of Roman education and, especially, of families in Roman law, both fields that had paid attention to children in Roman world even before the modern interest in childhood studies, began to be integrated with more culturally and socially oriented research on children.<sup>3</sup> Beryl Rawson's *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy* (2003)

<sup>2</sup> P. Ariès, *L'Enfant et la Vie Familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris 1960; L. deMause, "The Evolution of Childhood", in L. deMause (ed.): *The History of Childhood*, New York 1974, 1–74; L. Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800*, London 1977. For the reactions to Ariès, deMause and Stone among historians of classical antiquity, see M. Harlow – R. Laurence – V. Vuolanto, "Past, Present and Future in the Study of Roman Childhood", in S. Crawford – G. Shepherd (eds.), *Children, Childhood and Society*, Oxford 2007, esp. 5–6.

<sup>3</sup> See esp. B. Rawson (ed.), *The Family in Ancient Rome: New Perspectives*, Ithaca (N.Y.) 1986; B. Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce and Children in Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1991; S. Dixon, *The Roman Mother*, London 1988; S. Dixon, *The Roman Family*. Baltimore – London 1992; K. Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family. Studies in Roman Social History*, Oxford 1991. R. Saller, *Patriarchy, Property and Death in the Roman Family*, Cambridge 1994; J. Gardner, *Family and familia in Roman law and life*, Oxford 1998. For a synthesis of traditional

marks a high point for this phase of scholarship. This is a masterly synthesis of earlier research, but it seeks also new directions in stressing the need to widen up the material basis for the studies, the importance of taking into account the children's own viewpoint, and the necessity of cross-disciplinary perspectives.<sup>4</sup>

All this has led to a gradual opening up of Roman childhood studies to wider questions and to more theoretical thinking. At an earlier period, children were studied in particular in the context of the family, with research concentrating on emotional and hierarchical aspects of parent-child relationships. However, in the twenty-first century children have become a focus of studies in their own right on an unprecedented scale. New questions have been asked, leading to a recent flowering of publications on ancient and early medieval childhood. Themes like children's play, slave children, nursing and child labour have aroused increasing interest, while an 'old' topic like education has received renewed attention. Similarly, the range of source material expanded to include material culture, archaeology, iconography, papyri, letters and sermons of ecclesiastical writers, and hagiographical sources. All this variety is well displayed in the recent *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World* (2013).<sup>5</sup> What has proved to be very important for the study of children is the growing awareness of the variation in the lives of children – a variation due to social and legal status, gender, and regional differences. Similarly, instead of looking for one specific ideal or an attitude towards children, one has to be aware of potentially conflicting ideals and attitudes on various levels of discourse and social life.

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legal studies on family and children, see C. Fayer, *La familia romana: aspetti giuridici ed antiquari*, 3 vols., Roma 1995 and 2005. See also the special issue of *Iuris Antiqui Historia* 4 (2012), on children and youth in (mainly) Roman legislation.

<sup>4</sup> B. Rawson, *Children and Childhood in Roman Italy*, Oxford 2003; see also her "The Future of Childhood Studies in Classics and Ancient History", in K. Mustakallio *et al.* (eds.), *Hoping for Continuity: Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Rome 2005, 1–11.

<sup>5</sup> J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin with R. Bell (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford 2013. The expansion of the field may also be seen in the newest version of V. Vuolanto *et al.*, *Children in the Ancient World and the Early Middle Ages: A Bibliography for Scholars and Students* (January 2014), online at <http://www.hf.uio.no/ifikk/english/research/projects/childhood/bibliography.pdf>, which now includes nearly 1,800 titles.

### ***Growing up Fatherless and the different childhoods***

The volume edited by Sabine Hübner and David Ratzan, one of the books on which we concentrate here, is a good example of the new kind of interest in studying ancient society in general, and ancient children in particular. Already the name of the volume, *Growing up Fatherless in Antiquity*, marks a notable departure from older studies: it does not handle childhood as one indivisible entity, but picks up a particular group of children with particular characteristics, while conveying an expectation that the central actors in this book would be children themselves. The book has a chronological span from Homeric times to Late Antiquity, and it includes both social-historical and more literary studies. It is not necessary here to summarize the articles one by one; instead, I will pick up some particular points from those chapters dealing with the Roman world, and from the book as a whole.

The collection starts, much in line with the recent trends in research, with a short but very useful demographic overview by Walter Scheidel, which manages to show how common was the phenomenon of fatherlessness in the ancient world: not only high infant and childhood mortality, but also parental mortality made the presence of death in the lives of children pervasive.<sup>6</sup> Scheidel's remarks of the relevance of birth order for the children's experience and even for future prospects, would serve as a fruitful starting point for future studies. Sabine Hübner's article on stepfathers is a central piece in the collection, stressing the importance – and the ubiquity – of stepfathers and of step-relatives more generally. Here, as in many other articles of the collection dealing with the Roman world (by Ann-Cathrin Harders, Neil Bernstein, and Rafaella Cribiore), a central point is that losing the biological father, while causing practical and emotional distress, did not need to hinder the careers of the elite boys: stepfathers widened the networks for elite children, and older (male) relatives took care of the education and support of their younger orphaned relatives. Moreover, the death of the fathers, or their absence from the lives of their children for other reasons, could also open up opportunities, as Judith Hallett shows in her piece on Cornelia and Sulpicia – a

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<sup>6</sup> See also Laes 2011 (above n. 1), 23–32; T. Parkin, "The Demography of Infancy and Early Childhood in the Ancient World," in J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin with R. Bell (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford 2013, 40–61; A. Pudsey, "Children in Roman Egypt", in J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin with R. Bell (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford 2013, 484–509.

point with parallels in the lives of late Roman male intellectuals, both Christian and non-Christian.<sup>7</sup>

When I opened the volume, I was immediately intrigued to see that the themes of child abandonment or guardianship were not given their own chapters. This is not a criticism as such: as the editors state in the introduction, they aim at encouraging new and innovative scholarship rather than at presenting a systematic treatment of the issue of fatherlessness. Indeed, child abandonment (together with a discussion of infanticide and abortion) has already received considerable attention in the earlier scholarship: the theme neatly encapsulates the dominant issues of the previous phase of research history, on family relations and paternal power, within a theme which in present-day contexts is highly emotive. Judith Evans Grubbs has been most active in publishing on this problematic, widening the interest of research from the parents to society more generally, and in particular to children themselves as foundlings. Most recently, Christian Laes has linked this theme with the discussion of the relationship between the biological and the social birth of children in antiquity.<sup>8</sup>

Guardianship (including *tutela*, *cura* and unofficial modes of protecting children and their property), with its wide social and economic effects on children, families and Roman society at large, is an important but quite unexplored theme. As Richard Saller has pointed out, perhaps as many as one-sixth of property was in the hands of fatherless children under fourteen, and up to one-third was likely owned by young people under twenty-five years of age. The theme appears in the volume in many contexts, and this, luckily enough, has led the editors to add a substantial 'prolegomenon of the Ancient guardianship' in their introduc-

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<sup>7</sup> V. Vuolanto, "Autobiography and the Construction of Elite Childhood and Youth in Fourth- and Fifth-Century Antioch", in C. Laes – K. Mustakallio – V. Vuolanto (eds.), *Children and Family in Late Antiquity. Life, Death and Interaction*, Leuven 2014, 309–12; 314–5, 320.

<sup>8</sup> J. Evans Grubbs, "Hidden in Plain Sight: *Expositi* in the Community", in V. Dasen and T. Späth (eds.), *Children, Memory, and Family Identity in Roman Culture*, Oxford 2010, 293–310; J. Evans Grubbs, "The Dynamics of Infant Abandonment: Motives, Attitudes and (Unintended) Consequences", in K. Mustakallio – C. Laes (eds.), *The Dark Side of Childhood in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2011, 21–36; J. Evans Grubbs, "Infant Exposure and Infanticide", in J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin with R. Bell (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford 2013, 83–107; C. Laes, "Infants Between Biological and Social Birth in Antiquity: A Phenomenon of the *Longue Durée*", *Historia* 63 (2014) 364–83. For further studies and historiographical analysis of the research, see V. Vuolanto, "Infant Abandonment and the Christianization of Medieval Europe", in K. Mustakallio – C. Laes (eds.), *The Dark Side of Childhood in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Oxford 2011, 3–19.



tion (p. 13–18).<sup>9</sup> But, in any case, the socio-cultural aspects of this theme would deserve a fully developed book-length discussion in the future.

A further topic to take up here is the discussion of the particular interest in orphanhood in Judeo-Christian contexts. Here, orphans have a pointed symbolic value as a group of people who need special protection. Although this rhetoric was not absent in the non-Christian discourse either, care of the orphans was highlighted as a major moral obligation for Jews and Christians, as Marcus Sigmund shows in the context of the Bible, and Geoffrey Nathan in Late Antiquity. Nathan, while concentrating on stepfathers, stresses the continuities rather than the new aspects of the Christian ethos, as Jens-Uwe Krause has also done in his now classical study of widows and orphans in the Roman world.<sup>10</sup> What seems to be new is the interest in the lower classes and 'the poor', and the theme of poverty and orphanhood certainly would deserve further study from the social-historical viewpoint.<sup>11</sup>

Taken as a whole, the book is an important contribution to the study of ancient childhood, explicitly dealing with some issues to which little attention has been paid up to now: relatives and networks of minors beyond the family nucleus; lower-class children outside of the elite circles; and marginalized children and childhoods. It has to be pointed out that the book, thanks to its exploration of the situations where fathers are missing, is also one of the most central studies on Roman fatherhood, another neglected topic in recent social historically oriented

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<sup>9</sup> See also the short but informative analysis of the place of guardians in the family dynamics in connection of discussion on step-fathers in Huebner's own chapter (67–9). On the social and legal aspects of guardianship, see Saller (above n. 3), 181–203 (esp. 189–90 and 203 on the demographical background); J.-U. Krause, *Rechtliche und Soziale Stellung von Waisen. Witwen und Waisen im Römischen Reich*, vol. 3, Stuttgart 1995, 85–112; D. P. Kehoe, *Investment, Profit, and Tenancy. The Jurists and the Roman Agrarian Economy*, Ann Arbor 1997, 22–76; V. Vuolanto, "Women and the property of fatherless children in the Roman Empire", in P. Setälä *et al.*, *Women, power and property in Roman Empire*, Rome 2002, 203–43.

<sup>10</sup> J.-U. Krause, *Witwen und Waisen im frühen Christentum. Witwen und Waisen im Römischen Reich*, vol. 4. Stuttgart 1995, 11–51, with Krause (above n. 8), 85–103 on pre-Christian Rome. See also Vuolanto (above n. 9), esp. 204–6 on the importance of the moral obligations of guardians towards orphaned children in the Roman tradition.

<sup>11</sup> See also C. Kotsifou, "Papyrological Perspectives on Orphans in the World of Late Ancient Christianity", in C. Horn – R. Phenix (eds.), *Children in Late Ancient Christianity*, Tübingen 2009, 339–74 and T. McGinn, "Widows, Orphans and Social History", *JRA* 12 (1999) 617–32 (review of Krause [above, nn. 9 and 10]).

research.<sup>12</sup> Also, the study of metaphors connected with childhood, one of the main themes of the volume, deserves much more attention than it has previously been given to in classical scholarship.

### **"Let the Children Come": Interdisciplinarity, children and the rise of Christianity**

In contrast to ancient historians, there is a strong tradition among scholars of early Christianity and the New Testament of research into the metaphorical use of family and child-related terminology.<sup>13</sup> They have also been much interested in the possible influence which the rise of Christianity may have had on attitudes towards children and on their actual lives, with an on-going debate about this issue.<sup>14</sup> However, Late Antiquity (or, the 'Patristic period'), as a cross-over period

<sup>12</sup> On the variety of quite different, even contradictory views on Roman fathers, see E. Southon, "Fatherhood in Late Antique Gaul", in M. Harlow – L. Larsson Lovén (eds.), *Families in the Roman and Late Antique World*, London – New York 2012, 238–53; N. Bernstein, "Each Man's Father Served as His Teacher: Constructing Relatedness in Pliny's Letters", *Classical Antiquity* 27 (2008), 203–30; M. Vesley, "Father-son Relations in Roman Declamation", *Ancient History Bulletin* 17 (2003), 159–80; E. Cantarella, "Fathers and Sons in Rome", *Classical World* 96 (2003), 281–98; Y. Thomas, "Fathers as Citizens of Rome, Rome as a City of Fathers (Second Century BC – Second Century AD)", in A. Burguière, *A History of the Family, Volume I: Distant Worlds, Ancient Worlds*, Cambridge 1996, 228–69 (in French 1986); Saller (above n. 3), esp. 102–60; E. Eyben, "Fathers and Sons", in B. Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1991, 114–43; J. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society: Women and the Elite Family*, Princeton (NJ) 1984.

<sup>13</sup> See, e.g., H. Moxnes (ed.), *Constructing Early Christian Families: Family as a Social Reality and Metaphor*, London – New York 1997; D. K. Buell, *Making Christians: Clement of Alexandria and the Rhetoric of Legitimacy*. Princeton (NJ) 1999; J. Hellerman, *The Ancient Church as Family*, Minneapolis 2001; R. Aasgaard, "My Beloved Brothers and Sisters!" *Christian Siblingship in Paul*, London 2004; C. Gerber, *Paulus und seine "Kinder": Studien zur Beziehungsmetaphorik der paulinischen Briefe*, Berlin 2005; B. Strawn, "'Israel, My Child': The Ethics of a Biblical Metaphor", in M. Bunge (ed.) *The Child in the Bible*, Grand Rapids 2008, 103–40.

<sup>14</sup> See already P. Müller, *In der Mitte der Gemeinde: Kinder im Neuen Testament*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1992; D. Wood (ed.), *The Church and Childhood: Papers Read at the 1993 Summer Meeting and the 1994 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, Oxford 1994; W. Strange, *Children in the Early Church: Children in the Ancient World, the New Testament, and the Early Church*, Carlisle 1996; P. Balla, *The Child-Parent Relationship in the New Testament and Its Environment*, Tübingen 2003; J. Murphy, *Kids and Kingdom: The Precarious Presence*

for Classical and early Christian scholars, has attracted surprisingly little attention (compared to the relatively ample source material available). It is now dealt with in (sub)chapters of volumes with wider themes, or, more recently, in individual articles in compilation works. The first monograph of the issue appeared only in 2005, when Odd Magne Bakke published his controversial book on the positive effect of Christianity not only on attitudes towards children but also on their actual living conditions in Late Antiquity. After that date, there has appeared a number of edited volumes dealing with childhood in Late Antiquity.<sup>15</sup>

The volume by Cornelia Horn and John Martens appeared in 2009 at the peak of this new interest on Late Antique childhood, and it aimed at integrating the scholarship of the early Christian studies and (late) Roman family history into a new synthesis. They begin by analysing ideals and ideas of children in the New Testament, with a extensive discussion of believers as children of God, thus offering a good starting point for tracing the subsequent developments of attitudes towards children in the Christian tradition. The integration of a comparison between the early Christian and Jewish ideals in the volume is a most welcome addition. But there is much more to this book, as it widens the scope of New Testament and Early Christian scholarship on childhood to the Late Antique and Patristic periods. In this part of the book, the new trends in studying the history of childhood are most clearly to the fore, especially in discussions of the participation of children in religious life, and in their laudable and unique discussion of the everyday life of households, and especially of the many forms and social functions children's play (with games, music and toys) had in contemporary children's culture. Not surprisingly, they pay considerable attention to religious practices as central socializing forces in the lives of children in the Roman world – it is more

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*of Children in the Synoptic Gospels*, Ann Arbor (MI) 2013. For an in-depth analysis of the research history, see R. Aasgaard, "Children in Antiquity and Early Christianity: Research History and Central Issues", *Familia* 33 (2006) esp. 30–6.

<sup>15</sup> O. M. Bakke, *When Children Became People: The Birth of Childhood in Early Christianity*, Minneapolis 2005. There have appeared relevant articles esp. in Wood (above n. 14) and in M. Bunge (ed.), *The Child in Christian Thought*, Grand Rapids 2004. G. Nathan, *The Family in Late Antiquity: The Rise of Christianity and the Endurance of Tradition*, London – New York 2000, has a chapter on childhood. Recent collections of papers: C. Horn – R. Phenix (ed.), *Children in Late Ancient Christianity*, Tübingen 2009; A. Papaconstantinou – A.-M. Talbot (eds.), *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in Byzantium*, Washington D.C. 2007; L. Brubaker – S. Tougher, *Approaches to the Byzantine Family*, Birmingham 2013; C. Laes – K. Mustakallio – V. Vuolanto (eds.), *Children and Family in Late Antiquity. Life, Death and Interaction*, Leuven 2014 and V. Vuolanto, *Children and Asceticism in Late Antiquity. Continuity, Family Dynamics and the Rise of Christianity*, Aldershot 2015.

surprising to note how seldom this theme or viewpoint has been taken up in earlier scholarship on Roman children.<sup>16</sup>

Let us return to the question of the difference Christianity made. Bakke made the point that with Christianity, children ultimately "became people", as the title of his book suggests. This rather exaggerated view of the influence of Christianity is quite common. For example, a review of the volume by Horn and Martens went so far as to claim that "Children connected with Christian homes did not face exposure, violent death, abuse, or sexual exploitation like those in the rest of the ancient world".<sup>17</sup> However, this statement does not do justice to the actual argumentation by Horn and Martens, as they admit that the non-Christian children around them had a "very similar kind of lives" and experiences of living. They do however claim that the Early Christians "managed to transform practices and challenge whole cultures with respect to their treatment of children". While "Christianity did not discover children or childhood", what began to change was the general attitude toward children: they became "valuable in themselves", and this ultimately lent itself "to bringing about a change in practices" such as child abandonment or sexual violence. Moreover, Horn and Martens claim that children had more emphatic roles in Christian society and, more particularly, in religious praxis.

Persuasive as their arguments are for the Christian ideology and everyday life in Christian contexts, based on careful analysis of their wide knowledge of early Christian sources, I found their comparison unconvincing with regard to the change in children's everyday circumstances. The main reason for this is my scepticism about the claim that children would have been less human or less valuable in non-Christian contexts – the methodology for measuring this is quite unclear. While we can see changes in actual practices connected with the sexual

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<sup>16</sup> On the importance of religious practices in studying childhood experience, see S. Katajala-Peltomaa – V. Vuolanto, "Children and Agency: Religion as Socialisation in Late Antiquity and the Late Medieval West", *Childhood in the Past* 4:1 (2011) 79–99. For studies, see I. C. Mantle, "The roles of children in Roman religion", *Greece & Rome* 49:1 (2002) 85–106; F. Prescendi, "Children and the Transmission of Religious Knowledge", in V. Dasen – T. Späth (eds.), *Children, Memory, and Family Identity in Roman Culture*, Oxford – New York 2010, 73–93; V. Vuolanto, "Faith and Religion", in M. Harlow – R. Laurence (eds.), *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family in Antiquity*, Oxford 2010, 133–51, 203–6.

<sup>17</sup> See Bakke (above n. 15); T. M. Brenneman, Review of Horn – Martens (above n. 1), *Church History* 80 (2011), 645. For a similar view of the change caused by the rise of Christianity, see M. King, "Children in Judaism and Christianity", in P. Fass (ed.), *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, London – New York 2013, 39–60.

abuse of children, and perhaps also in the parental involvement in the moral formation of the elite children (a point which needs more comparative research), what we now know about the importance of religious participation, the practice of abandonment, or violence at homes or in schooling, does not reveal any clear changes.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, the new options Christianity offered for the small minority of children, namely 'choosing' the life of Christian monks and nuns, were alternatives not for the children but rather for the families, as it seems that children did not have much to say in choosing between marrying and celibate life.<sup>19</sup> The basic problem seems to be, quite simply, that for the non-Christian material, the authors are not doing original research, but are dependent on earlier studies, thus lacking in these comparisons the nuanced way in which they have analysed 'their own' sources on early Christian childhood.

Some research on Roman children has claimed that a possible shift in traditional attitudes towards children happened already before the rise of Christianity, during the early Roman Empire. But even for this change the evidence is rather ambivalent, and, as other studies have pointed out, rather than seeing any diachronic change in attitudes and practices, we should be increasingly open to the inevitable variation in the perceptions of children and their living conditions due to differences in status, gender and regional differences. And, as Christian Laes has pointed out, the changes were in any case slow and gradual, and changes in ideals, discourses, mentalities and social practices took place in different ways and at different speeds.<sup>20</sup> Changes in the nature of the source material may also

<sup>18</sup> Sexual abuse: J. Martens, "'Do Not Sexually Abuse Children': The Language of Early Christian Sexual Ethics", in C. Horn – R. Phenix (eds.), *Children in Late Ancient Christianity*, Tübingen 2009, 227–54; Laes (above n. 1), 268–75; See also Bakke (above, n. 15). For a change in the parental involvement in the moral formation and education of (elite) children, see also Bakke (above n. 15), esp. 163 and Nathan (above n. 15), 159. For a sceptical view on this, see, however, V. Vuolanto, "Elite Children, Socialization and Agency in the Late Roman world", in J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin, with R. Bell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford – New York 2013, 582–6, 596. For religious participation, see studies mentioned above n. 15; Abandonment: see Vuolanto (above n. 8); Violence: see Laes (above, n. 1), 137–47 and Aasgaard (above n. 14), 36, pointing out that domestic discipline with regard to the physical punishment of children may even have intensified with the coming of Christianity.

<sup>19</sup> V. Vuolanto, "Choosing Asceticism: Children and Parents, Vows and Conflicts", in C. Horn – R. Phenix (eds.), *Children in Late Ancient Christianity*, Tübingen 2009, 255–91.

<sup>20</sup> Laes (above n. 1), 285–8; see also J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin, "Introduction", in J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin, with R. Bell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford – New York 2013, 8–9 with further bibliography. On the

be a factor here, as late antique writers – and thus mainly Christians – were more interested in the family life than were authors of the earlier period.

This is by no means meant to undermine the ground-breaking work Horn and Martens have done, and, after all, the comparison of non-Christian and Christian childhoods is a minor topic in the book. Nevertheless, I think the problem deserves a comment. It seems that we encounter a basic phenomenon here. It is extremely difficult to achieve a balanced view of both Christian and non-Christian contexts and sources in the contemporary academic world, which prizes the clear-cut expertise that produces new peer-reviewed publications as quickly as possible: academic institutional boundaries and problems of expertise leave little place for systematic, source-based comparisons across the traditional time periods and academic fields. We also find in some studies rather careless comparisons based on the juxtaposition of information drawn from different genres, sometimes blurring the analytical differences between normative, idealizing and descriptive notions of childhood in the sources.<sup>21</sup>

In general, early Christian studies and Roman scholarship have seldom intersected. Horn and Martens are to be congratulated for their willingness to bridge that gap, and to bring in new questions. Their book deserves to achieve the same kind of place in studies of Early Christian childhood that Beryl Rawson's book (cf. note 4) has achieved in Roman Studies. Still, studies of ancient childhood show a lack of interdisciplinary collaboration, both within scholarship on antiquity, and even more conspicuously between ancient scholars and modern social scientists and cultural scholars. Material culture and visual representations of children and childhood in antiquity have often been treated as separate fields, both from each other and from modern childhood studies. Archaeological material has been used to study childhood mortality and diseases, while some work has been undertaken on toys and dolls and items such as feeding bottles, but this work has in general not been integrated with other aspects of research.<sup>22</sup> Moreover,

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methodological problems and the 'urge' of scholars doing historical research to see change, see also M. Golden, "Change or Continuity? Children and Childhood in Hellenistic Historiography", and S. Dixon, "Continuity and change in Roman social history: retrieving 'family feeling(s)' from Roman law and literature", both in M. Golden – P. Toohey (eds.), *Inventing Ancient Culture: Historicism, Periodization and the Ancient World*, London – New York 1997, esp. 88–9 (Dixon) and 190–1 (Golden).

<sup>21</sup> See e.g. King (above n. 17); Vuolanto (above n. 8) is an analysis of such problems on research on child abandonment.

<sup>22</sup> See, however: B. Pitarakis, "The material culture of childhood in Byzantium", in A. Papaconstantinou – A.-M. Talbot (eds.), *Becoming Byzantine: Children and Childhood in*

issues such as the living environment of children, or relations between children and grandparents, or between siblings, to give some examples, have rarely been addressed. Quite surprisingly, in view of the fact that gender has been a central category for social-historical studies for several decades by now, the life of girls in the Roman world has aroused only minimal interest.<sup>23</sup>

In studying the socialisation of children, a major approach in modern childhood studies until the 1990s, scholars of the ancient world have been primarily interested in formal education, with children seen more as passive recipients than as personally active. In particular, socialisation in everyday life, in the daily interaction of family members, has received little attention. There have been only a few studies of family strategies and children's roles in family dynamics in the ancient and early medieval periods.<sup>24</sup> Indeed, the whole issue of the agency of

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*Byzantium*, Washington D.C. 2007, 167–251; K. Huntley, "Identifying Children's Graffiti in Roman Campania: A Developmental Psychological Approach", in J. Baird – C. Taylor (eds.), *Ancient Graffiti in Context*, New York 2010, 69–88; F. Dolansky, "Playing with Gender: Girls, Dolls, and Adult Ideals in the Roman World", *Classical Antiquity* 31 (2012) 256–92; M. Harlow, "Toys, Dolls and the Material Culture of Childhood", in J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin, with R. Bell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford – New York 2013, 322–40, and the work done by Véronique Dasen, esp. with V. Dasen (ed.), *Naissance et petite enfance dans l'Antiquité. Actes du colloque de Fribourg, 28 novembre-1er décembre 2001*, Fribourg 2004.

<sup>23</sup> On girls, see now S. Moraw – A. Kieburg (eds.), *Mädchen im Altertum / Girls in Antiquity*, Münster 2014, with its "Introduction" by Susanne Moraw (esp. page 1); Dolansky (above, n. 22). See also the studies mentioned above in n. 12: the father-son relation has not aroused much interest, but the father-daughter relationship has been studied even less.

<sup>24</sup> For studies on family dynamics and childhood socialization in every day life, see the following: K. Bradley, "The Nurse and the Child at Rome. Duty, Affect and Socialisation", *Thamyris* 1 (1994) 137–56; Rawson 2003 (above n. 4), 153–7 and 269–80; M. Harlow – R. Laurence, *Growing up and Growing old in Ancient Rome. A Life Course Approach*, London – New York 2012, 34–53; Prescendi (above n. 15); A.-C. Harders, "Roman Patchwork Families: Surrogate Parenting, Socialization, and the Shaping of Tradition", in V. Dasen and T. Späth (eds.), *Children, Memory, and Family Identity in Roman Culture*, Oxford 2010, 49–72; Horn – Martens (above n. 1), 268–72, 291–300; J. McWilliam, "The Socialization of Roman Children", in J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin, with R. Bell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford – New York 2013, 264–85; Vuolanto 2013 (above n. 18); Despite the title, T. Morgan, "Ethos: The socialization of children in education and beyond", in B. Rawson (ed.), *A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds*, Oxford 2011, 504–20, concentrates on schooling. See further Katajala-Peltomaa – Vuolanto (above n. 15), esp. 82–5 for research on socialisation of ancient and medieval children. For a more general view on strengths and problems of approaching the history of children from the viewpoint of socialization, see G. Lillehammer, "Introduction to Socialisation. Recent Research on

children and the experience of childhood has been a marginal viewpoint, and the attempt has seldom been made to explicitly take the children's perspective and ask what children actually did in their everyday life, how they experienced their physical and social environments, and what children's culture was like.<sup>25</sup>

### ***Outsiders Within? Childhood experience and agency***

Christian Laes' book aims at tracking both elite perceptions of childhood and children's experiences from the second century BCE to the fourth century CE in the context of the Roman world. The field is wide, but Laes has decided to concentrate on certain themes, without aiming at covering in a similar depth all aspects of Roman childhood. He bases his study on a wide array of sources, especially literary and epigraphical sources.<sup>26</sup> This is a clear strength of the book, and the argument is always easy to follow. Even if his way of doing research is certainly quite traditional – text and argument are directed by an impressive range of sources rather than by theories – he is profoundly familiar with the research history and different methodologies. Therefore, his interpretations of sources are reliable and to the point, and the relevance of his arguments is easy to contextualize.

Laes starts by introducing the demographic regime: a young population with a high risk of death, and the living environment of the childhood experience, ending with an interesting discussion of "the psychosocial reality of family life in ancient Rome"; after he has established this basis, his discussion roughly follows the course of life: first from birth to the age of seven, and then from seven to fifteen. These chapters are followed by innovative discussions of important but often neglected topics of child work and sexuality. This structure is somewhat confusing, as the author does not give any clear justification of why these par-

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Childhood and Children in the Past", in G. Lillehammer (ed.), *Socialisation. Recent Research on Childhood and Children in the Past*, Stavanger 2010, 10–15.

<sup>25</sup> On agency and children's culture, see especially Rawson 2003 (above n. 4), 269–80; R. Aasgaard, "Uncovering Children's Culture in Late Antiquity: The Testimony of the Infancy Gospel of Thomas", in C. Horn – R. Phenix (eds.), *Children in Late Ancient Christianity*, Tübingen 2009, 1–27; Huntley (above n. 22); Dolansky (above n. 22); Vuolanto (above n. 24); A. Pudsey, "Children's Cultures in Roman Egypt", in L. Grig (ed.), *Popular Culture in the Roman World*, Cambridge, forthcoming.

<sup>26</sup> This is a clear point of departure from Rawson's book (above n. 4), which concentrates on Roman Italy from the early first century BCE to the late second century CE, and bases its arguments especially on legal and iconographical material together with the literary sources.



ticular aspects of childhood experience have been worthy of attention, rather than others, such as the significance of leisure in the lives of children (that is, playing and toys), or of urban entertainment like *ludi* or baths – and there is no discussion of the children in the context of religious practices, or private and public festivals.

Nevertheless, this structure is also indicative of the rapid change in scholarship that took place during the almost ten-year-phase in which this book was in the making: childhood history concentrating on infancy, schooling and paedophilia/pederasty represent here the traditional topics, while demography, labour, slaves and sexuality more generally represent new perspectives. This, of course, does not mean that the 'older' topics should have been given less space. On the contrary: the chapter on paedophilia and pederasty offers the most up-to date, balanced and culturally sensitive discussion of these phenomena.

But were children marginalized or "outsiders within", as Laes claims? The answer to this depends on how we define the concepts and measure the results of source analysis.<sup>27</sup> True, children in the Roman world were often seen as inferior (likened to slaves), on a low position in the hierarchy and on the margins of the civilized society, needing to be socialized.<sup>28</sup> However, if we choose other criteria for measurement, children were "never marginal beings", as Keith Bradley claims: the Roman lawgivers, philosophers, letter writers, later ecclesiastical notables, and ordinary commemorators on tombstones wrote, commented, rejoiced and mourned over the lives and deaths of children on an unprecedented scale, reflecting their central place in the lives of adult Roman people. Moreover, as Laes himself states in his conclusions, children were central to the expectations and hopes of their parents and their wider kin, and their worlds were in many ways less separate from the adult spheres of life (in work, education and sexuality) than today.<sup>29</sup> Here, as invariably in research, the way one defines and nuances the concepts is of central relevance to the conclusions.

Laes' book is also to be congratulated for its concern for including girls and, more significantly, children below the elite in discussions of Roman childhood, and for connecting the analysis to the study of children's emotions and childhood experience. He also points out the culturally dependent notions of childhood and definitions of a child – the notion of age plays a role here, but status- and gender-

<sup>27</sup> See also Aasgaard (above n. 14), 31.

<sup>28</sup> Laes (above n. 1), 282–4.

<sup>29</sup> K. Bradley, "Images of Childhood in Classical Antiquity", in P. Fass (ed.), *The Routledge History of Childhood in the Western World*, London – New York 2013, 34; Laes (above n. 1), 284–5 with e.g. Rawson 2003 (above n. 4) and Vuolanto (above n. 15), 31–40, 192–202.

based experiences and individual physical development were more important. Laes is a pathfinder in integrating lower class children and special groups into the research of Roman childhood, as can be seen in his studies on *delicia* children, child work and disabled children in antiquity.<sup>30</sup>

### Concluding remarks

In recent studies of modern childhood, the main perspective has shifted from childhood socialization to agency-based theories; the claim is made that children have an active role in their growing and learning processes, transforming and renewing the cultural heritage they were born into. Thus, childhood, children's social relationships and children's culture are worthy of study in their own right, not because children will become adults some day.<sup>31</sup> All these volumes under review have, from their own standpoints, picked up this idea, and developed it in new directions. Laes' book concentrates on some neglected themes from children's lives and experiences; Hübner and Ratzan's volume separates the study of children from its traditional concentration on the mother-father-child triad; and Horn and Marten's monograph is strong in its discussion of children's activities (such as play and religious participation), and they discuss repeatedly the links between ideology, attitudes and social reality.

Hopefully, these volumes will be only the beginning of a new generation of studies of ancient families and children, which will take seriously the need to be aware of, and explicitly engage with, differences in status, gender, age, birth order and health of the children, with variations in religious beliefs and practices, regional and ethnic circumstances, and with changing family structures. We need

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<sup>30</sup> C. Laes, "Desperately Different? *Delicia* Children in the Roman Household", in D. Balch – C. Osiek, *Early Christian Families in Context: An Interdisciplinary Dialogue*, Grand Rapids – Cambridge 2003, 298–324; C. Laes, "Child Slaves at Work in Roman Antiquity", *Ancient Society* 38 (2008) 235–83; C. Laes, "Learning from Silence: Disabled Children in Roman Antiquity", *Arctos* 42 (2008) 85–122; C. Laes, "Raising a Disabled Child", in J. Evans Grubbs – T. Parkin, with R. Bell (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, Oxford – New York 2013, 125–46.

<sup>31</sup> A. James – A. Prout (eds.), *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood* 1997, 7–32. See also P. Ryan, "How New is the 'New' Social Study of Childhood?: The Myth of a Paradigm Shift", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 38:4 (2008) 555–6; A. James, *Constructing Childhood. Theory, Policy and Social Practice*, Houndmills 2004, 23–7, 37–40.

new work that carefully takes into account the variation both in childhood experience and in perceptions of childhood, and more directly engages with modern childhood studies. To study ancient children – not merely adult views about childhood – we should view childhood too as a performative phase of life: childhood and 'the child' should be approached as socially constructed and culturally conditioned notions. Children become children in certain cultural contexts by their own repeated acts which depend on social conventions. Therefore, a potentially fruitful further research theme, scarcely touched upon in earlier studies (even in the books under review here), would be the actual living experiences of ancient children, that is, their social and material living environment (e.g. housing and family structure), the space in which they spent their time (e.g. streets and fields), activities in which they spent their energy (e.g. play and work), and people with whom they socialized (e.g. neighbours and relatives).<sup>32</sup>

The study of childhood experiences and agency of children would be highly relevant to understanding the Roman world as a whole. After all, Roman society was a society of young people: one-third of the population was younger than fifteen years of age. Where are they, how did they interact with the rest of society, what was their own culture like? By emphasising the viewpoints of childhood experience and children's agency – that is, asking questions such as what children do, under which circumstances, and with whom – the focus of research would shift from the history of childhood towards the history of children, that is, to children's own worlds.

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<sup>32</sup> For this kind of approach, see, e.g. A. Pudsey, "Housing and Community: Structures in Kinship and Housing in Roman Tebtynis", in J. Baird – A. Pudsey (eds.), *Between Words and Walls. Material and Textual Approaches to Housing in the Greco-Roman Worlds* (under review). See also the project 'Tiny voices from the Past: New Perspectives on Childhood in Early Europe' (University of Oslo / Norwegian Research Council), which organized a workshop in May 2014 on *Children and Everyday Life in the Roman World*, concentrating on childhood experiences, environments and agency; there is also a volume in preparation (Project internet pages: <http://www.hf.uio.no/ifikk/english/research/projects/childhood/>; a 'report' from the workshop here: <http://pauidesblog.wordpress.com/2014/08/14/children-and-everyday-life-in-the-roman-world-in-oslo/>).

## DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

*Theodor Mommsen e il Lazio Antico. Giornata di Studi in memoria dell'illustre storico, epigrafista e giurista.* Studia Archaeologica 172. A cura di FRANCESCO MANNINO – MARCO MANNINO – DANIELE F. MARAS. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-8265-484-9. 189 pp. EUR 150.

In occasione del centenario della morte di Theodor Mommsen (1 novembre 2003) sono state organizzate molteplici iniziative promosse da Accademie e Istituzioni culturali italiane e tedesche, tra cui si segnala il convegno organizzato a Terracina il 3 aprile 2004 dalla Società per la Storia Patria della Provincia di Latina. Gli atti della giornata, pubblicati nel volume oggetto di tale recensione, edito con cinque anni di ritardo, si aprono con una serie di contributi incentrati sulla figura del grande studioso (Mario Mazza, Mika Kajava, Giuliano Crifò e Francesco Mannino), cui segue l'articolo di Silvia Orlandi inerente agli studi dei manoscritti ligoriani compiuti dal Mommsen. Sono presenti poi due interventi incentrati sul rapporto dello studioso tedesco con la città di Fondi (Giovanni Pesiri) e sulla celebre *tessera hospitalis* fondana (Massimiliano Di Fazio), che tanto dibattito ha suscitato. Il volume si conclude con quattro saggi scaturiti da nuovi studi epigrafici nella Provincia di Latina (Daniele Maras, Pietro Longo, Marco Mannino e Claudia Cenci).

Nella prima sezione viene delineato un quadro molto approfondito della figura di Mommsen. Mario Mazza prende in considerazione il rapporto dello studioso tedesco con l'antiquaria italiana del primo Ottocento, non troppo amata perché caratterizzata da una debolezza filologica come dimostrava la scarsa conoscenza del greco (pp. 11–32). All'interno di questa però Mommsen riconosceva la presenza di studiosi validi, tra cui Bartolomeo Borghesi considerato come suo unico maestro. Da questi apprese per prima cosa l'importanza dell'autopsia nello studio delle iscrizioni, abbandonando il vecchio metodo dell'Accademia di Berlino che, per le raccolte epigrafiche, si basava esclusivamente sui documenti raccolti dalle antiche pubblicazioni. In secondo luogo capì il valido apporto che le epigrafi e le monete potevano dare alla ricostruzione non solo delle storie locali ma anche di quella di Roma.

Spetta a Mika Kajava il compito non facile di trattare del fondamentale apporto fornito da Theodor Mommsen all'epigrafia (pp. 33–9); egli fu il primo ad avvertire l'esigenza di raccogliere in maniera sistematica le testimonianze epigrafiche, scoperte nel corso delle sue ricognizioni sul territorio o ricavate dalla consultazione dei manoscritti conservati nelle biblioteche d'Europa. Si tratta di un progetto innovativo, che porterà alla realizzazione del *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, in un periodo in cui gli epigrafisti non godevano di buona fama, spesso accusati di studiare testi banali (semplici testi sepolcrali caratterizzati dalla formula iniziale *Dis Manibus*) che non fornivano alcun tipo di apporto alla ricostruzione del mondo antico. Ovviamente la grandezza dell'impresa costrinse alcune volte il Mommsen a trattare in maniera superficiale alcuni testi, come nel caso di *CIL X 6331* (lista di coloni Terracinesi, *qui in sta-*

*tuam contulerunt*), forse perché ossessionato dal concludere il *Corpus*, da lui stesso definito Torre di Babele o prigione dalla quale bisogna uscire prima che fosse troppo tardi. Sempre per lo stesso motivo e soprattutto per la sua impostazione filologica, nel *CIL* è possibile riscontrare uno scarso interesse di Mommsen e dei suoi collaboratori all'analisi del supporto e al contesto in cui venivano rinvenute le iscrizioni. Tuttavia, come ha sottolineato Kajava, se lo studioso tedesco avesse operato diversamente, con tutta probabilità non sarebbe riuscito a tramandarci l'ingente patrimonio epigrafico che in parte è poi andato perso.

Oltre però all'attività di ricognizione svolta insieme ai suoi collaboratori, realizzare il *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* voleva dire anche consultare in maniera critica i manoscritti che riportavano le trascrizioni di epigrafi; tra questi Mommsen dovette affrontare anche i codici di Pirro Ligorio, al cui interno sono presenti iscrizioni autentiche ed epigrafi false realizzate spesso prendendo spunto da testi realmente esistiti (Orlandi, pp. 55–62). Grande fu dunque il lavoro di Th. Mommsen e dei suoi collaboratori che in molti casi riuscirono a scoprire le fonti epigrafiche autentiche utilizzate da Ligorio per creare falsi di eccellente fattura, caratterizzati spesso da un'accurata resa delle lacune del supporto che farebbero pensare a "un documento riprodotto *de visu*" (p. 56). Come ha evidenziato Silvia Orlandi, la validità dello studio mommseniano su Ligorio è emersa anche recentemente in occasione della trascrizione e analisi critica dei codici ligoriani che hanno consentito significativi progressi, come ad esempio la riabilitazione di alcuni testi considerati in precedenza falsi.

La lunga attività di Theodor Mommsen non è però costituita dai soli studi epigrafici e dalla redazione del *CIL*. Come si evince dal contributo di Francesco Mannino, egli si distinse anche per il suo impegno politico che in alcuni casi lo penalizzò, come nel 1850 quando perse la cattedra di Diritto civile all'Università di Lipsia (Mannino, pp. 49–54. Sulla vita di Theodor Mommsen vd. Crifò, pp. 43–7). In seguito egli fu eletto deputato alla camera prussiana dal 1863 al 1866, dal 1873 al 1879 e infine dal 1881 al 1884; in quest'ultimo periodo Mommsen entrò in contrasto con Bismarck in merito ai dazi protettivi e, in seguito a una vicenda giudiziaria, decise di ritirarsi dalla politica.

Il volume non è dedicato esclusivamente alla figura di Theodor Mommsen ma presenta anche diversi contributi incentrati sul patrimonio epigrafico di alcune comunità del Lazio: Lanuvio, Gaeta, Fondi e Terracina. Massimiliano Di Fazio riprende in considerazione la famosa *tessera hospitalis* fondana, menzionante il patto tra una *praefectura* e un *patronus*, alla luce della nuova proposta di datazione agli inizi del II a.C. basata sulle forti analogie con il *Senatusconsultum de Bacchanalibus* (pp. 89–104). Se tale ipotesi fosse avvalorata, il documento costituirebbe un indizio precoce del rapporto tra clientele municipali e aristocrazia romana, fenomeno che si svilupperà soprattutto dall'epoca tardo repubblicana. Considerando tale incongruenza e le vicende non troppo chiare relative al rinvenimento della tessera, Massimiliano Di Fazio ipotizza che questa possa provenire dal territorio di Pietrabbondante, dove sono attestati i toponimi "Borgo Funti" e "Vallone Funti". In realtà, nonostante le diverse problematiche irrisolte legate alla tessera *hospitalis*, al momento non sembrano esserci elementi tali da metterne in discussione la provenienza dal territorio fondano.

Daniele F. Maras presenta un nuovo alfabetario latino, graffito dopo la cottura sotto il piede di una coppa in bucchero, databile tra la seconda metà del VI e l'inizio del V a.C., il che lo rende il più antico finora conosciuto (pp. 105–18). I due frammenti della coppa ci restituiscono la seconda metà della sequenza alfabetica (dalla *K* alla *Y*) in cui l'assenza di alcuni segni, come il *tsade* e il *phi*, rivela la presenza di un alfabeto di tipo già evoluto. Inoltre confrontando il

nuovo documento con l'alfabetario di *Alsium*, Maras vuol dimostrare che l'alfabeto latino aveva assunto già dal VI a.C. una sua forma standard che durò per almeno 200 anni.

Particolarmente ricco di spunti è il contributo di Pietro Longo incentrato sul patrimonio epigrafico di Gaeta, costituito principalmente da iscrizioni *alienae* provenienti da Formia, Minturno, Roma e Ostia (pp. 119–50). Lo studioso coglie l'occasione non solo per pubblicare alcuni testi inediti ma anche per emendare letture precedenti fornite in *CIL X* e in studi successivi. A tal proposito si può citare l'epitaffio posto dal liberto imperiale *Amazonicus* per il padre (*CIL X* 6093; Longo n. 19): sono segnalati alla r. 2 l'errore del lapicida (assente tuttavia nella trascrizione dell'epigrafe) che incide la lettera *T* al posto della *E*, alla r. 4 la lettera *S* incisa sulla cornice, alla r. 10 *patri* conservato integralmente mentre alla r. 11 si conserva anche la prima *R* di *fratribus*. Nella scheda non viene invece indicato l'errore del *CIL* che divide erroneamente la parola *praetori* incisa tra le rr. 7 e 8: *pr/aetori* e non *prae/tori*.

Significativo è il caso di *CIL X* 6151 (Longo n. 17): l'autore corregge l'impaginazione del testo (disposto su cinque righe) e il *cognomen* del dedicante (*Magnus* e non *Matutinus*), individuando inoltre sulla cornice inferiore due lettere sciolte con la formula *D(is) M(anibus)*. Invece di pensare a lettere aggiunte posteriormente ed estranee al testo, si potrebbe supporre un errore del lapicida che avrebbe dovuto incidere la sigla finale *b(ene) m(erenti)*. Interessante pure il caso di *CIL X* 6138, ricondotta in passato al senatore L. Sempronio Atratino, che sarebbe stato citato nella sua iscrizione funeraria senza gentilizio (Longo n. 10). Giustamente Longo rifiuta tale ipotesi, considerando *Atra*+[- - -] come parte di un *nomen* [poco verosimile è l'altra ipotesi dello studioso che pensa alla restituzione *ATRAQ(ue)*], e collega l'iscrizione a una lastra che conserverebbe la parte iniziale dell'onomastica di un altro personaggio (*L. Sta*[- - -]). Erroneamente Longo n. 11 cita alla nota 62 l'iscrizione, pubblicata da H. Solin in *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio Antico* (1996), 168, come *CIL X* 6138: in tal caso ci troveremo di fronte non più a un monumento funerario ma verosimilmente, in base all'altezza delle lettere (21 cm), a un'epigrafe menzionante un'opera pubblica realizzata da due magistrati. Appare opportuno soffermarsi in particolare su alcuni testi degni di considerazione. Riguardo all'iscrizione della sacerdotessa di Cerere *Caesia*, l'autore pensa a un'omissione della lettera *S* in *Cereri* (r. 2) e ipotizza alla r. 3 la menzione del raro cognome *Neo* in base alle lettere superstiti *N* e *O* in nesso (*CIL X* 6103 = I<sup>2</sup> 3110; M. Zambelli in *MGR* 2 [1968] 360 n. 10; Longo n. 1). In realtà alla r. 2 non si può parlare di omissione dovuta a motivi di spazio, dal momento che *Cereri* viene inciso da solo e in posizione centrata (è normale che dopo la carica sacerdotale il nome della divinità compaia al dativo e non al genitivo); alla r. 3, tenendo conto dell'assenza del cognome nell'onomastica della donna, sembra più verosimile la presenza del termine *nep(os)*, come peraltro suggerito già in *CIL I 2 3110.*

Non sembra poi accettabile la nuova proposta di lettura dell'iscrizione votiva della sacerdotessa della *Magna Mater Decimia Candida* (*CIL X* 6074; Longo n. 5). Lo studioso suppone un errore di trascrizione del *Corpus* alla r. 4 dell'epigrafe, oggi perduta: invece di *sacerdos M(atris) d(eum)* egli propone *sacerdos [M(atris)] M(agnae) d(eorum) [I(daeae)]*. In realtà non si tiene conto che la stessa sacerdotessa è presente come dedicante in un'altra base in cui compare sempre con il titolo di *sacerdos Matris deum* (*CIL VI* 30972). Sicuramente più complessa è l'epigrafe repubblicana, incisa su un blocco di calcare (misure 73,5 x 118,4 x 30; lett. 16) di provenienza ignota, relativa a un *M. Bullanius* iscritto alla tribù *Aemilia* (*CIL X* 6140 = I<sup>2</sup> 3111; Longo n. 7). Si tratta verosimilmente della sua iscrizione funeraria, databile ai primi decenni del I a.C.; alla r. 2 si conserva la parte iniziale di un incarico che, considerando l'impaginazio-

ne ad asse centrale, doveva probabilmente continuare su una terza riga. Longo ipotizza, sulla base delle lettere iniziali *prae[- - -]*, che *M. Bullanius* abbia ricoperto la *praefectura fabrum*, un ufficio però scarsamente attestato in età repubblicana; se tale ipotesi cogliesse nel vero, ci troveremo di fronte a una delle più antiche attestazioni della *praefectura fabrum* [Cfr. il caso di *L. Cornelius* (*CIL* VI 40910) *praefectus fabrum* del console del 78 a.C. *Q. Lutatius Catulus*]. In realtà le lettere *prae[- - -]* potrebbero anche riferirsi ad altri incarichi di rango equestre: ad es. *praefectus equitum* o *praefectus sociorum* (ufficio che scomparve però dopo il 90–88 a.C.); degno di menzione è anche l'ufficio di *praefectus soci(or)um in navibus longis* attestato in un'iscrizione proveniente dalla vicina Fondi, relativa a un *C. Rubrius* che fu anche edile (*AE* 1980, 197, su cui vd. da ultimo *AE* 2007, 350; ma sulla corretta interpretazione vd. H. Solin, *Arctos* 1993, 123). Poco probabile è la menzione invece di un incarico amministrativo ricoperto da *M. Bullanius* a Formia o Fondi, centri i cui abitanti erano prevalentemente iscritti alla tribù *Aemilia*: infatti entrambe le città erano guidate da un collegio di tre edili. Non sembra invece essere attendibile il passo di Orazio che parla di Aufidio Lusco pretore di Fondi (*Hor. sat.* 1,5,34): come sostenuto recentemente da Lo Cascio, quest'ultimo in realtà era forse un edile che ironicamente viene ricordato dal poeta con un titolo più altisonante (E. Lo Cascio, in *Fondi tra Antichità e Medioevo* [2002], 12sg.; cfr. M. Di Fazio, *Fondi ed il suo territorio in età romana* [2006], 62). Dal momento che non sappiamo quando Fondi abbandonò la condizione di prefettura e divenne municipio, non si può però escludere che *M. Bullanius* sia stato *praefectus* di Fondi. Di grande interesse è anche l'epigrafe inserita nel muro esterno della torre campanaria della Cattedrale di Gaeta (*CIL* X 6098 su cui vd. L. Gasperini in *Formianum* 2 [1995] 12–4; Longo n. 8]; si tratta di un'epigrafe funeraria frammentaria posta per due *C. Furii*, verosimilmente cittadini di Formia in base alla loro iscrizione alla tribù *Aemilia*. Lo studioso si limita a proporre alla r. 2, dopo l'incarico di *praefectus levis armaturae* (ovvero capo di un "corpo di milizie che in via straordinaria erano reclutate in qualche provincia": *Diz. epigr.* I 670), la lettura *PV* che però non consente alcun tipo di integrazione. Sembra più verosimile leggere *PR*, lettere che furono integrate in via ipotetica da Mommsen con il termine *provinciae*: il personaggio sarebbe stato quindi un *praefectus levis armaturae provinciae Hispaniensis* (*CIL* X p. 1130; dello stesso avviso *Diz. epigr.* I 670). In realtà nei soli altri due confronti a disposizione, l'ufficio compare in maniera generica, senza alcun tipo di riferimento a una zona territoriale. In alternativa si può quindi pensare a una prefettura d'ala denominata *Hispaniensis* invece che *Hispanae* (un *praefectus alae Hispanae* è attestato in *CIL* XII 408). Da notare come tale proposta di una prefettura d'ala sia compatibile con la lacuna della r. 2, tenendo conto del fatto che alla r. 3 *Hispanie(n)sis* è inciso in modo centrato. Meno probabile l'ipotesi di L. Gasperini, *Formianum* 2 (1995) 14, che alla r. 2 pensava a un *praefectus classis* o *castrorum* o *fabrum* o *castrorum Augusti* (quest'ultima integrazione peraltro non compatibile con la lacuna della r. 2) seguito dall'etnico *Hispanie(n)sis*, interpretato come *cognomen ex virtute*.

Nel suo contributo Longo riprende in considerazione anche l'iscrizione frammentaria, rinvenuta nel muro di un palazzo situato in Piazza del Cavallo, originariamente costituita da tre righe: nella prima (non più esistente) si conservavano delle tracce di lettere (interpretate dal Longo come numerali mentre alla r. 1 *CIL* X 6211 trascrive [- - -]VLL[- - -]), della seconda riga rimaneva parte del termine *decuria* e all'ultima compariva il gentilizio *Falcidius* (Longo n. 13; G. Q. Giglioli, *NSc* 1908, 396 n. 9 [e non 1926 come scrive Longo] erroneamente alla r. 2 legge la lettera *C* dopo il termine *decuria*. Diversamente H. Solin in *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico* [1996], 162 nt. 38 ipotizza che si tratti di un epitaffio di una donna di nome *Curia*...

*Falcidi[iana]*, o di due persone; meno probabile secondo lo studioso la menzione di una *curia Falcid[- -]*). Secondo Longo si tratterebbe di un'iscrizione sepolcrale di un soldato che aveva militato nella *decuria Falcidii*; tuttavia tale proposta non è accettabile per due motivi; per prima cosa i due termini si trovano su due righe differenti e non sembrano collegabili tra loro. Inoltre se si trattasse di un soldato, ci aspetteremo la menzione della centuria, seguita dall'onomastica di colui che ne era a capo, e non della decuria, ricordata in ambito militare solo in relazione ai *corporis custodes* o ai corpi di cavalleria. Bisognerà forse pensare a realtà quali i collegi funeratici, le corporazioni di mestieri e gli *apparitores* che erano organizzati per l'appunto in decurie (S. Bellino, s.v. *decuria*, in *Diz.epigr.* II 1504–13). La menzione di una decuria, unita al gentilizio poco diffuso *Falcidius*, ricorre curiosamente nell'iscrizione, rinvenuta a Roma e databile al I d.C., di un *M. Falcidius Hypatianus adlectus* nell'*ordo decurionum* di *Puteoli*; a questo venne posta una dedica da parte della *decuria Iulia praeconia consularis* per i meriti di suo padre *M. Falcidius Cupitus, praeco* e *apparitor Augusti* (*CIL* VI 1944 = *ILMN* I 52 con foto). Non si può del resto escludere una provenienza urbana dell'iscrizione che fu rinvenuta riutilizzata in un muro medievale. Tralasciando l'importante iscrizione inedita di T. Aelius Pythagoras (Longo n. 14), ripresa da G. L. Gregori, *Mediterraneo Antico* 16 (2003) 67sg. che propone alle rr. 4–5 la menzione dell'incarico di *procurator patrimonii*, sembra opportuno infine richiamare l'attenzione sull'epigrafe conservata all'ingresso della Cattedrale di Gaeta (*CIL* X 6166; Longo n. 20). Si tratta di un'iscrizione funeraria mutila, posta per cinque personaggi da parte di una donna con un'onomastica caratterizzata dalla presenza del *praenomen Polla* (per le sue attestazioni vd. M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina* [1994], 50–9). Meno probabile l'ipotesi di Longo che interpreta *Polla* come un *cognomen* anteposto al gentilizio *Minculeia*.

