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RETHINKING PLATO'S FORMS

NECİP FİKRİ ALİCAN – HOLGER THESLEFF

Abstract

This is a proposal for rethinking the main lines of Plato's philosophy, including some of the conceptual tools he uses for building and maintaining it. Drawing on a new interpretive paradigm for Plato's overall vision, the central focus is on the so-called Forms. Regarding the guiding paradigm, we propose replacing the dualism of a world of Forms separated from a world of particulars, with the monistic model of a hierarchically structured universe comprising interdependent levels of reality. Regarding the tools of the trade, we distinguish between three constructs that have come, one and all, and largely indiscriminately, to be regarded as Forms: Ideal Forms, Conceptual Forms, and Relational Forms. This recalibration of what we know of Plato's outlook, tools, and methods, together with a realignment of these with his general aims, will also help restore the philosopher's emphasis on that which is good, a perspective often blurred in the structure of two worlds.

1. Introduction

A common denominator in the history of Plato interpretation is the metaphysical dualism of Forms versus particulars.¹ To be sure, other issues have also been in the forefront. But the point is that, for better or worse, Forms have been the centre of attention, and Plato has often been defined by them. Unfortunately, the converse does not hold: Plato has not, to put it crudely, defined the Forms. Thus, getting it right is both important and difficult.²

¹ We are indebted to Debra Nails, Gerald A. Press, Pauliina Remes, and Christopher J. Rowe for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper.

² The literature on the Forms is vast. The following is a sampling: Alican (2012, 87–110);

We are convinced that the textbook interpretation of the Forms as uniform entities occupying a world outside our own is wrong in two respects, first, in positing an extra world to make things work, second, in compressing all abstractions, or, at any rate, too many of them, into the concept of Form. The first problem is ontological extravagance, the second, the exact opposite.

While we realise that the tradition we are opposing is not a united front dominating the field in unanimous agreement, we are also certain that we are not chasing phantoms. There is surely a familiar enough ring to the two-world dichotomy between Forms and particulars to justify our taking this to be the traditional account. And we feel safe in including under this rubric the fungibility of Forms as a group of heterogeneous abstractions, which should also have a familiar ring, though, this one, perhaps not so loud, because it is usually a silent assumption as opposed to a declaration or argument. We trust that our meaning is clear enough in both cases without having to compile a list of textbooks that corroborate our impression of what counts as traditional in Plato scholarship. The designation 'textbook interpretation', then, is a figure of speech that does not really call for documentation unless the account attached to it is alarmingly at odds with what one might expect to find in an actual textbook.³

Allen (1970); Blackson (1995); Dancy (2004); Fine (1993, 2003); Gerson (2004); McCabe (1994, 53–94); Patterson (1985); Ross (1951); Silverman (2002); Thesleff (1999, 50–107 [= 2009, 434–88]). Studies focusing on problem areas might best be kept separate: Malcolm (1991); Meinwald (1991, 1992); Nails (2013); Pelletier (1990); Rickless (2007); Rowe (2005); Sayre (1983, 1996); Scolnicov (2003); Teloh (1981); Vlastos (1954). Both lists may be rounded off by the collection of essays edited by Welton (2002). A good conspectus of the global state of scholarship regarding the Forms can be found in Erler (2007, 390–406, 699–703).

³ As for actual textbooks, the famous one by Bertrand Russell, though perhaps not intended as a textbook in the standard sense, teaches us that "Plato is led to a supra-sensible world, more real than the common world of sense, the unchangeable world of ideas, which alone gives to the world of sense whatever pale reflection of reality may belong to it" (1912, 144). A hundred years later, a *Companion to Plato* can still be found unable to introduce the Forms without reference, at least in scare quotes, to "what is often described as a 'two world ontology'" (Press 2012, 174). In between, something of the tradition we are challenging has evidently survived. What it is that has survived is captured rather well in an anthology exclusively on Plato's Forms, in fact, titled *Plato's Forms*, where the editor's dispassionate overview presents tradition as firmly embracing a two-world interpretation: "The most famous view associated with one of the greatest thinkers of all time is a view that seems to defy our common sense, to challenge our deepest beliefs about the very nature of reality; for it seems to tell us that the flesh-and-blood world of which we are a part, the world of change and time in which we pass our lives, is somehow 'less real' than a world we can only see in our minds" (Welton 2002, 1).

Against the tradition thus defined, the purpose of this paper is to recommend and pursue a course correction in Plato studies, specifically in connection with the two problems identified above. The first correction is that Plato works with a single world that is stratified into ontological layers with a sliding scale of reality where there is enough room both for Forms and for particulars as well as for their separation. We call this scenario the 'two-level' model (in contrast to the two worlds typically assumed instead), not because there are only two levels, but because Forms occupy one level, particulars, another, in a hierarchical ontological configuration comprising layer upon layer, complete with sublayers, collectively representing and facilitating a gradation of reality, both within and between the two levels in question. Otherwise, this is not a binary or bipolar model of reality, nor an attempt to trade one sort of dualism for another, merely substituting the notion of level for that of world.

The second correction is that Plato's experimentation with abstraction can be better understood in terms of three different categories of Forms instead of a single homogeneous breed answering for every possibility (where candidates for Forms can be as diverse as justice, horse, and motion). Taken up in detail later, the three categories are Ideal Forms, Conceptual Forms, and Relational Forms.

These two course corrections are best pursued as a single revisionist project bringing the main strands of Plato's thought into better alignment. This is because they do not solve mutually independent problems in separate areas of Plato studies but explicate Plato's philosophical (rather intuitive) vision in the broadest terms, where they are jointly necessary for a comprehensive sketch.

The reliability of the big picture is important not just for its own sake but also for avoiding infelicities at the level of details. The potential for misdirection is significant, for example, in precluding proper insight into Plato's thinking in other areas and on other problems. One such case is the inadequacy of prevailing patterns of interpretation to account for the general axiological orientation of Plato's thought, or, perhaps more perspicuously, for the primacy of intrinsic value in his philosophical projects. Everything aims at the Good, but there can be no enlightenment, moral or otherwise, so long as the Good resides in an entirely different world, along with all else that is fine and decent and noble. We aim to show that the big picture, revised as promised, naturally emphasises the Platonic devotion to value.

This is a bold undertaking that goes against the grain of current scholarship. While we intend to supply all the evidence pertinent to our proposals for revision, there can be no proof in the strict sense of the term. The leading alternative, after all, is not itself based on proof but on a tradition of interpretation dat-

ing back to antiquity. This is not to say that we can whimsically replace that with our own interpretation while dispensing with the need to provide reasons and reasoning. Nevertheless, in the end, the acid test will be whether we end up with a reconstruction that makes better sense of Plato than one that places the Forms in one world, the particulars, in another, and leaves no room for an experience of value, which rests with all the good stuff in the world of Forms, not where we dwell, in the world of particulars. Likewise, with regard to the classification of Forms into three categories, another acid test will be whether the variegation, which constitutes a natural fit with an already stratified reality, is truer to Plato than is undifferentiated abstraction confined to an alternate reality. In the final analysis, then, the reason that there can be no proof in the strict sense is that this is not so much a disquisition as it is a thought experiment, much in the way that Plato propounds his own philosophy.

That said, our understanding of the way Plato propounds his own philosophy does not presuppose any particular pattern in his development as a philosopher or as a writer. Nor is our general initiative helped or hindered by any given order in which the dialogues may have been written. This is not the place to argue against developmental accounts or chronological approaches, but ignoring them should give no pause, as we can hardly be obligated to adopt them.⁴

2. Stratification of Reality

Plato's philosophy has an unmistakable axiological orientation. His dialogues constitute a procession of thought experiments aiming at that which is desirable for its own sake, or, what is the same, that which is good in itself (*agathon*, *kalon*, and the like). This emphasis on value is difficult to reconcile with the attribution of metaphysically transcendent Forms to what is not explicitly good.

This problem has a considerable bearing on the general interpretation of Plato. Several scholars have, over the years, taken Plato's commitment to value-neutral Forms and to trivial Forms as a given, or at least as a possibility, some

⁴ Platonic chronology is a field of its own. For an overview of problems and solutions, see Alican (2012, 148–88); for substantive contributions, see Thesleff (1982 [= 2009, 143–382]; 1989, 1–26; 1999, 108–16 [= 2009, 489–97]). For a brief account of Thesleff on Platonic chronology, see Alican (2012, 185–88) and Nails (1995, 59, 134). For sweeping documentation of the main schools, major trends, and best achievements in Platonic chronology, with the convenience of tabular presentations, see Nails (1995, 58, 59, 60, 61, 64, 76, 111, 112, 131, 134, 203). Cf. also the chronological reference in the latter part of n. 10 below.

even embracing not merely neutral and trivial Forms but also negative Forms, while others have expressed reservations on all three fronts.⁵ Disagreement among scholars often depends on what is meant by the terms used. Reconsidering Plato's so-called theory of Forms,⁶ primarily through a close look at the dialogues, may help resolve superficial disagreements and expose genuine differences. Chief among them will be the stratification intended in place of the duplication assumed.

A popular makeshift is the assumption of a unique, separate, and complete world of Forms that corresponds to our own world, somehow accounting for many of its features, or, by some counts, for all of them, including plurality and change, but sharing none of its deficiencies.⁷ On close inspection, the difficulties of such an assumption are legion, foremost of which is that Plato himself provides little ground for it in the dialogues.⁸

We normally expect the metaphor of 'world' to include plurality, variety, and change, as well as some indication of what is good and bad for the things within. Perhaps this, the plurality, the variety, the change, together with a sense of good and bad, is what we expect because of the way our own world looks to

⁵ See, for example, the references in Erler (2007, 397) and in Guthrie (1978, 97–100).

⁶ Attributing to Plato a 'theory of Forms' is becoming an increasingly delicate matter, with many scholars contending that he never actually held any such theory, and some holding that he never held any theory at all: Annas (1981, 217–41); Gonzales (2002, 31–83); Hyland (2002, 257–72); Sayre (1994, 167–99; 2002, 169–91); Williams (2006, 148–86, especially 154). A review of the literature, together with a discussion of the possibilities, can be found in Alican (2012, 110–29).

⁷ While scholars tend to distinguish between ontological and epistemological versions of the two-world model, our own project leaves no room for this, neither physically nor logically. This is because denying a two-world ontology makes it superfluous to deny a two-world epistemology. Since the opposite does not hold, however, the epistemological version can fruitfully be explored by those who countenance a two-world ontology, or by those who do not take any sort of stand on the ontology. A sweeping acquaintance with the current state of scholarship on the epistemological issue can be had through two complementary pieces by Smith (2000, 2012), where one will also find a substantive contribution toward a solution. Nails (2013, 78, n. 3), for one, considers Smith (2000) to have settled the epistemological issue, having demonstrated that the two-world model fails to account for Plato's epistemology. Yet, as she admits, not everyone considers the matter closed. For other recent discussions with Plato's epistemology in the forefront, see, for example, Rowe (2005) and Butler (2007).

⁸ The ideal model of a good state in the *Republic* (9,592a–b), and of the cosmos in the *Timaeus* (28a–30d, see also 51d–52d), have been adduced. But thoroughgoing metaphysical dualism is not the only possible reading, and Plato himself hardly indicates internal conflicts of opposites in either model.

us. Perhaps, then, we do not have the right to expect it of all possible worlds. But, either way, we can rest assured that we can neither expect it nor extract it from any world of Forms as such.

Even if some, or most, of the Forms are understood to be immanent, as some scholars and schools have been inclined to maintain, this does not typically come with a reduction in the number of worlds.⁹ However that may be, our human world is not simply a replica of a world of Forms.

Earlier fascination with recovering Platonic chronology, thereby giving rise to the legend of Plato's development from immanentism to transcendentism, can also be set aside safely, now that Plato scholarship has established itself as moving away, especially rapidly in recent years, from certain patterns of interpretation dominating the field through most of the twentieth century. Much of the dogma handed down uncritically from generation to generation is either gone or on its way out.¹⁰

One that has proven persistent, however, is the dogma of the 'two worlds', which continues to distort the intellectual legacy of Plato.¹¹ The separation (*chōrismos*) of Forms from particulars was already being discussed in Plato's time, both by him and by those around him, as a logical problem.¹² But what if it was not a real problem for Plato (as some have argued on various grounds)? What if his universe was a single one (as intimated in the *Timaeus*), a continuum of levels, somewhat as Plotinus saw it? These are not intended as purely rhetori-

⁹ Standing out among the numerous treatments of this issue are Fine's articles on separation (1984) and immanence (1986), one each, and Devereux's single article (1994) on separation and immanence.

¹⁰ A progressive mindset was already in place twenty years before the composition of the present article, as evidenced, for example, in an anthology editor's open praise for the devotion of contributors to the interpretive principle that "the thought rightly attributable to the dialogues is likely to be something other than the traditional set of dogmas or doctrines, whether unitary or developing, that are found both in textbooks and scholarly writing, the philosophical system called Platonism" (Press 1993, 5). The backlash against developmentalism has been particularly harsh, as can be readily verified in the front matter of the Hackett edition of Plato's *Complete Works*, whose editor demonstrates a pedagogical vigilance so strong as to "urge readers not to undertake the study of Plato's works holding in mind the customary chronological groupings of 'early', 'middle', and 'late' dialogues" (Cooper 1997, xiv). For related issues in chronology, see n. 4 above.

¹¹ Our characterisation of the two-world model as a 'dogma' coincides with terminology ('dogma') also favoured by Nails (2013).

¹² See especially Plato's *Parmenides* and Aristotle's *Metaphysics* (987a29–b35, 1078b7–1079a4, 1086a30–b12); cf. Fine (1984, 1986), Devereux (1994), and Nails (2013).

cal questions but as a springboard to opening up interpretive possibilities, starting with direct answers in the next section.

3. A Two-Level Model

The alternative we propose in place of a two-world model of interpretation is a two-level model. Readers may follow our reasoning as a thought experiment, which, we believe, provides a grounding for a proper explication of the notion and theory of Forms, starting with their purported transcendence.

The metaphor of levels, contrary to that of worlds, exposes a value differential between a higher and a lower order of entities or phenomena. The comparatives are important. The underlying ontology is that of two basic levels understood as belonging together (in Platonic *koinōnia*) like, say, sky and earth in the worldview of Plato's contemporaries — or like gods and humans, masters and slaves, truths and beliefs, abstractions and their instantiations. It was natural for Plato to have held this two-level vision of a single world, an intuitive outlook always present in his thought but only indirectly reflected in what he said and wrote.¹³ This vision is in all respects primary to any theory of Forms. Plato is likely to have developed it early on, drawing on a combination of general Greek views and more explicit Presocratic thought.

The idea of a two-level vision in Plato was first brought up and articulated in some detail by de Vogel in 1986.¹⁴ It was later adopted as an interpretive paradigm and developed further by Thesleff.¹⁵ The model can be illustrated particularly well through contrasts typical of Plato's view of reality. For this purpose, a representative set of ten pairs of complementary concepts can be taken either in a regular list or distributed alongside a horizontal separator as follows:¹⁶

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

¹³ See, for example, Thesleff (1999, 11–12, 28–29 [= 2009, 397–98, 413–14]).

¹⁴ See de Vogel (1986, 50, 62, and *passim*).

¹⁵ See Thesleff (1993, 17–45; 1999, 11–52 [= 2009, 397–436]). Cf. Press (2007, 159–71). See further the first of the two dogmas in Nails (2013, 78–87).

¹⁶ The example is from Thesleff (1999, 27 [= 2009, 411]).

The concepts in question are not true opposites (as some similar ideas are in Oriental and Pythagorean thought).

In the same contexts, it has been argued, and it can easily be argued further and in greater detail, that Plato applies his two-level vision to a wide variety of aspects of method and thought. Take, for instance, his typical 'dialectic' where the philosophical leader of the discussion naturally 'knows' more than he says, yet profits from his lower-level partners. Or take his typical irony, especially through Socrates, or his word-play, where truth is covertly balanced against appearance. Or take the multilevel structure of his utopian State. The levels operate together. Here, we will focus just on the level of the Forms.

If transcendent Forms do not constitute a world separate from the one we occupy, they can be assigned, at any rate, to a different level within the same world. The level of the Forms need not correspond to that of the physical in details, but it is not divorced from it either. They are two aspects of the same reality. One world, two levels — this may be as close as we get to Plato's vision of the abstract, where different terms and concepts will, inevitably, not be as clearly differentiated as we might wish.¹⁷

A two-level interpretation recommends itself for two reasons in particular. First, the imagery of two levels comes with a complementary hierarchical structure within a single reality, which then stands as a cohesive whole where points, or regions, or just ways, of contact are easier to grasp and to defend, as opposed to the juxtaposition of disjointed and polarised worlds where any connection would be tenuous at best. Second, the two-level model readily accommodates the Platonic orientation toward the Good, owing, again, to its unitary hierarchical structure, whereas the two-world interpretation falls short in this respect because it places the Good in some other, wholly separate world, thereby undermining the possibility of orientation toward it. Moreover, the differentiation and order that can be had simultaneously in a single world with two levels is uniquely hospitable to a proper classification of Forms, paving the way out of the present cacophony in the variety of constructs passing for Forms.¹⁸

¹⁷ Plato sometimes refers to a noetic *topos* outside the cosmos: *Republic* 6,509d, 7,517b; *Phaedrus* 247c–d, 248b; it is 'over' us, as the sky is over the earth. See also *Timaeus* 50a–52e (where the 'receptacle' is added as a third level).

¹⁸ Plato's notion of the Good was the cause of much perplexity in the fourth century. This was evidently due not merely to what he made available through the dialogues but also to a notorious public lecture on the subject. See, for example, Alican (2012, 84–87) and Thesleff (1999, 104–05, 164–65 [= 2009, 485–86, 531]). See also Ferber (1989).

In short, keeping things in the same world has its advantages. Fashioned after a *koinōnia* of sorts, as between upstairs and downstairs, the model finds ample support in the canonical corpus: Consider for a start, the divided line in the *Republic* (6,509d–511e), the ladder of love in the *Symposium* (209e–212a), with Eros and Socrates as a mediating power, and the world-soul in the *Timaeus* (35a–36d).¹⁹

4. Classification of Forms

Another fundamental question for the present is: What do we mean by the term 'Form' as identified with what was traditionally called an 'Idea'? Both terms, 'Form' and 'Idea', have some misleading connotations in modern languages, and 'Form' is easily confused with the Aristotelian *eidos*. Worse, Plato's own terminology is hopelessly inconsistent. And he never did put forth a clear and complete account of the Forms. What we have instead are tentative visions (sometimes literally Socratic dreams) or suggestions proposed in different situations and at different times – all extremely difficult to sort out, as contemporary scholarship is beginning to see.

Since Plato did not impose terminological preferences, or issue philosophical instructions, it is incumbent upon the community of Plato scholars to figure out the central characteristics (and the details, if possible) of what has been handed down as Forms (or Ideas). We suggest, following many interpreters since ancient times, that a Platonic Form must be at least a universal, though always a unique one, and preferably a positive one, functioning as a typical characteristic (or as a standard or model) of phenomena or occurrences on the sensible level of our world.

We will be expanding on this characterisation throughout the paper, but a few points of clarification might be useful immediately: First, we say 'at least' because not all universals are Forms. The aphorism that "Forms are what particulars fail to be" can be extended further, though with caution, to assert that Forms are what universals fail to be.²⁰ This is not to say that they are not universals, but that

¹⁹ See also *Republic* 5,477a–478c. For the notion of universal *koinōnia*, cf. *Republic* 5,462a–464d, 7,537c, 9,585b–c; *Phaedo* 100d; *Theaetetus* 147d–e; *Sophist* 248a–e; *Laws* 12,967d–e.

²⁰ The elegantly abbreviated account that "Forms are what particulars fail to be" belongs specifically to McCabe (1994, 60), though the opinion expressed therein is common in the literature.

they are indeed that and always something more. Second, though still in the same vein, this is partly the sense in claiming that they are unique, each one being just what it is, and not simply an example of the kind of thing we call 'Form'. The 'just itself', in Plato's thought, is not identical with what we now call 'justice', though we will, for convenience, use the latter term as shorthand. Third, and finally, by 'positive', we mean something worth seeking or imitating, of course, from Plato's point of view.

Explicating Plato's Forms in terms of universals, even if it is only to say that they are much more than this, is open to misunderstanding. Universals no longer stand for the same thing they did with Aristotle, and the contemporary discussion is far from a consensus. Nor does the conceptual development between then and now add up or average out to a uniform understanding.

The commonplace that Plato reified universals does not go far toward capturing what Plato thought to be a Form. And the question lurking at the end of that statement ('what Plato thought to be a Form') is not the right question to ask, at least not for us, but also not of us. We cannot say what a Form is, as if it were just one thing, or one type of thing, because we do not think that the Form for justice and the Form for bed, to take just a couple of examples, are really the same kind of thing, a Form. We believe Plato to have experimented with abstraction in several different ways, ending up with different results, which are best classified in different categories or divisions. We are not prepared to draw any developmental conclusions from this, instead remaining content to let the dialogues fall where they may in terms of chronological order. But we can, after all, say quite a bit about the different types of entities tradition has handed down as Forms (or Ideas).

We have to keep in mind, first, that universals were yet to be discovered, or invented, depending on one's perspective, when Plato seems to have reified them, second, that he did not merely reify them but almost deified them (in the loose sense of giving them godlike 'upper level' qualities, not, of course, to worship them), and, third, that justice and horseness and everything in between are not reified or deified into the same kind of thing, or to the same extent, thus leaving a broad spectrum of ontological profiles as the constituents of reality and our experience of it.

Yet we find the analogy with universals helpful as a starting point, which doubles as a point of departure. We are aware of scholarly opposition to identifying Plato's Forms with universals (which is not what we are doing). Some protest because they, like us, find that universals fall short of Forms, others, because they deny that universals exist while recognising that Plato considered the Forms real,

yet others, because universals are not individuals whereas Plato's Forms are, and the list goes on.

But we have to start somewhere. So, we may as well start with the praise Socrates receives from Parmenides for separating properties from the things of which they are properties (*Parmenides* 130b). And this cannot be too far to reach from universals, anyone's universals. The point of departure that drives our own understanding is the importance Plato attaches to intrinsic value, not to be found in mere universals, nor in reified ones, which makes it a feature lost in the typically monochrome Forms taken up in much of the literature.

We may profitably recognise three distinct divisions among the referents of what are usually taken collectively as Forms:

- **Ideal Forms:** These are metaphysically transcendent entities that embody, on the upper level of reality, the perfection of qualities (justice, temperance, knowledge, etc., as in *Phaedrus* 247d–e) we aspire to on the lower level. They have an axiological orientation culminating in the Good. Put simply, they are charged with positive intrinsic value.
- **Conceptual Forms:** These are universals corresponding, on the upper level of reality, to such particulars as are manifested, on the lower level, with mutual similarity but varying degrees of reality and importance (to Plato), including concrete things (horse, ship, water) and their properties, qualities, or attributes (speed, size, colour), as well as various phenomena, broadly taken to comprise events, actions, and experiences, but excluding (again from Plato's point of view) things that are either imaginary or intrinsically bad, not because Conceptual Forms are intrinsically good, but because they have no value of their own, only by association (with Ideal Forms, as explained later), which does not make it intrinsic value.
- **Relational Forms:** These are relational universal concepts, that is, correlative abstractions taken in contrasting pairs of apparent opposites jointly covering both levels of reality and collectively exhausting the entire two-level ontology. They, too, are value-neutral in and of themselves. A good example is the pairing of rest / motion and of same / other among the *megista genē* in the *Sophist* (254d–e).

Retaining the term 'Form' as part of the name for each division is a reminder that the classification²¹ pertains to what has long been discussed under this single

²¹ The classification we propose is silent on mathematical (numbers and shapes) largely be-

name (and, before that, and still in non-anglophone contexts, under another single name, 'Idea').

That said, pressed for a choice, we might have to admit that Forms proper are the constructs we have called 'Ideal Forms', and that these may just as well be called 'Ideas' instead of 'Forms'. Conceptual Forms, then, would stand out as the main cause of the difficulty in deciding whether there is a Form for everything or only for some things. And any difficulty in this is liable to be exacerbated by the additional division of Relational Forms, which are, in essence, universal categories, that is, basic concepts for understanding the cosmos, not in its minutiae, nor from a moral perspective, but as a structured whole.

A visual aid often makes complex thought more accessible. Fortunately, Plato provides one of the most memorable visual aids in the history of philosophy — the divided line.²² His simile in the centre of the *Republic* (6,509d–511e) is in many ways illustrative of his two-level vision, here subdivided into four segments. It can be taken as a cross section of Plato's universe, with the philosopher's ontology and epistemology in the foreground. And it represents the hierarchy of what, to him, is valuable. Let us mark the four segments from top to bottom as (a), (b), (c), and (d). If the noetic segment (a) is understood to cover the Ideal Forms culminating in *to agathon*, it is sensible to assign the *dianoia* segment (b) to Conceptual Forms. Since Plato must have known that segments (b) and (c) are by geometrical necessity equal in length, whichever proportion is chosen for the first cut, it is reasonable to assume a close correspondence between (b) and (c), the latter of which represents visible things (on the higher, more important, and more valuable of the bottom two levels): *zōa*, all that is *phuteuton*, even *skeuastōn* of some value (6,510a), and geometrical figures (6,510c, 6,510e). They all have corresponding Conceptual Forms on level (b).²³ Relational Forms, rather

cause Plato himself is not clear on what these are. On the testimony of Aristotle (*Metaphysics* 987b14–17, 1059b5–14; cf. 'eidetic numbers' at 1080a23, 1081a23–25), a common interpretation has been that Plato took mathematics to be a separate category between Forms and particulars. This assignment of an intermediate position may have been inspired by a pythagorising interpretation of segment (b) of the divided line (discussed at the end of the present section). We also find Plato's interest in 'eidetic numbers' to be a late pythagorising experiment. (See section 9 below, especially n. 61.) Nevertheless, mathematics can be accommodated in our classification scheme as a special type of Conceptual Form, associated with Ideal Forms, and approximating to them through a process of ontological ascent (taken up in section 7.1 below).

²² For this much-discussed metaphor, we refer only to Thesleff (1999, 31–32, 70–72 [= 2009, 416, 453–55]).

²³ For the distinction between Conceptual Forms and 'concepts', see section 7.1. As for the

than claiming a place on one level or other, collectively constitute a lateral projection of the structural representation.

Even with the appeal to the divided line, however, much of the foregoing discussion has proceeded with a predominance of hypotheses over documentation. The remainder of the paper is devoted to fleshing out the proposed classification, bringing out some of the more important details, and, in the process, showing how the proposal fits in with what Plato said, and, to some extent, with how that has been interpreted.

5. Terminological Clues and Other Observations

Scholars traditionally look for linguistic clues to sort out the details of Plato's conceptual apparatus. First on their list is to check the occurrence of the terms *eidōs* or *idea*, designations giving the Ideas, and, later, the Forms, their modern name.

Although the typical search for Forms, with *eidōs* (or *idea*) as the descriptor, is a generic one, undifferentiated as to this or that division in the classification we are advocating, the result is far more likely to identify a Conceptual Form than an Ideal Form, and oftentimes even to pick out nothing more than a concept. Indeed, both terms are also applied to universals, with no metaphysical overtones.

Generally speaking, in Plato's dialogues, *eidōs* (and *idea*) often approaches our notion of concept. But a concept is not a Form.

Some developmentalists have assumed that *eidōs* and *idea* became markers of transcendence when Plato began to use them for abstract concepts. This often includes the assumption that *eidōs* and *idea* point to Ideal Forms. And sometimes they do. But what are we to do when they point elsewhere?

The etymology of the words *eidōs* and *idea* is of little help here. They seem to be practically synonymous; hence, we can focus on the more common *eidōs*. Originally, it just meant 'shape' in the sense of 'outward appearance', but also (and still before Plato) signified a mental vision of the characteristic shape of something, thereby pointing to types, or kinds. To Plato, it may sometimes denote an ideal shape, a model of sorts, and thus, implicitly, a concept of positive

metaphor on hand, we may imagine the line as drawn in the sand, or on a slate, before the dramatic audience, but, unfortunately, we do not know exactly by what construction Plato wanted the second cut to be made 'in the same ratio' (*Republic* 6,509d), or whether the topmost segment (a) was meant to be the longest or the shortest one. The interpretation has varied since ancient times.

value. It remains unclear, however, to what extent this nuance was influenced by an emerging theory of Ideal Forms.

Plato may well have adopted the term *eidōs* (*idea*) both for Ideal Forms and for Conceptual Forms in oral discussions of ontology and epistemology. The fact that the terms are hardly ever present in the so-called early dialogues may be because these texts are probably, by and large, addressed to larger audiences. At any rate, *eidōs* and *idea* are neither systematic designations of Ideal Forms nor reliable indicators of value. The standard reference is to typical shapes, typical forms, but in a more abstract way than, say, *morphē* or *schēma*.²⁴ After *eidōs* and *idea* began to be employed for Ideal Forms as well, they took on a metaphysical connotation in addition to their original meaning. This assessment is consistent with traditional interpretations,²⁵ though its relevance to the chronology of the dialogues is doubtful.

To go somewhat further into this complex of problems, we may infer that, in Plato's thought, pointedly abstract concepts automatically tend to be associated with the upper level of his universe, given its abstract nature. Insofar as concepts are understood to be common denominations of a group of phenomena (i.e., universals), and, further, taken to be accessible through the mind rather than the senses, they are already acquiring greater distinction, whereupon, if they are conceived to be somehow real and important and not imagined, they merit a higher ontological ranking than their concrete manifestations. We deal with this inference in section 7.

A more reliable way of tracing the appearance of Ideal Forms in the dialogues is to search for qualifications of universals by the term *auto* (*auto to*, *hautō*, *kath' hautō*, etc.), often rendered into English as 'as such' or as '(in) itself'. Similarly suggestive are words for that which 'really and always is' or that which is 'true' (*ho estin*, *aei*, *alēthēs*, etc.) or 'pure' (*eilikrinēs*). Even a preliminary effort to enumerate such instances can quickly grow to cover a dozen dialogues. Consider, for instance, the contexts of *Cratylus* 439c–d (*kalon*, *agathon*, in Socrates' dream); *Euthydemus* 292d (*epistēmē*, but in ironical context); *Hippias Major* 286d (*kalon*, 289d with *eidōs*); *Laches* 194a (*aretē*, playfully personified); *Meno* 100b (*aretē*, cf. 72c); *Parmenides* 130b (*homoiotēs*, see section 8, below), 134b (*to kalon*, *to agathon*); *Phaedo* 65d–66a (*dikaion*, *kalon*, *agathon* ... *megethos*, *hugieia*, *ischus*), 106d (*zōē*, with *eidōs*); *Phaedrus* 247d (*epistēmē*, seen by gods on their

²⁴ Note that *schēma* can be used for 'concept', as in *Meno* 74b, *Sophist* 267c–d, and *Statesman* 277a.

²⁵ See, for example, Ross (1951, *passim*).

winged journey); *Philebus* 59b–c (the problem of *to alēthestaton*, being close to *ta aei kata ta auta hōsautōs ameiktota echonta*); *Republic* 4,435b (*dikaiousunē*, with *eidos*, cf. 4,435e, 7,517e), 5,479e (*to kalon*, *to dikaion*, cf. 6,505a, *hē tou agathou idea*, not sufficiently well known); *Sophist* 248a–b (assumptions of the *eidōn philoi*); and, of course, Diotima's memorable portrayal of *to kalon* at *Symposium* 211b (*to kalon ... auto kath' hauto meth' hautou monoeides aei on*).²⁶ Terminological clues of the *auto* type (or 'truly' or 'purely') almost always indicate an Ideal Form.