Marco Mannino riprende in considerazione un'area sepolcrale, situata tra Fondi e Sperlonga, delimitata da 8 cippi di confine che ripetono con poche varianti uno stesso testo (pp. 151–74). Questo stabiliva la sacralità e l'inviolabilità dello spazio sepolcrale, al cui interno era previsto il diritto di dimorarvi; l'area era delimitata da un muro, era accessibile da una *via publica* e comprendeva un *fundus* rifornito da un acquedotto. Quest'area funeraria sorgeva all'interno della proprietà di *L. Domitius Phaon*, liberto di Domitia Lepida, identificabile secondo studi recenti con il personaggio che fu a fianco di Nerone negli ultimi momenti della sua vita. Il contributo prevede anche un'indagine archeologica dell'area di rinvenimento dei cippi arricchita dall'appendice di Ascanio d'Andrea che, per lo studio dell'area sepolcrale di *L. Domitius Phaon* e del territorio circostante, si è servito del Sistema Informativo Geografico tridimensionale.

Infine Claudia Cenci esamina due iscrizioni, una in greco e l'altra in latino, incise su una colonna del portico della Cattedrale di S. Cesareo a Terracina (pp. 175–87). L'epigrafe greca è un'acclamazione a due imperatori identificati, seguendo la recente ipotesi di A. Guillou, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie* (1996), 130–2, con Costantino IV e il padre Costante II, che sarebbe passato per Terracina nel 662–663 d.C. durante il viaggio via terra da Napoli a Roma. L'iscrizione in latino, considerata contemporanea a quella greca dal Guillou e dalla Cenci, ricorda invece il *consul* e *dux Georgius* che intervenne nell'area del foro; secondo Guillou l'epigrafe testimonia una risistemazione del Foro mentre Cenci la collega alla trasformazione del tempio pagano in cattedrale. Come però ha già evidenziato G. L. Gregori, se si accogliesse quest'ultima ipotesi bisognerebbe spiegare il motivo per cui il tempio pagano fosse stato convertito in tempio cristiano solo dopo quasi tre secoli dall'editto di Tessalonica, grazie al quale il cristianesimo divenne religione di Stato (M. Buonocore – G. L. Gregori, *StRom* 57



[2009] 298). Inoltre non sembrano sussistere elementi utili a stabilire un sicuro rapporto cronologico tra il testo greco e quello latino.

In conclusione è opportuno evidenziare l'importanza del volume, utile sia a indagare la complessa figura di Theodor Mommsen che ad aggiornare gli studi su un'importante area del *Latium adiectum*.

Maurizio Giovagnoli

*Filologia e storia delle idee. Convegno internazionale di studi in ricordo di Antonio Garzya*. A cura di UGO CRISCUOLO. M. D'Auria, Napoli 2014. ISBN 978-88-7092-361-2. 192 pp. EUR 60.

Conobbi personalmente Antonio Garzya negli anni Ottanta in qualche occasione a Napoli, e in me è rimasto un profondo ricordo di quel grande studioso. E ora mi fa piacere dare breve notizia del volume che contiene i contributi letti in un convegno internazionale tenutosi a Napoli nel 2013 per commemorare il primo anniversario della morte del maestro e grande innovatore degli studi sulla grecoità classica, bizantina e neoellenica. Sono stati omessi alcuni saluti dei colleghi e delle autorità accademiche. Ecco il contenuto del volume: A. V. Nazzaro, Antonio Garzya e le Accademie Napoletane; J. A. López Férez, Eurípides en Galeno; I. Rodríguez Alfageme, Hesiodo, *Op.* 21–24; J. Jouanna, Ippocrate scettico; G. Lozza, Βασιλικὸς ἀνὴρ. Per la fortuna di una metafora; A. Roselli, Galeno e l'acqua di Alessandria, di Roma, di Pergamo e di altre città; U. Criscuolo, Antonio Garzya e la tragedia greca: l'interpretazione di Euripide. Concludono i brevi interventi di F. Tessitore, A. De Vivo, L. Pernot, F. Conca, A. Rigo, G. Polara.

I contributi affrontano i principali filoni di studio e di attività di Antonio Garzya: la letteratura greca in generale e il teatro in particolare, la medicina greca, la tarda antichità e il cristianesimo. Con particolare interesse ho letto il contributo di Jouanna, e anche quello di Roselli, con interessanti considerazioni per esempio sulle acque 'leggere' in Galeno, cioè quelle che agevolano la digestione, e sulle acque portate a ebollizione e filtrate con l'uso della particolare tecnica del filtraggio notturno con raffreddamento. Che immenso sviluppo nel raffinato uso dell'acqua in confronto con quello nella medicina dell'età classica! E non vogliamo dimenticare l'importante relazione di Criscuolo in cui ha collocato l'interesse di Garzya per il teatro di Euripide, tipico della scuola napoletana di letteratura greca. Di grande interesse per uno che come il sottoscritto crede di conoscere un po' il *milieu* umanistico napoletano, era leggere ciò che Nazzaro ha scritto sull'attività di Garzya nella vita accademica napoletana. Insomma un volume ben riuscito, e non solo dal punto di vista puramente scientifico; anche l'ambiente universitario e accademico viene messo in risalto, alla luce della persona di Antonio Garzya. – Pochissimi i refusi: a p. 171 *Mythologie*, non *Mytologie*; a p. 183 *Eurípides*, non *Eurípide*.

Heikki Solin

*Being, Nature, and Life in Aristotle. Essays in Honor of Allan Gotthelf.* Edited by JAMES G. LENNOX – ROBERT BOLTON. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-76844-3. XVI, 289 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

This collection of papers honors Allan Gotthelf's contributions to the study of ancient philosophy. Many of the papers were originally presented in a 2004 conference in Pittsburgh, where Gotthelf was working as a Visiting Professor after his retirement from the College of New Jersey. Others are invited from people who were unable to attend that conference. Five papers out of ten have been previously published elsewhere.

It is perhaps worth noting that a few years after the appearance of the collection, in 2013, Gotthelf passed away, having suffered from cancer for 17 years. Regarding this detail, I am referring to James G. Lennox, one of the editors, who has published a touching obituary on his University of Pittsburgh webpage. Nonetheless, the papers are as much worth reading today as they were when Gotthelf was still with us. They are very well argued, and address issues that are central to Aristotle's metaphysics, natural science, biology and his method of enquiry.

David Sedley claims in his contribution that Aristotle's teleology has much more in common with Plato's teleology than many scholars have been willing to admit. The most controversial section of the paper is perhaps the last one which discusses Aristotle's "global teleology". In opposition to Judson, Bodnár and Johnson, for example, he argues that Aristotle's reference to nature in *Politics* 1,8,1256b10–22 "can hardly be identified with the natures of the individual plants and animals, or, for that matter, human nature" (p. 27). It is rather, according to Sedley, that cosmic nature manifests itself in the world's inter-species ecology. He continues: "Just as the nature of an animal can be invoked to explain why it has the parts that it does, so too the nature of the world, including its goal-directed structure with man as its apex, can be invoked to explain why it contains the species, weather systems and other amenities that it does" (p. 28). In support, he proposes, "[A]ny natural collective system composed of discrete natural substances [...] has as its 'nature' its own complex functionality" (p. 29). This proposal seems to arise rather plausibly from the *Politics* passage referred to above and *Metaphysics* Λ.10, in which the world's nature is compared not to the nature of an animal, but to the hierarchical structure of an army or household. Nevertheless, it is debatable whether, and if so, how, Aristotle is able to subsume such second-order natures under his hylomorphic framework, which takes individual substances as basic. Sedley does not address this issue.

Robert Bolton explores Aristotle's considerations in *Metaphysics* Γ 1–3 and E 1, and *Posterior Analytics* 1,10, namely that each discipline has its own scope and principles. Bolton takes this as a strong claim about the autonomy of each discipline. In particular, he explores the relationship between metaphysics and biology, focusing on the definition of the human being in *Metaphysics* Z. Opposing the great majority of scholars working in these areas of study, he argues, among other things, that Aristotle does not import any key doctrines from biology (and physics), such as his hylomorphic analysis of natural objects, into his *Metaphysics*, and nor does he present and defend these doctrines there. According to Bolton, Aristotle does not make an attempt to give a *biological* definition of the human being in *Metaphysics* Z. In other words, his aim is not to explain what makes a given human being, say Socrates, or his matter a human being, but rather what makes him a substance, "a this". As a general observation, I should say that Bolton raises the issue in a somewhat polemical fashion, but he is consistent in discussing it. Yet I suspect that his opponents draw rather different implications from the autonomy claim,

or qualify it, which is why the criticism he gives is barely conclusive. In any case, this issue is of great methodological significance, and no interpreter of Aristotle is able to avoid addressing it in one way or another.

The next four papers discuss the method of definition by division. James Lennox begins by showing that this method serves an important role in the early stages of inquiry in Aristotle's biology. His major attempt is to demonstrate that although many have blamed *On the Parts of Animals* Book 1 for its lack of unity, it nevertheless constitutes a "narrative unity" (p. 61). Lennox does an admirable job, but following Aristotle's discussion in every detail is still challenging.

Alan Code and Mary Louise Gill explore Aristotle's attempt to explain how a definition, which typically consists of more than one term, manages to refer to one single thing rather than two or more different things. Both begin by pointing out that the unity of definition, in Aristotle's view, depends on the unity of the object defined. The task is thus to determine how an object constitutes a unity, not just an accidental unity such as musical Coriscus, a white man or a bronze sphere, in which case the two components are independent from each other, but an intrinsic unity, a unity *per se*. Code concentrates on *Metaphysics* Z 12, in which Aristotle's solution is to identify the "final differentia" as the form and substance that the definition expresses. This way of defining an item applies a method of division, and it thereby differs from the method suggested in *Metaphysics* H 6, which does not rely on division, and is the special focus of Gill. She gives a new interpretation of Aristotle's solution to the problem of unity in that chapter. Aristotle's suggestion is that the definition of man as a biped animal, for example, picks out one thing and not two, because one of the components is matter (i.e. animal), the other form (i.e. biped), and the matter is in potentiality and the form in actuality (1045a23–25). Gill's new argument is that Aristotle does not attempt to *justify* his suggestion, which he illustrates by defining the form of man, by showing, in what immediately follows in the text, how it applies to the defining of compounds such as the spherical bronze. What Aristotle does, according to Gill, is just to indicate that the suggestion has wider application. This requires that she replace the explanatory γάρ at 1045a25 with an inferential γ' ἄρ, a new word division, which is not objectionable.

Pierre Pellegrin, in turn, examines Aristotle's different approaches to definition in *Posterior Analytics* 2. Notwithstanding Brunschwig's opposing arguments, he concludes that there are no good reasons to postulate two theories of definition in this work (see, e.g., Chapter 2.10), one requiring causal explanation, and the other reference to principles.

The following three chapters focus on Aristotle's key distinctions between matter and form, and actuality and potentiality, and how they figure in his biology and metaphysics. Aryeh Kosman discusses the question of why one animal is male and another female. According to a popular version of Aristotle's theory of animal generation, the two sexes play a different role in the process of generation, the male providing the form, and the female the matter of the generated animal. However, Kosman shows in detail that this view misrepresents the way in which the two sexes play the active and passive roles involved in generation.

David Charles explores the way in which Aristotle uses the terms *dynamis* "capacity" and *energeia* "actuality" to clarify the unity of a composite substance such as a house in *Metaphysics* Θ 7 and 8. According to Charles, Aristotle applies these terms to explain how a composite substance constitutes a unity. This interpretation requires that matter stands to form

just as capacity stands to actuality. Thus understood, matter and form, and capacity and actuality, are more basic components in terms of which the unity of a composite can be explained. However, Charles remarks that this is controversial because Aristotle occasionally (e.g.,  $\Theta$  6, 1048b8–9) relates matter to the composite substance. This suggests that he would not necessarily take the relationship between matter and form, and capacity and actuality, as explanatory of unity (in which case unity would be taken as a primitive feature of reality). An implication of Charles's interpretation is that the unity of the composite is not accidental. He argues, "Indeed, it seems essential to this matter's being the matter it is that it is what is actualized in this way in certain conditions" (p. 193). For example, the bronze which has the capacity to be a Zeus statue is essentially different from the bronze which has the capacity to be a Hermes statue. This sounds somewhat paradoxical in cases in which the two statues require exactly the same amount of metal (as if a lump of bronze could not take on different forms), and underlines the importance of answering the question of when a given piece of matter possesses the capacity to be *F* (the main question in  $\Theta$  7) to the exclusion of having the capacity to be *G* or something else (which is ignored in  $\Theta$  7).

Sarah Broadie clarifies Aristotle's striking argument in *Metaphysics*  $\Theta$  8, 1050a4–b4 that the activity of a builder, for example, is located not in the agent, the builder, but in the patient—in this case, in the building materials. Aristotle attempts to justify this by claiming that the result of an activity is its goal, and that the activity is the result. Thus, for example, the activity of building must take place in the materials. However, as Broadie shows, this is not satisfactory in the case of transitive activities such as building, because the goal of the building activity does not strictly speaking manifest itself in the materials which are worked on, but in the completed house, which goes beyond the activity of building. She argues that Aristotle's qualification to the argument, the claim that in transitive cases the activity is more a goal than the potentiality (1050a23–8), implies several difficulties.

In the final chapter, John Cooper sets about determining why knowledge of political science is necessary for anyone who wishes to be a virtuous person, i.e. not only for those who enter into a political career, but also for those who aspire to live a happy and virtuous life as a private citizen. This knowledge, according to Cooper, is a requirement because "virtuous actions and activities, however much undertaken always by individuals, are *essentially* communal undertakings" (p. 230; Cooper's italics). Focusing on three different kinds of community, master-slave, family, and village communities, he develops a rather persuasive argument. Lacking sufficient evidence, however, he is compelled to resort to speculation at some important points, such as his proposal about communal undertakings (pp. 228ff.). In the course of the discussion, he accounts for them in different ways, applying for example set-theoretic vocabulary ("a *koinōnia* simply is at bottom a set of common activities", p. 242) and part-whole relations ("Aristotle is conceiving this common good, of which the good realized by each in their own virtuous actions is a part, as achieved by all of them acting together", p. 243). Cooper does his best to clarify this talk even further in terms of a shared commitment to the common good (see. pp. 245–6), but this does not entirely remove the obscurity of the matter. But despite this, the paper is written in a lucid and eloquent style, and I only complain about its being excessively long (52 pages), something that is typical of Cooper's writing.

Despite the minor complaints just made, each article in this collection is a significant contribution to its specific area of study. The collection in its entirety does not constitute a

thematic unity, but it is nonetheless a precious tribute to the work of Allan Gotthelf. For this purpose, the collection also includes a short biography of Gotthelf and a list of his publications, and of meetings he organized between 1976/7 and 2010.

*Mika Perälä*

FIONA MACINTOSH: *Sophocles: Oedipus Tyrannus*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-49711-4 (hb), 978-0-521-49782-4 (pb). XVI, 203 pp, 15 b/w ill. GBP 45, USD 80 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 29.99 (pb).

Selon une anecdote dans un fragment conservé d'Antiphane, la différence entre les comédies et les tragédies est le fait que les comédies sortent de l'imagination du poète, tandis que les tragédies bénéficient du matériel qu'offrent les mythes et les archétypes connus du public. Bien qu'il s'agisse d'une exagération d'un poète comique, le mythe d'Œdipe est la source la plus importante de l'histoire des tragédies en Occident. *L'Œdipe roi* (gr. Οἰδίπους Τύραννος) de Sophocle est probablement la tragédie la plus connue s'inspirant de cette tradition. L'œuvre de Macintosh retrace l'histoire de la tragédie antique de Sophocle à partir de sa première représentation sur scène au cinquième siècle avant notre ère jusqu'aux productions du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

Le mythe d'Œdipe symbolise tout d'abord le savoir de l'homme: Œdipe est capable de résoudre l'énigme posée par le Sphinx. L'énigme était la suivante: "Quel être a quatre pattes le matin, deux à midi et trois le soir?" La réponse pour cette énigme était: "l'homme", parce que comme enfant il marche à quatre pattes, comme adulte il se tient sur ses deux jambes et comme vieillard il s'appuie sur une canne. Mais le mythe d'Œdipe traite également les limites et surtout l'ignorance de l'homme: étant ignorant de ce qu'il est, Œdipe se rend coupable de parricide et d'inceste.

Dans la première partie du livre sont analysées les relations de la pièce de théâtre de Sophocle avec d'autres versions grecques du mythe d'Œdipe; la tragédie de Sophocle ne peut pas être considérée comme la "version originale" parce que le thème fut traité par plusieurs autres poètes, parmi lesquels Eschyle. Cependant, la version de Sophocle avait un statut privilégié déjà dans l'Antiquité, ce qui est montré par la place qu'Aristote lui donne parmi les tragédies. Les allusions aux autres versions basées sur le mythe d'Œdipe dans la pièce de Sophocle sont analysées dans l'œuvre (bien que toutes les pièces de théâtre traitant le mythe ne soient pas conservées). De plus, l'intertextualité est un fait important pour comprendre la pièce de Sophocle. L'Œdipe de Sophocle redéfinit la conception de héros, surtout le héros que l'on peut appeler "tragique". La version de Sophocle a également une dimension politique: le public athénien pouvait probablement y voir plusieurs allusions aux événements de l'époque (la Guerre du Péloponnèse et la fin de l'hégémonie d'Athènes). Ces allusions se voyaient également dans la mise en scène de la pièce.

La tragédie de Sophocle fut accueillie avec estime aussi à Rome. Les Romains voient dans le mythe d'Œdipe non seulement une dimension politique mais aussi une dimension psychologique. L'historien Suétone évoque des similitudes entre les relations familiales de l'empereur Néron avec celle d'Œdipe. De plus, la mise en scène de l'époque reflète la réalité politique dans la Rome néronienne (pouvoir impérial vs. citoyen). Un sous-chapitre entier est consacré aux pièces de théâtre dans lesquelles Sénèque traite le mythe d'Œdipe.

Après l'Empire romain, le succès du mythe antique d'Œdipe continua en Europe. L'ouvrage examine ensuite des versions du mythe courantes en Angleterre et en France au commencement de l'époque moderne. Pendant cette période l'Œdipe de Sénèque exerça une grande influence sur les pièces de théâtre basées sur le mythe, notamment dans l'Angleterre de la Renaissance. Dans la France du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle les aspects politiques devinrent une partie essentielle de la pièce. Il en est ainsi également des versions de la période de la Restauration anglaise, le sous-chapitre examinant cette époque prend une partie assez grande de l'ouvrage. Les aspects politiques sont importants également dans les versions théâtrales d'Œdipe produites pendant les Lumières, des écrivains comme Voltaire écrivant leurs propres versions du mythe.

Les performances des acteurs considérées comme "classiques" (surtout celle de Mounet-Sully), les relations du théâtre avec le cinéma, la musique, la sculpture et la philosophie sont décrites dans l'œuvre. Les questions concernant la censure des pièces de théâtre dont les thèmes sont assez audacieux (dans le cas d'Œdipe, l'inceste) en Angleterre au début du XX<sup>e</sup> siècle sont également traitées. Une partie du livre est consacrée au rôle du chœur. Le chœur pouvait jouer le rôle du "peuple" dans les versions tardives du mythe.

La dernière partie du livre traite les changements dans la conception d'Œdipe à partir des années 1950. Pendant cette période il devient possible de voir le caractère d'Œdipe sous un aspect comique. Un sous-chapitre est consacré à une pièce présentée au Nigéria dans les années 1960; cette production est probablement moins connue pour le public occidental bien que la pièce soit présentée au Royaume-Uni en 1989 et en 2004.

Le *Sophocles: Oedipus Tyrannus* de Macintosh est paru sous le titre *Plays in Production*, donc son public cible est principalement ceux qui s'intéressent à l'histoire et à l'évolution du théâtre au cours des siècles. Pour cela, ceux qui veulent approfondir leurs connaissances sur le théâtre grec de l'Antiquité peuvent trouver le titre quelque peu trompeur. Malgré le titre, l'ouvrage ne traite pas exclusivement l'Œdipe de Sophocle, mais plutôt l'évolution des pièces de théâtre qui se basent sur le mythe d'Œdipe, bien que la pièce de Sophocle (et dans certains cas celles de Sénèque) ait une influence prépondérante. De plus, *Oedipus Tyrannus* de Macintosh est apparemment destiné principalement au public anglais parce que les versions d'Œdipe présentées dans le monde anglophone occupent une grande partie du livre.

Le sous-chapitre commençant la première partie de l'ouvrage aurait pu être une introduction pour tout le livre, séparée du reste de la première partie. Bien que l'histoire d'Œdipe et la pièce de théâtre de Sophocle soient connues pour la plupart du public, Macintosh aurait pu commencer son ouvrage par une introduction à proprement parler.

Parfois la relation entre le titre du chapitre avec son contenu est quelque peu vague, par exemple le chapitre intitulé "*Oedipus and the 'people'*" traite le rôle du chœur dans les pièces. En outre, plusieurs chapitres manquent d'une certaine cohérence et parfois il est difficile de voir pourquoi les sujets tellement différents sont traités dans la même partie du livre. Par exemple, deux époques tellement éloignées, la Rome de la période néronienne et l'Angleterre de la Restauration sont analysées dans la même partie de l'ouvrage. L'influence de Sénèque, à notre avis, n'offre pas suffisamment de similitudes entre ces deux périodes pour qu'elles puissent être traitées ensemble. De plus, en passant de l'Antiquité directement à l'Angleterre du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, sans parler du destin de la pièce de Sophocle au Moyen Âge, Macintosh laisse plusieurs questions ouvertes. Le mythe d'Œdipe fut-il tout à fait oublié pendant le Moyen Âge? Comment les manuscrits contenant la pièce de théâtre de Sophocle et celles de Sénèque furent-ils conservés

pendant cette période de 1500 ans et transmis dans l'Angleterre de la Renaissance? Là, il y a une vraie lacune dans le livre.

En ce qui concerne le théâtre de l'époque moderne, Macintosh montre ses grandes connaissances des productions théâtrales faites sur le mythe d'Œdipe, surtout à partir du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Les différentes versions basées sur le mythe d'Œdipe, les relations entre le théâtre et les autres formes d'art, aussi bien que les changements dans les conceptions du mythe sont expliqués en grand détail.

Pour ceux qui s'intéressent à l'évolution de la conception du mythe d'Œdipe au cours de l'histoire du théâtre, à partir de l'Antiquité jusqu'à l'époque moderne, *Sophocles: Oedipus Tyrannus* de Macintosh est une lecture intéressante. En revanche, ceux dont le domaine d'intérêt principal est le théâtre grec classique et la littérature de l'Antiquité en profitent moins.

Jari Nummi

FRANCESCO ADEMOLLO: *The Cratylus of Plato: a Commentary*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-76347-9. XX, 538 pp. GBP 85, USD 140.

Francesco Ademollo's commentary is a very impressive contribution to the study of Plato's *Cratylus*. Firstly, it is the first extensive commentary to appear on this intriguing dialogue on the correctness of names. This is perhaps surprising but indeed, although a number of translations, minor-scale commentaries and studies on the dialogue in different languages do exist, no full-scale commentary has appeared before. Secondly, and more importantly, the commentary exemplifies a very high standard of scholarship in both exegetical and philosophical terms, yielding a consistent and persuasive interpretation of the entire dialogue.

Ademollo's commentary is "running" in that it proceeds by quoting the text passage by passage and explains each passage in detail. The "Contents" in the beginning (pp. vii–xi) gives a useful overview of the dialogue as a whole. It indicates among other things that the dialogue has a clear dialectical structure: the first part (383a–439b) discusses Cratylus' naturalism, and the second (433b–440e) its criticism.

Ademollo makes two very helpful clarifications in the "Introduction". First, contrary to most interpreters, he argues that the dialogue consistently treats the phrases "correct name of *X*" and "name of *X*" as equivalent. This argument, which he refers to as the "Redundancy Conception", has two important implications: (i) there are strictly speaking "*no degrees of correctness*", and (ii) "*no such thing as an incorrect name of something*" (p. 3, Ademollo's italics) exists. As the author fairly acknowledges, these claims may sound startling to some readers, and yet, according to him, a closer study shows that they are not. I find his arguments persuasive and they certainly deserve to be taken in mind by everyone seriously working on this dialogue.

A second helpful remark clarifies what is at issue in the *Cratylus*. According to Ademollo, the dialogue discusses the question whether the link between a name and its referent is natural or conventional. This is to be contrasted with another question about the origin of names: how do people acquire their names? Ademollo (p. 4) shows that the latter question was first discussed by the Epicureans, who proposed that names originate from the nature (φύσις) of human beings rather than a deliberate imposition (θέσει). According to Ademollo, the *Cratylus* does not address this issue, but "[a]ll the speakers in the dialogue appear to assume

that names were set down by someone" (p. 5). This is a fair judgment.

I will not go into Ademollo's detailed exegesis of the text, but will instead make one general observation about his overall interpretation of the dialogue. Ademollo puts great efforts into showing that the etymologies given at 394e–421e are substantially backed up by the Heraclitean flux theory, and in particular by its atomistic version, and that Socrates takes the etymologies seriously (see, e.g., pp. 237–41). Thus, Ademollo further develops arguments given by Grote and Sedley, opposing the other line of interpretation (given by Stallbaum and Baxter) that the section in question is parodic. Ademollo's argument is successful, and it helps to make sense of the etymologies that are otherwise very difficult to comprehend. For example, the derivation of δίκαιον "just" from διαῖον "passing through" (412d2–e3) is unintelligible if we overlook Socrates' explanation that the flux theorists posit two fundamental principles, the quick and the slow, and that δίκαιον refers to the quickness of the flux and thus to its penetrability (p. 215). In line with this, Ademollo is correct to stress (pp. 449–51) that Socrates' subsequent criticism of the flux theory would be pointless unless that theory played a significant role in the etymologies given.

I have no major complaints about this commentary. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the commentary is likely to be too demanding for a beginner, but the intended readers, graduate students and scholars, will benefit from it immensely and take pleasure in its insightful observations, comparisons with other dialogues and well-wrought arguments.

In conclusion, I should like to recommend this commentary as a first choice not only to those who take the etymologies given "seriously", but also to everyone who adopts this attitude towards the dialogue in its entirety. It is not entirely groundless to suggest either that the commentary will constitute the definitive study of the dialogue for many generations to come.

*Mika Perälä*

*Plato's Laws. A Critical Guide.* Edited by CHRISTOPHER BOBONICH. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-88463-1. VIII, 245 pp. GBP 50, USD 80.

Christopher Bobonich has edited an impressive collection of papers on Plato's *Laws*. The subtitle of the collection suggests that the papers are intended to introduce the general reader to the subject, but the editorial introduction reveals that the intentions behind the volume are much more ambitious. Bobonich claims that the volume "offers chapters that are on the cutting edge of current scholarship and that not only contribute to ongoing debates, but also start fresh lines of inquiry" (p. 1). As far as I can tell, this claim is for the most part well grounded, though not all contributions open up new perspectives, but rather elaborate on the contributors' earlier work in this field. In any case, the twelve chapters consist of first-rate scholarship, comprising both detailed textual exegesis and helpful overall interpretations of the *Laws* and its relationship with Plato's other dialogues, and even with Aristotle's *Politics*.

The first two chapters interpret the *Laws* as a whole, each making a rather bold new proposal. Malcolm Schofield argues that although Aristotle has been blamed for not being a very sensitive interpreter of the *Laws*, he was nevertheless correct in identifying two different projects in this treatise: one is the attempt to reconstruct a "second best" political system which is supposed to approximate to the Kallipolis of the *Republic*, and the other is to institute



a political system which is "more common". Schofield concludes that the two projects are not irreconcilable. The second project, according to him, is "subordinate" to the first in that its aim is to determine the constraints that human nature with "its resistance to or lack of interest in the life of virtue" imposes on the "idealising project" (pp. 23–4). Schofield makes a number of valuable observations, but I was not entirely persuaded by his argument that Aristotle's sweeping remark, "He [Plato in the *Laws*] intends to make the political system more common, but gradually brings it round to the other one [i.e. the one suggested in the *Republic*]" (*Pol.* 2,6,1265a3–4), really entitles us to see Aristotle identifying two different projects rather than pointing out Plato's alleged failure in implementing his original project. However, Schofield's argument is not substantially dependent on Aristotle's view, and can be judged in its own right. In my view, his considerations fail to show that there are really two different projects in the *Laws*, and, in fact, Schofield himself qualifies his initial position substantially in the course of his discussion.

Christopher Rowe also makes a bold argument, proposing in a "unitarian" fashion that "the text of the *Laws* tends specifically to *direct the reader, for the required level of justification, to arguments, and conclusions reached, in other dialogues*" (p. 35, Rowe's italics). This implies that the *Laws* presupposes "a practised Platonic reader" who attempts to make sense of the dialogue's discussion in the light of other dialogues. In effect, then, Rowe opposes a "developmentalist" reading of the *Laws*, aiming to see how this dialogue accords with the *Republic* and the *Politicus* and other dialogues touching upon the same topics. Rowe focuses on Book 4, but assumes that his approach is applicable to other books as well. To my mind, Rowe's textual exegesis is impressive, and he succeeds in making plausible the claim that the Athenian's treatment of *sophrosyne* implies philosophical reason when read in conjunction with the relevant passages in the *Republic* Book 5 and the *Politicus*. However, his approach has limitations, too. One obvious defect is that it overlooks the arguments that are genuinely innovative in comparison with other dialogues, and which cannot be justified with reference to them. Indeed, although Rowe (p. 46) claims that the laws are based on philosophical reason, he has little to say about the significance of the laws themselves, and yet this is arguably a key contribution of the dialogue to the study of *politeia*.

Richard Kraut focuses on what he calls "ordinary virtues", i.e. virtues such as moderation (*sophrosyne*) and justice (*dikaiosyne*) without adequate philosophical wisdom and knowledge about the good. In *Phaedo* 82a11 and the *Republic* 500d9, Plato refers to such virtues as "demotic" (δημοτική). Kraut's main argument is that the *Laws* puts special emphasis on the acquisition of these virtues, which are not just mere appearances of virtue, but constitute a lower order of virtue. This implies, according to Kraut, that ordinary citizens, who lack real wisdom, can nonetheless value and cultivate these virtues not just for profit, as a means to other ends, but in their own right, if only they are accustomed to exercising them through appropriate education, and are thus able to live under sufficiently wisely established laws and institutions. In focusing on "ordinary virtues", Kraut makes no attempt to explain the emphasis on the unity of all virtues, which seems to be programmatic in the passage about divine goods at 631b6–d6 (not even mentioned by Kraut). Nonetheless, he makes interesting observations on the *Republic* and the *Laws* as "complementary treatises" (p. 68). Assuming that the political system outlined in the *Laws* is second-best to the ideal of the *Republic* with respect to all social classes, he conjectures that "the working class of the Kallipolis is happier than their more leisured counterparts in Magnesia because those craftsmen and farmers live under the

constant and direct supervision of philosophers and their assistants, whereas the householders of Magnesia are ultimately ruled not by superior individuals but by laws, which, according to the *Statesman*, are by their nature crude approximations of the ideal imperatives [...]" (p. 69). The superiority of the Kallipolis, according to Kraut, is thus based on its greater sensibility to particular requirements that are not explicable by general laws.

In contrast to Kraut, Julia Annas does not acknowledge any relevant distinction between lower and higher-order virtues in the *Laws*. However, in explaining what Plato means by his idea of "slavery to the laws" (698b8–c2), she implies another distinction, namely one between laws that correctly exemplify right reason, i.e. that which is divine in human beings, and laws which are defective in this respect. In Annas's interpretation, the *Laws* clearly concentrate on the former kind of laws, and it is only to such laws that all citizens, not just ordinary citizens, but also virtuous people, can be seen as slaves (p. 74). Thus, she opposes an interpretation that fully virtuous people need no laws (p. 79). Given this notion, she focuses on the double role of the laws, the commanding and the persuasive, in an attempt to show how obedience to laws is compatible with both becoming virtuous and living a life of virtue. Interestingly, Annas finds a parallel reading of the *Laws* in Philo of Alexandria's interpretation of Mosaic law. A limitation of this approach is that it does not take into account Plato's cautious qualification that positive laws, being general by nature, do not apply to every case (875d4–5), a point which Terry Irwin reminds us of in his contribution.

Irwin starts by claiming that the *Laws* does not take a clear position on the doctrine of natural law as it is known in later natural law tradition from Cicero's *De Re Publica* onwards. However, this does not prevent him from developing some positive arguments about the content of what he calls "internal law". He claims, "This law is a rational principle that affirms the reflective supremacy of one's own happiness and the practical supremacy of the common good" (p. 104). This is Irwin's solution as to how Plato's views about self-love (including happiness) and the common good (justice, and good social relationships, "friendships") are compatible. He claims the first to be prior to the second, grounding his argument in a more general interpretation of his that we have reason to be just "if and only if justice is best for the promotion of one's own happiness" (p. 101). Irwin is very cautious in that he posits this not so much as Plato's explicit view rather than as an assumption that informs the discussion of justice and happiness in the *Laws* as well as the *Republic*.

The three subsequent chapters discuss psychological issues. Dorothea Frede demonstrates that the discussion of pleasure and pain in the *Laws* is not based on any specific theoretical model we know from Plato's other treatises (e.g. the restoration and disintegration model given in the *Gorgias*, *Philebus*, and the *Timaeus*), but rather on ordinary conceptions of these phenomena (p. 111). Frede pays special attention to Plato's puppet analogy in accounting for the inner forces and functions of the human soul, emphasizing its limited theoretical import and its explicit application only to illustrating the effect of wine-drinking (645b–c). However, she suggests, the analogy has wider significance in that it shows how even a mature citizen with a well-integrated soul faces continuous pulls in different directions, and is in need of "lifelong learning", "maintenance" and "self-improvement" with the help of public drinking parties and religious festivities serving as "a means of *moral* correction of the soul" (p. 122; Frede's italics).

Rachana Kamtekar's and Christopher Bobonich's contributions focus on non-rational motivation for human action. Whereas Frede concentrates on what is characteristic of the *Laws* as opposed to the other dialogues, Kamtekar and Bobonich substantially draw on the *Timaeus*

to make sense of the *Law's* discussion of appetitive desires and non-rational emotions such as fear and anger. In fact, their main arguments pertain to the correct understanding of the *Timaeus*, and its significance to the *Laws*, rather than the *Laws* in its own right. It is interesting that Kamtekar and Bobonich draw rather different, if not entirely opposite, conclusions from the same evidence (e.g. *Tim.* 43c4–44c4, 64a2–65a2, 70a2–71b5, 77b5–c3): whereas Kamtekar judges that the non-rational parts of the soul are motivationally self-sufficient and thus independent from the rational part, Bobonich proposes that at least some ordinary desires such as the desire for a Martini, or the desire for revenge, are conceptually informed and propositionally structured. This disagreement is partly based on a different understanding of the soul in Plato's late dialogues: Kamtekar considers that Plato kept dividing the soul into three parts, albeit only in a "protreptic" sense (p. 130), whereas Bobonich sees him as having entirely abandoned tripartition (p. 150). I fail to see what Kamtekar's qualification "protreptic" precisely implies. Instead, Bobonich's judgement, to my mind at least, seems better supported by the text (see e.g. the account of fear in terms of a belief about pain in the offing at *Laws* 644c9–d1).

The final three chapters discuss special issues which are particularly prominent in the *Laws*: Thanassis Samaras focuses on the position of women, Robert Mayhew on theology, and André Laks on the constitution of Magnesia as the "truest tragedy" (817a–b). Samaras argues that in re-establishing the *oikos* as the basic social unit, and thus denying to women the right to inherit and own property, Plato failed to give them a social role which would match their equality to men in military and public affairs (pp.196–7). Mayhew concludes that Plato identifies reason (*nous*) as the chief god (p. 216), and Laks claims that Magnesia's tragedy is manifested in the inevitable conflict between pleasure and reason, which afflicts even virtuous people with philosophical understanding (p. 231).

In conclusion, the papers constituting this collection deserve a close reading both separately and as a collection. Since the papers overlap one another on many key issues, proposing in many cases rather different views, one might have expected that the editor would have encouraged the authors to more explicitly engage in critical discussion with each other. As it stands, however, drawing the implications of each paper in relation to one another is almost entirely left to the intended specialist or graduate student reader who knows how to use the collection as a "critical guide".

Mika Perälä

*Domninus of Larissa. Encheiridion and Spurious Works.* Introduction, critical text, English translation, and commentary by PETER RIEDLBERGER. *Mathematica Graeca Antiqua* 2. Fabrizio Serra Editore, Pisa – Roma 2013. ISBN 978-88-6227-567-5. 279 pp. EUR 86.

The author of the edition under review (originally presented as a doctoral thesis in the Faculty of Mathematics, Informatics and Statistics at the Ludwig-Maximilian-Universität München) is a many-sided man. A few years ago, he published an excellent commented edition of the eighth book of the *Johannis of Corippus* (whom he rebaptized as *Gorippus*). He now provides us with a new edition of the *Encheiridion* and the spurious works of *Domninus of Larissa*, preceded by a thorough introduction and followed by a likewise fundamental commentary and an English translation of the text. *Domninus* was a fellow student of *Proclus*, who wrote a mathematical

treatise which has been seen as a return to Euclid against the current Nicomachean trends (but Riedlberger succeeds in showing that Dominus' traditional image as a 'Euclidean maverick' is wrong, whereas he actually emerges "as a fairly standard late antique Platonic philosopher". This is not the first Dominus edition to appear in our lifetime (there is, for example, an edition by F. Romano from 2000, repeatedly criticized by Riedlberger), but it is surely the best and has superseded all previous work, not only as to the textual transmission of his works, but also because of its detailed explanations of mathematical concepts and themes which Dominus dealt with. It is to be hoped that in the new series other fundamental editions of ancient mathematical treatises of high quality will appear in the near future. By creating this new series, the editor Fabrizio Serra has made a very praiseworthy initiative.

*Heikki Solin*

*Stephani Byzantii Ethnica*. Vol. II: *Δ–Ι*. Recensuerunt germanice vertunt adnotationibus indicibusque instruxerunt MARGARETHE BILLERBECK – CHRISTIAN ZUBLER. Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae XLIII/2. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2010. ISBN 978-3-11-020346-2. IX, 17\*, 310 S. EUR 128. – *Stephani Byzantii Ethnica*. Vol. III: *Κ–Ο*. Herausgegeben von MARGARETHE BILLERBECK. Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae. Series Berolinensis, XLIII/3. Walter De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2014. ISBN 978-3-11-021963-0. VIII, 19\*, 454 S. EUR 169.95.

Das geographische Lexikon des bedeutenden frühbyzantinischen Grammatikers Stephanos Byzantios ist auf uns hauptsächlich nur durch eine stark gekürzte Epitome gekommen. Sie ist in der Vergangenheit seit der Aldina von 1502 mehrmals ausgelegt worden, aber Billerbecks Edition ist die erste nach der von Meineke von 1849. Es war also an der Zeit, von dem bedeutenden Werk eine neue, modernen Ansprüchen genügende Ausgabe zu erstellen. Die Editionsarbeit schreitet zügig voran, und es ist zu hoffen, den neuen Stephanos in absehbarer Zeit fertig in den Händen zu haben.

Wie gesagt, ist das Lexikon hauptsächlich durch die schlecht erhaltene und korrupt überlieferte Epitome erhalten. Doch ist uns unter dem Buchstaben Delta rund ein Dutzend Artikel (139 Δυμῶνες – 151 Δώτιον) enthalten, welche nicht nur epitomiert, sondern auch in ursprünglicher oder zumindest vollständigerer Fassung auf uns gekommen sind. Andererseits weist die hsl. Überlieferung der Epitome einen dreifachen größeren Textverlust auf zwischen Κελαίθρα und Κόρακος πέτρα, Λάρισσα und Λῆμνος und zwischen Ὀρεστία und Παλική; in der Edition werden in den verlorengegangenen Partien die aus Querverweisen bei Stephanos selbst erschlossenen Lemmata zusammengestellt.

Die neue Ausgabe besteht aus fünf verschiedenen Teilen auf jeder Seite: griechischer Text links, deutsche Übersetzung rechts; unter dem Text die Similia-Sammlung und darunter der ausführliche kritische Apparat; rechts unter der Übersetzung Ansätze eines Kommentars. Als Ergebnis haben wir vor uns eine hervorragende Edition. Leider verbietet der von der Redaktion dieser Zeitschrift mir gewährte knappe Raum eine eingehendere Würdigung. Hier unten nur einige wenige Anmerkungen: δ 81 Δικαιάρχεια. Es ist interessant zu notieren, dass Stephanos, ganz in der Linie mit der sonstigen grammatischen und ethnographischen (auch in der lateinischen Literatur vorhandenen) Tradition, diesen Namen für Puteoli gebraucht; in

Wirklichkeit war Dikaiarcheia eine ephemere Gründung, deren Name nur in der literarischen Tradition Bestand hatte; epigraphisch ist er nirgends belegt. Wenn griechische Autoren von der Stadt Dikaiarch(e)ia sagen, "sie heie jetzt Puteoli", so entspricht das nicht den Tatsachen, denn im Leben hat die Grndung Dikaiarcheia keinen Bestand gehabt. Das Lemma ist auch wegen der sinnlosen Erklrungen des Namens Puteoli interessant ( gute Konjektur von Meineke). – ε 79 Ἐμπόριον: eine Stadt dieses Namens ist in Campanien sonst nicht berliefert, was die Notiz suspekt macht. In Bruttii lag eine Stadt dieses Namens (= Medma, die auch im Lexikon vorkommt: μ 114); hatte St. vielleicht sie im Sinn? (Orte, die ἔμποριον genannt wurden, gab es natrlich auch in Campanien). – ε 184 Ἐχέτρα: Stadt der Volsker, nur aus literarischer Tradition bekannt; die lateinische Form war *Ecetra* (die griechische Schreibweise mit -χ- knnte aus dem Etruskischen herrhren). – κ 61 Κοτύσιον: hier wird Strabon ungenau wiedergegeben, der sagt, zwei Stdte, Canusium und Argyrippa, seien *ehemals* die grten der italiotischen Stdte gewesen. – κ 187 Κοσύτη: Billerbeck gibt Bescheid ber die gestrte berlieferung. Zur Verworrenheit trgt auch bei, dass eine umbrische Stadt dieses Namens unerklrlich bleibt. – κ 255 Κύθηρα: woher mag die Nachricht stammen, Kythera sei bei Kreta gelegen? Billerbeck erwhnt in dem Similia-Apparat zwei Stellen aus Eustathios' Ilias-Kommentar. Es gibt auch andere ltere Erwhnungen, in denen Kythera und Kreta in einen Zusammenhang gebracht werden und die als Quelle fr Stephanos in Betracht gezogen werden knnen (Skylax, der Geograph Dionysios, der Grammatiker Herodianos, der Geograph Agathemeros); Hesychios sagt sogar Κύθηρα· νῆσος Κρήτης. – μ 44 Μαμάρκινα: Knnte dies mit 45 Μαμέρτιον zusammenhngen? *Mamerc-* und *Mamert-* gehren etymologisch zusammen. – Ein paar generelle Beobachtungen. Die Editorin fgt in der deutschen bersetzung oft durch spitze Klammern meines Erachtens unntige Erklrungen hinzu, z. B. unter L 19 Lakedaimon "dessen <zugehriges> Femininum"; auch scheint mir der Gebrauch von deutschen Entsprechungen in der Wiedergabe von Ethnika teilweise strend, z. B. das <Ethnikon> Lakone, anstelle von Λάκων; und "Lakainerin" anstelle von Λάκαινα; dann aber steht bald danach "das Femininum Λακωνική" auf Griechisch.

Billerbecks Ausgabe ist eine Glanzleistung; die Autorin verdient alles mgliche Lob. Zugleich mchte ich dem Wunsch Ausdruck geben, sie knne den *labor Herculeus* bald zu einem glcklichen Abschluss bringen.

Heikki Solin

NICHOLAS HORSFALL: *Virgil, "Aeneid" 6. A Commentary*. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2013. ISBN 978-3-11-022990-5. 708 pp. EUR 169.95.

After writing commentaries on books 7 (2000), 11 (2003), 3 (2006) and 2 (2008) of *The Aeneid*, Nicholas Horsfall has turned his attention to the sixth, along with Bk. 2 perhaps the most demanding and from the aesthetic, religious and ideological point of view the most impressive book of Virgil's epic. Although the Aeneid has been discussed and admired by innumerable scholars, poets and essayists, we can say that it is the sixth book which has aroused more admiring comments than any other book of *The Aeneid*. The most famous discussion outside the classical philology of Bk. 6 is by T. S. Eliot in his essay "What is a Classic?" According to Eliot, the encounter of Dido and Aeneas in Hades is "one of the most civilized passages in

poetry"; it is also complex in meaning, economical in expression and an example of "civilized conscience". To give another admiring statement about Bk. 6, the Swedish critic Olof Lagercrantz in his book of memoirs, *Min första krets* (1982, *My First Circle*), mentions that poetry in the European cultural sphere has never achieved a higher level than in the sixth book of *The Aeneid*.

Nicholas Horsfall's new commentary is divided into two parts: along with the text and translation, the first volume, about 100 pages, includes a Preface, an Introduction, a Bibliography and *Praemonenda*, while the second volume, about 660 pages, consists of the commentary and three appendices and indices. I will first discuss the introductory chapters (Preface, etc.) and appendices which in the first volume and at the end of the second volume surround the Commentary, then I will say a few words about the translation and after that turn to the Commentary itself.

The surrounding texts are in many respects very interesting and also worth reading as separate entities. Horsfall's Preface is not only a place to thank colleagues who in various ways have helped the commentator, but also a place to tell about the background and origin of the commentary as well as about some views on the nature of scholarly commentary in classical philology. Horsfall also emphasizes that his commentary is not aimed at undergraduates but for scholarly readers. Yes, we do indeed need different kinds of commentaries: for common readers, for undergraduates and for scholars who have devoted their whole lives for the study of particular authors.

The Introduction is divided into ten sections: 1) Aeneid 6 (some general and evaluative characterizations), 2) Chronology, 3) Structure (Horsfall does not give any structural overview, saying that he is in agreement with B. Otis in this respect), 4) Book 6 in relation to Books 5 and 7, 5) General comments on language, grammar, syntax and style, 6) Sources, 7) Inconsistencies (typographically the title of this section has not been put on a separate line as the titles of other sections have), 8) Eschatology (Virgil's view on the afterlife), 9) Notes on earlier commentaries (to give one example: while appreciating Mme Guillemin's commentary, Horsfall adds an ironic comment: "of course [she is] stronger on datives than [on] Orphism"), and 10) A note on the text. The most extensive of these sections is the sixth, which deals with sources. The summary of the sources is very useful, the sources being enumerated from two angles, both by scene and by time.

The Bibliography contains only the most important works, which have been used or consulted in the Commentary. The bibliographical data of other secondary literature have been given *ad loc.* The *Praemonenda* give instructions for the readers but they also include some interesting comments on Horsfall's critics as well as information about the background and writing process of the present commentary.

The three Appendices (in Volume II) are of great value. The first of them, a short discussion of the phrase 'plena deo' is illuminating, although, as stated at the end of the Appendix, "on the question of authenticity no clear position is /.../ taken". The two other Appendices, "Fifty years at the Sibyl's heels" and "In the shadow of Eduard Norden" are fine essays in intellectual history. The former essay is a piece of scholarly autobiography. I have sometimes thought that scholars should write autobiographical essays rather than extensive (and perhaps tedious) memoirs. One example of an excellent short autobiography is the cultural historian Johan Huizinga's 'My Path to History' (Engl. tr. in *Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century and other Essays*, 1968). Nicholas Horsfall's presentation is an impressive specimen of

the same kind. Horsfall gives an illuminating account about his way to and explorations in Virgilian studies and the state and changes of Virgilian scholarship since the 1960s, when several important new books about Virgil were published: B. Otis' *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (1964), Knauer's *Die Aeneis und Homer* (1964), M. Putnam's *Poetry of the Aeneid* (1965), F. Klingner's *Virgil* (1967), K. Quinn's *Virgil's Aeneid* (1968, "stimulating but very careless, unsympathetic and dismissive") and L. P. Wilkinson's *The Georgics of Virgil* (1969). The list also includes Sir Roger Mynors' Oxford text of Virgil (1969) and the English translation of V. Pöschl's *Die Dichtkunst Virgils* (1962, German original in 1950). Horsfall refers briefly to Mynors' anti-Semitism as well as to his own background in the Jewish intellectual tradition of Germany and western Russia.

I especially enjoyed what Horsfall had to say about John Livingston Lowes' classic study on Coleridge, *The Road to Xanadu* (1927) and what in that connection he says about the nature of commentary: "The commentary works more with facts than with theories, or should do. Livingston Lowes's subtitle is 'A study in the ways of the imagination': just so; that is a proper and elevating goal and does not call for a vast expenditure of time in order to master a new critical theory and its brutish jargon" (Appendix 2, p. 639). As smaller additions to the essay, there are in the Commentary some personal reminiscences: commenting on lines 179–82, Horsfall confesses that the splitting of wood with wedges has been his "non-classical activity for many years" (p.187; see also e.g. p. 252: a good example of school teachers' pedantry).

"Fifty years at the Sibylla's heels" is also a piece of the history of classical philology from the viewpoint of the sources of Virgil. I was especially interested in Horsfall's comments on his own *Companion to Virgil*, his own attitude to biographical tradition and the interpretation of (or, "the great battle" over) the end of the last book of *The Aeneid*.

In his book *The Powers of Philology. Dynamics of Textual Scholarship* (2003) Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht writes: ".../ commentaries are always potentially multiauthored, for their intrinsic complexity and open-endedness do not require the structuring power of a single strong (author- or editor-) subject. We know that, at any given moment, it would be easy to find out the names of the scholars who wrote the Goethe commentaries for the *Bibliothek deutscher Klassiker*, but we associate the different features of this commentary /.../ with this specific publication venture rather than with any individual commentator" (p. 48). Gumbrecht is writing from the view-point of medieval and modern philology. I wonder, however, if the case is different with the commentaries of Greek and Roman literature. In the light of his essays included in the commentary of Bk. 6, his dialogue with and criticism of previous commentators and his personal reminiscences, Horsfall indeed appears as a strong author in his own right.

The latter essay, "In the shadow of Eduard Norden", deals with Norden's *Aeneis Buch VI*, but it also gives valuable information about Norden himself as well as of other writings. The lists of the virtues and defects of Norden's great book are very illuminating. As to the defects, "Even when EN is wrong (and sometimes, to speak plainly, he is), it is an education to work out exactly why" (p. 654).

The translation (in Volume I) is exceptional in that it has question marks in ambiguous or unclear places. As far as I can remember, I have never seen such additions, not even in Horsfall's previous volumes. This practice is, however, in accordance with his way of not making things easier than they should be. One of his principles as a commentator on Virgil is "il poeta doctus presuppone il lector doctus", as he puts it in his book *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco*. In Bk. 6 there is one expression whose translations have always bothered me. Horsfall has

translated Virgil's 'Lugentes campi' as 'the Fields of Mourning' (in other languages there are similar translations), instead of the more literal 'the Mourning Fields', which to my mind would be more effective.

As to the Commentary, I shall confine myself to general observations and some examples of the richness of Horsfall's material.

Along with line by line comments, there are several important passages (events, themes, characters, etc.) which Horsfall deals with exhaustively under specific titles (my numbering): 1) Sibyl's cave; 2) The doors of Apollo's temple; 3) Palatine Apollo and the Sibylline books; 4) Katabaseis (Descents to the Underworld); 5) The Golden Bough; 6) Misenus and his burial; 7) Felling the forest; 8) Simile of the mistletoe; 9) Towards the entrance to the Underworld; 10) Palinurus (including a discussion of the theme of the shipwrecked sailor); 11) Towards Tartarus; 12) Dido and the victims of love; 13) From Dido to Deiphobus: the warrior heroes; 14) Tartarus; 15) The Parade of Heroes (*Heldenschau*), including *epicedion Marcelli* and 16) (The Gates of Dreams. As to number 15, it seems to me that there is some (typographical) inconsistency. The "Parade of Heroes", consisting of lines 756–846, as indicated in the title (p. 510), is divided (p. 510f.) into nine sections (which, according to Horsfall, reveals "calculated inconcinnity"). The nine sections, mentioned under the title "756–846 The 'Parade of Heroes'" extend, however, to lines 847–886; moreover, lines 886–901, for their part, are discussed as the Conclusion to the "Parade of Heroes".

As mentioned above, the encounter of Dido and Aeneas was for T. S. Eliot an example of "civilized conscience" (T. S. Eliot, *Selected Prose*, ed. by Frank Kermode 1975, p. 123f; in addition to Horsfall p. 339, n. 1, see also Kermode's *The Classic* 1975, 15ff. and T. Ziolkowski's *Virgil and the Moderns*, 1993, 132ff.). Eliot's analysis is based on psychology and morality, as revealed by his choice of words meaning conscience, consciousness and forgiving. True to his capacity as a commentator, Horsfall does not go so far, but he still catches the essential nature of the scene, adding also some other aspects: "Notably, it is here Aen. who takes the verbal initiative, who speaks first, who weeps and displays evident tenderness /.../, who indeed pleads with Dido; the relative uncommunicative Aen. of 4 is transformed" and "Dido, her breach of fidelity to Sychaeus' memory forgiven, returns /.../ to his arms, while Aen., though transformed in his behaviour, once again fails to convey his thoughts and feelings to his beloved. There is no happy emotional closure: no bawling, no abuse, either, but we see that chill silence is if anything worse" (p. 338).

Horsfall has painstakingly paid attention to Virgilian botany (e.g. p. 154), forestry (p. 183 ff.), ornithology (p. 191) and geography and astronomy (p. 544). For this purpose he has consulted scholarly and scientific books and institutions far outside the sphere of classical philology, such as A. Mayor's *The First Fossil Hunters* (p. 369), *Her Majesty's Nautical Almanac Office* (p. 341), or *The Royal Horticultural Society / Encyclopedia of Plants and Flowers* (p. 606). As to the expression 'geminae---columbae' (line 190, in the Commentary p. 191) Horsfall states that "it is not clear that the number is significant here" and that the identification of what kinds of doves they are is a hopeless task, "much though we might prefer tiresome ornithological precision". Perhaps we should, however, keep in mind, that in visual representations in mosaics and reliefs we find examples of doves, also as pairs, as shown by A. Tammisto in his comprehensive monograph *Birds in Mosaics. A Study on the Representation of Birds in Hellenistic and Romano-Campanian Tessellated Mosaics to the Early Augustan Age* (Acta IRF 18, Rome 1997, pp. 73ff.). I also have in mind the lovely stele from Paros, which was found in



1875. There we can see a girl with two doves (see Lars-Ivar Ringbom, *En flicka med två duvor* [A Girl with Two Doves], *Florilegium amicitiae till Emil Zilliacus*, Helsinki 1953, pp. 150ff).

Due to Horsfall's comments and analysis, the lines 179–182, 'felling the forest', has become one of my favourite passages in Bk. 6. In opposition to Quinn's view, Horsfall shows convincingly that the passage is anything but a pastiche. In the light of Horsfall's presentation, the passage would offer – in an admirably condensed form – essential material for modern ecocriticism, although he does not mention this current term. For ecocritics (and of course for environmentalists) the felling of trees in an ancient forest (*antiqua silva*) would be a most deplorable act. Horsfall rightly observes that the adjective 'antiqua' is used here with strong affective force. I wonder, however, if 'antiqua silva' would also be a *terminus technicus* (cf. Finn. 'ikimetsä') for an old forest, untouched by man.

As to Mt Atlas, I would say, in opposition to Horsfall, that for modern readers, including myself, Virgil's geographical inaccuracy easily passes unnoticed, and, if it is noticed, it can easily be seen as an example of *licentia poetica*.

Occasionally, Horsfall discusses the possibility of Biblical influences and parallels. He criticizes e.g. J. N. Bremmer who argues for the influence of *1Enoch* 28.2. on *Aen.* 6,658–659: "/.../ *1Enoch* or a similar text is not absurd or unthinkable reading for V., but a more detailed and circumspect case would need to be made to establish a serious likelihood for its actual use." (p. 453; cf. also Introduction p. XXIII). Horsfall's view would seem to me to sound reasonable.

In his Commentary on Bk. 6, Horsfall has again shown how useful some old studies by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars, like C. G. Heyne, James Henry and Lucian Müller, could be (phrases like "Henry acutely noted" are fairly common in the Commentary).

Horsfall does not to any great extent give examples of the influence of Bk. 6 on later literature and culture – wisely so, because the material is endless. There are, however, some interesting exceptions. He refers (p. 124) to Enoch Powell's use of Virgil's oracular words about much blood (readers from outside Britain may not remember that the Conservative politician Powell, who was also a classical scholar, quoted Virgil in his controversial "Rivers of Blood" speech against immigration). Horsfall reminds us also that the expression "the Blessed Isles" is used by Tennyson (p. 441).

Although Horsfall indicates on every page his agreement or disagreement with previous scholars, those passages where he more extensively participates in debates about certain controversial issues are particularly interesting, e.g. the question of reproach in the "Parade of Heroes" (p. 513f.) or the battle over the end of Bk. 12 (in "Fifty years at Sibyl's heels", p. 636f.). This does not mean, however, that Horsfall would always have a strong opinion against other views. For example, his discussion of the debate about line 460 (*invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*) and its relation to Catullus' lines 66.39f (*invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi, / invita: adiuro teque tuumque caput*), as well as the plethora of questions raised by that particular line, are fascinating. The wording is very similar but the context is quite different. Pondering whether we should also take some other parallels into consideration, Horsfall admits that he is unable to offer any definite answer (p. 345). Or perhaps we should say that Virgil's line is an unconscious echo of Catullus' verses rather than a conscious allusion.

Horsfall's Commentary occasionally drops an ironic aside, such as that on line 262: "It matters little that no such cave exists upon the map, for at this point V.'s map is drawn by Lucr. /.../ not the Istituto Geografico Militare" (p. 229). He has also peppered his Commentary with some occasional pieces of information which do not add to our knowledge or understanding of

Virgil's text but which may still be of interest to devoted Virgilians. We learn e.g. that Rudolf Nureyev had a property in Southern Italy (p. 274).

In *The Powers of Philology* H. U. Gumbrecht writes: "Commentary [in contrast to the normally finite character of interpretation] appears to be a discourse that, almost by definition, never reaches its end" (p. 42). Although Virgil's commentaries have a long history, even they do not have and will not have an end. But Nicholas Horsfall's commentaries will have a permanent place in Virgilian scholarship. And when Gumbrecht says about commentaries that they are "treasure houses of knowledge", this is particularly true of Horsfall's commentaries.

H. K. Riikonen

DONATELLA PULIGA – SVETLANA HAUTALA: *La Guerra grammaticale di Andrea Guarna (1511). Un'antica novità per la didattica del latino*. Edizioni ETS, Pisa 2011. ISBN 978-88-4673061-9. 190 pp., 16 tavv. EUR 20.

Le autrici hanno fornito il volume di un sottotitolo opportuno. Il *Bellum grammaticale* di Andrea Guarna, patrizio cremonese del primo Cinquecento, può davvero essere considerato una novità sia nel contesto storico in cui apparve che ai nostri giorni. Anche oggi presenta un approccio essenzialmente innovativo alla lingua latina e all'apprendimento della stessa.

In breve, il *Bellum grammaticale* è un manuale di grammatica normativa travestito da descrizione di battaglia. Tutte le componenti della lingua, tutte le parti del discorso, le classi verbali, i generi, come anche le eccezioni, così importanti nella tradizione scolastica, sono presentate come esito delle varie battaglie nella guerra tra i re Verbo e Nome che si contendono il primo posto nella composizione del discorso. Non è, però, solamente la metafora bellica a creare la dinamica del componimento: l'intera trama si basa sull'analogia umoristica tra il mondo reale e quello fittizio. Ecco alcuni esempi della protratta metafora bellica: dotata di fertili campi dottrinali, coltivati da uomini illustri, la Grammatica è un paese prospero, circondato dall'ostile regno dell'Ignoranza e dai feroci Barbarismi. I regni più evoluti della Dialettica, della Filosofia e della Teologia si possono raggiungere solo attraversando gli stretti di Grammatica, il che si fa sotto la guida dei grammatici. Infine, l'attività produttiva principale di Grammatica è l'organizzazione del discorso, e da essa si realizzano anche tutti i proventi di entrambi i re.

Scoppia una devastante battaglia tra le personificazioni grammaticali nelle vicinanze del fiume *Sive*, nella località detta *Copula*. Lo scontro è terribile, anche se il Participio, bugiardo opportunista, che nutre interessi con tutti e due gli opposti schieramenti, rimane neutrale e non assiste alla battaglia, bensì decide di aspettare che i due re siano talmente affaticati da permettergli di impadronirsi dell'intero paese. Molte sono le vicende della battaglia. Messi in rotta, i verbi *Eo*, *Queo* e *Veneo* perdono i loro futuri in *-am* e così, *ne futurorum omnino abicerent spem*, si devono accontentare di altri futuri in *-bo* che comprano al mercato di Recanati, mentre Orazio (o Properzio) generosamente li cede gratis a *Lenio* (cfr. *lenibo*). Allo stesso modo, i verbi attivi *Audeo*, *Fido*, *Gaudeo*, *Soleo* e *Fio*, che avevano perso i loro perfetti, ottengono dal re Verbo i perfetti di alcuni passivi caduti in guerra. Alcuni nomi riescono a ricevere, come bottino, un altro nominativo: ad esempio, *Arbor* ottiene *Arbos* e *Pulver* *Pulvis*. Non indossano, però, i due vestiti tutti i giorni, ma riservano le forme più eleganti in *-s* per le festività. Terro-

rizzati dalla strage, i due re rinsaviscono e concludono la pace con un trattato che prescrive, tra l'altro, che il Nome sia soggetto al Verbo, mentre il Verbo deve arrendersi al suo soggetto riguardo alla persona. Viene così affermata la condizione superiore del Verbo, cui è addirittura concesso di dare senso alla frase anche da solo, in assenza del Nome.

Nonostante la genialità di questi giochi di parole, Guarna raggiunge forse i risultati migliori quando prende ironicamente in giro persone conosciute, spesso autori di diffusi manuali di grammatica. Ad esempio, il *Catholicon*, brigante che aveva rubato una gran quantità di vocaboli sia latini sia greci nelle terre di Grammatica, è un'allusione palese all'opera duecentesca *Catholicon seu summa prosodiae* di Giovanni Balbi, che contiene un vastissimo glossario di parole rompicapo. Il delinquente, dopo aver restituito quasi tutti i vocaboli greci a Isidoro di Siviglia, al quale erano appartenuti, viene mandato in esilio. Può tuttavia portare con sé i vocaboli mescolati e "quelli ormai andati a male e pieni di muffa".

Le curatrici del volume, Puliga e Hautala, pubblicano il testo di Guarna con traduzione e introduzione. Comprendendo l'Introduzione quasi la metà dell'intera opera, nel libro figurano due parti abbastanza indipendenti. Tratterò prima l'Introduzione e poi procederò ad analizzare l'edizione del testo. I quattordici capitoli dell'Introduzione, opera prevalentemente di Hautala, non si limitano esclusivamente a preparare lo sfondo informativo per la comprensione dell'opera di Guarna, ma offrono anche una stimolante panoramica sulla storia della didattica del latino a partire dal medioevo fino all'età moderna. Inoltre, espongono le correnti intellettuali con cui il *Bellum grammaticale* dialoga e da cui recupera la materia da parodiare.

I primi quattro capitoli trattano la storia della grammaticografia latina e i modelli di Guarna, come i *Rudimenta grammatices* di Niccolò Perotti o *La grammatica figurata*, trasformata da Mathias Ringmann in un gioco di carte. Le autrici discutono in modo acuto il ruolo del ludico nell'insegnamento e nell'apprendimento del latino da Virgilio Marone Grammatico fino al folklore scolastico medievale. Ci sono pervenuti versi medievali che parodiano, ad esempio, le regole proposte dal *Doctrinale*, il bestseller grammaticale di Alessandro di Villadei. La stessa tematica è ripresa nei capitoli che esaminano la vena parodica nella disputa cinquecentesca sull'imitazione letteraria e il motivo della guerra comica nella rappresentazione dei diversi campi del sapere. In questa sede si discute l'eventuale influenza sul *Bellum* delle *disputationes* medievali, della *Batrachomyomachia* omerica e della *Battaglia delle sette arti*, quell'ultima messa in versi da Henri d'Andeli nella Normandia duecentesca.

L'Introduzione finisce con i capitoli che illustrano la ricezione – e il rifacimento – del *Bellum* in diversi paesi europei. Nella sua patria, l'opera sembra sia stata percepita come una creazione tanto dilettevole quanto erudita, mentre è solo all'estero che vennero apprezzati seriamente i suoi valori didattici. In effetti, essa subì un'enorme diffusione al di là delle Alpi fino all'Ottocento, dalla Germania alla Finlandia, dove fu stampata due volte nel corso del Seicento. Nei paesi protestanti godettero di popolarità le versioni "riformate", ossia adattate a circostanze religioso-culturali diverse da quelle del *Bellum* originale. L'idea della guerra comica si rivelò tanto vigorosa da essere copiata da parecchie altre arti liberali, come la medicina e la musica: ci sono pervenuti un *Medicinale bellum* francese e ben quattro guerre musicali in Germania. E come se non bastasse, il *Bellum grammaticale* fu addirittura messo in scena in Inghilterra per onorare la visita della regina Elisabetta all'Università di Oxford nel 1592; con l'avanzare del Seicento si poté ormai parlare di una vera e propria "commedia grammaticale". Aggiunta al presente volume è anche un'appendice di sette tavole illustrate, preparate per Gaston d'Orléans, Delfino di Francia, nel 1616.

Si tenga conto che la guerra, come concetto e fenomeno, nonché l'arte militare, il savoir-faire indispensabile di ogni rappresentante maschile delle classi medio-alte, era una realtà tangibile e quasi quotidiana per la maggioranza dei ragazzi di scuola del primo Cinquecento in Europa. Pertanto la guerra si prestò come un comodo medium e fonte di materiale immaginario per l'apprendimento del latino. D'altro canto, ogni manuale che tentava di insegnare la grammatica per gioco ebbe un'efficacia difficilmente sopravvalutabile per la didattica se paragonato ai manuali precedenti, come proprio il *Doctrinale*, un'opera in esametri notoriamente oscura.

Tutto sommato, l'Introduzione è una prova imponente dell'erudizione delle autrici. Alcuni capitoli dell'Introduzione non sembrano, però, avere molto a che fare con il *Bellum grammaticale*. Soprattutto il capitolo "Le balie latine" è solo minimamente tangenziale al testo eponimo del libro. La medesima osservazione vale, in sostanza, per la storia del nonno di Andrea Guarna, che si legge nel capitolo intitolato "L'Autore", come anche per il capitolo che analizza scritti che parodiano l'antiquarismo lessicale di alcuni eruditi cinquecenteschi. Ciononostante, l'indipendenza di certi capitoli non danneggia la dinamica dell'Introduzione, scritta con chiarezza e brio, come anche la traduzione italiana, fluente e ben equilibrata. Assieme al commento, in forma di note storico-culturali, la traduzione chiarisce ottimamente alcuni nodi complicati del testo latino, stampato a fronte.

Per quanto riguarda il testo, non si tratta di un'edizione critica in senso proprio, dato che Guarna produsse l'opera direttamente per la stampa, o almeno nulla si sa di un'eventuale tradizione manoscritta anteriore. Puliga e Hautala affermano di avere intenzione di proporre una versione il più possibile fedele all'originale stampato. Per questo scopo utilizzano le prime tre edizioni (1511, 1512 e 1514), scelta ben comprensibile, anche se sarebbe stato forse opportuno presentare un apparato critico vero e proprio, in quanto lo studio accluso si concentra piuttosto sulla storia della didattica latina e, di conseguenza, anche sulla fortuna del testo guarniano. In assenza di apparato, non si comprende come le autrici abbiano combinato i testi delle tre edizioni. Rimane anche poco chiaro il rapporto del testo con le edizioni più recenti (cfr., per esempio, *Bellum grammaticale: Introduzione, testo, traduzione e note a cura di Bruno Pellegrino*, Palladio editrice, Salerno 1994). Siccome le autrici non sottolineano le novità del proprio testo, il lettore facilmente arriva a chiedersi perché (ri)pubblicare un testo che sembra già essere disponibile in versioni aggiornate. Si sarebbe sempre potuto pubblicare l'Introduzione come saggio autonomo. Con tutta probabilità, le autrici risponderebbero, non a torto, che la presenza del testo accanto al saggio facilita considerevolmente la comprensione del contributo critico introduttivo.

Il volume si conclude con l'elenco di 143 titoli di edizioni, traduzioni e rifacimenti del *Bellum grammaticale*, un numero che ben mostra l'importanza dell'opera. È davvero un testo che merita di essere studiato da insegnanti e studiosi del ventunesimo secolo, un secolo che tanto si interessa a nuovi approcci didattici.

Timo Korkiakangas

*The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rhetoric*. Edited by ERIK GUNDERSON. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-67786-8. X, 355 pp. GBP 50, USD 90.

As Erik Gunderson, the editor of *The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Rhetoric* notes in the introduction, there are numerous handbooks, guides and introductions on rhetoric in antiquity. This *Companion* is not a traditional handbook or introduction in terms of, for example, "outlining the evolution of rhetorical theory and oratorical practices over time", or covering ancient authors regarded as the most central for the topic (p. 10). Rather, this volume offers "a guide to the complex and variable social space in which questions of language and authority were negotiated in antiquity" (p. 11). The introduction (pp. 1–23) is well written and introduces nicely the objectives of the volume. Gunderson begins by quoting Quintilian: "*ante omnia: quid sit rhetorice*" (*inst.* 2,15,1). He then discusses some solutions to this essential question, put forth by, for example, Quintilian himself, Aristotle, Plato, Kant or Nietzsche, and what stance the present volume presents (pp. 1–11). He states that "this Companion will in general take seriously Nietzsche's proposition: 'rhetoric' is a latent possibility of language itself and rhetorical features such as metaphors and metonymies are not so much imposed upon it as inevitably emerge from within it" (p. 11). Gunderson continues that of interest are "the specific ways in which various latent capacities of language were harnessed, codified, and contested within the ancient world" (p. 11). This is an important point, one that broadens "rhetoric" to encompass practically all ancient literature and many of the documentary, non-literary sources. The understanding of what is said, when, how, by whom and to whom, is fundamental in interpreting and analysing the ancient sources – a simple, basic statement but nevertheless important to keep in mind.

The book is divided into four parts. Part I, titled "An Archaeology of Rhetoric", includes three articles that "illustrate the sorts of raw materials that were available for use when the formal concept of rhetoric became codified as a distinct project in its own right" (p. 11). Nancy Worman writes about "Fighting Words: Status, Stature, and Verbal Contest in Archaic Poetry" (pp. 27–42), Robert Wardy about "The Philosophy of Rhetoric and the Rhetoric of Philosophy" (pp. 43–58) and Malcom Heath about the "Codifications of Rhetoric" (pp. 59–73).

Part II, "The Field of Language", surveys "the various dimensions of rhetoric's role as an authoritative discourse concerning language" (p. 15). This section includes papers by Catherine Steel on "Divisions of Speech" (pp. 77–91), James Porter on "Rhetoric, Aesthetics and the Voice" (92–108), Erik Gunderson on "The Rhetoric of Rhetorical Theory" (pp. 109–25) and Joy Connolly on "The Politics of Rhetorical Education" (pp. 126–41).

In Part III, "The Practice of Rhetoric", the book moves from theory to practice. The opening article bridges theory and practice: Jon Hesk ("Types of Oratory", pp. 145–61) deals with the three genres of speech in antiquity. With Victoria Wohl ("Rhetoric of the Athenian Citizen", pp. 162–77) the reader is guided to a "Psychic Life of Athenian Oratory", as Gunderson characterises it in the introduction (p. 17). John Dugan discusses the Roman practice of public speech in his article "Rhetoric and the Roman Republic" (pp. 178–93). The next two papers focus on stage performances. David Rosenbloom takes up the relationship of rhetoric and Athenian drama ("Staging Rhetoric in Athens", pp. 194–211), while William Batstone's focus is on Rome ("The Drama of Rhetoric at Rome", pp. 212–27). Part III ends with Simon Goldhill's paper on the Second Sophistic ("Rhetoric and the Second Sophistic", pp. 228–41).

Part IV, "Epilogues", explores the aftermath of classical rhetoric and includes Todd Penner and Caroline Vander Stichele on "Rhetorical Practice and Performance in Early Christianity" (pp. 245–60), Peter Mack on "Rediscoveries of Classical Rhetoric" (pp. 261–77) and John Henderson on "The Runaround: A Volume Retrospect on Ancient Rhetorics" (pp. 278–90).

Each paper ends with suggestions for further reading whereas a general bibliography is provided at the end of the volume (pp. 314–32). This is a useful way of guiding the reader to the key studies of individual topics as well as providing the reader with a bibliography of the whole topic. The indices (pp. 333–53) are divided into an index of passages and into another on subjects. There are also two extremely welcome appendices: Appendix I affords an overview of rhetorical terms and taxonomies (pp. 291–8) and Appendix II lists the key figures of rhetoric in antiquity, each furnished with a minimal – but for this purpose adequate – biography (pp. 299–313).

To start with, the volume is a good read in general. Many of the papers deal with the same material, which at first seems a bit repetitive, an impression that in many cases turns out to be false. Each author sees, reads and analyses the sources from a different angle, after all – and this is of course to be expected in a book on rhetoric! Readers will certainly find some papers more interesting, informative or well-written than others since there are, after all, sixteen papers by seventeen authors (one paper is by two authors). In this review, I concentrate only on some contributions.

Nancy Worman's article "Fighting Words: Status, Stature, and Verbal Contest in Archaic Poetry" (pp. 27–42) marks the beginning of Part I aptly dealing as it does with the verbal practices of archaic Greek poetry, especially Homer, Hesiod and Pindar. One important point in reading ancient literature, including rhetorical texts, is to remember that there was a long tradition of providing a lot of information on a person's character by telling about the person's appearance, ways of conduct and manner of speaking in public. Considering the whole volume – yet to come – Worman's paper is an invaluable starting point: rhetoric is deeply intertwined with the ideas of a person's character and background.

A step further in time is taken in Malcom Heath's article "Codifications of Rhetoric" (pp. 59–73). Heath begins with Homer and the *Iliad* and moves on to philosophical texts – a nice way of rounding up the discussion in Part I. The author concentrates on the testimonies of ancient authors on rhetorical theses and on how these may illustrate the history of this genre and rhetorical practices as well.

James Porter's paper on "Rhetoric, Aesthetics, and the Voice" (pp. 92–108) begins with an anecdote about Pythagoras, who was said to teach his pupils for several years behind a veil so that only his voice was heard. Although Pythagoras was no rhetorician, this anecdote serves as a good reminder of the importance of the voice in a rhetorical act. Porter speaks of a "progression in the development of oratorical self-awareness" starting with Odysseus and Nestor – we seem to return to the Homeric heroes once again – and Pythagoras presenting the "culminating stage", where "the voice *replaces* the body" (p. 93, italics by Porter). Further, rhetoric becomes an aesthetic practice.

Erik Gunderson discusses "The Rhetoric of Rhetorical Theory" (pp. 109–25) mainly concentrating on Quintilian. To ground his paper he states that there is no such thing as "The theory of rhetoric"; instead, there are various performances of such a thing – and these performances persuade their readers of the authoritative status of the author as when presenting "The theory" (p. 109).

A companion on rhetoric in antiquity such as this would be rather meagre without taking into account the Second Sophistic. Simon Goldhill begins his paper accordingly: "There has been no time in history when the formal study of rhetoric...has had such a pervasive impact on the education system and the culture of a society as in the so-called Second Sophistic" (p. 228). He gives a brief introduction to what, when and where the Second Sophistic was and then moves on to its role in the education system and in society in general. Goldhill shows how rhetoric was an important, indeed inseparable part of education and of self-representation in this period.

The Epilogues in Part IV deal with early Christianity and Renaissance. The last article by Henderson is a summary of the whole in a rather unorthodox style. I missed an article on the Byzantine reception of ancient rhetoric among the papers in part IV. Gunderson refers to some studies on this subject in his introduction, though, after stating that "the raw ingredients of this heady mix of traditions to which the Byzantines both found and made themselves heir are already somewhat on offer in the present volume, but the details of their actual combination within Byzantine culture's long and complex history will need to be sought elsewhere" (p. 20).

To conclude with Gunderson's introductory words, "...it is very valuable indeed to think through a genealogy of rhetoric, to see clearly its components, their history, their scope, and their interrelationships. The rhetoric of anti-rhetoric was long ago flushed out by ancient orators: it's just another trope. Don't fall for it. Allow yourself to be persuaded to think carefully about the art of persuasion" (p. 22). I did. This is a fine book for that purpose and for that end.

*Manna Satama*

ALAN HUGHES: *Performing Greek Comedy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012 (pb 2014). ISBN 978-1-107-00930-1 (hb), ISBN 978-1-107-43736-4 (pb). XIV, 311 pp. USD 114.9 (hb), USD 31.99 (pb).

In the preface of this book, Hughes states: "I am an historian of the theatre, not a classicist." Then he continues: "For costume, masks, music, theatre buildings and equipment, acting style, I turn to the visual sources provided by archaeology. And to interpret what I see, I refer to a lifetime experience in the living theatre and a working knowledge of how things are done, and made." Whenever possible, Hughes has examined actual vases and figurines rather than just photographs of them. In the course of his study, he has visited 75 museums and collections and personally studied 350 artefacts. The author's dedication to his subject can be seen throughout the book. He has clearly spent countless hours on his research before writing this book, unhurriedly, slowly and with sheer love for the subject.

Chapter 1 ("Comedy in Art, Athens and Abroad") is a short overview of the subject. Chapter 2 ("Poets of Old and Middle Comedy") introduces some of the poets of old and middle comedy and analyses the themes of middle comedy (burlesque, city comedy, comedy of manners, satire) from the point of view of both the texts and of the archaeological material illustrating them.

In Chapter 3 ("Theatres"), the author first briefly discusses the phases of the theatre of Dionysos in Athens, then some lost theatres, and finally the fourth-century stages of the theatres in the Greek west. (There is an excellent article on this subject by Hughes himself,

published in 1996: "Comic Stages in Magna Graecia: the Evidence of the Vases", *Theatre Research International* 21: 95–107.) The chapter ends with a short discussion on the *ekkyklema* and the *mechane*.

The titles of Chapters 4 ("The Comic Chorus"), 5 ("Music in Comedy"), 8 ("The Masks of Comedy"), 9 ("Costumes of Old and Middle Comedy"), 10 ("Comedy and Women"), and 11 ("New Comedy") speak for themselves, the subjects being dealt with in a compact and illuminating way.

Chapter 6 ("Acting, from Lyric to Dual Consciousness") concentrates, among other things, on questions related to the number of actors in the plays, casting (doubling and role-splitting), and the use of voice, speech and movement by actors.

In Chapter 7 ("Technique and Style of Acting Comedy"), Hughes introduces an extremely interesting subject on which too little has been written, namely (hand)gestures, poses, and the body language of actors. (There is one study on this subject by Klaus Neiiendam, published in 1992: *The Art of Acting in Antiquity. Iconographical Studies in Classical, Hellenistic and Byzantine Theatre*, Copenhagen). I myself discuss this subject in Chapter 2 of my doctoral dissertation *Tragedy Performances outside Athens in the Late Fifth and the Fourth Centuries BC*, recently published as a revised version of the original e-thesis in the series "Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens", vol. 20).

At the end of the book there is a very useful catalogue of the objects discussed, a glossary of Greek terms, and a short index. There are also plenty of illustrations in the book, mostly photographs of vases and terracotta figurines, but there are also some drawings and photographs of reconstructions by the author himself (e.g. of the *mechane* and some hand gestures used in comedy).

The whole book is carefully edited, I found no typos, and noticed only two minor mistakes. Figures 39 and 40 (referred to on p. 156, illustrated on pp. 138–9) have switched places, and on p. 257 (n. 23), Hughes oddly claims that Philip was killed at Pella rather than Aegae.

Who would I recommend this book to? It is perhaps most useful for theatre makers and students and teachers of theatre history, drama and literature, but certainly classical scholars as well, and perhaps also students and teachers of gender studies (see Chapter 10) would benefit from reading this excellent book.

*Vesa Vahtikari*

NIKOS G. CHARALABOPOULOS: *Platonic Drama and its Ancient Reception*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 9780521871747. XXI, 331 pp. USD 99.

Over the last few years, "performance" has been discussed in relation to numerous ancient, medieval and post-medieval texts. Within the field of Classics, the study of ancient theatre has been one of the major beneficiaries of this scholarship. Philosophical texts, on the other hand, have not been at the core of these studies, even those with dramatic characteristics such as the dialogues of Plato. This was, of course, only to be expected, as in philosophical texts the content has always been considered more important than the actual performance format of the text. However, in this book, performance has a central role in both of its main themes, the



connection between the dialogues of Plato and staged drama and the reception of the dialogues in the time of Plato.

The first of the four chapters is the largely introductory "Setting the stage", in which Charalabopoulos discusses the Platonic corpus concentrating on the dialogue form, chronology, authenticity, context, and terminology. In the second chapter, "The metatheatre of dialogue", the development of the dialogue form of Plato as a dramatic form is scrutinized. "Performing Plato", the third chapter, looks at the performative aspects of Plato's texts. The last chapter, "Plato's 'theatre': the fragments", focuses on the ancient tradition of interpreting the dialogues of Plato as theatre. In addition, the book includes a brief conclusion, indices, a bibliography, and an appendix in which an inscription found in the gymnasium of the Academy is discussed.

While the examination of all these issues is careful, the book has its weaknesses. The main shortcoming is that the sources are occasionally too sparse to support the arguments convincingly. This is especially evident in the discussion of the more theatrical performances (as opposed to other performance types) of Plato in antiquity. The discussions of individual sources are interesting, but whether the sources allow us to construct long-term performance and reception traditions is debatable.

*Platonic Drama and its Ancient Reception* genuinely improves our understanding of the connection between Plato and drama. It is true that the book can be said to raise as many questions as it answers, but this only adds to its merit. Indeed, the book is likely to inspire future contributions to the field. Recommended.

Kalle Knaapi

*Brill's Companion to Callimachus*. Edited by BENJAMIN ACOSTA-HUGHES – LUIGI LEHNUS – SUSAN STEPHENS. Brill, Leiden – Boston 2011. ISBN 978-9004156739. XVIII, 708 pp. EUR 188, USD 263.

I suspect only very few reviewers of this *Brill's Companion to Callimachus* can resist the temptation to mention fr. 465 Pf., which testifies that our poet asserted that a big book is a big evil (simplified μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν). This statement, probably hinting to some literary feuds of the Hellenistic age, captures certain characteristics of Callimachus' aesthetics: the light is preferred over the heavy. This collection of twenty-seven articles by a number of leading Callimachean scholars is indeed a μέγα βιβλίον, but in its clarity of thought, variety of perspectives and sophistication of presentation the *Companion* agrees thoroughly with Callimachus' programme. In terms of this collection, we may therefore amend the aforementioned dictum to μέγα βιβλίον μέγα καλόν.

Callimachus of Cyrene was not only the most versatile and influential poet of the Hellenistic era, but also an esteemed and prolific scholar. Due to the diversity of his oeuvre and to the sad fact that the majority of his works are either fragmentary or completely lost, a compilation of essays suitable for beginners and specialists alike is not easily made. *Brill's Companion to Callimachus* succeeds well in this and will undoubtedly be the standard work for years to come. Its scope is admirable and the quality of scholarship praiseworthy. However, because of the size of this book, I can only highlight some of its articles.

This collection is divided into five parts, framed by an Introduction by Susan Stephens and an Epilogue by Benjamin Acosta-Hughes. In the Introduction, Stephens effectively surveys the life and works of the Cyrenean, but she also clarifies the philosophy behind the book as a whole. She underlines that the *Companion* aims to refrain from "repeating or summarizing material that is easily accessible in recent scholarship" (p. 15), a feature that makes this volume especially stimulating and invigorating reading.

The first part, "Material Author", delves into the maze that constitutes deciphering the original text of Callimachus. The fragmentariness of Callimachus can certainly be intimidating, but the authors of the articles address this difficult subject with considerable ease, focusing particularly on Callimachus' masterwork, the *Aetia*. It is not surprising that the *Aetia* is in the limelight; thanks to recent papyrus findings, our understanding of it has increased considerably. I particularly enjoyed reading Lehnus' "Callimachus Rediscovered in Papyri", which summarises the historical development of our knowledge of Callimachus' fragments from the times of Henri Estienne to the modern day.

The second part, "Social Contexts", contextualises the poet in the cultural and religious milieu of his age. The received wisdom that the Hellenistic poets shunned the public has been abandoned long ago; Barbantani's "Callimachus on Kings and Kingship" and Prioux's "Callimachus' Queens" particularly stress his involvement in shaping the image of the Ptolemaic rulers.

The third part, "Sources and Models", reviews the predecessors of Callimachus. Instead of pondering upon the Homeric, Hesiodic or Pindaric overtones, the contributions emphasise the influence of lesser known genres and sources. For instance, Benedetto vividly analyses the influence of the Atthidographers, and Lelli widens our knowledge about Callimachus' poetic register by analysing his usage of proverbs and popular sayings.

Part four, "Personae", examines the abundance of voices and characters in Callimachus' poetry. This noticeable idiosyncrasy is inspected from different angles: Cozzoli and Payne investigate his poetics of childhood, while Fantuzzi's "Speaking with Authority: Polyphony in Callimachus' *Hymns*" argues that the 'many-voicedness' of the poet lent some power to his arguments.

The last part, "Callimachus' Afterlife" deals with the reverberations of the poetic career of Callimachus. Barchiesi's article covers his influence on the Roman poets, whereas De Stefani and Magnelli captivately investigate this influence in later Greek poetry.

In the Epilogue of this *Companion*, Acosta-Hughes characterises Callimachus as the first modern poet. He furthermore juxtaposes Callimachus' *Tomb of Simonides* with Constantine P. Cavafy's *In the Month of Athyr* in a thought-provoking manner.

The *Companion* ends with a fifty-four page long bibliography and an *index locorum*. There were some typos in my copy, but the overall quality of the editorial work is commendable. All in all, this brief review cannot do justice to the scope and the vision of the *Brill's Companion to Callimachus*. Callimachus' aficionados will treasure this contribution.

*Iiro Laukola*

*Philippika. Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen.* Herausgegeben von JOACHIM HENGSTL – TORSTEN MATTERN – ROBERT ROLLINGER – KAI RUFFING – ORELL WITTHUHN. Harrasowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden. – Band 18,2: REINHOLD BICHLER: *Historiographie – Ethnographie – Utopie. Gesammelte Schriften, Teil 2. Studien zur Utopie und der Imagination fremder Welten.* Herausgegeben von ROBERT ROLLINGER, 2008. ISBN 978-3-447-05857-5. 211 S. EUR 58. – Band 18,3: REINHOLD BICHLER: *Historiographie – Ethnographie – Utopie. Gesammelte Schriften, Teil 3. Studien zur Wissenschafts- und Rezeptionsgeschichte.* Herausgegeben von ROBERT ROLLINGER – BRIGITTE TRUSCHNEGG, 2010. ISBN 978-3-447-06145-2. 244 S. EUR 44. – Band 24: *Recht und Religion. Menschliche und göttliche Gerechtigkeitsvorstellungen in den antiken Welten.* Herausgegeben von HEINZ BARTA – ROBERT ROLLINGER – MARTIN LANG, 2008. ISBN 978-3-447-05733-2. 207 S. EUR 48. – Band 30: JENNIFER MORSCHWEISER-NIEBERGALL: *Die Anfänge Triers im Kontext augusteischer Urbanisierungspolitik nördlich der Alpen,* 2009. ISBN 978-3-447-06086-8. 329 S., 69 Abbildungsseiten. EUR 68. – Band 32: HEIDE FRONING – NINA ZIMMERMANN-ELSEIFY: *Die Terrakotten der antiken Stadt Elis,* 2010. ISBN 978-3-447-06150-6. 148 S., 32 Abbildungsseiten. EUR 48. – Band 33: KORDULA SCHNEGG: *Geschlechtervorstellungen und soziale Differenzierung bei Appian aus Alexandrien,* 2010. ISBN 978-3-447-19014-5. 181 S. EUR 38. – Band 34: *Interkulturalität in der antiken Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts.* Herausgegeben von ROBERT ROLLINGER – BIRGIT GUFLER – MARTIN LANG – IRENE MADREITER, 2010. ISBN 978-3-447-06171-1. 706 S., 40 Abb., 4 Tabellen, 1 Klapptafel. EUR 118. – Band 37: *Attika. Archäologie einer "zentralen" Kulturlandschaft.* Herausgegeben von HANS LOHMANN – TORSTEN MATTERN, 2010. ISBN 978-3-447-06223-7. 284 S., 54 Abbildungsseiten. EUR 78. – Band 38: *Kontaktzone Lahn. Studien zum Kulturkontakt zwischen Römern und germanischen Stämmen.* Herausgegeben von KAI RUFFING – ARMIN BECKER – GABRIELE RASBACH, 2010. ISBN 978-3-447-06249-7. 180 S., 1 Befundplan. EUR 40. – Band 40: *Staatsverträge, Völkerrecht und Diplomatie im Alten Orient und in der griechisch-römischen Antike.* Herausgegeben von MARTIN LANG – HEINZ BARTA – ROBERT ROLLINGER, 2010. ISBN 978-3-447-06304-3. 179 S. EUR 38.

Meine erste Begegnung mit der Reihe *Philippika* als Kritiker rührt vom Jahre 2011 her, als ich aufgefordert wurde, in dieser Zeitschrift den Band 12 (L. Mihailescu-Bîrliiba, *Les affranchis dans les provinces romaines d'Illyricum*) zu besprechen. Leider handelte es sich um ein Buch von sehr schlechter Qualität, was ich in der Rezension zum Ausdruck zu bringen gezwungen war (*Arctos* 45, 231f). Umso mehr freut es mich jetzt, eine ganze Anzahl von ausgezeichneten in der Reihe 2010 erschienenen Bänden anzuzeigen. Doch kann ich nicht umhin, meine Verwunderung darüber auszusprechen, wie ein mit so vielen Schwächen behafteter Band in eine Schriftenreihe aufgenommen werden konnte, die von einem renommierten Verlag und von einem Team namhafter Forscher herausgegeben wird und in der seit jeher glänzende Monographien erschienen sind. Ähnliches lässt sich leider auch sonst beobachten; ein eklatanter Fall wird in einem der nächsten Hefte des Anzeigers für die Altertumswissenschaft besprochen.

Nun aber zu den hier anzuzeigenden Bänden. Beginnen wir mit den Gesammelten Schriften von Reinhold Bichler. Sein weites Spektrum in der wissenschaftlichen Schriftstellerei kommt in den drei Bänden ausgezeichnet zum Ausdruck. Er befasst sich ja mit verschiedenen Themen, mit antiker Geschichtsschreibung und Ethnographie, insbesondere mit Herodot (sein zusammen mit Robert Rollinger verfasster *Herodot* ist eine ausgezeichnete Einführung in das Leben und Werk des Vaters der Geschichtsschreibung), sowie mit Ideengeschichte im

Altertum, vor allem mit antiken Utopien und deren Rezeption, sowie mit der Theorie der Geschichtswissenschaft. Von all dem legen die in den drei Bänden publizierten Beiträge ein lebhaftes Zeugnis.

Der Sammelband *Recht und Religion* gibt die Vorträge wieder, die auf einer im Dezember 2006 in Innsbruck veranstalteten Tagung gehalten wurden. Die im vorliegenden Band publizierten Beiträge spannen einen weiten chronologischen und geographischen Bogen mit einer Konzeption vom Altertum, die sich nicht nur auf die als 'klassisch' erachteten Kulturen beschränkt. Das alte Sumer, Babylonien, Assyrien und Ägypten stehen mit gleichem Recht im Zentrum einzelner Beiträge wie das archaische und klassische Griechenland sowie der vorislamische Iran. Die Beiträge kreisen um die interdisziplinär angelegte Frage nach der Entstehung und Begründung von Recht in den jeweiligen Gesellschaften der Alten Welt. Dies ist ein sehr lobenswerter Ansatz; man fragt sich, wie sich die Altertumswissenschaft überhaupt weiterentwickeln kann, wenn die alte Welt nicht als eine Einheit gesehen wird, in der einzelne Kulturen aufeinander gewirkt haben. Die Zeiten, da das alte Griechenland als Gipfel menschlicher Kulturströmungen angesehen wurde, sollten endgültig vorbei sein.

Der Band von J. Morscheiser-Niebergall über die Anfänge Triers ist einer Analyse verschiedener archäologischer Funde gewidmet. Das spätantike Trier steht schon seit langem im Blickpunkt der Forschung (u.a. sind über die altchristlichen Inschriften Triers in den letzten Jahrzehnten nicht weniger als drei Ausgaben erschienen), aber auch den Anfängen der Stadt wird seit einiger Zeit Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. In diese Diskussion bringt das Buch, das aus einer an der Universität Trier vorgelegten Dissertation hervorgegangen ist, eine willkommene Bereicherung. Es ist in vier Teile gegliedert: Einleitung; Befunde; Fundanalyse, Auswertung, auch in überregionaler Hinsicht. Für allgemeine Leser sind die Ausführungen in dem vierten Teil wohl am interessantesten. Dort werden die bisherigen Forschungen zum frühen Trier analysiert und bewertet; dabei greift die Autorin über das frühkaiserzeitliche Trier hinaus und befasst sich auch generell mit der caesarischen und augusteischen Siedlungspolitik nördlich der Alpen und bringt diese Politik in Bezug auf die Trierer Verhältnisse. Besonders sei auf ihre Argumente für eine Spätdatierung der Gründung Triers hingewiesen, die man für überzeugend halten kann. Ferner sind interessant die Ausführungen zur bekannten und vielbehandelten Ehreninschrift für Gaius und Lucius Caesar (S. 88–93), wobei sie eine späte Datierung erwägt (sie schließt auch nicht eine nachaugusteische Datierung aus, worin man ihr nicht ohne weiteres folgen kann). Bei der Wiedergabe des Inschrifttextes selbst stört die inkonsequente Verwendung von *u* mal durch *v*, mal durch *u*.

Das Buch von Heide Froning und Nina Zimmermann-Elseify widmet sich der Publikation der figürlichen Terrakotten, die bei den griechischen Ausgrabungen etwa zwischen 1960 und 1970 im Gebiet der antiken Stadt Elis zu Tage gekommen sind. Nach einer Einleitung, in der Fragen zu Fundorten und -verteilung, Ton und Bemalung, Chronologie sowie Frage um Import und regionale Bezüge diskutiert werden, folgt die Edition zuerst der Protomen, dann der handgeformten Tonplastik sowie der figürlichen Terrakotten und der Gegenstände aus Ton. 32 Tafeln runden den Band auf.

Das Buch von Kordula Schnegg stellt die teilweise überarbeitete und erweiterte Fassung einer 2006 an der Universität Innsbruck vorgelegten Dissertation dar. Es geht in Schneggs Studie zu Geschlechtervorstellungen und sozialer Differenzierung bei Appian um die Rollen, die der Historiker den männlichen und weiblichen Figuren zuschreibt. Ausgehend von gewissen theoretischen Überlegungen zu 'Geschlecht' als wissenschaftlicher Kategorie wird Appians

Text in Hinblick auf die in ihm enthaltenen Geschlechtervorstellungen analysiert. Ein Ergebnis ist, dass Appian den Frauen – unabhängig von ihrem sozialen Stand und ihrer ethnischen Zugehörigkeit – nur eine geringe Bedeutung für den Geschichtsverlauf beimisst. Ein nicht ganz neuer Ansatz. Im Ganzen ist das Buch lesenswert und enthält viele gut erarbeitete Gesichtspunkte. Es ist auch technisch sorgfältig ausgebereitet (z. B. Druckfehler gibt es nur wenige: auf S. 86 erster Absatz, erste Zeile schreibe "ein historisches Ereignis").

Der Band *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt* geht auf eine 2007 in Innsbruck abgehaltene internationale Tagung zurück. In ihm sind 30 Beiträge aus unterschiedlichen altertumswissenschaftlichen Disziplinen enthalten. Geographisch richten sie ihren Blick über die Grenzen der griechisch-römischen Mittelmeerwelt hinaus in den nahen und mittleren Osten, was eine sehr lobenswerte Initiative ist. Die Beiträge werden in drei großen Themenblöcken vorgestellt. Der erste Abschnitt "Beziehungen – Netzwerke – Kontakte im Raum" sammelt neun Beiträge zum Thema 'Austausch und Transformation geistiger und materieller Güter'. Der zweite Abschnitt heißt "Motivtransfer – Hybridität" mit sieben Aufsätzen, der dritten "Politik – Ideologie – Identität" mit 14 Beiträgen, alle wichtig und lesenswert. Im Ganzen ein sehr wichtiger Band, der zum Nachdenken über alte Vorstellungen einlädt.

Der Band *Attika. Archäologie einer "zentralen" Landschaft* enthält die Vorträge, die auf einer 2007 in Marburg veranstalteten internationalen Tagung gehalten wurden. Sein Inhalt ist hauptsächlich archäologischer Art, aber er wird von einem gedankenreichen Aufsatz Karl-Wilhelm Welwei über 'Athens langen Weg zur Demokratie' eröffnet, den ich mit Spannung und Gewinn gelesen habe. Aber auch in den mehr archäologischen Beiträgen gibt es für den allgemeinen Leser interessante Gesichtspunkte.

Der Band *Kontaktzone Lahn* ist dem Kulturkontakt zwischen Römern und germanischen Stämmen gewidmet. Im Jahre 2006 wurde an der Universität Marburg eine kleine Tagung zum diesem Thema unter Beteiligung von Vertretern der archäologischen und althistorischen Disziplinen abgehalten. Die wichtigsten Beiträge dieser Tagung sowie einige weitere Aufsätze zum Thema Kulturkontakt zwischen Römern und Germanen in der *Germania* haben in diesem Band ihre Aufnahme gefunden.

In dem letzten von den hier zu besprechenden Bänden gelangen die Akten der vierten Tagung "Lebend(ig)e Rechtsgeschichte" zur Veröffentlichung. Die für Mai 2008 anberaumte Konferenz hatte zum Ziel, den interdisziplinären Austausch über das Wesen von internationalen Beziehungen, von diplomatischem Austausch und von Staatsverträgen zu intensivieren und zu pflegen. Der Band wird mit zwei Beiträgen allgemeiner Art eröffnet (H. Barta, Zum Entstehen von Rechtsbewusstsein und Rechtsgefühl und K.-H. Ziegler, Völkerrecht in den antiken Welten). Der Rest ist der griechisch-römischen Welt (3 Beiträge) sowie Ägypten und Vorderasien (4 Beiträge) gewidmet.

Heikki Solin

ANTHONY KALDELLIS: *Ethnography After Antiquity. Foreign Lands and Peoples in Byzantine Literature*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2013. ISBN 978-0-8122-4531-8. X, 277 pp. USD 75, GBP 49.

Anthony Kaldellis' new book is a timely contribution to the study of ancient ethnography, a subject which is constantly picking up momentum. In this dynamic atmosphere, formative contributions discussing questions barely visited before are still a possibility, and the book under review is convincing proof of this. Though a relatively slim volume, it packs a powerful punch comprising in equal measure erudition, the tackling of under-explored subject matter, and putting to use recently accrued understanding regarding the peculiarities of ethnographical writing in antiquity. The period Kaldellis discusses is a particularly important one, as it encompasses the entrance into the written record of many population groups which wielded great influence in the Mediaeval history of Eurasia: Arabs, Slavs, Bulgars, Magyars, Rus, and Turks are just some of these. Studying the literary descriptions of these peoples through literary creations – themselves tapping into a rich tradition of ethnographic writing – provides a crucial source concerning the challenges and changes that the Roman/Byzantine identity underwent over the centuries.

Within the scope of this book, Chapter 1 ("Ethnography in Late Antique Historiography") is by necessity preparatory in nature – though this does not entail a simplistic treatment of the ethnographical writing during this crucial and complex period. In Kaldellis' vision, the Late Imperial texts represent the end of the ancient tradition, not the birth of the Byzantine one; later he goes as far as to posit a rupture in the historiographical tradition in the seventh century (p. 44). This idea is particularly important for Chapter 3 (see below). Though walking an already well-trodden path, Kaldellis describes well both the dynamism and competitiveness of the Late Imperial setting of ethnographic writing, as well as the resultant texts' relationship to the previous tradition ("more a useful tool than a mental straitjacket", p. 9). The focus of the chapter is on 'classicizing' historiographical texts, which are treated separately from the "Christian genres of ethnography" (again, Chapter 3). This leaves out some other 'ethnographicizing' elements – such as the ethnic labels which poetic works often add to ethnonyms, and which certainly would have conditioned the associations of a learned audience when encountering foreign people's names. Kaldellis does, however, make it clear that not all ethnographic information in prose works was given out in digressions: the 'parenthetic' explanations for a foreign term, office, or custom are a case in point (p. 3). The genre of 'embassy reports' (Priscus, Nonnosus, and others) is well covered.

Chapter 2 ("Byzantine Information-Gathering Behind the Veil of Silence") sets off by examining the sources the Byzantines had about foreigners – a question made more acute by the relative lack of literary ethnographies from the Middle Byzantine period. Diplomatic correspondence, intelligence reports, and many other alleys of information referenced in a variety of sources make it clear that the Byzantines did not lack the knowledge of foreign groups, but rather the incentive to produce ethnographical writing. Most importantly, there existed a large body of 'popular ethnography' dispersed through the society, consisting of rumours, mimes, comedic quips and more (p. 33). Kaldellis' examination of the 'dog in the night-time' question of a large-scale ethnographical silence – extending even to the circulation and copying of ethnographical material from earlier authors – in Byzantine historiography between the eighth and fourteenth centuries is a nuanced and convincing one. The Byzantine conversion narratives

dealing with foreign groups are subjected to a particularly sober and minimalistic interpretation.

Chapter 3 ("Explaining the Relative Decline of Ethnography in the Middle Period"), in many ways the most central section of the book for Kaldellis' argument, starts with a useful caveat about the faulty, classically conditioned presupposition of ethnography being most easily found in historiographical writing (p. 44). The event-centred chronographies and chronicles of Christian historiography found the old type of ethnographical digression ill-suited for annalistic structures or the changed geographical frame of interest of the embattled empire. Traditional histories would also have needed to explain the Byzantine defeats against the Islamic advance ("the norms of representation could not accommodate it", p. 74); instead, historical writing became even more emperor-centred in nature. Kaldellis shows how the authorial strategies – most of them of moralizing, epideictic nature – of most Byzantine writers did not favour ethnographical material, though exceptions occur. He is perhaps too quick to dismiss the 'ethnic stereotypes' of, say, Anna Komnena, but this is in line with his strict separation of rhetorics and ethnography (particularly strange since he well demonstrates how prevalent in Middle Byzantine historical writing the emperor-centred rhetoricism was, e.g., pp. 47–53). In Psellos and Choniates, we are however witnessing something like an 'internal ethnography' of the Byzantine elite, and barbarians act in them mostly as Tacitean mouthpieces (what Kaldellis calls "autoethnography by proxy", p. 53). The following discussion – with examples – of Christian ethnography and its relationships with the Herodotean paradigm and the Roman/Byzantine identity, is stimulating and incisive; rich endnotes augment the discussion further. In religious texts, the ethnographical approach and level of detail could sometimes be directed at describing Christian heresies (p. 68) and the doctrinal challenge of Islam. Moreover, explanations of cultural difference which had previously taken ethnographical form, were now more often doxographical in nature: what remained largely unchanged was the level of polemicism. As Kaldellis notes, "ethnography and mutual understanding were impossible under these ideological conditions" (p. 78). This structural similarity to certain modern discourses of incomprehension is grim to contemplate.

The detailed Chapter 4 ("The Genres and Politics of Middle Byzantine Ethnography"), a very valuable section of the book overall, sets off by examining ethnographical elements in technical literature through *Taktika* and *De Administrando Imperio*. The discussion focuses next on the 'ethnographic moments' (a useful new coinage, I believe) in Byzantine historical texts, with Kaldellis demonstrating the Byzantine form of an *origo* narrative to be quite different from the earlier *origines*, and closer to official briefings concerning 'new peoples'. A distinct subgenre or not, Kaldellis' assessment of these stories as 'quasi-ethnographic' (p. 98) seems correct. The formal imitative elements of classicising traditionalism, especially the 'ethnonym tagging' according to inherited barbarian group names, is tackled relatively late in the chapter (and the book), but the author's way of treating this phenomenon clarifies the Byzantine (Roman) motivation for continuing the Late Antique convention. In particular, his warning about the modern essentialist interpretation that population groups had an objective or 'true' name which the classicising ethnonyms 'distort' (p. 107), even as much of the scholarship goes on to use generalising ethnic categories (and exonyms such as 'Byzantium'), is very welcome. The section amounts to a sharp challenge to the usefulness of an unreflective use of the concept 'classicising writing'. It is also useful to bear in mind political side of such ethnonym usage: calling peoples with the names they bore during (sometimes within) the Roman Empire

implied the right to reconquer these aberrantly independent groups (p. 113). The rhetoric of Christianisation was similarly expedient politically, for not even conversion could change a barbarian people into Romans – unlike in some Late Antique authors.

Chapter 5 ("Ethnography in Palaiologan Literature") deals with Byzantium's final, culturally vibrant period, which finally imposed substantial cross-cultural exchanges on the Roman state. This led to a fragmentation of the earlier Middle Byzantine pattern as regards ethnographic writing; while religious rhetorics of self-justification and invective still occupied a central position in historiography, historians such as the pluralistically Herodoteanizing Laonikos Khalkokondyles found more plentiful use for ethnographies than before. Embassy narratives resurface, and travellers' tales continue to include some ethnic portrayals. Kaldellis' deft analysis of the conceptual shock given by the immeasurably vast Mongol Empire to the now contracted Roman state is fascinating to read (pp. 156–66). Byzantine writing on Mongols was less religious in tone than in the West – instead its salient characteristic was the intense use of classical references, including the framework of climatic determinism. Along long-standing lines, George Pachymeres and Theodore Metochites are shown to weave these newest Scythians into their criticisms on perceived faults in the Roman society. The last, thematically ordered, section of the chapter is devoted to the Latins/Franks, whose image in Byzantine literature has already been studied quite extensively. Kaldellis demonstrates that in the Late Byzantine period, vestiges of the old essentialist East-West dichotomy became increasingly enmeshed with a blurring of boundaries about who the true inheritors of the Romans in fact were. The very brief Epilogue summarizes some of the previous discussion and glimpses at the influence that Plethon's philosophy and classical emphasis may have had during the final period.

A recent collection of contributions discussing ethnographical writing in antiquity, *Ancient Ethnography: new Approaches* (Bloomsbury 2013), co-edited by Eran Almagor and Joseph Skinner, has introduced many nuances into our understanding of what this literary register entailed. Most of the time Kaldellis seems to view ethnographic writing as a rather distinct and self-standing genre, though occasionally he does refer to ethnography as a 'symbiotic subgenre' of other literary registers (vii). Such a concession fits well the more recent understanding. The book does exhibit some self-imposed limitations. For instance, Kaldellis focuses heavily on historiographical texts, which cannot avoid influencing his conclusions. He also distinguishes between *ethnography* and *ethnology* (the latter being the 'general view' of a foreign group) which poses the danger of a circular reading of sources – though it also helps us distinguish rhetorical denunciations of current or recent enemies (cf. p. 10) from ethnographical knowledge. Overall, Kaldellis' book is an important contribution and a wonderful starting point for further studies on this fascinating subject. His main arguments about Byzantine ethnographical writing are persuasive and much more nuanced than this short review has space for. Of particular value is his emphasis on the significance of literariness and reception in shaping texts previously understood as almost anthropological. What is needed now is a similarly nuanced and philologically meticulous account regarding the reception of ethnographical writing in the Latin West.

*Antti Lampinen*



SCOTT MCGILL: *Plagiarism in Latin Literature*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-01937-9. XIV, 241 pp. USD 103.

The subject of plagiarism and its discussion in ancient literature is complicated by several issues, both legal and aesthetic. For one thing, copyright law was unknown in antiquity, as were royalties for published works. Furthermore, classical literature is, and was even in antiquity acknowledged to be, based on imitation of earlier texts: the concept of the romantic genius who creates his works out of nothingness did not exist – although, as the author of this volume points out (pp. 57–60), something of the sort is anticipated in Manilius' *Astronomica* (2,57–59). It would be tempting to suppose that, under such circumstances, there could have been no consensus as to what constitutes plagiarism, but, as Scott McGill convincingly argues in this extremely interesting and well-researched book, the phenomenon was well known and universally condemned: despite the absence of copyright (and, accordingly, copyright litigation), an author was thought to have the inalienable moral right to be recognised as the writer of his own works. It is telling that the terms with which the various authors discussed by McGill refer to plagiarism are almost invariably of legal origin, most notably *furtum* ('theft') and *alieni usurpatio* ('wrongful seizure of property'). Even our own term 'plagiarism' (from *plagiarius*, 'kidnaper, slave-handler, human-trafficker') owes its existence to Martial's *Epigram* 1,52, where the author portrays his verses as his "slaves" whom he has recently manumitted by publishing them but whose liberty is now threatened by a *plagiarius*. One could pursue this train of thought further and assume that, as his freedmen, the newly liberated poems are still entitled to Martial's patronage. McGill barely hints at this interpretation (pp. 85–93) which would, however, support his point: although a published work was no longer an author's property, he still had the right of "symbolic ownership" (pp. 16, 199) and was entitled to acknowledgement.