A somewhat less reliable mark of Ideal Forms is the characteristic reference to the relation between Forms and particulars as a presence or a partaking. It is less reliable because it is also, at least occasionally, extended to Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms. Considering the use of terms such as *parousia*, *metechein*, *koinōnia* (*Phaedo* 100d), it seems that the discussion of 'participation' was not limited to Ideal Forms. See, for example: *Gorgias* 467e–468a, 498d; *Euthydemus* 301a; *Hippias Major* 289c–d, 294a; *Lysis* 217b–e; *Sophist* 247a. Possibly, though, there was a religious background giving a specific connotation to Plato's employment of the words. The question of particulars 'reflecting' or 'imitating' Forms (à la *Parmenides*) may be of a different origin.

Ideal Forms are, in the first place, ideal qualities (or capacities) of gods and of humans at their best (i.e., philosophers). This is a remarkable fact. It points to the divine upper-level as a model for ideal human behaviour.²⁷ At the same time, it reflects the Socratic search for universals in human *sophia*.²⁸ The latter has traditionally been regarded as a feature of the 'early dialogues', though the prospects of dating them with any precision remain dubious and controversial.²⁹

We also find as possible candidates for Ideal Forms, entities representing physical things (e.g., man, fire), and universal concepts characterising our perception of such things (e.g., similarity, hotness).³⁰ This comes out clearly in the

²⁶ Note the context: The 'upper level' eventually reached by the philosopher is like an open sea, *pelagos* (*Symposium* 210d). See also *Phaedo* 109c–d and *Republic* 10,611b–d. Perhaps we may imagine *to kalon* shining like a sun over it (as in the *Republic*). For the notion of 'same' (*auto*), cf. the discussion on Relational Forms (section 8 below).

²⁷ But Plato's point of view is not primarily religious; see Thesleff (1999, 12–15 [= 2009, 397–401]).

²⁸ Aristotle (*Metaphysics* 987b1–10) seeks the roots of Plato's theory in Socratic definitions. Dancy (2004, 23–208, 209–44), for one, explores this in great depth.

²⁹ See the references to Platonic chronology in n. 4 above.

³⁰ The case of fire (*pur*) is more complicated. Its significance for humans, from the earliest cosmologies onward, was beyond doubt. The *Phaedo* (103b–e) likewise assigns it a respect-

order of presentation of the Forms in the *Phaedo*, and also in Socrates' aporia in the *Parmenides* (130c), both dialogues being explored further in the section on Relational Forms (section 8). The perceptually descriptive sort is probably the older of the two, as it is natural in Greek to operate with abstractions grounded in properties or attributes before doing so with the substances to which those properties or attributes belong. Separating the equality from the sticks, or, say, the largeness from the man, surely counts as a milestone in the history of our ongoing efforts to understand and describe the world around us, but working with the remainder, that is, with the substances themselves, requires an altogether different operation of abstraction, marking the advent of kinds, types, and classes.

The roots of Ideal Forms are not in the *eidē* of physical things. A potter's or an artist's vision of a Grecian urn, or a carpenter's of a bed, is not, to Plato, metaphysically special. Even the external appearance of a demigod would not be very impressive in this regard.³¹ All these, and much more, are eclipsed by Ideal Forms.

Regarding a possible approximation of universals for physical things to Ideal Forms, see below, section 7. For similar approximations of the first member of Relational Forms to Ideal Forms, see below, section 8.

6. Ideal Forms

Commentators often complain of ambiguities, inconsistencies, and undeveloped lines of thought in Plato. This is especially true of the Forms, regarding which Plato is allegedly vague, laconic, and mercurial. A partial explanation of this fact is that Plato meant his Forms to be subject to philosophical, not public, discussion; and discussion was best conducted orally. The *Symposium*, and perhaps also the *Phaedrus*, were exceptions, where the central issue concerns, however playfully, the heart of all theories of Forms, namely Ideal Forms.³²

able position in contrasting it with snow (unpleasant and undesirable), but seems to treat only its property hotness (*thermon*), and not fire itself, as an Ideal Form (see further: section 8). Yet the rather sweeping presentation of Ideal Forms in the *Timaeus* (50c–52d) includes all four of the traditional elements, among them, fire (51b).

³¹ A satyr, for instance, or Eros in the *Symposium*. The playfully introduced *phutourgos* in the *Republic* (10,597d) is no cosmic Creator; cf. further n. 45 below. Broadie (2007, 232–53) rightly doubts (Ideal) Forms for artefacts in the early 'Platonistic tradition', but she does not consider *Republic* 6,510a–b, nor the floating category of Conceptual Forms.

³² See Thesleff (2002, 289–301 [= 2009, 541–50]) on publicity in Plato.

Ideal Forms also fit clearly and directly into Plato's two-level vision as sketched above. And they have always been regarded (even by Plato himself, e.g., in the *Phaedo* and the *Republic*) as the most representative examples of Forms. For some explicit markers, see the preceding section. In the dialogues, the most detailed discussion of Ideal Forms as the philosopher's specialty can be found in the central books of the *Republic*, beginning with the contrast between 'philosophers' and 'others' (5,475e ff.).

Like many other readers of Plato, and writers too, we, the present authors, are prepared to qualify Forms proper as transcendent, intelligible, paradigmatic, perfect, immutable, simple, and unique.³³ We apply this list as a whole to Ideal Forms alone. And we add, as a note to be remembered throughout our argument, that these criteria explicate what is intrinsically good about the Forms from Plato's point of view.

The list is fairly representative of the characteristics of Ideal Forms as they occur in the dialogues. But we do not pretend that it is final. Some of the descriptors may be redundant, and others yet may need to be added. For example, we can immediately add that Ideal Forms are eternal and incorporeal, though these two features may arguably be said to be redundant with those on the original list. Both eternity and incorporeality (sometimes just 'invisibility') can probably be inferred directly from the original list, but Plato does make a point of mentioning them separately, for example, in the *Phaedo* (78c–80b).

Another important feature of Ideal Forms is an exalted ontological status representing ultimate reality, the cosmic embodiment of true being, in contrast to the contingent mode of existence at the lower, phenomenal level. The importance of this two-level feature is not just metaphysical but epistemological as well, since the ultimate reality in question, with the stability it embodies, constitutes our only hope of attaining knowledge, the kind grounded in universal truth, as opposed to settling for mere opinion or belief (*pistis* on the divided line),

³³ Such features as we list here are likely to be found mentioned or discussed not only in scholarly articles or monographs but also in the expository sections of the growing stock of 'companions' or 'guides' to Plato. *The Continuum Companion to Plato* (Press 2012), for example, covers most of these features, if not more, in two short entries, one on the Forms (173–75, contributed by Kenneth Sayre) and one on ontology (218–20, contributed by Allan Silverman). Another example is Grube's monograph, *Plato's Thought*, where the first sentence alone goes through several of the features on our list (1935, 1). As for philosophy textbooks, a popular one currently in its eighth edition, describes the Forms as "independently existing, nonspatial, nontemporal 'somethings' ('kinds', 'types', or 'sorts') that cannot be known through the senses" (Soccio 2013, 131).

affording no greater reliability than the illusory objects of perception at our own level of existence.³⁴

A detailed analysis of clear or potentially clear cases of Ideal Forms in the dialogues would reveal a concentration on entities of moral value, which usually goes hand-in-hand with aesthetic value.³⁵ They are, from a human perspective, good in an exemplary sense. They do not, as Ideal Forms, come with opposites that are also Ideal Forms. To elaborate, beautiful and ugly are opposite existential states, or aesthetic judgments, just as beauty and ugliness are opposite attributes or properties, but at that level, neither one is an Ideal Form, though both do well as concepts. We will return below (section 7) to Conceptual Forms. However, on the level of Ideal Forms, we are sure to find the beautiful right where Plato placed it, but we will find no sign of the ideally ugly throughout the canonical corpus.³⁶

Our account builds on the cumulative evidence of passages in many dialogues, as illustrated in the preceding section, since none of them alone offers a clear and complete record.³⁷

As Plato himself points out, this is a much-discussed matter (*poluthrulēta*, *Phaedo* 100b).³⁸ And the abundance of discussion, of course, is not an indication that the matter, having been thoroughly examined, may now safely be put to rest, but that it is to be investigated further still. Plato often emphasises its difficulties, even for philosophers. Although the original reference of this discussion is, dramatically, to Socrates and his associates, and, by extension, to Plato and his associates, it holds up rather well in transference to modern scholars and their as-

³⁴ Causality might be added as yet another feature, as Forms are often taken to be causal agents of some sort. Platonic causality, to wit, the causality in and of the Forms, is a controversial topic. Nobody is sure how it works. What is going on is purportedly a kind of communion, inherence, partaking, or participation. But these concepts are not themselves all that clear; nor do they all conjure up the same image. The Aristotelian 'final cause' is not relevant either. A seminal attempt at clarification, to cite just one example, is the Vlastosian 'one-over-many' principle, but that just presents the Form as a unifying principle for a multitude of things of the same kind (Vlastos 1954, 320).

³⁵ Such an analysis, that is, with the focus specified and the depth and breadth required, has never been conducted, not even by Ross (1951).

³⁶ To be perfectly clear, we will not find the ugly as an Ideal Form: Otherwise, mention of the ugly (*Euthydemus* 301b, *Hippias Major* 289c–d, *Republic* 5,475e–476a, *Theaetetus* 186a), often in contrast to the beautiful, is common enough, but it remains at the conceptual level.

³⁷ See the conspectus in Erler (2007, 390–406).

³⁸ See Tarrant (2000, 43). Attaining certainty about *to agathon* is almost hopeless, as evidenced, for example, in *Republic* 6,496a–497d, 505a, *Parmenides* 134b–c, *Timaeus* 29d, and *Philebus* 64a–c. See further: n. 18 above.

sociates. Two areas where our view differs from those of our associates are, first, that we find Ideal Forms to be charged with positive intrinsic value, a feature implicit in the foregoing discussion and exemplified further below, and, second, that we consider these criteria to be features of Ideal Forms, not of just any Forms, and certainly not of things that are not Forms.

7. Conceptual Forms

7.1. Conceptualisation and Formalisation

Very few of the innumerable abstractions with which the human mind operates deserve to be labelled 'Ideal Form'. This is clear enough from the criteria laid out in the preceding section. Yet many kinds of universals outside the core of Ideal Forms are traditionally (and apparently also by Plato) classified as Forms, whatever term may be used. What kinds? This has been one of the biggest stumbling blocks in Platonic theory since antiquity.

Classical Greek was eminently suitable for abstractions, both for using the ones in hand and for creating new ones, often as derivatives, or easily generated with the aid of the article *to*. For the most part, such abstractions have nothing to do with Forms. Adopting the somewhat anachronistic term 'concept' for all abstractions representing a universal, or for any type of phenomenon, including imaginary ones, we find no clear distinction in Plato between concepts and the words (names, *onomata*) that represent them.³⁹ The linguistic expression is essential, however, not only for Plato but also for enabling a discussion of concepts.

The linguistic expression is not just 'the thing' as Antisthenes and others had asserted.⁴⁰ Spoken or written names of things, including what we would call 'concepts' as a general term for all abstractions, can always be expressed by words. If such concepts turn out to be 'real' or 'important' universals from Plato's perspective, we can expect him to place them on the upper level of his universe,

³⁹ Examples abound in the *Cratylus* and the *Sophist*. The *Timaeus* (52a) makes it clear that Ideal Forms are *homōnuma* with particular things. But, taken as words, concepts are naturally nouns, or substantivised infinitives, as in *to eidenai* (*Phaedo* 75d), rather than finite verbs. Though words and denominations vary, it is through them that the dihaeretic process may reach the Forms. See, for example, *Statesman* 261e–262b, 285a–287d; cf. also n. 49 below.

⁴⁰ Diogenes Laërtius (*Lives* 6,3) reports that Antisthenes "was the first to define statement (or assertion) by saying that a statement is that which sets forth what a thing was or is" (Loeb translation).

analogously with Ideal Forms. Examples follow below, but the claim itself cannot be proven, nor its details fully worked out, in the space available for ancillary support for the main theses of a journal article.

On the other hand, both Conceptual Forms and the positive element in Relational Forms can, depending on the context, approximate to Ideal Forms, in which case they each tend to take on some of the associated features. However, there is no specific subset of features identified with Ideal Forms that tends to be taken on by the other two kinds when they approximate to Ideal Forms. This is an arbitrary tendency, not a systematic process. The question of which features, or that of how many, does not have a set answer, and must be decided on a case-by-case basis. Plato is seldom exact on the sliding scale of his two-level vision.

A telling example of Plato's treatment of concepts is the 'dihaeretic method', with which he and his younger friends experimented. An experiment along these lines may perchance end up at the level of Ideal Forms.⁴¹ Normally, however, it would remain on a more linguistic level through 'division and collection', the so-called dialectical process of separating and grouping concepts. The concept of angler, for example, can be derived, divided, reconstructed, and combined with other concepts, but it never becomes anything like an Ideal Form. The method is likely to have been originally designed for definitional purposes, not as speculative or theoretical exercises supporting an ontological system.⁴²

From another perspective, even Ideal Forms are concepts (in addition to whatever else Plato would have them be), both in their Socratic origins, and from our own vantage point. The converse, of course, does not hold: Not all concepts are Forms, let alone being Ideal Forms. Nor are they all suitable for formalisation as such.

Nevertheless, it is evidently a short step from concept to Conceptual Form. To be more precise, the step, short or long, is from our conception of concept to our understanding of what Plato might likely have considered a Conceptual Form. Otherwise, projecting all this back into Plato is mostly a heuristic device for sorting out what he was doing. The simple explanation, given the premise that there is a Conceptual Form for just about everything, or, more accurately, for

⁴¹ See n. 39 above. Clearly expressed in the *Phaedrus* (249b–c, 265d–266c); cf. also the *Sophist* (253c–e), *Statesman* (287c), *Philebus* (16c–17a), and *Hippias Major* (301b ff.). The dialectician knows how to proceed.

⁴² The *Gorgias* (462e–466e) provides some corroboration. See also Prodicus on semantic distinctions in the *Protagoras* (e.g., 340a–341e, 358a–e), and the eristic games in the *Euthydemus*.

everything Plato found somehow real or important, is that anything Plato could and wanted to conceptualise ended up as a Conceptual Form.⁴³

However, we should not make the distinction between concept and Form as fluent as that. Not everything has a Form, not even potentially. Plato makes this clear in all the dialogues where Forms (denoted as *eidē* or otherwise) are discussed as something specific, especially in the *Parmenides*. Forms belong to the upper level(s) of Plato's universe. And the lower level(s) are not set aside for replicas of them. But the continuity of and between levels must be kept in mind, as must the analogy between Ideal Forms and possible Forms of a lower status.

As we saw above (section 4), the divided line suggests a direct correspondence between levels (b) and (c). The latter consists of physical, sensibly manifest things, a neutral category, neither good nor bad as such. In other words, these are things that are neither good nor bad in themselves, only instrumentally so, if at all, though the text itself is silent about their possible misuse or ugliness (*Republic* 6,510a). It is easy to infer, as we are prepared to do, that segment (b) of the line represents, though broadly and vaguely, what we call 'Conceptual Forms'. And it is reasonable to claim (as will be fleshed out in section 10) that no Platonic Form stands for the 'bad', and none, again, for the 'trivial'.

Relative importance, or value, is key here: Not all concepts are interesting to Plato. Not even all Conceptual Forms are of equal relevance in Plato's universe. Some are more important than others. This is largely a reflection of the differential importance already existing at the phenomenal level. But Conceptual Forms stand for relatively 'reliable' things; they are not objects for conjecture or fantasy (as level (d) is on the line).

Plato seems to regard what we have called 'Conceptual Forms' as objects for opinion (albeit rational thought), not for noetic knowledge (*Timaeus* 51d–e; cf. *Republic* 5,475e–480a and the divided line).

Here, it is worth reiterating that the two-level vision, with its sliding scales, does allow concepts a partial approximation to Ideal Forms, denied by the customary (Parmenidean) 'either/or' logic. Concepts may, as it happens, be used in contexts where they resemble Ideal Forms, even taking on some of the features enumerated in the preceding section. They then acquire a higher dignity, so to speak, than ordinary concepts. They become Conceptual Forms. The acquired

⁴³ See the discussion of the divided line above (section 4). Conceptual Forms, given their plenitude and their possibly exhaustive coverage of phenomenal experience, just may be Plato's answer to Parmenides' emphasis on the importance of not underrating apparently trivial candidates for abstraction (*Parmenides* 130e). Trivialities (see the *Sophist* and the *Statesman*), however, probably interested the Academy more than they did Plato.

dignity that marks this transformation also confirms their ontological status as suprasensible abstractions, perhaps with a few other impressive attributes, and thus secures for them a ranking higher up on Plato's stratification of reality.

Working with a two-level vision of reality, Plato is likely to have intuitively designed Conceptual Forms close to Ideal Forms, whether or not the term *eidos* (*idea*) is explicitly used. Here are some samples (from a vast assortment)⁴⁴ of *eidos* referring to a Conceptual Form, easily mistaken for an Ideal Form, if the criteria for the latter are not taken strictly into account: *Gorgias* 503e (*dēmiourgoi blepontes pros ... eidos ti*); *Cratylus* 389a–b, 390b (on the *eidos* of the carpenter's shuttle); cf. the apparent revelation at *Republic* 10,596a ("we are in the habit of positing a single *eidos* for the various *polla* to which we give the same name"), followed by the rather playful example at 10,596b–608b (on the *eidos* and *idea* of 'bed', made by the *phutourgos*⁴⁵ and imitated by the carpenter, and, the result, in turn, by the artist, etc.); cf. also *Timaeus* 51c (on the possibility of an *eidos* for every object); *Theaetetus* 148d (*dunamis*); *Sophist* 248a (*hoi tōn eidōn philoi*, referring to Academic radicals), 253d (on the dialectician distinguishing *eidē* in dihaeretics); *Statesman* 258e (on the statesman, king, master, and so on, as one); *Epistle* 6,322d (*hē eidōn sophia*, probably including both Ideal Forms and Conceptual Forms, as well as dihaeretics).

The same applies to the less common *idea* (e.g., *Phaedo* 104d, *Phaedrus* 246a), but, here, the connotation of Ideal Form is perhaps more prominent.⁴⁶

Plato was comfortable with ambiguity, as, for example, his use of irony and play suggests. No wonder *eidos* can be found, in the same context, standing for an Ideal Form as well as a Conceptual Form.⁴⁷

To place the terminology in the context of the divided line, we may note that the term *eidos* is used in a broad sense for invisible objects (*Republic* 6,510c) and for classes of visible ones (6,510d), all the while pointing to abstract conceptuality (6,511c).

Sometimes we find markers other than *eidos* indicating the approximation of a concept to a Form. See, for instance, *Phaedrus* 260a (and 261c–d, *ta*

⁴⁴ See the lists in des Places (1964, 159–61).

⁴⁵ This rare term seems to stand for the demiurge of the entities of segment (b) on the divided line. See section 4 above; cf. also n. 31 above.

⁴⁶ For this controversial issue, see Ross (1951, *passim*), Guthrie (1975, 114–21; 1978, 19–29, and *passim*), and the list in des Places (1964, 260–61). Cf. the possibly playful point at *Theaetetus* 203e, which is not directly concerned with Forms.

⁴⁷ The parade example is *Republic* 4,445c. See section 7.2 below.

ontōs agatha, etc., to *dikaion*); *Republic* 3,401c (some craftsmen attempt to reach the *phusis* of *to kalon*, etc., cf. 402c), 4,438c–439b (*epistēmē autē*, compared to thirst); *Parmenides* 133d–e (*autos doulos, ho esti doulos*); *Sophist* 235e (*alēthēs summetria*, cf. *Statesman* 284d, *auto t'akribes*); *Timaeus* 30c (*ta noēta zōia*, cf. 37c); *Philebus* 59c (the pure, true, etc., and their cognates); *Epistle* 7,342a–344d (the 'philosophical digression', with the circle as an example of a Conceptual Form, cf. 342c).

It is often impossible for us, and probably was for Plato as well, to say precisely when a concept receives the connotation of a Form. Take, for instance, *to dikaion*. In Greek, it is sometimes synonymous with *dikaiosunē* (righteousness as an ideal human virtue), but it also implies what is right, whether in general or in a given situation or simply in theory (cf. the German *das Rechte*). Or consider *to kalon*, or any of the many nuances of *epistēmē*. Such value concepts become easily identified with Ideal Forms, if their reference is not clearly specified. The question of immanence or transcendence is largely *non liquet*.

We also leave another much-debated question open: Were Platonic theories of Forms more Socratic early on and less so later? That is to say, were they, in their beginnings, more dependent on the Socratic search for moral truth, or, as is alleged just as often, on craftsmen's and artists' search for models? To put it differently, are they better captured by the *eidos* approach, perhaps as with Conceptual Forms, or by the *auto* approach, as with Ideal Forms? Since chronology is not our concern here, we prefer a Platonic open-ended 'both/and'.

7.2. Opposition and Polarisation

Contrary or contradictory concepts of positive and negative value are often contrasted in Plato's works, but, normally, only as concepts, not as Forms. To some extent, this is a rhetorical device for intensifying their sense. The tendency is to put the positive term first. There are many examples of this, including the following: *Charmides* 169b (*epistēmē* of *epistēmē* and *anepistēmosunē*), 174c (*epistēmē* of *to kakon te kai agathon*);⁴⁸ *Meno* 72a (manifestations of *aretē* and *kakia*); *Phaedo* 60b, 71a, 103b, and *passim* (opposites arise from one another, as *hēdu* from *lupē*, *dikaioteron* from *adikōteron*, etc.); *Republic* 3,402c (guardians must

⁴⁸ See the *Lysis* (216d–218c), where the somewhat ironical discussion of opposites, including *to kalon* and *to kakon*, brings with it the term *parousia* (217b), yet without a clear reference to Ideal Forms. Cf. n. 47 above. See further *Euthydemus* 301a–b.

be able to recognise *ta tēs sōphrosunēs eidē kai andreias ... kai ta toutōn enantia*, certainly not implying Ideal Forms); *Sophist* 247a–e (some are said to have a presence of *dikaiosunē* in their soul, others, the opposite); *Symposium* 209b (bringing forth with *to kalon*, never with *to aischron*).

Such cases usually have nothing to do with Ideal Forms. We are, however, on occasion, tempted to regard the first member of a pair of opposites as representing an Ideal Form. This applies particularly to Relational Forms (see section 8). But there are other occurrences of the same nature.

For example, in the 'existential digression' of the *Theaetetus* (172c–179b), the two *paradeigmata* of life (176e) primarily concern the general orientation toward models of behaviour, not Ideal Forms. Still, at some point (175c), *autē dikaiosunē* slips in, together with its opposite, *adikia*.

A good example is *Republic* 5,475e–476e. Opening the discussion on true philosophers, Socrates contrasts the opposites *kalon* and *aischron*. Similarly, he says that each of the *eidōs* (5,476a3) of *dikaion*, *adikon*, *agathon*, *kakon*, etc., is one, but that (in *koinōnia*) their manifestations are many. He then centres on the philosopher's orientation toward *to kalon* (5,476b), explicitly taken as an Ideal Form. A reasonable interpretation is to take *eidōs* at 5,476a only in the sense of a concept, which can naturally have opposites. This passage seems to illustrate the famous *apo skopias* reflection of Socrates, looking back, as if 'from a lookout', over the dialogic ground covered, and declaring that there is one *eidōs* of *aretē*, and an infinite number (of *eidē*) of *kakia* (4,445c).⁴⁹ Here, the term *eidōs* is used with a rather typical Platonic ambiguity: Uniqueness refers to an Ideal Form, plurality, to various concepts (types, kinds).

Again, in the *Republic*, specifically in the final book, where we encounter one of Plato's proofs for the immortality of the soul (10,608d–611e), Socrates contends that everything susceptible of and to destruction has an inherent *to kakon* (*xumphantōn*, 10,609a) that brings about its destruction. But the inherent evil of the soul, namely, *adikia*, turns out to be incapable of destroying it. Plato never refers to an Ideal Form of the soul, though its contacts with the higher level are obvious. At any rate, this curious piece of argument suggests that negative Forms do not reach the uppermost level of Plato's universe.

⁴⁹ See, for example, the *Philebus* (12c): many *morphai* of *hēdonē*, but one term for it. See also the *Sophist* (256e): many *eidē* of being, innumerable ones of non-being. The language used in the Cave does not reach the Forms; see Harte (2007, 195–215).

8. Relational Forms

Relational Forms can, in principle, be spotted, in the dialogues where they occur, as contrasting pairs of relational universal concepts.⁵⁰ The fact that they may appear on first impression to be little more than opposite terms can frustrate a search in any dialogue. One pitfall is the ever-present possibility of false positives grounded in the abundance of dialectical occasions for contrasting terms, or concepts, which usually turn out to be just that and nothing more.

But the search can be tricky even upon correctly diagnosing dialogues where Relational Forms would be sure to be present. Two such dialogues take us on a terminological merry-go-round between the *auto* (or 'true being', etc.) expressions, relational universal concepts, and the *eidōs* label: *Phaedo* and *Parmenides*.

In the *Phaedo*, the first of the sections concerned with Ideal Forms (65d–66a) operates only with the *auto* type, and the examples are limited to concepts of positive value. But Relational Forms are ushered in with talk of similarity and dissimilarity (74a ff.). As noted above (section 4), these are not charged with intrinsic value. Returning to Ideal Forms, in the second, longer section (100b ff.), the term *megethos* (100e) is taken as a relational concept, and contrasted with *smikrotēs*.⁵¹ The extended search for a proof of the immortality of the soul embraces the terms *eidōs* and *idea* for apparently the same entities, but the focus is on etiological and relational correlatives, notably: large and small; hot and cold; odd and even. The logic of the argument is controversial,⁵² but what is important for our purposes is that Plato is concerned with the universal dynamics of Forms, and that the first member of the relational pairs (large, hot, odd) dominates when contrasted with its counterpart (small, cold, even).⁵³ Both are concepts, or possibly Conceptual Forms (either as *eidōs* or as *idea*).⁵⁴ However, when contrasted

⁵⁰ See the discussion, with references, in Thesleff (1999, 74–90 [= 2009, 457–72]), where they are called 'categories', following Plotinus.

⁵¹ The *deuteros plous* (*Phaedo* 99c) probably signifies Plato's own autobiographical shift from Presocratic mechanistic explanations to general theories of Forms, and not specifically a new approach to the latter. For problems in taking *auto to ison* as just an Ideal Form, see Sedley (2007, 82). Relational Forms are manifested with sliding scales; see further below in this section.

⁵² See Alican (2012, 435–50); Denyer (2007, 87–96); Erler (2007, 608–11).

⁵³ See Thesleff (1999, 7–10, 11–25, 74–90, 120–21 [= 2009, 393–96, 397–410, 457–72, 501–02]).

⁵⁴ Identifying the correlative components in each of certain pairs of Relational Forms (large

in a pair, though each one lacks intrinsic value, the first member easily presents itself, at least to the Greek mind in antiquity, and not just to Plato, as stronger and better, and hence, closer to Ideal Forms.

In the *Parmenides*, the presentation follows a different pattern. The discussion of Forms opens (128e) with ostensible Ideal Forms characterised by *auto* (and *ho estin*) and combined with the *eidos* label (*idea* also occurs, but *eidos* quickly and decisively rises above all other designations). Already impressed with the insightfulness of the young Socrates in distinguishing Forms from particulars, Parmenides quickly comes to the point: What kinds of things have separate (i.e., upper-level) *eidē*? Socrates first mentions Forms that we have here called 'Relational Forms', namely, relational universal concepts, such as one and many, similarity and difference, rest and motion (129d–e, cf. 130b). A start with such concepts anticipates, dramatically, the Eleatic problem of the one versus the many, which turns out to be the underlying theme of the dialogue. To the relational universal concepts brought up by Socrates, Parmenides adds concepts familiar to us as Ideal Forms, namely, the just, the beautiful, and the good (130b), all readily accepted by Socrates as having separate *eidē*. The problem comes with the uncertainty of Socrates regarding the status of physical objects, such as man, fire, and water (130c) — we may call them 'Conceptual Forms' — but he insists that trivial things, such as hair, mud, and dirt (130c), cannot have *eidē* of their own. Something of an *aporia* sets in as Socrates admits unease at the inconsistency of admitting Forms for some things but not for others. This prompts the prophetic remark of Parmenides that Socrates will eventually, through philosophy, learn to appreciate the entire spectrum of things considered, never treating any of them as unworthy of attention (130e). The semblance of suggestion masks clever avoidance of either confirming or denying that they all have Forms. There is no commitment, just encouragement. The invitation of the passage to embrace the full range of phenomena, despite having already repudiated Forms for certain types of things, and having done so with conviction, points to the intricacies of a

vs. small, hot vs. cold, odd vs. even) as Conceptual Forms points to at least some overlap, possibly even suggesting that Relational Forms in general are not so much a discrete division of Forms as they are a subdivision of Conceptual Forms. They would, on this interpretation, be Conceptual Forms that happen to be paired up as universal relational categories. However, we do not believe that this requires, or even warrants, compressing our classification from three to two divisions. The lateral perspective of Plato's two levels, as reflected in Relational Forms, opens up a new dimension for understanding the universe (as discussed further below in the present section). This function of Relational Forms is not just important (for Plato) but unique as well. We therefore believe that Plato himself embraced all three divisions in the course of a lifelong preoccupation with abstraction.

proper understanding and classification of Forms. However, we may still doubt Plato's own interest in trivialities.⁵⁵

Parmenides' subsequent elenchus operates chiefly with transcendent *eidē*, as does the logical (philosophical) exercise that occupies the second part of the dialogue. The elenchus involves Relational Forms treated as Ideal Forms (though, here, without neglecting the second, inferior member in the relevant pairs, thus bringing in smallness, plurality, and otherness), in addition to Ideal Forms proper, such as knowledge, beauty, and the good (134a–b). Conceptual Forms also seem to enter into the picture (133c–d), but there are no clear examples of negative Forms.⁵⁶ As most interpreters agree, the elenchus can reasonably be taken as a preparation for the discussion in the *Sophist* of the *sumplokē* of *eidē*. We see here the involvement of both Relational Forms and some Conceptual Forms in the complex of Ideal Forms.

As already noted above (section 4), Relational Forms also come into play in the *Sophist* (254d–e), where the categories covered are introduced as *megista genē* (soon also termed *eidē* and *ideai*). In the *Timaeus* (35a–36d), they become elements of the world-soul, thereby giving it a mediatory but good-oriented function in the universe.

Drawing on these two dialogues, the list of examples from the *Phaedo* and the *Parmenides* can be expanded as follows: being (*ousia*) / being something (*einai ti*); one (*hen, monon*) / many, number (*polla, plēthos, arithmos*); sameness (*tauton*) / difference / (*thateron, heteron, allon*); stability, rest (*stasis*,⁵⁷ *hestanai, hēsouchazein*, etc.) / change, motion (*kinēsis, gignesthai*, etc.); bigger (*meizon, mallon*) / smaller (*elaton, hētton*); whole (*holon*) / parts, divisibility (*meros, meriston*).

The examples can easily be multiplied further, bearing in mind that the entities are not intrinsically value-laden as in Ideal Forms, and that they must always be taken in pairs as done above. They concern most concepts and all phenomena. They are not true opposites, but they reflect the intertwinings of Plato's asymmetrical, two-level universe — seen laterally, as it were.

⁵⁵ See n. 43 above.

⁵⁶ The curious pair of 'being a master' and 'being a slave' (*Parmenides* 133e) is suggestive of Relational Forms. Yet the context is logical rather than axiological; i.e., the emphasis is on conceptual contrast rather than relative value.

⁵⁷ The ambivalence of the opposite meanings of this term may be part of Platonic play.

This lateral aspect allows us to term both members of the pairs 'Forms'. They are both abstractions, but the lower member is far from Ideal Forms.