McGill argues that plagiarism in antiquity was recognised as a phenomenon that was distinguishable from legitimate *imitatio*, and the cases which he presents revolve around this fine distinction. Apart from the blatant copying of entire texts, plagiarism might be suspected when the imitation of an earlier author was too slavish or unoriginal or when the author had tried to conceal his sources. As McGill points out, ancient views on intertextuality were somewhat different from ours: textual parallels were usually interpreted as the conscious imitation of one author by another, rather than as reflections of an "abstract cultural discourse" (p. 19). Although plagiarism was thought to go beyond bad imitation and shoddy research, the fact that an author had improved on his sources was often thought to acquit him of literary theft. Conversely, being the victim of alleged plagiarism could enhance an author's standing: it implied that he was someone worth stealing from. This aesthetic reasoning played a central role in the Roman plagiarism debates, which McGill discusses in detail, covering a number of literary genres and time periods from Terence to the sixth-century Priscian. The bulk of this volume is divided into two parts: the first (Chapters 2–4) deals with charges and the second (Chapters 5–6) with denials of plagiarism, which, inevitably, are two sides of the same coin in the Roman authors' ceaseless pursuit of literary acclaim.

Martial is the only author represented in the first part of the study to actually cast himself as the victim of plagiarism (although Priscian feared – or professed to fear – he would become one; see *gramm.* II,2,16–20). Nevertheless, charges of plagiarism made by the other authors in McGill's book are not free of self-advertisement: as pioneers of technical and scientific literature (Chapter 2), Vitruvius and Pliny the Elder tried to set themselves apart from their

predecessors by emphasising that an author should both improve on his sources (an essential feature of *imitatio*, although not necessarily typical of technical authors) and either name them (Pliny) or, at the very least, not obscure them (Vitruvius). Pliny speaks beautifully of an author's duty to "repay his loans with interest" (*praef. nat.* 23) by both adding to the knowledge he has acquired from his predecessors and acknowledging their work. His unprecedentedly extensive list of sources (*nat.* 1) is without parallel in ancient literature: it not only serves to exhibit his integrity and candour but also to advertise the huge amount of scholarship and hard work he had invested in his *Natural History* – in this respect, Pliny can be seen to anticipate the inflated bibliographies of modern academia.

Of the purported plagiarists, the only one whose voice we are allowed to hear is Terence, who refuted the accusations of his senior colleague Luscius Lanuvinus in several of the prologues to his plays (Chapter 4). As McGill notes, the Roman definition of plagiarism seems to have been flexible and oddly genre-specific: Terence could safely boast that he had translated the opening scene of *Adelphoe* from the Greek Diphilus *verbum de verbo* (*Ter. ad.* 11), while he had to assure his audience that he had borrowed nothing at all from his Latin predecessors. A tradition of hurling accusations of plagiarism seems to be something the Romans inherited as part and parcel of Greek comedy (see pp. 6–7), and the genuineness of the feud between Terence and Luscius has been questioned: the audience loved a juicy scandal, and Terence, at the very least, made the most of it in marketing his plays. Although McGill cites the Terence scandal as the only Roman plagiarism case where actual financial interest was involved, this is surely an exaggeration: most authors stood to benefit financially from a good literary reputation, together with the various forms of patronage which it made possible. Charges of plagiarism were clearly an effective tool of self-promotion in the competitive literary circles.

Obviously, less self-interested motives were at work as well: as the examples of Terence and Martial demonstrate, plagiarism had entertainment value as material for humour and satire, whereas Seneca the Elder used his contemporary audience's inability to recognise literary loans in speeches as a moralising illustration of general intellectual laxity (pp. 66–9; chapter 5). As the examples of Vergil's biographers and Macrobius demonstrate, Vergil's exculpation from charges of plagiarism – and even the manufacture of anecdotes where he himself was plagiarised – played no small role in his literary canonisation (Chapter 6; conclusion). All of McGill's varied illustrations demonstrate that plagiarism as a phenomenon, and a condemned one at that, was recognised widely enough to enable its use for various purposes in widely divergent forms of literary expression and literary criticism.

As McGill himself acknowledges (p. 6), his title echoes Stemplinger's *Das Plagiat in der griechischen Literatur* (Leipzig 1912), and, correspondingly, he suggests that a Greek tradition of plagiarism literature may have served as a model for many of the accusations and defences discussed in his book. Although McGill does not elaborate on this, at least some of his examples suggest that discussions of plagiarism were themselves subject to *imitatio*: one could assume that Martial, with characteristic hyperbole, sought to outdo Horace's "borrowed feathers" (*Hor. epist.* 1,3,15–20) as a metaphor for plagiarism with his wigs, cosmetics, false teeth and even transplanted body parts (*Mart.* 1,72; 10,100). The topos that a plagiarist should "buy silence", on the other hand, appears both in Martial (*Mart.* 1,66,14) and Symmachus' ironic letter to Ausonius (*Symm. epist.* 1,31,3), reflecting on the distinction of plagiarism and ghost-writing, both of which seem to have been well-known in antiquity.

All in all, this is a thoroughly researched, insightful and thought-inspiring presentation of a little-studied topic. McGill's modern parallels are generally illuminating rather than gratuitous and serve to illustrate that the notion of authorial rights does not necessarily hinge on financial interest or the modern concept of copyright. McGill's book is much more than a specialist work: as it also reflects generally on *imitatio* and its essential idea that an author should seek to surpass his sources, it should prove to be of great interest to all scholars of classical literature.

*Seppo Heikkinen*

*The Multilingual Experience in Egypt, from the Ptolemies to the 'Abbāsids*. Edited by ARIETTA PAPACONSTANTINO. Ashgate, Farnham – Burlington 2010. ISBN 978-0-7546-6536-6. X, 240 pp. GBP 60.

The interest in multilingualism, its implications and attestations in Antiquity has recently grown and this collection of nine articles and a thought-provoking and informative introduction by Papaconstantinou is on the crest of the wave. One of its merits lies in the wide time range it covers. It goes beyond the Arab conquest of Egypt in 641 BCE, where many other studies of the Greco-Roman world stop. Yet the same languages were still used for some time after the conquest, together with the newcomer to Egypt, Arabic.

In her introduction, Papaconstantinou gives a clear account of why and how to study multilingualism, emphasizing the problems of the written material we have to rely on, and how the papyrological evidence is unique in giving us the possibility to perform socio-linguistic and socio-historical research.

The first chapter, "Linguistic Identity in Graeco-Roman Egypt", is also introductory in nature. Sofía Torallas Tovar sets the linguistic stage of Egypt covering the wide time range in which several different languages in different stages and scripts were used. She discusses on what premises we can study linguistic identity, a slippery term, and often combined with another equally slippery term, ethnic identity. Her definitions for these are broad, as they need to be, given the nature of our sources.

The next three chapters form Part I of the book "Evidence for a Multilingual Society: Documents and Archives", and are divided chronologically. Willy Clarysse's "Bilingual Papyrological Archives" gives a clear account of the concept of "archive" and the usefulness of archives in providing context information for individual texts. Clarysse also discusses the issue that obviously still needs to be highlighted, namely the black and grey market of antiquities that has spurred clandestine excavations. This, together with the ways in which excavations have been made in the old days (without decent methods and inclusive documentation), often deprives researchers of essential context information, partly because we do not know which texts were kept together as an archive in antiquity. Then Clarysse moves on to groups of bilingual Greek-Demotic archives from the Ptolemaic period presenting different kinds of bilingual documentation and discussing also the possible reasons for the use of two languages (e.g., in the archives of Egyptian priests, documents in Greek have been translated because of a legal dispute).

The next chapter, "Coptic or Greek? Bilingualism in the Papyri", is by Sarah J. Clackson, who passed away in 2003, and is annotated and edited for this publication by Papaconstantinou, based on two papers given by Clackson in 1997 and 2000. The first half is a very thorough survey of the Coptic language and its contact with Greek. Loan words are discussed from phonological and morphological points of view; she provides a list of conjunctions and prepositions borrowed into Coptic, this borrowing showing the depth of the language contact situation in Egypt. She also discusses examples of bilingual interference. The second part of the chapter takes on where Clarysse left off, dealing with bilingual archives and documents. For example, she discusses the interesting archives from Kellis in the Dakhleh Oasis representing a multilingual Manichean settlement, with widespread Coptic–Greek bilingualism with some layers of Latin and Syriac. Apparently Greek was reserved for formal and external communication and Coptic was the internal and domestic language. Another archive from the same time period is that of Apa John (who may be identified with John of Lykopolis), who is addressed with both Greek and Coptic request letters from the surrounding community members. Clackson then turns to the famous archive from the sixth century, that of Dioskoros of Aphrodito. He was a truly bilingual person, who wrote in both Greek and Coptic, worked as a notary for some time in both languages, and had a Hellenized education; his library included Homer and Menander and a Greek-Coptic glossary – very valuable for modern researchers. Dealing with Dioskoros, Clackson raises the important point that even though Coptic was written with Greek characters, there is a distinct Coptic style as opposed to Greek style (although this does apply to all writers): Dioskoros' Greek handwriting differs from his Coptic writing. This paper gives a full picture of the multilingual aspect of Egyptian life in the late Roman and Byzantine periods; although Coptic was widely used, it seems that understanding at least some Greek was expected from most people. Clackson's paper also beautifully continues Clarysse's in underlining the importance of knowing the context, usually an archive, for the wider understanding of the linguistic situation of individuals and communities.

In chapter 4, "Multilingual Archives and Documents in Post-Conquest Egypt", Petra M. Sijpesteijn studies how language use in Egypt changed after the Muslim conquest in 641 CE. Both Coptic and Greek were used up until the 8th century and Arabic gradually gained more ground. Greek was more widely used in the administrative register and Coptic in personal documents. However, in the 8th century Coptic took over some areas where Greek had dominated earlier, before it was replaced by Arabic. The field suffers from the fact that much of the Arabic material is still unpublished and that there often are problems with dating the documents; thus it is difficult to see large-scale developments.

The last five chapters form Part II of the book, that is, "Case Studies in Language Use in a Multilingual Society". Jacco Dieleman's article, "What's in a Sign? Translating Filiation in the Demotic Magical Papyri", dealing with Greek-Egyptian bilingualism, raises the important point that the bilingual corpus does not reflect bilingual speech. His case study comes from a bilingual corpus of Greek and Demotic (and Old Coptic) Magical Papyri, where several spells combine sections in Egyptian and Greek. They have been copied from Greek and Egyptian sources. When they contain linguistic interference, Dieleman speaks of "manuscript interference". In this paper he concentrates on the borrowing of one graphic symbol that is derived from the Greek word  $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$ , combined from the capital letter *delta* and an *iota* written below it. It is used for the filiation formula in templates for spells. The place where the name of the target of the spell was to be inserted is of the type "X, son of Y", or "So-and-so, whom so-and-

so bore", in Demotic *mn r-ms mn*. Occasionally, in the Demotic spells, the symbol for Greek  $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$  replaces the Demotic *mn*. The question is, is this to be understood as mixed writing (Greek-Egyptian-Greek), is the symbol still understood to represent a certain linguistic form in a certain language or is it merely a symbol for the idea "insert a name here"? The symbol is only used in the filiation formula and usually in cases where it is known that Greek *Vorlagen* exist, but it is still used randomly. Therefore the reasons for this graphic interference remain unanswered.

In Chapter 6, "Early Coptic Epistolography", Malcolm Choat discusses the earliest Coptic letters (from the 3rd/4th century CE) in order to see if we can trace different epistolographic traditions influencing Coptic ways of writing letters; he compares certain formulas to those appearing in Greco-Roman epistolography as well as in the letters of Paul and in (Demotic) Egyptian predecessors. Since so much of the Coptic material is literary/Biblical, it is a very welcome idea to invoke discussion on which groups of people used Coptic for non-literary purposes. Choat's material consists of 62 letters (over a 100 letters are dated to the 3rd – early fifth century CE, but since paleographic dating in Coptic is not secure, he chose only the securely dated ones). The results are interesting: there is clear influence from Greek epistolography, but also from earlier Demotic letters. The latter is extremely important because it shows a bridge over which the tradition was transferred, despite the hiatus in written Egyptian between the time Demotic ceased to be used and before Coptic had been developed. On the Greek side the influence of the New Testament letters plays only a minor part, which Choat takes as evidence that the Coptic letter writing developed as a separate tradition from the translation of the Bible into Coptic.

The next chapter makes this volume bilingual, as it is written in French whereas all the others are in English. In her article "Toujours honneur au grec? À propos d'un papyrus gréco-copte de la région thébaine", Anne Boud'hors studies the status of Greek among the Coptic texts from the monastery of Epiphanius in 7th to 8th-century Thebes. In general, the Theban area was not rich in Greek material, yet it exists, partly as a liturgical language. Bilingual manuscripts are bilingual in different ways: 1) texts where Greek and Coptic are mixed, 2) manuscripts where Greek and Coptic are not in the same function, as for example when Coptic was used for glosses, 3) manuscripts where the same text is in both languages, sometimes even on facing pages. Boud'hors provides a more detailed description for a hymn manuscript belonging to group 3 above, where two hymns are in Greek on the left page and in Coptic on the right (the manuscript also includes biblical and patristic citations in Coptic and a bilingual list of titles of hymns). The handwriting is of the Coptic documentary type, the same for both languages (not necessarily because of the inability of the writer to use Greek writing style but for the sake of uniformity). The Coptic side translates the Greek hymns. Boud'hors ponders upon who was using this manuscript and thinks it more plausible that it was meant for solitary reading and study than for recitation purposes. A bilingual reader could see the original Greek meanings while he was reading the Coptic text. A question of different original texts for the Greek version and the Coptic one has been raised; Boud'hors mentions other bilingual manuscripts where it is clear that one language is not a translation of the other, but both texts follow their own manuscript tradition. This, according to her, is one possible sign that the use of Greek was somewhat fossilized.

Tonio Sebastian Richter begins his chapter "Language Choice in the Qurra Dossier" by stating that when we study written texts, the questions differ from those of modern linguists,

who also have spoken data. Language choice is a different type of action in writing than in speech. This chapter takes us to Egypt after the Arab conquest in 641 CE. A new language, Arabic, was introduced to a country where some people were monolingual, speaking Greek or Egyptian, and some were bilingual in Greek and Egyptian. Greek was not to survive very long since Arabic was taking the place it had been holding as the language of higher administration. Egyptian was the language of the majority, but by the 12th to 14th centuries they had switched language to Arabic, and Egyptian had only a superficial existence within the Coptic Church. For this historical perspective, the documentation from the early period when Arabic is first introduced in the country, is highly important.

Richter presents us with the Qurra dossier from Aphrodito, with texts in all three of these languages. There are 200 Greek, 150 Coptic and 50 Arabic texts from the early 8th century, mostly coming from the time when Qurra ibn Sharik was the governor of Egypt. However, it is likely that some Arabic texts belonging to this dossier have not yet been published. Most of the texts of the dossier are related to taxation, an area where Arabs maintained the Byzantine Greek structures (Richter points out that otherwise in administration they aimed to centralize power as opposed to the strong decentralization of the Byzantines). The texts are mostly incoming texts of the pagarch's office in Aphrodito, some coming from the highest level of administration (i.e., the governor's office), some produced at the medium level (the pagarch's office) and some on the lowest level, by local authorities and monasteries. Richter groups the texts by their text types and carefully discusses the language choice in them (and the relatively small number of contact-induced features, such as borrowings between the languages). Richter concludes that the function of having anything written in Arabic was basically a sign of power; there were significantly fewer people who could read the Arabic in Aphrodito; Greek was used to get the message through. Although the Qurra texts reveal social trilingualism, there is no sign of individual trilingualism; Greek was the bridge, the middle stage, the *lingua franca*. As mentioned already in Sijpesteijn's chapter, it is interesting that the use of Coptic in private business and legal texts was at its widest during the first century after the Arab conquest, whereas official and public documents still continued to be written in Greek.

In the last chapter, "Aristophanes Son of Johannes: An Eighth-Century Bilingual Scribe? A Study of Graphic Bilingualism," Jennifer Cromwell presents a detailed examination of the different handwriting styles of one scribe from 8th-century Jeme. The scribe, Aristophanes son of Johannes, uses a different style when writing Greek (which is used in formulaic and extended passages within the Coptic document, not in separate documents) than in writing Coptic. His Coptic hand can be defined as a cursive hand with predominantly majuscule formations, whereas his Greek hand is more compact and resembles other Greek minuscule official hands of the period. This has important implications for our understanding of the education of scribes. Aristophanes has, moreover, made a deliberate language choice, marked by the change of hand, when using Greek amidst Coptic.

In general, this collection is well researched and well executed. Two improvements would have made it even better. First, it would have been good to offer this type of book to a wider audience of linguists, because the corpora documented here offer an exceptional time range on the development of languages in a long-standing contact situation. The reader of this book, however, needs to be able to read Greek and Coptic, since the examples are not transliterated (except for Arabic, for which only the transcription is used) or glossed. Luckily there are at least translations. The second shortcoming concerns the bibliography: it has not been collected

at the end of the book nor at the end of each article; all bibliographic references are in the footnotes. This practice may have been the wish of the publisher, but for an academic reader it is a nuisance. All in all, this set of articles is enjoyable due to the wide perspective of the first part and the detailed case studies backing them up in the second.

Marja Vierros

SIOBHÁN MCELDUFF: *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source*, Routledge, New York – Abingdon 2013. ISBN 978-0-415-81676-2 (hbk), ISBN 978-0-203-58861-1 (ebk). IX, 266 pp. USD 125.

Siobhán McElduff's fascinating study of how and why Romans translated may come as a shocking revelation to those of us used to contemporary views on translation, which emphasise an objective faithfulness to the source text. Especially when it comes to literary translations of Greek works, the Roman approach seems to have been the diametrical opposite of ours: a translator was expected to assert his own personality and to contribute something of his own to the source text, the result being literary texts that hardly qualify as "translations" in the modern sense. Not only was the source text freely paraphrased, but it was usual to combine several originals, leave out portions of the source and to add new interpolations. Literary translation was seen as something completely distinct from technical translation, or the work of the professional interpreter. This was ultimately based on a class distinction: a member of the Roman literary elite was expected to affirm his persona by boldly taking command of the source text and therefore set himself apart from the menial and detail-oriented work of grammarians and interpreters, who, as salaried employees or slaves, were his social inferiors. The literary translator also competed with his source, trying to create something superior: literary translation was a form of the *aemulatio* which constitutes one of the central aspects of ancient culture. Translation as an expression of Roman elite personality had a twofold use: it could enforce the unity of the literary elite, as in the use of translated poetry as gifts between elite Romans, and it could also be used as a weapon in literary debates. Cicero's translation of Attic speakers in an attempt to undermine the efforts of his denigrators in the Atticist school of orators is a case in point (pp. 106–21).

McElduff's book, which is centred on the social role of the Roman literary translator, reflects recent advances in translation studies, and it is obvious that the older text-oriented methods that were content to compare the source text with its translation are not an appropriate tool for the analysis of Roman translation (pp. 12–5). One central aspect that must be constantly borne in mind is that the Roman literary elite was generally literate in Greek and therefore perfectly capable of reading the source texts in the original: unlike in our culture, translations were not aimed at a public that would otherwise not have had access to the translated work. Although Roman comedy is generally considered a more popular art form, even Terence's prologues to his plays imply that at least a part of his audience knew the Greek models of his plays or was at least aware of their existence (pp. 84–94).

Importantly, McElduff sees the evolution of Roman translation as a form of conquest contemporary to the Roman subjugation of the Greek East in the third to first centuries BCE. The appropriation of Greek literary capital ran parallel to the importation of slaves, artefacts

and libraries, and many Roman authors use surprisingly military metaphors in their discussions of translation. To translate meant to take command of a text and to transport it to Rome as one would transport war trophies. One notable exception to this thinking seems to have been Cato the Elder: although he himself read (and allowed his sons to read) Greek works in the original, he appears to have feared that translation would result in too great a contamination of Roman culture by Greek influences (pp. 59–60).

McElduff's book is divided into six chapters of which the first discusses interpreters and official translations and the remaining five, literary translation and its discussion from Livius Andronicus to Aulus Gellius. McElduff's chapter on official translation, primarily from Latin to Greek, demonstrates how radically it differed from literary translation. Although the Greek version of Augustus' *Res gestae* sometimes departs from the original, it exhibits a strangely Latinate and unidiomatic style, which, of course, may have served to underline Roman dominance in the Eastern provinces (pp. 33–8). As the opposite of Latin literary translation, it illustrates that exaggerated faithfulness to the source text could be interpreted as an acknowledgment of its superiority, something which literary translators were desperate to avoid.

The second chapter of the book covers the origins of Roman epic, focusing on the differences between Livius Andronicus and Ennius in their assumption of Greek models: whereas Livius created a work on Greek mythology in Saturnian verse, an ancient Italic poetic form, Ennius used the Greek hexameter to portray Roman history. At the same time, however, by casting himself as Homer's reincarnation, he attempted a previously unparalleled appropriation of Greek culture (pp. 55–9). Similar boldness is expressed by Cicero's *De optimo genere oratorum*, intended as a preface to his (possibly uncompleted) translations of Aeschines and Demosthenes, where he implies that what follows are the "true" Athenian speakers and that his translation has rendered the originals unnecessary (pp. 117–20). As McElduff points out, Cicero here seems to have painted himself into a corner by eliding his own literary persona which he was otherwise anxious to assert.

At least ostensibly, the most modest of the Roman authors discussed seems to have been Lucretius, although even he infers that the reason why his *De rerum natura* is necessary for the Roman public may lie in the literary quality of Epicure's prose (pp. 147–9): despite his open adulation of his source text (Lucr. 3,1–10), he still manages to convey the impression that he is, in fact, improving on it. In opposition to Cicero, who was boldly confident in his ability to discuss Greek philosophy in Latin, Lucretius also voices a complaint about the poverty of the Latin language (pp. 149–52; Lucr. 1,136–140), later echoed by Seneca (pp. 161–4; Sen. *epist.* 58,1) and Gellius (pp. 178–9; Gell. 11,169). Even such complaints, however, were ultimately self-serving, as they could be used to accentuate the translator's genius in overcoming seemingly impossible obstacles.

The title of the book does not always come across as entirely apposite: many of the examples McElduff cites are little more than discussions of, or allusions to, translation and difficult to construe as actual theory. Nevertheless, they provide the reader with a generous overview of the subject, underlining the impression that a general consensus as to what constitutes good translation seems to have existed in the Roman world for nearly three centuries. Aulus Gellius, as the latest author discussed in the book, also comes across as the most "modern" in his unprecedented emphasis on a closer fidelity to the source text (p. 184) and can be seen to anticipate the views of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, which, as McElduff acknowledges, were radically different from those of the classical age. A short discussion of these later



developments would, in my opinion, have contributed to the usefulness of this otherwise excellent and mind-opening study.

Scott McGill's *Plagiarism in Latin Literature* (Cambridge – New York 2012), also reviewed in this volume, makes an illuminating companion to this book, shedding further light on the concepts of literary imitation and literary originality in the ancient world.

*Seppo Heikkinen*

ALISON E. COOLEY: *The Cambridge Manual of Latin Epigraphy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012. ISBN 978-0-521-84026-2 (Hb); 978-0-521-54954-7 (Pb). 531 pp. GBP 69.99 (Hb), 27.99 (Pb).

To judge from the reviews I have seen, this admirable book has been received with favour, and I can only join those who have had good things to say about it, for it is a most impressive achievement and among the introductions to Latin epigraphy (of which there is no shortage) this is surely one of the most, if not *the* most, informative one, and one which I think should be read from beginning to end by those wishing to be introduced to the subject. Here I must stress the need of reading the whole work, for although this book has a logical structure, being divided into chapters and sections, etc., it leaves at places the impression of being a rather loose narrative in which certain subjects seem to turn up whenever the author came to think about them. For instance, section 3. 2. 5, "Working with stemmata" (p. 360ff.), deals with inscriptions known only from early copies. The expression 'stemma' refers to the fact that inscriptions now lost are sometimes known from two or more early descriptions which may present variants in the text. These descriptions, when copied by later epigraphists, produced a textual tradition divided into 'stemmata' (*CIL* VI 1314, the inscription of Lutatius Catulus concerning the *tabularium*, not seen after the early 15<sup>th</sup> century, is cited as an example). However, this section is not at all only about stemmata, for the mention of Renaissance epigraphists leads the author to turn, as an afterthought of sorts, to the history of epigraphy in general from Cyriacus to Gruter (p. 362–70). Again, the chapter on "Dating inscriptions" (3. 4, p. 398ff.) contains much of the usual material on consular dating, etc., but also a few pages (p. 409–14) on Roman names, which thus do not receive a chapter or section of their own. Having discussed Roman names and their evolution, the author must have come to think of the fact that the same names could be used by several generations of the same family, and this again is illustrated by the inscriptions of the Lucilii Gamalae of Ostia (their inscriptions being cited as nos. 78–85). This is of great interest (cf. below on *CIL* XIV 375 and 376), but one would not have expected it to have been dealt with under the heading "Dating inscriptions". Section 2. 3 on "Epigraphy in society" begins with sub-section 2. 3. 1 "Monuments, not documents", which does not (as some readers might perhaps expect) deal with the archeological aspects of inscriptions (not a very prominent subject in this book in any case, although note p. 286ff. on the "production and design of inscriptions"), but rather with such aspects as the "subjectivity" (p. 227) of inscriptions – which of course were not meant to be objective 'documents' in the first place – or the role of inscriptions in illustrating everyday life and manners (cf., e. g., p. 226 on banquets). All this is most interesting and useful; however, this sub-section is followed by another (2. 3. 2, p.

228ff.), which deals with a quite different topic which one would not necessarily expect to find in a section on "Epigraphy in society", namely Christian epigraphy.

It must, however, be noted that saying this is not at all meant as a criticism, for this manner of presentation only adds to the charm of the book; and many subjects do have their own sections, and all the subjects dealt with in the book can in any case be accessed through the index. Of course, one might ask if the expression 'Manual' used in the title is the most appropriate one, for this book does not really remind one of manuals of the classic German type, which consist of chapters and sections and subsections, etc., all interspersed with passages in small print (often consisting of bibliographies). However, this is probably a question only a continental scholar might ask, for the proliferation in the last years of various 'handbooks' which often only seem collections of miscellaneous articles makes it clear that the concept 'manual' or 'handbook' is in the English-speaking world not seen in the same light as 'Handbuch' by (say) the editors of the *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*.

Having just mentioned bibliographies, this may be the right moment for me to point out that this book in fact does not include a bibliography of the type one finds in normal introductions to epigraphy (but there is a "Guide to *CIL* and other corpora" in 3. 1. 1, and a similar section, "Major corpora of Christian inscriptions" in 3. 1. 2). This 'omission' is in my view fully justified, as epigraphy as a discipline deals, as readers of this book soon find out, with so many different aspects of the ancient world that summing it all up in a bibliography or (as seems to be the case in many introductions to epigraphy) in several bibliographies is hardly worth the effort. Instead, it seems much more to the point to cite the relevant bibliography at the point when it is in fact relevant, and this is the *modus operandi* of the author. Moreover, she seems to have read absolutely *everything* that has something to do with Latin inscriptions, as a result of which the notes must contain hundreds, if not thousands of references to different publications, many of them of recent date and some of them most exotic (e.g., the articles cited on p. 322, n. 721; for an example of a bibliography which seems pretty exhaustive see, e.g., that on the erasure of Geta's names on p. 124f. n. 32). Of course the lack of a bibliography does have one drawback, for a bibliography offers the possibility of furnishing the items cited there with abbreviated titles, whereas in a book like this all bibliographical information (including names of publishers, etc.) must be offered in the notes (sometimes the same several lines of bibliographical information are repeated in successive notes, as, e.g., on p. 364 n. 70 and 71). The lack of a bibliography also means the lack of a list of abbreviations, which would (as observed by G. H. Renberg, *Mnemosyne* 67 [2014] 1053) have been useful for those who do not know what abbreviations such as "*ILLRP*" or "*RDGE*" mean. As for titles in languages other than English, for a book written in English this is most notable inasmuch as all foreign names and titles seem to have been rendered correctly.

This book has an interesting structure. Chapter 2 and 3 are of a more normal type, Ch. 2 presenting all the different categories of inscriptions and Ch. 3 explaining how to locate inscriptions and how to deal with them, but Ch. 1 is unusual, inasmuch as it is dedicated to the "Epigraphic culture in the Bay of Naples". This is a region clearly well known to the author, and the choice of this region allows her to say some very pertinent things about epigraphic culture in its various manifestations, especially as we can (I think) assume that we know about all the inscriptions that existed in Pompeii and the nearby cities in AD 79. There is, of course, the problem that roughly the same categories of inscriptions (minus the dipinti, etc.) also existed

elsewhere, which means that we find sections or passages on honorific and votive inscriptions, epitaphs, milestones, brick stamps, etc. both in Ch. 1 and in Ch. 2. However, this is smoothed out by the fact that the two chapters are structured, and the sections within these chapters are named, differently, and the choice of a limited region for the object of a survey was in any case a very good idea. And it is not after all the *same* inscriptions that are discussed in the two chapters.

In spite of this, many readers may well feel that the book in a way gets going for a second time at p. 117, the beginning of Ch. 2. This chapter starts with a most interesting section (2. 1) on "Defining epigraphy". This is followed by a very long section (2. 2) of almost a hundred pages – one wonders whether it should not have been divided into sub-sections – on "Epigraphic categorization". This section discusses all the various types of inscriptions, beginning with epitaphs (p. 128ff.); these are followed (p. 145ff.) by "'honorific' or 'cursus' inscriptions" (this seems rather vaguely formulated, as an 'honorific' inscription is of course not at all the same thing as a 'cursus' inscription), building inscriptions (p. 152ff., with milestones on p. 159ff.), "juridical epigraphy" (p. 168ff., with military diplomas being discussed on p. 172ff.), "religious inscriptions" (p. 178ff.; this section seems less informative than it could be, for it moves very quickly from the the most common – from the point of view of the average epigraphist – type of "religious" inscription, that on a votive altar, to more exotic subjects such as *defixiones*), *instrumentum domesticum* (p. 185ff.), etc.

Ch. 2 contains two further sections, another overview (2. 4, p. 250ff.) of the epigraphy of a particular area, this time of Tripolitania with subsections on the epigraphy of Lepcis Magna, in the "pre-desert interior" and in the army camp, and section 2. 5 (p. 285ff.) called "The life-cycle of inscriptions". In this section, the author describes the "production" of inscriptions and their "reception", with subsections on the production and design of inscriptions (2. 5. 1), on Language choice (2. 5. 2, on the use in inscriptions of other languages than Latin), on "Reading and viewing inscriptions" (2. 5. 3, with a quotation on p. 309 of *AE* 1989, 247 [*hunc*] *titulumque quicumque legerit aut lege[ntem] auscultarit*, although it must be said that this is an inscription not from "the Alps" – whatever that may mean – but from the city that produced Ovid, namely Sulmo), and, finally, on the "Afterlife of inscriptions". In this chapter, the author studies corrections, additions and alterations to, and erasures of, inscriptions (and note also p. 321 on the transportation of inscriptions from one place to another).

The third and final chapter, "A technical guide to Latin epigraphy" (p. 327ff.), contains useful instructions on how to find and use epigraphical publications and on the interpretation of inscriptions, including those displayed in museums, with a subsection on abbreviations in 3. 2. 4, p. 357ff., and on forgeries in 3. 3. 2, p. 383ff. At the end, there are two appendixes, one on imperial titles and another on the consuls (including suffectus) between 298 BC and AD 541 (but here, too, the consuls of AD 207 are given in the order Maximus, Aper, which has apparently become traditional but which is incorrect, as the order used in inscriptions – also in the one cited p. 475 n. 84, now *AE* 2007, 1211 – and in the literary sources is always Aper, Maximus. Moreover, Aper's full name, as revealed by *RMM* 48, was *C. Septimius Severus Aper*, the nomenclature with *Severus* perhaps hinting at the explanation of the consul's position as *consul prior*).

The text is interspersed throughout with specimens of individual inscriptions equipped with photos, translations and comments and numbered from 1 to 90, and meant to illustrate the main text. In the beginning, I was extremely pleased to observe the text of inscription no. 1

(*CIL* X 1784 on p. 6ff.) having been furnished with commas, full stops, etc., which in my view are absolutely indispensable if one's aim is to help the reader to understand a text. However, in what follows the use of punctuation seems to become much more rare and there is no punctuation at all, e.g., in lengthy texts such as nos. 29 and 39 (a military diploma) and in that quoted on p. 137. Of course, one can turn to the translations for some help in the interpretation of the texts, but I feel that it is the duty of the epigraphist to present an epigraphical text in a format which contributes to the understanding of the text in question (e.g., *ipsis, liberis posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et con[u]bium cum uxoribus, quas tunc habuissent, cum est civitas iis data, aut, si qui caelibes essent, cum iis, quas postea duxissent, dumtaxat singuli singulas; a(nte) d(iem) XIII k(alendas)* etc. in no. 39 would in my view be much clearer than the same litany without any punctuation).

As there will surely be several editions of this book, it may be of some use if I point out here some errors and offer observations on some details. As for errors, *aed(illum)* (accusative) in no. 3 should of course be corrected to *aed(ilem)*, and in no. 17 I would prefer *aed(ilium)* to *aed(illum)* (genitive). On p. 31, the 'fellow-townsmen' should of course be *municipes*, not "*municipi*", and in no. 6 (p. 34), the measures given for the inscription *CIL* X 1426 in honour of Nonius Balbus in EDR, 89 x 77 cm, seem closer to the truth than those given here, 8.8 x 7.65 cm (which would make this inscription tiny). As for other observations, in no. 5 (*AE* 1996, 424 a–b from Misenum), I am pretty sure that the passage on the right side beginning with *referente L. Tullio Eutycho* is in disorder and that the *et* before *L. Kaninius Hermes* has been added in despair by a stonecutter who has not understood the text (this disorder is reflected in the awkward translation); the original text must have run about as follows: *cum universi Augustales convenissent, referente L. Tullio Eutycho curatore perpet(uo): cum L. Kaninius Hermes*, etc. (this being the beginning of Eutycho's proposition). In no. 29 (*ILS* 5177), I think that *professus* in *inter Graecos poetas duos et L professus* should be rendered as 'performed' rather than as 'registered'. As for no. 78 (*CIL* XIV 375), the author accepts the interpretation of *bellum navale* as 'naval war' and translates *ob pol[l]icitationem belli navalis* as "on account of its promise for the naval war", although the Latin cannot mean anything else but "on account of its promise of a naval war", i.e. a *naumachia*; in no. 85 (*CIL* XIV 376), the text seems to have been copied from the Claus-Slaby database without corrections, as we have here the same mistaken reading *L(ucio) Coilo* ("Lucius Coilus" in the translation) – instead of *Coilio* – as in the said database, and as the last line, with "[3]" indicating *lacunae*, reproduces the style used in the database. As for this last line, I have inspected the inscription in the Vatican and have a squeeze; in my opinion, the last line begins with *hic HS*, followed by uncertain numbers, and ends perhaps with *[---]vit*, the last line thus mentioning another benefaction of the honorand. In the translation, *extru[e]ntibus* – i. e. *exstru-* – in line 26 is rendered as "as they were building it", the participle being taken as a sort of *dativus incommodi*; this is obviously correct, and the problem of this passage has thus been solved, which is another merit of this delightful book.

*Olli Salomies*

*Terme di Diocleziano. La Collezione epigrafica.* A cura di ROSANNA FRIGGERI – MARIA GRAZIA GRANINO CECERE – GIAN LUCA GREGORI. Electa, Milano 2012. ISBN 978-88-370-8934-4. 760 pp. EUR 49.

The aims and the contents of this admirable book are described in the "Premessa" by the three editors. It is meant to be the catalogue of all inscriptions displayed in the epigraphic collection (including also some Greek and Etruscan inscriptions) in its new arrangement at the Baths of Diocletian (this means that inscriptions kept elsewhere in the museum are not included), and to illustrate the same texts by the commentaries attached to each text. The texts are not translated, which is understandable inasmuch as translations would surely have made this already very heavy book even heavier. On the other hand, a translation here and there in the case of difficult texts (e.g., the metrical inscription of Allia Potestas, IX 10) would have made this book even more useful, especially if it is aimed not only at scholars but also, as implied on the homepage of the publisher (<http://www.electaweb.it/catalogo/scheda/978883708934/it>), at the "vasto pubblico del museo". But of course the publication of this book even as such is an important event.

This catalogue follows the arrangement of the inscriptions in the museum, starting with a section on Sala I and ending with a section on Sala X (referred to in the following as "I", "II", "III", etc.), dedicated to epigraphical forgeries and to modern inscriptions imitating ancient ones (e.g., the "epitaph" of the Renaissance scholar Pomponio Leto, pp. 678f.). The catalogue also includes some objects without inscriptions displayed in the epigraphical collection (e.g., I 50f. and 54 comprising various small objects, VI 12, 17, 19, 20 and 34 with five busts, VI 41–42 with various lamps, *ibid.* 44, 46, 48 and 49, statues of *togati*; *ibid.* 50, a relief with *fasces*; IX 35, 38, 54, 58–60, 67). All halls being dedicated to different themes, all sections except that on Sala V (pp. 254ff.) include articles meant to illustrate the contents of the sections in question. There are thus articles on the nature of inscriptions (S. Panciera, pp. 12ff., a modified Italian version of the paper published in *ZPE* 183 [2012] 1ff.), on archaic inscriptions in general (M. L. Lazzarini on lettering, pp. 88–90) and on various cities producing archaic inscriptions (e.g., D. Gorostidi Pi on Tusculum, pp. 166f.), and, e.g., articles on the social structure of the Roman Empire (G. Alföldy on pp. 278ff., one of Alföldy's last articles, as observed in the *Premessa*), on Rome as the centre of administration (W. Eck, pp. 424ff.) and on the religions of Rome (J. Scheid, pp. 524ff.).

The inscriptions have not been numbered throughout the book, but only within the individual sections, which makes it difficult to find out the exact total number of inscriptions presented in this book; but if I count the inscriptions in sections I–IX (thus excluding the forgeries in section X), I arrive at a total of 345 texts. However, this does not tell the whole truth, for all numbered items are not inscriptions (cf. above), and some numbers in fact cover several texts (e.g., II 8 with "frammenti di olla", IV 31 with the *ollae* from S. Cesareo, and IX 49, which comprises *defixiones* and other material from the sanctuary of Anna Perenna at Piazza Euclide; also, e.g., VI 57, 68, 69); moreover, the first text on pp. 24f. does not seem to have a number. However, we are in any case talking about a most impressive number of inscriptions. Among them there are also some unpublished texts, of which I observed the following: II 9 by A. La Regina, a 3<sup>rd</sup>-century BC inscription from Corcolle reading *St. Clos/lenio(s)/ M(arci) s(ervos) dono / Vener(i) mer(eto)* (if *Closlenio(s)* is indeed the correct reading, this would be a new no-

men); VI 69i; VII 7 (a *viat(or) cons(ularis)*). There are also some texts neither in *CIL* nor in *AE* (VI 47; VII 20; VIII 28; IX 50).

But this being the Museo Nazionale Romano, it is not the quantity of inscriptions that is of interest, but rather the quality, for the museum houses of course one of the most important collections of inscriptions in the world, mostly from Rome and its environs but also from other places (note, e.g., VII 13, the *tabula alimentaria* from Ligures Baebiani, VI 58, a military diploma found in Romania); accordingly, this catalogue contains a very great number of important inscriptions, all of them with text, commentary, up-to-date bibliography (including references to EDR) and photo. The importance of this will of course be obvious to all those interested in Roman studies. To mention only a few of the significant inscriptions in this collection, we have here many of the most important archaic inscriptions (the *fibula Praenestina* by P. Poccetti as II 1, the *lapis niger* by F. Coarelli as II 2, the *lapis Satricanus* by M. Gnade and D. Nonnis as II 11, the inscription of the *quiroi* Castor and Pollux by D. Nonnis as II 12, the inscription dedicated to *Lare Aenia* also by D. Nonnis as II 16). From later times there is, e.g., the so-called *laudatio Turiae* by S. Evangelisti as IV 28 and the *elogium* of the consul Q. Veranius by M. Giovagnoli as VI 28. One of the most interesting items is surely the bronze inscription, surrounded by a most elegant frame, of the 1<sup>st</sup>-century senator L. Cornelius Pusio, which was found together with the bronze head of the senator, showing a man with a strong neck and a gaze which seems to imply that he was not a man who would normally accept 'no' for an answer (VII 3, by C. Caruso and C. Borgognoni; for an observation on the identification of the man, see below).

An edition like this, which covers virtually all types of inscriptions from archaic to Christian texts and does not exclude brick stamps, seals, etc., must obviously have been the result of teamwork. In this book, the list of authors of the individual 'schede' (listed on one of the first pages of the book) comprises 43 names. Many of the authors have been active in the field of epigraphy for decades, but younger epigraphists are also not only represented but are in fact responsible for a very large number of 'schede': according to my calculations, Giorgio Crimi (whose surname seems to have been misspelled in the list of contributors) is responsible for no less than 49 editions, Maurizio Giovagnoli for 44, David Nonnis for 37 and Carlotta Caruso for 23, these four scholars thus being responsible for almost half of all the inscriptions presented in this book.

My impression is that the contributions are all of high quality, although here and there a detail or two might have been added to a commentary (e.g., in VI 52 it might have been added that *Cl(audia) Ara* as the indication of the home town of the veteran refers to Cologne/Köln). I observed only one small mistake in the reading of an inscription ("*annis VIII*" for *annis VIII* in VI 53), and very few inscriptions where I would disagree with a commentary or an interpretation. In VII 3 (the inscription of Cornelius Pusio), C. Caruso says (p. 435) that the man is identical with L. Cornelius Pusio Annius Messalla (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1425), but I think most scholars nowadays would agree that this Cornelius Pusio, consul in the early 70s, is not identical with, but the father of, L. Cornelius Pusio Annius Messalla (known from *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 107), who would then be identical with the L. Cornelius Pusio known from the fasti of Potentia to have held the consulate in AD 90 (see. e.g., G. Alföldy in *CIL* VI p. 4777 on the inscription 31706 = 37056). In IX 13 (pp. 552f., = *CIL* VI 2120), the wonderful inscription containing the letter of the pontifex Velius Fidus to his colleague Iuventius Celsus and the *libellum* of the imperial

freedman Arrius Alphius, C. Ricci reads in lines 2–5 *Desideri(um), frater Alphii, Arriae Fadilae ... liberti, libellum tibi misi* etc., speaking in the commentary of the "desiderio (r. 2) espresso da Arrius Alphius", but putting commas before *frater* and after *Alphii* must make some readers think that a brother of Alphius is somehow involved, which is of course not the case. Although the Latin found in this text contains some "vulgar" features, it would not in my view be possible to assume that Velius Fidus, wishing to say that he was sending a *libellum* containing the *desiderium* of the freedman, could have written *Desideri(um), frater, Alphii ... libellum tibi misi* (taking *desideri* as a genitive defining *libellum* would of course also be quite impossible). On the other hand, seeing that the reading of the inscription is *Desideri*, and that already in the correspondence of Fronto there are instances of the use of *signa*, there is no problem in interpreting *Desiderius* as Celsus' *signum*. At the beginning of the letter Fidus writes *Iubentio* (sic) *Celso collegae suo salutem*, but then addresses Celsus with *Desideri* (vocative) *frater*, just as Fronto (p. 188 v.d.H.) in a letter to Cornelius Repentinus starts with *Cornelio Repentino Fronto salutem*, but then goes on to address the man as *frater Contucci* (cf. my observations on this in C. Badel – C. Settapani [eds.], *Les Stratégies familiales dans l'Antiquité tardive* [Paris 2012] pp. 9f.).

But these are of course only minor matters, for this is a fine book which I have already used with profit. That it has been priced at € 49 means that even private individuals (and not only rich libraries) can buy it, and thus I am sure this book will be a great success.

Olli Salomies

*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Partim consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae editum. Partim consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. IV: Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae Herculanae Stabianae. Suppl. pars IV, fasc. I: Ad titulos pictos spectans. Ediderunt VOLKER WEBER – ANTONIO VARONE – ROBERTA MARCHIONNI – JANA KEPARTOVÁ. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 2011. ISBN 978-3-11-018538-6. I–XVIII, pp. 1151–1555. EUR 199.95.*

This is the first fascicle of the fourth part of the supplement to *CIL IV* (the Pompeian wall inscriptions). It contains the *tituli picti*, i.e. those texts that were painted on the wall with a brush. The original publication of these texts is in one of the following volumes: 1) volume *CIL IV*, edited by Karl Zangemeister in 1871 (nos. 1–1204, with corrigenda and addenda in 2881–3024), 2) the second supplement to *CIL IV*, edited by August Mau in 1909 (nos. 3341–3884 with addenda [and corrigenda] to Zangemeister and addenda to suppl. 2 in 6601–6696 and in 7022–7054), 3) the third supplement to *CIL IV*, edited by Matteo Della Corte, Volker Weber and Pio Ciprotti in 1952–1970 (nos. 7116–7996 and 9822–9986). For the problems of the final two fascicles of this last publication, see Heikki Solin's review (*Gnomon* 45 [1973] 258–77). The *tituli picti* of Herculaneum, originally edited by Ciprotti (10478–10490), have not been included in this supplement, but no reason is given for this.

In the present supplement, texts up to no. 7054 have been edited by Volker Weber, with occasional contributions by Antonio Varone and Peter Kruschwitz. Texts from no. 7116 onwards (those originally published in Della Corte's supplement) have been edited by Roberta Marchionni, Jana Keparťová and Antonio Varone.

The *tituli picti* or dipinti, as is well known, are mainly advertisements for local elections where two pairs of magistrates, the *duoviri iure dicundo* and the *aediles*, were elected annually. In addition, there are announcements for gladiatorial games by their sponsors. Occasionally other categories of private texts have been preserved as well, such as poetry (130, 2887 and 3407 in Greek), rental advertisements (138 and 1136), and even texts that in content come close to those usually attested in graffiti (in the *CIL* called *graphio scripta*). These latter are to appear in the second part of the supplement, *CIL* IV suppl. 4,2.

The majority of the *tituli picti* of Pompeii have been destroyed either because the plaster on which they were written has fallen off or because the writing itself has been subject to erosion ("Introduction", in A. Varone – G. Stefani, *Titulorum pictorum Pompeianorum qui in CIL vol. IV collecti sunt imagines*, 2009), and many of the inscriptions that were still visible and readable for Zangemeister and Mau no longer exist. Antonio Varone has made a major effort in trying to locate all those inscriptions that still exist on the basis of the (often vague) descriptions of the previous editors (see his notes in the *praefatio*). Exact information on the location (when found) is given in Varone – Stefani, *op. cit.* For that volume, Antonio Varone has also tracked down the existing photographs of the wall inscriptions preserved in Rome, Paris, Berlin, Florence and Naples.

For each entry, the supplement first gives a reference to the corrigenda of Zangemeister and Mau. After this there follows what must be regarded as a comprehensive bibliography of the inscription in subsequent scholarship. Because the material consists in the overwhelming majority of personal names advertised as candidates for the two offices, the research on the inscriptions concerns mainly the political and prosopographical history of the colony. These are most importantly P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus. Polity and Society in Roman Pompeii* (1983<sup>2</sup>); H. Mouritsen, *Elections, Magistrates and Municipal Élite. Studies in Pompeian Epigraphy* (1988) and C. Chiavia, *Programmata. Manifesti elettorali nella colonia romana di Pompei* (2002). The supplement diligently records different views about the identity of each candidate and what is known of his political activity. The result and benefit of this detailed work is that it will be possible for users of this supplement volume to track down and get an overview of the subsequent research history of each text. This, it needs to be stressed, is one of the main aims of the supplement, and in general this must be considered to be well achieved.

The volume is a genuine supplement in the sense that it does not give the text of the inscription. For the text the reader needs to consult the original publication as well as the corrigenda. The corrigenda by Zangemeister and Mau are often essential for the constitution of the text. In many cases this means that in addition to the *apographon* and possible interpretation/text in the original publication, the reader has to check the corrigenda at one or two places (sometimes even three) in order to see what there actually is in the text. In only very few instances does the supplement give the suggested correct reading. It would have been useful to give the text in those cases where significant progress has been made in interpretation since the publication of the original volume. At the very least, the supplement might have indicated those cases where the corrigenda contain corrections to the reading and are thus essential for the constitution of the text, and hence, the consultation of the notes in the supplement.

The bibliographical references are given in a list without any further information about what the publication actually says about the particular inscription (whether it contains a simple mention or offers something relevant for the interpretation).



The commentaries often contain lengthy expositions of interpretations presented in previous research. The problem is that they give too much space to highly improbable suggestions (often but not exclusively by M. Della Corte). The result is that truly relevant information for the constitution of the text and the most probable interpretation is not necessarily easy to find.

In 1048, for example, the supplement gives Della Corte's interpretation (*Marcus Epidius*) *Sabinus rogat: o copo Prime* without any comment about its impossibility (given that Zangemeister's text reads *Q P P iuvenem aed ovf drp Sabinus rog copo*). This text was treated by Mouritsen (*op. cit.* p. 22) as an example of Della Corte's inadequate methods. The presentation of the affair in the supplement is given too much space. Della Corte's thoughts could have been rejected in a short note instead of them now taking nearly half of what is said about the persons mentioned in the *programma*. Another example is text 679. The issue of possible references to Christians in Pompeii is given a clear and balanced treatment, but at the end a reference is appended to an exotic suggestion "Quasi exotica est interpretatio" after which the supplement cites an English translation of what the authors consider to be Aramaic written in Latin letters. The discussion of text 679 could surely do without this information. In text 221, after an adequate discussion of *cum sodales* that is without doubt an example of *cum* with the accusative, the supplement refers to E. Pulgram's (*Latin, Italic, Italian 600 B.C. to A.D. 1260* [1978], 233) speculation on the existence of a 2<sup>nd</sup> declension form *sodalus* that is nowhere attested (whence abl. *\*sodalis* → *sodales*). The reference is pointless and superfluous. The phenomenon of *cum* + accusative is well-known and attested in Latin, even in the present volume, e.g., *CIL* IV 275 and 698 *cum discentes*. One further example where an impossible suggestion is recorded but not refuted is in the handling of 3494, the famous cartoon-like combination of paintings and writing. In 3494h the odd form *orte* is discussed. F. Todd's suggestion in *CR* 53 (1939) 5–9 that this conceals the phrase *or(o) te* with a syncope of the final *o* in *oro* lacks all linguistic as well as contextual probability. The supplement does note that Väänänen's discussion of the phenomenon only has cases which are inside a word after the stressed syllable, but does not conclude that Todd's suggestion is implausible (or indeed impossible, cf. the original long vowel in first person singular verb ending!). Moreover, it is not mentioned in the supplement that *orte* is followed by *fellator*, a fact which makes the interpretation as *or(o) te* even more unlikely.

Text 2887 receives a disproportionate handling (one whole page) in view of its length and interpretation potential. The main part is taken up by various suggestions about the source and meaning of two expressions (*quintio* and *assidat ad asinum*). These speculations, of which especially those concerning the Greek origin of *quintio* are impossible, should not have received, in an epigraphical reference work like the present volume, the space and attention they now get.

Sometimes there are actual repetitions. In 538 the phonology of the text is discussed twice, first with reference to the relevant pages in Väänänen (*Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, 1966<sup>3</sup>) and at the latter part of the commentary referring to Myśliwiec, who had suggested Oscan influence. Similarly, in 813, the sense of the word *morator* is discussed twice, in both with a reference to *Ov. epist.* 19,70 (the other time this reference is given incorrectly as 18,70, found in *OLD* and *ThLL*) as a possible parallel for the meaning of *morator*.

In the commentary of 1101, where *Antistius* is to be understood in the place of the transmitted *Antiscius* (since Guarini), we find speculation on the possibility that the form *Antiscius* is phonologically motivated and reflects the later development of *-tius* and *-cius* to */tsius/* (for

some reason the phenomenon is called "iotacismus"). Here, however, the form must be a mere writing error. The palatalization and assimilation of *-ci-* and *-ti-* is a later phenomenon, first attested in the 2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE (as the commentary makes clear).

On the other hand, there are texts where the reader would have welcomed some more information on the possible interpretation(s), e.g., the latter part of the famous poem 1173 *quisquis ama valia peria qui nosci amare*. A similar case is 3494, where part of the texts accompanying the tavern scene is not discussed at all.

The style could have been more concise (cf., e.g., the lengthy formulation of an unproblematic identification of a candidate with a phrase like "ut/cum/non aliter ac X et Y non dubitabis candidatus quin fuerit / quin agatur de Z"). Some errors remain in the Latin (seemingly due to changes e.g. between an active and passive expression in the course of the editorial work), but in general they do not impede understanding.

In the following I offer a few critical notes on individual texts. These are inevitably haphazard and are not meant to be read as an overall negative evaluation on the commentaries.

One example of inaccuracy is no. 31, where Zangemeister gives the text C · CACOS. Weber criticizes, with right, Gordon's interpretation, which makes Cacos a Celtic cognomen but placed where a nomen is expected: "Quod legendum proponit Gordon, non facile accipies ob cognomen loco gentilicio positum et ob formulam notam *v(irum) b(onum)* in *b(onum) v(irum)* mutatam." The latter part of this, however, is not correct. Gordon says nothing about the formulas *bv* or *vb*. This must derive from Kiessling's suggested reading in the original publication, recorded but not accepted by Zangemeister: C · CACOBV. Castrén followed by Mouritsen and Chiavia understand C. *Cacos(ium)*. The supplement goes on to note "De *-o-* pro *-u-* vide Väänänen *Latin vulgaire* 28sq., de *-m* finali omissa vide ad tit. 20." But there is no omitted final *-m* in this name. If the interpretation as *Cacos(ium)* is correct, we have here an abbreviation, not a phonologically motivated dropping of the final *-m*. If this name is assumed to be the Celtic nomen *Cacusius*, a reference to A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachsatz* (1896–1922), s.v. would have been in order, and would have made understandable the note about writing *-o-* for *-u-* in *Cacos(ium)*.

In text 20 cited above there is no missing final *-m* either, but *Veidi* for *Veidium* (similarly *Popidi* for *Popidium* in 74). No. 20 refers to no. 3 for this phenomenon (*Veidi* for *Veidium*), and in text 3 (finally) the form *Mari* for *Marium* is treated as missing the whole of its final syllable and not only the final *-m*. A reference is also given to F. Sommer, *Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre* (1948<sup>3</sup>), 342, who considers such forms of names with root *-io*, if not as abbreviations like similar nominatives, as Oscan influence with reference to accusative forms *Gavi* for *Gavim* and *Popidi* for *Popidim*, similar, e.g., to the Oscan accusative *Pakim*. Hence, the *-m* is missing in *Veidi*, *Mari* etc. if we think it represents an Oscan-influenced accusative form *Veidim* etc., but this is not stated in the supplement.

In number 39 the reading *Vetur(ium)* instead of Zangemeister's *Velur(ium)* is suggested by P. Kruschwitz and H. Solin on the basis of Zangemeister's corrigenda on pp. 190, where he considers it possible to read the third letter as *t* instead of *l*. In dealing with this text, the supplement notes the following: "Neque Castren neque Mouritsen et eum sequens Chiavia vident in adn. p. 190 a Zangemeister inscriptiones 39 et 40 coniunctas repeti ita, ut P. Velurius aut P. Veturius una sola inscriptione, i.e. tit. 39, nominetur.", i.e., Castren, Mouritsen and Chiavia take Zangemeister's corrigenda on p. 190 to mean that not only one inscription mentions *P. Vetur(ium)*, but that both 39 and 40 do so. This would have been a perfect place to correct the

misunderstanding. What Zangemeister says on p. 190 ad n. 40: "Hanc [sc. inscriptionem n. 40, HH] cum illius n. 39 principio coniunctam infra exhibui", together with the apographon where the beginning of 39 and below the text of 40 are printed, seems to suggest clearly that only one *P. Vetur(ius)* is attested, the one in no. 39.