We may also turn to the *Theaetetus* (185c–186c), where we find the suggestion, set forth by Socrates' young partner, with encouragement from Socrates, that what we have called 'Relational Forms' constitute a prerequisite for abstract thinking about the All.⁵⁸ The examples that follow are not Ideal Forms. They occur as contrasted pairs (with the first member pointing to a higher level), and they lack important characteristics of Ideal Forms (see section 6).

Reflections on Relational Forms, especially on the first member of each pair, may occasionally bring to mind Ideal Forms, as in young Socrates' opening ponderings in the *Parmenides* (cf. similarity in the *Phaedo*, above). Yet this would take us down the wrong track. They are, more than anything, 'categories' or 'kinds of aspect' (*genē* is a more appropriate term than *eidē*) covering the two levels.⁵⁹ The second member (many, movement, difference, etc.) can potentially be associated with bad things or evil qualities (see section 10), though it does not represent anything bad in itself. In the *Sophist*, such concepts are employed to explain the *sumplokē* of *eidē*, considered, in the first place, to be abstract concepts in the employment of language, and in particular (i.e., otherness) to make room for negation. The latter approach also concerns ostensible Ideal Forms (notably, *Sophist* 257d–258a).

Unfortunately, the use of the term *eidos* (and *idea*) in the context of Relational Forms, and the occasional explicit allusion to Ideal Forms, especially in Socrates' opening remarks in the *Parmenides*, have had a snowball effect in conceptual confusion, as the clutter became perpetuated through contradictory interpretations throughout the course of Plato scholarship. A far less confusing alternative has been to label pretty much any abstraction a 'Form', which can look surprisingly credible with all the capitalisation and scare quotes.

⁵⁸ After abruptly displacing the Good where one might naturally expect to find it at the top of the divided line (*Republic* 6,509d–511e), the unhypothetical first principle of the All remains confined to the famous metaphor, never to be heard of again, at least not outside that context. Much of the modern literature is thus understandably focused on whether the Good and the All are somehow the same: either two aspects of the same thing, or two ways of thinking about the same thing, or outright identical. The scholarly debate to date seems to be leaning toward the identity interpretation. See Nails (2013, 88–101) both for a succinct survey of the literature and for a substantive contribution challenging the mainstream interpretation.

⁵⁹ Thesleff (1999, 74–90 [= 2009, 457–72]).

9. First Principles

A further source of confusion is the problem of the two foundational principles (*archai, prōta*) Plato is said to have communicated orally: the one (*hen*) and the indefinite dyad (*ahoristos duas*). The indefinite dyad is also known as the 'great-and-small', not to mention comparable expressions capturing its mathematical essence as being open (infinite) in both directions, toward greatness as well as toward smallness, toward more as well as toward less.⁶⁰

The relation of these first principles to the theory of Forms became a major concern among Plato scholars as the Tübingen school made inroads in the 1960s into documenting the plausibility and importance of the so-called unwritten teaching (*agrapha dogmata*), the purported outlet for the exposition and discussion of these matters, which are not to be found in the canonical corpus, except in a rudimentary fashion that requires interpretation, if not also interpolation and extrapolation.

Recently, it has been argued that the two principles, together with a theory of ideal numbers (a Pythagorean mystical *tetraktus*, i.e., $1+2+3+4=10$, constituting the basis of arithmology and geometry), were a rather late pythagorising thought experiment by Plato, in fact, an application of the two-level model.⁶¹ Yet, late or otherwise, this complex of principles and theories should be neither confused with Relational Forms nor wholly divorced from them. On the other hand, apart from the move toward ideal numbers — which Speusippus may have abandoned (Aristotle: *Metaphysics* 1086a3–6) — these developments are not relevant to Ideal Forms.

However, we know that some early commentators (probably members of Plato's Academy) came to take the indefinite dyad as somehow symbolising matter and evil.⁶² This trend corresponds to speculations about a metaphysically active negative (bad, evil) psychic force, an outlook on the rise in the Academy toward the end of Plato's life. The influence of Persian thought is likely to have been in operation here. Reverberations of such speculations can be seen in new interpretations of the indefinite dyad, especially on the strength of textual support

⁶⁰ See Reale (1990, 67–68), among others, for terminological alternatives for the indefinite dyad.

⁶¹ Thesleff (1999, 91–107 [= 2009, 473–88]).

⁶² See, for example, Aristotle (*Physics* 203a4–16, 209b; *Metaphysics* 988a14–16, 1091b31–35).

from the introduction of a secondary (bad) world-soul in the *Laws* (10,896e–897d) and *Epinomis* (988c–e).⁶³

10. Negative Forms?

Any attempt to classify the Forms, or, more accurately, any attempt to sort through the variety of constructs that are brought under the rubric of Forms, must deal with the possibility of negative Forms. The problem, of course, is not with the possibility of negative concepts, for these are admittedly legion, but they are not Forms. Nor do we need to worry about the possibility of negative Relational Forms, because these come in pairs of intrinsically value-neutral correlative elements standing in a complementary relationship that exhausts, and thereby represents, basic, or universal, categories. Despite the hierarchical nature of the correlation, the lower, or subordinate, element is not negative, especially not in the sense of evil. It is merely at a preferential disadvantage that may be psychological or cultural, whereby positive thoughts about the element typically listed first (because it is preferred) relegate the one listed second to a subordinate complementary status. All this is consistent with Plato's two-level vision of the universe. This just leaves Ideal Forms and (secondarily) the Conceptual Forms associated with them, and this is precisely where the problem would be if any negative Forms were to be discovered in their midst. Ideal Forms are, by our definition, oriented toward that which is good and desirable, and anything to diminish their goodness and desirability would overturn our classification.

Indeed, a few menacing examples of apparently negative Ideal Forms stand out. The critical reader may benefit from contemplating the most salient passages.

The most conspicuous case is the beginning of Socrates' elenchus in the *Euthyphro* (5c–6e), where he tries to elicit from Euthyphron a definition of piety. In contrast to other definitional dialogues, we find here a logically superfluous yet dramatically essential emphasis on the opposite of the concept sought, namely, the unholy (*to asebes, to anhosion*), which is provided with markers suggesting an Ideal Form (pointed *auto, idea, eidos*, cf. 15d). Plato must have been teasing his audience. Even ancient critics may have noticed the terminological slide: The otherwise reliable ms. B reads *hosiotēta* at *Euthyphro* 5d4, perhaps as a reflection

⁶³ For a more genuinely Platonic background, see the *Timaeus* (48a) and the *Sophist* (268c–275c). For why the *Laws* might not be so genuinely Platonic, see Nails and Thesleff (2003, 14–29).

of an attempt to refer the entire sentence to *to hosion*, not to *to anhosion*. But note the play with refined terminology (for instance, 7c, 9d, 11a, 12c, 13e, 14c). The dialogue is certainly not 'very early', as many modern critics have assumed.⁶⁴ It is unthinkable that Plato would have believed in an Ideal Form for *to anhosion*. He seems even to have been in some doubt about *to hosion*, traditionally included among the cardinal virtues, as in *Protagoras* 329c and *Phaedo* 75d (with *auto*). In the *Republic*, it is not a central virtue but part of *dikaiosunē* (e.g., 4,443a).

Another passage for contemplation comes in the *Republic*, where Socrates asserts that guardians-in-training must learn to recognise the *eidē* of *sōphrosunē*, *andreia*, etc., and of their opposites (3,402b–403b, 3,409b, cf. 5,476a). What is meant here must be the manifestations of such qualities, not the qualities existing in and of themselves as Ideal Forms. The *eidē* and the opposites in question are just concepts, dispositions, or behaviour patterns. The *megista mathēmata*, which include Ideal Forms, come later (6,503e, 6,504a).

The *Phaedo*, to expand on what has already been said about it above (section 8), is one of the most tempting places to look for a negative Ideal Form. The dialogue appears to bring together everything we have here distinguished as this or that type of abstraction, which, upon close inspection, may or may not call for designation as a Form of any kind. And the temptation to look there is intensified by its preoccupation with opposition, repeatedly contrasting one concept with another.

For all that, negative Ideal Forms are nowhere to be found in the dialogue. An introductory section on Forms mentions only Ideal Forms (65d–68d). The first argument on immortality (70c–72e) is concerned with opposition on the level of physical reactions and particulars rather than Forms. The second argument (72e–77a), from recollection, does not operate primarily with opposition. The third argument (78b–80b), commonly known as the analogic argument, proceeds with pairs of relational universal concepts: noncomposite and composite; constant and changing; invisible and visible; soul and body; and so on. This leaves the final ar-

⁶⁴ Critics assigning such an early date to the *Euthyphro* are too numerous to acknowledge with full publication details. To cite just one example, Ledger (1989) places the dialogue in second place overall, preceded only by the *Lysis* (comprehensive list in 224–25, cf. 229). For further examples, see Thesleff (1982, 8–17 [= 2009, 154–63]), who provides a conspectus of chronologies cataloguing 132 attempts at establishing the production sequence of the Platonic corpus. One of those attempts (1982, 16 [= 2009, 162]) belongs to Thesleff himself, reflecting his earlier work (1967), but see Thesleff (1982, 204–05, 223–26 [= 2009, 351–52, 369–71]) for his later views specifically on dating the *Euthyphro*. For related issues in chronology, see n. 4 above. Cf. also the latter part of n. 10 above.

gument (105b–107a), where the prime candidate for a negative Ideal Form would seem to be death. The well-known conclusion of the argument is that the soul, as the bringer of life, does not admit death, as the opposite of life, because, so we are told beforehand, the soul's connection with life is an interminable one: Life is not simply a phase the soul goes through but an essential property of the soul.⁶⁵

This is a controversial argument. But what is important for our immediate purposes is the nature of an asymmetrical contrast between life and death. The text bears out the interpretation of a Form of life (106d), but this does not mean that death is to be treated in the same way. Even life is not quite like the typical Ideal Form (the just, the beautiful, and so on), and this leaves little room for its opposite to ascend to that status.

In the main, the *Phaedo* tends to approach all Forms from the perspective of relational universal concepts. This makes them Relational Forms in the classification proposed and defended here. The first member of each pair (similarity, largeness, hotness, oddness, life) may approximate to Ideal Forms, but the opposite characteristics do not elevate the correlative elements at the lower end to the status of Ideal Forms.

The *Phaedrus* (250a) mentions *to adikōn*, but this cannot be an Ideal Form, as it is simply a reference to an unfortunate turn toward unrighteousness in a soul that has already failed in its cosmic journey toward the upper regions, where it would otherwise aspire to dwell with the gods in the presence of Ideal Forms. *To adikōn* is simply a negative concept. The later mention of a single *eidos* of *to aphron* must likewise be dismissed, coming as it does in the course of a brief commentary (265d–266c) on the method of dihaeresis, where the focus is on concepts or Conceptual Forms. This may be confirmed by the extensive dihaereses in the *Sophist*.

The *Sophist* (246a–247e) presents a parallel case in point, as the Eleatic Visitor argues for the noetic and incorporeal *eidē* constituting true *ousia*, and offers as examples (247a–b) the presence of *dikaioṣunē*, *phronēsis*, etc., and of their opposites, in the soul to which they (as primary entities) give their character. Nevertheless, the emphasis is on the abstract quality of concepts, not specifically on Ideal Forms, though the latter serve as models.

The search for the elusive evil twin of Ideal Forms can go on forever, or at least as far as one can continue to identify potential candidates in the text, though exhaustive treatment here cannot be a practical goal.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ The soul is associated with the upper level, but there is no Ideal Form for it.

⁶⁶ A set of observations cutting across multiple dialogues may provide additional insight into

11. Conclusion

We have been concerned with Platonic Forms. The importance of this issue for Plato's own thinking has perhaps been overrated for centuries. But it is part of his ontology and epistemology, where intuitive visions and strict reasoning come into play with equal vigour, and, often, with equal subtlety.

We submit that the constructs commonly known as Plato's Forms do not all belong together. They originate in three separate attempts to explore abstraction from a philosophical perspective. These are distinct but overlapping efforts, all part of a continuous thought experiment geared toward understanding a single universe with basically two ontological levels, and modified as needed, either to pursue new insights or to rethink old ones. The building blocks of reality emerging from the separate attempts have come down to us as a massive collection of undifferentiated units. And scholars have been content to continue to treat this as a homogeneous collection with each element essentially the same as any other. Getting out of that habit promises to enrich our understanding of the main lines of Plato's thought.

The revision required is to identify the proper divisions in the heretofore fungible Forms. Our classification recognises three such divisions:

- Ideal Forms: noetic realities with superlative intrinsic value, especially moral value, but also aesthetic and religious value.
- Conceptual Forms: universals to which Plato assigns objective reality, but not intrinsic value, though positive and negative connotations occur, and ontological ascent is possible through approximation to Ideal Forms.
- Relational Forms: correlative pairs of relational universal concepts employed in the pursuit of a structural understanding of the cosmos, the first element of each pair being capable of ontological ascent, much like the case of Conceptual Forms.

the question of negative Forms. One such wide-ranging theme is the contrast between pleasure and pain. Pleasure is not, on the whole, regarded very highly by Plato. The most graphic reminder of this is the legendary chariot's unruly horse (*Phaedrus* 253c–254e), chastised repeatedly for seeking pleasure (cf. *Phaedo* 69b, 83b, and *passim*; *Timaeus* 69c–d). Occasionally, however, we find hints of the possibility of an Ideal Form for pleasure. In the *Protagoras* (351d–357e), Socrates argues that the art of *metrētikē* is a condition for reaching the good in pleasure (*hēdonē autē* 351d; cf. *Statesman* 283d; *Philebus* 55e). In the *Republic* (9,586b), true and pure pleasure is placed within reach of the wise. In the *Philebus*, true pleasure is ranked high throughout the dialogue, though the discussion only peripherally touches on Forms. Even if there is an Ideal Form for pleasure, a negative Ideal Form for pain, or for any other evil, is not to be found anywhere in the corpus.

Although these are not actually three different kinds of Forms, retaining that designation is convenient for the continuity of discussion. Otherwise, Ideal Forms are the real thing, the other two being glorified concepts far short of the perfection associated with noetic reality. They can indeed take on some of the features of Ideal Forms, but not as a rule, and never the attribute of positive intrinsic value.

Hence, while the difference between a concept and a Conceptual Form is significant, at least in terms of the second-order language we use in trying to figure out what Plato is doing, the same thing can sometimes be treated as a concept and sometimes as a Conceptual Form. Plato can move in a flash from hot thing to hotness to the hot itself, and it is not always easy to see which sense is in the forefront, but it is easy to see that there are differences. The same holds for Relational Forms, particularly for the dominant element in each pairing.

We believe we have made a reasonable appeal for this classification. Naturally, there will be reservations and objections, especially since our proposal, in essence, limits Forms proper to Ideal Forms. Their cognates among Conceptual Forms and Relational Forms reflect only some of their characteristics. The strength of our thesis is best reflected in a famous vision: the imagery of what awaits the soul of the philosopher upon the completion of its cosmic ascent (*Phaedrus* 248a–249d). When the enlightened soul joins the gods in admiration of the Forms, it will behold justice, temperance, knowledge, and such (247d), not horseness or wetness or muckness. Plato's poetry is all about the Ideal Forms, transcendent and intelligible and immutable and altogether precious, all culminating in the Good. Among mortals, philosophers alone are able to attain them.

This is not to deny a place to Plato's first principles, the one and the indefinite dyad, but these seem to have been a late pythagorising experiment built on the two-level model, and we do not know enough about them to incorporate them as essential ingredients in a working model of Plato's overall vision. As for negative Ideal Forms, Plato makes no room for them, denying negative concepts the possibility of ascent to the noetic level, which is inherently opposed to negativity.

We further contend that our reconstruction of the conceptual apparatus Plato uses to make sense of the world has a distinct advantage in bringing out the axiological orientation of his worldview. This is an area where the simple contrast between Forms and particulars falls short. That black-and-white contrast, in turn, is a legacy and shortcoming of the traditional interpretation of Plato as a thoroughgoing metaphysical dualist. The ultimate solution, therefore, is to abandon the dualism of two worlds in favour of the asymmetrical and complementary hierarchy of two levels, providing all the room necessary for the stratification

of reality in correspondence with what we get from the text, without the typical problems we run into with the traditional interpretation.

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**SET IN STONE?
SOCIO-ECONOMIC REFLECTIONS ON HUMAN AND ANIMAL
RESOURCES IN MONUMENTAL ARCHITECTURE OF LATE
BRONZE AGE TIRYNS IN THE ARGOS PLAIN, GREECE**

ANN BRYSSBAERT

While Mycenaean monumental architecture has been well-studied, its potential impact and contribution towards a better understanding of the socio-economic and political situation and changes taking place in the Late Bronze Age (LBA) palatial and post-palatial periods in the Argos Plain has received less attention. Both external (drought, plague, earthquakes, conflict, catastrophic erosion) and internal (conflict, social issues visible in burnt destruction layers) factors affecting and eventually causing the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces have been investigated,¹ and further studies are on-going.² The elites and other parties with vested interests were able to mobilize large-scale interlinked human and natural resources to implement the known monumental building programmes in the Argos Plain. These activities, however, have not been drawing much attention from a technological and socio-economic perspective despite the fact that the employment of these resources may have had large over-all implications on the society as a whole and may have impacted on the overall socio-economic well-being of the region at the close of the 13th and into the 12th c. BC.

In the 'Set in Stone?' project the built environment is discussed from a distinct human perspective and the constructions themselves are regarded as products of multiple human interactions. Through studying practical building processes and integrating these technical and socio-economic data sets within the broader

¹ Summarized in Bennet 2013, 253–54.

² For example, 'HERACLES', the archaeo-seismological programme at Tiryns and Midea since 2012, directed by J. Maran and K.-G. Hinzen: <http://www.seismo.uni-koeln.de/projects/heracles/index.htm>.

demographic changing situation of the region it is possible to assess the human and natural resources required to carry out the monumental Mycenaean building programmes in the Argive Plain in the period from c. 1600 to 1100/1070 BC. The 'Set in Stone?' project was started in 2011 to study the processes resulting in these awe-evoking citadels, *tholoi*, waterworks, roads and bridges as we know them in the landscape. Its diachronic approach aims to contribute to our understanding of the socio-political shifts and strategies that were staged top-down *and* bottom-up, and wants to illustrate the intimate and dynamic interdependent relationships that people had with their (built) environment over time. It combines the *chaîne opératoire*³ and cross-craft interaction⁴ approaches to capture all practical building processes and inherent social practices. The project analyses the data by applying fine-tuned and customized architectural energetics,⁵ an econometric modelling procedure translating the material remains of buildings into cost-estimates with labour time-units invested, expressed in man-days (md).⁶ Architectural energetics investigates each step executed in the building process (from quarrying, through transporting to constructing and decorating),⁷ and it estimates costs involved in both human and animal labour which were required to complete each task and the volume of materials needed to accomplish each project. This bottom-up approach is merged with published data collected via surveys and Venetian published census information, archaeobotanical data on land-use activities and capacities, geomorphological and climatic considerations⁸ and mortuary studies (numbers, gender, health and diet)⁹ from the Argolid in order to arrive at a more holistic image of the economic mosaic of the Mycenaean society in the region, its changes over time and the subsistence and other products it may have provided to its population. Through revising and adapting existing total territory figures and land carrying capacity models,¹⁰ estimates of population numbers, density

³ After Leroi-Gourhan 1943–45.

⁴ See first McGovern 1989. For a combined approach, see Brysbaert 2007; 2008; 2011.

⁵ For the first usage at Tiryns, see Brysbaert 2014.

⁶ Abrams – Bolland (1999, 264–69) fully describe the definition and method and refer to person-days but since construction work was/is often done by men (see DeLaine 1997, 106), I employ the more standard term of man-day (md).

⁷ And, as such, it is very compatible with a *chaîne opératoire* approach as well, see also Brysbaert 2008; 2011; in press.

⁸ Esp. Zangger 1993; 1994.

⁹ Suggested in Bintliff 1989; see now Voutsaki & al. 2013 with references.

¹⁰ Bintliff 1989; 1997; Hansen 2006.

and distribution, as well as predictions of economic activity zones it will become feasible to get a more complete picture of the total population of the region. These data sets together may thus fill certain gaps *in-between* the well-known sites with monumental architecture, thus lending a voice to the 'silent majority' who constructed everything.¹¹

When tested against adapted land carrying capacity models¹² and aided by Linear B tablet analyses (e.g. on land tenure, food rations and labour management), these data may illuminate, diachronically, the local/regional resource potential in terms of construction labour input versus agricultural, domestic and other activities. The project employs the site of Tiryns as the principle case study to better understand the socio-political, economic, cultural structures of the Mycenaean society that were responsible for both the 'building' and the eventual demise of their palatial societies at the end of the LBA.

In the first study of the project I explored the role of the Lower Citadel or Unterburg wall (hereafter: UB wall), how it was constructed and by whom, and how it achieved both its defensive, socio-political and symbolic meanings.¹³ Both the performative and military characteristics as they are embedded in Cyclopean architecture of this kind have previously been emphasized and discussed in some detail.¹⁴ The practical logistics involved in constructing Cyclopean architecture, in general, have also been studied to some extent for the Argolid¹⁵ and these as-

¹¹ Cf. Cavanagh – Crouwel 2002.

¹² See, for example, Hansen 2006 for later periods than the Bronze Age, but see also Wright (2010, 250–53) on the potential usefulness of research on Mediterranean urbanism for the study of the Aegean Bronze Age microstates.

¹³ Brysbaert 2014.

¹⁴ On defensive aspects, see e.g. Grossmann 1967; 1980: based on his new observations and thus adapting earlier conclusions by Dörpfeld (e.g., 203 where they are discussed as storage areas). On the performative character of Tiryns citadel see especially the work by J. Maran 2006, 2012.

¹⁵ E.g., Cavanagh – Laxton 1981; Loader 1998; Cavanagh – Mee 1999; Wright 1978; 2006; Fitzsimons 2007; 2011. Fitzsimons (2007, 110–12) generalizes several aspects of the *chaîne opératoire* of constructing with large blocks, especially the transport. Wright (1978, 229 n. 329 with references) refers to local sources, too, but Cavanagh – Mee (1999, 95–96) mention the use of high quality conglomerate from the quarries c. 1.5 km from e.g. the Atreus Treasury. Geological studies, e.g., Varti-Matarangas & al. 2002, have shown that blocks used at Tiryns came from quarries such as the bedrock outcrop itself, but also from the quarries of Profitis Ilias (c. 1 km away), and the conglomerate is from the Panagia and Kalkani ridges near Mycenae or its quarries another 1.5 km away, thus c. 15–18 km from Tiryns. This fits well with Dörpfeld's (1886, 289) original suggestion that limestone was brought from places east and south of Tiryns.

pects stand directly in relation to how the structures were imbued with meaning and who was involved in producing such meanings and why.

Over the last century, opinions about the labour involvement in the construction programmes at Tiryns have been expressed¹⁶ but no systematic study has been conducted until now. In a pilot study I took a series of calibrated digital measurements forming the basic data sets from which it was possible to quantify several aspects related to architectural energetics of wall construction.¹⁷ These were complemented, combined and compared with existing data on the natural resources that people at Tiryns had at their disposal; the labour-constants used in the econometric calculations were derived from both Old¹⁸ and New World contexts.¹⁹ This first Tiryns-based study presented preliminary results addressing the questions about the types and minimum amounts of resources which would have been needed to construct the UB wall at Tiryns.²⁰ In order to estimate the costs and achievability of the building programme, I evaluated both the human and animal investments revolving around quarrying,²¹ the transport of materials

Küpper (1996, 5–6) suggests very nearby sources of stone extraction without providing details on the materials used at Tiryns. Even if a block of c. 13 ton needs to be moved just 1 km, this is hardly possible by 'rolling' (my quotation marks) it in place in Tiryns, as Fitzsimons's general remark suggests (2007, 112). In my opinion, his idea that construction using these massive blocks was a reduction of technical expertise cannot be supported: employing interlocking polygonal blocks required perhaps less shaping of the individual stones than the use of regular ashlar blocks but the technique also typically resulted in very stable walls, so each stone had to be carefully chosen to stop toppling or to avoid destabilizing other courses. On techniques of placing blocks in such walls: Grossmann 1967; Küpper 1996; Brysbaert 2014.

¹⁶ See, e.g., Müller 1930.

¹⁷ Brysbaert 2014: table 1.

¹⁸ Burford 1960; 1969; DeLaine 1997; Bessac 2007; De Haan 2009; Pakkanen 2013.

¹⁹ Abrams 1994; Abrams – Bolland 1999.

²⁰ Müller (1930, 208) suggests several decades for his 'third citadel'; Grossmann (1967) thinks that Müller's estimate is far too high but does not offer an alternative; Loader (1998, 65) suggests 5.5 years to construct the two faces of the circuit wall at Tiryns (but it is not clear whether she refers to the UB wall only), elsewhere she refers to almost 5 years for the entire circuit at Tiryns (1998, 69; again unclear what she means), and in appendix 3 she reports 55.9 years to construct entire Tiryns.

²¹ Contra Loader (1998, 67) who does not think that it is possible to calculate this, but instead, see DeLaine (1997, 109–22) who discusses the topic extensively; and Bessac (2007, 135–36) for extracting limestone blocks in Petra, Jordan; De Haan (2009, 3) on extracting masoned limestone blocks for Egyptian pyramid construction; Pakkanen (2013, 63–65) for Piraeus limestone quarrying calculations.

from the quarries to the site, and the construction of the actual UB wall in its most basic form; also, several models of how this construction was carried out were explored.

The emerging preliminary data sets and results have shown that the majority of stones employed for the UB wall likely came from the nearby quarries of Profitis Ilias, and these thus needed to be transported over approximately one km to the site, a large and necessarily organized effort not previously dealt with adequately.²² I discussed in detail the calculations for both human and animal efforts but it was beyond that paper's scope to investigate the more intangible issues of how these efforts may have impacted on societal issues as a whole and, more specifically, on the resources readily available at Tiryns itself, or whether the resources had to be recruited beyond the local area.

The aims of this paper are thus to investigate, first, the usefulness of draft animals in the context of transporting heavy building blocks from the quarries to the site and their general use in the local area. Second, attention is drawn to the limited information on architectural construction in the published Linear B tablets while architectural efforts, at least in the Argolid, are of such a pervasive nature that the tablets' silence needs to be explained. The data presented in this paper thus combines Linear B resources with information collected through a combined *chaîne opératoire* and architectural energetics approach to monumental building. Third, if one accepts that oxen pairs were indeed involved in the transport of building materials, and not just used in agriculture,²³ the question remains how these were recruited, by whom, who owned them and what did this mean socio-economically? Parallel information is thus further extracted from Near Eastern tablets on rearing, maintaining and employing oxen in heavy traction labour, and this is compared, where possible, with the Aegean Late Bronze Age construction projects. The 'Set in Stone?' project thus investigates, diachronically, the physical and social impacts of these monumental building programmes on local, regional and interregional scales in order to get insights in whether these building activities were manipulated by *various*, possibly competing, societal groups as means to achieve socio-political and economic independence and power. Below, the paper starts with a review (section 1) of the past literature on architectural studies

²² While transport may be ignorable for constructing at Mycenae (but see Cavanagh – Mee 1999, and note 15), it can be contested on the basis that large efforts of the entire *chaîne opératoire* of the wall's construction in Tiryns were delivered in time and human and animal resources, and thus had socio-economic impacts on people from the local and possibly regional communities who were involved in delivering these efforts (Brysbaert 2014).

²³ See Cavanagh – Mee 1999, 100.

in Tiryns and summarizes its achievements and lacunae. This is followed by the relevant Linear B textual evidence.

1. Current state of research and useful resources

Tiryns, whose citadel comprises c. 20,000 m², lies on a limestone hill outcrop sloping from the south to the north; it is c. 300 m long, 100 m wide and c. 22 m above sea-level. It was occupied since the Middle Neolithic period and it evolved into one of the largest Mycenaean palatial centres on the Greek mainland, and it possessed a major harbour, a still working dam constructed in the 13th century BC,²⁴ and two *tholoi*. A multi-phase palace with two Mycenaean *megara* occupied the Upper Citadel²⁵ and the last phase of the cyclopean fortifications around the entire hill dates to the mid-13th century BC.²⁶

The earliest contributions to architectural research of Tiryns²⁷ are still pivotal but neither construction techniques nor building materials have been covered thoroughly. Müller conducted major architectural studies on the citadel and the palace in the 1920s attempting to determine the different phases of the fortification walls. His insightful study discusses building techniques of the inner and outer surfaces of each wall, the relation between the walls, their strength and capacity to serve as a proper defensive system,²⁸ but the actual construction practices or any specific building materials were not covered in great detail.

Both Grossmann and Schnuchel worked on parts of the fortifications of the UB wall and beyond in the 1960s and 70s. Grossmann discusses the construction techniques of the wall as a whole and the defensive nature of the citadel.²⁹ Based on photogrammetry, Schnuchel and his team produced a series of very accurate drawings of several wall sections all over the citadel, with the ultimate aim of completing a 3D reconstruction of all documented wall sections.³⁰ Especially the western part of the UB wall received thorough attention and these data can

²⁴ Balcer 1974.

²⁵ Kilian 1987.

²⁶ Grossmann 1967; 1980; Maran 2008.

²⁷ Dörpfeld 1886; Schliemann 1886.

²⁸ Müller 1930, 15–20, esp. 17; but see Küpper 1996, 111.

²⁹ Grossmann 1967, 94; 1980.

³⁰ Schnuchel 1983 and the Tiryns Archive (Athens and Heidelberg).

be compared with new measurements of the northern tip and the eastern side of the UB wall. His report on the detailed description of its construction aids in understanding many other aspects of the UB wall as a whole as well.³¹ Despite its great value, however, Schnuchel's project was neither completed nor published, leaving several lacunae to be filled.

Kilian investigated substantial areas in the UB near the fortification walls and he discussed aspects of architectural planning in relation to the choice of the specific location where the palace needed to be constructed.³² He also studied evidence at Tiryns for a catastrophic earthquake dated to LH BIII1 or 2, as part of a widespread phenomenon in the Argolid.³³ Since this evidence is not without problems, it is of great interest also to this project and needs in-depth analysis, something which is ongoing at the time of writing.³⁴

Maran mentions the careful planning for the fortifications and other monumental parts of the citadel.³⁵ His excavations in the UB have reinvestigated areas near the walls and the gate in the north sector and revealed new features of both waterworks, drainage and wall construction near the northern tip of the UB. This aided in understanding the relation between the newly discovered underground passage and the North Gate³⁶ and it ties in usefully with earlier studies on waterworks and water management systems in and near Tiryns.³⁷ A very insightful overview of the different building phases and excavation history of Tiryns has also been published recently by A. Papadimitriou.³⁸

Very useful is T. Mühlenbruch's discussion of the post-palatial use and architectural constructions of the Tiryns citadel, especially the discussion of the 'Antenbau' and its importance within the walled area³⁹ but it does not expand on the techniques, construction materials, organisation or the personal involvement of the people in the making of this important construction. The 'Set in Stone?' project, therefore, aims to understand the relation of the palatial walled citadel

³¹ Schnuchel 1983, 403–11.

³² Kilian 1987, 33–34.

³³ Kilian 1996, 63.

³⁴ See note 2.

³⁵ Maran 2006b, 81–82.

³⁶ Maran 2008, 41–45, with contribution by Marzloff: 97–109; Maran 2009, 255–56.

³⁷ Knauss 1996, 78–89; 2001, 58; 2004.

³⁸ Papadimitriou 2001.

³⁹ Mühlenbruch 2009, esp. 314–15.

linked to the post-palatial appearance of the 'Antenbau', how that may have been practically achieved, and how that may have translated socio-politically into people's minds in the post-palatial periods.⁴⁰

The monumental architectural works at Tiryns testify to the power, the self-image and the external connections of local elites during the final palatial period⁴¹ and possibly also those preceding it. Beyond the citadel, an extensive settlement existed during the palatial and the post-palatial periods⁴² and its role is a critical factor in our understanding of the Tirynthian socio-political system within the wider Argos plain as a whole. At the time of writing, a very well-studied restoration project of the citadel walls is being conducted by the Fourth Ephorate (Nauplio) under the direction of A. Papadimitriou, with J.-M. Klessing and F. Pachygianni as team leaders.

Beyond Tiryns itself, Mycenaean masonry work and construction techniques have been studied extensively and the processes and materials involved have been investigated.⁴³ Human investments have been limitedly discussed,⁴⁴ and few scholars have explored the '*chaîne opératoire*' of these constructions.⁴⁵ Other studies have considered architectural phenomena as active 'participants' in socially interactive groups with each other and their materials⁴⁶ but so far, mainly the finished products in the shape of buildings as containers or backdrops of scenes have been studied. The most recent excavation campaigns in the area of the Lower Citadel have clarified many aspects of its circuit wall, but Tiryns as a whole still awaits full-scale architectural investigations of each period and each section. Küpper's contribution to Tiryns' architecture lies, first, in his detailed study of the tools employed and various construction techniques. Second, he points out the connecting concepts and organised work achieved by

⁴⁰ Cf. Maran 2006a, 124; 2009, 255–56; 2012.

⁴¹ Maran 2004; 2006b.

⁴² Kilian 1978; Maran – Papadimitriou 2006.

⁴³ See, e.g., Wright 1978; Küpper 1996; Loader 1998; Nelson 2001.

⁴⁴ Loader 1998; on soil movement for the construction of *tholoi*: Fitzsimons 2007; 2011, 93–94. He mentions the total mass of stone needed for his rough calculations of the cyclopean wall at Mycenae (2011, 108) but does not provide calculations on the construction in stone of the *tholoi*. In contrast, see Cavanagh – Mee (1999) who also take into account the aspect of transport based on Burford's revaluation from 500 kg to one ton per oxen yoke, a value also used here.

⁴⁵ Wright 1978; Küpper 1996.

⁴⁶ Cavanagh – Laxton 1981; Cavanagh – Mee 1999.

the Mycenaean architects and engineers while he touches only lightly upon the acquisition of building materials, including different types of stone.⁴⁷

The data produced in the first study of 'Set in Stone?'⁴⁸ have formed a start for the ongoing in-depth study of Tiryns as a whole of which this paper forms a part. Its first results calculating the efforts carried out by both human and animal resources to extract the building materials, transport them and construct the most basic form of the UB wall can be summed up as a calculated time-line developed per year, employing the spread-sheet model.⁴⁹ In year one, at least 82 men and five oxen teams⁵⁰ were needed to quarry, transport, load and unload blocks, build ramps, haul the blocks up and position them in place. In year two a minimum of 96 men and five oxen teams were required for the same types of tasks, and in year three at least 109 men and five oxen teams.⁵¹ Placing these first results into the context of the socio-political and economic context of the final LBA and considering the above-mentioned previous studies, it is clear that lacunae in these data are still present, but the following further aspects are currently under study:

1. The efforts undertaken in clearing the terrain, on and around the hill outcrop, in order to be able to construct the various citadel parts.⁵² That a general clearing of the Lower Citadel was executed is also clear in the stratigraphic study of the workshops based in the LH IIIB Middle Building, Lower Citadel South.⁵³
2. The carefully cut blocks employed in the corners of the UB wall construction would have needed extra effort; this was likely carried out with diorite stone pounders.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Küpper 1996, 5–6, 111–18, esp. 115–18.

⁴⁸ Brysbaert 2014.

⁴⁹ See Abrams – Bolland (1999) for the 'spread-sheet' model; Brysbaert 2014: table 9 for details.

⁵⁰ Each oxen team consists of a yoke of two oxen and a guide.

⁵¹ As mentioned above, these are the minimum calculations per year, per task and per resource which is, methodologically, the best way of proceeding.

⁵² E.g., the older LH IIIB1 stone rubble wall of the Lower Citadel: Kilian 1988, 139; the removal of large parts of the EH and MH mound (Wright 1978, 215), see also Maran 2010; Brysbaert 2014, n 10.

⁵³ Brysbaert – Veters in preparation.

⁵⁴ Küpper (1996, 32) refers to the working of blocks in more detail while Grossmann (1980, 496) mentions that such work was carried out much more often in the area of the Upper Citadel

3. No alterations to the UB wall circuit were taken into account in the preliminary calculations, so inserting the slightly later North Gate⁵⁵ is not attested for, nor are the extra efforts likely carried out in planning and building the niches over one or two floors.⁵⁶
4. The mass of wooden ox carts, wagons or sledges has not been accounted for in the amount of weight traction an oxen yoke could have pulled.⁵⁷ Using an ox-cart (2 wheels) or an ox-wagon (4 wheels)⁵⁸ instead of a sledge also opens the question of the difference in friction caused by the sledge being dragged over uneven terrain. Even if the road was evened out by employing runners or by filling up gaps between stones with packed earth, a friction coefficient (μ) would have to be estimated and the possible lubricants used would need discussing in case a sledge was employed.⁵⁹ The 2014 paper discussed the transport with traction animals without calculating potential friction coefficients.⁶⁰ Equally, the oxen themselves, de-

than elsewhere. Worked blocks, however, were noted throughout the citadel complex.

⁵⁵ Maran 2010, 726–29.

⁵⁶ Brysbaert 2014, n. 65.

⁵⁷ Landels (1978, 179) points out correctly that ox-carts or wagons could not be light-weight either if they were supposed to transport very heavy loads, they therefore also needed solid heavy-duty wheels, rather than wheels with spokes, known from chariots as seen on wall paintings from Tiryns and also on Linear B tablets: e.g., Duhoux 2008, 274–76, fig. 9.16 of tablet KN So (1) 4440 + 8700 + 8702 + Frr. Cavanagh – Mee (1999, 96) suggested that heavy-duty carts for such massive transports may have been purpose-built for the occasion.

⁵⁸ One of the earliest depictions of oxen with a four-wheeled wagon is a light-on-dark clay figurine from MM I Palaikastro, East Crete: Bosanquet – Dawkins 1923, 17.

⁵⁹ Consiglio (1949, 92) discusses the usage of lubricants in transporting marble blocks from the Carrara quarries in Italy and soap is mentioned in the same 19th century AD context by *Il marmo...ieri e oggi* (1970, 24, 174), where blocks, up to 25 ton, were transported on sledges over soaped runners (for figures, see 1970, 73–76). Koutsoumpas and Nakas (in press): 12–14, fig. 8 show the use of runners and lubrication of these in their second transport option of triremes mounted on sledges, over the Diolkos (the type of lubricant is not specified): their work is based on observations made by M. Korres who pointed out the work done by the experienced quarrymen at Carrara.

⁶⁰ Loader (1998, 55–59) mentions four-wheeled vehicles with solid wheels suitable to transport the Cyclopean blocks; two-wheeled carts would have been less useful in the transport of heavy irregular blocks: their load may not have been very 'evenly' spread over the cart so there would have been the risk of tipping due to only having two wheels. She prefers, however, the use of sledges in heavy bulk transport, even though her parallels from Egypt and the Near East all illustrate that sledges were pulled by people, not oxen. She considers it possible that oxen

scribed in great detail in the Linear B tablets, need further investigation in terms of what they can pull. Various figures for the weight capacities they can manage have been published.⁶¹

5. The number of oxen yokes required in the UB wall erection was calculated as five throughout the minimum of three years of construction. These animals would no longer have been available for agricultural work. While five oxen teams is a relatively small workforce,⁶² it is well-known that the UB wall was far from the only large-scale undertaking that was executed in the LH IIIB Final phase in Tiryns and in the Argolid overall.⁶³
6. The minimum number of men involved in the UB wall erection could be determined based on the labour constants but the question remains whether that number would have been continuously available when needed, and not just for the construction of the UB wall at Tiryns. In most contexts, construction and agricultural labour may well have been mutually exclusive during ploughing and harvest times. Most members of the active workforce would have been tied up at the busy agricultural periods and thus no longer available for any other work, whether military, construction or craft-related. The question then poses itself how and from where these men may have been recruited for these types of jobs. Moreover, the calculated number of people involved in each job needs to be understood

pulled sledges, too; likely these would 'glide' over the runners which would have protected the load from the uneven ground and would have reduced the friction. Loader suggests that such transport needed a flattish road surface which may not have existed but it could have been created for the occasion. Also Coulton (1977, 141) is in favour of sledges used for the transport of heavy blocks.

⁶¹ Burford (1960) suggests that oxen could pull about 500 kg while she revised that number to 800 kg in her 1969 publication. This was also the number adapted by DeLaine (1997) after she originally also used 500 kg, based on Diocletian's Price Edict; and, subsequently, the load of 800 kg is also used in Brysbaert 2014. Loader (1998, 60) only allows for 500 kg per oxen pair, basing herself on Cotterell – Kamminga's (1990, 37) work in Australia. It is clear that many factors play a role in how much a pair of oxen can pull and the human factor is the most decisive one: Renger 1990, 267. Finally, the historical evidence of the Carrara marble workers who had generations of experience with quarrying and transporting heavy blocks with oxen could move between 800–1000 kg per oxen yoke; see Mannoni – Mannoni 1984. This stands in clear contrast to Adam (1977, 56) who mentions that one ox could pull one ton.

⁶² For year one, they were needed only for part of the year since there was nothing to transport before the stones were quarried.

⁶³ See Maran 2008, 88; Maran 2010, 726, also 728 for chronological details.

as part of the *active* human workforces that form, themselves, a percentage of the overall population. It has always been assumed that the Late Bronze Age monumental building programmes in the Argolid must have been highly demanding both on human and natural resources. As such, it is implied that such construction needs would have impacted heavily on the resources make-up and socio-economic health of the region. But are these assumptions correct? And if they are, they need diachronic treatment and fine-tuning whereby the econometrics may help us a step forward in studying this phenomenon since such statements need to be substantiated with realistic figures and models. The exceptional quality of the constructions throughout the Late MH until the end of the LBA⁶⁴ was already known to Strabo and Pausanias.⁶⁵ It is not only the constructions themselves which require investigation but also the physical roads, communication lines and organizational talents of the people of this period and how these factors impacted upon each other within the builders' task-scape.⁶⁶ The ongoing project aims at enlightening us on the demographic make-up of each period, if and when possible, and how they could afford such constructions.⁶⁷

7. Environmental realities may have slowed down work considerably. The figure of 220 working days⁶⁸ in a year allows work to be carried out from the start of April until the first part of November. However, any bad period of rainfall slows down some of the work substantially, especially tasks involving oxen yokes due to slippery and muddy roads.

The ultimate goal then of 'Set in Stone?' is to contribute to all these points, and the present paper specifically discusses points 5 and 6 and touches also upon points 4 and 7. Since the questions of this paper and the project in general pertain to the socio-economic sphere of the Mycenaean LBA, the Linear B tablets are an indispensable resource of information, of which relevant evidence has been brought together (sections 2–5) and which is discussed below.

⁶⁴ Bintliff 2010, 757, 761. On tumuli and their meaning: Voutsaki 1998.

⁶⁵ Strabo 8,372; Paus. 2,16,5; 2,25,8; 7,25,5–6.

⁶⁶ Ingold 2000.

⁶⁷ Bintliff & al. 2007.

⁶⁸ Brysbaert 2014, after DeLaine 1997.

2. Tablets from Tiryns

Linear B as a form of recording, including the language used and the media on which this writing is applied to sun-dried clay tablets, clay sealings and nodules, painted on ceramic vessels, seems to reflect astonishing similarities⁶⁹ as well as several differences between the Mycenaean centres in their socio-economic and political make-up.⁷⁰ The incomplete and selective nature of the tablet information is not only explained due to their state of preservation but also due to the fact that the palaces only seemed to record the matters in which they had an economical vested interest, noticeable in agricultural⁷¹ and religious contexts.⁷² Tablet information concerning groups of men as construction labour, the presence of oxen, their owners and numbers, land tenure, wheat rations, and building materials are of specific concern to this paper because I believe that all may, directly and indirectly, contribute to a better understanding of the posed questions. While the majority of tablets have been found at Knossos and Pylos, also Chania, Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns, Agios Vasilios and Iklaina have produced some.

Especially the tablets from Tiryns are of interest here. Two of them illustrate the distribution of grain: TI Ef 3 refers to communal land (*ke-ke-me-no*) (see below); TI Ef 2 gives an amount of land in terms of grain that would have been needed to sow it.⁷³ Also the term *qo-u-ko-ro*, 'oxherd', appears on TI Ef 2, in association with large amounts of landholdings (GRA 6).⁷⁴ TI Cb 4 reports on oxen and possibly even mentions their names (see KN Ch 897, Ch 1029) but the state of preservation of tablet TI Cb 4 hinders any clear reading.⁷⁵ TI Al 7 mentions personnel although due to its very fragmentary state it is not clear how to interpret the function(s) of these men.⁷⁶ Finally, TI Sl 8–10 refers possibly to wheels but apparently not the spoked-type as known from many other tablets, since the inner

⁶⁹ Killen 2007, 114–15.

⁷⁰ Galaty – Parkinson 2007, 4–5, but see also p. 13 where similar regional integrative strategies between Mycenaean states are pointed out.

⁷¹ Halstead 2001, 38–39 with references; Bennet 2013, 236.

⁷² Lupack 2008, 84–85.

⁷³ Shelmerdine (2008, 148) refers to communal land from Knossos, Pylos and Tiryns.

⁷⁴ Palaima 1989, 98. For Tiryns' tablets specifically, see Godart – Olivier 1975, 43–53.

⁷⁵ Godart – Olivier 1975, 51–52. If, however, these would point out oxen names, this tablet could then indirectly be referring to palace-owned oxen, possibly of interest in relation to the oxherd and his landholdings.

⁷⁶ Godart & al. 1983, 416–17.

part of the circle (wheel) only bears a smaller circle. This has been considered a scribal idiosyncrasy next to the fact that the wheels are entered as single entities, not as pairs as usual, and they are associated with an unclear maker or recipient.⁷⁷

Apart from this tablet information, two oxen figurines have been found, probably dating to the EH II period as they are painted in 'Urfernis'. It is not clear whether these are separate figures or part of a yoked pair since neither Müller's description or his images indicated yoke attachments at the back of the oxen's necks. Instead, he suggests that these figurines served as offerings even though they are more or less like mirror-images of each other.⁷⁸

Information relevant to this paper and extracted from the Linear B tablets beyond Tiryns, is separated into three sections below even though there are clear overlaps between the groups; these are brought together in the discussion below. The sections are: (3) the context under discussion – architecture, (4) oxen as animal resources and (5) services as human resources. These sections were formed on the basis of useful content to answer the questions outlined at the start.

3. Architectural and related issues in the Linear B tablets

Tablets specifically referring to architectural issues are few and not always without interpretive problems:

1. PY Vn 46 and 879 have been interpreted in the context of shipbuilding⁷⁹ and architecture. If the tablets belong to the latter context,⁸⁰ and even though many terms remain unexplained,⁸¹ they list building materials and

⁷⁷ See Godart & al. 1983, 419 for details.

⁷⁸ Müller 1976, 61, pls. 5.6, 5.8, 25.1–2: figure 1 was well-stratified while figure 2 was less so but they were seen as part of a team due to their similarities.

⁷⁹ As did van Effenterre 1970 originally for tablet Vn 46, see Hocker – Palaima 1990–91. However, they admit that their attempt to interpret the texts in the context of shipbuilding ultimately bases itself on the unprovable hypothesis that *ka-pi-ni-ja* could be read as 'boat', 'ship' or 'hull' instead of 'chimney' or 'smoke hole'.

⁸⁰ Baumbach 1972, 385.

⁸¹ Bernabé – Luján 2008, 211; also Baumbach (1972, 392–93) on the fact that some words only make sense to the trained architect or builder, even now. See also Melena (1998, 176) who links this tablet with tablet An 7; see also note 88 below.

may refer to one of the last repairs done to the *megaron* of the palace in Pylos itself.⁸²

2. PY An 35 lists masons' assignments in four towns of the Pylos kingdom. These builders (*to-ko-do-mo*) seem to be based in Pylos town and in Leuktron (capital of the Further Province) where work needed to be done in addition to places in both the Hither and Further Province.⁸³ This tablet was written by Hand 3 who seems to be specialised in recording groups of builders.⁸⁴
3. Joint tablets An 7 and Fn 1427,⁸⁵ now PY Fn 7,⁸⁶ mention 20 builders and refer to food rations for two named individuals and three groups of workers: *to-ko-do-mo*: 'wall builders/masons' and *pi-ri-e-te-re/si*: 'sawyers/splitters of wood' (possibly for building frames).⁸⁷ One individual receives higher rations than the menial workers and, therefore, seem to be a supervisor: *pa-te-ko-to*. He has been interpreted as either the 'carpenter of all work' or the 'architect'. The two named individuals, as specialists in architecture, receive very high rations of olives and likely grain that seem in line with salary wages for a mixed team of builders and sawyers engaged in construction or repair activities.⁸⁸ Nakassis suggests five teams (5 x 4 masons + 1 sawyer⁸⁹) who would have been employed in constructing the IIIB

⁸² Blegen – Rawson (1966, 256) suggest that remodelling works were conducted at the palace of Nestor at Pylos, e.g. at the front wall of Hall 65, for instance, and p. 423 refers to the repair of the western angle and the enclosing Courts 42 and 47 as structures of the final phases. These repairs have been interpreted by Baumbach as having taken place at the time of its destruction but Hocker – Palaima (1990–91, 299) refute this interpretation and state that repair works were finished by then.

⁸³ Duhoux 2008, 296–98.

⁸⁴ Melena 1998, 176.

⁸⁵ Melena 1998.

⁸⁶ Nakassis 2012, 275.

⁸⁷ For *pi-ri-je-te-re* as sword makers: Gregersen 1997, 397. Carpenters at Thebes (*te-ka-ta-si*) are described by Montecchi 2011, 171–72, see also 2011, 182 where they are reported receiving wheat and wine rations.

⁸⁸ Melena 1998, 175–76.

⁸⁹ However, to be effective, carpenters should be grouped in teams of two if their task involved sawing and splitting larger-size timbers, see Pakkanen 2013, 62, notes 48 and 50. Also Montecchi (2011, 184) puts carpenters in groups of four, based on tablet TH Fq 247. She also confirms their skilled expertise since they receive, at Thebes, wine as a luxury commodity;

walls in Pylos, consisting of mortar mixtures, poured in a wooden frame until set.⁹⁰ The two named individuals would provide unskilled labour needed in this large-scale construction task, and the high rations would have been the wages for the unskilled labour, possibly up to 24 for a full month but called in whenever they were needed to supplement the masons' or sawyers' jobs.⁹¹ PY Fn 7 was written by Hand 3, as was PY An 35.⁹²

4. Linear B on oxen,⁹³ landholding and food/fodder rations issues

1. The Mycenaean palaces of Knossos and Pylos owned oxen.⁹⁴ The Pylos tablets suggested that these oxen were, on occasion, on loan to the *dāmos*

see also Aravantinos 2010, 62.

⁹⁰ Nelson 2001, fig. 84.

⁹¹ Nakassis 2012, 276–77 for details.

⁹² Melena 1998, 172–75.

⁹³ Palaima (1989, 87–88) discusses the use of cattle and oxen also beyond what was attested in the tablets: meat, milk, cheese, hides for leather, tendons, oils from hooves and horns, glue and fats, bones into tools and marrow from within, next to breeding and traction for various purposes. In this context, he also mentions that in Mycenae, a yellow glue-like substance had been attested. Moreover, lubricants can be cattle-based (oil: from hooves and shin bones and fat). On very early evidence for cattle as traction animals, see Halstead (1987, 80) for sexable cattle bones dating to the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC. During these periods the use of oxen for ploughing or pulling carts has been widely documented in Europe and the Near East. For the earliest evidence in the Aegean, see Isaakidou (2006, 104–8) who derives the information from studying pathologies on cattle bones from Neolithic and Bronze Age Knossos (esp. EN II-FN): these pathologies are mainly present on the female specimen. Therefore, adult cows were the main traction animal on Crete (whether for ards or carts with loads) and they were kept being used for this purpose by small landowners who could not afford to maintain their own specialized oxen pair not providing milk and calves. She concludes that this Neolithic evidence contradicts the textual evidence from the Late Bronze Age and that male oxen for ploughing may have been more or less restricted to elite control, thus indicating social inequality. Also Pullen (1992, 48–49) discusses early traction based on clay painted figurines of oxen indicating yokes (esp. on figurine 1, 1992, 50–52) from EH II levels from Tzoungiza, and points out the scarce evidence on oxen and plough traction. He, furthermore, points out that it is not clear whether the figurines pull a plough or a cart but that wheels or vehicle models are rare in EH II contexts (1992, 52).

⁹⁴ Evidence from Thebes in the form of nodules points in the same direction, Piteros & al. 1990, 183–84.

to aid in agricultural work.⁹⁵ The Ch tablets imply that these oxen had to be returned to the palace and their careful description ensured that they were returned in the same condition as they left.⁹⁶ Textual evidence from Ur III Girsu, Umma and Lagash seems to suggest that the Neo-Sumerian authorities closely inspected the plough animals in their possession: if the responsible person for a given herd of animals had lost one or more by death other than normal wear, they had to replace these themselves, costing the oxherd up to eight months of wages. If the animal had died naturally, its hide had to be returned to the palace.⁹⁷ So the hides were important to the palace: they stood for high value and its loss of an ox as a viable working animal. In the Mycenaean context, hides or skins were both secular commodities but also offered in religious contexts.⁹⁸ In Pylos, oxen were sent by people in military functions to *di-wi-je-u*, who was both 'inspector' and *heketās*. The palace also recorded these oxen because eventually they would be sacrificed there.⁹⁹ Of interest then is TI Uh 12 where skins are mentioned (but not clear of which animal).¹⁰⁰

2. The agricultural work done with the palatial oxen was carried out on communal land owned by the *dāmos*.¹⁰¹ The work done on such land at Knossos was cultivating wheat for which Halstead suggests a system of share-

⁹⁵ Old Babylonian letters equally refer to the hiring of a plough team since their most important destination was to use their strength, and not let them sit around idling, thus including the oxherd as well, see Stol 1995, 184.

⁹⁶ Killen 1992–93; Halstead 1995; 2001; Kajava 2011, 60 n. 4; 2012, 60 n. 6 with refs: these oxen were described, allocated per herdsman, by means of their physical appearance, likely to avoid fraud committed by oxherds by bringing back an inferior ox after the job was done: Killen 1992–93, 102–3. On working oxen in the late 2nd millennium BC (versus sacrificial ones): Ventris – Chadwick 1973, 212; Palaima 1989, 91.

⁹⁷ Heimpel (1995, 102–3) on high death rates. Replacing was an important aspect dealt with in great detail in these texts and could cause a heavy debt burden if the animal could not be compensated for. The anonymous reviewer also drew my attention to the fact that in the modern Mediterranean, hides were returned for two reasons: as evidence for natural death and presumably also for their intrinsic value.

⁹⁸ For reference to oxhides in Linear B tablets, see Palaima 1989, 87–88. Melena (2000–01, 380–84) points out that hides could have been a special gift of honour.

⁹⁹ Palaima 1989, 118.

¹⁰⁰ Godart & al. (1983, 413, 420–21) on hides and their functions, (1983, 418) on the personnel tablet.

¹⁰¹ Killen 1998; 2008, 172–73 n. 34; *ke-ke-me-no* land, see Shelmerdine 2008, 134.

cropping.¹⁰² The palace only recorded those parts in which it had a vested interest: wheat as food rations for their dependent workers (and possibly also for the traction animals, see below), sheep, oxen-rearing, and grazing sheep on fallow land.

The *dāmos* also seems to own oxen: An 830 lists '60 oxherds of the *dāmos*' whose *ko-re-te-re* and others own communal land.¹⁰³ In the Near East, too, some cattle breeding existed in private hands.¹⁰⁴ It is unlikely that all oxen and oxherds/pasturers are registered on tablets, independent of their preservation,¹⁰⁵ especially if the palace had no direct interest in these. While very few tablets at Knossos deal exclusively with ox pasturers (KN L 480: *qo-u-qo-ta*) both ox pasturers and oxherds appear on the Pylos tablets. Tablet An 830 + 907a associates four groups of oxherds (18–66 per group) with *ke-ke-me-no* landholdings, an association also present on TI Ef 2, on PY Ea 781a where a single land plot is possessed by an oxherd, and on PY Ea 270a, 305a, 757a and 802a where in the latter three cases, *ke-ke-me-na* land was possessed by ox pasturers. Oxherds are present in at least five different locations over the Pylian kingdom and are sometimes associated with *ko-re-te-re* and possibly rations of fodder.¹⁰⁶ As several oxherds owned substantial land plots which they could also lease out, Palaima suggests that they may well have been associated with the central and possibly also with the religious authorities. Their main activities may not have been centrally controlled even though flax contributions (from that land) to the

¹⁰² Halstead 2001, 39–41. Halstead (1992, 72–73) also suggests that palatial crops were concentrated near major centres and sub-centres. This was probably done to keep closer control over the outcome and is also evidenced in Near Eastern contexts (Neo-Babylonian for example) where oxen, too, were bred close to the seat of the institutions and where also other agricultural interests were located; van Driel 1995, 216. Cattle/oxen breeding close to the palace also seem to be at least partially the case for Pylos where 90 oxherds are located in the Bay of Navarino, but other oxen are stationed further out near good grazing land and are sent to the centre, likely for sacrifice: see Palaima 1989, 115–18.

¹⁰³ Shelmerdine 2008, 133–34.

¹⁰⁴ van Driel 1995, 233.

¹⁰⁵ Godart – Olivier 1975, 47.

¹⁰⁶ See KN C 902. Palaima 1989, 100 for all details.

palace were required.¹⁰⁷ Their association thus likely lay in the fact that these oxherds looked after the palatial oxen.

3. PY Aq 64¹⁰⁸ suggests that the palace may have provided fodder to high-ranking individuals (some are landholders¹⁰⁹) who temporarily borrowed oxen. The fodder meant to keep the oxen in good health during the labour-intensive ploughing period for which they were borrowed. Also Old Babylonian texts refer to the palace providing fodder for the oxen and stipulate how much is given per season and per month, possibly relating to the jobs to be carried out.¹¹⁰
4. In contrast to the evidence for working oxen,¹¹¹ a Knossian *ko-re-te* is listed with sacrificial bulls/oxen on KN C 902. The same tablet refers to rowers at Knossos, one or more of whom appear in company of koreters and other officials, and each of the rowers is required to provide an ox/other animals, possibly for sacrifice.¹¹² Also PY Cn 814 refers to bulls or oxen for sacrificial purposes.¹¹³ The Neo-Babylonian texts from Mesopotamia (7th–6th c. BC) seem to indicate that an uncastrated strong adult bull was offered to the highest god while lesser gods received younger bulls or a castrated

¹⁰⁷ Palaima 1989, 101–04. PY Nn 831 indicates an oxherd as a landholder on whose land flax is grown and on which he pays taxes to the centre. Foster (1981, 106) suggests that this oxherd had a supervisory status.

¹⁰⁸ According to Halstead 1999; 2001, 40, but see Killen 1992–93.

¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., Nakassis 2013, 209–10: *a-qi-zo-we* being one of the landholders.

¹¹⁰ A ratio of 10 litres of barley and 30 litres of draff seemed to be the norm for working oxen in some contexts, see Stol 1995, 195–96. When barley was lacking, the oxen got reeds to feed on (in month XIII), but that was beyond the ploughing season (months V–VIII).

¹¹¹ E.g., Killen 1992–93, 101 n. 2: *we-ka-ta(-e)*: 'working' and mentioned as being in pairs. In any case, pairs were needed to pull a plough or a cart or wagon.

¹¹² Shelmerdine 2008, 133, 147. Evidence which recalls sacrificial bull iconography is, for instance, known from the Agia Triadha sarcophagus; on the date of the sarcophagus, see Long 1974, 11–14, 61–70; on the bull sacrifice, pl. 31.

¹¹³ Palaima 1989, 104–06; Godart – Tzedakis 1993, 242–43. Cattle bones have also been found probably indicating the left-overs of 1000 people-strong festive (ritual) meals (bones were burnt as sacrifice and deposited in specific places); Bennet 2013, 252. Isaakidou – Halstead 2013, 89, 93 (with references): they contrast the usual bone deposits as typical heterogeneous faunal assemblages (including smaller female cows) versus specific deposits of adult, likely male cattle (age not determinable) and deer where heavily burnt bones were carefully deposited intact in specific places near the Pylos palace, probably after sacrifice. On bulls for sacrifice: Palaima 1989, 110–18.

animal.¹¹⁴ This seems to correspond quite well with tablets from Knossos and later information about sacrifices to Zeus in which only a 'physically whole' animal was appropriate. It may therefore be a reasonable suggestion that, in the Mycenaean context, castrated animals (i.e. not complete) were not sacrificed to the gods whereas it is fairly standard to cut off horns of working oxen,¹¹⁵ thus also rendering them incomplete and protecting them from hurting each other and anyone working with them. Both the Pylos wall painting and the Agia Triadha sarcophagus show clearly a large horned sacrificial bull.¹¹⁶

5. It seems that *ke-ke-me-na* land (PY Ep/Eb series) is administered and owned by the *dāmos* through its council *ko-to-no-o-ko* (see above). Palatial interest in recording this land lies in the tax commodities it receives from the landholders. Land called *ki-ti-me-na* (PY En/Eo series) was possibly also associated with the *dāmos* as it was granted by the *dāmos* to local elites, the *te-re-ta* (PY Un 718, Er 312), under the condition that these men performed service, possibly of military nature, in return for the freedom to manage and lease out their allocated land plots. These were recorded by the palace because the *te-re-te* contributed tax 'pay' to the *dāmos* which was, in turn, taxed by the palace.¹¹⁷
6. Far from all land in the Pylos kingdom is recorded by the palace, an issue well discussed by both Lupack and Halstead who compare textual and archaeological data: the palace would not record land that raised crops outside its sphere of interest and would not record land from which it may not have received commodities through taxation, e.g. privileged land in the hands of religious personnel which was exempt from taxes,¹¹⁸ and possibly also land that was owned by the *dāmos* and was thus collectively used and supported only the *dāmos* members.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ van Driel 1995, 220, 233.

¹¹⁵ Palaima (1989, 106–7) on prehistoric and later references to unblemished bulls for gods.

¹¹⁶ Pylos: Lang 1969, pl. 119; Agia Triada: Long 1974, pl. 31.

¹¹⁷ Lupack 2008, 44–85, esp. 69–72. In the second millennium BC Near East, holding land on royal estates and given as remuneration for delivered services entailed the obligatory contribution of specific produce (linen, sesame, etc.). This was described as the *ILKUM* system well-known from the Code of Hammurabi, see Joannes 2001, 407.

¹¹⁸ Lupack 2008, 84–85; Halstead 2001, 38–39 with further references.

¹¹⁹ Carlier 1987, 72. Bennet (2013, 247) postulates that possibly all land was in the hands of

5. Linear B on personnel and human labour service as taxation to the palace

1. PY An 18a mentions 90 oxherds in association with carpenters, wall builders and men of service. On PY An 852a oxherds are again associated with carpenters in smaller numbers (2–4).¹²⁰ Are these oxherds employing their oxen to help out the carpenters and wall builders, and thus maybe collaborate with the men of service?
2. PY An 1 is a taxation document that obliges men to contribute rowing service as taxation. These rowers are seemingly connected to landholdings. The Na series link more generic military services with landholdings, too. These landholders can go in person to serve or recruit and send others instead.¹²¹ Nakassis also mentions specifically named individuals who contribute rowers, such as **we-da-ne-u* who, according to Palaima, is also in possession of oxen, goat and sheep.¹²² Some such high-ranking landholders/officials seem to have the obligation to provide workers either directly or indirectly from people they had as their own dependents or people they hired for the requested job; the latter was likely the scenario for the named individuals on Fn 7.¹²³ Another possibility is that the palace gave men to these high official to start with – e.g. **we-da-ne-u* who received 20 men – who then put them to do different tasks.¹²⁴
3. Several types of artisans were probably recruited to work via taxation: PY An 1282 recorded men brought in to make chariots for the palace in the NE building. In order to make chariots, administrators, specialists and unskilled labour were all needed.¹²⁵ PY Un 1322 recorded large amounts of food given as salary to artisans making nets or weaving.¹²⁶ The central

the *dāmoi*, in the Pylos state, since their role was leasing it out.