It is not an easy task to present highly formulaic material and phraseology full of abbreviations, characteristic of the electoral *programmata*, in a supplement volume like the present one. These difficulties are exemplified below.

For text no. 98, Zangemeister gives *Postu[mium] ... Iulius Polybius collega facit*, but notes that *fecit* has been read by others (except the *Acta* [below]). The supplement refers to Mouritsen, who prefers *fecit* because it is a *lectio difficilior*, while also recording different views about the interpretations of such perfect forms (post-electoral propaganda as suggested by R. Gründel, in *Acta of the Fifth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Cambridge 8–23 September 1967* [1971], 225–7), but no parallel for the form *fecit* is given. Reference is only made to 1059 for the meaning of the verbs *rogare* and *facere*. No mention is made of the fact that 1059 has *facit*, the alternative reading in 98. (On the other hand, the commentary to 1059 refers to 98 for the perfect although 1059 does not have the perfect at all). The only text mentioned in the commentary to 98 is 1122, which is exceptional among those texts as it has the perfect form (*universi fecerunt*). To find parallels for 98, one has to check Gründel's article and his references.

In 3760, on the other hand, where *fecit* probably is to be read (*fac qui te fe[cit]*), reference is made (twice!) to 98 for the perfect and to 7942 "de vocibus fac similibusque adhortationibus, quae programmatibus adiunctae leguntur". There is no mention of the relative clause *qui te fe[cit]*, which is not attested in 98, 7942 nor in any of those texts given in 7942, and the reader is left wondering whether this is the only instance of such a relative clause and perfect combination. Furthermore, the commentary to 7942 only contains the comment "Nota inscriptiones e.g. *fac et ille te faciet* et similia supra tit. 7316. 7429. 7539 illustrantes viros Pompeianos inter se adiuvasse", which is not very informative given that the commentary of 7942 is the standard place of reference for such exhortations in the supplement.

Of the texts referred to in 7942, number 7316 has first the name of the candidate in the accusative (of which only *-ium* is preserved), followed by *ovf* and then *Iuli Philippe fac*. After this comes *et ille Polybium faciet*. The strangeness of this combination is not mentioned in the supplement. What is mentioned is the putative anacoluthon formed by the combination of *o(ro) v(os) f(aciatis)* and then only one name (*Iuli Philippe*) in the vocative. However, *ovf* was a phraseological element that does not (have to) agree syntactically with the rest of the text. This fact is rightly stressed in the commentary of 97, but there is no mention of that here.

In text 370 Zangemeister gives (on the basis of *Acta*, *Amicone* and *Annales*) P PAQ-VIVM VERVS<sup>CON</sup>DIS. The new supplement records the interpretations *Verus condiscipulus* of Castrén following Guarini and *Verus condiscipulis vel -centibus* [should be *con discipulis*] etc. HH] of Kerpertová ("in sermone") and *condiscens* of Weber (Mouritsen has *verecundiss[-]* following another suggestion of Guarini). The commentary offers information about the preposition *cum* (the preposition only occurs in Kerpertová's suggestion) written in the form *con* citing Väänänen's (*op. cit.* p. 28) view that the form *con* belongs to later antiquity ("antiquitatis posterioris"). There is no reference to attestations of *con* in the letters of Claudius Terentianus from the early 2<sup>nd</sup> century; these are taken as probably archaizing by J. N. Adams, *The Vulgar Latin of the Letters of Claudius Terentianus* (1977), 9–10 with a reference to *CIL* IV 3935 *com*

*sodalibus.*

In the commentary of 2953 where the rare passive form *fruniscarus* (for *fruniscaris*) is attested there is no reference to J. N. Adams, *Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC – AD 600* (2007), 445–50, where an up-to-date discussion of the phenomenon is provided. For the text 7807 H. Solin (*Arctos* 43 [2009] 179–83) has, on the basis of the photograph published in A. Varone – G. Stefani, *op. cit.*, proposed restoring the first name as *[Pa]mphilus* (if not *[Herm]aphilus*) but there is no reference to this article. The same article by Solin offers new suggestions also for texts 7425, 9839 and 9895. For example, in 9839 the correction of *ferramenta perdensa furatus* to *ferramenta per geni[um] iuratus*, was proposed by Solin already in 1973 (*Gnomon* 45, 275), as mentioned in the supplement, but this reading has now been confirmed by his consultation of a better photograph. In the commentary of 2993y, which is a Latin text written in Greek letters, the supplement does not mention Solin's comments in his review of A. Varone – G. Stefani, *op. cit.*, in *Arctos* 44 [2010] 325, where it is pointed out that the traditionally given text form Ὅ[γ]ουστ- (supposedly for Αὐγούστ-) and Νηρ- (supposedly for Νερ-) are not likely to have existed in the original text.

Occasional inaccuracies, missing references, or material that is superfluous in one reviewer's eyes cannot be avoided in a massive work such as the present volume. Being the result of decades of scholarship, it is an impressive effort and a useful reference tool for future scholars. Above I have taken a rather critical view on certain of its features. The aim has been to provide readers of this supplement volume with information about the problems one may encounter in using it. However, the most important evaluation to be given is that in most cases the useful and relevant information is there and can be found, but that sometimes this may be difficult due to the problems described above.

*Hilla Halla-aho*

*Supplementa Italica*. Nuova serie 27 (*Terventum, Urvinum Hortense, Arna, Laus Pompeia*). A cura di GERARDO FRATIANNI – ENRICO ZUDDAS – LORENA ROSI BONCI – MARIA CARLA SPADONI – PAOLA TOMASI. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2013 (2014). ISBN 978-88-7140-548-3. 344 pp. EUR 46.

Unless my memory fails me, about one new volume per year was promised when this marvellous series was started in 1981. In 2014, we should, then, in theory be arriving at vol. 33. However, clearly the editors were in the beginning a bit too optimistic, and although some might perhaps assume that the pace of publication has become slower in the last few years, for instance because of the economic situation in Italy, the fact is that even during the first decade between 1981 and 1990 only six volumes – vols. 1–6 – were published. The pace became faster in the 1990s, when altogether 12 volumes appeared between 1991 and 2000, but in the following decade between 2001 and 2010 the number of published volumes fell to seven. With two volumes published during the present decade, we have arrived at 27 published volumes. But even if this number is a bit lower than one would expect on the basis of what was initially promised, I do not think that anyone with a serious interest in epigraphy will complain, especially as the publication of this new volume in any case means good news for the epigraphical community.

Up till now, the *Suppl. It.* volumes have been preceded by a "presentazione" by Silvio Panciera, but in this volume, Panciera's introduction is called "commiato" ('leave-taking', or something on these lines), and he ends – after some very interesting observations on the publication of the *Suppl. It.* and, e.g., on the funding of the humanities in Italy in general – accordingly by announcing that he will give up, after 43 years of service, his chairmanship of the Commissione responsabile, within the Unione Accademica Nazionale, for the publication of the *Supplementa* (also of the *Imagines*) and of the series *Iscrizioni greche d'Italia*. This does not, of course, mean that this would be the end of the series, for, as Panciera observes, the series will in good hands after his resignation; it appears that Maria Lazzarini is Panciera's successor as chairman of the Commissione.

As for the contents of the *Supplementum*, we have here four contributions covering one city in Samnium, two in Umbria and one in N. Italy: Terventum by G. Fratianni (pp. 13–93; 39 new inscriptions); Urvinum Hortense by E. Zuddas (pp. 95–199, the most substantial contribution with 89 new texts); Arna by L. Rosi Bonci & M. C. Spadoni (pp. 201–35, with eight "new" inscriptions, of which no less than four were already registered in *CIL* XI); Laus Pompeia by P. Tomasi (pp. 237–331, with 28 new texts).

Most of the "new" inscriptions included here have of course been published earlier in various journals and were as such already known, e.g., though the *Année épigraphique*. But there are also previously unpublished texts, e.g., Urvinum no. 1 (an interesting Republican inscription set up in honour of the goddess Minerva by four *mag(istri)* of an *opifi(cum) conl(egium)*, two of them freedmen and both without cognomina) and Arna no. 6. However, it is of course not only the new (or "new") inscriptions in the *Supplementa Italica* volumes that are interesting, but also the addenda to the inscriptions already included in the *CIL* and, of course, the introductions to the individual cities.

As usual, the commentaries both to the inscriptions in the addenda and to the new texts tend to be pretty profuse. This is, of course, good inasmuch as the reader can be sure, e.g., that all readings of a difficult inscription have been registered in the commentaries. On the other hand, in the case of unproblematic inscriptions one wonders whether it is really of any use to record all false readings and various misunderstandings by (say) 19th-century local men; for instance, a certain B. Martani, active in the 1880s and 1890s, is said have read "male" several times in the contribution on Laus Pompeia (e.g., "male Martani" p. 294 on no. 6362), but I wonder if this information is really needed. I also wonder if the references to onomastic handbooks are, in the case of very common names, really needed (note, e.g., *Rufus* being illustrated by the citation of eight different pages in Kajanto's *Latin Cognomina* on p. 295). I also wonder if anyone turns to this volume in order to find information on (say) the etymology of the nomen *Marius* (said to be derived from the "nome osco Marhais [sic]" on p. 52 on no. 2784).

On the other hand, sometimes there is something that could have been added to a particular commentary. For instance, in the commentary of almost a full page to *CIL* IX 2597 from Terventum on pp. 40f., it might have been added that the title *flaminalis* is in fact extremely rare (*Arctos* 44 [2010] 222f.). Moreover, the policy of not quoting the text of the inscriptions in the addenda section (a policy I would like see changed) sometimes results in the situation where the reader is left uncertain about the interpretation of the editor in question. For instance, the commentary on p. 225 on *CIL* XI 5615 from Arna does not in my view make it sufficiently clear that what we have here is not a "mention" of the consuls of AD 150, but an inscription being dated by these consuls. As there is a *vacat* after *M. Gavio*, it seems probable that the

consul was referred to by only one cognomen, the correct reading thus perhaps being *M. Gavius* [*Squilla* (or *Gallicano*)], / *Sex. Carminius* [*Vetere co(n)s(ulibus)*]. In the addenda to *CIL V 6350* on p. 287, it would have been interesting to know what the editor thinks of the letter *f* following on *T. Allius Naevianus*.

Terventum (Trivento) in Samnium is the subject of G. Fratianni. From the map on p. 23 it appears that some places familiar to those dealing with Samnites and Oscan inscriptions – e.g., Agnone and Pietrabbondante – belong to the territory of this town which, by the way, seems to lack a proper museum (p. 35). Most of the new inscriptions here were already known through the author's 2010 publication *Terventum. Carta archeologica della media valle del Trigno* (*AE* 2010, 373ff.). Reading this contribution, I could not in the beginning help wondering about the frequent use of the accusative absolute in the inscriptions of this city. The numerous references to my colleague A. Helttula's book on this phenomenon start on p. 40 (on *CIL IX 2596*, followed by the commentaries on nos. 2603, 2604, 2610, 2614), but when I observed this book being quoted as an illustration also to no. 23 (*CIL I<sup>2</sup> 3207*), where the *ipsa verba* were added, namely "*C(aius) Mamius Mar(aei) filius* / *heic situs est*", where I could not see an accusative, not to speak of an accusative absolute, I understood that something must have gone wrong. Having studied the matter I found out that all references to Helttula's *Studies on the Latin Accusative Absolute* are in fact to another book published in 1987, namely to my book on the Roman praenomina (*Die römischen Vornamen*). It would be most interesting to know how this error could have originated. In any case, the author does quote the *Vornamen* also using its real name; however, on p. 53 (on no. 2789), instead of the reference to p. 129, where I enumerate some instances of the name *Pupus* in Northern Italy, it would have been better to quote pp. 62–5, where I show that within a nomenclature like this – *pup. Pontius T. f. Vo[l.] Proculus* – *pup.* is not to be considered a name at all (not to speak of a Northern Italian name), but the abbreviation of the term *pupillus*. As for individual inscriptions, in no. 13 (*AE* 1991, 436) the reading of line 7 is given as *cum quo vixit ann(is) [---]*, but there does not seem to be any space for the number of years, and instead of *cum quo* I cannot help seeing *Clemens* and thinking that this must be the brother of Pudens in line 8 (the rest of line 7 escapes me).

As mentioned above, the contribution by E. Zuddas on Urvinum Hortense (between Vettona and Mevania, close to the medieval village of Collemancio) contains the largest number of new inscriptions in this volume. However, although there are interesting texts (e.g., the trapezophori nos 21 and 22), many of the inscriptions are only small fragments – although in the case of nos. 82–87 even "fragment" sounds a bit too grand, for in these texts not a single letter can be identified (no wonder each of them is said to be "inedito"). This is a learned contribution with references also to, e.g., recently published military diplomas in order to establish the date of *CIL XI 5178* (p. 134). On p. 140 the author correctly points out that the inscription *CIL XI 5196* is "eccezionale" inasmuch as it mentions two sons of a freedman both inheriting the father's cognomen (this is in fact the only attestation of this scenario in the whole of the Roman empire). However, the reference should not have been to my book on *Adoptive Nomenclature*, but to that on the *Vornamen*.

As mentioned above, the contribution on Arna does not contain many new inscriptions, but that on Laus Pompeia is a more substantial chapter with 28 new texts (many of them Christian), although no. 28 consists in fact only of "osservazioni preliminari" (by G. Bevilacqua) on a *defixio* yet to be published. Perhaps the most interesting text is no. 5, a decree of AD 166 of the local *collegium centonariorum* regarding the choice of a patron. The first six

lines have been known since 1987 (*AE* 1987, 464), but an unpublished fragment, with another seven lines, is added here. The new fragment offers some familiar expressions, e.g., *ut ad ei]-us praesidium confugiamus* (for *praesidium* cf., e.g., *CIL* V 532 = *ILS* 6680 = *Inscr. It.* X 4, 31, for *confugiamus* cf. *AE* 1992, 301 with *ut ad clientelam tuam refugire [sic] debeamus*). As for the already published fragment, the text is here presented as [*referentibus --- R]ufino et etc. --- [v(erba) f(ecerunt)]*, but it is perhaps more common to begin in this context with *quod* (for *quod referentibus* etc. see, e.g., *CIL* XI 970 = *ILS* 7216; *AE* 1991, 713). With this construction, with everyone (as in this text) appearing in the ablative, the phrase *verba facere* must be in the passive because otherwise the subject would be missing. I thus suggest that the text should run as follows: [*quod referentibus --- R]ufino et etc. --- [v(erba) f(acta) s(unt)]*, the contents of the *verba* being expressed as an *accusativus cum infinitivo* (cf. *equi]tem Romanum* in line 7, *adornasse* in line 8).

In spite of these observations on some details, I would like to point out that this is a fine book which I have already used with profit.

Olli Salomies

GIOVANNA CICALA: *Instrumentum domesticum inscriptum proveniente da Asculum e dal suo territorio*. Biblioteca di studi antichi 91. Fabrizio Serra editore, Pisa – Roma 2010. ISBN 978-88-6227-180-6. 437 pp. EUR 145.

Si tratta di un catalogo dell'*instrumentum inscriptum* proveniente dal territorio della romana Asculum, nato da una tesi di dottorato discussa a Pisa nel 2006. Precedono considerazioni su questa categoria di scritti, sulla loro consistenza e sulla storia di varie collezioni di reperti. Il catalogo stesso è molto minuzioso, descrivendo i pezzi con grande puntigliosità. D'altra parte esso lascia molto a desiderare. I testi stessi non sono sempre stati editi con dovuta accuratezza; per es. nell'uso dei segni diacritici regna una certa imprecisione. Già all'inizio, n. 26 si legge "M^A", ma non si capisce che cosa voglia dire (dalla foto si potrebbe concludere che l'a. voleva indicare un nesso di M e A; questo segno ^ tra due lettere si ripete poi spesso e sembra appunto indicare nessi di lettere; ora, l'a. avrà probabilmente voluto mettere il segno ^ sopra la prima lettera di un nesso, come si suole fare in edizioni epigrafiche, ma avrebbe dovuto essere più attenta nella lettura delle bozze e cercare di mettere il segno ^ al suo posto giusto). Inoltre, un largo numero di pezzi subito all'inizio del catalogo, bolli su ceramica a vernice nera, non contengono iscrizioni propriamente dette; *cui bono* dunque la loro estesa trattazione? Poi salta agli occhi la bassa qualità delle riproduzioni fotografiche, in base alle quali è spesso impossibile un controllo delle letture (l'editore non poteva permettersi una carta migliore per le foto?). Già all'inizio, il n. 24 dovrebbe recare graffita la scritta *Aria*, ma dalla foto non si distingue niente. È specialmente irritante il fatto che i numeri del catalogo e delle riproduzioni fotografiche non sempre concordino (così è almeno dal n. 178 in avanti); l'a. doveva essere più attenta nella preparazione del libro per la stampa: ora il lettore riesce a trovare nel catalogo le foto relative a una determinata iscrizione solo con una certa fatica.

Di seguito mi limito a segnalare alcune false o sospette letture o interpretazioni che mi sono capitate sotto gli occhi nell'esame dell'opera: n. 31 dovrebbe contenere la scritta *CHOE/RIO*. Dalla foto non si distingue assolutamente niente. Dal minuzioso lemma non risulta chi

sia la fonte del CIL, ma Mommsen ricorre soltanto allo studioso locale Gabrielli. Se la lettura fosse corretta, avremmo un elemento onomastico molto interessante, un nome grecanico appartenente alla famiglia di nomi Χοίρο-, praticamente ignoti nell'Occidente romano (un caso isolato forse a Roma, vedi il mio *Namenbuch* 1151). Ma si capisce che la pubblicazione del testo senza foto non basta a garantire la lettura di un tale nome. Tuttavia, a giudicare dalla pubblicazione del rilievo a p. 411 si potrebbe, forse, accettare, con dovuta cautela, la lettura presentata da Cicala; in favore della quale potrebbe anche militare un nuovo esemplare del bollo, pubblicato da V. Morizio in *Archeologia di una città. Bari dalle origini al X secolo*, Bari 1988, 476 n. 961 fig. 703, 5, dove, se il bollo è disegnato in modo corretto, si potrebbe trovare una conferma alla lettura di Cicala. In fin dei conti, CHOERIO potrebbe rappresentare la corretta lettura, e il nome potrebbe essere Χοιρίων, attestato nell'onomastica greca (*SEG* LI 791, Anfipoli in Macedonia). – n. 37: la pessima foto non consente di verificare la lettura un po' sospetta data dall'a. PMIISII/INVS MII/NVPILVS. Sorprendentemente l'a. tace il fatto che del bollo del ceramista *P. Messenus* (non *Mesenus*) *Menopilus* sono stati trovati altri esemplari in varie parti dell'Impero. – n. 103: dalla foto non si distingue niente. Non penserei a un *C. Abinius*, questo gentilizio essendo rarissimo (inoltre è tramandato G, non C). – n. 184: la lettura *Sustus* sembra certa (solo che la S finale non si distingue bene nella foto che porta il n. 182), ma non si capisce come mai la lamina dovrebbe essere cristiana, come l'a. sembra insinuare (*Sustus* è una forma che appare anche in documenti non cristiani; poi non è escluso che la nostra lamina sarebbe identica a *CIL* III 13561, 5 [può darsi che il *flos* segnalato dal *CIL* sia la stessa cosa che la *hedera distinguens* indicata dalla Cicala]). – n. 187: lettura certamente sbagliata, ma basandomi sulla foto non buona (indicata come n. 186!) non so proporre una migliore; solo *Prisciani* in 2 si legge senza difficoltà. – 188: anche qui la lettura QVLVII = *Q. Ulvii* è certamente sbagliata; soprattutto la prima lettera del presunto gentilizio non può essere V, perché la V non può avere nel primo periodo imperiale, cui l'a. attribuisce l'iscrizione, la forma 'onciale' U. Anche il nome *Ulvius* causa sospetti. A me sembra di poter leggere *Oli* (= *Auli*) *Iuli*. Il prenome *Aulus* non è raro nella *gens Iulia*, e la forma *Olus* del prenome è spesso scritta per intero (*CIL* III 993; VI 7093. 13940. 25144. 35471; VIII 23720; IX 3212; *IL Afr* 34; *IL Alg* II 8149; *ILTun* 1572, 2). – Ricordo un refuso: a p. 22 *CIL* X 8059 353, non 535.

Si tratta di un libro certo utile, anche se non privo di difetti. L'a. si esprime in modo troppo circostanziato e non sa sempre distinguere tra importante e superfluo, e i lemmi dei singoli pezzi del catalogo potevano essere concepiti in modo più chiaro e breve. Ma soprattutto è imperdonabile che in un'edizione di documenti epigrafici spesso di difficile lettura le riproduzioni fotografiche siano al di sotto di ogni livello, per cui spessissimo l'accesso a una lettura certa del testo epigrafico rimane precluso. Di questo inconveniente sia l'a. che l'editore devono riconoscere le proprie responsabilità. Pagare 145 euro di un libro inutilizzabile a causa della bassa qualità delle fotografie, parte essenziale dell'opera, è semplicemente troppo. Finisco con l'augurio di non dover mai più consultare un'edizione epigrafica in cui una buona parte delle letture delle singole iscrizioni non sia riscontrabile sulle fotografie. Con le tecniche moderne non dovrebbe essere difficile produrre in un libro a stampa fotoriproduzioni di livello tale da permettere un migliore controllo delle letture dei documenti pubblicati.



ROBERT GARLAND: *Wandering Greeks. The Ancient Greek Diaspora from the Age of Homer to the Death of Alexander the Great*. Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2014. ISBN 978-0-691-16105-1. XXI, 319 pp. USD 35 GBP 24.95.

This book discusses ancient counterparts of important contemporary issues: migration, asylum and population displacement. Robert Garland is in the habit of selecting topical themes that have relevance today, such as disability in the Graeco-Roman world.<sup>1</sup> The book reviewed here is more of a handbook covering examples from Homeric poetry down to the dawn of the Hellenistic times organised thematically than a proper analytic study of the topic. It is an extensive introduction to its subject and one must hope that these themes will receive more discussion elsewhere.

This does not mean that Garland's book does not have its merits. The first chapters are, however, somewhat uneven, covering a large number of various issues, and especially Chapter 3, "The Wanderer", seems somewhat confusing to this reader. After the first chapters the focus moves momentarily from migration to the Greek tradition of moving around. References are made to many kinds of movements, including those in the *Odyssey*. After a brief discussion of the wanderings, however, the emphasis in this chapter unexpectedly moves on to exile. Perhaps movements in general should have been dealt with in the introductory chapter as background information, and this chapter could have been dedicated to the topic of exile. Nevertheless, the book regains a firm footing with Chapter 6, "The Evacuee", and after the discussion of displaced or resettled populations remains strongly focused on economic migration.

A clearer separation between fiction and historical sources and the different types of evidence they bring to the discussion would have been desirable. The historical events described in the historical sources and the varied attitudes revealed by poetry and drama are presented almost indiscriminately side by side. A critical discussion of the different types of sources and their nature in the introduction would not have gone amiss.

The intended audience is also unclear. The prose is targeted at an educated general public when discussing the definitions of different contemporary issues such as refugees, and when making references to Polish plumbers as an example of economic migrants in our time. However, the more scholarly narrative requires a grasp of detail of the ancient world that must be considered above any general knowledge. There are maps, but not at the beginning, and areas such as Boeotia are not found on any of them. A map of the ancient kingdoms and sites mentioned in Chapter 1 would also have been useful. Some statements seem to remain incomplete such as the one on p. 36, where it is not crystal clear that the reference to the non-existence of Athenian colonies is true only during the Archaic period. Nevertheless, many of the less familiar concepts such as *stasis*, the political struggle between two opposing groups and the potential expulsions of the losing side from a *polis*, are presented in a clear manner and underline the differences between the modern world and ancient Greek societies.

I noticed some omissions and topics Garland touches upon only sparingly. These include Greek explorations as a separate category of learned wanderings, and movements of individuals who wanted to attend different philosophical schools or visit various religious establishments. Naturally, these are not themes directly related to mass economic migration or asylum seekers, but they can be seen as representing the topic of wandering. Tourism is not

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<sup>1</sup> R. Garland, *The Eye of the Beholder: Deformity and Disability in the Graeco-Roman World*, Ithaca (NY), 1995.

touched upon either, but this is understandable because the movements were not permanent and as an upcoming phenomenon it was more of a feature of Hellenistic times. However, a narrower, better defined focus would have left no room for pining after such social and intellectual reasons for moving around the Mediterranean and would have helped to leave out unnecessary material from the book.

Even if analytical clarity is not always apparent, this book gives a valuable outline of the character of Greek colonisation, migration and repatriation and the political and economic reasons behind these phenomena. It is thus a valuable contribution to its field.

*Ulla Rajala*

*Greek and Roman Networks in the Mediterranean*. Edited by IRAD MALKIN – CHRISTY CONSTANTAKOPOULOU – KATERINA PANAGOPOULOU. Routledge, Abingdon – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-415-45989-1. XIII, 321 pp. EUR 82.90, USD 115.

Based on a conference held in May 2006, in Rethymno, Crete, and initially published as two special issues of the *Mediterranean Historical Review* (vol. 22, 2007), this book – a collection of 18 individual papers – aims to take the notion of Mediterranean "networks" "beyond its descriptive value" (p. 2), and to apply Social Network Analysis and theories of connectivity to historical questions being posed about the Mediterranean in antiquity. Keeping in mind F. Braudel's *longue durée*, the authors state that the aim is "to qualify networks, to understand their duration, function, scope, overlapping, and historical implications." (p. 2). The papers offer a selection of themes to which network analysis can be applied to enhance our understanding of history of the Mediterranean. The papers all consider "network-related historical questions" (p. 8), regardless of whether they explicitly apply Network Analysis or not.

In the first paper, "Beyond and Below the Polis: Networks, Associations and the Writing of Greek History" (pp. 12–23) Kostas Vlassopoulos looks at the role of networks and their associations in the writing of Greek history. Rejecting Greek history as written through the polis "unified history based on the rise, acme, and decline of the polis," Vlassopoulos instead applies networks to look at "social, economic, political, and cultural interaction" at the levels below the polis and beyond the polis. The level below the polis constitutes *koinônai*: subgroupings within the city that includes not only the demos and the various professional guilds, but also foreigners in the city (there by virtue of networks?). This then hints at the level beyond the polis – the interactions (commercial, military, and artistic) and between the different poleis and other Mediterranean powers that together formed a Classical "world-system" which allows for an interpretation of the period of the Classical polis on a global, mobile, fragmented level.

Ian Rutherford's contribution ("Network Theory and Theoric Networks", pp. 24–38) hinges on a play on words, the theory of networking, and the networks of *theoria* – religious delegations sent from city to city. By employing Social Network Analysis to graphically represent relationships of cultic centres and cities sending delegations, it becomes possible to chart nodes, clusters, and even the "prestige" of some centres over others.

Simon Hornblower's paper ("Did the Delphic Amphiktionion Play a Political Role in the Classical Period?", pp. 39–56) considers whether the league's punitive actions could be considered stepping outside the bounds of "essentially" religious affairs. Condemnation of the

Spartans and of Astykrates in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century BCE may have been manifestations of the political ambitions of the cities that were dominant at the time, rather than direct response to religious outrages, which was the stated remit of the Amphictiony. It appears that while the Amphictiony itself might have been apolitical, its network and authority could be exploited and used as a weapon for dominance and retribution by members against one another.

J. K. Davies' "Pythios and Pythaion: the spread of a cult title" (pp. 57–69) also considers networks stemming from Delphi, in this case the "distribution of the cult epithet 'Pythios'" and its "connotations, or reflections of function". Davies considers alternatively the generic "'mechanisms' of transfer" (of which he identifies eight variants), and also the "psychological" implications of the cult itself – its particular oracular tradition or association with purification or punishment of murderers as factors in its dissemination.

Hugh Bowden's essay ("Cults of Demeter Eleusinia and the Transmission of Religious Ideas", pp. 70–82) also considers the issue of cult distribution. He argues that the cults formed networks of information transmission. He poses the question of whether the writings of well-travelled "religious experts" such as Herodotus or Pausanias might have over-emphasized the commonalities between cults, or whether they even prompted them, and that the shared heritage reflected in the accounts of these authors may not reflect a genuine transmission of ideas from the mother cult to its subsidiaries.

Robin Osborne poses the question: "What Travelled With Greek Pottery?" (pp. 83–93). Does the distribution of Greek pottery (black- and red-figure vases of the 6<sup>th</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) outside the Greek mainland represent the distribution of Greek "cultural practice and knowledge" or are they exotic luxury items dissociated from their original cultural significance and usage? Osborne initially argues not from iconography but from function– to him the absence of *aryballoi* suggests the absence of gymnasia, or the presence of a full set of sympotic vessels suggests that the customs of the symposia may have been acquired as well, whereas assemblages where only certain items (such as kraters but no cups) are found may be indicative that Greek items were incorporated into indigenous practices as novelty items. Osborne concludes that the latter scenario is more common: that pots did not carry practice. Furthermore, the imagery from mythological scenes on pots found in Etruria likely reinforced, rather than imparted, a knowledge of Greek mythology.

Michael Sommer brings us beyond the Greek world to consider Iron Age networks ("Networks of Commerce and Knowledge in the Iron Age: The Case of the Phoenicians", pp. 94–108). Despite the continuity into Late Antiquity of a "Phoenician" national identity, Sommer argues that the networks exploited by the Iron Age Phoenicians should not be characterised by ethnic identity, but as a "composite Mediterranean network", in which participants of different regions contributed to differing degrees and at different periods.

Riet van Bremen's paper ("Networks of Rhodians in Karia", pp. 109–28) looks at the presence of Rhodians who were in Karia not for military/administrative reasons, but for reasons of commerce, etc. Relying on evidence from epigraphy and the distribution of the designator "*Rhodios*", she questions whether the individuals represent "incorporated" natives of Karia (granted the title as a privilege), or instead are natives of the island of Rhodes who owned property in Karia. Considering the evidence for each model, van Bremen rejects the former hypothesis, arguing that instead of indicating a two-tiered citizenship with privileged local elites, the evidence instead suggests "distance and inequality" – "relations of patronage rather than of citizen honoured by his fellow citizens" (p. 112); ossified social structures rather than internal

social mobility.

Isabella Sandwell ("Libanius' Social Networks: Understanding the Social Structure of the Later Roman Empire", pp. 129–43) applies social network theory to the 4<sup>th</sup> century Antiochene rhetor and epistolarian. Scott Bradbury<sup>2</sup> has already considered the networking implications of Libanius' correspondence. These indicate that he had an extensive friendship group that spanned the cities of the Roman Empire. Sandwell picks up this torch. She argues against the traditional view of Late Antique society as rigidly categorized, with tension between the imperial centre and civic elites. The restructuring of the imperial administration in the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> centuries (not to mention the legitimation of the Christian clergy) created new upwardly mobile opportunities for the well-educated and ambitious provincials. Libanius' social network includes both the civic elite and the imperial administration – widely distributed throughout the provinces. Libanius' used his extensive network of friends, colleagues, students, and family to further his own aims, but also to obtain favours for other friends – Libanius thus forms a nodal point in the social mobility that characterized Late Antique society.

Anna Collar's paper ("Network Theory and Religious Innovations", pp. 144–57) looks closely at the underlying principles of network theory. She illustrates how the theoretical mechanisms of network theory manifest variously in the worlds of physics, biology, and, eventually, human societies. She makes the observation that network theory can be applied to historical study as a means of providing an alternative to the narrative written by the victors. "Assessing network structure rather than 'stimuli' of historical events leads to a different way of understanding the past. Instead of viewing historical success as a measure of inherent merit, using networks means the observed outcomes of historical situations not be 'superior'. They are survivors." (p. 154).

Dimitris Paleothodoros' paper ("Commercial Networks in the Mediterranean and the Diffusion of Early Attic Red-figure Pottery (525–490 BCE)", pp. 158–75) picks up on themes from Osborne's paper by asking what prompted the innovation of red-figure ware at the expense of black-figure ware in 6<sup>th</sup> century Attica. Much like Osborne, Paleothodoros concludes that the impetus did not come from the Greek mainland. Rather, the driving force behind the change was the taste of overseas consumers, which in turn was reflected in the desire of Greek potters to maintain the prominence of their product (particularly in the face of imitations).

Vincent Gabrielsen ("Brotherhoods of Faith and Provident Planning: The Non-public Associations of the Greek World", pp. 176–203) examines the "networking capabilities" of the non-public speaking associations of the Hellenistic period. The non-official nature of these associations meant that they admitted those typically outside the normal political discourse – foreigners, women, slaves – providing them with a "societal space". "Associational proliferation and activity created a huge repository of institutional potential, whose special properties were to connect, communicate, and energize." (p. 181). They were capable of rejuvenating the polis by what Gabrielsen terms an "industrious revolution". Religion not only created cohesion between members of the group, but expressions of piety and shared cults were one way that these associations networked with one another as well.

Maria Stamatopolou's paper "Thessalians Abroad, the Case of Pharsalos" (pp. 204–29) forms part of a larger project looking at attestations of natives of Thessaly beyond the boundaries

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<sup>2</sup> S. Bradbury, "Libanius' Letters as Evidence for Travel and Epistolary Networks among Greek Elites in the Fourth Century," in: L. Ellis – F. Kidner (eds.), *Travel, Communication and Geography in Late Antiquity: Sacred and Profane*, Aldershot 2004, 73–80.

of that territory. The present paper makes a case study of the city of Pharsalos in southern Thessaly, from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE through to the second and third centuries. By tabulating the evidence, Stamatopoulou looks not only at the geographic spread, but changes over time. This leads her to conclude that Pharsalians had their greatest connections abroad in the 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries, when their skill as horsemen was in great demand. However, in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries their stance became introverted, and the networks of the previous centuries were no longer maintained, and Pharsalos was even superseded as an urban hub in Thessaly by other cities.

Selene Psoma ("Profitable Networks: Coinages, *Panegyreis* and Dionysiac Artists", pp. 30–248) looks at the coins minted by the association of Dionysiac artists and their role as units of currency and as markers of networks. In particular, the weight standards adopted at different times emulate the weight standards of different cities. This can be indicative of cities where the Dionysiac artists were active: where they were either doing most of their work or where they were doing most of their commercial transactions.

Gary Reger ("On the Road to India with Apollonius of Tyana and Thomas the Apostle", pp. 249–263) highlights how networks are described in the fictional 3<sup>rd</sup> century accounts of the travels of Apollonius of Tyana and the Apostle Thomas to lend verisimilitude to the journeys, and thus enhance the plausibility of the protagonists' miracle-working. Trading networks of merchants created routes, while diaspora communities of Jews in the case of Thomas, and the pervasiveness of Greek as a spoken language in the case of Apollonius gave them access to local populations as potential converts and audiences. Although the accounts themselves are, as stated, fictional, the networks of communities are corroborated by historical sources for the east, and mirror the communities that enabled the transmission of Christianity in the west as well.

Yannis Lolos' paper ("Via Egnatia after Egnatius: Imperial Policy and Inter-regional Contacts", pp. 264–84) examines the most physical manifestation of the network, the road itself, in this case the Via Egnatia that crosses the Balkans from the Adriatic coast to Constantinople. Lolos' paper looks at the impact of the road on the development of connectivity and settlements along its route from when it was first built in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE to Late Antiquity, such as the foundation of three colonies along the route by Augustus, and the (re-)foundation of cities particularly on the eastern side in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries (pp. 269–70). Like most Roman roads, which were initially constructed to facilitate administrative and military transport, the Via Egnatia also became a conduit for commercial, social, and cultural transport, which can be traced in distribution of trade items, and the cultural significance of cities such as Thessalonike.

Panagiotis Doukellis' paper ("Hadrian's *Panhellenion*: A Network of Cities", pp. 285–98) begins by cautioning against retrojecting a modern interpretation (network theory) onto historical circumstances. The paper proceeds to investigate networks as mechanisms of power and identity, looking particularly at the *Panhellenion* instituted by Hadrian. As membership in the *synedrion* was contingent upon demonstrable Greek origins, identity – real or constructed – played a crucial role in participation. Inscribed identity, in particular sacred sites – gave shape to the network. The aspect of imperial endorsement and limited criteria probably influenced the shape of the network more than historical reality of shared Greek heritage. However, the *synedrion* also played an active role for the cities that were members, in terms of religious, ceremonial, or judicial uniformity. In this regard, the *Panhellenion* conforms to patterns predicted by network theory.

Dominic Rathbone's paper "Merchant Networks in the Greek World: The Impact of Rome" (pp. 299–310) provides a fitting conclusion to the collection of papers, as it examines the influence of the Roman imperial and cultural structure on the networks seen in operation in some of the other articles in the collection, particularly those for maritime commerce. Rathbone teases out three points: the utility of network theory in the absence of documentary sources; second, the activity of minor or private economic activities within the activity sponsored by the Roman state; third, the role of banks in facilitating commerce, providing a legal framework and serving as nodal points "connecting the disparate economic corners of the Roman empire" (p. 307).

What this volume demonstrates is that scholars are accustomed to thinking about networks even without the application of a specifically designed theory. Very few of the papers, explicitly apply the mechanics of network theory to their data following the principles set forth in Collar's paper. Nevertheless new information about connectivity emerges from analysis of texts, epigraphy, pottery, iconography, coins, and the roads themselves. The articles are all written to a high standard and reflection of their authors' erudition. Each stands alone as an examination of its period, but for the most part they adhere to the stated theme as well. The outlier is Collar's paper, which reads like a thesis methodology chapter.<sup>3</sup> While detailed regarding the theoretical background, its application is not fully explored. One might have considered placing this article towards the beginning, as it provides a valuable introduction to network theory which is assumed elsewhere. Overall the book succeeds in its stated aim of exploring the potential applications of addressing historical questions by thinking about networks and connectivity in different contexts and with different types of evidence. In this way, the flexibility and adaptability of the methodology has been successfully demonstrated, and readers interested in new approaches may find many of the papers of use.

*Marlena Whiting*

ADAM SCHWARTZ: *Reinstating the Hoplite. Arms, Armour and Phalanx Fighting in Archaic and Classical Greece*. Historia Einzelschriften 207. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2009. ISBN 978-3-515-09139-9. 337 pp. EUR 64, GBP 65.

Schwartz's dissertation is a detailed and comprehensive contribution to the hot discussion of the nature of Greek hoplite warriors and the battles they fought. Over the past 20 years, it has been increasingly claimed that typical hoplite equipment may have been lighter and allowed freer movement than previously thought, and that hoplites may have fought individually, and that the hoplite phalanx with its often mentioned push (*othismos*) might not have been such a concerted group action as suggested in earlier research. Schwartz seeks to reinstate the older, established interpretation, according to which hoplites formed a heavily equipped infantry fighting and pushing in close formation. This fighting style was determined by the large shield, *hoplon*, that gave the hoplites their name. The study emphasizes the need for a practical approach to hoplites and phalanx fighting, asking "what was physically feasible and practical under the given circumstances?" (p. 13).

<sup>3</sup> Now published as *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire: The Spread of New Ideas*, Cambridge 2013.

The Introduction (14 pages) is followed by a chapter on hoplite shields, helmets, armour and weapons, and their practical limitations in combat (77 pages). Schwartz combines textual, archaeological and iconographical evidence to draw a minute picture of the equipment and practical ways of wielding it. He argues that the equipment was rather heavy and unwieldy, not readily suited to single combat, and was specifically designed to offer maximum protection in a dense formation.

The other main chapter discusses the development, practicality, deployment, and push (*othismos*) of the phalanx (99 pages). Schwartz argues that fighting in a phalanx formation goes back to the eighth century BC, i.e. to the time when the special choice of equipment became commonplace. In order to find an illustrative comparison to the hoplite fighting style, Schwarz compares phalanx fighting to equipment and tactics utilized by the Danish riot police. The main result of this comparison is that even modern equipment and shields which are lighter than those of the hoplite limit effective movement and deployment to such a degree that massed and ranked formation with interlocked shields emerges as the most efficient method. Discussion of the push of the phalanx, the *othismos*, is mainly based on somewhat vague examples of mass shoving in non-military situations, e.g. rock concerts, and here the language turns persuasive rather than explicit.

The last chapter discusses the duration of hoplite battles (34 pages), and is based on an appendix inventory of 41 hoplite battles (58 pages). The aim of the discussion of hoplite battles is to show that they were fought in tight phalanxes, and that the length of the actual combat was short, partly because of the constraints of the heavy equipment. Here, Schwarz is using mainly literary evidence. His most relevant and unambiguous conclusion is that the evidence is patchy.

The basic methodology of the book is sound, even if the interpretations are sometimes forced by the argumentative goals. For example, it is a good idea to compare hoplite equipment and phalanx combat with similar modern close combat styles and equipment. But whereas the presentation of hoplite fighting relies on an in-depth analysis of hoplite equipment and a discussion on the possible ways of using this equipment, the equipment and tactics utilized by the Danish riot police seem to lack a similar depth of analysis. Thus, while comparison with known modern examples is a hallmark of this book, it may also demand further study.

Despite the criticism offered above, this book is likely to become a milestone in the discussion of the nature of hoplite equipment and phalanx combat. The merits of the book lie in the detailed presentation of the debate (up to 2006), in the meticulous comparison of written, artistic, archaeological and comparative present-day sources, and in the stress given to the analysis of actual hoplite equipment. This is an excellent introduction to the subject and the inherent problems of interpretation surrounding it.

*Ilkka Leskelä*

HUGH LINDSAY: *Adoption in the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-76050-8. XIII, 242 pp. GBP 55, USD 95.

Seeing that adoptions were quite common in ancient Rome, this book deals with a subject which is of some interest and on which there are accordingly some previous studies, although not in English on this scale (for a fairly recent book in German, see below). However, I must

say that this book leaves one with mixed feelings, and, to be quite honest, I cannot help finding it somewhat disappointing. The general impression one gets is that the book was written rather in a hurry, and many of the normally very short chapters and sections seem to end without having said the last word on whatever is being discussed, often leaving the reader still asking questions. Moreover, although rather abrupt on some important issues, the book also seems to include passages not directly connected to the subject (cf. below on the chapter on freedmen). That the book was written in a hurry also seems to be indicated by its structure, for the order of the various chapters seems to be pretty haphazard (note, e. g., that testamentary adoptions are dealt with in two different chapters, 5 and 12, that Chapter 13 on "Political adoptions in the Republic", which one would expect to be a central one, only comes after chapters on freedmen, adoptions in Roman comedy and the adoption of Jugurtha, and that, although there is a separate chapter on this Numidian character, adoptions in the cities of Pompeii and Ostia and in the imperial families are crammed into a single chapter (Ch. 16). This book also seems to rely very heavily on the work of, and the material collected by, previous scholars dealing with the subject, the result being that, instead of finding in this book all the facts and interpretations one is looking for, the reader is constantly being advised to turn to other studies for the clarification of detail; in fact, my impression is that in order to use this book with profit, one needs to consult, in addition to the author's own papers in, e. g., the *Newcastle Law Review* (a journal not very well known among classicists), several other books (e. g., that by Kunst – cf. below – and my 1992 book on adoptive nomenclature) at the same time.

This is not to say that there are not interesting things here nor that there are not instructive sections; the problem is rather in locating them. As for its contents (already touched upon above), it is said that on p. ix that the book is "about the social and political impact of adoption in the Roman world", but seeing the results, this seems a bit grand, for much of the book is on details (sometimes presented in an awkward way); moreover, there is much citation from jurists and similar authors (Gellius in passages of a technical nature, etc.) who often do not seem to illustrate real life or at least that kind of real life non-juristic readers will be interested in. My point here is that a normal reader with an historical or philological background would probably be interested in being informed about the significance and consequences of adoption in everyday life (for instance, there must be a point – but what exactly? – in the Capitoline Fasti calling, as we learn on p. 171, C. Livius, consul in 147 BC, *C. Livius M. Aimiliani f. M. [n. D]rusus*, thus emphasizing that the consul's father was by birth a patrician Aemilius) rather than about the exact details of (say) *bonorum possessio* (p. 113).

The book starts with an overview on adoption in other cultures (e. g., Mesopotamia, Japan, etc.) and then turns (in Ch. 3) to Greek adoptions (many instances coming from Isaeus) and their "possible influences on the Roman world". This is followed by Ch. 4 on "Procedural aspects of Roman adoption", with a lot of technical detail (including quotations from the *XII Tables*), but also, e. g., with sections on "Adoption by women" (71–3) and "Adoption of women" (73f.). In the section on adoption by women, the author begins by observing that women could not adopt; however, he notes the case of a woman called Syra who was allowed by Diocletian (in a constitution of 291) to adopt her stepson (this case is of course cited in all expositions of the subject). It is also observed that (if I understand this passage correctly) Russo Ruggeri thinks that the cases mentioned in Cicero, *Att.* 7,8,3 (Dolabella being said *Liviae testamento cum duobus coheredibus esse in triente sed iuberi mutare nomen*) and Suetonius, *Galba* 4 (*adoptatus a noverca sua Livia*) could be real adoptions *inter vivos*, but it is then said



(p. 72) that these cases "will be dealt with in this work as testamentary adoptions" (a reference to p. 164ff. would have been useful), which is surely a correct solution. However, it would have been interesting to find out, seeing that Cicero speaks of Livia's testament, why and how exactly Russo Ruggieri thinks that Dolabella's "adoption" could have been a real adoption. From the short section on adoption of women one learns that the earliest known adoption is that of Octavia, the daughter of Claudius and that there was also the case of Domitia Lucilla (a reference to p. 156ff. would have been useful). This chapter also includes a section on "Procedure under *adrogatio* and *adoptio*", but this section consists mainly of a translation of Gellius 5,19,1–14, a passage which seems to raise a question or two not addressed in the same section. It is said (p. 74) that the procedure is also described in Cicero's *de domo* and by Gaius, but in order to find out what these authors do say the users of this book will have to turn to these authors' *ipsa verba*.

The (first) chapter (5) on testamentary adoptions (p. 79ff.) ends with the observation that even during the Republic, testamentary adoptions were probably not "real" adoptions and that in the two cases of Metellus Scipio and Atticus the fact that they referred to their "adoptive" rather than to their natural fathers in their filiations need not mean more than that they had "personal reasons" for this, these reasons being dealt with in a later chapter "11" (in fact, 12). Ch. 6 (p. 87ff.) deals with "Roman nomenclature after adoption". This chapter seems a bit disorganized as regards both its structure and its contents. As for its structure, note that between two sections both dealing with adoptive nomenclature (p. 87–94 and 95f.) there is most surprisingly a not very informative section (p. 94f.) on the names of freedmen, but ending (again surprisingly) in an observation on the onomastic habits in the families of M. Licinius Crassus Frugi cos. 27 and of Marcus Aurelius. As for its contents, this chapter seems to introduce elements not necessary for the understanding of the subject (e.g. Octavian perhaps at some point called *Thurinus*; double cognomina attested in the Capitoline Fasti for consuls of the 5<sup>th</sup> century; Romulus, Remus and Faustulus using only one name, etc.). Instead, the reader will not be very well informed about the most common types of adoptive nomenclature, although it is true that he or she will find out that the type "(P. Cornelius) Scipio Aemilianus" is the "best attested" (p. 88), and will observe, by reading the text very carefully, that there are also some other types of adoptive names, the same types, however, also being attested for persons who were not adopted. The question of adoptees' tribes (a question of some importance) does not seem to be addressed except for the observation (p. 95) that there is much variation in "the position [within a complete nomenclature] of tribal name" (sic).

After Ch. 7 on "Adoption and inheritance", which seems to be drawing only on legal sources, there is Ch. 8 (p. 123ff.) on "Roman freedmen and their families: the use of adoption". In this chapter, there seems to be much more on freedmen in general than on adoption; in the short section on "Adoption" (p. 130f.), about the only thing one learns is that Jane Gardner has written extensively on "[t]he area of adoption and freedmen" (130), and in the section on the adrogation of freedmen (p. 131–3), real life – as contrasted with quotations from the jurists – is represented pretty much only by the observation that the same scholar has suggested that "there is some epigraphic attestation" of freedmen being adopted by "Roman citizens". I am sure I am not the only reader of the book who wonders whether at least some of this evidence could not have been presented here.

Following on chapters on Plautus and Terence and on Jugurtha, there is Ch. 11 on "*Adrogatio* and *adoptio* from Republic to Empire". In this chapter, the author discusses some

adoptions mentioned in our sources, starting with the consuls of 179 BC, L. Manlius Acidinus Fulvianus and Q. Fulvius Flaccus (*fratres germani* according to the interesting annotation in the Capitoline Fasti); the discussion of this case must seem a bit obscure to some readers, as the author omits to mention that Manlius Acidinus the adopter was a patrician (this is, however, mentioned on p. 171 in another context in Ch. 13 on "Political adoptions in the Republic", the contents of which could perhaps have been integrated into this chapter), thus making his adoptive son also a patrician, from which it followed that the son could hold the consulate together with his plebeian brother Fulvius (it is only from 172 onwards that two plebeians could hold the consulate together). This chapter also includes a review of various relatives – grandfathers, uncles, etc. – attested as adopters.

The book finishes with the following chapters: 12 (again) on testamentary adoptions (this chapter being "a review of some known cases"); 13 on "Political adoptions in the Republic", which, as mentioned above, could perhaps have been integrated into Ch. 11 (the term "political" here means, as in Ch. 16, that we are dealing with adoptions within the upper classes aiming, or at least interpreted to aim, to further "political" aspirations); 14 on the adoption of P. Clodius; 15 on that of Octavian; and finally 16 on a surprisingly broad topic, called as it is "Political adoptions in the early Empire at Rome, Pompeii and Ostia; the imperial family" – there is much of interest here (although the exact point of the mention of the two Cartilii p. 196 escapes me).

Having just mentioned that there is much of interest in Ch. 16, I must point out that the same goes for much of the whole book. However, as I have been trying to show above, there are also passages in which I feel that the author has not been at his best, and, to repeat what I said above, there is much, perhaps according to some readers too much, that seems to have been written in a hurry. Moreover, the author should have furnished the exact details, with sources and discussion, in many cases in which we now have only references to other studies. And one more thing: a list of the most important known adoptions, with quotations from the sources, would in my view have been useful. (I may perhaps be allowed to add that, when writing this review, I could unfortunately not have a look Christiane Kunst's 2005 study on the same topic in German, as the local University library has somehow "lost" its copy of the book).

*Olli Salomies*

ADRIENNE MAYOR: *The Poison King. The Life and Legend of Mithradates, Rome's Deadliest Enemy*. Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2010. ISBN 978-0-691-12683-8. XXII, 448 pp. USD 29.95.

In this entertaining and intriguing biography that combines history and fiction, Mayor attempts to reconstruct the story of Mithradates VI Eupator. Mayor claims that, in the modern West, Mithradates' name is relatively unfamiliar although he was one of Rome's most formidable opponents. With current events in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea region being what they are, she considers that peoples living in this area are starting to recall the name of the king that once "resisted Western encroachment" (p. 3). Indeed, for Mayor the war between Mithradates and Rome represents an encounter between the East and the West par excellence. Mayor's aim is to tell the king's side of the story regardless of the fact that the ancient sources

are written from the Roman point of view. Her other sources consist of archaeological, artistic, epigraphic and numismatic material. Mayor's method is to try to reconstruct Mithradates' vicissitudes by applying "the scientific use of the imagination to fill in the spaces between surviving accounts and contextual facts" (p. 5). Mayor states that her approach is different from historical fiction, in which writers are free to modify the known facts of history. Mayor promises to identify clearly the instances where she has used her imagination in lieu of missing sources.

As the title suggests, Mayor gives considerable emphasis to the king's supposed interest in pharmacology and poisons while also taking into account not only the king's life but also his afterlife in literature, arts and popular culture. However, the prominence of Mithradates' toxicological experiments almost in every chapter feels somewhat awkward. It is understandable that Mayor as an expert in ancient poisons wants to highlight this interesting aspect of Mithradates, but one might question the necessity to give him the title 'Poison King'.

The structure of the book is more or less chronological in fifteen chapters. The first chapter narrates the mass killing of Romans in Anatolia in 88 BC, the "Asiatic Vespers", and laudably analyses the events but also makes comparisons with other similar massacres in history. The author certainly succeeds in this first striking chapter to draw the reader's attention to what follows. Starting from the second chapter, Mayor recounts Mithradates' life chronologically from birth to death. In addition to this, Mayor deals with the history and geography of Pontus and the surrounding areas, and with the Romans' relationship with the Hellenistic East.

Mayor is without doubt a masterful narrator with an ability to create vivid descriptions of past events and to bring historical characters alive. She has been able to make use of all ancient sources on, and modern studies of, Mithradates, and also successfully sets episodes of his life against a number of modern phenomena. The author says that the story of Mithradates seems like a fairytale, and it is indeed most entertaining to read her narration of the king's birth, youth and struggle against the Romans coloured by celestial omens and constant life-threatening dangers. Mayor has created an extremely charismatic and romanticized image of Mithradates.

However, I have to criticize the way Mayor uses her sources and combines history and fiction. For example, Mayor seems to think that the speeches by Mithradates recorded in ancient historiography could actually be real speeches of the king instead of the creations of historians (pp. 142, 144, 159, 176). The same goes for the letter of Mithradates referred to by Sallust (p. 305). It is understandable that for maximum narrative effect, Mayor wants to treat them as the possible utterances of Mithradates himself, but to me this procedure seems dangerously uncritical. Moreover, it is not altogether accurate to talk about 'facts' (pp. 1, 5, 76, 123: "based on the facts recorded by Justin") recorded by ancient historians as if everything they wrote was equally valuable and trustworthy. By not differentiating and evaluating her various literary sources, Mayor is merging actual facts, probabilities and complete fiction in a dangerous mix, especially from the point of view of readers unfamiliar with the nature of sources for ancient history. Mayor promises in the introduction to clearly identify the points where she has had to use some imagination, but this does not seem to be evident everywhere.

Mayor's one-sided way of describing historical events also stands out uncomfortably. Possibly because of her aim to tell Mithradates' side of the story, Mayor is constantly inclined to describe the Romans as greedy imperialists who wanted all along to conquer and enslave the whole Greek World, which they, in reality, probably did not systematically aim to do in the second century BC. She writes: "By the time Mithradates assumed his throne, Rome had

transformed itself into a war machine, oiled with blood and plunder, ravenous for more slaves, more land, more riches: too much was not enough" (p. 110, see also pp. 36, 105, 173–4). She certainly makes it quite clear whose side she is on: "Mithradates' farsighted vision offered a positive alternative to Rome's rapacious greed and violent resource extraction in its early period of conquest" (p. 119) and "To oppose the Romans was to fight on the side of Truth and Light" (p. 47). Mayor also describes Mithradates as the liberator of Greece from the Romans, but does not mention that the Romans and many other kings before Mithradates used the same popular 'freedom propaganda' when they fought wars in Greece. This was thus nothing new in the age of Mithradates. As a result, the image the author provides of the complex relationship between Rome and the East in that period is overly simple and one-sided, even misleading.