¹²⁰ Palaima 1989, 115–18.

¹²¹ Nakassis 2012, 269–72 with references for details.

¹²² Palaima 1989, 107.

¹²³ Nakassis 2012, 283, and not through direct recruitment from the local communities on the basis of landholdings.

¹²⁴ Nakassis 2012, 274.

¹²⁵ Schon 2007, 136. The same configuration is needed for building: administrator, specialists and unskilled labour.

¹²⁶ Chadwick 1964, 20–21, 25; he points out that this tablet is the first record where one commodity is exchanged for another: the disbursement of wheat was paid in amounts towards certain workmen (as salary) or as the price of certain garments.

administration recruited artisans from their home villages to come and produce prestige items for the palatial elites¹²⁷ that would confirm their social status through display and distribution and allow their participation in the Mediterranean-wide elite '*koinè*'.¹²⁸ Plots of *dāmos* land were given out to specific palatial artisans in return for specific services.¹²⁹

4. The so-called 'collectors' (palatial and religious) received their main income through local transactions with the *dāmos* while their palatial transactions seemed to have been limited.¹³⁰ According to the tablets, these collectors may have been owners of substantial resources that are then taxed by the palace. These collectors may have been local lords/chiefs prior to the palace's existence but were given a position in the palatial administration by the *wanax*, possibly to court them into allowing him access to these resources.¹³¹ The palaces thus seemed to have had only partial control over Mycenaean economic activity spheres and only controlled a fraction of the total labour.¹³²
5. That highly-ranked named individuals, owning landholdings, provide men to serve the central authority as rowers, or in military service or even as unskilled labour force used in building activities is clear. Among these people, *a-ko-so-ta*, for example, is also known as one of the four Pylian 'collectors'. Moreover, he controls the raw materials for perfumed oil production (PY Un 267) and other craft activities, and functions as a land inspector (PY Eq 213). He is further responsible for distributing male workers (PY An 435), possibly to the *heketas* who is also *ereuter*, named *di-we-je-u*.¹³³ This latter individual also supervises the collection of oxen as recorded by the palace, traditionally seen as sacrificial animals; however, I wonder if these may have also been involved in working for palatial projects if their own were

¹²⁷ Voutsaki 2001. See now recently on the production of prestige items with 'exotic' character: Brysbaert – Vettters 2013. On elites' self-representation in showing their familiarity with exotica: Bennet 2013, 235.

¹²⁸ Nakassis & al. 2011.

¹²⁹ Gregersen 1997, 400–03: in relation/contrast to being remunerated in kind/rations.

¹³⁰ Lupack 2008, 165.

¹³¹ Lupack 2008, 165.

¹³² Halstead 1992, 72–73.

¹³³ Nightingale 2008, 576–77; see also Nakassis 2012, 279, but in 2013, 200, he is more careful about that statement that *a-ko-so-to* provided workers on An 435. See also Nakassis 2013, 233–34.

not sufficient. Moreover, *a-ko-so-ta* also seems to have benefited from or to have owned large flocks (maybe also through *di-we-je-u?*), spread out in both provinces. Certain of his activities show his longer-term involvement as a high official with the Pylos administration (see also his name on PY An 192) with monitoring, planning, controlling and distributing tasks.¹³⁴

Discussion

The political economy of the Mycenaean states, as it is presently understood, clearly saw that an interaction between its palatial component and the non-palatial components was what made up the Mycenaean society as a whole.¹³⁵ This becomes amply clear in studying the econometrics of the construction via a *chaîne opératoire* approach: the level of detail (how many men and animals were needed to move *x* tonne?) blurs entirely the dichotomy between the elites and their labour. As Halstead has already pointed out, much of the Mycenaean economy did not seem to be under elite control, and all parties relied on each other to achieve their socio-economic status, their power and their economic independence.¹³⁶ To put it bluntly, if the workers could not show up at the building site during specific months of the year due to harvesting which required all their human and animal efforts, no citadel construction was likely to take place during those months. Unrealistic demands would have been very difficult to enforce upon people and crop failure would have harmed the palace just as much due to reduced crop income. Wright correctly points out that the land-reclamation projects and large-scale waterworks, such as the drainage of Lake Kopais and the dam construction at Tiryns, required considerable manpower. These projects reflected an enlargement and intensification of agricultural activities to supply foodstuffs and produce raw materials for the crafts and for the portion of the population engaged in specialized activities.¹³⁷ Wright basically points out the obvious but important fact that some people needed to produce extra food for those who temporarily could not do it themselves.

¹³⁴ Nightingale 2008, 579–86.

¹³⁵ Pullen 2013, 439; already hinted at e.g. by De Fidio 2001, esp. 23.

¹³⁶ Most recently: Halstead 2007.

¹³⁷ Dabney – Wright 1990, 51–52.

The monumental building programmes of the LBA Mycenaean centres in the Argolid must have involved considerable investments in labour; but can we quantify this in a meaningful way and what do the numbers tell us subsequently? From initial calculations done at Tiryns, transport costs represent a hitherto largely ignored part in which oxen surely played a role. While this is only one aspect of monumental constructing in this period, considering the scale of investments in transport (expressed in labour costs, human and animal) and how they were met might contribute usefully to our understanding of Mycenaean political economies. Investigating the Linear B tablets for both direct and indirect information on any aspect of such extensive building projects is crucial.

While limited and mainly from Pylos, clear Linear B evidence on architectural work is present: repair activities, building materials, workers' assignments and locations, and who these workers were: a master builder, wall builders, carpenters, overseers and unskilled labour.¹³⁸ Their social hierarchy is further reflected in their payment rations likely linked to their level of skill, specialty and responsibilities, and the man-days for each of those was calculated for in the study of the UB wall at Tiryns.¹³⁹ Such a social structure of labour was also visible in PY An 1282 on chariot production. At Pylos, Hand 3 may have been associated with construction activities.

Oxen were owned by the palaces and the *dāmos*; palatial oxen could be on loan to the *dāmos* during agricultural labour-intensive periods of the year. These oxen were well-looked after and had to be kept in good conditions. In fact, fodder rations were given to specific people who had palatial oxen on loan which illustrates the high value attributed by the central authority to their working oxen or bulls.

Specific oxherds were landholders after the palace likely remunerated them with land plots for their possibly specialised services (which was also the case towards other artisans), and they could lease their possessions out and benefit from the crops. These oxherds had to contribute people and crops (wheat) to the palaces, they may have been looking after the palatial oxen and used them for agricultural work. Moreover, since oxherds were also associated with carpenters, wall builders and men of service, it can be argued that these oxherds must have been helping out the construction crews with their oxen as guides during the transportation of building material from the quarries to the site and at the site

¹³⁸ Melena 1998; Nakassis 2012.

¹³⁹ Brysbaert 2014, tables 4–5.

itself since they knew the oxen well and possibly even trained them.¹⁴⁰ As such, landholders, as some oxherds were, could either provide service by doing personal services (e.g. as ox guide) or send out their dependents as unskilled labour when and where needed in the many other construction tasks such as loading and unloading materials, hauling blocks up, digging earth and ramming earth for the ramps (see PY Fn 7). Palaima suggested an association between the oxherds and both the central and possibly also the religious authorities. The oxherd's main activities may not have been under central control even though they were required to contribute flax (from that land) to the palace.¹⁴¹ Their association likely lay in the fact that they looked after the palatial oxen being under a high official's control who reported back to the palace.¹⁴² As the palace gave plots of land to artisans as remuneration for their services it could also be assumed that land plots may have been the pay for architectural workers too, at least the specialists, supervisors, overseers and master-builders.

The *dāmos* gave land to local elites in return for services and the *dāmos* was subsequently taxed on this by the palace. It was also on *dāmos* land that wheat crops were grown that were taxed by the palace to be subsequently given as food rations for the palatial dependent workers and possibly to their own oxen as fodder during labour-intensive times. These tasks were agricultural but could have been equally well constructional, i.e. the transport of building materials. Finally, the palace recruited the construction crews indirectly, likely via the collectors and the *dāmos* (and its council *ko-to-no-o-ko*) who did the direct recruiting, but also the planning, monitoring, controlling and distributing of resources, both human and animal and related remunerations (e.g. *a-ko-so-to*'s multiple roles).¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Renger (1990, 271) pointed out that the oxen output depended on various factors but mostly on the human ones such as training and how well they were guided during the work, see also FAO 1972.

¹⁴¹ Palaima 1989, 101–4.

¹⁴² If so, another striking similarity can be seen with textual information from Old Babylonian tablets indicating that the palace put their herds (containing oxen) at the disposal of *land* stewards (my emphasis) who, sometimes, seemed to have also been local governors or overseers of merchants of specific regions; Stol 1995, 180. Simultaneously, the palace also entrusted cattle to low-ranking oxherds, too, who, themselves, were serving a chief herdsman (p. 181).

¹⁴³ See Stavrianopoulou 1999 on the organisation of the workforce, membership to groups and professional bodies in Mycenaean society; her category I comprises people belonging to a collective based on their specific skills; for *to-ko-do-mo* belonging to this category, see 1999, 577, 585. Compare the social and interlinked political structures of building organisation in all its facets: DeLaine 1997, 204–5.

It seems then that the palatial elites were not even 100% in control of all aspects related to the construction of their own residences.

Clearly, the Mycenaean central palatial authorities are highly interested in oxen/bulls for various reasons and this fact probably also explains why they are so well-recorded in visible bodily details.¹⁴⁴ Halstead suggests that the importance of the oxen in the Linear B tablets sits in the fact that they are likely located near the centres where also the palatial landholdings may have been and where cereal were thus harvested. He suggests a direct link between oxen and palatial agriculture.¹⁴⁵ When an oxen yoke is used, ten hectares can be worked, of which half are winter cereals and half fallow or summer crops. A minimum of four to five hectares was needed (i.e. for the winter cereal) to justify having an oxen pair which would produce enough food for a large family of several generations or yield surplus. Three hectares corresponds well with what a family of a subsistence farmer would need to survive (between two and four hectares) and it would also cater for significant crop failure of a nuclear family.¹⁴⁶ It is tempting to look back at all recorded landholders on the Linear B tablets whose plot size is known to see whether they could work it by hand or needed oxen and whether those with larger plots also had oxen or worked with additional labour in busy times.

Small landholders who could not afford oxen could rent or share them or use other animals for ploughing.¹⁴⁷ Renting and sharing, however, included risks since one had far less control over when one could plough or sow and this could

¹⁴⁴ For the most recent discussions of the oxen names and their relationship to later Greek literature, see Kajava 2011; 2012.

¹⁴⁵ Halstead (1995, 18–19) sees a similar trend in the Near Eastern tablets which also record extensive cultivation with plough and oxen in elite contexts while small-scale cultivation was connected to the society as a whole. See also note 102.

¹⁴⁶ See Halstead 1995, 15–17. I thank the reviewer for bringing to my attention the significance of three hectares and crop failures. Renger (1990, 267) reports the importance of the balance between the maximum possible plot needed for cereal production versus the minimum land area required for pasturing the animals that work the land for cereal production. Furthermore, the labour output of a given ox depends on the breed, the individual animal and its training and guidance, its speed, the length of time of sustained labour and rest periods, the feeding it gets and bodily care (typical yoke sores, foot and hoof wounds, broken legs). He gives further details on the food and water needed during working seasons and concludes that the role of the human in ploughing, training, guiding, feeding and care was the decisive factor in the animals' labour output and the effectiveness of the animal power at hand. Extra feeding regimes prior to heavy labour periods, for instance, were crucial to the animal's success.

¹⁴⁷ See Isaakidou 2006.

cause lower yields or even crop failure.¹⁴⁸ Old Babylonian texts indicate the existence of shared ownership of oxen and that hiring oxen was expensive. Moreover, a strong rear ox was more expensive than the middle ones when plough spans consisted of more than the usual two plough oxen together under one yoke.¹⁴⁹ The price was expressed in barley or silver shekels (where a shekel equals one kor of barley). The use of oxen required for transport of building material would have created an additional demand on the time the animals needed to be working and increased the crop-related risks to the farmers.

Inasmuch as Halstead sees a direct link between the oxen and palatial agriculture, it is not far-fetched to also see a link between at least the palatial oxen and monumental building programmes as well. Moreover, the oxen which are so well-recorded in the tablets must have been the palatially owned ones: when the palace leased them out for agricultural work to the *dāmos*, it likely levied an income from the harvested wheat crop they were used for, so in fact, the wheat return is on the crops but likely on the use of the oxen, too.¹⁵⁰ Finally, the oxen that were levied from various people (from some of the rowers who owned land too) may have ended up in the palace for work as well.

Why is there no mention made, either at Knossos or Pylos, on the use of oxen in construction? While the production of chariots, textiles, *kylikes*, perfumed oil and monumental architecture has been placed firmly under central control¹⁵¹ oxen used in the traction of construction materials were not needed in LH IIIB

¹⁴⁸ Halstead 1995, 17.

¹⁴⁹ Stol (1995, 188–91) mentions textual evidence whereby ploughing could be drawn by two, four, six or eight oxen when deep ploughing and opening new land was intended. However, ploughing with more than two oxen in one yoke was only done on large estates of 'public' institutions, probably because only those could afford this set-up. He mentions the controversy around these large numbers of oxen involved, especially since deep-ploughing only really needs a heavier plough, not four animals to pull it.

¹⁵⁰ That this income in wheat cannot be seen as a 'tax' income per se is clear from Perna (2004, 294) who makes the difference between privately-owned land which can be taxed, and leased land for which a form of fee, dues or a contribution (Perna's 'redevance') can be required in return. In a similar way, Halstead (2003, 260) argues for different ways of resource mobilization: through taxation, share-cropping and exchange. Also the cattle could have had a different fiscal status, see e.g. Piteros & al. 1990, 183–84. Such proportional sharing partnership can also be recognised in the Near East where pasture land for oxen was mentioned in Old Babylonian tablets but did not come for free. It was either paid for in silver or in specific amounts of barley; Stol 1995, 188 n. 60 and n. 188.

¹⁵¹ Schon 2007, 142.

Pylos since during that period large-scale masonry was not used.¹⁵² Pylos also did not require the transport of Cyclopean-size blocks as was needed until the LH IIIB Final phase in Tiryns.¹⁵³ So far, only at Pylos and Knossos have major archives been discovered and while the Tiryns tablet evidence is rather small in comparison to the Knossos and Pylos archives, it seems, however, indirectly useful in the context of architecture and its related transport activities, and this may not be purely coincidental. Moreover, tablets recording architectural work may not have survived and the palace was not *directly* recruiting labour and animals for the work to be done, but possibly only indirectly via other agents and thus did not record these recruitments.¹⁵⁴ Equally likely, the centres did not record these activities because they were so obviously palatial and were not bringing in any form of taxation from which they would benefit (in a similar vein, see point 7 section 4). They were clearly building for themselves and if anything would be recorded it would be remunerations of sorts (in kind/land) for the workers and the specialists involved. Since the tablets reflect the economic activities of particular years, perhaps none of the economic activities of interest to the palace linked with construction took place in the year and season from which the tablets accidentally survived in the various centres. It has been pointed out recently that each Mycenaean state should be studied in its own right since differences are potentially as common as similarities between them. As is also evident from this study, the tablets from specific places cannot be employed to over-generalise or to argue for much unity within the economic sphere of the different Mycenaean states. There are obvious differences in the construction techniques and materials between the centres and this may have been indirectly reflected in the respective administrative recordings, if of relevance to the centres in one or another way.

Oxen were clearly important in the context of architectural construction and this can be observed in a various ways. Moreover, employing these traction animals in combination with large enough building crews had wider-reaching economic and thus social implications.

1. There seems to be enough evidence for the presence of working oxen by the LBA to warrant their potential usage beyond agriculture, i.e. in architectural monumental construction.

¹⁵² See Nelson 2001, 55–58, 180, fig. 84. In LH IIIB, it seems, Pylos only built with the pier-wall construction method.

¹⁵³ See Maran 2010 on the last changes on the UB wall in that phase.

¹⁵⁴ However, cf. Nakassis 2012.

2. Human labour capacity is understood well, especially when large numbers of men were available to work collaboratively. However, there are limits to what people are physically able to do¹⁵⁵ and the types of work to be carried out in monumental construction can go beyond these limits. Based on what we know from Classical Greece¹⁵⁶ and Near Eastern contexts about oxen employed in construction work, it is fairly safe to assume that the same was the case in the Mycenaean LBA building programmes, especially when massive stones were moved.
3. Having calculated the size, volume and mass of the limestone building blocks from the UB wall at Tiryns, it becomes obvious that additional labour by oxen would not only have speeded up the work but would have also made it possible over the covered distances. With c. 65% of large-size blocks of 2–13 tonnes,¹⁵⁷ c. 25% of medium-size blocks of 500 kg–2 tonnes and c. 10% small-size blocks of 30–500 kg, human crews would have fared much better with the help of (multiple) oxen spans.¹⁵⁸ In addition, a block the size of the Tiryns bathroom floor, 23 tonnes, may have needed 200 men pulling simultaneously, according to a recent experiment. If its quarry was just 1 km away, it would take this crowd minimum 1.5 days to just drag it over to the site.¹⁵⁹ If we then push the situation to its limits as far as Greece

¹⁵⁵ According to Landels (1978, 9), a healthy adult person can carry between 9 and 36 kg, most often between c. 23–27 kg of load over short distances of c. 50 m, depending on the strength, gender, age and health. These figures were surely higher for healthy male adults, both in amounts and distances, as some can now carry 50 kg cement or plaster bags over distances of 50–100 m. Moreover, even if joint efforts were planned, one still had to be able to fit, physically, the necessary amount of men around the heavy burden for it to be picked up and moved. Landels (1978, 9) gives an example of this: a Classical column drum would have needed c. 18 strong men to lift, turn and place it where desired but it would be impossible for the 18 men to fit around such a column drum. As mentioned before, these numbers seem far too high and the best parallel that can be found from photographic evidence are the workers from Carrara who had extensive experience in pulling heavy blocks forward, both by hand and by means of oxen yoke(s); *Il marmo...ieri e oggi* 1970, 74, 88–95.

¹⁵⁶ On such engineering discussions, see Burford 1960; 1969.

¹⁵⁷ Mylonas (1966, 12) mentions stones from Tiryns weighing up to twelve tons which corresponds well with my calculations, Brysbaert 2014.

¹⁵⁸ For detailed resource calculations, see Brysbaert 2014: tables 1–9.

¹⁵⁹ Details in Brysbaert 2014 and note 161. If oxen were used instead, a minimum of 25 oxen yokes (50 oxen) would be required; these would cover 1 km in one day but would also need two dozen oxherds to manage an organized traction. However, Renger (1990, 271) points out that even if guiding through oxherds is very well coordinated, there is loss of effort when several

is concerned,¹⁶⁰ the conglomerate lintel stone of the so-called Treasury of Atreus, Mycenae, weighing 120 tonnes¹⁶¹ (not the only large stone in the construction, see the *dromos* blocks and the overall result¹⁶²), would need 120 to 150 yokes of oxen to move it from the quarry to its location, based on the calculation of 800–1000 kg per oxen yoke. This does not include efforts required for moving it where it now still is. Whereas 18 men were needed to lift (vertically!) a one tonne column drum, calculating c. 2,200 men to move the Atreus lintel¹⁶³ is highly overestimated since the movement is largely horizontal; a more realistic calculation for an oxen yoke versus men is 1 : 8.¹⁶⁴ Instead, c. 1000 men may have moved the 120

yokes are used together due to mutual obstruction of the animals, see also FAO 1972, 24, 27.

¹⁶⁰ Adam (1977, 51–52) discusses the transport and the handling of Baalbek's trilithons, world's largest monoliths apart from those left in the quarries. These blocks each weigh c. 800 ton and no oxen were employed in their transport for reasons explained above by Renger. We have to consider, though, that the Romans had access to lifting devices, cranes and pulleys (Adam 1977, 60) which are well-known from various sources (textual and iconographic: Adam 1977, 41), which were not available until the latter part of the 6th c. BC; Coulton 1974.

¹⁶¹ Mylonas 1966.

¹⁶² The relative densities of conglomerates vary widely: essentially they are very coarse sandstones and their individual densities depend on the inclusions, their type and the ratio between the inclusions and the matrix; however, some conglomerates are very suitable for constructional purposes. For details on the stone masses of the Atreus Treasury: Cavanagh – Mee 1999, 96–97.

¹⁶³ See the difficulties in the experiment of moving a 25-tonne obelisk in Egypt under the direction of M. Lehner and stone mason R. Hopkins with 200 men at the ropes and levers; see <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/egypt/dispatches/990314.html>, accessed 30/11/2012. These data is not dissimilar to Koutsoumpas and Nakas (in press: 6) whose triremes of 21 tonnes were pulled across by c. 200 men.

¹⁶⁴ If 200 men pulled 25 tonnes (see above), and 1 oxen yoke pulls c. 800–1000 kg, c. 25 oxen yokes would have pulled 23 ton, in line with 35 yokes who pulled c. 32 tonnes (Carrara), these figures show each time a ratio of c. one oxen yoke : 8 men. Oxen, however, can pull with large force for much longer periods of time. That such mobilization of workforces and efforts done by both human and animal resources always needs to be contextualised is clear from a recent paper on the moving of the Moai on Easter Island. A replication experiment showed that these statues 'walked' with a minimal amount of people employing ropes, and no traction animals or wooden rollers were used. This experiment, based on well-studied archaeological evidence, illustrated that previous studies did not take into account the large variation of Moai statues, nor were the broader archaeological contexts studied in enough detail, such as the road systems along which these statues had to travel from quarry to the *ahu* (platform); for details, see Lipo & al. 2013, 2860–65. It is, therefore, crucial that the 'Set in Stone?' project places the Tiryns study in the broader context in which it was embedded originally, see Introduction.

tonnes lintel block forward with low inclination¹⁶⁵ and possibly c. 25 oxen yokes moved the bathroom floor block to Tiryns. This latter number is not exaggerated in comparison to the c. 35 oxen spans employed to pull one of the largest Carrara marble blocks cut in the early 20th century with an estimated weight of c. 32.5 tonnes.¹⁶⁶ However, with or without traction animals, the pure organisation of the moving of massive blocks would have been considerable since much effort is lost in employing multiple oxen spans. What would be guaranteed, though, is a memorable public performance for the workers, spectators and organizers alike, whether caused by the bathroom floor block or the conglomerate blocks employed at the East Entrance of the Tiryns citadel. Even though the massive lintel and other such blocks at Mycenae did not need to travel over long distances, they certainly would have been the cause of immense spectacles, too, due to their sheer size and the organised concentrated efforts needed to get them in place, probably by employing everyone around.¹⁶⁷

4. Attempting to calculate the capital and running costs of large numbers of oxen spans and their oxherd guides may give an indication about the figures that are implied in terms of fodder to be generated and pasture land for grazing, labour required to work them, and labour to rear the oxen and train them. Pullen pointed out that in the EH II period, possessing a pair of oxen would be both care- and fodder-intensive, thus limiting the amount of farmers who could afford it.¹⁶⁸ Those that could afford oxen were in a position to lease the oxen out to others and to create higher production rates on their own land, thus accumulating a form of wealth based on surplus. This accumulation of wealth could have led to social and political status differentiation and to differential access to means of production, so a hierarchy of wealth, status, and power, headed by an elite, would emerge. One can imagine the oxen- and plough-owning farmer becoming the 'big man' in his community¹⁶⁹ and this may still have been the case in the LBA

¹⁶⁵ See Cavanagh – Mee 1999, 96, 100.

¹⁶⁶ *Il marmo ... ieri e oggi* 1970, 94.

¹⁶⁷ This is described by Santillo Frizell (1997–98) as a Via Triumphalis when blocks of massive size were hauled over to their final destination by huge crews, ordered and/or overseen by the ruler himself. I thank J. Maran for bringing this paper to my attention.

¹⁶⁸ See also Halstead 1995 on this topic.

¹⁶⁹ Pullen 1992, 53. Cato *agr.* 54 describes how much oxen should be fed extra during the heavy ploughing season (March-April) versus the other seasons and that this can be done based

Mycenaean palatial contexts, based on long-standing traditions, culminating in this palatial context, too. Halstead also discusses in great detail the question of how oxen were expensive both in capital and running costs.¹⁷⁰ The male animals were castrated around their third year¹⁷¹ which meant that, until then, they just required care, food, and had no output yet.¹⁷² For breeding, large pasture land plots, such as those known from the Linear B tablets for the Pylos region, were needed. Once the animals were put to work, additional food was crucial to compensate for the extra burnt energy and the lack of grazing time.¹⁷³ Moreover, if crops for fodder were grown, extra human labour may have been needed throughout the arable farming cycle to make this possible.¹⁷⁴ If the oxen were critical for agricultural activities and a cause of worry to small landholders, adding the request for these oxen to be available for construction for prolonged periods of time, stretched over several years, could have made or broken specific social classes, depending on how dependent their land and thus subsistence income would have been on their oxen rearing and subsequent working. From this perspective, the use of spread-sheet models, as a way to space out

on what the farms produced, and thus kept 'on the cheap'.

¹⁷⁰ This question is also addressed by Palaima (1989, 102) who wonders whether Mycenaean grain production for its dependent workers would also produce surplus which could be fed to their oxen and which types of activities would warrant feeding such expensive crop to their traction animals, such as possibly fattening them for sacrifice. I would like to add to this strengthening the oxen before heavy intensive prolonged labour needed to be done.

¹⁷¹ They were sometimes kept in the herd for another year to mature and become strong; see Stol (1995, 184) on Old Babylonian texts.

¹⁷² See, e.g., Stol (1995, 177–78) who refers to Old Babylonian cattle breeding stations where male cattle were castrated and trained from year three onwards and then put to use. This change from bull to ox is reflected in the names of the 1–3 year-old animals: 'ox yoked to wooden implement'. The wood can refer to both the yoke but also to a wagon and, therefore, designates a trained ox (1995, 185). If they were not castrated, they may have been fattened to be sacrificed in the *nabrû* festival. Of further interest is that the breeding of the 1–3 year-old bulls was taken care of by princesses and were often part of the bride's dowry on which she was supposed to make a profit (1995, 180).

¹⁷³ Halstead 1995, 12.

¹⁷⁴ Halstead – Jones (1989, 47–49) and Halstead (1995, 13), emphasizing that farmers are already under time-stress during harvesting and threshing times, the former which cannot be delayed. Moreover, this time-stress is often not taken into account in the required labour of farming in antiquity (1989, 53). The same can be said for when construction is added into the equation.

the activities that are realistically achievable by active workforces for construction, serves very well to visualize the potential spread-out of planned labour-intensive activities while it can include other tasks too, especially agricultural tasks that are bound by specific seasonal-intensive activities that absorb all available hands. At a smaller scale, spread-sheet models also allow for unskilled labour to be called in to work whenever needed by the more specialist work crews. While of course a modern tool, spread-sheets may reflect the potential planning of architects and engineers to get large-scale and long-term jobs done.

5. If a minimum of five oxen spans and c. 82–109 men were needed, year round, for the construction of the UB wall alone for at least three years (but likely longer) and if similar activities were conducted at around the same time elsewhere in the Argolid such as the fortification walls at Midea and the expanded parts at Mycenae, it becomes possible to place the necessary resources in their socio-economic context. Even if the time estimated on the basis of the preliminary calculations of the UB wall is doubled, so calculating six years instead of three and thus allowing other important work such as agriculture to be conducted, we arrive at the following hypothetical figures:

years one & two: 82 men + 5 oxen teams (10 oxen accompanied by 5 men)
= 87 men + 10 oxen

years three & four: 96 men + 5 oxen teams (10 oxen accompanied by 5 men) = 101 men + 10 oxen

years five and six: 109 men + 5 oxen teams (10 oxen accompanied by 5 men) = 114 men + 10 oxen

These numbers do not sound excessive in themselves but should be seen as representing a part of the total *active* workforce that may have been living in or near Tiryns. In order to estimate population numbers in the near vicinity of Tiryns, figures can be deduced from Pylos (15 ha¹⁷⁵ with 3000 inhabitants¹⁷⁶) and Mycenae (32 ha with 6400 inhabitants¹⁷⁷), as an exercise. This is supported the systematic approach of Hansen's shotgun

¹⁷⁵ Shelmerdine 2008, 148.

¹⁷⁶ Davis 2010, 687.

¹⁷⁷ Bennet 2013, 245.

method whereby small to medium-sized poleis are calculated to have 32 to 33 houses per hectare within the walled area of the poleis and that each house would allow six people to live there.¹⁷⁸ This results in approximately 200 inhabitants per hectare and matches what has been calculated for both Pylos and Mycenae. Following these calculations, the population figure for Tiryns, covering 24.5 hectares,¹⁷⁹ can be approximated as 4900 people. An average of 100 men and 10 oxen would be needed for a period of six years part-time for the construction of the UB wall alone. If we can follow the estimate that one in four of a general population is an adult male and thus represents the *active* workforce of that population,¹⁸⁰ this means that the 100 men form c. 8% of the active workforce of Tiryns (or 5.7% or 4% if Tiryns covered 35–50 ha after Wright 2004a). These figures, though, need to be taken as rough estimates only since they are derived from different sources, here brought together for the exercise: inherent dangers in employing such figures have been pointed out¹⁸¹ and should be kept in mind. As I said, these figures do not include supportive activities towards the building industry. The five oxen yokes, converted into agricultural work, would be able to plough 50 hectares between them.¹⁸² However, if other large-scale building works needed to take place as well, such numbers may have had to be doubled or tripled again, unless such projects were carefully scheduled sequentially, by Mycenae, for instance, in collaboration with Tiryns, Midea and possibly Argos. *If* these projects had been done in sequence, as can be suggested and visualized by the spreadsheet model, this could imply three things: (1) possibly a constant amount of people were at work, from one project to another, over longer periods of time during agricultural slack times; (2) such sequential work may have been done on purpose in order not to stretch the resources of both skilled and unskilled workers available in the realm of the Argolid and near Tiryns more specifically; (3) this chronological spacing of building works between centres in the Argolid, *if* done as suggested here (but there is no proof for this and several *may* have

¹⁷⁸ Hansen 2006, 51, 59, with varieties possible.

¹⁷⁹ Shelmerdine 2008, 148. But see Wright 2004a, 121, mentioning 35–50 ha for Mycenae and Tiryns.

¹⁸⁰ After DeLaine 1997, 201.

¹⁸¹ Iacovou's 2007 paper is a real eye-opener in certain persistent size estimation figures for LBA Cyprus.

¹⁸² See the discussion below and Halstead 1995.

been going on simultaneously, for any variety of reasons), may help in considering the sequence, and the inherent fine-tuned chronology of these works, in which these were conducted.