In conclusion, Adrienne Mayor's *The Poison King* is a captivating and well-written story of Mithradates VI Eupator, and it is certainly good that this important historical character is presented to a wider audience. However, my concern lies in the way the book mixes history and fiction, and how it uses ancient sources. Having said that, the book is a useful introduction to students of classical history who are looking for sources and an up-to-date bibliography regarding Mithradates. More experienced scholars should probably look elsewhere.

*Jasmin Lukkari*

FRANCESCA ROHR VIO: *Publio Ventidio Basso. Fautor Caesaris, tra storia e memoria*. Monografie del Centro Ricerche di Documentazione sull'Antichità Classica 31. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-8265-564-8. 210 pp., ill. b/n, 4 tavv. EUR 110.

Saggio storico-biografico su Publio Ventidio Basso, *homo novus* originario del Piceno, che ebbe un ruolo rilevante in ambito politico e strategico-militare, prima vicino a Cesare, poi, dopo le idi di marzo, dalla parte di Marco Antonio. Egli, da bambino esibito in catene tra i prigionieri durante il trionfo di Pompeo Strabone *de Asculaneis Picentibus*, giunse da adulto alla massima magistratura repubblicana e fu celebrato come primo *triumphator ex Parthis*.

Grazie all'analisi critica delle notizie biografiche sull'individuo, che sono fornite in buona parte da fonti scritte, l'autrice può non solo offrire una lettura aggiornata e completa sulla vita di Ventidio, ma anche contribuire ad arricchire le conoscenze riguardanti fatti e giochi di potere del periodo triumvirale. Si tratta, come ella evidenzia nella premessa, di un'ottica che si discosta da quella tradizionalmente adottata dalla storiografia moderna sul secondo triumvirato la quale, invece, si occupa soprattutto delle figure dei triumviri. L'argomento trattato si inserisce appieno tra gli interessi di studio dell'autrice, ricercatore di Storia romana presso l'Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, la quale si è occupata di temi che riguardano la comunicazione politica e le dinamiche oppositorie di età triumvirale e augustea.

Il saggio si compone di una premessa, di cinque capitoli e di considerazioni conclusive. Ciascun capitolo, tranne il quinto, è introdotto da una citazione di Aulo Gellio, con traduzione in italiano della stessa autrice.

Nella premessa vi sono indicazioni sullo scopo dell'opera, informazioni di carattere generale sul contesto storico e sul protagonista, una storia degli studi sull'argomento e una rassegna delle fonti storiche di riferimento.

Il primo capitolo si intitola "*In Piceno*" e contiene il paragrafo dal titolo "*Genere et loco humili*". Tratta delle origini sociali, geografiche e familiari di Ventidio, sostenendo che alcune delle informazioni giunteci per mezzo delle fonti scritte, risentano di una strumentalizzazione finalizzata alla denigrazione del personaggio.

Il secondo capitolo, "*In Caesaris amicitia: al seguito di Cesare*" è articolato in tre paragrafi: "L'azione in Gallia"; "Il ruolo nella guerra civile" e "L'esordio nel *cursus honorum*". Tratta del periodo della vita di Ventidio che va dal momento in cui Cesare gli affidò il trasporto dei carriaggi nell'ambito delle operazioni galliche – l'autrice avanza l'ipotesi che in tale contesto egli possa aver assunto la carica di *praefectus fabrum* – fino all'ingresso in Senato e alle tappe del *cursus honorum* rivestite fino alla morte di Cesare.

Il terzo capitolo è intitolato "Ὁ Ἀντωνίου φίλος: al servizio di Antonio in Occidente" ed è articolato in otto paragrafi. Il primo si intitola "Il reclutamento in Campania", il secondo "A Roma per arrestare Cicerone", il terzo "*Praetor*", il quarto "Ancora nel Piceno", il quinto "*Hostis publicus*", il sesto "Mediatore per Ottaviano e quindi *pontifex* e *consul*", il settimo "Governatore in Gallia?", l'ottavo "Il *Bellum Perusinum*: Ventidio temporeggiatore?". Il capitolo tratta, nel complesso, del periodo successivo al cesaricidio, quando Ventidio si schierò dalla parte di Antonio e percorse i gradi più alti del *cursus honorum*, pur con una battuta d'arresto costituita dall'essere stato dichiarato *hostis publicus* proprio per la sua vicinanza ad Antonio. La prosecuzione della sua carriera con il consolato, oltre che il rivestimento dell'importante carica religiosa di *pontifex*, segue l'incontro con Ottaviano tra Modena e Bologna nel 43, nell'ambito del quale egli svolse un ruolo di mediazione tra quest'ultimo e Antonio. È presentata poi l'ipotesi di un governatorato di Ventidio in Gallia. Il capitolo si conclude con la sua partecipazione al *Bellum Perusinum*.

Il quarto capitolo si intitola "*Sodalis Antonii: le campagne d'Oriente nelle dinamiche degli eventi e nella memoria storiografica*" ed è articolato in due paragrafi: "*Res gerere*: l'azione militare contro Labieno e i Parti" e "*Res gestas scribere*: la campagna partica di Publio Ventidio Basso nella memoria storiografica e i condizionamenti della vulgata augustea". Il primo paragrafo è suddiviso in quattro sottoparagrafi: "Il precario equilibrio dell'Oriente romano nella tarda repubblica"; "La politica di Marco Antonio in Oriente", "Publio Ventidio Basso contro Labieno e i Parti"; "*Ex Tauro monte et Partheis triumphator* e il motivo della vendetta di *Carrhae*". Si tratta, dunque, della partecipazione di Ventidio alle campagne condotte in Oriente contro i Parti. Il secondo paragrafo è suddiviso in due sottoparagrafi: "La memoria di Ventidio nella tradizione 'esemplare'"; "La *memoire événementielle*". Tratta della tradizione, complessa e stratificata, che conserva il ricordo delle campagne partiche di Ventidio, nella quale vengono individuati due filoni, l'uno connesso al

repertorio degli *exempla*, l'altro a una memoria di carattere diaristico-evenemenziale.

Segue il quinto capitolo intitolato "Una fine gloriosa?" il quale sostiene l'ipotesi che Ventidio abbia concluso la propria vita senza cedimenti nel proprio prestigio.

Vi sono, infine, le considerazioni conclusive, raggruppate in quattro paragrafi: "Una memoria manipolata: Publio Ventidio Basso nella tradizione letteraria tra storia e propaganda"; "Ventidio all'ombra di Cesare"; "Cesare alla luce di Ventidio" e "Una promozione fra tre cori". Il primo paragrafo mette in luce tutti gli strumenti e le tracce di manipolazioni effettuate in antico, contenute nella tradizione letteraria su Ventidio e dovute alle circostanze storiche e alla propaganda politica; il secondo tratta dell'importanza della vicinanza a Cesare per la carriera del protagonista; nel terzo si evidenzia come la biografia di Ventidio possa concorrere a defi-

nire meglio alcuni aspetti della politica cesariana e come egli si sia rivelato un collaboratore valido e fedele, riconosciuto da altri come *exemplum* concreto dell'ideologia cesariana; l'ultimo paragrafo offre un suggestivo spaccato dei tre cortei noti nella storia di Ventidio, il primo come *captivus*, il secondo come trionfatore sui Parti, il terzo nelle vesti di defunto illustre per il quale viene decretato un funerale pubblico.

Le conclusioni sono seguite da un elenco delle sigle e delle abbreviazioni contenute nel testo, dalle referenze bibliografiche, da un indice dei nomi e dalle tavole.

L'opera si configura come un saggio storico condotto con grande capacità critica; contiene una dettagliata analisi delle testimonianze storiche e non trascurava, nell'eventualità, di riflettere sul significato delle assenze di talune di esse.

Valentina Sapone

JOSIAH OSGOOD: *Claudius Caesar: Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-88181-4. XVI, 357 pp. GBP 59.99.

Osgood will probably be familiar to many as the author of *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge 2006), a history of the period from the death of Caesar in 44 BC until the aftermath of the battle of Actium in 31 BC. He began that work (p. 1) with a reference to the difficulties faced by the future emperor Claudius when he sought to compose his history of Rome beginning with the death of Caesar, and his stated aim therein was to discover "what Claudius left out and why". It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have turned from that work of empathy to a study of the reign of Claudius as emperor. Osgood has three aims in the present volume (pp. 27–8): first, "to retell the story of Claudius' principate itself"; second, "to think about the role of the emperor more generally", and, in particular, to challenge "the model of an essentially passive ruler"; third, to use the principate of Claudius as a vantage point from which to study "the development of the early imperial government as a whole". He succeeds admirably in all three.

Osgood begins with a prologue, a brief description of the social and political situation within the Roman empire in AD 41, followed by an introduction wherein he surveys the modern treatment of Claudius from Edward Gibbon to Robert Graves before outlining his own aims and methods. He then divides the main body of his work into twelve chapters. His approach is essentially chronological, beginning with Claudius' accession in his first chapter and ending with his death in his final chapter, but some events serve as hooks for larger thematic discussions within this basic framework. Unfortunately, the chapter-titles can be somewhat opaque and tend to conceal this basic structure. The first chapter, "Claudius Caesar", discusses events from the accession of Claudius to the revolt in Dalmatia in AD 42. The second chapter, "A Statue in Silver", taking its title from Claudius' acceptance of a statue in silver rather than in gold from the Senate, deals with his initial representation throughout the empire in the form of statues in particular, but also on the coinage, while the third chapter, "Imperial Favours", deals with the despatch of embassies from throughout the empire to the new emperor, investigating who sent them and why they did so. The fourth chapter, "Subduing the Ocean", explains why Claudius felt the need to invade Britain in AD 43, how he celebrated this event subsequently,

and how it was received throughout the empire, while the fifth chapter, "List of Peoples and Places", discusses his pacification of Mauretania and annexation of Lycia, Judea, and Thrace in continuation of this imperial theme. The sixth chapter, "Caesar-Lovers", discusses what impact, if any, the emperor can really have had on the daily lives of his provincial subjects. The seventh chapter, "The Eight-Hundredth Year of Rome", discusses the main events of AD 47, the forced suicide of Valerius Asiaticus, the staging of the games in celebration of the eight-hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Rome, and the performance of Claudius as censor. The eighth chapter, "Practical Pyramids", discusses Claudius' building program, his two new aqueducts at Rome, the harbour at Ostia, the attempted draining of the Fucine Lake, and the new roads within Italy in particular. The ninth chapter, "The Burden of Government", seeks to explain how Claudius governed the empire, why he came to rely on freedmen in the way that he did, and how this affected his relationship with the Senate and subsequent reputation, while the tenth chapter, "The Judgment of Pallas", analyses the fall of Messallina and the rise of Agrippina. The eleventh chapter, "Signalling Retreat", discusses Claudius' planning for the succession after his death, the promotion of Nero as his successor, and the measures that he took in order to leave a suitable reserve of funds to his successor, while the final chapter, "The Golden Predicament", deals with his death itself and his subsequent portrayal, not least by Seneca in his *Apocolocyntosis*. There then follow about sixty pages of notes, almost thirty pages of bibliography, and a short index.

This work is well-written, easy to read, and serves as an excellent introduction to the reign of Claudius. Given the poverty of the literary sources for the early reign of Claudius, Osgood makes a virtue out of necessity as he seeks to integrate the full range of non-literary sources, whether epigraphic, numismatic, papyrological or monumental, into his account, and the result is not only a fascinating read, but a timely reminder also of just how much these other categories of sources have to contribute to our understanding of the ancient world. He is assisted in his utilisation of this wide range of sources by sixty-two high-quality black-and-white figures, five maps and four tables. If one may make two minor criticisms, it is that the legends of the coins are always presented in English translation alone, and that the relevance of a few images seems tangential at best (e.g. Figs 3–4, 33).

Finally, one may sound one quite note of disagreement. While I am convinced overall of Osgood's thesis that Claudius was not the passive victim of his wives and freedmen, I am far less persuaded than him (pp. 16–7) that the epigraphic and papyrological evidence can in itself contribute much to this debate. It remains unclear whether Claudius actually wrote any of these documents himself, and it is entirely possible that he did not. At the end of the day, therefore, the greatest arguments against the traditional literary depiction of Claudius as the plaything of his wives and freedmen must be that this depiction is obviously grossly exaggerated and conforms too well to the clear social and cultural prejudices of the various authors.

*David Woods*

SIMON ESMONDE-CLEARY: *Rome in the Pyrenees. Lugdunum and the Convenae from the First Century B.C. to the Seventh Century A.D.* Routledge, Abingdon – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-415-42686-2. IX, 171 pp. GBP 75, USD 130.

This compact and incisive volume acts as an introduction of the historical archaeology and Gallo-Roman antiquities of Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges (Haute-Garonne) to English-speaking academia. Simon Esmonde Cleary siphons a large amount of information from French archaeological reports and two particular specialists on Lugdunum Convenarum (as the town was known in antiquity), Robert Sablayrolles and Jean-Luc Schenck, who have both spent much of their careers investigating its physical remains and history. Quite as importantly, the book represents an interpretation of a provincial Gallo-Roman town in a way that takes into account the challenges posed to 'Romanisation' as a hegemonic paradigm (such as Greg Woolf's *Becoming Roman* and other landmark contributions).

In historiographical terms, provincial towns such as Lugdunum Convenarum mostly make an appearance when they are subjected to warlike depredations, or through other external reasons. Amidst such a dearth of literary references it is refreshing to see that Esmonde Cleary is able to reveal – on the basis of archaeological material – the daily life of the town during the many centuries when it had comparative anonymity within the written record. What emerges is not perhaps a historical narrative in the old-fashioned meaning of the term, but his careful readings of the physical remains uncover many indications regarding the social, economic, and urban history of Lugdunum Convenarum.

Lugdunum, possibly founded by Pompey during his Spanish campaign, emerged as a *civitas* capital for a Roman-created group of Convenae, probably comprising several groups of Aquitani (p. 21). Despite such an origin, the town seems to have resulted from organic growth, not from a rigid urban plan. Esmonde Cleary would clearly like to be able to say something about the community or the locale before the Augustan age, but in the absence of any pre-Roman fortification remains from the cathedral hill at Saint-Bertrand, and faced with the ambiguity of coin evidence, his Chapter 1 ("Setting the Scene") is limited to reviewing information on the *oppida* of the broader Middle-Pyrenees area, as well as its toponymy. The latter group of evidence also testifies to a presence of Vasconic speakers around the area of later Convenae. Archaeological evidence only begins to accrue after Gallia Aquitani(c)a was formed, not later than 13 BCE, with Convenae transferred to the new province from its original inclusion within Narbonensis, and probably being granted Latin Rights at the same time.

As Esmonde Cleary shows in Chapter 2 ("Creating the Roman City"), the physical form of provincial Roman cityscapes can be quite as fruitfully interpreted through their intended ideological significance as the more consistently monumentalised one of the Urbs itself. There is, for instance, the iconographically eloquent *tropaeum* of the Augustan period that can be compared with the more famous Pompeian trophy along *Via Domitia*, and Augustus' own trophy at La Turbie, probably constructed after that at Saint-Bertrand (pp. 31–4). The baths and a temple complex (of unknown dedication) near the forum were completed and the former then modified during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, though these two complexes do not align perfectly. Neither was the street lay out of Lugdunum composed of a rigid grid, instead partly aligning with the main road between Dax and Toulouse – a route whose importance is further emphasised by a circular monument at its *compitum*, where the road to Luchon forked off (p. 45).



The Claudian era also saw elaboration on the town theatre. Esmonde Cleary, moreover, analyses evidence for large-scale meat production activity from the earliest stages onwards in the very centre of the city – partly no doubt for purposes of export, though explanations stemming from cults and the construction of a new common identity for the Convenae are taken into account (pp. 52f.). Very soon, the town was provided with a *macellum*, the largest in Gaul. Baths, another early feature on the site, were gradually turning the 'shaggy Gauls' into Romans, and the public space of the forum with its dedications forming a *lieu de mémoire* (p. 58) helped the *civitas* elite establish itself. Esmonde Cleary is no doubt correct in attributing the public buildings of Lugdunum to the euergetism and competitive building projects of the members of the local elite. And while it may have taken a comparatively long time for the common identity as Convenae to permeate the lower orders, the impact of the local elite was probably quite strong in propagating such a perception (p. 60).

Lugdunum Convenarum as a fully developed provincial town is the subject of the somewhat grandly titled Chapter 3 ("The City in Its Splendour"). That said, it is true that sometime before Claudius Ptolemy (*geogr.* 2,7,13) Lugdunum had been promoted to the rank of *colonia*. In architectural terms, a fire during the Flavian years offered a chance to redesign many of the public buildings of the town centre. The Forum Baths emerge from these renovations as a substantially lavish establishment, but were surpassed by the still more ambitious 'North Baths' complex, which Esmonde Cleary speculates may have had some connection with a nearby temple complex (pp. 73f.). Some imperial-era remains cannot yet be definitively identified or fully interpreted, in the absence of fuller archaeological investigation. Blocs of private housing are increasingly well-known, as are the funerary areas around the town. The Roman fort (late 2<sup>nd</sup> – early 3<sup>rd</sup> century) east of the city, however, is still poorly understood (pp. 85ff.). The chapter concludes with a shortish but intriguing glimpse into the history of the town during the third and fourth centuries; Lugdunum seems to have been less affected by the structural changes taking place in more northerly Gallic *civitates*.

Chapter 4 ("The Countryside and the Creation of the Convenae") switches away from the diachronic evidence to studying the relationship between Lugdunum and its rural environs, where the majority of the Convenae would have lived. The *civitas* is particularly fascinating in its interplay of mountain economy with that of the lowland area, along an important transportation route; the evidence, however, is patchy at best, and Esmonde Cleary wisely admits that most of his conclusions are provisional. The lowlands of Convenae were famous for their thermal spas, and seem to have sported numerous local *pagi* or *vici*, as well as strings of villas along the rivers (pp. 96–101). Sanctuaries and temples are few, but funerary towers and cinerary caskets are common. The mountains, on the other hand, hosted several marble quarries which were probably set up very soon after the urban development at Saint-Bertrand begun, and made possible the great wealth of marble objects that helped to define the identity of Convenae (pp. 113ff.). The *marmorarii* set up a great number of altars, some to the local god Erriapus, whose name seems to be Vasconic (p. 103); the overall pattern seems to be that of Graeco-Roman deities being commemorated in the *civitas* capital, and the indigenous divinities receiving dedications mostly outside it.

Like the town, the outlying villas – among them the very sumptuous specimens at Montmaurin and Valentine – also show remarkable continuation during Late Antiquity. After the fifth century, though, a series of fundamental changes took place in Saint-Bertrand. Chapter 5 ("From *Lugdunum* to Convenae") focuses on this stage of developments, where much of the

old city centre was demolished and much of its material was used to fortify the hill top a little after 400 CE, converting some of the older status symbols of a provincial town to a new marker of pre-eminence (p. 131). The general turbulence of the period, including the Gothic rule over Novempopulana, would have provided another powerful incentive. Esmonde Cleary also questions (with good reasons) Gregory of Tours' description of a Frankish siege of Saint-Bertrand in 585, and judges it ahistorical.

*Rome in the Pyrenees* will be most useful to scholars of provincial Gaul, especially as regards urban and social development, *civitas* organisation, and landscape studies. It distils a great amount of archaeological information into a concise and accessible overall analysis. Finally, Esmonde Cleary has added one more feature which improves the book's usability: an appendix which acts as a visitor's guide to Saint-Bertrand.

*Antti Lampinen*

GIUSTO TRAINA: *428 AD: An Ordinary Year at the End of the Roman Empire*. Translated by ALLAN CAMERON. Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2009. ISBN 978-0-691-13669-1. XIX, 203 pp., GBP 16.95, USD 24.95.

The book in question is an English translation (by Allan Cameron) of *428 dopo Cristo. Storia di un anno* initially published in 2007. The English translation is adorned by an erudite Preface written by Averil Cameron. There are two observations in particular that she makes which echo in the reader's mind while reading the following chapters:

1. Singling out 428 as an "ordinary" year highlights its un-ordinariness.
2. The book begins with the momentous and not in the least unordinary event of the Roman withdrawal from Armenia, and the question "why?" underscores most of the book and is the underlying thread in many of the chapters, before being finally articulated in the final chapter (Chapter XI).

The book is in essence a microhistory on a macroregional level. By restricting himself to the events of the eponymous year (or those immediately preceding or following), Traina has created a rather curious effect, where major, empire-shaking events that take place even in the next decade and assume pride of place in normal historical discourse, are just beyond the horizon and therefore merely hinted at. A prime example is one of Traina's "main characters", Nestorius. Reviled or revered, he is mainly known to historians for his divisive theological doctrines and downfall at the council of Ephesus in 431; in 428 his career was ascendant, and we follow his journey from Syria to Constantinople to assume the episcopal seat. The theological controversy that would come to define his name is therefore not treated in detail (so much for hopes of a succinct explanation of the doctrinal complexities), and we see a different Nestorius.

The microhistorical approach allows us to access the stories of individuals on a personal level. Where normally their lives would be incorporated into grand analysis of trends and themes and their names recorded solely as references in footnotes, here their stories can be told because the book focuses not on grand historical schemes but on minute episodes. I suppose because so many events of historical moment are looming "just out of shot", the book could be forgiven for a certain tendency towards the teleological, especially in its chapter headings (e.g., "Waiting for the Vandals" and "Trial Runs for the Middle Ages").

The structure of the book is also interesting. The chapter divisions are both thematic and geographical. Beginning in Armenia with what could be regarded as the most historically momentous event of the "ordinary" year, the book then follows a counter-clockwise circuit around the Mediterranean, exploring key themes and events that are relevant to the slice of empire being treated in that chapter. The genius of this arrangement only becomes apparent in the final chapter, dealing with the Sassanian empire. Then it becomes clear that the geographical circuit creates a ring composition within the book itself, allowing us to finally answer, with greater contextual understanding, the question of the abandonment of Armenia by the Romans, the "why?" implicitly asked from the very first chapter.

There are nine chapters, and thus nine geographical subdivisions. Chapter I begins in Syria but follows the embassy of Flavius Dionysius to Armenia, the nail in the coffin of Roman involvement in Armenia, which was now a *de facto* Persian territory. Chapter II returns to Syria, and interweaves the story of Flavius Dionysius with Nestorius, as the former heads the delegation accompanying the later to Constantinople. The opportunity is taken here to look at Syrian monasticism (by 428 Simeon the Elder had been atop his column for ten years), Christianity and the classical *polis* as embodied by Antioch, conflicts with paganism, and Christianity and the "Saracens" of the desert frontier.

Chapter III ("On the Pilgrims' Road") follows Flavius Dionysius and Nestorius' northward journey towards Constantinople. The continued preponderance of the term "Pilgrims' Road", initially employed by William Ramsay (1903) and echoed by David French (1981), always strikes me as odd. This road was the main administrative and military highway connecting the imperial capital with Antioch (and the coastal route through the Levant to Alexandria) and the central Mesopotamian frontier, and therefore likely saw far more traffic for this reason than it ever did for pilgrims. Part of the reason for this attribution is that it is the route followed by the anonymous author of the Bordeaux Itinerary (dated to 333, thought to be the earliest written itinerary of Christian pilgrimage to the Holy Land). Traina adopts the suggestion that this author is "possibly a woman"; since this is not a widely held opinion, perhaps a footnote to the article from which the idea stems should have been included to avoid pitfalls for the uninitiated.<sup>4</sup>

Chapter IV ("The New Rome and its Prince") sees us finally arrive in Constantinople. This is the decision-making heart of the (eastern) empire so it is surprising that it took us so long to get here in our quest to understand "why Armenia?". This chapter focuses on the imperial office, in 428 embodied in the rather unprepossessing person of Theodosius II, and the soap opera of interpersonal drama between his sister Pulcheria and wife Eudocia. This was a period when the court was becoming increasingly settled in Constantinople, and court ceremonial was developing in religious overtones and general complexity. Nonetheless, it does seem to be taking the idea of arcane ceremonial too far to describe the connecting space between the imperial box at the Hippodrome (the Kathisma) and the imperial palace as a "secret passage" (p.32).

Chapter V ("Anatomy of the Empire") looks at the region that is the "continental divide" between the western and eastern halves of the empire, the Balkans, Illyricum, etc. The chapter focuses on divisions: east v. west, Latin v. Greek, Christian v. pagan. Traina argues that the division of Illyricum would have "important consequences for centuries to come", partly

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<sup>4</sup> L. Douglass, "A New Look at the Itinerarium Burdigalense", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 4 (1996) 313–33. Contra, e.g., S. Weingarten, "Was the Pilgrim from Bordeaux a Woman? A Reply to Laurie Douglass", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 7 (1999) 291–7.

because it expressed in political boundaries a cultural separation into Latin and Greek-speaking "partes".

Chapter VI ("From Ravenna to Nola: Italy in Transition") looks at the Italian peninsula. It describes Ravenna as the new, Christian, seat of western imperial power. This is in contrast to Rome, "still suffering from the aftermath of the Visigoths' passing through." (p. 55). Traina looks at the Christianization of the Eternal city and vestigial senatorial class (culminating in the retirement of the senator Paulinus at the Christian enclave at Nola), and the religious tensions that result. In the void between these two centres lies an insecure and marginalized countryside.

From this discussion of insecurity comes a surprising statement about the *cursus publicus*: "...only notables and specified officials had the right to travel by horse: imperial legislation, which was amended on several occasions during the second half of the fourth century was intent upon finding the easiest way to identify bandits on horseback" (p. 59). In fact, the extensive legislation is concerned exclusively with who had the right to use the animals of the public post and does not place any restriction on private beasts (in fact encourages their use, see, e.g., *C.Th.* 8,5,66 which states that within his own province, a *dux* must make use of his own animals). The entire series of legislation is designed to limit the weight of burden, number of animals used, and number of people who could issue postal warrants (and to whom) and to prevent the unlawful requisitioning of public animals to conserve them as a valuable resource (each horse only had a working life expectancy of four years and were costly to both maintain and replace). (*C.Th.* 8,5) The legislation is very much focused on limiting the misuse of this ruinously costly system, rather than imposing some sort of sumptuary law to expose joyriding bandits.

Chapter VII ("Trial Runs for the Middle Ages") continues the westward movement towards Gaul, Germania, and Britain, examining the state of the military, the relationships of the (vestigial) Roman state apparatus with the various barbarian tribes. The discussion of the religious landscape is heavily coloured by descriptions of the community at Lérins, the "Island of Saints", a potentially subversive hotbed of intellectualism and semi-Pelagian asceticism (pp. 68–9). Tucked away on page 77 is the year 428's other potential claim to fame and un-ordinariness: it is alleged by Nennius to be the year in which Vortigern invited Hengist and Horsa and their Anglo-Saxon mercenaries to his aid in Britain.

Chapter VIII ("Waiting for the Vandals") takes us south in our circuit of the Mediterranean, through Spain to North Africa. Gaiseric's invasion of North Africa occurred in 429, and casts a long shadow, with what Traina calls "preliminary sorties" to North Africa from southern Spain and the Balearics occurring in 428 (p. 83). The year 428 also overlaps with the twilight of Augustine of Hippo's long career, and we also follow the career of Bonifacius, *comes Africae*. Traina argues of the Vandal invasion that it was part of a "well-worked plan to take advantage" of Roman weakness, and that even their preference for Arianism was intended to enable them to "dispossess the wealthy local churches without any qualms" (pp. 81, 91). "It very much appears that no one was expecting the attack in Africa", thus exonerating Bonifacius, whom later sources hold complicit in the invasion (p. 83).

Chapter IX ("Pagans and Christians on the Nile") returns to the examination of religious pluralism looking at the sometimes violent confrontations of Christian monks and Hellenized pagans in cities like Alexandria, and in rural settings as well. Major figures of these episodes, Cyril of Alexandria and Shenute, were around in 428 and are thus protagonists of this chapter. Traina argues that the adoption of Coptic as the liturgical language particularly in the

countryside – the oasis and Nile Valley – "separated the region culturally from the rest of the empire." (p. 96) "By considering paganism to be an essentially Greek culture and therefore foreign, the descendants of the ancient Egyptians were claiming a kind of national identity". Both these statements seem to suggest that in the period prior to 428, rural Egypt was integrated into Classical pan-Mediterranean cultural hegemony, which seems debatable. Furthermore, Traina bases his latter assertion of Egyptian national identity on the fact that "the Coptic word for 'pagan' is *hellene*", which rather overlooks the fact that Greek speakers were also using *hellene* to denote pagans by this period, and could be an example of Copts adopting, rather than rejecting, Greek ideas and lexicography.

Chapter X ("Easter in Jerusalem") brings us back to the eastern end of the Mediterranean. The chapter focuses on the Holy City, and monasticism within the Palestinian economic and political framework; and the relationship with exponents of other religions, particularly Jews and Samaritans. This includes an examination of the economic involvement of monasteries and pilgrims, and the agricultural exploitation of the marginal areas of the Negev Desert. One statement should be qualified, however. Traina states "very probably, the region's [i.e., Negev's] prosperity was due to imperial interest in religious centers that attracted pilgrims, such as the Monastery of Saint Catherine in the Sinai" (p.109). While pilgrim traffic to Sinai is an outstanding feature of the period, it should be stressed the monastery of the Burning Bush (the association with Saint Catherine, is, after all, medieval) was wholly unique, not one of many similar "religious centers", and it entirely shaped the routes through Sinai. Secondly, there is virtually no evidence for imperial involvement in the 5<sup>th</sup> century either in the Negev (beyond the presence of the military garrison, the "Very Loyal Theodosians" at Nessana, attested in a 6th century papyrus archive) or Sinai – imperial interest in the monastery itself begins with Justinian. The impetus for the agricultural exploitation of the Negev seems to have been the production of wine for export – either the famous Gaza wine praised by bishops and emperors, or wine for the legion stationed at Aila on the Red Sea.

With the circuit of the Mediterranean Sea completed, Chapter XI ("The Great King and the Seven Princesses") takes us beyond the Roman Empire into the Iranic lands of the Sassanian Empire. Here there is less reliance on historical sources and more on legends (from texts dating to the medieval period), following the exploits of *shāhanshāh* Bahrām V. The chapter also looks at the relationship between the Sassanians and the Hunnic tribes, who between them contrived such mischief for Theodosius II that he had to relinquish Armenia – finally, we get our answer to that has pervaded the entire book. The chapter also looks at Christians within Sassanian territory: "the Christians in Persia itself had been well integrated into the Sassanian Empire" (p. 126). As a result, this community would be welcoming to Nestorian refugees fleeing Roman territory after 431. Thus the concluding chapter ties together both with Armenia and with Nestorius, where the book began.

The final conclusion of the book comes in the form of an epilogue, which reveals the fate of the main characters seen in earlier chapters. There is some garbling regarding Pulcheria and Eudocia (seen in Chapter IV). Traina states "in 441, the virgin Pulcheria managed to free herself of her rival Eudocia, who in 440 withdrew to a convent" (p. 130). In fact, in 443 Eudocia left Constantinople for the Holy Land, where she resided on her imperial estates until her death in 460. During this time she remained a thorn in her sister-in-law's side, by championing whatever causes Pulcheria opposed (e.g., anti-Chalcedonianism). In the final instance, Traina concludes that the world of late antiquity was "complex and multiethnic", and "Rome, although

a little less eternal, was still very much a real entity and had not yet been reduced to a mere concept" (p. 132).

The book's major weakness is Traina's tendency to make bold statements without supplying corroborating references. This is not to say that there are no references – indeed the notes sections (supplied at the end of the full text) are extensive and detailed. They simply seem to be lacking for some of the more controversial statements where a specialist would appreciate more background. This is in contrast to a bibliography that not only refers to key well-known works, but also provides a peephole onto a body of scholarship in Italian that is probably largely unfamiliar to Anglophone audiences.

Overall, the language is clear and well-presented. The translation is excellent; there are no slippages of idiom to draw attention to the fact that the original was in another language (apart from p. 68 where reference is made to "a man of straw" where the phrase "straw man" is conventional, as on p. 5). I detected no typos or misprints, with the exception of *chorepiscopus* transliterated as "corepiscopus" on p. 107.

The scope of the book is truly magisterial. It is a challenge for such a slim volume to cover such breadth of material. In each chapter, Traina has attempted to tackle at least three or four of the major issues facing each region of the empire in the first quarter of the 5th century in a readable and thought-provoking manner. It is thus inevitable that there will be points with which the specialist reader will disagree (and I have highlighted some of my quibbles above). This in turn leads one to mistrust some of the statements made regarding material with which one is less familiar, leaving one hoping for a more thorough accounting of the source material.

The book's major accomplishment, however, is in isolating a single year, and providing us with a cross-section through the empire. Traina is able to freeze-frame processes ("Christianisation", "decline") that are usually treated thematically as a whole, and to convey that these processes, while universal, were taking place at different rates in different locations. Traina's guiding principle, taken from *The History of the Armenians* by Moses Khorenats'i, "there is no true history without chronology", is an important lesson for those seeking to understand Late Antiquity.

*Marlena Whiting*

*La tradizione classica e l'Unità d'Italia. Atti del Seminario Napoli – Santa Maria Capua Vetere, 2–4 ottobre 2013.* A cura di S. CERASUOLO – M. L. CHIRICO – S. CANNAVALE – C. PEPE – N. RAMPAZZO. Filologia e tradizione classica 1. Satura Editrice, Napoli 2014. ISBN 978-88-7607-145-4. X, 292 pp. & VIII, 294 pp. EUR 90 (due tomi).

Ecco il contenuto del presente volume: Salvatore Cerasuolo: Nuove accessioni sul ruolo di Domenico Comparetti nella pubblicazione della Terza Serie dei Papiri Ercolanesi; Mario Capasso: Luigi Settembrini e i papiri ercolanesi; Federico Condello: Settembrini e Luciano: norme e costanti di una traduzione (primi sondaggi); Paolo De Paolis: Gli studi classici a Montecassino nella seconda metà del secolo XIX. Un volgarizzamento sallustiano di don Luigi Tosti; Antonino Zumbo: Insegnare latino nella Regia Università di Napoli: Vincenzo Padula e Niccolò Perrone; Giuseppe Solaro: Francesco De Sanctis a scuola da zio Carlo; Giovanni Benedetto: Comparetti a Leida; Fausto Giordano: La ricezione della *Storia* di Francesco De Sanctis in

alcuni manuali di letteratura latina; Claudia Santi: Eredità dei classici, cultura nazionale e cosmopolitismo delle lettere nell'opera di Angelo De Gubernatis; Gherardo Ugolini: La catarsi tragica negli studi sulla *Poetica* aristotelica dell'Italia postunitaria; Natale Rampazzo: Theodor Mommsen e il concetto di *Italia*; Massimo Pinto: Spartaco al tempo dell'Unità d'Italia. Sul romanzo di Raffaello Giovagnoli; Marco Buonocore: *Ex tenebris lux facta est*. Theodor Mommsen e gli studi classici in Italia dopo l'Unità: bilanci e prospettive; Leandro Polverini: La storia antica nella storia dell'Italia unita. Il caso di Ettore Pais (1856–1939); Daniele Solvi: Arturo Graf e il mito medievale di Roma; Maria Elefante: Ettore Ciccotti, *Donne e politica negli ultimi anni della repubblica romana*: Un saggio 'femminista' del professore 'socialista?'; Arianna Sacerdoti: "La nazione brama d'essere istruita": Onorato Occioni (1830–1895) e i *Punica* di Silio; Claudio Vacanti: Gaetano De Sanctis e la I guerra punica: analogia e metodologia; Cristina Pepe: Theodor Mommsen e l'antiquaria napoletana. Il carteggio con Agostino Gervasio; Luca Frassinetti: Giovanni Antonio Roverella e la scelta dell'idillio fra *otium* letterario e utopia di libertà nella Romagna del primo Ottocento; Serena Cannavale: Gli studi sulla civiltà spettacolare dell'antica Capua nel XIX secolo; Ugo Criscuolo: Francesco Zambaldi e l'Anonimo del *Sublime*; Giampiero Scafoglio: Carducci interprete dell'idea virgiliana di Italia; Emilia Martinelli: *Primum non nocere*. Sei conferenze di Michel Bréal sull'insegnamento delle lingue classiche; Filippo D'Oria: Gli ultimi *Loghioi* e il 'Grecismo' napoletano dell'Ottocento; Daniela Borrelli: La "Società italiana per la diffusione e l'incoraggiamento degli studi classici" e i progetti di riforma del liceo classico tra Otto e Novecento; Valentina Caruso: Giuseppe Crispi e gli studi sulla lingua greca; Domenico Proietti: "E so legger di greco e di latino". Carducci per l'"idealità superiore greca e romana" nella scuola e nella cultura della Nuova Italia; Maria Luisa Chirico: La Relazione di Antonio Racheli a Francesco De Sanctis sullo studio del greco; Paola Radici Colace: Conclusioni.

L'interesse per la storia degli studi classici è in costante crescita in Italia come altrove. In questo volume si mette in rilievo l'evoluzione degli studi classici rispetto ai primordi di essi ai tempi dell'Unità d'Italia. È un'iniziativa lodevole in quanto l'Unità marca una vera svolta nella qualità degli studi classici in Italia, fatto che viene messo bene in risalto in parecchi contributi. Essi presentano il ruolo della tradizione classica e degli studi classici nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento. Anche se sono stati messi insieme apparentemente senza un vero filo rosso, i contributi raccolti nel volume costituiscono anche in questo modo utili pietre da costruzione per una descrizione d'insieme del fenomeno oggetto dell'opera.

In parecchi contributi si sottolinea la parte importante che hanno giocato gli stranieri nell'evoluzione degli studi classici italiani. A dare nuovi impulsi erano spesso i tedeschi, in virtù dell'alta qualità della loro scuola nello studio dell'antichità classica. Una figura centrale da questo punto di vista fu Theodor Mommsen, cui sono dedicati tre contributi, quelli di Rampazzo, di Pepe e di Buonocore, che toccano alcuni aspetti rilevanti; Pepe dalla prospettiva di uno studioso napoletano, Agostino Gervasio, mentre Buonocore, le cui considerazioni partono da un'accurata lettura della corrispondenza dello studioso tedesco con alcuni contemporanei italiani, presenta una panoramica di più ampio respiro dell'influenza del Mommsen sia sugli studi epigrafici che su quelli letterari italiani. Ambedue vengono a parlare del gesuita Raffaele Garrucci, grande avversario del Mommsen, e si mostrano favorevoli al tentativo di *Ehrenrettung* del gesuita tentata da Claudio Ferone, la quale tuttavia non convince molto (a Garrucci si poteva dedicare un proprio contributo, giacché non esiste ancora una trattazione del tutto imparziale sul suo apporto agli studi antiquari). Pepe e specialmente Buonocore sottolineano

la singolarità del Mommsen nel contesto italiano. Non si deve tuttavia dimenticare che ci sono anche altri studiosi che hanno esercitato una profonda influenza sugli studi classici italiani o che al contrario sono stati attaccati in Italia; lo stesso Mommsen è stato maltrattato, oltre che dai napoletani ricordati da Pepe e Buonocore, per es. da Comparetti. E non mancano casi di contrasti nell'interpretazione di diversi temi, cfr. per es. Ugolini sulla critica di Nicola Festa alle interpretazioni concernenti la catarsi tragica da parte di uno studioso di grande valore quale Jacob Bernays o altri come Alfred Berger o Otto Rößner. – Un ulteriore importante contributo è quello di Polverini sulla figura di Ettore Pais, i cui grandi libri sulla storia di Roma ed Italia – si deve dire – sono irrimediabilmente obsoleti – e già alla loro apparizione presentavano numerosi difetti. – Importante anche il saggio di De Paolis, che ci fa vedere tutta la ricchezza culturale dell'ambiente montecassinese nel periodo in questione. E non mancano altri contributi interessanti e stimolanti. Non tutte le comunicazioni offrono grandi novità, alcune sono meno innovative o interessanti; ma tutto sommato si tratta di un insieme di materiali offerti e scritti da addetti ai lavori, che contribuiscono ad una migliore visione globale del periodo in questione nella storia degli studi classici e di tradizione classica in Italia. – Difficile capire, però, l'inserimento nell'opera del contributo di Martinelli su Michel Bréal, che tra l'altro lascia piuttosto a desiderare. – Pochi sono i refusi e le sviste.

*Heikki Solin*

*Agoni poetico-musicali nella Grecia antica. 1. Beozia.* A cura di ALESSANDRA MANIERI. Testi e commenti 25. Certamina Musica Graeca 1. Fabrizio Serra editore, Pisa – Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-6227-221-6. 476 pp. EUR 160.

This book is the first part of the *Certamina Musica Graeca* series and focuses on poetic and musical competitions that were held in ancient Boeotia, Pindar's home region, which was also famous for its school of *aulos*, and for Mount Helicon, the home of the Muses. The author has collected her material both from literary and epigraphic sources and aims to give the reader a comprehensive collection of texts on Boeotian musical festivals, the texts being furnished with translations and commentaries.

The introduction of the book consists of two parts of which the first contains a general overview of musical competitions in ancient Greece in general, whereas the second is devoted to the competitions held in Boeotia (from the fourth century BC to the third century AD). The latter part also includes illustrative tables on, e.g., the historical development of Boeotian musical competitions, the calendar of the competitions, and prize-winning performers (including their provenance, the epigraphic documents in which they are mentioned, the competitions they participated in, and their specialties). Especially interesting is the diagram illustrating the family relationships between certain competitors mentioned in inscriptions.

After the introduction the author takes a closer look at the competitions held in Boeotia. Each chapter is devoted to a single city and its musical competitions. The competitions that are dealt with are: Ptoia and Soteria (in Akraiphia); Basileia and Trophoneia (in Lebadeia); Agrionia, Kharitesia and Homoloia (in Orkhomenos); Amphiararaia and the Contest for Halia (in Oropos); Sarapieia (in Tanagra); Agrionia, Rhomaia, and Dionysia Herakleia (in Thebes); Mouseia and Erotideia (in Thespieae). Each chapter begins with a historical overview of the city



and its festivals. After this, the epigraphic and literary evidence is set out. The main sources are inscriptions (e.g., catalogues of victors, financial documents concerning the competitions, honorary decrees, lists of *theoroi*, etc.), but also excerpts from ancient authors, e.g., from Pindar, Pausanias, Plutarch and Athenaeus. All the texts are translated into Italian and commented upon when necessary.

Epigraphists have not been impressed by the scholarly quality of Manieri's book and many of her hypotheses have already been challenged (see, e.g., B. le Guen, *JHS* 131 [2011] 226–8, and C. Müller, "A *Koinon* after 146? Reflections on the Political and Institutional Situation of Boeotia in the Late Hellenistic Period", in N. Papazarkadas (ed.), *The Epigraphy and History of Boeotia. New Finds, New Prospects* [2014], 132). However, this book is certainly useful for those students and scholars who are interested in ancient Greek poetic and musical competitions, but have only little – or no – former knowledge of Boeotian musical festivals.

Kimmo Kovanen

*The Oxford Handbook of Animals in Classical Thought and Life*. Edited by GORDON LINDSAY CAMPBELL. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014. ISBN 978-0-19-958942-5. XX, 633 pp. GBP 95.

This valuable contribution to the Oxford Handbook Series answers a need for a basic textbook for an emerging subfield in the discipline of Classics, namely Human Animal Studies. As Liliane Bodson, one of the most distinguished contributors to this book, states, "numerous inquiries into the functions, roles, and status of the 'animals' in the ancient Greece and Rome have been made over recent decades" (p. 558). Bodson's quotation marks around the word 'animals' refer to the well-recognized inadequacy and indeterminacy of the term not only in ancient but also in contemporary everyday usage. Some contributors to this volume every now and then use the phrase 'non-human animals' acknowledging thus the fact that we humans belong biologically to the class of animals, too, and that it is therefore preferable to speak about humans and other animals. This idea was expounded in antiquity as well. It is indicated in the phrases *ta loipa zōia* and *reliqua animalia*, which Bodson translates as "the rest of the animate-living-beings" (p. 558). Gordon Lindsay Campbell, the editor as well as one of the contributors to this book quotes an English translation of the Presocratic philosopher Archelaus' testimonia (p. 238), where both the common origin and the factor that "men were distinguished from the *other* animals" are stated (DK A4, 5). The phrase Archelaus uses, *ta alla zōia*, is the same which, for example, Plato and Plutarch employed.

Campbell succeeds in the difficult task of introducing the book – there are thirty-three papers dealing both with the Greek and the Roman world. However, a few words about what we speak about when we speak about 'animals' and with which words would also have been useful. Biologically, the class *animalia* includes less than three percent of the vertebrates, that is, mammals, birds, fish, reptiles and amphibians, which we usually have in mind – along with some arthropods (insects, crabs, lobsters etc.) – when we use the term 'animals' in our everyday use. From the biological point of view our everyday concept of animals is limited only to the perceivable and "charismatic" animals. Furthermore, as the title of the book indicates, it is not only the 'life' but also the 'thought' which this book is all about. The everyday taxono-

mies concerning non-human animals are culturally specific although they often make basic distinctions between, for instance, domestic and wild animals, game and predators, and between animals experienced by humans as useful and sympathetic and those seen as dangerous and harmful. The names and usages of these categories may reveal something of the attitudes towards animals in a particular culture. In Greek usage, there were quite a number of words for, for example, taming and domesticating animals and, for that matter, generic words for various categories of animals. However, only a few contributors consider this vocabulary. Chiara Thumiger lists those words, which appear in Greek tragedies, like *thêr*, *knôdalon*, *dakos*, *boton*, *thremma*, *tetrapodos*, and so on (pp. 84–5). Michael MacKinnon for his part discusses whether those animals to which Greek and Romans have affectionate or personal relations can be called 'pets' in the modern sense of the word. He does not, however, tell us about Greek and Latin linguistic usages concerning companion animals. Bodson shows by some examples how Greek and Roman animal names like *kteis* 'comb' for shellfish indicate imaginative and acute observers of the animal world. She also presents an overview, in one short paragraph, of the basic development of ancient zoological anatomical knowledge with references to secondary literature (pp. 557–8).

On the whole, the book collects together twenty-nine scholars from the varying fields of the classics: archaeology, art history, classical literature, history of religion, philosophy and culture in the broad sense – most of them are clearly experts either on the Greek or the Roman side. Four contribute with two articles (Timothy Howe, Geoffrey Kron, Adrienne Mayor, and C. Thumiger), one with three (M. MacKinnon), and two papers are co-written by two scholars so that, in all, the number of papers amounts to thirty-three. Suggestions for further reading and a reference bibliography appear at the end of each article.

It is not possible to summarize the content of these chapters here. I shall only note the broad outlines, along with some observations on details. The articles are not divided under any subsections although there are papers focused more on the "thought" side and others on the "life" side. The book begins with the former: the first five articles deal with animal metaphors, symbols and representation in literary and pictorial art: animals in fables (Jeremy B. Lefkowitz), in drama (Thumiger on tragedy and Babette Pütz on comedy), in epic (Laura Hawtree) and in classical art (Alastair Harden). Lefkowitz's treatise on Aesopic fables is a good start for this book as it presents re-evaluative views of this genre, which is traditionally seen as having "nothing to do with animals *qua* animals" (p. 7). Hawtree's interesting paper for its part concentrates on Roman epic which means that the rich animal world of Homer is reduced to merely a few passages. However, Thumiger compares references to animals in tragedies with Homeric similes pointing also to their narratological functions (pp. 93–6, see also p. 395 Thumiger on metamorphoses). For some reason, 'animal simile' does not appear in the Index. Harden's treatment of animal imagery in classical art is a good introduction to a broad subject; he handles the motive of human domination over animals, but also the possible apotropaic functions of animal images in temples along with common decorative uses. What he does not deal with are the possible identification techniques the ancient artists used, by which I mean that animals were not always merely decorative "others" to look at, but were pictured as sentient beings whose life situations might resemble that of human viewers.

The articles on animals from the religious point of view may also belong to the "thought" side although the ritual practices go together of course with the "life" side. Four papers discuss strange, mythic or semi-mythic animals, namely "Part-Animal Gods" (Emma

Aston), metamorphosis in some literary genres from Homer to Ovid (Thumiger), wondrous animals (Mary Beagon) and animals, along with attitudes to animals, in Graeco-Roman Egypt (Angela McDonald). In some of these papers, there could have been a discussion of the differences between the paradoxography as a genre and those writings which merely contain paradoxical elements. Divine hybridism, the combination of human with non-human, was the subject of Aston's monograph *Mixanthrôpoi* (2011). Animal-animal hybrids (like chimaera) are very rare, which, according to Aston, "reflects the potency of the human-animal *dichotomy* in the Greek mindset" (p. 371, my italics). The dominance of this dichotomy is more or less challenged elsewhere in this book (papers by Campbell and S. T. Newmyer) and, besides, in this case, could not the allure of the human-animal (instead of animal-animal) hybrids simply stem from our basic innate speciesism, considering that we are more interested in creatures in which we see something corporeally akin to ourselves? The hybrids in Egyptian religion were for their part not always animal heads and human bodies, as McDonald shows: Egyptian theriomorphism has more "varied faces" (pp. 443–4, figures 25.2 a–c). She also briefly studies the strong Greek and Roman reactions against Egyptian animal god worship, but does not mention the basic study in the field, namely that by K. A. D. Smelik and E. A. Hemelrijk in *ANRW* II 17.4 (1984). Mary Beagon, an authority on Pliny the Elder, discusses not only different kinds of wondrous animals but also the connection between living wonders and exotic geography as well as their "import to the Centre" (pp. 432–3), that is, to the freak shows in the Graeco-Roman world. Under this group of papers one may also include the article on ancient fossil discoveries discussed by a specialist of this interesting field, Andrienne Mayor. Fossils were often thought to be mythical beings, even heroes, by the ancients (the most famous one is probably the giant "Orestes" in Hdt. 1,67–8).

Ingvild Sælid Gilhus's presentation also belongs under the rubric of religion. It deals with attitudes towards and treatment of animals in late antiquity including early Christian writers – the subject of her well-received monograph published in 2006. There is also a valuable reconstruction of the roles of animals in magical beliefs and practices by Daniel Odgen and a concise paper on divination by Peter Struck. Struck makes an interesting proposal regarding ancient divinatory theory based mainly on his interpretation of Plato's *Timaeus*. According to Struck, some philosophers connected divine, prophetic insight with the regressive "animal ways of knowing" – as an "alternative form of cognition" (p. 321).

Three articles discuss animal sacrifice and meat eating, namely the contributions by Jeremy McInerney ("Civilization, Gastronomy, and Meat-eating"), Gunnel Ekroth ("Animal Sacrifice in Antiquity") and Daniel A. Dombrowski ("Philosophical Vegetarianism and Animal Entitlements"). McInerney discusses animals as food for humans (e.g., fish on pp. 254–6) and meat consumption in general with its connotations of status and luxury, including the theatrical quality of ridiculously sumptuous Roman banquets. Some of his observations may need elaboration, such as for instance the suggestion made in passing that the suitors in the *Odyssey* did not make sacrifices but only slaughtered animals for food (p. 251, reference to *Od.* 17,189–94 instead of 17,180–2, cf. also his monograph *The Cattle of the Sun*, p. 95). Ekroth's exposition of the complicated and much-debated issue of animal sacrificial ritual is adequate and refreshing, partly due to new evidence based on zooarchaeological research. The author's bibliography is exhaustive, comprising eight pages and including also a creditable amount of non-English scholarship. Ekroth mentions (referring to the relevant articles by Stella Georgoudi [2008] and F. S. Naiden [2007]) that the sacrificial animal's "nodding" as a token for its "admittance" to

the sacrifice, the so-called "willing victim" theory proposed by Walter Burkert, is now largely rejected: victim's movements were seen as mere signs of its vitality (pp. 325–6). However, the animal's assent was an important notion alleviating guilt for Pythagorean-inspired animal-sensitive thinkers in antiquity (cf. Plut. *quest. conviv.* 729e–f). While discussing the critique of animal sacrifice presented by the Greek philosophers, Ekroth states that "Epicurean and Stoic texts have *traditionally* been understood as disapproving of the animal sacrifice itself" (p. 345, italics mine), which I do not consider to be a fair assessment. For one thing, which scholars are asserting this? Although, as Daniel A. Dombrowski states in his paper, the diet of a few Stoics was like that of "philosophical vegetarians" and Epicurus' diet was "meat-free" (pp. 545–6), there are no explicit statements against blood sacrifices in these philosophical schools. In this particular section, Dombrowski's references to the still most solid work on ancient vegetarianism are curiously inaccurate (the Stoics: Haussleiter 1935, 20–4 instead of 245–72; Epicurus: Haussleiter 1935, 25–6 instead of 272–81). Furthermore, the Academician Xenocrates was not being "fined for skinning a ram while alive" as Dombrowski claims (p. 549) – Xenocrates only reported the incident that the Athenians had punished one man who had flayed a ram which was still alive (cf. Plut. *de esu* I 996a–b).

Philosophical ideas concerning animals are also the subject of the papers written by Thorsten Fögen ("Animal communication"), Gordon Campbell ("Origins of Life and Origins of Species") and Stephen T. Newmyer, who discusses competently the well-known issue of the ancient philosophical concepts of human-animal distinction and bias. Both Campbell and Newmyer deal with the idea that for the Presocratics humans and other animals were creatures quite akin in body and soul (cf. p. 239 and pp. 509–13). Fögen for his part begins his paper interestingly with our contemporary understanding of the differences between animal communication and human language based on both cognitive ethology and linguistic theories. Then he proceeds to Aristotle's famous distinction between *psophos*, *phônê*, and *dialektos*, and the Stoic ideas of *logos prophorikos* and *logos endiathetos* (p. 221, see also p. 530 in Newmyer's paper – these expressions could have been included in the Index). In this connection, Fögen's "Tierbibliographie" is worth mentioning (he gives its online address in his suggested readings). However, it was last updated nearly ten years ago.

Fourteen papers in this book concentrate on the real life aspect, on animals more or less as commodities, a topic which also allows glimpses at human-animal interaction: there are chapters on domestication and animals as an indicator of wealth (both by Timothy Howe), on animal husbandry in general and especially fish farming (both by Geoffrey Kron), on pets (MacKinnon), on horse-racing (Sinclair Bell and Carolyn Willekes), veterinary medicine (Veronika Goebel and Joris Peters), hunting (MacKinnon), animals in warfare (Adrienne Mayor), animals in Roman spectacles (Jo-Ann Shelton) and in Roman triumphs (Ida Östenberg). These papers are well documented and give valuable new insights and new viewpoints on the functional use of non-human animals in the ancient world. To name only one: Howe's idea of "value economics" – presented already in his *Pastoral Politics* (2008) – emphasizes the prestige of large-scale animal husbandry in the ancient world. Value economics did not discard profit as such but it resulted in large-scale grazing on arable land, which was not then used for growing crops. Howe also discusses in passing the sacrificial animal market (pp. 144–8). Some contributors to this section make good use of recent zooarchaeological research (Kron, MacKinnon, Goebel & Peters). As for the entry 'zooarchaeology' in the Index, there are many more passages referring to it than the Index indicates.