6. Oxen traction (or any heavy transport) would not be advisable, or would be even impossible in the rainy seasons due to muddy and thus slippery road surfaces.¹⁸³ The amount of work oxen could achieve per day depended on the size and health of the animals, the soil they worked and the weather before and during the ploughing, the distance from farmer's base to the fields, among other factors.¹⁸⁴ Several of these factors would affect the employment of oxen for heavy burden transport as well, causing e.g. delays.
7. Finally, one may wonder if the circles on TI Sl 8–10 from Tiryns show unspoked wheels and may be meant to be a solid wheel and not a spoked one, possibly of a wagon or cart. In such a case, this situation could refer to repairs of these vehicles by replacing single broken wheels. From Old-Babylonian texts of the Diyala region (East Iraq), wagons there were issued by the authoritative institutions, including the palace, for the harvest season. Each wagon required two men, an oxen pair pulled the wagon while being linked to the yoke; in Chagar Bazar (North Syria) and Shemshara (North-east Iraq), oxen are associated with *majjaltum*: the wagon or sledge.¹⁸⁵ Wagons could have been used for the transport of heavy blocks, too, as we see in the photographs of the 19th century AD Carrara marble transport.¹⁸⁶ If we were to draw the parallel to the Mycenaean context, the palace would potentially provide both oxen and wagons for monumental and large-scale construction since the latter were likely used for this specific purpose.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ This was already pointed out by Müller 1930, 208. While being on fieldwork in Tiryns during the time of writing (early November), the weather turned from very dry and sunny to extremely wet and muddy with torrential rains that took place in the span of 20 hours and turned the terrain into inaccessible pools of mud in places where the surface was uneven and drainage was poor. However, on flat ground and packed earthen surfaces, most of the water was led away and absorbed into the ground during the next day. If road surfaces consisted of well-compacted rammed earth with good drainage on both sides, it may have been possible to use them even under partially rainy conditions.

¹⁸⁴ Halstead 1995, 13–14.

¹⁸⁵ Stol 1995, 185.

¹⁸⁶ Wagons with solid wheels (*Il marmo ... ieri e oggi* 1970, 94–95) and with spoked wheels (p. 91, for smaller loads) were used at the Carrara quarries.

¹⁸⁷ This fits very well with Cavanagh – Mee (1999, 96) who state that these heavy carts were

Concluding remarks

"Since architecture is an expression of socio-political configuration, architectural changes over time may reflect different political strategies in discreet spatial, temporal or socio-cultural circumstances".¹⁸⁸ In the LH IIIB Mycenaean context, the palaces would have mobilized materials and people where needed to obtain their quota of luxury commodities that served to display their status and prestige. Furthermore, distribution of such goods was an expression of their wish to be included as a part of the East Mediterranean exchanges between the elites and they were part of this system to some degree. These actions consolidated the centres' power and prestige¹⁸⁹ through large-scale public events such as feasting.¹⁹⁰ Wright suggests a close link between feasting and mobilizing labour in the context of massive building programmes,¹⁹¹ and since monumental architecture was a way of displaying high status, feasting may thus be seen as part of palatial planning in creating societal bonds and obligations that could be called upon for future work. The feasts acted also as remuneration of successful finished building projects.¹⁹² Inasmuch as substantial feasting impacted on large and diverse groups of the population of a given territory, it seems probable that the same can be stated about building activities as well, especially if we consider how these came about and which resources were tapped for that purpose. Workers involved in such tasks were not likely to have been employed full-time throughout the year; some may have combined oxherding with the transport of building materials, but were called upon when needed, as would have been the case with unskilled labour. This could likely be done in the form of requesting labour through taxation as was the case for military service, crafting, rowing and other such tasks. Some persons belonging to this labour force may also have been requested to deliver traction animals, or the palaces could have called upon the resources, human and animal, of high-placed officials within the realm of their territory. These people likely had land plots at their disposal and could have been asked to deliver labour

likely built for the occasion.

¹⁸⁸ Englehardt – Nagle 2011, 357.

¹⁸⁹ Nakassis & al. 2011, 180.

¹⁹⁰ Halstead 1992; but based on group membership: Nakassis & al. 2011, 181.

¹⁹¹ Wright 2004b, 167 with references.

¹⁹² One could compare such a feast with the traditional 'glenti' held after a successful excavation season where also the work for the coming season is discussed between excavation directors and the workers' foreman.

services in return for the use of the land. Tablet Fn 7 shows that there were social differences in the ways the palace may have been remunerating its people since some workers received daily rations of food for the work done (wall builders and sawyers) while others, the named individuals, received large rations, either as compensation for bringing and overseeing unskilled workers or to pay these unskilled workers their daily wage. As such, working in construction would have affected a wide range of people and their families, and intersecting social groups, with or without land or animals. The social implications of how these political instances and different groups (palace, religious institutions, *dāmos*, skilled and unskilled people) operated economically and socially with each other are among the most important aspects of this study.

The estimated figures of human and animal labour at Tiryns outlined at the start seem small¹⁹³ but they only give a minimum estimate for the UB wall construction. As 'Set in Stone?' continues to collect also published data from beyond Tiryns, on construction projects of the LBA Argolid, and into the post-palatial period, these figures will be revised and fine-tuned to include information of architectural phases set against the work done per phase. When these figures are subsequently compared with the estimates of the size of the active working population, it will become possible to suggest how and how much these building activities in the Argolid, alongside the other daily activities impacted on the Mycenaean society as a whole. It is already clear that while involved in constructing these men and animals could not do anything else and thus needed constant support for their food and tools, indirectly resulting in work opportunities for others.¹⁹⁴ A thorough and fine-grained chronological study will aid in solving these pending issues.¹⁹⁵

The research literature is filled with references to 'huge' or 'enormous' workforces envisaged as being engaged in monumental construction in the Argolid, but the data presented here and later in the project will result in a better-argued indication of the level and type of influence (if any) the large-scale building programmes may have had on local resources and in the demise of the palaces at the end of the 12th c. BC. Overstretching the population through these construction programmes by the palace powers has been seen as one of the possibly

¹⁹³ Compared, for instance, with the numbers reached by DeLaine for Roman imperial construction projects (1997, 193–94).

¹⁹⁴ See Lepetit (1978) on such exponential effects during the building works at Versailles.

¹⁹⁵ See Maran (2008; 2010) for two building phases of the UB wall.

many (economic and other) reasons for the collapse of the palatial system.¹⁹⁶ The tablets make clear, however, that this mobilization of workforces certainly was not just in the hands of the palace alone, far from it. Therefore, it is all the more important to understand the numbers of people involved in such projects, the full context of the building programmes and what was their relation to the size of the active workforce present per period. It is clear from the Linear B tablets from Pylos, especially An 35, that wall builders were not recruited from beyond the immediate palatial area *because large numbers of them would have been needed*. Instead, their recruitment from further away had, most likely, much more to do with their well-known skills (same practice as for other crafts) or possibly with their personal relationship with the recruiters.

The process of architectural construction – thus *not only* the end-product – may now be understood in the context of the socio-political structures at work in the LH IIIB phase. Once decisions were made to build (by the *wanax*), he must have met with a master architect (or perhaps several architects) to commission the start of the preparations for the procurement of raw materials at the sources, e.g. stone at the quarries and wood from the forests. Also, the authorities at Mycenae and Tiryns must have co-operated for Mycenaean conglomerate to be used at Tiryns. These raw materials were brought to the centres by means of men and/or oxen with wagons or sledges. These materials came, when possible, from nearby the construction site but sometimes also from a certain distance, thus requiring considerable efforts. Such efforts possibly evoked plenty of public attention and thus added value through the technological effort and the potential for a public spectacle embedded in the activities such as transport by means of masses of people and animals (e.g. the transport of conglomerate blocks to Tiryns). The strength of the men involved may have materialized, over time, in the mythological stories of the Cyclopean giants, as if through Chinese whispers. In the meantime, tools, equipment, food and other materials employed during these activities had to be produced and brought in, thus employing a wide range of people with a wide range of skills and capacities. Investments in large-scale construction projects invariably had far-reaching social and economic effects on the population as a whole. Both skilled and unskilled builders and artisans added value to these raw materials¹⁹⁷ by turning them into finished composite multifunctional and impressive structures which were, at least in part, well-planned in advance (cf. the planning and construction of the drainage systems). These end products

¹⁹⁶ See note 1; De Fidio 2001, 16 and n. 12, n. 49, n. 53; also Galaty – Parkinson 2007, 14–15.

¹⁹⁷ See also Brysbaert – Vettters 2013.

then became imbued with even more value and meaning through their selective consumption where only specific high-ranked persons had access to the inner core of complexes while the masses knew only them from the outside.¹⁹⁸ As such, the overall value was imbedded in getting the building materials from various distances and getting people's attention, by employing considerable and available workforces (human and animal), by composing and building, and by finally utilizing the complexes. Gaining the elevated status was a social strategy of the ruling class to be part of the LBA East Mediterranean elite *koinè*¹⁹⁹ consisting of the large empires around. As such, these monumental palaces materialized various social relationships, personal bonds and palatial ideologies, over and beyond defensive ones while the local population, involved directly or indirectly in the construction of these were equally joined together through their labour efforts.

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¹⁹⁸ See the idea of who was present and where, what each ate and with what table ware during public feasting activities: Wright 2004b; Bendall 2004; Issakidou – Halstead 2013, 92–93.

¹⁹⁹ Brysbaert 2008, 24–25, 83, 184.

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A PROPOS DE L'ODE D'HORACE 4,9 EN DÉFENSE DE MARCUS LOLLIUS. QUELQUES OBSERVATIONS¹

GUALTIERO CALBOLI

Il peut sembler hasardeux de prendre comme objet d'étude une des odes du livre quatrième d'Horace lorsqu'il y a maintenant le riche commentaire de Paolo Fedeli et Irma Ciccarelli 2008, mais étudier Horace est toujours une occasion de mieux connaître ce grand poète dans ses lumières et ses ombres, ainsi que le grand siècle d'Auguste et du classicisme romain. Je dois dire encore que j'ai changé le titre que j'avais d'abord choisi, qui était trop provocateur ("La clades Lolliana et les mensonges rhétoriques d'un poète courtisan"), même si je n'ai pas changé d'avis: la *clades Lolliana* avait été une véritable *clades*, justement comparée par Tacite à la *clades Variana*, Horace a été dans ce cas comme dans beaucoup d'autres à la fin de sa vie un poète courtisan et il a dit des mensonges, plus ou moins consciemment, pour exalter un personnage qui ne méritait rien de tout cela, mais, surtout, pour mettre en lumière l'importance de sa poésie.

La première question qu'on rencontre en lisant cette ode est une question linguistique, *Ne forte credas*. Fedeli – Ciccarelli (2008, 409 sv.), se sont posé le problème de savoir s'il s'agit d'un prohibitif indépendant ou d'une proposition finale, mais ils posent la question d'une façon plutôt stylistique que grammaticale, c'est-à-dire si à la fin de la phrase (*uerba loquor socianda chordis*) il y a un arrêt fort (prohibitif indépendant) ou faible (subordination finale). Ils disent alors que dans le latin classique le présent du subjonctif, qui est fréquent dans le latin archaïque, est employé bien rarement. C'est une chose bien connue que moi-même j'avais déjà soulignée (Calboli 1966, 294), mais à propos de laquelle on ne doit pas oublier que le présent est bien employé, sans avoir la fréquence du parfait (**Ne forte credideris*). Pour ma part je pense qu'ici le signifié est celui

¹ Je remercie mon ami Michel Poirier, qui comme parlant français et grand connaisseur de l'antiquité classique a bien voulu contrôler et corriger le français de mon texte.

de donner un précepte et une inhibition, un signifié qui a été mis en lumière par W. D. C. DE MELO (2007, 253), à propos du latin archaïque. On doit considérer l'*usus scribendi* d'Horace et Fedeli – Ciccarelli donnent les lieux d'Horace où on trouve *ne forte* avec un subjonctif présent pour démontrer qu'il s'agit toujours d'une subordination finale. Je donne ces exemples:

(1) Hor. *sat.* 2,1,80–83: *sed tamen ut monitus caueas, ne forte negoti / incutiat tibi quid sanctarum inscitia legum: / si mala condiderit in quem quis carmina, ius est / iudiciumque; epist.*1,13,11–13: *uictor propositi simul ac perveneris illuc, / sic positum seruabis onus, ne forte sub ala, fasciculum portes librorum, ut rusticus agnum; 2,1,208–211: ac ne forte putes me quae facere ipse recusem, / cum recte tractent aliis laudare maligne, / ille per extentum funem mihi posse uidetur / ire poeta, meum qui pectus inaniter angit; ars* 176–8: *ne forte seniles / mandentur iuueni partes pueroque uiriles, / semper in adiunctis aeuoque morabimur aptis; 403–7: dictae per carmina sortes / et uitae monstrata uia est et gratia regum / Pieriis temptata modis ludusque repertus / et longorum operum finis: ne forte pudori / sit tibi Musa lyrae sollers et cantor Apollo.*

Fedeli – Ciccarelli ajoutent (pp. 410 sv.) qu'Horace dépend probablement de Lucrèce qui emploie la formule *ne forte putes* (Lucr. 2,410: *ne tu forte putes; 2,718.842; 4,129: sed ne forte putes* avec un module initial produit par la césure penthémimère)² et ceci contribuerait encore à souligner la grandeur poétique d'Horace dans son émulation avec un grand poète comme Lucrèce. Pour ma part je ne voudrais pas aller ici au-delà de ce qu'Horace nous dit lui-même – et il ne dit rien sur cet emploi –, parce qu'il est trop facile de trouver des références à d'autres textes poétiques, et l'accumulation très riche d'observations de Fedeli – Ciccarelli peut aboutir à nous donner un Horace-Fedeli différent d'Horace Flaccus.

Eduard Fraenkel, à son tour, a consacré à cette ode deux pages et demie (Fraenkel 1963, 423–26), en faisant des observations très importantes: il a mis en rapport cette ode 4,9 avec l'ode 4,8: *Donarem pateras*, dans laquelle Horace dit à Censorinus qu'il va lui donner ce qu'il peut, les *carmina* (*carmina possumus donare*), et les *carmina* donnent un souvenir immortel : *neque / si chartae sileant, quod bene feceris, / mercedem tuleris [...] Dignum laude uirum Musa uetat mori* (*carm.* 4,8,20–22.28). C'est ce qu'Horace dit dans la strophe *uixere*

² Cf. Paulson 1911, 124.

*fortes ante Agamemnona/ multi : sed omnes inlacrimabiles/ urgentur ignotique longa / nocte, carent qui uate sacro,*³ qui est le pivot de notre ode 4,9, comme on le verra mieux plus loin.

Fraenkel (1963, 425) présente une observation juste, me semble-t-il, à propos de l'expression *Ne forte credas* sur laquelle s'ouvre cette ode: on doit attendre jusqu'au vers 33 pour apprendre qu'Horace s'adresse à Lollius, tandis qu'au début il semble s'adresser au lecteur. "He therefore takes advantage of an ambiguous 'thou', *ne forte credas*. Only when nearly two-thirds of the poem are over does it become clear that here, as in most Horatian odes, an individual person, Lollius, is being addressed". C'est une observation très subtile, mais il me semble que tout effet didactique joue sur cette ambiguïté de s'adresser aux lecteurs en même temps qu'au dédicataire du poème. Fedeli – Ciccarelli (p. 411) se débarrassent d'une façon maladroite de l'observation de Fraenkel en disant que selon Fraenkel et Syndikus Horace s'adresse à Lollius, mais, après avoir dit cela, ils développent la même pensée: "Non è escluso, però, che Orazio sfrutti l'ambiguità della seconda persona sia all'inizio sia alla fine dell'opera (v. 45: *non...uocaueris*): grazie ad essa, infatti, anche il lettore si sente coinvolto e diviene un interlocutore privilegiato al pari del reale destinatario". C'est la même idée qu'on trouve chez Fraenkel.⁴ D'autre part c'était la même chose chez Lucrèce: lorsqu'il disait, *Sed*

³ Sans tenir compte de la fausseté objective de cette affirmation (les Annales de Mursilis, le poème de Gilgames et beaucoup d'autres documents démentent Horace), ce qui est important est l'idée que seule la célébration par un poète épique ou lyrique pouvait donner l'immortalité. Ceci était une tâche de la poésie épique d'Homère et la préoccupation d'Horace est d'affirmer la même capacité de la poésie lyrique à donner l'immortalité. C'est l'idée défendue dans cette ode (*non, si priores Maeonius tenet / sedes Homerus, Pindaricae latent / Caeaque et Alcaei minaces / Stesichorique graues Camenae*) et démontrée dans l'ode 6 du livre quatrième où Horace nous dit qu'Apollon, le dieu de la poésie lyrique, en tuant Achille, a rendu possible qu'il y eût des Troyens survivants pour donner naissance à Rome, Troyens qu'Achille aurait tous tués. D'autre part il est bien connu que César et Auguste avaient intérêt au jugement de la postérité, parce que César envoyait Alexandre le Grand pour l'empereur de ses entreprises (Suet. *Caes.* 7,1), et Auguste regrettait qu'Horace ne lui eût dédié aucune de ses épîtres littéraires, Suet. *v. Hor.* lin. 31: *an uereris [c'est Auguste qui parle], ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod uidearis familiaris nobis esse?*

⁴ Elisa Romano (1991, 893) cherche à nier sans aucune discussion le rapport institué par Fraenkel entre les odes 7–8–9, et elle cherche aussi à démontrer qu'Horace a écrit cette ode en réponse à des détracteurs en raison de l'amitié entre Auguste et Lollius. Mais les détracteurs de Lollius sont venus après la mort d'Horace et aussi de Lollius (Velleius Paterculus, Pline l'Ancien, Tacite, Svéton) et la grande amitié entre Lollius et Auguste est supposée par le fait qu'Auguste après la *clades Lolliana* "non perdetta la fiducia in lui e nel 2 a.C. lo destinò come *comes et rector* del nipote Gaio Cesare". Mais Auguste dut intervenir lui-même contre

ne forte putes, il s'adressait d'un point de vue formel à Memmius, mais en réalité et en même temps au lecteur. C'est normal. On ne peut penser qu'Horace gardait de manière stable dans son esprit une personnalité mineure telle que Lollius: ici même Fraenkel (p. 426) nous a donné une observation très pertinente dont on ne peut pas se débarrasser aisément: "It may be doubted whether Lollius was greatly pleased in reading the ode in which it takes the poet so very long to come to his addressee. He may have hoped that at least the concluding part of the poem would be solely concerned with himself and his *uirtutes*. But if he cherished any such hope, disappointment awaited him". Je suis d'accord avec Fraenkel: les deux dernières strophes de l'ode (*non possidentem multa uocaueris / recte beatum* – tu ne pourras pas appeler heureux celui qui possède beaucoup, mais celui qui est content de sa pauvreté) s'adressent à Lollius d'une façon encore moins certaine que le *Ne forte credas* du début, et ceci pour deux raisons: l'une est la généralité de l'eudaimologia (qui est l'heureux? Non celui qui a beaucoup, mais celui qui peut supporter la pauvreté, *pauperiem pati*),⁵ l'autre la référence à la pauvreté de Lollius. Car si je n'ai aucune difficulté à accepter l'idée de Fedeli – Ciccarelli que l'on ne doit pas juger Lollius sur ce qu'il a fait à la fin de sa vie, ramasser beaucoup de richesses, et aussi se laisser corrompre par le roi des Parthes, je ne pense pourtant pas que Lollius quinze ans avant était quelqu'un qui aimait la pauvreté: il valait donc mieux être générique, se débarrasser grâce à la référence générique de toute responsabilité à l'égard de Lollius, sans considérer s'il était ou s'il n'était pas amateur de la pauvreté. C'est vrai qu'Horace n'a pas eu honte de dire un mensonge à propos de la *clades Lolliana*, lorsqu'il dit: *per obstantis cateruas / explicuit sua uictor arma*. Mais dans ce cas ajouter le mot *uictor* pour quelqu'un qui n'avait pas été *uictor* du tout, c'était nécessaire pour empêcher qu'on pensât que Lollius avait été vaincu complètement. Il s'était dégagé des *obstantis cateruas* (exagération poétique et courtoise d'Horace pour excuser Lollius). En réalité les Romains s'étaient enfuis en laissant l'aigle de la cinquième légion dans les mains des Sygambres.

Après la mort de Virgile qui avait eu lieu en l'an 19, après le *Carmen saeculare* de la composition duquel il avait été chargé en 17, Horace s'apercevait qu'il était désormais le plus grand poète de Rome. Alors aux mots avec lesquels

les Sygambres et M. Lollius est présenté par Tacite et par Svétone, les deux auteurs auxquels se réfère Romano, très mal par Tacite, *ann.* 3,48,2, comme *auctorem C. Caesari prauitatis et discordiarum* selon le témoignage de *Sulpicius Quirinius*, et par Svétone, *Tib.* 12–13, comme auteur des toutes sortes de *criminationes* contre Tibère. Elisa Romano nous a donné la plus maladroite défense de Lollius que je connaisse et la pire explication de ce problème.

⁵ Sur l'eudaimonie dans le monde grec et romain voir Forschner 1994, 22–79.

il ouvre l'ode 3,1: *odi profanum uulgus et arceo* il donne comme suite dans l'ode à Melpomène (4,3) l'affirmation pleine d'orgueil: *quod monstror digito praetereuntium / Romanae fidicen lyrae* (4,3,22 sv.). Il a fait aussi dans l'ode 4,6,17–24 la subtile observation que la poésie lyrique a été aussi importante que l'épique parce que c'est Apollon qui, en tuant Achille par la main de Paris, a permis le sauvetage d'Enée et des Troyennes qui auraient été tous tués par Achille et qui, au contraire, sauvés, ont donné naissance à Rome.⁶ D'autre part Apollon était la divinité de laquelle s'inspirait en particulier Auguste. Bien à raison Fraenkel observe (1963, 424) qu'Horace dans cette célébration introduit sa propre personne: "it is only after speaking of poetry [...] in apparently general terms that Horace proceeds to introduce his own person [...] iv.9 begins with the poetry of one individual, Horace from Venusia". Mais, encore plus importante est la dignité du genre qu'Horace représente, c'est à dire du genre lyrique. À cet égard, Horace nous donne une sorte de canon des poètes lyriques où on trouve Pindare, Simonide et Bacchylide, représentés par l'île de Céos, Alcée, Stésichore, Anacréon et Sappho. Fedeli – Ciccarelli aussi (2008, 412) reconnaissent comme un aspect important de cette Ode le fait qu'Horace ici se célèbre lui-même, *longe sonantem natus ad Aufidum*. Expression dans laquelle on retrouve la formule homérique *πολυφλοίσθη θαλάσση*, mais passée à travers Catulle 11,3–4: *longe resonante Eoa / tunditur unda*; Verg. *georg.* 1,358 sv.; *Aen.* 5,866: *tum rauca adsiduo longe sale saxa sonabant*.

Dès lors ce *carmen* est une exaltation d'Horace plus que de Lollius, ou, mieux, l'exaltation de Lollius est au service de l'exaltation d'Horace, qui, bien qu'il ne fût pas né à Rome, avait eu grâce à son père une importante formation culturelle et était devenu le plus grand poète de Rome.

En effet on se résout mal à voir Horace engagé dans la défense de Lollius et de la *clades Lolliana*, et dans l'exaltation de la vertu de quelqu'un qui, comme Lollius, a été convaincu d'être un grand voleur et d'une capacité militaire bien modeste. On est dans l'embarras pour justifier Horace et on a trouvé des solutions différentes: Fedeli – Ciccarelli ont souligné que les péchés de Lollius ont été découverts bien après cette ode et qu'Horace pouvait ne connaître d'aucune façon les vices de Lollius, vices que, comme nous le dit Velleius Paterculus, cité ensuite, Lollius tenait bien cachés. Une autre solution a été défendue par Ambrose (1965), selon qui Horace ferait de l'ironie. Mais l'ironie est difficile à démontrer, bien que

⁶ J'ai traité de cette idée d'Horace dans Calboli 1985. Pour le rapport qu'Auguste avait institué avec le culte d'Apollon v. Kienast 1982, 192–200.

sur certains points l'ironie dans cette ode ne puisse pas être exclue.⁷ Par exemple ce qu'Horace dit de la vertu de Lollius, aimant la pauvreté, va contre tout ce que nous savons de cet homme. L'énorme accumulation de richesses de Lollius ne se fait pas en peu d'années. Mais je pense que la réponse est un peu plus complexe. Il est bien probable qu'Horace a reçu de Mécène ou d'Auguste quelque invitation à écrire cette ode, mais, à ce point, il y a deux possibilités: il connaissait peu ou pas du tout l'avidité de Lollius, ou bien il la connaissait mais il ne l'a pas considérée d'une façon très sérieuse parce que il ne prenait pas trop sérieusement Lollius, et il s'est servi de lui pour une autre finalité, celle de dire clairement que sa poésie, c'est-à-dire la poésie lyrique, donnait l'immortalité à n'importe quelle personne.

Prenons, maintenant, en considération la *clades Lolliana* qui nous est présentée par Dion 54,20,4–6. Syme a cherché à démontrer qu'elle a été dépourvue de toute consistance (1939, 429; 1986, 396 sv., 431). On connaît bien comment la chose s'est passée, si l'on accepte les notices de Cassius Dion: il nous dit que les Sygambres avec leurs alliés avaient mis en déroute la cavalerie de Lollius, et ensuite Lollius lui-même:

(2) Dio 54,20,5–6: Σύγαμβροί τε [...] φεύγουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι τῷ τε Λολλίῳ ἄρχοντι αὐτῆς ἐνέτυχον ἀνέλπιστοι καὶ ἐνίκησαν καὶ ἐκείνον. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Αὐγουστος ὥρμησε μὲν ἐπ' αὐτούς, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔργον τι πολέμου ἔσχεν· οἱ γὰρ βάρβαροι τὸν τε Λόλλιον παρασκευαζόμενον καὶ ἐκείνον στρατεύοντα πυθόμενοι ἕς τε τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀνεχώρησαν καὶ σπονδὰς ἐποιήσαντο, ὁμήρους δόντες. "Sugambri [...] then, pursuing them [sc. the Roman cavalry] as they fled, they fell in unexpectedly with Lollius, the governor of the province, and conquered him also. On learning of all this, Augustus hastened against them, but found no warfare to carry on; for the barbarians, learning that Lollius was making preparations and that the emperor was also taking the field, retired into their own territory and made peace, giving hostages" (transl. E. Cary, *Dio's Roman History* VI, Cambridge, Mass. 1917, p. 333).⁸

⁷ Moralejo (2007, 461), écrit que ce qu'Horace dit sur les nombreux mérites de Lollius "sonara a amarga ironía unos años más tarde, cuando aquél sufrió una infamante derrota militar", mais Moralejo ne dit pas qu'Horace, lui-même, faisait de l'ironie.

⁸ Les sources de Dion ont été différentes, Liuius, l'Autobiographie d'Auguste, v. Kuhn-Chen 2002, 135–42.

Le jugement de Tacite (*ann.* 1,10,4), à son tour, est net,⁹ il associe la défaite de Lollius à celle de Varus et les considère comme faisant partie des négativités du principat d'Auguste.¹⁰ C'est vrai que les Sygambres et les Usipètes et Tenctères ne sont pas restés sur la rive gauche du Rhin et sont rentrés en Germanie, mais les Sygambres et leurs alliés ont mis en pratique une tactique très intelligente pour contrer les Romains, et c'était la même tactique qu'a employée Arminius: attaquer les Romains et rentrer tout de suite dans les forêts de la Germanie; la conséquence sera que les Romains ne s'empareront jamais complètement de la rive droite du Rhin, sauf quelques pénétrations plus ou moins profondes.

La notice et le jugement de Velléius Paterculus sont dominés par la grande exaltation de Tibère qu'on trouve chez cet historien, et Lollius avait été un adversaire de Tibère – il s'agit d'une circonstance qu'on ne doit pas oublier, qui réduit, mais n'annule pas le témoignage:

(3) Vell. 2,97,1: *Sed dum in hac parte imperii omnia geruntur prosperrime [sc. in Pannonia], accepit in Germania clades sub legato M. Lollio, homine in omnia pecuniae quam recte faciendi cupidior et inter summam uitiorum dissimulationem uitiosissimo, amissaque legionis quintae aquila uocauit ab urbe in Gallias Caesarem. Cura deinde atque onus Germanici belli delegata Druso Claudio, fratri Neronis, adulescenti tot tantarumque uirtutum, quot et quantas natura mortalis recipit uel industria perficit.*

Ce qui se passa alors n'aura pas été trop différent de ce qui arriva dans la *clades Variana*, sauf une grande différence dans la perte de soldats, avec les soldats romains qui s'enfuyaient en masse. Sous le commandement de Caecina, six ans

⁹ Syme (1986, 402 n. 116) écrit que la "'clades Lolliana', dully enhanced by Velleius (II.97.1), and also accepted by the incautious Tacitus", eqs.

¹⁰ Suétone (*Aug.* 23) nous donne une version de cette défaite qui, de l'avis de Fedeli – Ciccarelli 2008, 405, est plus modérée que s'il s'agissait d'une véritable défaite, car Suétone soulignerait surtout l'*infamia* et la différence au regard de la défaite de Varus. C'est vrai, mais pas complètement. Lisons le passage de Suétone: *Graves ignominias cladesque duas omnino nec alibi quam in Germania accepit, Lollianam et Varianam, sed Lollianam maioris infamiae quam detrimenti, Varianam paene exitiabilem tribus legionibus cum duce legatisque et auxiliis omnibus caesis.* Et Suétone ajoute toutes les conséquences terribles de la *clades Variana*. Il est bien sûr que la *clades Lolliana* ne fut pas aussi grave que celle de Varus, mais le seul fait qu'on puisse comparer les deux est un indice de la gravité de la défaite de Lollius aussi. Le proclamer *uictor* comme le dit Horace pousse à penser mal du poète. Fedeli – Ciccarelli ont exagéré dans la défense comme il arrive souvent à tous ceux qui écrivent trop.

après, au contraire, les Romains s'arrêtèrent et dressèrent des *castra* dans lesquels ils purent soutenir les attaques d'Arminius et d'Inguiomerus: pour dire vrai Arminius ne voulait pas attaquer les *castra*, mais les soldats romains en marche quand ils seraient sortis des *castra*, l'attaque des *castra* avait été voulue par son vieil oncle Inguiomerus (Tac. *ann.* 63,3–68). Les Germains combattaient, bien efficacement, dans les forêts et les marais qu'on trouvait sur la rive droite du Rhin, pour se défendre et plus ou moins comme dans la *clades Variana*: les Romains avaient poursuivi leur guerre, qui était plutôt un génocide, tuant les gens dans les villages des Chattes ou prenant comme esclaves les vieux, les enfants et les femmes (Tac. *ann.* 1,56,3: *Chattis adeo improuisus aduenit, ut quod imbecillum aetate ac sexu statim captum aut trucidatum sit*), et ils conçurent la *clades Variana* comme une révolte d'esclaves (Tac. *ann.* 1,57,2: *anno quo Germaniae descivere*) et imposèrent le *senatus consultum Silanianum* selon lequel tous les esclaves (et les affranchis aussi) devaient être mis à mort si un esclave tuait son maître (v. Calboli 1996, 102 sv., et Wolf 1988).¹¹

En tout cas la question la plus vitale à propos de cette ode, c'est de justifier l'association d'Horace, ce grand poète, avec Lollius, qui termina sa vie d'une façon ignominieuse. On peut dire que Lollius a changé, qu'Horace a voulu défendre Lollius peut-être pour faire plaisir à Mécène, qu'Horace a suivi le comportement d'Auguste qui laissa Lollius dans ses fonctions. De toute façon on a du mal à trouver entre eux un rapport satisfaisant, et une possibilité est de penser qu'Horace a construit une ode techniquement irréprochable, mais prenant le moyen de voir les choses d'une manière plutôt générique. Celui qui a souligné le plus ce caractère de cette ode a été Hans Peter Syndikus. Syndikus a partagé l'ode en trois parties, la première dans laquelle en trois strophes "verkundet Horaz seinen Glauben, daß seine Lyrik nicht untergehen werde" (Syndikus 2001, 360). La deuxième partie donne des exemples concrets de ce qu'il a dit et s'ouvre sur une strophe consacrée à Hélène qui s'est laissé fasciner à la vue de l'or et des richesses de Paris, et cette strophe se réfère à la strophe précédente de la première partie dans laquelle le poète fait allusion aux passions de Sappho. Arrivent ensuite les héros grecs et les défenseurs de Troie Hector et Deiphobe qui sont devenus immortels, c'est à dire connus par tout le monde, grâce à Homère (cf. à cet égard Fedeli – Ciccarelli [2008, 424–29] qui donnent tous les renseignements).

¹¹ Dietmar Kienast a supposé que le *senatus consultum Silanianum* a été approuvé en l'année 10 ap. J.-Ch. à cause de la peur provoquée par la *clades Variana* (1982, 306), parce que l'action d'Arminius, officier d'un contingent de cavalerie Cherusque, fut vue comme une sorte de mutinerie (v. à cet égard Timpe 1970, 35 sv.; Id., 1995, 25).

L'hypothèse la plus difficile à accepter à propos de M. Lollius est celle qui a été formulée par G. Radke 1986, qui a supposé que Lollius n'était pas coupable du tout, que les Parthes ont réussi à tromper Gaius et que les grandes richesses accumulées par Lollius étaient un usage commun des Romains de ce temps-là. Mais, alors, comment expliquer le scandale de Pline, *nat.* 9,118? Cependant il est intéressant que Radke pense que Lollius n'a pas changé entre le temps d'Horace et ce qui s'est passé ensuite. Pour ma part je partage cette opinion avec la seule différence qu'à mon avis Lollius était un mauvais personnage, et non l'honnête homme que suppose Radke (1986, 779 sv.), qui écrit: "je préfère considérer les reproches qu'on lui a faits comme des exagérations de l'historiographie favorable à Tibère, et je tiens la condamnation de Lollius pour une faute de Gaius trompé par Phraate et mal conseillé par un entourage jaloux" (p. 780).

A mon avis cette ode est vraiment singulière dans le livre quatrième des odes d'Horace et on a du mal à la comparer avec les grandes odes dédiées à Drusus et Tibère (4,4) et à Auguste lui-même (4,5; 4,14), même si nous sommes toujours dans le genre épideictique, c'est-à-dire *demonstratiuum*.¹² Lollius était en tout cas un personnage mineur et il avait subi une défaite, il n'avait pas remporté de victoire.

En d'autres mots, quel est le sens de cette ode dans le livre quatrième des odes d'Horace, une ode qui est au moins discutable du point de vue du personnage auquel l'ode a été dédiée? Je pense que c'est l'idée que la poésie est au dessus de toute critique, que c'est un acte d'orgueil du poète. Je ne peux pas croire qu'Horace pensait vraiment que Lollius méritait cette célébration, que Lollius était comparable aux personnages célébrés par Homère. C'était lui, Horace, qui était comparable à Homère, parce que Rome était comparable à la Grèce des grands héros, et que la poésie lyrique n'était pas moins valable que la poésie épique. La comparaison entre les deux genres poétiques, avec l'affirmation que le genre lyrique a la même capacité de donner l'immortalité que le genre épique, se trouve dans l'ode sixième de ce même livre 4 des odes. Là on ne trouve pas seulement l'idée qu'Apollon, le grand dieu de la poésie lyrique, a permis, en tuant Achille, la naissance de Rome, mais on trouve des références linguistiques à la poésie de Virgile, l'ami disparu d'Horace, mais présent aussi dans la langue d'Horace (Calboli 1985, 173 sv.). L'influence de Virgile que j'ai soulignée dans l'ode sixième n'était pas due au hasard, mais répondait à cette finalité: apparaître comparable à Virgile. Non pas seulement pour la valeur personnelle, mais plutôt pour la valeur du genre lyrique à l'égard du genre épique.

¹² Sur ce genre v. Calboli Montefusco 1979, 261 sv.; Adamietz 1966, 98 sv.

En tout cas pour comprendre mieux l'ode à Lollius on doit, à mon avis, considérer toutes les odes du genre épideictique du livre quatrième et ne pas oublier qu'Horace a ajouté ce livre bien des années après aux trois livres des odes qu'il avait publiés en 23 (dans sa vie écrite par Suétone on lit: *Augustus [...] scripta quidem eius usque adeo probavit mansuraque perpetua opinatus est, ut non modo saeculare carmen componendum iniunxerit, sed et Vindeliciam uictoriam Tiberi Drusique priuignorum suorum, eumque coegerit propter hoc tribus carminum libris ex longo interuallo quartum addere*. Et ceci après qu'Horace avait exprimé dans le premier livre des épîtres toute sa désillusion (*epist.* 1,19,35–40) de ce que le public n'avait pas apprécié d'une façon favorable les trois livres des odes qu'il avait publiés en l'année 23.

La clef de l'ode dédiée à Lollius est la strophe septième où on lit:

(4) Hor. *carm.* 4,9,25–28: *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
multi, sed omnes illacrimabiles
urgentur ignotique longa
nocte, carent quia uate sacro.*

C'est-à-dire: il y a eu des héros avant Agamemnon, mais sans Homère leur mémoire aurait disparu. C'est ce qu'on pourrait dire de Lollius et, en effet, sans Horace Lollius serait, peut-être, un des si nombreux personnages mineurs mentionnés par les historiens Velleius Paterculus, Tacite et Suétone.¹³ Mais, en mettant en regard les autres personnages célébrés par Horace dans le livre quatrième des Odes, c'est-à-dire Auguste, Drusus et Tibère, pourrait-on dire la même chose? Horace aurait-il pu se vanter d'être celui qui donnait l'immortalité à Auguste et aux *Nerones*?¹⁴ Une telle proposition aurait été indélicate et grossière, et peut-être un peu dangereuse.¹⁵ Cela aurait été comme dire: votre renommée auprès

¹³ L'affirmation de Gerhard Radke (1986, 782), "Sans la force de la poésie lyrique, sans sa poésie, personne ne parlerait de Lollius", est excessive, mais s'approche de la vérité. En tout cas c'était l'opinion d'Horace, il le dit explicitement: Hor. *carm.* 4,9,30–34: *non ego te meis / chartis inornatum sileri, / totue tuos patiar labores / inpune, Lolli, carpere liuidas obliuiones.*

¹⁴ Au contraire ce sera lui, Horace, qui empêchera par ses vers (*meis chartis*) que les *obliuiones*, noires d'envie, s'empatrent des *labores* de Lollius. Impossible d'affirmer cela pour Auguste, Drusus, Tibère.

¹⁵ Dans les cas très subtilement développés dans *Rhet. Her.* 3,6,11–12, je ne trouve pas ce cas, mais un cas qui représente la même idée d'une façon explicite et, par conséquent, bien plus grossière: *Ab eius persona, de quo loquemur, si laudabimus: uereri nos, ut illius facta uer-*

de la postérité dépend de moi. Horace pouvait le dire de Lollius, de Censorinus, personnages dépourvus de l'importance d'Auguste et de ses fils, même si Horace ignorait les vices de Lollius et si le mépris de richesses de la part de Lollius n'était pas ironique. Remarquons qu'Auguste lui-même était très attentif à cet aspect.¹⁶ Lorsqu'il invita Horace à composer une épître en son honneur (Suet. v. *Hor.* 30 sv.) il dit: *irasci me tibi scito, quod non in plerisque eiusmodi scriptis mecum potissimum loquaris. An uereris, ne apud posteros infame tibi sit, quod uidearis familiaris nobis esse?* Dans ces mots il y a toute une attention à la postérité, et cet aspect nous intéresse de deux points de vue, (1) de la conception d'Horace au regard de l'immortalité, et (2) de l'attention d'Auguste à cette question. Une confirmation de ceci se trouve dans le fait qu'aucune allusion directe à cette action d'Horace conférant l'immortalité n'apparaît dans les odes où Horace célèbre Drusus et Tibère (4,4) ou Auguste (4,5) et surtout l'attitude d'Horace dans l'ode à Lollius n'a rien à voir avec celle qu'il montre dans l'ode 4,14 lorsqu'il fait allusion à ce thème. Il emploie le verbe très rare *aeternet* (v. 5), qui avait été mis en usage par Varron (Non. 75, *Rerum humanarum lib. II*, v. *ThLL* I 1141, 75–81),¹⁷ mais ce qui va donner l'immortalité aux vertus d'Auguste est la *cura patrum* et *Quiritum*, c'est-à-dire, le *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, Horace évite bien de mettre en relation ce thème avec lui-même et il fait seulement une allusion indirecte et bien discrète à soi-même lorsqu'il parle de l'impétuosité guerrière de Drusus et Tibère en la comparant à la force de l'*Aufidus tauriformis*, c'est-à-dire au fleuve de son enfance. Ou mieux, et plus subtilement, Horace avec l'interrogation rhétorique exclut que le Sénat et les Quirites puissent *aeternare* Auguste, mais il prend garde de dire qu'il sera lui, Horace, en mesure de le faire, tandis qu'en effet il le fait en commençant quatre strophes avec *te* (Auguste), répété en tout neuf fois:

bis consequi possimus; omnes homines illius uirtutes praedicare oportere; ipsa facta omnium laudatorum eloquentiam anteire. Pourquoi dangereuse? Horace avait combattu à Philippes dans le camp de Brutus et Cassius, chose dont il s'est toujours vanté, mais qui avait sûrement laissé le souci de garder certaines limites (sur la mémoire de Philippes chez d'Horace v. Citroni 2000 et ma réponse Calboli 2004, 252–56). Horace était un si grand poète qu'il était lui permis de se vanter du fait qu'il avait combattu les armes d'Octavien, mais la mesure s'imposait d'autant plus de deux points de vue, d'Auguste et d'Horace lui-même qui de soldat de Brutus était devenu donneur d'immortalité au profit de ses ennemis.

¹⁶ Selon La Penna (1963, 115), Auguste avait pris personnellement à partir du 20 le contrôle de l'élite intellectuelle et culturelle de Rome. Je partage cette opinion.

¹⁷ V. aussi Kiessling – Heinze 1958, 456: "mit nochmaliger Betonung des Hauptbegriffs *aeternet*, ein seltenes, nur noch einmal aus Varro (*litterisque ac laudibus aeternare* Non. p.75) zitiertes Wort".

- (5) Hor. *carm.* 4,14,1–53: *Quae cura **patrum**, quaeue **Quiritium*** 1
plenis honorum muneribus tuas,
Auguste, uirtutes in aeuum
per titulos memoresque fastus
- aeternet, o, qua sol habitabilis* 5
inlustrat oras, maxime principum?
 [...]
- ut barbarorum Claudius agmina*
ferrata uasto diruit impetu 30
primosque et extremos metendo
strauit humum, sine clade uictor,
- te copias, te consilium et tuos*
praebente diuos.
 [...]
- Te Cantaber non ante domabilis* 41
Medusque et Indus, te profugus Scythes
miratur, o tutela praesens
Italiae dominaeque Romae
- te fontium qui celat origines* 45
Nilus et Hister, te rapidus Tigris,
te beluosus qui remotis
Obstrepi Oceanus Britannis,
- te non pauentis funera Galliae*
duraeque tellus audit Hiberiae. 50
*Te caede gaudentes **Sygambri**¹⁸*
compositis uenerantur armis.

¹⁸ Horace n'a pas oublié les Sygambres, mais Auguste, non Lollius, est celui qui les a contraints à la paix. Ici il y a comme une subtile connexion avec l'Ode 4,9, comme si Horace voulait se corriger et souligner: c'est **toi**, Auguste, non Lollius, que je voulais célébrer avec ma poésie qui donne l'immortalité.

Dès lors la fonction de l'Ode à Lollius (comme de celle à Censorinus) était pour Horace de saisir au vol l'occasion de faire une affirmation explicite sur le pouvoir de sa poésie, une affirmation qu'il ne pouvait pas faire à propos d'Auguste et de ses fils. Il valait bien la peine pour cela d'exalter quelqu'un au dessus de ses mérites, et même de faire des affirmations qui n'étaient pas trop éloignées du mensonge comme celle sur la victoire remportée par Lollius parce qu'il avait réussi à s'enfuir.

D'autre part cette ode n'est pas isolée des autres consacrées à l'exaltation d'Auguste et de ses fils, Drusus et Tibère: elle a été construite de la même façon, le mètre est celui de la poésie éolienne, strophe alcaïque, et le nom du personnage célébré est placé dans l'ὀμφολός, c'est-à-dire à la moitié de l'ode (ceci arrive pour certaines odes comme la 4,4, la 4,6, la 4,9, la 4,10, la 4,12; v. Calboli 1985, 175).

Pour ce qui concerne le mensonge de nommer Lollius *uictor*, Virgile aussi avait modifié la présentation de Diomède en *Eneide* 11,225 sv. au regard de ce qu'on trouve chez Homère, peut-être en suivant Licophron dans *Alexandre*, mais plus probablement de sa propre initiative.¹⁹ Virgile fait dire à Diomède qu'il ne voudrait jamais se battre contre Enée qui est un si bon guerrier que s'il y avait eu deux comme lui les Grecs ne se seraient jamais emparés de Troie, tandis que chez Homère Enée est mis à mal par Diomède et est sauvé seulement par l'intervention de sa mère Venus et d'Apollon après que Diomède n'a pas hésité à blesser Venus aussi.

D'autre part même Pindare, le poète inimitable selon l'avis d'Horace (*carm.* 4,2,1–4), n'a pas eu honte de célébrer et immortaliser les tyrans Siciliens, spécialistes en cruauté (Hor. *epist.* 1,2,57 sv.: *inuidiā Siculi non inuenere tyranni / maius tormentum*). C'est l'histoire honteuse et terrible de l'humanité.

Bologne

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¹⁹ V. Russi 1985, 81.

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RISIKOBEWÄLTIGUNG BEI SCHWANGERSCHAFT UND GEBURT IN DER RÖMISCHEN ANTIKE: LATEINISCHE DOKUMENTARISCHE UND ARCHÄOLOGISCHE ZEUGNISSE*

ULRIKE EHMIG

Risikoreichen Situationen begegnete man in der römischen Kaiserzeit vielfach durch Verlöbnisse an eine oder mehrere Gottheiten. Sahen Menschen sich selbst oder ihnen nahestehende Personen schwerwiegenden, womöglich lebensbedrohenden Gefahren ausgesetzt, baten sie die Götter um Hilfe und versprachen ihnen dafür eine Gegengabe. Erfüllte sich der Wunsch der Hilfesuchenden, überstanden sie die von ihnen subjektiv als bedrohlich eingeschätzten Situationen unbeschadet, lösten sie ihr Versprechen gegenüber den Göttern ein. Dieser Akt konnte verschiedenste Formen und Dimensionen haben und vom Entzünden einer Kerze bis hin zum Bau ganzer Tempel reichen. Am besten lässt er sich heute in den Quellen fassen, wenn den Göttern mit Inschriften versehene Monumente gestiftet worden waren. Mehr als 12.000 solcher Denkmäler sind bekannt. In den meisten Fällen handelt es sich um steinerne Altäre mit entsprechender lateinischer Votivinschrift. Wie die Forschungen der letzten Jahre, insbesondere die Diskussion des sogenannten *epigraphic habit*, gezeigt haben, übten allerdings keineswegs alle Bevölkerungsschichten überall im römischen Reiches und während der gesamten Kaiserzeit gleichermaßen dieser Praxis des Dankes an eine Gottheit.¹

* Dem Beitrag liegt ein Vortrag zugrunde, der unter dem Titel "Management of Pregnancy and Birth in Roman times: Documentary and Archaeological Evidence of Divine Assistance" am 16. Juli 2013 im Rahmen der Tagung "Infertility and Sacred Space: from Antiquity to the Early Modern" am Centre for Research in the Arts, Social Sciences and Humanities (CRASSH) in Cambridge gehalten wurde.

¹ Allgemein zum *epigraphic habit* als Beschreibung der römischen Inschriftenkultur: R. MacMullen, "The Epigraphic Habit in the Roman empire", *AJP* 103 (1982) 233–46; E. A. Meyer, "Explaining the Epigraphic Habit in the Roman Empire: The Evidence of Epitaphs", *JRS* 80 (1990) 74–96. Beispielhaft zu zeit-, raum- oder personenabhängigen Charakteristika: C. Witschel, "Der *epigraphic habit* in der Spätantike: Das Beispiel der Provinz Venetia

In einer Reihe von Votivinschriften führten die Dedikanten die Gründe ihrer Verlöbnisse näher aus.² Findet man solche expliziten Angaben, waren es meistens Erkrankungen, speziell Augen- und Ohrenleiden, die Menschen dazu veranlassten, sich hilfeschend an die Götter zu wenden.³ In ebenso großer Zahl wurden häufig nicht weiter spezifizierte Gefahren⁴ im Zusammenhang militärischer Aktionen genannt, oder wenn Menschen auf Reisen waren. In ihrem Arbeitsalltag waren bestimmte Gruppen mit Situationen konfrontiert, die sie gleichfalls nur mit göttlicher Unterstützung zu überwinden glaubten. Neben Soldaten

et Histria", in C. Witschel – J.-U. Krause (Hrsg.), *Die Stadt in der Spätantike – Niedergang oder Wandel? Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums in München am 30. und 31. Mai 2003* (Historia Einzelschr. 190), Stuttgart 2006, 360–411; M. A. Chancey, "The Epigraphic Habit of Hellenistic and Roman Galilee", in J. Zangenberg – H. W. Attridge – D. B. Martin (Hrsg.), *Religion, Ethnicity, and Identity in Ancient Galilee. A Region in Transition* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament 210), Tübingen 2007, 83–98; D. E. Trout, "Inscribing Identity: The Latin Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity", in P. Rousseau (Hrsg.), *A Companion to Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2009, 170–86; W. Ameling, "The epigraphic habit and the Jewish diasporas of Asia Minor and Syria", in H. M. Cotton – R. G. Hoyland – J. J. Price – D. J. Wasserstein (Hrsg.), *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*, Cambridge 2009, 203–34; M. C. A. Macdonald, "The decline of the 'epigraphic habit' in late antique Arabia: some questions", in J. Schiettecatte (Hrsg.), *L'Arabie à la veille de l'Islam. Table ronde tenue au Collège de France (Paris) les 28 et 29 août 2006 dans le cadre du projet de l'Agence nationale de la recherche "De l'Antiquité tardive à l'Islam"* (Orient & Méditerranée 3), Paris 2009, 17–28; C. Witschel, "The Epigraphic Habit in Late Antiquity. An Electronic Archive of Late Roman Inscriptions Ready for Open Access", in F. Feraudi-Gruénais (Hrsg.), *Latin on Stone. Epigraphic Research and Electronic Archives* (Roman Studies. Interdisciplinary Approaches), Plymouth 2010, 77–99.

² Dazu jetzt U. Ehmig, "Pro & contra. Erfüllte und unerfüllte Gelübde in lateinischen Inschriften", *HZ* 296 (2013) 297–329 sowie die hierauf aufbauende Studie Dies., "Subjektive und faktische Risiken. Votivgründe und Todesursachen in lateinischen Inschriften als Beispiele für Nachrichtenauswahl in der römischen Kaiserzeit", *Chiron* 43 (2013) 127–98.

³ Die bei Ehmig, "Pro & contra" (Anm. 2), 301–02 Anm. 15 genannten Inschriften sind das Ergebnis einer Abfrage der Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss–Slaby (EDCS) nach dem gemeinsamen Auftreten von *votum* oder *ex voto* und kausalen Konjunktionen wie *pro*, *ob* oder *quod*. Weitere, grammatikalisch anders konstruierte und daher bisher nicht erfaßte Zeugnisse lassen sich ergänzen: z.B. *gravi infirmitate liberatus* *CIL* XIV 4322 = *AE* 1921, 78 (Ostia, 199 n.Chr.) und *CIL* XIII 240 (Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges); *infirmitate liberatus* *AE* 1945, 17 (Charsonon?); *gravi valetudine liberatus* *CIL* III 12399 = *AE* 1895, 44 (Pelisat); *gravibus morbis iactatus tempore longo redditus est vitae martyris auxilio* *ICUR* IX 24312 (Rom)

⁴ Die in den Votivinschriften nicht näher bezeichneten *pericula* lassen sich im Vergleich mit jenen lateinischen Epitaphen, die Todesursachen benennen, konkretisieren. Es liegt nahe, dass hierunter vor allem die Risiken höherer Gewalt wie Schiffbruch sowie Überfälle verstanden wurden. Vgl. dazu Ehmig, "Subjektive und faktische Risiken" (Anm. 2), 150–51.

und Gladiatoren waren das vor allem Personen, die in Landwirtschaft und Handel tätig waren. Eine Reihe weiterer Motive sind eher abstrakter Natur, etwa wenn die Inschriften vom Dank für den Erlass von Steuern oder die Freilassung aus dem Sklavenstand berichten.

Bis in jüngste Zeit stellten Schwangerschaft und Geburt für die werdende Mutter und ihr Kind ein kaum kalkulierbares, und im äußersten Fall lebensbedrohendes Risiko dar.⁵ Vor diesem Hintergrund möchte man erwarten, dass sich die Sorge um eine komplikationslose Schwangerschaft und eine gute Geburt in einer Reihe lateinischer Votivinschriften niederschlägt. Entgegen der Annahme zahlreicher Inschriften, in denen Eltern, insbesondere die junge Mutter, oder andere Verwandte für die glückliche Niederkunft dankten, kennen wir jedoch lediglich zwei Inschriften, die möglicherweise in einem entsprechenden Kontext entstanden sind – allerdings in einem zeitlichen Abstand von rund 500 Jahren: Im 3. Jh. v.Chr. sagte Orcevia der Göttin Fortuna als der erstgeborenen Tochter des Iupiter in Praeneste mit der Formulierung *nationu(s) cratia* Dank. Es ist anzunehmen, dass sie dies nach einer eigenen, gut verlaufenen Geburt tat.⁶ Aus der Nähe von Aquincum stammt der Votivaltar eines *decurio* einer *ala I Thracum*, geweiht im 2. Jh. n.Chr. für Iupiter Optimus Maximus.⁷ Cocceius Senecio löste auf diese Weise ein Verlöbnis *ob natalem* ein, das heißt, er stattete Iupiter, den er um Hilfe gebeten hatte, für die Geburt seines Sohnes Dank ab. Ob jedoch tatsächlich der

⁵ Diskussionen über das Ausmaß der Sterblichkeit von Kindern im 1. Lebensjahr und ihre Entwicklung setzten mit der Zusammenstellung entsprechender Daten ein. Im Blick auf die Situation in Deutschland lieferten dazu grundlegende Beiträge A. Würzburg, "Die Säuglingssterblichkeit im Deutschen Reiche während der Jahre 1875 bis 1877", *Arbeiten aus dem Kaiserlichen Gesundheitsamte* 2 (1887) 208–22 und 4 (1888) 28–108 sowie F. Prinzing, "Die Entwicklung der Kindersterblichkeit in den europäischen Staaten", *Jb. für Nationalökonomie und Statistik* 72 (1899) 577–635. Das Thema wird seit den letzten drei Jahrzehnten erneut intensiv erörtert, vgl. etwa A. E. Imhof, "Unterschiedliche Säuglingssterblichkeit in Deutschland, 18.–20. Jahrhundert. – Warum?", *Zeitschr. für Bevölkerungswissenschaft* 7 (1981) 343–84; I. E. Kloke, "Säuglingssterblichkeit in Deutschland im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel von sechs ländlichen Regionen", Diss. Berlin 1998 (http://www.diss.fu-berlin.de/diss/receive/FUDISS_thesis_000000000023, abgerufen 10.8.2013) sowie R. Gehrman, "Säuglingssterblichkeit in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert", *Comparative Population Studies – Zeitschr. für Bevölkerungswissenschaft* 36/4 (2011) 807–38. Zu einer entsprechenden Diskussion von Ausmaß und Entwicklung der Müttersterblichkeit stellvertretend H.-C. Seidel, *Eine neue "Kultur des Gebärens": die Medikalisierung von Geburt im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert in Deutschland* (Medizin, Gesellschaft und Geschichte, Beih. 11), Stuttgart 1998, 57–65.

⁶ *CIL* XIV 2863 = *CIL* I² 60 = *ILS* 3684. Zur Diskussion des entscheidenden Begriffs *natio* C. Schultz, *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic*, Chapel Hill 2006, 53.

⁷ *CIL* III 10369.

Geburtsakt Anlass des Gelöbnisses war, oder aber Cocceius Senecio sich allgemein mit der Bitte um einen Nachkommen an Iupiter gewandt hatte, muss offen bleiben. In jedem Fall ist die Motivinschrift für die römische Kaiserzeit ohne Parallele und darüber hinaus insofern bemerkenswert, als dass sie von einem Mann und nicht, wie man erwarten möchte und es bei der Praenestiner Inschrift der Fall ist, von einer Frau gestiftet worden war.⁸

Zweifelsohne haben über die Jahrhunderte der römischen Geschichte zahlreiche Schwangerschaften und Geburten, in deren Verlauf man die Götter um Hilfe gebeten hatte, einen guten Ausgang genommen. Die betreffenden Frauen und Männer mussten sich bei den Göttern für die von ihnen erbetene Unterstützung bedanken. Vor diesem Hintergrund ist das Fehlen entsprechender Zeugnisse in den epigraphischen Quellen signifikant.

Dies gilt umso mehr, als auch in keiner der Inschriften, die römischen Geburtsgöttern dargebracht worden waren, explizit als Widmungsgrund der Dank für eine gut überstandene Geburt genannt ist. Das *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* listet unter dem Stichwort "Geburt" 58 Götter auf, die in Italien und Rom für die verschiedensten Aspekte von Schwangerschaft und Geburt zuständig waren.⁹ Schaut man ihre Inschriften mit Hilfe der Elektronischen Datenbank Clauss–Slaby (EDCS) durch, zeigt sich, dass allein für die Hälfte dieser Gottheiten gar keine epigraphische Evidenz vorliegt. Aber auch bei den übrigen lassen sich keine Inschriftengruppen identifizieren, die sicher als Zeugnisse des Dankes für eine gute Geburt gewertet werden können. Unter den ein Dutzend Weihungen für Iuno Lucina sind gerade einmal zwei Altäre, für die ein entsprechender Kontext nicht ausgeschlossen werden kann: Beide aus Rom stammenden Inschriften erinnern jeweils an das Verlöbnis einer Frau für den Sohn bzw. die Tochter.¹⁰ Aus welchem Grund aber sich die Stifterinnen an die Göttin gewandt hatten, bleibt jedoch auch hier letztlich unklar. Die Geburt der Kinder ist eine, aber nicht die

⁸ Angeschlossen werden kann ein weiteres epigraphisches Zeugnis, das erkennen lässt, dass die Geburt eines Kindes Gegenstand intensiver Bitten und göttlicher Anheimstellung war: Aus dem frühchristlichen Puteoli ist die Grabinschrift des Gaius Nonius Flavianus bekannt. Er war ein über viele Jahre mit Gebeten herbeigesehntes Wunschkind, *plurimis annis orationibus petitus*, das im Alter von knapp zwei Jahren verstarb (*CIL* X 3310/11 = *ILCV* 1789).

⁹ G. Binder, "Geburt II (religionsgeschichtlich)", *RAC* IX (1976) 43–171, hier 101–12.

¹⁰ *CIL* VI 359 (p. 3756) = *ILS* 3104 und *CIL* VI 361 (p. 3756) = *CIL* I² 987 (p. 965) = *ILS* 3103. Zur Verehrung der Iuno Lucina im betreffenden Kontext M.-L. Hänninen, "From Womb to Family. Rituals and Social Conventions connected to Roman Birth", in K. Mustakallio – J. Hanska – H.-L. Sainio – V. Vuolanto (Hrsg.), *Hoping for Continuity. Childhood, Education and Death in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Acta IRF 33), Rome 2005, 49–59, hier 50–53.

einzig denkbare Möglichkeit. Nimmt man einmal an, dass mit diesen Inschriften tatsächlich Gelöbnisse eingelöst wurden, die aus Schwangerschaftsnöten formuliert worden waren, und ihnen bei entsprechender Suche weitere ähnliche Einzelstücke zur Seite gestellt werden können,¹¹ stehen sie zahlenmäßig dennoch im krassen Gegensatz zu den Millionen von Geburten, die während der römischen Kaiserzeit erfolgt sein müssen.

Angesichts dieses Befundes liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass beschriftete Steinaltäre nicht die übliche Dankesbezeugung für die erbetene Hilfe der Götter bei Schwangerschaft und nach einer glücklichen Geburt waren. Vielmehr scheint es, dass andere, nicht epigraphische Formen von Votiven diese Funktion und damit die Gelübde erfüllt haben und darüber hinaus auch generell andere vorsorgliche Maßnahmen im Kontext von Fruchtbarkeit, Schwangerschaft und Geburt ergriffen wurden.

Diese Überlegungen stehen im Folgenden im Mittelpunkt. Der Fokus liegt dabei nicht auf der literarischen Überlieferung, die in Handbüchern wie dem *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* oder dem *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* bereits umfänglich zusammengetragen ist.¹² Die vielfältigen, dort berichteten Rituale vor, während und unmittelbar nach der Niederkunft einer Frau lassen sich in aller Regel nicht in anderen, insbesondere nicht in den dokumentarischen Quellen nachvollziehen. Um zwei Beispiele zu nennen: Tertullian, *de anima* 39,2, berichtet, schwangere Frauen hätten ihren Leib *infulis apud idola confectis*, also mit Binden umwickelt, die bei Tempeln gefertigt worden waren. Schließlich hätten sie, so Tertullian, *ad nationes* 2,11,5, im Schein einer Kerze bei Anrufung der Göttin Candelifera ihr Kind zur Welt gebracht. Beide Riten sind weder in einer dokumentarischen Quelle zu fassen, noch haben sie Spuren in archäologischen Zeugnissen hinterlassen. Des Weiteren kommt hinzu, dass die literarischen Berichte insbesondere die Lebensverhältnisse oberer Gesellschaftsgruppen in Rom und Italien abbilden.¹³ Die nachstehenden Gedanken aber zielen darauf, eine möglichst große und über das gesamte römische Reich verteilt lebende Zahl an Frauen in den Blick zu nehmen: Welche materiellen Hinterlas-

¹¹ In Betracht kommen etwa *CIL* III 1937 = *ILS* 3263 (Salona); *CIL* V 3912 (p. 1077) (Minerbe) oder *CIL* XI 1300 (Travi).

¹² Binder (Anm. 9) 115–27; O. de Cazanove, "Naissance et petite enfance dans le monde romain", *ThesCRA* VI, Los Angeles 2011, 11–16; zusammenfassend zu römischen Geburtsriten auch V. Dasen, "Roman Birth Rites of Passage Revisited", *JRA* 22 (2009) 199–214.

¹³ Ein entsprechendes Beispiel hat Rudolf Haensch bei der Tagung "Infertility and Sacred Space: from Antiquity to the Early Modern" in seinem Vortrag über die Geburten im römischen Kaiserhaus gegeben; vgl. dazu in diesem Band R. Haensch, "Von Poppaea zu Pulcheria".

senshaften und dokumentarischen Quellen geben über ihre Sorgen und Nöte bei Schwangerschaft und Geburt Auskunft? Welches Bild zeichnen sie davon, wie in dieser Situation mit den Göttern kommuniziert, Hilfe erbeten und bei einem glücklichen Ausgang Dank abgestattet wurde?

Vergegenwärtigt man sich die materielle Überlieferung aus römischer Zeit, kommen insbesondere zwei Motive in den Sinn, die mit den Bitten, Sorgen und dem Dank breiter Bevölkerungsteile im betreffenden Kontext in Verbindung gebracht werden können: Zum ersten handelt es sich um die Darstellung von Wickelkindern, zum zweiten um jene des weiblichen Uterus.