Taxonomic and zoological issues are more or less the content of two papers along with the above-mentioned contribution by Liliane Bodson ("Zoological Knowledge in Ancient Greece and Rome"). Ancient Mediterranean wildlife in general is treated by M. MacKinnon and insects by Rory Eggs. MacKinnon's paper "Fauna of the Ancient Mediterranean World" gives a short introduction to the study of animals in the ancient world by listing its three basic kinds of sources: literary, iconographical and zooarchaeological material. The literary material may range, to quote MacKinnon, "from agricultural manual to comedies, mythological stories, poetry, legal documents, commodity lists, novels, letters, historical accounts, philosophical manuals, and hunting guides, among many other types" (p. 156). Indeed, a good addition to this book would have been a paper on animals in legal documents, in the so-called sacred laws as well as a paper on lost zoological writings, which for their part tell us about the interest of the ancient Greeks and Romans in non-human animal life.

Notwithstanding my criticism, the book is a valuable contribution to the study of animals in antiquity and can be highly recommended.

*Tua Korhonen*

*Bodies and Boundaries in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*. Edited by THORSTEN FÖGEN – MIREILLE M. LEE. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2009. ISBN 978-3-11-021252-5. VIII, 317 pp. EUR 99.95, USD 155.

This book is the result of a conference at the Harvard Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, D.C., held in 2006. The theme of the conference evolved around the idea of the body as a microcosm, a theme that "has become an operative concept in recent studies" as stated by Gloria Ferrari in the Introduction (p. 1).

The volume is divided into six sections. Each article starts with an abstract and includes a bibliography of its own. Part A, the Introduction, preceded by the preface by the editors Thorsten Fögen and Mireille M. Lee, includes a general introduction by Gloria Ferrari (pp. 1–9) and a selected bibliography by Thorsten Fögen (pp. 11–4). I personally welcome this kind of printed bibliography even though some may argue against its usefulness in the world of digital resources.

Part B is titled "The Body in Performance" and includes three papers, namely those by Thorsten Fögen on "*Sermo corporis*: Ancient Reflections on *gestus*, *vultus* and *vox*", pp. 15–43, by Nancy Worman on "Bodies and Topographies in Ancient Stylistic Theory", pp. 45–62, and by Charles Pazdernik on "Paying Attention to the Man Behind the Curtain: Disclosing and Withholding the Imperial Presence in Justinianic Constantinople", pp. 63–85. I enjoyed Fögen's paper that concentrates on nonverbal communication. He discusses the universality of body language in particular in connection with dance, a feature that Lucian, for example, took up in his essay *On Dance* (περὶ ὀρχήσεως). The close relationship between dance and rhetoric as a means of communication is discussed in an interesting way.

Part C incorporates three papers on "The Erotic Body": Peter von Möllendorf on "Man as Monster: Eros and Hubris in Plato's *Symposium*", pp. 87–109, Judith P. Hallett on "*Corpus erat*: Sulpicia's Elegiac Text and Body in Ovid's Pygmalion Narrative (*Metamorphoses* 10,238–297)", pp. 111–24, and Donald Lateiner on "Transsexuals and Transvestites in Ovid's

*Metamorphoses*", pp. 125–54. I found von Möllendorf's paper very thought-provoking and useful. It focuses especially on the story of the double-bodied creatures narrated by Aristophanes in Plato's *Symposium*. The analysis is thorough, easy to follow and in an illuminating way takes up the use of humour in ancient texts. Lateiner's discussion of transsexuals and transvestites is an articulate summary of Ovid's stories which, however, could not be investigated in depth in the paper. As an illustration of the theme as told by Ovid it is a useful paper, though.

Part D focuses on "The Dressed Body". Mireille M. Lee discusses "Body-Modification in Classical Greece" (pp. 155–80) and Lauren Hackwort Petersen's title is "'Clothes Make the Man': Dressing the Roman Freedman Body" (pp. 181–214). Lee's paper illustrates the difference between men and women, i.e., how individuals modify their bodies according to their gender, while Petersen moves on to the appearance of the body according to social class.

Part E turns to Late Antiquity and early Christianity with Kathrin Schade's paper on "The Female Body in Late Antiquity: Between Virtue, Taboo and Eroticism" (pp. 215–36) and Judith Perkins' paper on "Early Christianity and Judicial Bodies" (pp. 237–59). The final part F is about "Animal Bodies and Human Bodies" and includes two papers. Annetta Alexandridis discusses "Shifting Species: Animal and Human Bodies in Attic Vase Painting in the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Centuries B.C." (pp. 261–81) and Catherine M. Keesling "Exemplary Animals: Greek Animal Statues and Human Portraiture" (pp. 283–309).

As the range of the topics and titles of the papers makes clear, the body and its boundaries provide a vast amount of starting points for trying to figure out the ancient world and societies and cultures where people went on with their daily lives. As always, there are pros and cons in such a collection of conference papers. Some papers go much deeper into their topic than others, and there are stylistic differences that sometimes require the reader to make "mental shifts" in order to be able follow the authors' argumentation. But as a whole this volume provides a good overall picture of the ancient conception of the body and its boundaries.

*Manna Satama*

*Ancient Libraries*. Edited by JASON KÖNIG – KATERINA OIKONOMOPOULOU – GREG WOOLF. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2013. ISBN 978-1-107-01256-1 (hb). XX, 479 pp., 26 ils. GBP 75.

Ce livre réunit les actes d'un colloque organisé à l'université de Saint Andrews, en Écosse, du 9 au 11 septembre 2008. Les trois éditeurs sont les organisateurs du colloque, mais ils ne publient pas leurs propres contributions dans ce volume; seul Greg Woolf signe l'Introduction (pp. 1–20). Les articles sont distribués en trois sections: I. Contextes, II. Bibliothèques hellénistiques et de la République Romaine et III. Bibliothèques de l'Empire Romain.

Kim Ryholt (pp. 23–37) parle de la tradition millénaire de l'Égypte des bibliothèques-temples qui a amené à la fondation de la célèbre bibliothèque d'Alexandrie. Ryholt décrit plus précisément la bibliothèque-temple de Tebtunis qui contient beaucoup de textes égyptiens et grecs, dont il analyse quelques exemples (textes médicaux, de divination ou d'interprétation des rêves, astrologiques et narratifs). Eleanor Robson (pp. 38–56) étudie la fonction et la signification des bibliothèques dans les sociétés assyrienne et babylonienne et plus particulièrement celles des quatre "bibliothèques-cunéiformes": Kalhu Ezida, Nineveh, Huzirina et Reš.

Christian Jacob (pp. 57–81) et Pasquale Massimo Pinto (pp. 85–95) présentent l'organisation des bibliothèques anciennes et la relation des livres et des hommes à partir des témoignages littéraires (Xénophon, Isocrate, Athénée, etc.), tandis qu'Annette Harder (pp. 96–108) cherche les traces que la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie a laissées dans les *Aitia* de Callimaque et les *Argonautiques* d'Apollonios de Rhodes, deux poèmes qu'elle appelle "produits de la bibliothèque". Gaëlle Coqueugniot (pp. 109–23) traite de la bibliothèque royale de Pergame, fondée au II<sup>e</sup> siècle avant notre ère et découverte à la fin du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, du point de vue archéologique et Mike Affleck (pp. 124–36) essaie de prouver l'existence d'une préhistoire de la "culture de bibliothèque" à Rome avant le déplacement de la bibliothèque royale macédonienne par Paul Emile en 168. L'article de Daniel Hogg (pp. 137–51) a pour objet la relation entre Denys d'Halicarnasse et les collectionneurs de livres. Selon Hogg, Denys a donné au premier livre des *Antiquités Romaines* un caractère et une construction différents, afin de faciliter sa diffusion internationale et d'assurer ainsi la monumentalité de son œuvre entière. Fabio Tutrone (pp. 152–66) analyse l'attitude des intellectuels romains envers le *corpus Aristotelicum* et montre que les bibliothèques jouaient un rôle dynamique dans la vie intellectuelle de Rome. L'étude de Myrto Hatzimichali (pp. 167–82) porte sur l'impact qu'eut sur les grammairiens grecs l'incendie de la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie en 48 av. J.-C. George W. Houston (pp. 183–208) fait la description et le catalogue des papyri d'Herculanum qui ne contiennent pas de textes de Philodème, tandis que T. Keith Dix (pp. 209–34) s'intéresse à la création, l'usage et la perte de la bibliothèque privée de Cicéron. L'organisation et le contenu des bibliothèques romaines sont aussi l'objet des trois articles qui suivent: Ewen Bowie (pp. 237–60) parle des bibliothèques privées établies par des empereurs, Matthew Nicholls (pp. 261–76) des bibliothèques romaines comme bâtiments publics dans les villes de l'Empire Romain et Pier Luigi Tucci (pp. 277–311) des bibliothèques flaviennes à Rome. Richard Neudecker (pp. 312–31) emploie comme guide de sa recherche les *Nuits attiques* d'Aulu-Gelle pour traiter des collections de livres et de documents administratifs des bibliothèques publiques de Rome. David Petrain (pp. 332–46) démontre comment l'architecture et la décoration des bibliothèques publiques de Rome communiquent au visiteur l'importance de leur contenu. La "culture de lecture" du Haut Empire est le noyau de l'étude de William A. Johnson (pp. 347–63). On trouve Galien dans plusieurs chapitres de ce volume; son œuvre est la base des articles de Michael W. Handis (pp. 364–76) qui cherche le commencement de la mythification de la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie dans l'antiquité, et aussi d'Alexei V. Zadorojnyi (pp. 377–400) qui s'occupe du rôle des bibliothèques par rapport à la *paideia* des auteurs de la Seconde Sophistique. Dans la dernière contribution du livre, Víctor M. Martínez et Megan Finn Senseney (pp. 401–17) donnent la définition de la "bibliothèque spéciale" à partir des bibliothèques du monde ancien. Le volume se termine par la Bibliographie (pp. 418–62), un Index général (pp. 463–73) et un Index des passages cités (pp. 474–9).

Tous les chapitres suivent la même structure et sont très bien organisés. Les répétitions sont inévitables, puisque plusieurs articles recourent aux mêmes textes pour leur argumentation ou traitent des mêmes termes techniques, et c'est pourquoi les renvois internes des éditeurs aident beaucoup le lecteur. La présentation typographique du livre est très soignée. On trouve ici et là des coquilles (dont la plus grave est le Ὅροι pour l'œuvre Ὄροι de Prodicos, p. 91), surtout des esprits et accents grecs erronés, erreurs qui n'altèrent pas la lecture. On aimerait juste souligner une inconséquence dans la citation du titre d'un opuscule lucianesque: *Adversus*

*Indoctum* dans les pp. 170 et 358 (et même dans les deux Index), *Remarks addressed to an illiterate book-fancier* dans la p. 296 et *Ign. bibl.* dans la p. 379.

Il s'agit d'un livre important pour l'histoire et l'étude des anciennes bibliothèques.

*Orestis Karavas*

HAZEL DODGE: *Spectacle in the Roman World*. Classical World Series. Bristol Classical Press, London – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-8539-9696-2. 99 pp. GBP11.99 (pb).

The Bristol Classical World Series aims at providing up-to-date guidebooks to various aspects of the ancient world for students at late school and early university level. In *Spectacle in the Roman World* by Hazel Dodge, the series turns its attention to public entertainment, a large and complex field with connections to multiple aspects of the Roman world.

The book consists of seven chapters. The opening chapter presents briefly the most important types of source material. The four following chapters ("The Circus and Chariot Racing", "Gladiators and Gladiatorial Displays", "Animals and Spectacle", and "*Naumachiae* and Aquatic Displays") are dedicated to specific forms of spectacle. In the sixth chapter, Dodge discusses spectacle in Late Antiquity. The final chapter focuses on contexts and modern views of ancient Roman spectacles. All of the chapters are compact, well-written, and consistent in the presumed level of previous knowledge on the topic.

As the visual element was fundamental to spectacles, the numerous illustrations included in the book laudably support the treatment of the material. On the other hand, direct quotations of ancient texts (in translation) are given extremely sparingly. Brief guidebooks of this type tend to emphasize certain sections of their field at the expense of others. Dodge, perhaps unsurprisingly given her general research interest in archaeology, highlights the role of buildings. On the other hand, several forms of spectacle, such as various kinds of theatre, are essentially neglected. As there are introductions to ancient theatre readily available, this shortcoming is not particularly serious. However, a heavier emphasis on sources and methods would have benefited the publication.

Despite the considerable number of previous publications on spectacles and public entertainment, this new introduction by Dodge is a welcome addition. The compact form and precise scope make *Spectacle in the Roman World* a handy guide for a reader with little or no Latin, and only elementary knowledge of ancient Rome.

*Kalle Knaapi*



PAUL CARTLEDGE: *Ancient Greek Political Thought in Practice*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-45455-1 (hb), 978-0-521-45595-4 (pb). XXIII, 169 pp. GBP 40, USD 70 (hb); GBP 14.99, USD 24.99 (pb).

This book is part of the series *Key Themes in Ancient History*, a series consisting of studies written by specialists and aimed at beginners or non-specialists. In this book the key theme is Greek political theory and its application to real ancient communities. The author Paul Cartledge (= C.) has managed to compact many relevant aspects, relevant in antiquity, as well as today, within only 135 pages. C. looks at political theory as a set of ideas dealing with how, by whom, and to which purpose a community should be ruled, as well as with the question when and in which circumstances these ideas were born.

In the introductory chapters C. sets the parameters of the study: he summarizes the sources and discusses what to draw from them, at the same time setting the tradition and general questions of modern historiography in context. After having clarified some basic terms such as monarchy, oligarchy, aristocracy, as well as the conceptual distinctions between a *polis* and what is today known as a "state", C. carefully explains why and how ancient Greek-style democracy was different from modern Western democracy. Matters like the lack of human rights in general and especially of the rights of minorities, which strikes a Westerner as quite alien, become understandable within C.'s discussion of the concepts of "public and private", "gender", "freedom and slavery" and "constitutions" in the Greek *polis*.

The book is constructed around chronologically arranged historical narratives giving an overview of the central ideas and events of a particular period. These narratives are followed by case studies, chosen by the author to illustrate the presented events and ideas in practice. In addition, there is a chronological table of some historical key moments in the Greek world (p. xi) and a selection of translations of essential Greek texts (Appendix I). The icing on the cake is the close reading of the antidemocratic text "Athenian Constitution", wrongly attributed to the *corpus* of Xenophon (appendix II).

Throughout the study, often in the headings, C. plays with the three forms of governing a community as defined in the third book of Herodotus' *Historia*, in the so-called *Persian Debate*: rule by one (monarchy, tyranny, *dunasteia* = collective tyranny), rule by some (oligarchy, aristocracy) and rule by all (democracy). As the nuclear idea of a political theory is the consideration which form of rule gives the best result, C. strongly stresses that in a Greek *polis* a very important factor in this consideration was the gods. In every Greek community, religion (a term used because of the lack of a better one) and politics inseparably intertwines: a *polis* was truly filled with various deities, and often it was a *polis* more for gods than for mortals. Over the span of the study C. stresses the importance of religious matters facilitating the understanding of a modern reader concerning the underlying nature of the Greek *polis*.

In the first narrative ("The prehistoric and protohistoric Greek world, c. 1300–750") C. calls Mycenaean Greece protohistoric, for the reason that it did have writing, but that the writing was restricted to a circle of scribes and to commercial administration only. Information regarding this period comes through archaeology and Homeric epics, which are not fruitful sources for the study of political ideology. C. concludes (Chapter 3) that despite some traces of the dawning of the idea of a *polis*-like community (speech-making, patriotism), Homeric epics only illustrate the category of "rule by one" and do not have any kind of coherent political idea of a *polis*. As is appropriate in a study like this, Hesiod is paired with Homer. With Hesiod

things change somewhat and *Works and Days* can be read as a public manifesto of a person who has been treated unjustly over his father's estate by the ruling kings. C. states that the real importance of Hesiod's complaint, which probably fell on deaf ears, is that it clearly shows a need for social reform.

The most important of C's key themes (p. 46) is democracy and its evolution. In the narratives covering the archaic and classical Greek world C. looks at the birth and the development of Athenian democracy, at the same time placing it in a larger context. The author stresses that democracy cannot be treated as one single concept, as it had several different stages and degrees. C. discusses the two traditions concerning the founder of democracy: according to the Athenians the inventor was Solon, according to Herodotus it was Cleisthenes. C. discusses both candidates (Chapters 4 and 5).

Not much is known of Solon and his works, but from the scanty sources we have it can be deduced that in a period of deep economic crisis he wanted to shield Athens from tyranny and in order to do this he cancelled debts that had overburdened many and cancelled enslavement of indebted Athenians through new legislation and opened government appointments to persons outside the traditional aristocracy (the *Eupatridai*) and thus prevented the sole rule by a non-responsible rich elite. C. points out that Solon's reforms by no means meant any kind of radical democracy, but that he rather achieved a certain balance between the small privileged class relying on birth and the majority, the poor *demos*, which gradually led to more equal distribution of wealth. Nevertheless, Solon's Athens was ruled only by some.

Contrary to the Athenian tradition, Herodotus (6,131,1) says it was Cleisthenes who introduced democracy in Athens. C. takes this often overlooked statement under close scrutiny and brilliantly puts Herodotus into the context, showing in Chapter 5 ("Rule by all: the Athenian revolution c. 500 BCE") how democracy evolved in post-Cleisthenian Athens, and how Ephialtes and Pericles were essential factors in the evolution of a democratic system. In addition, the author analyses the coinage and establishment of the very term δημοκρατία (*vs.* the older ἰσονομία) with its various (often negative) connotations. The birth of political theory and its discussion can be detected in the texts of the Ionian enlightenment, but also in Athenian tragedy festivals, which C. describes as part of the Cleisthenic intellectual-political revolution.

Chapter 7 is dedicated to the trial of Socrates. Interestingly, and surely contrary to common modern opinion, C. makes a case for defending the Athenian *demos* in its act of convicting Socrates. He presents four "articles" to show how Athens in religious matters was a standard Greek city, then he offers four "propositions" to argue that Athens, at the same time, was a highly unique place in exceptional circumstances. C. manages to convince the reader that the charges against Socrates, his trial and the result of the trial, understood in their own context were based on a logical and right decision. C. argues that at the time of the trial of Socrates (399) when the political situation was very difficult (after the Peloponnesian War, with the devastating plague and the harsh regimen of the thirty tyrants), and with religion completely intertwined with politics, the Athenians had every reason to think that what they had to do to save the democracy was to purge the citizen body of religious traitors, which Socrates was presented as.

Before moving to the Hellenistic period, C. takes a look at the interesting phenomenon of the strong anti-democratic views of democratic Athens' leading intellectuals (Chapter 8). Xenophon, Plato, Isocrates and Aristotle often express resentment towards the rule by the *demos*. Considering that the aristocrat Xenophon and Plato were pupils of Socrates, their re-

sentment is not surprising, and the pro-aristocratic and oligarchic opinions were then handed down by Aristotle to Alexander, who made his own interpretation of them.

The fifth narrative ("The Hellenistic Greek world, c. 300–30 BCE") looks at the Hellenistic age, which is described as a transition from the Greek world to the Roman Empire. To illustrate political thought in the Hellenistic age, C. has chosen Sparta as a case study (Chapter 9). First the author presents an overview of the phenomenon called anti-politics, i.e. refusal of political participation as a way to influence the community. In ancient Greece, this attitude was shown either in the advocacy of a withdrawal from politics to a self-sufficient life or in the creation of imaginative ideal places to live. The latter, called the utopian tendency by C., appears in the writings of Athenian authors (e.g. Plato and Xenophon) and most (e)utopias seem to be influenced by idealized perceptions of the Spartan way of life in the ascetic and communalist Lycurgan style. In reality, Sparta was in decay by the middle of the 3rd century in both internal and external affairs and did not have much in common with these idealized views. However, it did go through two attempts to reform the city politically, economically and socially. These attempts, by King Agis IV and King Cleomenes III, were so radical, that they deserve to be called the "Spartan revolution". C. points out that although the results of these reforms were short-lived they appear to be real attempts to put utopian theory into practice.

In the final narrative ("Graecia capta"), C. approaches the development of political theories in the Greek world that had become subject to Roman rule. C. states (in Chapter 10) that in "the massy shape of Cicero" (p. 124) the inheritance of Greek political thinkers was transferred to Rome. The main character of the chapter is, however, Plutarch, a Greek and Roman citizen, whose writings reflect a realistic adaptation to circumstances, and yet do not conceal the powerless state of the Greeks in the Roman Empire.

In his concluding chapter, C. summarizes his main *theseis*: Greek *poleis* and their politics were profoundly different from our societies, they were not by any means 'liberal' in the modern (Western) sense. That, however, does not mean that there is not something to learn from ancient Greek politics. C. touches upon some obvious pain spots in our own democratic systems (e.g., the power of mass media and the problems of representative democracy) and makes the reader see that we, in fact, are wrestling with problems surprisingly similar to the ancient Greek *poleis*.

In this book, Cartledge navigates the reader through different stages of the Greek world of politics, and does it in a fascinating and entertaining way. His style is that of an established, first-class British scholar: thought provoking, loaded with intellectual and academic substance, and yet, extremely enjoyable to read.

Tiina Purola

THOMAS C. BRICKHOUSE – NICHOLAS D. SMITH: *Socratic Moral Psychology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-19843-1. VII, 276 pp. GBP 50, USD 85.

Thomas C. Brickhouse and Nicholas D. Smith argue in this book against a widely shared interpretation of Socrates' moral psychology. Socrates is believed to have an intellectualist view of human moral psychology, according to which virtue is a kind of knowledge and human

motivation is always directed towards actions that rational judgement considers best for the agent. Brickhouse and Smith think that Socrates was an intellectualist, but they do not share the traditional way of understanding his intellectualism. This book focuses on the motivational side of intellectualism, but there is a discussion about the nature of virtue as well and these two sides of intellectualism are closely connected.

The widely shared interpretation of Socratic moral psychology that Brickhouse and Smith call "the standard interpretation" understands Socrates' motivational intellectualism very straightforwardly, allowing only rational desires to have a role in motivating human beings to act. This view is what Brickhouse and Smith want to challenge. According to them, Daniel Devereux was the first scholar who seriously challenged the standard interpretation in his paper in 1995. Brickhouse and Smith have been much inspired by Devereux, but their interpretation of Socrates differs from Devereux's in at least one important aspect.

The book begins with an "Apology of Socratic studies" (Chapter I), defending the idea of philosophical differences in Plato's early and later dialogues and emphasizing the need for specific Socratic studies. One of the challenges for the writers is to hold the "Socratic" moral psychology (represented in the early dialogues) separate and different from the "Platonic" (later dialogues), while interpreting Socrates in a way that would actually seem to bring him closer to Plato.

The standard interpretation of Socrates' motivational intellectualism allows only for rational desires to motivate human beings to act. It also assumes that rational desires always adjust to the agent's beliefs of what is best for him. Therefore, according to the standard interpretation, Socrates believes that we can only affect a person's actions by changing his rational beliefs of what is best for him. Brickhouse and Smith see many problems in this view. In Chapter II, they criticize it by showing that the central claims of the standard view are not consistent with a lot of what Socrates says in the early dialogues. By giving examples from several early dialogues, Brickhouse and Smith show that Socrates seems to recognize very well the causal relevance of other forces than rational desires in motivating human action. But how is this possible if he is an intellectualist? Brickhouse and Smith face the challenge of explaining this.

In Chapter III, Brickhouse and Smith present their own view of Socrates' moral psychology. In their view, Socrates recognizes the possibility of the strong influence of appetites and passions on the rational judgment of a human being. Brickhouse and Smith believe that even though Socrates holds the view that an action is ultimately caused by a rational judgment, he understands the need to take into account the influence of appetites and passions *on judgment*. According to Brickhouse and Smith, the main problem with the standard interpretation is that it does not allow any nonrational desires to cause changes in motivation and it is therefore unable to explain obvious cases where rational beliefs remain the same, but actions changes. Brickhouse and Smith's interpretation can explain these cases, because it allows Socrates to believe that strong appetites and passions can influence rational judgment in a way that prevents consideration of all relevant facts.

In Brickhouse and Smith's understanding of Socrates, being virtuous requires keeping appetites and passions in a disciplined order. This point is central, and this is where Brickhouse and Smith differ from Daniel Devereux. In Devereux's view, a virtuous person might have strong appetites and passions, but his ethical knowledge would provide a stronger motivational force for action. In Brickhouse and Smith's view this is not possible, as strong appetites and passions are incompatible with virtuous action. Brickhouse and Smith are suspicious about the

idea that Socrates would consider ethical knowledge to be a necessary and sufficient condition for virtue, as Devereux thinks. They point out that Socrates repeatedly denied any possession of ethical knowledge, but still believed that he acted in a morally sustainable manner. Brickhouse and Smith believe that the key to explaining this is Socrates' disciplined appetites and passions. An agent with disciplined appetites and passions is not inclined to succumb to false impressions and is therefore able to deliberate more correctly, even if he does not have sure ethical knowledge.

In Chapter IV, Brickhouse and Smith look at the problem of the standard interpretation from a different angle, seeking further support for their own view. They aim to show that there is a major weakness in the standard interpretation in explaining Socrates' claim that wrongdoing damages the wrongdoer's soul. According to the standard view, the only possible defect of a wrongdoer's soul is ignorance. This does not seem to adequately explain the damage to the soul; what, for example, would an incurably ruined soul (like the tyrant's soul) be like. Would it be totally ignorant? In Brickhouse and Smith's view, something important is lacking from the standard intellectualist explanation.

Brickhouse and Smith point out that if the standard interpretation was correct, cognitive measures like education and philosophical dialogue would be sufficient to change the actions of a wrongdoer. However, Socrates acknowledges the need for various other types of measures to correct wrongdoing as well, for example physical punishment, imprisonment, fines and so on. Punishment is never a revenge in Socrates' view, but it is aimed at curing the wrongdoer. But the "cures" he mentions are diverse, not only cognitive measures. How would this make sense if all there was to correct in wrongdoing was ignorance? Brickhouse and Smith remark that despite the high value Socrates gives to knowledge, he seems to understand that there are other factors affecting motivation as well, contrary to what the standard interpretation claims. In Brickhouse and Smith's view, the key to correcting wrongdoing lies in limiting the overwhelming power of appetites and passions. In Chapter V, they discuss in more detail what is involved in educating appetites and passions.

In Chapter VI, Brickhouse and Smith consider the relation of their interpretation of Socrates' motivational intellectualism to the other side of Socrates' intellectualism, the claim that virtue is a kind of knowledge. This combination is challenging, as it is not easy to fit non-rational desires into the intellectualist picture. In Brickhouse and Smith's view, virtue is a kind of knowledge, but it presupposes a disciplined state of appetites and passions. They also claim that knowledge assures a kind of condition of the soul that is immune to the distorting effects of nonrational desires. But how is it possible to define virtue as knowledge if there is a prior requirement of disciplined appetites and passions? Brickhouse and Smith do not adequately explain this.

Chapter VII deals with Socrates' relation to his intellectual heirs, Plato, Aristotle and the Stoics. Brickhouse and Smith explain how their view about Socrates differs importantly from Plato's later views, even though their understanding of Socrates seems to bring him closer to Plato. They find similarities in Socrates' and Aristotle's views about the distorting effects of nonrational desires on the power of reason and about the possibility of synchronic belief-akrasia. They also discuss similarities and differences in Socrates' and the Stoics' views.

The book gives a good overall picture of Socrates' intellectualism and successfully challenges the standard interpretation of motivational intellectualism. Brickhouse and Smith offer a more plausible and thorough understanding of Socrates than the standard straightfor-

ward account does. However, it is not easy to combine the idea of intellectualism with the causal effect of nonrational desires and the possible problem for Brickhouse and Smith lies in their explanation of Socrates' conception of virtue as a kind of knowledge.

*Susanna Aro*

FRANCESCO PELOSI: *Plato on Music, Soul and Body*. Translated by SOPHIE HENDERSON. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-76045-4. VII, 228 pp. GBP 50, USD 85.

Sophie Henderson has skilfully translated into English Francesco Pelosi's monograph about music, soul and body in Plato. The translation is much needed because there are not many extensive philosophical studies on this topic available in English, and yet the topic is central in Plato's philosophy.

In the Introduction, Pelosi claims to be showing that a study of Plato's discussion on music helps us better understand his view of the relationship between soul and body. He contends that even if there are good grounds, especially in the *Phaedo*, for taking Plato as a proponent of a dualist theory, this issue is by no means settled. Even the *Phaedo*, the author argues, "presents ideas for a different vision of the mind-body problem". He continues: "But other dialogues offer many more numerous and consistent reasons to keep open the case for considering the mind-body question in Plato" (p. 5).

This general aim notwithstanding, there is not much in the book that directly addresses the issue about dualism between the soul and the body. However, this is not a major shortcoming, because the merits of the book lie elsewhere, in particular in the admirably detailed discussion of the many special issues in music. They constitute the body of the four main thematic chapters.

The principal sources include the *Phaedo*, *Republic* 2, 3, and 7, *Laws* 2 and 7, and the *Timaeus*. In addition to these, the author uses other sources, including ancient commentaries, to clarify, elaborate and contrast his arguments. He approaches the texts from an emphatically unitarian point of view, assuming that Plato's considerations in different dialogues and contexts are basically consistent. This is well grounded in most cases, but I would nevertheless have expected a more careful contextualization of the passages discussed.

The first chapter discusses musical *paideia* in early childhood, with special focus on *ēthos* and *mīmēsis*. In opposition to a "formalist" view of music, represented by the Epicurean Philodemus of Gadara, for example, Pelosi argues that for Plato and many other ancient theorists, "music can express emotional and ethical states capable of substantially altering the human *psychē* and its emotive and cognitive faculties" (p. 31). In this respect, Plato's discussion of *harmoniai* and rhythms are of the greatest interest. As is well known, Plato takes the Dorian and Phrygian *harmoniai* to express two key ethical qualities: courage and temperance (*Resp.* 399a3–c6), and Pelosi puts special effort into clarifying this connection.

While the first chapter concentrates on the sensitive parts of the soul, the second chapter explores music as a therapy for the rational soul. Pelosi uses as his key evidence here *Timaeus* 47c–e, which fits this purpose very well. One of his major arguments is that musical therapy is based on "the *contact* between substances that are akin (*syngeneis*)" (p. 75; Pelosi's italics). The

idea is that the movements involved in musical harmony are analogous with the circular movements of the soul, and that the two come into contact. Pelosi goes on to argue, not implausibly, that the process described in *Tim.* 47c–e is compatible with the one implied in *Resp.* 401d–402a. Thus understood, the *euschēmosynē* produced by music at *Resp.* 401d8 is comparable to the *katakosmēsis* referred to in *Tim.* 47d6.

The third chapter turns to Plato's treatment of harmonic science in *Resp.* 7. First, Pelosi discusses in which way music serves as a discipline preparatory to dialectic, and he then explores how Plato's understanding of harmonic science differs from both empirical and Pythagorean views. In the course of the discussion, he makes many illuminating observations. He points out, for example, that Plato displays a rather different attitude towards the empiricists and the Pythagoreans: derision regarding the former, and respect in reference to the latter (p. 141).

The fourth and final chapter examines two specific issues: acoustic phenomena and perception, and secondly, the soul and the various theories of harmony. Again, Pelosi's discussion is very detailed and packed with references to parallel passages in the Platonic corpus and even in other relevant sources.

In sum, this book is a significant contribution to the study of Plato's views on music. The book assumes some familiarity with Plato and ancient theories of music. For this reason it is not easy reading for a beginner in classics, musicology or philosophy, but a more advanced reader will enjoy its high-level discussion.

Mika Perälä

DANIEL S. WERNER: *Myth and Philosophy in Plato's Phaedrus*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-02128-0. 302 pp. GBP 65, USD 99.

Myths are a common target of criticism in the dialogues of Plato, and yet myths are frequently used, even created by Plato himself, as vehicles of his philosophical expression. This paradox is the subject of D. S. Werner's (= W) book in which he thoroughly discusses the myths and their function in the *Phaedrus* and Plato's motives in integrating them in his dialogue style.

In the introductory chapter, W. illustrates the historical and cultural context of Greek myths in general, and the relation of Platonic myths to this wider context. In the difficult task of defining a myth, W. emphasizes the basic inherent elements of myth such as traditionalism, anonymity and variation. The status of myth, W. argues, changed along with the rise of written culture and development of the natural sciences, history and philosophy in the sixth century B.C.: myths in written form are not as flexible as those transmitted orally, and as they were no longer the sole possession of bards, they subsequently became the object of scrutiny and criticism. This does not, as W. emphasizes, mean that myths became any less important or that there was a change in Greek mentality from *μῦθος* to *λόγος*, these terms remaining interchangeable. Instead, W. suggests, we should see Plato's use of myth (both the term and its substance) as an interplay with *logos* and a conscious reflection of "the cultural and linguistic heritage" of these concepts (p. 6): W. aligns with the view that the interplay between myth and *logos* is not so much about *rationality* as *authority*. Different versions of myths competed for

authority, philosophers competed with poets and bards, as well as with each other, for the acceptance of their own versions of myths. Dealing with myths, the main questions W. raises in his discussion are why Plato used myths, why he used particular myths, to whom the myths were aimed and how do they interact with philosophical discourse.

W. classifies the myths used in the dialogues of Plato into three categories: "traditional", "state-regulated" and "Platonic" myths. The *Phaedrus* contains one traditional (Boreas) and three Platonic (the palinode, cicadas and Theuth-Thamus) myths. Each of these is analysed individually from various standpoints: their context, philosophic function in the dialogue, as well as their wider relation to the main themes of the dialogue are thoroughly discussed. Throughout the book, W. makes observations on how the change from oral to written culture was at many levels the focus of Plato's discussion, and he manages to convince the reader that in the *Phaedrus*, it is not only the myths *as such* that matter, but that the discussion *of* the myths is equally important.

The first myth of the *Phaedrus*, in fact quite a brief reference to the story of Boreas abducting Oreithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus, gives us the scenery of the dialogue (outside Athens, a country landscape with heat and hidden threats of *eros* and nature). With the story, Plato sets the signposts for the use of myth, and the story has, W. argues, far-reaching importance in the dialogue. Phaedrus' innocent question, does Socrates believe the story is true or not, opens the way to the discussion of the interpretation of myths. Socrates does not answer directly, but clearly rejects allegorical interpretations, which in his time were obviously fashionable, as a pointless waste of time. According to Socrates, useless rationalizing of myths diverts one's focus away from the truly important endeavour, which is to get to know oneself. Within the chapters on the Boreas-Oreithyia myth W., focuses on analysing Plato's motives for not accepting allegorical interpretation models of the myth (of all myths, possibly). He also offers an interesting analysis (Chapter 2.6) of the meaning of the phrase *χαίρειν ἑάσας ταῦτα* (230a1–2), which, he argues, should be understood as meaning that from this point on, Plato says goodbye to questions concerning the truth status of individual myths or the rationalization of myths and turns to the use of myths of his own creation for his own purposes.

Socrates' third speech in the *Phaedrus*, the so-called palinode (*παλινῳδία*) plays a central part (Chapters 3–5) in this book, and for good reason. The complicated, and at many points confusing, account of *eros* and the soul (depicted as two-winged horses driven by a charioteer), their incarnate and discarnate journey towards the Forms (*ιδέαι*), is one of the most astonishing pieces Plato (or anyone else, for that matter) has written. W. analyses this "cosmic vision" thoroughly and at length, and offers a point by point interpretation of central aspects of myth: he scrutinizes the structure of the palinode as a proof of the immortality of the soul, he looks at the Forms as objects of knowledge, and also takes a "holistic view of the speech, its structure and its stylistic features" (p. 108). In his discussion, W. suggests that the idea of the self-moving nature of the immortal soul is the reason Plato has chosen myth as a vehicle of his argumentation. Like the soul, a myth is also constantly moving and changing. W. also addresses broader questions such as whether we should approach the palinode as representing Plato's own views or rather as a form of intellectual play, and whether Plato's critique of traditional tales also applies to myths he created himself. In Chapter 5.4 ("Myth for Whom"), W. ties the strings together: he aims to show in concrete detail how Platonic myth, and the palinode itself, serves *psychagogia*: their function is to turn an individual towards philosophy. Nevertheless,



the palinode works both for non-philosophers and novices "who waver between two roads" (like Phaedrus and the reader) and for more advanced philosophers, who with the palinode will understand the limits of the myth and its subordinate status to philosophical dialectic.

The myth of the cicadas, placed in the middle of the *Phaedrus*, is discussed in Chapter 6. Socrates pulls the reader back on the stage of the dialogue, in the heat of high noon, outside Athens, a time and place when cicadas are loudly singing. He tells Phaedrus that according to a myth, cicadas were once people and were so mesmerized by the song of the Muses that they forgot to eat and drink, and subsequently died without noticing it themselves. They were later reborn as cicadas, which spend their short life singing and reporting to the Muses who truly honour the Gods and who do not. At the beginning of his discussion of the myth, W. offers an interesting overview of the cultural history of cicadas in ancient Greece (Chapter. 6.3) and argues that the myth of the cicadas is told here because it becomes clear that Phaedrus does not really understand the palinode and that *psychagogia* does not work with him. The cicada myth represents the palinode itself, it warns Phaedrus (and the reader) not to get mesmerized by the palinode and to make the mistake to take it as the "final word". W. convincingly points out how the story of the cicadas is not only a pleasant "intermezzo" after the cosmic heights of the palinode, as sometimes suggested, but forms an important transition between the two parts of the dialogue and urges the "reader" to move beyond the myth.

The latter part of the *Phaedrus* is concerned with rhetoric and dialectic, which for Plato is the true way to practise philosophy and to get as near to the Forms as is humanly possible (p. 153). In Chapter 7, W. represents questions concerning "the nature of rhetoric", "the true art of rhetoric" and "dialectic" and calls attention to Plato's medical approach to rhetoric, which can be noticed throughout the dialogue. W. effectively argues that in Plato's time there was still a tension between the old oral and the recent literary tradition, and that written texts could be seen as a kind of "new technology" in fifth-century Athens (p. 185). W. sees that Plato in his criticism of writing in the latter part of the *Phaedrus* reflects this debate and that his very intention is to deliver a philosophical inquiry on the issue. It is in this context that Socrates tells Phaedrus the myth of Theuth and Thamus (Thoth and Ammon) which is discussed in Chapter 8. The short myth (274c–275b) is set in Egypt; Theuth is introduced as the inventor of several useful skills, among which is writing. He himself claims to have invented a medicine (φάρμακον) for wisdom and memory. When these skills are presented to King Thamus, however, he strongly criticizes writing (letters) and argues that it is by no means a medicine for remembering but rather for reminding, and hence written texts produce students who only *seem* to be wise. Plato's critique of writing, analysed by W., is based on the argument that writing is *not* dialogue: it always remains the same (same to everyone, at every time, in all circumstances), it cannot be questioned and it cannot defend itself, either, which makes written text inferior to dialogue between two persons. W. also discusses several aspects of how this harsh critique affects Plato's own work.

In the last chapters W. takes a look at the *Phaedrus* as a whole and discusses how the myths contribute to the unity of the dialogue. He suggests that the myths tie the text together, if not seamlessly, at least in a noticeable way. Several themes (e.g., eyes, light, blindness; animals, bestiality, monsters; cure, potion, φάρμακον; play, seriousness; an extensive list on pp. 241–2) reoccur both on the structural and vocabulary levels in every myth of the dialogue. He points out that all the myths reflect the central aspects discussed. The Boreas myth marks the general attitude to the approach to traditional stories; Plato uses the tale without taking a stand-

point to its credibility, which is not important: what is important is to get to know one's inner self. The cosmic visions of the palinode show a glimpse of the path where the *psychagogia* might lead a true pursuer of philosophy. The cicadas in the middle of the myth warn both Phaedrus and the reader not to be lulled by a tempting story, the palinode itself, and underline once again the importance of self-knowledge. In the final myth of Theuth and Thamus, W. argues that Plato's critique of writing is, as a matter of fact, also aimed at Plato himself and the palinode especially, its function being to warn of the dangers of blindly trusting written texts. These myths are hence tools for underlining Plato's views of communicational hierarchy: dialogue between two persons, appropriate to the participants' characteristics is the highest, and actually the only way towards true understanding of being. However, this method of discourse can be supplemented with other methods, well-practised rhetoric and myths, but finally all modes of discourse are imperfect. Myths are useful for Plato because of their familiarity, they help a non-philosopher to recognize the right questions, but they also show how inadequate they are in the true practice of philosophy. However, throughout his clear and fluent discussion W. does not make the mistake of taking the dialogue too seriously; he leaves room for the possibility of Plato's self-irony and humour. In sum, the book offers a noteworthy approach to the *Phaedrus*.

Tiina Purola

*Plato's Myths*. Edited by CATALIN PARTENIE. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-88790-8. XVI, 255 pp. GBP 55, USD 99.

*Plato's Myths* edited by Catalin Partenie consists of ten articles by as many eminent students of Plato and an in-depth introduction by Partenie. The article titles are "Plato's Eschatological Myths" by Michael Inwood; "Myth, Punishment and Politics in the Gorgias" by David Sedley; "Tale, Theology and Teleology in the Phaedo" by Gábor Betegh; "Fraternité, inégalité, la parole de Dieu: Plato's Authoritarian Myth of Political Legitimation" by Malcolm Schofield; "Glaucón's Reward, Philosophy's Debt: The Myth of Er" by G. R. F. Ferrari; "The Charioteer and His Horses: An Example of Platonic Myth-making" by Christopher Rowe; "The Myth of the Statesman" by Charles H. Kahn; "Eikōs muthos" by M. F. Burnyeat; "Myth and Eschatology in the Laws" by Richard Stalley, and "Platonic Myth in Renaissance Iconography" by Elizabeth McGrath.

The problem with a symposium on a given topic is to find a structuring principle that holds contributions of varying content together. The principal idea of *Plato's Myths* seems to be simply the assumed writing order of the dialogues. The volume starts with the articles on the myths presented in the so-called middle dialogues and moves on to the articles dealing with myths in the so-called late dialogues the *Statesman*, *Timaeus* and the *Laws*. The book finishes with the contribution on the Platonic tradition in the Renaissance, which is an interesting addition to the book. Does this order imply that there is in Plato a deepening understanding of the nature of myths in the late dialogues, and as for this volume, does it offer a deeper understanding of the use and meaning of myths in Plato's philosophy?

In the useful introduction, Partenie lists many passages where Plato uses the word *muthos* (pp. 1–2). The list is based on Partenie's categorisation of the origin and use of myths: he categorises them into "identifiable traditional myths", "myths that are Plato's invention but

which feature various traditional mythical characters and motifs" and "philosophical doctrines (his own or those of others) that he explicitly calls 'myths', or 'mythical'" (pp. 2–3). The categorisation implies that Partenie sees Plato as writing his philosophy in relation to the tradition of poetry; and the difference between *logos* and *muthos*, as it is traditionally put, is an open and debated question within the dialogues – and as such a philosophical problem for Plato, as Partenie rightly shows. In the end, we are faced with the eternal question of Platonic studies: are the myths only an illustration, a teaching device or a persuasive means of philosophical argumentation in each dialogue? Partenie states in the introduction that "the contributors to this volume argue that, in Plato, myth and philosophy are tightly bound together" (p. 20). But how is this relation articulated in the volume? How should the myths be interpreted?

In the contributions by Inwood, Ferrari and Stalley, the interpretation is rather literal. Inwood takes Plato's metempsychosis and eschatological views as such – namely, that the souls are recycled and they forget what they have experienced in their past lives – and ends up with a rather dubious statement: "if, as Socrates implies, the nature of the life determines the nature of the soul, anything the soul does or neglects to do can be blamed on the life, not on the soul itself" (p. 44).

Ferrari's aim is twofold: firstly, he tries to show that the myth of Er "is less a narrative about the reward of justice than it is a narrative about the logic or system of reward for justice"; and secondly, "that not only is the myth addressed to Glaucon, it is adapted to his character and mental horizon" (p. 116). Ferrari does rightly conclude in the style of Plato that "justice is its own reward". However, he also states that "to choose one's next life wisely is not a reward, not for the philosopher; it is a challenge" and "the scene in which souls choose their next lives, the principal scene of the myth, is not a scene of reward or punishment, but one of danger and action" (p. 132), in which Plato's eschatology is taken at face value. That the myth of Er would be adapted to Glaucon's character is not a very convincing statement. Rather the function of the myth might become clearer if one asks the question why is an eschatological myth *placed at the end of a book* that discusses the order of the state and soul?

Stalley's article discusses the claims of impiety in book X of the *Laws*. He highlights the difference between the eschatology of the *Laws* and that of the middle dialogues. According to Stalley, the difference is that in the eschatology of the middle dialogues the importance of becoming a philosopher, in which ultimate salvation lies, is the key issue. Whereas in the *Laws*, Stalley sees that Plato is content with the choice of persuading people (and the young atheist Athenians) to be just in the conventional sense: "it has to convey the message that we will in some way be rewarded or punished after death without relying on the kind of mythical detail which the young atheist would obviously reject" (204–5). Inwood's, Ferrari's and Stalley's articles indicate the difficulty of interpreting the eschatological myths in Plato. However, I am convinced that Plato did not adopt traditional eschatology and metempsychosis into his thinking "as such" and it may not be read "as such".

There are three articles in which Plato's myths are interpreted from a political perspective, those by Sedley, Schofield and Kahn. In "Myth, Punishment and Politics in the *Gorgias*", Sedley importantly thematises modes of reading myths. I agree with Sedley that the perspective on myths must be that of the present, namely what do they mean in the present life? He states that once we deliteralise the myths, "we are likely to conclude that afterlife punishment, of curable and incurables alike, is at bottom much the same kind of mental torture as vice already causes in this life" (p. 68). The author also reminds us that, in *Gorgias*, Socrates himself

advertises "the idea that myths of afterlife punishment (the alleged Pythagorean myth of leaky jars in Hades) serve as allegories for moral truths about this life" (p. 53). The meaning that Sedley gives to the literal and allegorical reading modes is not explained, but his understanding is implicit in the way he interprets the myth of *Gorgias*. He reads the superiority of Zeus' reign to the reign of Cronus as a parable of political *progress* (p. 56), and by analogy, this "might take Socrates to be sincerely offering his dialectical methodology to the city of Athens as a basis for political, legal and judicial reform" (p. 70). Hence, the relation of Cronus and Zeus, which Sedley applies to the political present of Socrates as a relation of the rhetoric in judicial institutions and dialectical philosophy, is a plausible way to understand how Plato could have seen the myths function as the structuring principles of reality. Sedley reads the myth from the historical present of Plato.

In his contribution Schofield interprets the Cadmean myth and the myth of metals of the *Republic* as a legitimation for the ideal city. It is a literal interpretation of the ideal city which makes Plato look "authoritarian" (p. 112). However, in the *Republic* it is made explicit how people should choose their work according to their natural capacity (455a–456e). This requires a kind of self-knowledge which is in fact one of the main themes in the whole dialogue.

In "The Myth of the Statesman" Kahn highlights the importance of the writing order – the *Republic*, *Statesman*, the *Laws* – and how Plato shifts from the "messianic politics (of the *Republic*) to a project of legislative reform" (p. 162), where the *Statesman* has the intermediary role. Kahn sees the king of the *Republic* and the divine shepherd in the *Statesman* as to some extent analogical, and remarks how Plato understands this model of ruling as a mistake in the *Statesman*. According to Kahn, in the *Laws* the constitution of laws as the only possible and second best option is acknowledged. To put so much weight on the writing order neglects the different nature of these three books. As Kahn himself also reminds us, the importance of the written law is already there in an early dialogue *Crito* (p. 163).

The other three contributions deal with poetising myths. Rowe opens his article with two claims: firstly, that the myths cannot be treated in isolation from the context, and secondly, that the myth may be used as a substitute for more direct types of discourses. However, what might surprise the reader is that in the case of *Phaedrus*, Rowe simply neglects the context in which the dialogue happens. Socrates and Phaedrus are on the banks of the River Ilissus, which was the cult place of a preparatory cult for the Greater Eleusinian Mysteries. The pattern of the whole dialogue imitates a course of cultic action of an initiation ritual. In *Phaedrus* especially, the myth is not a substitute for any type of discourse, the myth is something that structures the cultic action that *Phaedrus* as a young, enthusiastic literary scholar is unaware of.

Betegh interestingly shows the narrative pattern in Socrates' remark that Aesop would have composed a good tale on the relation of pain and pleasure. The narrative pattern is the following: 1) an initial state of affairs; 2) a divine agent enters; 3) the agent analyses the situation and takes action; 4) a functional description of the current state of affairs. Betegh sees this pattern as that of traditional aetiological fables which can be referred to as "Platonic teleology" (p. 93) which "is then developed into a cosmological narrative in the *Timaeus*" (p. 93). Even though the conclusions are presented without much discussion, Betegh seems to consider cosmology a kind of paradigmatic fable for good fables.

The idea of the paradigmatic status of cosmology is there also in the most challenging article, "Eikōs muthos" by M. F. Burnyeat. This article aims to explain what *eikōs muthos* in the *Timaeus* means and what its relation to *logos* is. He aptly sets *Timaeus* in the context of

Hesiod's *Theogony* and the *peri physeōs* tradition, and in the end shows how *Timaeus* transcends this opposition of religious story and scientific explanation. It is possible to disagree with Burnyeat's thoughts about the reason for and the free choice of the creation of the cosmos. However, the brilliance of the article lies in its understanding of the *eikōn* (image) nature of the cosmos and how this applies to speaking: if speech is speaking according to the subject matter, which is already an image relation, speaking about the cosmos must perform the *eikōn* (image) nature of the cosmos. Hence, the exegesis of the *logoi* of the cosmos is always a likely account. *Timaeus* is a myth but it is also an exegesis of the myth that applies the meaning of the myth.

The role that *Timaeus* has in the introduction and in the articles of Betegh and Burnyeat does imply that, in the volume as a whole, the importance of the myth of the cosmos in the relation of *muthos* and *logos* is recognised. However, in many articles the perspective is still tightly bound to the traditional division of myth and logos which as such was a philosophical question for Plato.

Salla Raunio

CHRISTOPHER P. LONG: *Aristotle on the Nature of Truth*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-19121-0. XIII, 275 pp. GBP 55, USD 90.

Christopher Long discusses in this monograph Aristotle's conception of truth, which is commonly taken to be a version of the correspondence theory. According to this theory, truth is to be understood in terms of correspondence or agreement between states of affairs in the world, on the one hand, and an assertive or negative sentence or thought, on the other. Long subscribes to this understanding of Aristotle's view, but his attempt is to propose an entirely new interpretation of what Aristotle requires of the implied correspondence.

Long characterizes his approach as "phenomenological legomenology" (p. x), which he takes to be firmly based on Aristotle's own way of doing philosophy. Long claims, "The peripatetic methodology is legomenology." He continues, "The things said, τὰ λεγόμενα, open a way into the nature of things; and it is the nature of things to express themselves" (p. 7). Long emphasizes the idea that it is not only human beings but also things that express themselves. He finds evidence for this even in Aristotle's famous formulation τὸ ὄν λέγεται πολλαχῶς (*Metaphysics Z 1, 1028a10*), in which λέγεται is commonly understood to be in the passive voice, and translated as "Being is said in many ways". According to Long (p. 12), however, λέγεται can also be heard in the middle voice, which results in the translation "Being expresses itself in many ways". In line with this, he introduces his new understanding of truth in Aristotle thus: "...truth belongs neither to thinking nor to things, but to their encounter – an encounter in which truth is always a matter of onto-logical response-ability, that is, of eco-logical justice" (p. 11).

This is a very pregnant account, and needs some explanation. Long divides the terms "onto-logical", "response-ability" and "eco-logical" with a hyphen deliberately, arguing that truth is by no means a one-sided affair, but requires contributions from both parties involved in a social context. It is a matter of justice because cultivation of truth requires "the ability to attend to the ways things speak and to articulate responses that do justice to the saying of things" (p. 14).

In my view, this is not an entirely implausible thesis to begin with, but requires a great deal of specification. To all intents and purposes, this is what Long sets out to do in the book. He does not confine himself to discussing only texts that explicitly concern truth and falsity, in particular *De Interpretatione*, *Metaphysics* Δ 7, E 4 and Θ 10, and *De Anima* 3,6. In addition, he examines a number of other texts to elaborate on the proposed view. In some cases, I think, he even goes too far. As regards τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι in *Metaphysics* Z 4, 1029b14 (pp. 176–90), for example, I found it difficult to see how his discussion contributed to his main arguments about truth.

The book consists of eight main chapters. The division is thematic: the first three chapters discuss in various ways the method in the study of truth as "correspondence" and of the things said, the fourth chapter concerns λόγος, the fifth and sixth are about perception, appearance and thought, the seventh focuses on the good, and the eight on justice. This fits well with the general purposes of the book.

For the most part, Long's style of writing is very readable, though some parts are somewhat verbose and ornate. In part, this is due to his continental and pragmatist background, in part, due to his way of using later thinkers, in particular Heidegger, Dewey, Randall and Woodbridge, for clarification and contrast. However, he uses the texts of these thinkers in a truly critical fashion, being careful not to iron out the inevitable differences in relation to Aristotle. These comparative sections are especially helpful for a reader who is familiar with these later thinkers, but a reader with no such background, including the author of this review, may find them confusing rather than clarifying. In the case of Heidegger (pp. 33–48), the contrast Long draws becomes unreasonably long, turning into an independent study.

It is worth noting that there is no single text to which Long is able to refer as his key evidence. It is rather the totality of evidence that either corroborates or undermines his thesis, depending on one's judgment of the interpretation of each piece of evidence in question, and its interrelations. Thus, it seems, Long's thesis is most charitably taken as an overall interpretation of the significance of truth in Aristotle.

In my judgment, Long succeeds in developing a new way of speaking about truth as correspondence in Aristotle. Nevertheless, I was not convinced that the texts he cites in support strongly recommend the proposed discourse. In particular, I would have expected a more detailed exegesis of the texts in which Aristotle explicitly discusses truth and falsity. This would have made the book more balanced, and also more sensitive to the ways in which Aristotle himself formulates his position. Indeed, it is not until p. 169 that the reader learns that in *De Anima* 3,6 Aristotle distinguishes between "two senses of truth corresponding to two different sorts of things toward which thinking is directed". Only one of them, the truth involved in the thinking of composite items, i.e. making assertions and denials, is relevant to the concept of truth Long has discussed thus far. Furthermore, Long makes no attempt to discuss Aristotle's claim that the alleged "correspondence" is asymmetric in a very specific sense: "It is not because we think truly that you are white, that you are white, but because you are white we who say this have the truth" (*Metaphysics* Θ 10, 1051b6–9). This claim is important because it explains what makes a statement true. Long cites what immediately precedes this quote, but is content to state vaguely, "The emphasis here is clearly on the things themselves – they are *somehow* responsible for the truth or falsity of the λόγος" (p. 173; italics added).

I should like to add two minor observations. First, Long makes a baffling claim right in the beginning: "Yet Aristotle has no philosophy of language, no sustained systematic account

of the nature of language and how it functions in philosophical investigation" (p. 6). This is unintelligible given Aristotle's logical treatises and Long's own book. Second, Long puts some effort into showing that Aristotle's claim "it is necessary to proceed from the universal [ἐκ τῶν καθόλου] to the particulars [τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα]" (*Physics* 1,1, 184a23–24) is best understood as moving from undifferentiated wholes to what Heidegger calls "those moments that bring what is at first superficially meant into a compelling distance so that I actually see it in its articulateness" (p. 57). Heidegger's phrase is a very convoluted way of saying that the term τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα refers here to what is specific, and not to the particular. It would have been helpful to inform the reader that Aristotle uses this term in these two different senses.

Mika Perälä

TONY ROARK: *Aristotle on Time. A Study of the Physics*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-00262-3. XIII, 232 pp. GBP 50, USD 82.

Tony Roark has written an impressive book on Aristotle's account of time in *Physics* 4,10–14. His major argument is that the account is best understood in hylomorphic terms: as a compound of matter and form. In short, the proposal put forward is that the matter of time is movement, and the form of time is perception. Roark readily admits that his approach is rather uncontroversial given Aristotle's general tendency to apply his preferred hylomorphic framework to all kinds of explanatory purposes, but observes that the details require careful consideration. This is particularly the case with perception, the role of which is not entirely clear in Aristotle's theory.

The book is conveniently structured around the aforementioned major argument. Part II is devoted to movement, and Part III to perception. Part I serves as an introduction, contrasting Aristotle's approach with other lines of argument, in particular with McTaggart's and Plato's, whereas Part IV concentrates on some specific issues related to simultaneity and temporal passage, addressing objections raised to Aristotle's theory.

Roark begins by contrasting ancient and modern conceptions of time. For this purpose he introduces McTaggart's highly influential distinction between two series of time, the idea that the temporal relations "earlier than" and "later than" are more fundamental than, and to be separated from, the relations of "past", "present" and "future". Roark stresses that the former relations only imply temporal extension, whereas the latter also require some passage of time, and he applies the notions of "extension" and "passage" to clarify and contrast Plato's and Aristotle's views. In my judgement, the comparison given works well for introductory purposes, but on closer inspection "extension" and "passage" are not very helpful notions in clarifying what is distinctive about ancient views. First of all, the distinction in question does not seem to be relevant to ancient thinkers. Secondly, as Roark himself points out, there are other notions such as "periodicity" which better illuminate ancient intuitions. Nonetheless, Roark succeeds in making clear that Plato and Aristotle take time to be defined in terms of motion, and yet insist that motion is not similarly defined in terms of time. The latter claim is unintelligible to modern thinkers, and this constitutes a key contrast between the ancient and modern thinkers.

After this introductory part, Roark turns to the claim about motion as the matter of time. In Chapter 3 he discusses what he refers to as the "Exactly When" argument in *Physics* 4,11,

218b21–219a1. The argument says that if we perceive time when, and only when, we perceive motion, time does not exist without motion. Many interpreters have judged that the argument, in order to make sense, must be based on an implicit assumption. Roark discusses and criticizes two proposals: one according to which "any postulation of imperceptible temporal intervals is false (or perhaps even meaningless), because we could never have evidence of their existence" (p. 47), and another one which says that Aristotle is applying a dialectical method here, assuming, on the basis of received views, not only that time cannot exist without motion, but also, by parity of reasoning, that motion cannot exist without time (p. 49). Roark's criticisms are carefully thought out, but his own solution is not entirely satisfactory. He manages to show that the "Exactly When" argument relies on a supporting argument that time is something consisting of motion rather than being identical to it (p. 54), but his further reflections on the nature of the implied perception remain incomplete. Roark reasonably assumes that the perception of time requires a perception of motion, and his explanation for this dependency is that the perception of time implies a perception of an object as moving. Time and motion, according to him, are perceived as pairs, and the perception involved is to be seen as a *de dicto* perception. He argues, "In each case, an agent who fails to perceive the first member of the pair cannot properly be said to perceive the second member of the pair as such, because *de dicto* perception involves the employment of concepts, and in each case the first member of the pair is a perceptible feature, the concept of which is included in the concept of the second member" (p. 59). This might work as a philosophical theory, but Roark adduces no evidence that this is indeed Aristotle's theory. The problem is that Aristotle's explicit considerations about the nature of perception make no reference to proper conceptual content, and yet Roark takes time perception as involving concepts. He discusses time perception in more detail in Part III, but for some reason ignores his earlier suggestion about *de dicto* perception.

In Chapter 4 Roark proposes an alternative to the widely held view that the "*qua* such" qualification in Aristotle's definition of motion as "the actuality of what is potentially, *qua* such" (*Physics* 3,1, 201a10–11 and b4–5) picks up the immediately preceding "potentially". According to the received view, the significance of the qualification is to limit the potentialities in question to incomplete ones. Roark objects that this fails "to take seriously Aristotle's attempt to provide a real definition of motion" (p. 75). The problem is, according to Roark, that the definition, thus understood, would reify potentialities rather than properly place "substance at the center of the definition" (p. 75). To appreciate this requirement, his own proposal is that the qualification refers to the unit phrase "what is potentially", which "functions as a generic kind-term for *kinoumena*, and the '*qua* such' qualification makes clear that the phrase refers strictly to the telic property compound as such, not simply the *hypokeimenon* of the compound" (p. 74). By "telic property compound", Roark refers to Coriscus being potentially in the Lyceum, for example. This is to be contrasted with non-telic compounds such as his being in the agora. This is a remarkable proposal. However, as Roark acknowledges, it immediately raises an objection: why should Aristotle define motion in terms of a kind of object rather than a kind of process? This objection readily arises from the process examples (e.g. *oikodomesis* "house-building" in *Physics* 3,1, 201b7–15), by which Aristotle illustrates his discussion. Given Aristotle's emphasis on compound substances as fundamental entities, the objection is by no means conclusive, and Roark takes some reasonable steps to address it. In general, however, the proposal he makes has such far-reaching implications that it would require a more comprehensive study. For example, Roark would be consistent in suggesting that perception, according to



Aristotle, is to be defined as Coriscus taking on the perceptible form without matter. In effect, then, this line of argument requires a substantial reformulation of Aristotle's major arguments, which I think Aristotle himself would have no reason to resist.

Chapter 5 clarifies Aristotle's definition of time as "a number of motion with respect to the before and after". Roark makes an attempt to show that the definition is not circular. In other words, he intends to demonstrate that even if Aristotle acknowledges a temporal usage of "before" and "after" he does not rely on it in defining time. On the basis of *Physics* 4,11, 219a10–19, Roark argues that Aristotle singles out a specific "kinetic before-and-after", which is dependent on "spatial before-and-after". Roark criticizes Simplicius' characterization of kinetic before-and-after in terms of distinct stages of motion, and proposes instead that the kinetic before-and-after comes with "zero extension". To accentuate this understanding, he introduces the notion of "kinetic cut", which implies his conceiving of the item in question as point-like. A problem with this suggestion is that it runs the risk of losing the directionality of motion: how is it that in a point-like entity "before" can be kinetically and spatially prior to "after"? However, Roark explains in detail how his interpretation avoids this risk. His proposal is that each kinetic cut is to be understood as an ordered pair of a telic compound and a spatial location. Diares heading for Crete, for example, can be accounted for in terms of Diares being potentially on Crete, his present location being, e.g., immediately south of Kasos. This strikes me as an ingenious argument. Of course, Roark goes much further than what Aristotle explicitly says in the text: for example, Aristotle has no set-theoretic understanding of the concept of "ordered pair". But this is not a problem in a philosophical study. In essence, then, Roark's considerations can be seen as an attempt to spell out the implications of Aristotle's view.

In Part III, Roark turns to discussing the form of time and its perception. In Chapter 6, he argues that Aristotle understands the number of motion in two different ways: on the one hand, time is that which is determinable, i.e. numerable, and on the other, it is that which is determinate, i.e. counted. Roark refers to the first as "time" in general, and to the second as "a time" (pp. 116–7). Both, according to him, are dependent on perception. But how? Roark argues that there are in fact two different ways, one "thin" and the other "thick", corresponding to the proposed distinction. The thin way, Roark argues, is as follows: "[T]he very act of perceiving a movement *as* a movement requires that one perceive the movement as having some indeterminate (but determinable) value of extension" (p. 118; Roark's italics). In the thin sense, then, perception of time consists in perceiving an indeterminate extension, which Roark identifies with "noticing two distinct kinetic cuts within a particular movement" (p. 118). This understanding matches *Physics* 4,11, 219a14–22, which is Roark's key evidence. However, Roark also construes a thick account of time perception, which requires measuring motion with a standard. As far as I can see, there is no explicit evidence of this in the *Physics*, but Roark motivates the suggestion with reference to Aristotle's discussion of water measurement with a *chous* standard in *Constitution of Athens* 67.2.

In Chapters 7 to 9, the focus is on some specific issues in the *De Anima* and *Parva Naturalia*. Chapter 7 clarifies Aristotle's view that there are no imperceptible moments, whereas Chapter 8 claims him to be able to explain the "picket-fence phenomenon" in terms of *phantasia*. The main contribution of Chapter 9 is to criticize Ross' interpretation of *De Memoria* 452b8–23, and give an alternative to it. In this regard, Roark follows Richard Sorabji's interpretation, although he does not refer to him. In general, his discussion is clear and well argued. However, the claim that "the memory has propositional content, as opposed to objectual

content", and that "[t]his propositional character makes memories candidate bearers of truth-value" (p. 145) would have required more detailed elaboration given that memory, according to Aristotle, is a function of the perceptual capacity. Roark makes no attempt to explain how the perceptual capacity is able to allow propositional contents, nor does he consider the possibility that a memory phantasm may be true without being a proper truth-bearer in the way in which an assertion or a denial is.

The concluding part IV discusses simultaneity and temporal passage. In Chapter 11, Roark argues against Ursula Coope and others that Aristotle does not take simultaneity as a primitive notion but instead explains it in terms of togetherness. In Chapter 12, he plausibly rebukes the arguments given by Sorabji and Miller that Aristotle is unable to give a consistent account of temporal passage. He also argues that Aristotle is not subject to Williams's and Dummett's objections to the possibility of temporal passage in the first place. In this way, he attempts to show that Aristotle's theory of time is more powerful than many alternative views. However, Roark reasonably confesses that the success of the theory ultimately depends on the plausibility of the account of motion, which Aristotle gives in teleological terms (i.e. in terms of potentiality and actuality). Since many later thinkers regard these as dubious or at least not sufficiently clear for explanatory purposes, Roark judges that further work should be done to clarify and strengthen the basis of the theory in terms of non-temporal causal relations, for example.

In conclusion, I recommend Roark's book to anyone who is interested in Aristotle's account of time. Despite the aforementioned shortcomings, the book is an important contribution to this area of study, and invites the reader to delve into a variety of intractable problems about time in Aristotle and others thinkers.

*Mika Perälä*

NIKETAS SINIOSSOGLOU: *Radical Platonism in Byzantium. Illumination and Utopia in Gemistos Plethon*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-01303-2. XVI, 454 pp. GBP 70, USD 120.

Niketas Siniossoglou examines George Gemistos Plethon's (1355–1452) thoughts and actions in the context of the survival of pagan Platonism from the 6th to the 15th century. Siniossoglou's argument is that during the Byzantine period, the Hellenic or pagan worldview stayed as a hidden challenger and a continuous threat to Orthodoxy.

A very interesting point in Siniossoglou's work is his admirable criticism of the fashionable overkills of the constructivism and the relativism inspired by deconstruction and post-modern thought in the current studies of the intellectual history of the ancient and medieval world. Siniossoglou's call for a more realist perspective is very welcome: "it is time to abandon the anti-essentialist or anti-foundationalist (in reality relativist) methodological approaches that blur the boundaries between Hellenism and Christianity" (x–xi).

In 1451, thanks to the spies working for the main clerical leader of the day, Gennadios Scholarios (c. 1400 – c. 1473), the Byzantine authorities in the Peloponnese arrested a pagan agitator named Juvenalios. His hand, tongue and ears were cut off and he was executed by drowning. Scholarios, in his letter which made the episode known to posterity, congratulated

the soldiers of Christ for a job well done and assured the responsible officer and his men that they had no reason to feel any remorse because the deed certainly made God rejoice.

Juvenalios, a former monk converted to polytheism, was probably inspired by the circle of Plethon. Juvenalios' case was a warning to Plethon's remaining followers. The leader himself was out of the reach of his enemies, as he was being protected by the secular power in Constantinople and by the de facto independent ruler of the Peloponnese. Scholarios gained a victory of sorts after the death of Plethon, when in the 1460s, as a patriarch during the early years of Ottoman conquest, he was able to burn Plethon's last great work, the *Nomoi*, the *Treatise on the Laws*. The passages published by the patriarch in order to justify the destruction of the book indicate that it was an overt manifesto for the restoration of paganism.

According to Siniosoglou's interpretation, Plethon was a late Byzantine end in the chain of defiant Platonism. The names of the most famous representatives of this current are well known: Leo the Mathematician, Michael Psellus, John Italos, etc. I would like to add to Siniosoglou's list an obvious link, the enigmatic writer of the *Corpus Areopagiticum* because this author played a crucial role in the survival of the written legacy of Athenian Neoplatonism in a clearly hostile environment during the dark period prior to the so-called first Byzantine humanism. Psellus and Italos, at least, according to their own opinion, moved inside the Byzantine Christian framework, but more rigid defenders of Orthodoxy saw their endeavour as a threat. Plethon consciously broke free from this framework.

Siniosoglou convincingly places Plethon not only into a Byzantine past, but also contextualizes the contemporary conditions of his effort: the apocalyptic atmosphere in Late Byzantium beleaguered by the rise of the Ottoman power and the pressure from the Latin West and "the intellectual civil war" or the internal strife among the intellectuals concerning the best ways to cope with the crisis. The specific way in which Plethonian Platonism was formed by religious, political and philosophical issues becomes understandable only by taking into account the defeat of the previous humanist and intellectual Platonism in its antagonism with the party inspired by George Palamas in the so-called Hesychast controversy.

As for the relationship between late ancient Neoplatonism and Plethon, Siniosoglou quite rightly points out that Plethon's Platonism meant a return to the position of Middle Platonism. His highest God is Zeus the Demiurge of Plato's *Timaeus* and his gods are essentially Platonic ideas. His paganism is intellectual, not ritual, he has no need of theurgy. He rejects the existence of a supraessential level and identifies the highest cause (God) with Being itself. Plethon radically rejects transcendentalism and resacralizes the cosmos which he feels was denigrated by Byzantine Christianity which saw it only as a created thing.

One wonders to what extent Plethon's original ontological Platonism was a conscious rejection of the Neoplatonic model. Perhaps he did not even notice that he was in disagreement with Proclus. This calls for more research on the problem of Plethon's reception of his Platonic and Neoplatonic sources.

Siniosoglou also deftly points out the significance of Plethon's work in the general history of philosophy. Contrary to what is usually believed, Plethon is not a precursor of Renaissance Platonism, though of course, he influenced it and was one of its heroes. However, Renaissance Platonists rejected his antagonistic stand towards Christianity. For them, Platonism was a pure philosophy of perennial tradition in which the pagan and Christian past were reconciled under the hegemony of the latter. Plethon, by contrast, anticipates, according to Siniosoglou,

such early modern and Enlightenment currents which pursued the establishment of a rational and natural religion, and which finished with the birth of the modern idea of secularism. In addition to this, one can also read Plethon as one of the first representatives of Renaissance and modern utopianism.

Before reading Siniosoglou's book I imagined Plethon as a brave Greek Renaissance thinker who had strong pro-pagan tendencies but who did not get Proclus quite right. Now I have learned that Plethon was a major figure in Greek and European intellectual history. This stimulating book is to be recommended to anyone interested in the history of the Platonic tradition in the Byzantine context.

Tuomo Lankila

RICHARD FINN, OP: *Asceticism in the Graeco-Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-86281-3 (hb), 978-0-521-68154-4 (pb). XII, 182 pp. GBP 61 (hb), 19.99 (pb).

Le nouveau livre de Richard Finn traite de l'ascétisme dans le monde gréco-romain. Il appartient à la collection "Key Themes in Ancient History", dirigée par Paul Cartledge et Peter Garnsey. La définition qu'emploie Finn pour l'ascétisme est l'abstinence volontaire de nourriture, de boissons, de sommeil, de richesse ou d'activité sexuelle pour des raisons religieuses. Une telle abstinence peut être temporelle ou permanente. L'auteur admet que l'ascétisme a pris différentes formes et significations dans le monde gréco-romain, mais ce qui lui importe le plus est de savoir pourquoi les nouvelles formes d'ascétisme sont devenues populaires dans le Christianisme. Il souligne aussi la manque d'études sur l'ascétisme chrétien de le contexte des pratiques ascétiques païennes et judaïques, le Judaïsme étant le parent pauvre dans l'histoire des religions dans le monde gréco-romain qui s'occupe principalement des païens et des chrétiens ("Introduction", pp. 1–8).

L'étude est divisée en cinq chapitres: le Chapitre Premier (pp. 9–33) parle de l'ascétisme parmi les sectes philosophiques des premiers siècles de notre ère (cyniques, stoïciens, néoplatoniciens), le Chapitre II (pp. 34–57) fait le panorama de l'ascétisme dans le Judaïsme (Philon, les *Therapeutae*, *Mishnah*, *Talmud* et autres textes sacrés), le Chapitre III (pp. 58–99), le plus long de tous, examine l'ascétisme avant Origène (dans les Ecritures apocryphes et *Le Pasteur d'Herma*) et sa relation avec le deuil et analyse le rôle des pratiques comme le syneisaktisme, l'encratisme ou la xérophagie, le remariage des veufs et la virginité chez les premiers chrétiens, tandis que le chapitre suivant (pp. 100–30) traite de l'ascétisme selon Origène et l'influence qu'il a exercée sur les auteurs ecclésiastiques (Méthode d'Olympe, Eusèbe d'Emèse, Basile d'Ancyre, Grégoire de Nysse, Jean Chrysostome, Ambrose de Milan, Jérôme et Augustin). Finn cherche aussi les traces que les écrits origéniens ont laissées dans la *Vie d'Antoine* d'Athanase d'Alexandrie, les *Règles* de Basile de Césarée, les œuvres d'Evagre de Pont et les *Institutions* de Jean Cassien. Le dernier chapitre (pp. 131–55) parle des deux grands courants du monachisme, le courant pachomien et le courant syrien et de l'importance croissante que les moines acquièrent dans les églises de l'Orient. Le livre se termine par deux pages de conclusions générales ("Final Thoughts", pp. 156–7), la Bibliographie (pp. 158–76) et un Index non exhaustif (pp. 177–82).

La présentation typographique du livre est très soignée. On trouve ici et là des coquilles (lire *Theaetetus*, p. 10; *karterein* p. 22 et *karteria* p. 23; *proairesis* p. 36; Κυριακή p. 59, n. 2; HMIN p. 83, n. 145; *Alexandrie* p. 97, n. 238 et p. 171; ascétisme et siècle p. 106, n. 46 et p. 167; IXe p. 109, n. 70 et p. 170; seventeen p. 111; siècles p. 132, n. 6 et p. 168; Peña et Fernández pp. 137–9, nn. 45, 53, 54, 57 et p. 172; le *De monogamia* de Tertullien est donné par deux titres anglais différents p. 90, n. 188 et p. 91, n. 194; les premiers guillemets de la p. 116 ne se referment pas), quelques esprits et accents grecs erronés (p. 43, n. 40; p. 69, n. 62; p. 103, n. 22), ou une certaine inconséquence dans la translittération des mots grecs (e.g. *ascesis* pp. 11, 12, 19, 24 mais *askēsis* p. 95; *sophrosyne* p. 13 mais *hypomonē* p. 21; coenobitic p. 110 (bis), mais cenobitic pp. 129, 139, 143, 144, 153; *acedia* pour *akēdia* p. 123; Cyrrhus p. 131 mais Cyrhus p. 137).

Finn a bien étudié son sujet: on compte plus de 900 notes et presque vingt pages de bibliographie pour un livre de 150 pages! Ses idées sont claires et bien exprimées. Voir, par exemple, les pp. 100–04 où il parle de l'ascétisme chez Origène ou les pp. 94–7 où il résume de façon remarquable la théologie ascétique de Clément d'Alexandrie. Pourtant, on aimerait une présentation moins encyclopédique des auteurs du quatrième chapitre et une mise en évidence plus nette de l'influence d'Origène chez chaque auteur, puisque c'est le but de Finn.

Orestis Karavas

MAIJASTINA KAHLOS: *Forbearance and Compulsion. The Rhetoric of Religious Tolerance and Intolerance in Late Antiquity*. Duckworth, London 2009. ISBN 978-0-7156-3698-5. XII, 259 pp. GBP 50.

This book addresses an important and somewhat under-researched subject: rhetoric supporting religious moderation and conciliation in Late Antiquity, as well as its counterpoint, arguments favouring compulsion in order to reach religious unity in the realm. The dominant narratives have often been influenced by the retrospective perception of the success of one religious tradition over the others, but this simplified view has led many to overlook the polyphony (and, importantly, *calls* for polyphony) in Late Imperial religious discourse. The work is structured around concise, diachronically proceeding chapters, in the course of which Kahlos engages with a great number of sources from a wide variety of genres.

In the Introduction, Kahlos raises a number of very important questions regarding ancient discourse on religious moderation between 250 and 500 CE. She notes, for instance, that our sources are fundamentally removed from both the everyday life and the discourse of the non-elite (pp. 2–3). Kahlos proclaims her intention to focus on the rhetoric of moderation and compulsion instead of concrete acts, though admitting that historical circumstances and political acts must by necessity be discussed in the study. Of particular heuristic value is her choice of three (overlapping) viewpoints in the discourse: the imperial government and the ruling class; the 'lobbying' pressure groups; and the confessional groups and individuals advocating moderation.

The "Introduction" also gives some examples of the basic techniques of argumentation and binary oppositions used in the religious rhetoric of the age (p. 3), which is very instructive

– indeed, appetising – for the reader. The time-honoured categories, too, remained, although their properties could be renegotiated: the terms *religio* and *superstitio* continued to be employed despite the sea change in officially sponsored religion, as was the idea of a divinely ascertained triumphalism, or the concept of a 'loyal Roman' professing the correct form of religiosity.

Chapter 2 ("Articulating Forbearance and Compulsion before 250") harks by necessity back to even earlier Imperial conditions of religious plurality, but also achieves its purpose of setting the stage for the Late Imperial circumstances. Kahlos introduces complications to the received notion of inherently pluralistic and inclusive Greco-Roman polytheism: to accuse someone of impiety was far too effective a rhetorical tool not to be used even before the rise of monotheism. Concurrently, there always existed types of religiosity – as well as certain particular cults or doctrines – which were deemed substandard, and elicited disparaging or discriminating rhetoric. Instead of open-mindedness, the prevalent Roman attitude to religious diversity emerges as one permeated by pragmatism and interspersed by some stereotype-grounded mistrust. Among the most important reasons for any incidents of intolerance of cults was a fear of non-official cults introducing political or social instability; on the level of rhetoric, this was often garbed in the moralising argument of divine favour being forfeited by engaging in or tolerance of substandard religiosity. Treatment of the Jews (pp. 14–9) is taken up as an example of the nature of Roman pragmatism – as well as its limits – and from them the discussion flows smoothly to treat the first Christian apologists.

Chapter 3 ("The Third Century") demonstrates how Roman identity after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* increasingly became defined by sharing in the common religious observance, a shared ground that later became contested between Christianity and the traditional religion. The Third-century Crisis, moreover, seems to have emphasized the elite's desire to propagate religious – or more specifically, cultic – unity throughout the realm. The phraseology in edicts arguing for compulsion can be telling, often referring to disease, pollution, and destructiveness (p. 36); likewise, cessation of compulsion could be justified by the interest of the state (*utilitas publica*). Galerius' 311 act of toleration (pp. 33f.) reached for a compromise solution: the inclusion of the Christian god in the traditional pantheon as a recipient of a distinct cult and prayers for the safety of the emperor and the unity of the realm. The same period witnessed a rise in the political use of polemic accusations of persecution, exemplified by such writers as Lactantius and Eusebius. Kahlos also discusses with great acuity (pp. 38–46) the pagan pressure groups and 'lobbyists' – some whom argued for their "duty to oppress".

Chapter 4 ("From Constantine to Constantius II") examines the Constantinian rhetorical approach to the religious polyphony of the empire, the argumentative – though often ambiguously expressed – basis of which was founded on the commonalities of Christianity and monotheistic paganism. Sacrifice, the one aspect of pagan religiosity that the Christians appeared particularly unflinching about, was replaced by prayer as a sign of loyalty to the empire. The long scholarly tradition regarding this period necessitates Kahlos to review a great number of earlier studies, which she does in a judicious fashion. One might have wished for more discussion (for instance around pp. 60f.) about the extent to which the likes of Eusebius can be trusted to preserve Constantine's original rhetoric, or whether certain emphases were added in order to construct the image of a staunchly Christian ruler – an image from which some of the glory would trickle down to his entourage and biographer. In any case, Kahlos' warning (p. 65) against teleological fallacy in interpreting the imperial rhetoric favouring Christianity is very

apt and well put, as is her analysis of the transformation of the Christian rhetoric from that of the persecuted to that of the potential proponents of compulsion (pp. 66–72).

Chapter 5 ("From Julian to Valentinian I") is devoted to another period which has been extensively studied – partly no doubt due to the dramatic attraction of the idea of a pagan last stand sponsored by Julian. Kahlos shows that during his short rule the exacerbation in the religious rhetoric between Christians and pagans continued a trend that had already emerged before, as well as the mutual self-definition of these two identities by way of opposition. The rhetoric of the emperor portrayed as a harsh but patient physician aiming to heal the body politic is likewise a continuation from earlier rulers. Verbal continuation with earlier edicts of religious freedom is also evident in the legislation of the Valentinian dynasty. Later in the chapter, Themistius' polytheist call for plurality is studied in the light of the ongoing search for stability and compromise between the elite and the emperors (pp. 82–7). This rhetoric, too, was partly grounded on the common aspects of both contending religious traditions, but Kahlos also unearths a fascinating aspect of Themistian plurality, namely the call for beneficent agonism between Christianity and paganism – something which stems from the earlier expressions of "one goal, many paths" used by Porphyry and Lactantius.

Chapter 6 ("From Gratian to Theodosius I") covers a period when the traditional polar opposites *religio* and *superstitio* are often interpreted as having switched denominations: it was now the traditional religion that increasingly had to stave off accusations of *superstitio* or *de-isdaimonia*, something reflected in the rhetoric of Libanius and Symmachus (pp. 92–9). The same period saw increased inter-sectarian discrimination among the Christians, and a new intensity in negotiating what 'Romanness' entailed. Even Theodosius I, an emperor traditionally credited with delivering a serious blow to paganism, switched his attention from Arians to traditional polytheists comparatively late in his career (pp. 89ff.), and his actions were less comprehensive than sometimes depicted. The lobbying, however, intensified: against the eloquent pagan advocates for plurality, equally forceful arguments were put forward by well-connected Christian opinion leaders such as Ambrose. Especially in connection with the famous Altar of Victory case, the vociferous, even vindictive, objections of Ambrose vividly bring to the reader's mind the shrill remonstrations sometimes raised by certain modern majorities against "positive discrimination".

Chapter 7 ("After Theodosius I"), the last and most extensive diachronic chapter of the book, focuses on a period of increased sacralisation of the emperor into a more-than-mortal figure who preserved the empire by his own piety and particular connection with the divine. Consequently, a Christian emperor who tolerated heretics or pagans could by his negligence be insulting the divine, though during certain periods of crisis the resolve of the emperors seems to have foundered, leading to concessions (p. 107). It may be deterministic to claim that ecclesiastic lobbyists sniffed victory and thus pressed on with more zeal, but on the other hand, by this time the Christian notion of inexorably progressing salvation history was no doubt affecting their retroactive gaze. For Augustine, treated *in extenso* (pp. 111–33), violence and compulsion were acceptable in order to reach religious unity and convince unbelievers of Christianity's monopoly on truth.

Chapter 8, called "Towards a World of One Alternative", serves as a conclusion for Kahlos' valuable and learned book, reflecting on the broad trends and dynamics at play during Late Antiquity. The last chapters of *Forbearance and Compulsion* largely pertain to the same chronological context as Alan Cameron's recent *The Last Pagans of Rome* (2011), but this in

no way detracts from its conclusions. Both books naturally stem from the same scholarly tradition which seeks to call into question the image of a stark dichotomy between Christianity and paganism in Late Antiquity. But whereas Cameron's gaze and argumentation highlights and sustains the scholarly dichotomy between the 'old' bipolar understanding of Late Antique religious partisanship and the 'new' postmodern research tradition, Kahlos operates in a nuanced way within both the scholarly tradition and our extant sources, without getting bogged down in academic infighting.

*Antti Lampinen*

ELISA PELLEGRINI: *Eros nella Grecia arcaica e classica. Iconografia e iconologia*. Archaeologia Perusina 16. Giorgio Bretschneider editore, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-7689-222-2. 602 pp., 13 figg., 59 tavv. b/n. EUR 270.

Questo studio, nato da una tesi di dottorato (Perugia 2007), intende offrire al lettore un panorama complessivo sulla figura di Eros nella cultura greca arcaica e classica. La ricerca si dipana attraverso l'analisi di una grande quantità di fonti sia scritte che archeologiche, che possano illustrare la natura, l'iconografia e il culto della divinità. Particolarmente ricco risulta l'ampio catalogo del materiale iconografico ("Testimonianze figurate"), che ammonta a ben 2451 numeri (pittura, scultura, gemme, gioielli, ecc.), anche se poteva essere meglio organizzato, per facilitarne la consultazione tematica. Interessante anche l'esame nel secondo capitolo del motivo del genio alato ben presente nella pittura vascolare arcaica. L'identità di questa figura viene saggiamente lasciata aperta. Sono fornite fotografie, non tutte di ottima qualità, di una piccola parte degli esemplari trattati. Benché sia leggermente carente riguardo ai più recenti sviluppi metodologici, questo volume rimarrà senz'altro uno strumento indispensabile per i futuri studi "erotici".

Vengono elencate anche 37 testimonianze epigrafiche ("schede"). Ecco alcune note (per le iscrizioni di Tespie si veda ora Roesch, *Les inscriptions de Thespies*, éd. électr., 2007–09): N. 1: cf. *IG I<sup>3</sup>* 1382a. – 8: cf. *I.Prusa ad Olympum* T4. – 11: cf. Robert, *Hellenica* II, 5–6. – 12: Robert, *Ét. anat.* 141. – 13: *ibid.* 230. – 15: cf. *SEG XLVII* 518. – 17: cf. *SEG XLVIII* 82. – 20: si tratta delle stesse iscrizioni riportate sotto i nn. 32a–b; vd. anche Robert, *Ét. épigr. philol.* 59. – 27: cf. Pouilloux, *Choix d'inscr. gr.* 48; Pfohl, *Gr. Inschr.* 89; Guarducci, *Epigr. gr.* III 87 sgg.; Chapot-Laurot, *Corpus de prières gr. et rom.* G97. – 28: cf. *SEG XLVII* 2258.

*Mika Kajava*

DAVID WALSH: *Distorted Ideals in Greek Vase-Painting. The World of Mythological Burlesque*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009 (pb 2014). ISBN 978-0-521-89641-2 (hb), ISBN 978-1-107-66965-9 (pb). XXIX, 420 pp. GBP 70.00 (hb), GBP 24.99 (pb).

In this book, Walsh deals with images on several different categories of Greek vases, e.g., on the Corinthian Komos vases, the Caeretan hydriai, the "phlyax" vases from Southern Italy, material from the Kabeirion sanctuary near Thebes, the Corinthian "Sam Wide" group, and vases



that depict satyrs, pygmies, dwarfs and other "oddities". In many of the images that Walsh discusses, Greek gods and heroes are presented as ugly or distorted or otherwise acting silly.

Walsh discusses his material under the following subtitles: "Strange Beginnings" (Ch. 3), "Violating the Sanctuary" (Ch. 4), "Ridiculing the Gods" (Ch. 5), "Subverting the Hero" (Ch. 6), "Distorted Bodies: Do the "Uglies" Have the Last Laugh?" (Ch. 7), and "Distribution: Being In with the In-Crowd" (Ch. 8). The book also includes a short appendix on burlesque material beyond archaic and classical Greece, a catalogue of the vases discussed, and three indices (of vases, of ancient sources, and a general index).

The 108 illustrations of this book are of excellent quality and the book's layout allows the illustrations to be placed near the text passages where they are discussed. This makes it easy for the reader to follow Walsh's discussion of the images.

To put it short, this thorough and inspiring book is an excellent reminder of the fact that Greek vase painting need not always be serious and prestigious. As the author himself puts it (p. 287): "Nietzsche's 'Superman' may be Greek-inspired, but the fact that the Greeks themselves remodelled the heroic and divine into less-than-perfect human personalities might come as a comfort to us in the aspirational, image-driven world we inhabit today."

*Vesa Vahtikari*

CHRISTOPHER H. ROOSEVELT: *The Archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-51987-9. XVIII, 314 pp. USD 99.

Lo studio di Roosevelt è diviso in due parti ben equilibrate, di cui la prima offre una discussione sistematica della storia degli insediamenti e dello sviluppo culturale nella Lidia, mentre la seconda si compone di un catalogo di reperti provenienti da più siti della regione. Maggiore attenzione viene naturalmente prestata alla città cosmopolitana di Sardi. Particolarmente interessante il sesto capitolo sui caratteristici tumuli che illustrano le varie prassi funerarie della zona.

Insomma, un libro stimolante, scritto con stile chiaro e facile, che si caratterizza per il rigore dei metodi di studio adottati. Il volume, corredato da fotografie, piante e tabelle, tutte di ottima qualità, nonché da un'abbondante bibliografia e buoni indici, si raccomanda a chiunque si occupi dell'archeologia e della storia della Lidia.

*Mika Kajava*

MASSIMO FRASCA: *Leontinoi: archeologia di una colonia greca*. Archaeologica 152. Giorgio Bretschneider editore, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-7689-239-4. XVIII, 182 pp. EUR 65.

Il presente volume non solo è un resoconto archeologico della colonia calcidese di Leontinoi dalla fondazione del 729/728 a.C. fino alla conquista romana da parte di Marcello nel 214 a.C. (e oltre, pp. 147–55), ma offre anche una vasta panoramica sulle varie vicende storico-religioso-culturali della città. Vengono ben illustrati i primi studi filologico-archeologici dopo l'ubicazione, negli anni '70 del XIX secolo, del sito antico a sud della moderna Lentini, come

pure le prime campagne di scavo condotte da Paolo Orsi dopo il 1899 e poi quelle effettuate a partire dagli '50 del secolo scorso.

L'autore, benemerito conoscitore della topografia di Lentini, può congratularsi per la bella riuscita del libro dedicato a un importante sito archeologico che senz'altro meriterebbe più attenzione da parte sia delle autorità che del pubblico. Tra le tante buone osservazioni, vanno ricordate quelle riguardanti le questioni relative alla cronologia e al territorio, ai rapporti tra i greci e gli indigeni nonché allo sviluppo delle produzioni artistico-artigianali.

*Mika Kajava*

*Il Lazio dai Colli Albani ai Monti Lepini tra preistoria ed età moderna.* A cura di LUCIANA DRAGO TROCCOLI. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-7140-430-1. 584 pp. EUR 65.

Il libro nasce dalla collaborazione dell'allora Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche Archeologiche Antropologiche dell'Antichità (oggi Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità) di Sapienza Università di Roma con il Parco Regionale dei Castelli Romani e raccoglie i risultati di una ricerca iniziata negli anni '90 del secolo scorso. Il merito di questo volume, contenente più di 30 contributi, è di aver preso in considerazione un territorio di estrema rilevanza sotto il profilo storico e archeologico, compreso tra l'area del Lago di Nemi e il settore occidentale dei Monti Lepini, in un arco cronologico molto ampio che va dal Paleolitico fino all'epoca imperiale. Tale indagine risulta essere ricca e completa, grazie al taglio di carattere interdisciplinare. Nella maggior parte dei casi si tratta di saggi che aggiornano gli studi precedenti in un'area del Lazio all'interno della quale è attestata non solo la civiltà latina, ma anche quella italica, rappresentata dalle popolazioni degli Equi, Volsci ed Ernici.

Il numero dei contributi non consente in questa sede di affrontare in modo esaustivo il contenuto del volume, che inizia con saggi dedicati alla morfologia, al paesaggio vegetale dei Colli Albani e alla documentazione archeozoologica a Roma e nel Lazio. Segue poi una ricca sezione di articoli di ampio respiro relativi all'ambito preistorico e protostorico, tra i quali possiamo ricordare il contributo di Mario Rodolfo sul Paleolitico dei Colli Albani e quello di Anna De Sanctis relativo all'età del Bronzo finale e la prima età del Ferro nel Lazio. Lucia Drago Troccoli analizza invece il Lazio nell'arco di tempo compreso tra quest'ultimo periodo e l'Orientalizzante (indagando i rapporti con Greci, Fenici e Sardi), periodo per il quale Gilda Bartoloni e Maria Toloni studiano il ruolo della donna mediante l'analisi dei corredi.

Nella parte finale del volume è presente una ricca sezione epigrafica, aperta dal contributo di Daniele Federico Maras sul patrimonio epigrafico del Lazio fino alla fine del V a.C., costituito prevalentemente da iscrizioni in alfabeto latino (le uniche eccezioni sono l'accettina di *Satricum* e l'epigrafe pre-sannitica forse proveniente da Cassino), cui segue l'articolo di Alessandro Morandi sui documenti epigrafici preromani dal territorio volsco e dalle aree vicine.

Esaustivo è il saggio di Marina R. Torelli che analizza l'evoluzione dei centri di *Aricia*, *Lanuvium* e *Velitrae* dalla fine della guerra Latina fino all'età tardo repubblicana; in seguito alla vittoria romana, fu concessa la cittadinanza romana agli abitanti di Lanuvio, città cui venne riconosciuto anche un particolare privilegio sul piano religioso: la restituzione dei culti a patto che venisse riconosciuta una *communio sacrorum* tra i Romani e i Lanuvini per quanto riguardava quello di *Iuno Sospita*. Tradizionalmente si ipotizza che nello stesso periodo anche

gli abitanti di Ariccia fossero stati accolti nella cittadinanza romana. Tuttavia il quadro appena presentato contrasta con il passo di Paolo Diacono, relativo alla definizione di *municipium*, che cita *Lanuvium* e *Tusculum* come municipi senza suffragio e inserisce Ariccia in un'altra categoria di *municipia*, sempre *sine suffragio* definita tramite l'espressione (ricordata anche da Cicerone) *quorum civitas universa in civitatem Romanam venit* (Paul. Fest., 155 Lindsay su cui vd. M. Humbert, *Municipium et civitas sine suffragio* [1978], 17–32). Nel riscontrare tale difformità, gli studiosi hanno dato piena fiducia a Livio, sostenendo che già nel 338 a.C. sia *Lanuvium* che *Aricia* fossero *municipia* con pieno diritto di voto. Non potendo sviluppare in questa sede un tema così complesso, bisogna almeno ricordare la differente interpretazione proposta da U. Laffi che ha ipotizzato uno scambio della coppia *Lanuvium* – *Tusculum* con quella formata da *Caere* e *Anagnia* (U. Laffi, *Studi di storia romana e di diritto* [2001], 137–42). In base a questa nuova ricostruzione, *Lanuvium*, *Tusculum* e *Aricia* sarebbero ricordati come centri cui Roma concesse la cittadinanza in blocco alla popolazione. Roma punì invece Velletri che, al contrario delle altre due città, si era resa protagonista, già prima della guerra latina, di episodi di ribellione contro Roma; vennero distrutte le mura del centro, deportati oltre il Tevere gli esponenti del senato locale e ci fu un invio di coloni cui furono distribuite le terre confiscate. Probabilmente agli abitanti di Velletri venne concessa la *civitas sine suffragio* e solo in seguito, forse già alla metà del III a.C., la piena cittadinanza. Per il resto dell'epoca repubblicana le notizie sui tre centri sono abbastanza scarse, soprattutto sono relative a prodigi avvenuti tra la fine del III a.C. e la metà del I a.C.; l'unico evento significativo della tarda repubblica è l'occupazione, insieme ad altri centri, di Lanuvio e Ariccia da parte di Mario. Le due città sono poi ricordate da Cicerone tra i centri un tempo illustri e ormai in fase di decadenza, come del resto tutta l'area situata in prossimità dell'Urbe. Non particolarmente affidabili sono le notizie riportate dal *Liber Coloniarum* che menziona una deduzione coloniale a Velletri in epoca graccana, una ad Ariccia sotto Silla e due a Lanuvio in età cesariana e augustea.

In assenza delle fonti scritte, assume particolare importanza l'analisi del patrimonio epigrafico che consente di ricostruire la vita dei centri laziali, soprattutto per l'età imperiale. In quest'ottica G.L. Gregori, tenendo presente i dati forniti dalle fonti letterarie e archeologiche, si prefigge l'obiettivo di ricostruire la storia istituzionale e sociale di Velletri tramite lo studio delle iscrizioni. Nell'articolo sono esaminati i gentilizi attestati nel centro, indagati la presenza degli schiavi e liberti imperiali, i culti pagani, le dediche agli imperatori e ai membri della casa imperiale; segue poi una parte dedicata alle testimonianze relative a senatori, cavalieri, magistrati, sacerdoti, decurioni, notabili locali, *apparitores* e militari documentati nelle iscrizioni veliterne. Merito del contributo di G.L. Gregori è quello di aver presentato un quadro esaustivo del centro, cercando di sopperire a qualche lacuna degli studi precedenti. La sezione epigrafica si conclude con il contributo di M.L. Caldelli che analizza le *fistulae* acquarie rinvenute nel territorio di Velletri, tra cui assumono particolare importanza due che testimoniano rispettivamente la presenza di una residenza di Caligola (Chr. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome* [1991], 29 nt. 41) e di un fondo di proprietà di *Claudia Acte*, la liberta imperiale che fu amante di Nerone tra il 55 e il 58 d.C. (*CIL X* 6589).

In conclusione non si può che sottolineare l'importanza del volume curato da L. Drago Troccoli, un'opera di ampio respiro frutto di un progetto lungimirante, che prevede la continuazione in un secondo volume dedicato alla storia post-antica.

ENRICO BENELLI – CLAUDIA RIZZITELLI: *Culture funerarie d'Abruzzo (IV–I secolo a.C.)*. "Mediterranea" Supplementi 5. Fabrizio Serra editore, Pisa – Roma 2010. ISBN 978-88-6227-200-1. 163 pp. EUR 295.

Questa utile rassegna sulle culture funerarie d'Abruzzo tra il IV e il I secolo a. C. è nata da una tesi di dottorato sostenuta da Claudia Rizzitelli presso l'Università di Pisa; il testo è stato successivamente elaborato con la collaborazione di Enrico Benelli. Eccone il contenuto: precede una breve introduzione al tema da parte di Cesare Letta "Culture funerarie dell'Abruzzo antico e ricostruzione storica". Segue il capitolo I ("Gli antefatti") di Benelli, mentre Rizzitelli è responsabile dei capitoli II ("Repertorio delle necropoli") e III ("Gli aspetti archeologici locali"). Il capitolo IV ("Osservazioni conclusive") è frutto del dibattito fra i due co-autori.

La minuziosa analisi dei corredi delle migliaia di tombe scavate da studiosi dell'Otto- e Novecento e anche del nostro secolo ha portato alla luce una quantità di materiali importanti che hanno incrementato notevolmente le nostre conoscenze della cultura materiale della regione abruzzese. Non essendo addetto ai lavori riguardo allo specifico soggetto del volume, faccio seguire solo un'osservazione di natura storica: a p. 66 sg. la Rizzitelli attribuisce i territori oggi ricadenti nei comuni di Pescasseroli, Opi, Villetta Barrea, Alfedena al territorio della romana Atina, senz'altro a ragione; solo che Alfedena non sembra abbia mai fatto parte dell'*ager Atinas*. E poi non si può scrivere "municipium di Atina, sede di prefettura", perché un *municipium* non poteva essere allo stesso tempo prefettura. In età repubblicana Atina fu sì, per un lungo periodo, una prefettura, ma per diventare al più tardi all'inizio dell'età imperiale un municipio anche nel senso formale (vedi *Miscellanea Atinate* 79 sgg.). Per quanto riguarda la documentazione epigrafica, l'a. sembra ricordare iscrizioni solo casualmente, quando gliene capita qualcuna a proposito; e non si preoccupa di citare le loro edizioni anteriori; a p. 35 ricorda *CIL IX 6331*, ma con testo migliore rispetto al *CIL* – dunque l'ha vista, senza dirlo; a p. 41 riporta Letta – D'Amato 121; e a p. 102 dà la foto dell'iscrizione che cita da Pacifici, benché sia compresa in grandi raccolte come la citata Letta – D'Amato 94. Tutto sommato, si tratta comunque di un volume importante per lo studio della storia della cultura materiale dell'età repubblicana.

*Heikki Solin*

ANNAPAOLA MOSCA: *Pantelleria 2. Contributo per la Carta Archeologica di Cossyra (F<sup>o</sup>. 256 III, Pantelleria). Il territorio*. Biblioteca Gaia Archeologia 3. Editrice Gioia, Angri – Salerno 2009. ISBN 978-88-89821-37-4. 142 pp., 156 figg., 4 tavv. EUR 30.

L'opera è dedicata all'edizione dei risultati della campagna di ricognizione archeologica effettuata sul territorio dell'isola di Cossyra (Pantelleria, TR) e si pone come contributo per la redazione della Carta Archeologica dell'isola. Fa parte della collana "Biblioteca Gaia. Archeologia" diretta da Sebastiano Tusa.

Il volume è articolato in quattordici capitoli. Il primo di essi contiene indicazioni sulle scelte metodologiche adottate – dall'area di indagine, alla base cartografica di riferimento, alle caratteristiche ambientali che possono aver influenzato la visibilità delle evidenze nel corso della ricognizione, all'intensità dell'indagine, ai criteri interpretativi – e sono messi in evidenza lo scopo e le caratteristiche del lavoro.

Nel secondo capitolo, dopo un inquadramento geografico e orografico del territorio, si passa ad analizzarne i caratteri geomorfologici, con particolare riferimento ai fenomeni legati al vulcanesimo; un paragrafo è dedicato al paesaggio attuale.

Il terzo capitolo offre una rassegna delle notizie storiche relative a Cossyra fornite dalle fonti scritte per un arco cronologico compreso tra il V millennio a.C. e il XIII secolo d.C.; è seguito da quattro carte di fase contenenti la localizzazione topografica dei siti rinvenuti nel corso della ricognizione. Su di esse sono localizzati siti e luoghi di rinvenimento di materiali sporadici datati, rispettivamente, tra il IV e il I secolo a.C. (tav. 1), tra il I e il IV secolo d.C. (tav. 2), tra il V e il VII secolo d.C. (tav. 3) e tra l'VIII e il XIII secolo d.C. (tav. 4).

Il quarto capitolo tratta delle rappresentazioni cartografiche storiche disponibili per l'isola di Pantelleria.

Il quinto contiene la storia degli studi e delle ricerche archeologiche che hanno interessato l'isola, è articolato in paragrafi che ne permettono il raggruppamento cronologico per secoli, dal XVIII al XXI.

Il sesto capitolo descrive la storia agraria del territorio, attingendo alla toponomastica disponibile – per lo più relativa a denominazioni territoriali del periodo arabo che designano tipologie di proprietà – ma anche all'aereofotointerpretazione e all'osservazione delle caratteristiche urbanistiche dell'età contemporanea e alle fonti scritte.

Con il settimo capitolo si entra più nel vivo dei risultati emersi nel corso delle ricognizioni: viene analizzata la distribuzione, sul territorio dell'isola, degli insediamenti, con un primo paragrafo che tratta della distribuzione topografica dei siti sul territorio e un secondo che ne mette a fuoco le presenze lungo la costa, per comprenderne le scelte diacroniche di utilizzo.

L'ottavo capitolo riguarda le tipologie di insediamento individuate – con la descrizione delle caratteristiche e dei materiali utilizzati – e la localizzazione dei siti in rapporto alla geomorfologia e al regime dei venti.

Il nono capitolo tratta di una tipologia di sito, la cisterna, particolarmente importante per la vita sull'isola a causa della scarsa disponibilità d'acqua del territorio.

Il decimo è dedicato alle necropoli note, con riferimenti anche ai rinvenimenti effettuati ivi da Paolo Orsi alla fine dell'Ottocento.

Nell'undicesimo capitolo sono raccolte le attestazioni di attività connesse con l'agricoltura rinvenute nel corso della ricognizione – dalle aree di dispersione di frammenti fittili intorno agli insediamenti, agli attrezzi e alle strutture produttive – essi sono messi in rapporto con quanto noto dalle fonti scritte e dalla toponomastica di origine araba.

Il dodicesimo capitolo contiene la ricostruzione storica del paesaggio antico relativa all'insediamento, formulata sulla base dei dati ottenuti non solo per mezzo della ricognizione, ma anche grazie agli scavi archeologici effettuati sull'isola (in particolare si fa riferimento a quelli del villaggio di Mursia, dell'Acropoli e del Santuario del Bagno dell'Acqua) e allo studio dei relitti naufragati in prossimità delle sue coste. La ricostruzione è articolata in sei fasi cronologiche, dalla preistoria fino al XIII secolo.

Il capitolo successivo contiene la carta archeologica, con 116 siti censiti, per ciascuno dei quali è indicata la localizzazione su cartografia IGM, le caratteristiche ambientali, le condizioni di superficie, la visibilità al momento della ricognizione, la descrizione e l'interpretazione dell'evidenza archeologica e le fasi cronologiche di frequentazione; a queste informazioni è aggiunta la bibliografia di riferimento nel caso di siti già editi; nel censimento sono compresi anche siti segnalati in passato ma non rinvenuti sul campo nel corso della ricognizione.

L'ultimo capitolo contiene una lettura storica dei risultati della ricerca di superficie in rapporto a quanto già noto dalle fonti storiografiche, archeologiche ed epigrafiche, mettendo in particolare evidenza i fenomeni di continuità e discontinuità insediativa e l'importanza strategica dell'isola nelle relazioni marittime a fini militari e commerciali.

Il volume è concluso da un indice analitico e delle fonti antiche, da un indice topografico e da un indice della cartografia.

Lodevole l'impostazione metodologica chiara, la rassegna delle fonti scritte che fornisce all'opera un approccio multidisciplinare, la ricchezza della base fotografica (anche se non a colori) e cartografica. Essenziale per la comprensione della localizzazione dei siti sul territorio la presenza, allegata al volume, di una copia della carta IGM 1:25.000 con la localizzazione di tutti i siti censiti, distinti per tipologia, in un'ottica diacronica.

*Valentina Sapone*

HANS LAUTER: *Die Fassade des Hauses IX 1, 20 in Pompeji. Gestalt und Bedeutung*. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2009. ISBN 978-3-8053-3807-3. 208 S., 29 Abb., 59 Taf. EUR 59.

Hans Lauter was undoubtedly one of the great names of classical archaeology with a long career in research and teaching as well as an impressive list of publications. But even prolific scholars do not get everything they write published immediately and this volume is based on Lauter's *Habilitationsschrift* finished in 1972. He returned to work on the topic, the façade of the Casa di M. Epidius Rufus or Casa dei Diadumeni (IX 1, 20) in Pompeii, in the final years of his life, but could not finish it due to his final illness. The volume was then prepared for publication by Lauter's friend and colleague, Klaus Dornisch.

The façade Lauter studied is unique in Pompeii: the entrance is raised over 1 metre above the level of the sidewalk and a stage-like podium covers the entire width of the façade. The podium is over 1 metre wide and consequently the façade is placed in a recess compared to the rest of the city block. The visitor had to climb a set of stairs on either end of the façade before entering the house through a monumentalized doorway placed in the middle of the façade. Originally, the façade had also featured doorways close to both edges, but by AD 79 these had been blocked. The façade had been decorated with painted wall plaster which had vanished already before Lauter started to study the house. The building has been interpreted as a private house in its last phase. The ground plan of the house is also rather exceptional as it features an atrium with a veritable forest of columns around an *impluvium* (a so-called Corinthian atrium) as well as two *alae* opening to the central part of the atrium with columns in both doorways. There is no proper peristyle in any part of the house, which is also an unusual feature in this large private house.

The facade was excavated in 1858 and the rest of the house in 1866 – the early excavation documentation is not of very good quality, but additional detail has been preserved in the miniature model documenting the excavations and ruins of Pompeii in the 1870's (now housed in the Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Napoli). During the WWII Allied bombing of Pompeii in 1943, one of the bombs hit the house and the central part of the façade collapsed. It has since been reconstructed. Some excavations below the AD 79 floor levels have been

conducted in the house, but no excavations have been made in its atrium complex or near the façade. Lauter did fieldwork documenting the façade whilst preparing his Habilitation in the late 1960's, and further work in the archives has produced some important photographic evidence from the period before WWII.

The first part of the volume consists of a description of the façade based on Lauter's documentation and other evidence. It is apparent that there has been more than one building phase already based on the blocked doorways, but Lauter also concludes that the podium has been rebuilt as its front consists of mixed techniques and materials. A reconstruction of the original façade with decorative elements as well as windows is also offered despite the lack of evidence for most of the elements. A short section is also dedicated to the description of the rest of the house with some discussion on the connections between this and the adjacent houses – there has been a door connecting house 20 to a room that is now part of house IX 1, 12 at some point. The building of the house is dated to the 2nd century BC based on building technique, architectural elements (capitals) and wall paintings.

In the second part, the main elements of the reconstructed original façade – symmetrically placed doorways, podium, and recess – are studied and furnished with possible parallels in Pompeii and elsewhere. Pompeii offers only a few similar elements. Similar raised facades are not found as usually the entire sidewalk was raised if the terrain rose from the street level towards the entrances (for example, Caserma dei Gladiatori, V 5, 3) or there were simple stairs directly in front of the entrance (for example, Praedia di Iulia Felix, II 4, 6). In addition, the symmetrically placed doorways and the recessed façade are equally rare. Lauter then widens his search further into Italy and the rest of the Mediterranean and similar forms are found in public architecture and tombs of the Hellenistic world. The façade was perhaps intended to resemble a theater with the raised podium as a stage and the doorways the back of the stage.

In the last part, Lauter discusses the function of the building. The atrium with its *impluvium* surrounded with columns is as unique in Pompeii as the façade is and the same applies to the *alae* in the central part of the atrium. Lauter suggests that the house could have been originally built for public or semi-public purposes, possibly as a building of a *collegium*. However, parallels with *collegia* buildings from the 2nd or 1st century BC anywhere in the Mediterranean are extremely rare and Lauter's hypothesis remains at best quite uncertain. A combination of work space and living space in large private houses was probably quite common in Pompeii, but evidence for these kinds of buildings does not exist.

The long writing history of Lauter's Habilitation is perhaps visible in some of the elements in the volume – most notably in the general approach to the study of architecture and the use of space. Currently many other elements such as artifacts in addition to architecture and decorative elements are now being introduced into the discussion. However, as Lauter's discussion of function is really related to a highly hypothetical original use of the house, it seems unlikely that artifacts found in the AD 79 house would have helped. In addition, much of the comparison is based on verbal descriptions of architecture instead of ground plans, photographs or drawings, which sometimes makes it difficult to assess the evidence and the parallels. Nevertheless, the final result is interesting and fully deserved to be published as the last building block of Lauter's scientific legacy.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

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ISSN 0570-734X  
Keuruu 2015  
Otavan Kirjapaino Oy