Wickelkinder treten vornehmlich in zwei Formen in Erscheinung: Als einzelne Motivobjekte und als Attribute von kindernährenden Gottheiten und Geburtsgöttinnen. Eine in Italien insbesondere auch literarisch gut bezeugte Geburtsgöttin ist Mater Matuta. Nach Lucrez 5,656–62 verbreitete sie zu feststehender Zeit die Morgenröte und spendete Licht. Sie war von daher eine Gottheit des neuen Lebens und der Geburt; sie galt als Nährerin der Kinder.¹⁴ Mater Matuta zählt zu den ältesten indigenen Gottheiten Italiens, deren Verehrung in Rom und Etrurien bis in das 7. Jh. v.Chr. zurückverfolgt werden kann. Das zeigen Heiligtümer wie der Tempel der Fortuna und Mater Matuta auf dem Forum Boarium in Rom sowie ferner jenes im 60 km entfernten Satricum und in Pyrgi, dem Hafen des etruskischen Cerveteri.¹⁵ Nur eine Weiheinschrift für Mater Matuta wurde außerhalb Italiens gefunden, nämlich in der unter Augustus mit römischen Siedlern eingerichteten, und auch in der Folgezeit stark der lateinischsprachigen Welt verhafteten Kolonie von Berytus – Beirut.¹⁶

¹⁴ Grundlegend zu Mater Matuta: H. Link, "Matuta", *RE* XIV.2 (1998) 2326–29; J.-A. Hild, "Mater Matuta – Matralia", *DAGR* III.2, Paris 1904, 1625–26; M. Halberstadt, *Mater Matuta* (Frankfurter Studien zur Religion und Kultur der Antike 8), Frankfurt 1934; E. Simon, "Mater Matuta", *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 379–81; zum römischen Kult der Göttin M. Torelli, "Il culto romano di Mater Matuta", *MNIR* 56 (1997) 165–76.

¹⁵ Zentral Halberstadt (Anm. 14); weiterhin zusammenfassend G. Pisani Sartorio, "Fortuna et Mater Matuta, aedes", in E. M. Steinby, *LTUR* II, Roma 1995, 281–85; zur Frage eines weiteren Tempels in der regio VI C. Bruun, "A Temple of Mater Matuta in the regio sexta of Rome", *ZPE* 112 (1996) 219–23; ferner C. Smith, "Worshipping Mater Matuta", in E. Bispham – C. Smith, *Religion in Archaic and Republican Rome and Italy. Evidence and experience*, Edinburgh 2000, 136–55 sowie 171–73; zur Unsicherheit der Zuweisung des Tempels in Pyrgi an Mater Matuta W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London – New York 1908, 155 mit Anm 4.

¹⁶ *CIL* III 6680 = *ILS* 3490. Der Name der Stifterin, *Flavia T(iti) fil(ia) Nicolais Saddane L(uci) Antisti Veteris (uxor)*, die ihr Gelöbnis *ex responso deae Iunonis* erfüllte, zeigt mit lateinischen, griechischen und semitischen Bestandteilen, wie sehr diese zwischen den Kulturen

Über den archäologischen Kontext und Inschriften abgesicherte, eindeutige Darstellungen der Mater Matuta sind bisher nicht bekannt. Trotz entsprechender Unsicherheiten interpretiert die Forschung in aller Regel jene 150 Tuffsteinstatuen, die bei Grabungen in den Jahren zwischen 1873 und 1887 auf dem Areal Petrarra in Curti nahe dem antiken Capua zutage kamen, als Darstellungen einer Gottheit wie der Mater Matuta bzw. dieser selbst. Sie zeigen sitzende Frauen mit je einem oder mehreren, bis insgesamt zwölf Wickelkindern auf dem Arm. Zeitlich datieren sie in die Jahrhunderte vom 6. bis 3./2. Jh. v.Chr.¹⁷

Ähnliche Darstellungen nährender, Kinder in Form von Wickelkindern stillender Gottheiten, sogenannter *deae nutrices*, sind in großer Zahl über das republikanische Italien hinaus in den nordwestlichen Provinzen der römischen Kaiserzeit bekannt. Die typischerweise aus weißem Pfeifenton gefertigten Statuetten

stand. Das griechische Cognomen *Nicolais* (LGPN III B, 15115, 15116, beide Chyretiai, sowie LGPN IV 32009, 32010, beide Beroia, und LGPN IV 36491, Macedonia), ist in seiner lateinischen Form ansonsten nur aus Rom (ICUR III 6835) und Misenum (CIL X 3456 = ILS 2882) bezeugt. Als einziges entsprechendes Zeugnis für Mater Matuta aus dem griechischen Osten ist nicht eindeutig zu entscheiden, ob dieses einen Transfer der Göttin und ihres Kultes aus dem Westen, oder, wie jüngst von Ted Kaizer vorgeschlagen, eine interpretatio Romana der im Nahen Osten vielfach verehrten Leucothea anzeigt. Dazu T. Kaizer, "Leucothea as Mater Matuta at Colonia Berytus. A note on local mythology in the Levant and the Hellenisation of a Phoenician city", *Syria* 82 (2005) 199–206. Zuletzt zur interpretatio Romana von Ino-Leucothea als Mater Matuta im republikanischen Italien F. Prescendi, "La déesse grecque Ino-Leucothée est devenu la déesse romaine Mater Matuta: réflexions sur les échanges entre cultures "voisines"", in N. Belayche – J.-D. Dubois (Hrsg.), *L'oiseau et le poisson. Cohabitations religieuses dans les mondes grec et romain*, Paris 2011, 187–202. Vgl. sonst die italischen Belege für Mater Matuta CIL I² 1552 (p. 1005) (Satricum); CIL X 6511 = ILS 3488; CIL X 8416 = ILS 3487 (beide Cora); CIL XI 6294 (p. 1399) = CIL I² 372 (p. 720, 832, 878) = ILS 2974 (p. 180); CIL XI 6301 (p. 1399) = CIL I² 379 (p. 720, 832, 879) = ILS 2981 (p. 180) (beide Satricum).

¹⁷ Eine systematische Auseinandersetzung mit den Statuen fehlt; sie werden bis dato in Museumskatalogen und randlichen Notizen behandelt; vgl. so L. Melillo Faenza, *Matres Matutae dal Museo di Capua*, Milano 1989; F. Pezzella, "Le maschere atellane in alcune statuette fittili del Museo Provinciale Campano di Capua", in G. Dell'Aversana (Hrsg.), *Le scene dell'identità. Primo incontro di drammaturgia e teatro. Atti del convegno Sant'Arpino 18 febbraio 1996* (Opicia 2), Frattamaggiore 2000, 23–29, hier 27 mit Anm. 11; zum Heiligtum bei Curti zuletzt C. Rescigno, "Un bosco di madri. Capua, il santuario di fondo Patturelli tra documenti e contesti", in M. L. Chirico – R. Cioffi – S. Quilici Gigli – G. Pignatelli Spinazzola (Hrsg.), *Lungo l'Appia. Scritti su Capua antica e dintorni*, Napoli 2009, 31–42. Als Beispiel der Gleichsetzung der Statuen mit Mater Matuta M. Carroll, "'No part in earthly things.' The Death, Burial and Commemoration of Newborn Children and Infants in Roman Italy", in L. Larsson Lovén – M. Harlow (Hrsg.), *The Familia and its Transformation from ancient Rome to Barbarian Europe (50–600 CE)*, London 2012, 41–63, hier 49.

zeigen eine in einem Korbsessel sitzende Frau mit langem Gewand, das eine oder beide Brüste freilässt, an der sie die Wickelkinder nährt. Vom 1. bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n.Chr. wurden derartige Figuren in großer Zahl in zentralgallischen (Allier, Saône-et-Loire) und davon abhängig in rheinischen Werkstätten hergestellt. Verbreitet ist die *dea nutrix* von den gallischen und germanischen Provinzen über Britannien bis nach Rätien, Noricum und das westliche Pannonien.¹⁸

Im pannonischen Poetovio (Pettau) stellt das kaiserzeitliche Ensemble der *Nutrices Augustae* einen besonderen Befund dar.¹⁹ Es treffen hier bauliche Überreste eines Heiligtums mit epigraphischen und bildlichen Zeugnissen zusammen. Mehr als 20 Votivinschriften aus dem 2. und 3. Jh. n.Chr. sind im Sinne eines *epigraphic habit* und, man möchte sagen, eines *votive habit*, auf Poetovio (Pettau) mit weiteren Einzelstücken im nahegelegenen Marburg und Scrabantia (Ödenburg) konzentriert.²⁰ Die Inschriften für die *Nutrices Augustae* werden in

¹⁸ F. Jenkins, "The Cult of Dea Nutrix in Kent", *Arch. Cantiana* 71 (1957) 38–46, hier 40; H. von Petrikovits, "Ein Mädchenkopf und andere Plastiken aus dem Heiligen Bezirk in Zingsheim", *BJb* 165 (1965) 192–234, hier 207–34 die Listen; M. Rouvier-Jeanlin, *Les figurines gallo-romaines en terre cuite au Musée des Antiquités Nationales* (Gallia Suppl. 24), Paris 1972; M. J. Green, "The Iconography and Archaeology of Romano-British Religion", *ANRW* II.18.1, Berlin 1986, 113–62, hier 142–43; G. Schauerte, "Darstellungen mütterlicher Gottheiten in den römischen Nordwestprovinzen", in *Matronen und verwandte Gottheiten. Ergebnisse eines Kolloquiums veranstaltet von der Göttinger Akademiekommission für die Altertumskunde Mittel- und Nordeuropas* (Beih. BJB 44), Köln – Bonn 1987, 55–102, hier 63 sowie 79 und 88–89; Ders., *Terrakotten mütterlicher Gottheiten* (Beih. BJB 45), Köln – Bonn 1985, v.a. 26–27 und 320–36, dazu Tafel 105–12; C. Bémont – M. Jeanlin – C. Lahanier (Hrsg.), *Les figurines en terre cuite gallo-romaines* (DAF 38), Paris 1993, hier z.B. 35–37 (Toulon-sur-Allier, Le Lary), 56–60 (Gueugnon), 63–65 (Autun, Atelier(?) de Pistillus); S. Ducaté-Paarmann, "Les courrotrophes", in D. Gourevitch – A. Moirin – N. Rouquet (Hrsg.), *Maternité et petite enfance en Gaule romaine. Catalogue de l'exposition présentée au Musée du Malgré-Tout à Treignes (Belgique) du 11 juin au 18 décembre 2005*, Bourges 2005, 49–51; G. R. Burleigh – K. J. Fitzpatrick-Matthews – M. J. Aldhouse-Green, "Dea Nutrix Figurine from a Romano-British Cemetery at Baldock, Hertfordshire", *Britannia* 37 (2006) 273–94, hier 284–86.

¹⁹ W. Gurlitt, "Die Nutrices Augustae in Poetovio", in A. Bauer (Hrsg.), *Franz von Krones zum 19. November 1895 gewidmet von seinen Freunden*, Graz 1895, 17–29; K. Wigand, "Die Nutrices Augustae von Poetovio" *JÖAI* 18 (1915) Beibl. 189–218; M. Abramić, *Poetovio. Führer durch die Denkmäler der römischen Stadt*, Wien 1925, hier 32; H. von Petrikovits, "Nutrix", *RE* XVII.2 (1931) 1492–502, hier 1501–02; Schauerte, "Darstellungen mütterlicher Gottheiten" (Anm. 18), 64; E. Diez, "Nutrices", *LIMC* VI.1 (1992) 936–38.

²⁰ *CIL* III 4052 (p. 1746, 2278) = 4053 = *AIJ* 328; *CIL* III 10873 (p. 2279) = 14062 = *AIJ* 335; *CIL* III 13411 (p. 2328, 29) = 14058 = 14355; *CIL* III 14051 (p. 2328, 29) = *AIJ* 331; *CIL* III 14052 (p. 2328, 29), 14053 (p. 2328, 29) = *AIJ* 332; *CIL* III 14054 (p. 2328, 29) = *AIJ* 333; *CIL* III 14056 (p. 2328, 29) = *AE* 1896, 56 = *AIJ* 334; *CIL* III 14057 (p. 2328, 29), 14059 (p.

der Regel von Reliefs begleitet, die eine sitzende *Nutrix* zeigen, welche ein Kind stillt oder auf dem Arm hält. Zu dieser wird in allen Fällen ein zweites, von einer Frau begleitetes Kind geführt oder man streckt ihr ein Kleinkind entgegen. Die Frauen tragen dabei häufig auf dem Kopf einen Korb oder halten einen solchen bzw. eine Schale mit Früchten in der Hand.²¹ Auf diese Weise scheinen sie Opfergaben herbeizubringen.

Die in ihrem Schoß oder an ihren Brüsten gezeigten Wickelkinder signalisieren die Zuständigkeit der Gottheiten und gleichzeitig den Anlass, weshalb sich Menschen in der Antike an sie wandten. Dabei können die Darstellungen im Sinne einer allgemeinen Fürsorge der betreffenden Götter für das Leben im weitesten Sinn und seine Regeneration verstanden werden, oder aber eher als konkretes Zeugnis der Sorge um die eigene, womöglich noch nicht oder gerade jüngst geborene Nachkommenschaft oder um Kinder von Personen, die dem jeweiligen Dedikanten nahestanden.

In der Regel darf davon ausgegangen werden, dass Votive²² entsprechend

2328, 29), 15184,15, 15184,26, 14060a (p. 2328, 29); *AE* 1986, 564–569; *AIJ* 324, 325, 329, 330 (alle Poetovio); *CIL* III 5314 = 11713 (Marburg), *AE* 2006, 1075 (Scrabantia).

Weitere Inschriften für *Nutrix* liegen vor allem aus Nordafrika vor: *Nutrix*: *CIL* VIII 15577 (p. 2698), 27436 = *ILS* 4473 = 4473a (p. 182) = *AE* 1898, 45 (beide Mustis); *Nutrix* (Augusta): *CIL* II 7, 223 (Cordoba); *CIL* VIII 8245 (Benyahia Abderrahmane); *AE* 1968, 592 (Mustis); eventuell auch *AE* 1999, 1785 (Haidra); *Nutrix* Dea Augusta: *CIL* VIII 2664 (p. 1739) = *ILS* 4476 = *AE* 1909, 2 (Lambaesis); Bona Dea *Nutrix*: *CIL* VI 74 (p. 3003, 3755) = *ILS* 3507 (Rom); *Nutrix* Saturni (Augusta): *CIL* VIII 20217 = *ILS* 4474 = *AE* 1897, 31 (Tassadan); *AE* 1966, 521 (Haidra); *ILAlg* II 3, 9630 (Haneb).

²¹ Indigene Göttinnen wurden hier offenbar in einer *interpretatio Romana* nach der römischen Bezeichnung für Ammen benannt. Dabei entsprechen auch die Darstellungen einander. Besonders eindrücklich ist in diesem Zusammenhang eines der Bilder auf dem Grabmal der Amme Severina im römischen Köln (*RSK* 331 = *IKoeln* 436), das die Verstorbene pflichtbewusst über ein Wickelkind gebeugt zeigt. Exemplarisch zu Ammen G. Coulon, "Les nourrices", in Gourevitch – Moirin – Rouquet (Anm. 18), 113–15. Im Säuglingsalter verstorbene Kinder konnten ebenfalls auf ihren Grabsteinen in entsprechender Weise dargestellt sein; dazu beispielsweise N. Baills, "Stèles épigraphiques dédiées aux enfants en bas âge", in Gourevitch – Moirin – Rouquet (Anm. 18), 98–104; vgl. die Reliefs bei *CIL* XIII 4359 (4, p. 49, 50), 11363 (beide Metz) oder *CIL* XIII 1167 (Cenon).

²² Heute erhaltene antike Votive von Wickelkindern – und ebenso allen übrigen Darstellungen – bestehen vornehmlich aus Ton und Stein. Es ist allerdings davon auszugehen, dass sie, wie auch in der frühen Neuzeit, häufig aus Holz oder Wachs hergestellt wurden. Da derartige Stücke aber nur unter besonderen Bedingungen erhalten geblieben wären, verwundert ihr Fehlen nicht. Exemplarisch zu neuzeitlichen Wachsvotiven: C. Angeletti, *Geformtes Wachs. Kerzen, Votive, Wachsfiguren*, München 1980; U. Zischka (Hrsg.), *Wachszieher und Lebzelter im alten München. Sammlung Ebenböck. Münchner Stadtmuseum, Ausstellung vom 4.12.1981–*

dem Anlass, vor dessen Hintergrund Personen sich an einen Gott verlobten, ausgewählt wurden, und sie diese Ursache sehr real abbildeten: So weisen anatomische Votive wie Arme, Beine, Brüste, Augen, Ohren oder auch innere Organe üblicherweise primär auf Erkrankungen und Beschwerden der betreffenden Körperteile. In den gleichen Kontext gehören auch Votive in Form von Tieren oder Teilen von Tierkörpern, wie etwa Hufe, die die Sorge um einen erkrankten Viehbestand widerspiegeln.²³

Weilte jemand ein Votiv in Form eines Wickelkindes, zeigt das analog die existenzielle Sorge um ein Kind. Dabei sind zwei Anlässe denkbar: zu einen die Bitte bzw. der Dank dafür, ein Kind empfangen und gesund geboren zu haben. In diesem Fall wären die Votive Ausdruck der Kommunikation werdender Eltern mit den Göttern angesichts einer bevorstehenden Geburt oder als Dank nach einer erbetenen guten Niederkunft. Zum anderen können sie die Sorge und Bitte für ein krankes Kind oder den Dank für seine wiedererlangte Gesundheit bedeuten,²⁴

31.1.1982, München 1981; U. Pfistermeister, *Wachs. Volkskunst und Brauch. Ein Buch für Sammler und Liebhaber alter Dinge*. Bd. 2, Nürnberg 1983; H. Hipp, *Votivgaben. Heilung durch den Glauben. Erklärung der Votivgaben der Wachszieherei Hipp durch die Mirakelbücher von Niederscheyern*, Pfaffenhofen 1984; B. Möckerhoff (Hrsg.), *"Das Werk der fleißigen Bienen". Geformtes Wachs aus einer alten Lebzelterei. Ausstellung im Diözesanmuseum Regensburg, 30.11.1984–3.2.1985*, München 1984; E. Hutter – G. Braun, *Der Model-Schatz aus Hallein. Model aus dem Lebzelterhaus am alten Milchmarkt. Begleitband zur Ausstellung "Süße Halleiner – Die Lebzelter-Model der Familie Braun" im Keltenmuseum Hallein, 7.12.2012–26.5.2013*, Salzburg 2012.

²³ Einige Votivmotive werden zusätzlich in einer übertragenen, zumeist auf die Gottheit projizierten Bedeutung verwendet, so beispielsweise Ohren als Zeichen der erhörenden Gottheit, vgl. zuletzt N. Ehrhardt – W. Günther – P. Weiß, "Funde aus Milet XXVI. Aphrodite-Weihungen mit Ohren-Reliefs aus Oikus", *AA* 2009/1, 187–203, hier v.a. 188 Anm. 14 mit dem Verweis auf die grundlegende Studie O. Weinreich, "ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ", *MDAI(A)* 37 (1912) 1–68; ferner B. Forsén, *Griechische Gliederweihungen*, Helsinki 1996, 13–19 sowie 19–26 zur Interpretation von erhobenen Händen und Fußspuren. Dazu auch schon F. T. van Straten, "Gifts for the Gods", in H. S. Versnel (Hrsg.), *Faith, Hope and Worship. Aspects of Religious Mentality in the Ancient World* (SGRR 2), Leiden 1981, 65–151, hier 144–46 mit der Diskussion von Augen, Fluchhänden, Fußabdrücken, ferner dem Sarapisfuß oder der Sabaziohand. Eine grundlegend kritische Haltung, die gleichsam jegliche Relation von Objekt und Motivation des Dedikanten in Frage stellt, findet sich bei R. Czech-Schneider, *Anathemata. Weihgaben und Weihgabenpraxis und ihre Bedeutung für die Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft der frühen Griechen*, Habilitationsschr. Münster 1998, 36–40 (http://miami.uni-muenster.de/servlets/DerivateServlet/Derivate-3080/habilschr_czech-schneider.pdf, abgerufen 3.8.2013).

²⁴ Vgl. die zahlreichen entsprechenden Funde etwa in den gallischen Quellheiligtümern Sources de la Seine, Source des Roches und Fôret d'Halatte: R. Bernard – P. Vassal, "Étude médicale des ex-voto des Sources de la Seine", *RAE* 9.4 (1958) 328–59; R. Martin – S. Deyts, *Ex voto*

gegebenenfalls verbunden mit dem Wunsch um seinen fortwährenden Schutz. Dass dieser zukunftsgerichtete Aspekt eine wichtige Rolle spielte, zeigt sich bei den Wickelkindvotiven in einem häufig zu beobachtenden Attribut, nämlich der Darstellung einer *bullā* oder ganzer Amulettketten.²⁵ Solche Wickelkinddarstellungen sind vor allem in Mittelitalien, Gallien, der Gallia Belgica und auf der iberischen Halbinsel verbreitet.²⁶

Die beiden Deutungsmöglichkeiten der Wickelkindvotive im Sinne von *fertilitas* und *sanitas* gelten gleichermaßen auch beim zweiten hier relevanten Motiv, den Uterusvotiven. Sie zählen zu den anatomischen Votiven, die vielerorts in der mediterranen Welt des Altertums in Inventaren von Heiligtümern vertreten sind. Im nordkretischen Palaikastro sind tönernerne Gliedmaße bereits aus Votivkontexten der 1. Hälfte des 2. Jt. v.Chr. bekannt.²⁷ In Italien haben anatomische Votive zwischen dem 4. und 1. Jh. v.Chr. ihre größte Verbreitung. Die Forschung

de bois, de pierre et de bronze du sanctuaire des Sources de la Seine, Dijon 1966; S. Deyts, *Les bois sculptés des Sources de la Seine* (Gallia Suppl. 42), Paris 1983; A.-M. Romeuf, *Les ex-voto gallo-romains de Chamalières (Puy-de-Dôme): bois sculptés de la Source des Roches*, Paris 2000; M. Durand – C. Finon, "Catalogue des ex-voto anatomiques du temple gallo-romain de la Forêt d'Halatte (Oise)", *RAPic* n° spec. 18 (2000) 9–91; allgemeiner S. Deyts, "La femme et l'enfant au maillot en Gaule. Iconographie et épigraphie", in V. Dasen, (Hrsg.), *Naissance et petite enfance dans l'Antiquité. Actes du colloque de Fribourg, 28 novembre – 1^{er} décembre 2001*, Göttingen 2004, 227–37.

²⁵ Allgemein de Cazanove (Anm. 12), 14–15: la bulle, ferner M. Recke – W. Wamser-Krasznai, *Kultische Anatomie. Etruskische Körperteil-Votive aus der Antikensammlung der Justus-Liebig-Universität Gießen* (Stiftung Ludwig Stieda) (Kataloge des Deutschen Medizinhistorischen Museums Ingolstadt 31), Ingolstadt 2008, 71 mit Anm. 151, 126 Nr. 28, 129 Abb. 53 als Beispiel für bulla-Darstellungen, dazu auch R. Miller Ammerman, "Children at Risk: Votive Terracottas and the Welfare of Infants at Paestum", in A. Taggar-Cohen – J. B. Rutter (Hrsg.), *Constructions of Childhood in Ancient Greece and Italy* (Hesperia Suppl. 41), Athens, 2007, 131–51, hier 145 fig. 7.16 und 7.17, wonach die bulla immer bei den etrusko-italischen Wickelkind-Votiven auftritt und die Variante mit spitzer Mütze stets auf Kampanien konzentriert ist; ferner 142–44 fig. 7.13 und 7.14 als Beispiele für Amulettketten. Der S. 143 gegebene Hinweis auf "several torsos of pregnant women" aus dem Heraion von Foce del Sele ist anhand der in Anm. 45 zitierten Literatur nicht nachvollziehbar und zu verwerfen. Zu bulla-Funden aus Pompeji M.-O. Laforge, *La religion privée à Pompéi* (Centre Jean Bérard Études 7), Naples 2009, 155–56.

²⁶ O. de Cazanove, "Enfants en langes: pour quels vœux?", in G. Greco – B. Ferrara (Hrsg.), *Doni agli dei. Il sistema dei doni votivi nei santuari. Atti del seminario di studi. Napoli 21 aprile 2006* (Quaderni del Centro Studi Magna Grecia 6), Pozzuoli 2008, 271–84, hier 271 mit Anm. 1–3, 272 Karten und Votivbeispiele.

²⁷ J. L. Myres, "Excavations at Palaikastro II. § 13 The Sanctuary-Site of Petsofà", *ABSA* 9 (1902–03) 356–87, hier 360–78 mit Pl. X–XIII.

diskutiert, dass die Sitte, Abbilder von Körperteilen zu stiften, über Korinth mit einem der ältesten Asklepios-Heiligtümern,²⁸ nach Italien gelangt sei. Eine bedeutende Mittlerfunktion wird dabei in jüngster Zeit der etruskischen Hafenstadt Gravisca zugesprochen.²⁹

Bis heute sind aus mehr als 200 Fundstellen in Italien, vornehmlich im südlichen Etrurien, in Latium und dem römischen Kampanien, anatomische Votive bekannt geworden.³⁰ Jean MacIntosh Turfa unterscheidet dabei zwei Gruppen von Fundorten: Bei einer ersten größeren Zahl war der Heilcharakter nicht von zentraler Bedeutung, sondern einer von verschiedenen Aspekten, weshalb Menschen das betreffende Heiligtum aufsuchten. An diesen Plätzen ließen sich häufig Konzentrationen bestimmter Motive anatomischer Votive feststellen. In der zweiten, kleineren Kategorie dagegen fasst er Anlagen zusammen, die auf Heilung spezialisiert waren. Sie zeigten in der Regel ein breites, das heißt eine große Gruppe denkbarer Motive umfassendes Votivspektrum.³¹ Wendete man sich an solchen Orte offenbar bei Leiden aller Art an die örtlichen Götter, so scheinen dagegen andere gewissermaßen spezielle Zuständigkeiten entwickelt zu haben.

²⁸ M. Lang, *Cure and Cult in Ancient Corinth. A Guide to the Asklepieion*, Princeton 1977; C. Roebuck, *The Asclepieion and Lerna* (Corinth XIV), Princeton 1951, 119–29 mit Pl. 29–44; E. J. Edelstein – L. Edelstein, *Asclepius. Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies I–II*, Baltimore 1998 (Nachdruck der Ausgabe 1945), II 246–47 Anm. 16.

²⁹ A. L. Lesk, "The Anatomical Votive Terracotta Phenomenon: the Complexities of the Corinthian Connection", in G. Muskett – A. Koltsida – M. Georgiadis (Hrsg.), *SOMA 2001. Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology. Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of Postgraduate Researchers, the University of Liverpool, 23–25 February 2001* (BAR Intern. Ser. 1040), Oxford 2002, 193–202 als Zusammenfassung von Dies., *The Anatomical Votive Terracotta Phenomenon: Healing Sanctuaries in the Etrusco-Latinal-Campanian Region during the Fourth through First Centuries B.C.*, Masterarbeit Cincinnati 1999 (https://etd.ohiolink.edu/ap:0:0:APPLICATION_PROCESS=DOWNLOAD_ETD_SUB_DOC_ACCNUM:::F1501_ID:ucin1122835729,attachment, abgerufen 13.8.2013).

³⁰ Dazu M. Fenelli, "Contributo per lo studio del votivo anatomico: i votivi anatomici di Lavinio", *ArchClass* 27 (1975) 206–52, besonders 231 fig. 1 die Karte entsprechender Heiligtümer sowie 232–45 die zugehörige Liste und 246–52 die Erläuterungen; darauf aufbauend A. Comella, "Tipologia e diffusione dei complessi votivi in Italia in epoca medio- e tardo-repubblicana", *MEFRA* 93 (1981) 717–803 und Lesk (Anm. 29), 169–78 Appendix II; zuletzt J. MacIntosh Turfa, "Anatomical votives", *ThesCRA* I (2004) 359–68.

³¹ J. MacIntosh Turfa, "Anatomical Votives and Italian Medical Traditions", in R. D. de Puma – J. Penny Small, *Murlo and the Etruscans. Art and Society in Ancient Etruria*, Madison 1984, 224–40.

Darstellungen von Uteri aus Ton zählen zu den geläufigsten anatomischen Votiven.³² Aus Mittelitalien sind nach einem jüngsten Überblick von Emma-Jayne Graham bis heute mehr als 1.300 Exemplare bekannt.³³ Dabei beinhalten die in ihrer Tabelle zusammengestellten Funde nicht einmal entsprechende Stücke aus Kampanien, und ganz generell ist zu bemerken, dass sehr viele wichtige und fundreiche Plätze bisher noch gar nicht systematisch bearbeitet und abschließend vorgelegt sind. Allein vor diesem Hintergrund zeigt – für Italien³⁴ – die bekannte und bei planmäßigen Studien noch weit höher anzunehmende Zahl an Uterusvotiven³⁵ ihre Bedeutung in der Kommunikation von Sorgen und an die Götter gerichteten Bitten im Kontext von Fruchtbarkeit und Frauenleiden.

Zu diesem quantitativen Moment kommen weitere Detailbeobachtungen: Rund 400 Uterusvotive aus der Region von Vulci und Tarquinia wurden in den späten 1990er Jahren geröntgt. Die Mehrzahl zeigt in ihrem Inneren ein oder zwei Tonkugeln mit einem Durchmesser von 1 cm.³⁶ Es liegt die Vermutung nahe, dass

³² Vgl. dazu die Liste bei Comella (Anm. 30) sowie M. Söderlind, "Man and animal in antiquity: votive figures in central Italy from the 4th to 1st centuries B.C.", in B. Santillo Frizzell, *Pecus. Man and animal in antiquity. Proceedings of the conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome, September 9–12, 2002* (Projects and Seminars 1), Rome 2004, 280–98, hier illustrativ 280 fig. 1.

³³ E.-J. Graham, "The making of Infants in Hellenistic and Early Roman Italy: a votive perspective", *World Archaeology* 45 (2013) (<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/pdf/10.1080/00438243.2013.799041>, abgerufen 13.8.2013).

³⁴ Uterusvotive sind außerhalb Italiens kaum bezeugt, vgl. die Gegenüberstellung der aus Etrurien und Griechenland bekannten Motive anatomischer Votive bei F. Fabbri, "Votivi anatomici dell'Italia di età medio e tardo-repubblicana e della Grecia di età classica: due manifestazioni culturali a confronto", *BdA online* 1 (2010) vol. spec., 29 Tab. 1 und 2 (http://www.bollettinodiarcheologiaonline.beniculturali.it/bao_document/poster/4_FABBRI.pdf, abgerufen 14.8.2013).

³⁵ Besonders umfangreiche Komplexe sind aus Vulci (Fontanile di Legnisina), Gravisca, Tarquinia (Ara della Regina), Veii (Porta Caere) und Rom (Tiber) bekannt, dazu auch schon die Liste bei Comella (Anm. 30).

³⁶ V. Dasen, "Femmes à tiroir", in Dies. (Hrsg.), *Naissance* (Anm. 24), 127–44, hier 127–29 mit fig. 1a und 1b. Dasen referiert die Ergebnisse einer italienischen Initiative unter Leitung von Gaspare Baggieri: G. Baggieri, "Archaeology, religion and medicine", in Ders. (Hrsg.), *L'antica anatomia nell'arte dei donaria*, Roma 1999, 82–84, fig. 59–73 sowie Ders., "Etruscan Wombs", *The Lancet* 352 (1998) 790. Vgl. auch S. Ducaté-Paarmann, "Voyage à l'intérieur du corps féminin. Embryons, utérus et autres organes internes dans l'art des offrandes anatomiques antiques", in V. Dasen (Hrsg.), *L'embryon humain à travers l'histoire. Images, savoirs et rites. Actes du colloque international de Fribourg, 27–29 octobre 2004*, Gollion 2007, 65–82, hier 71 mit Abb. 6. Die Tonkugeln in den Uterusvotiven waren bereits einige Jahre zuvor beschrie-

hiermit dem Wunsch nach Fruchtbarkeit und Schwangerschaft in der Darstellung des frühesten Lebensstadiums sehr realistisch Ausdruck verliehen wurde.

Auf vergleichbar naturgetreue embryonale Darstellungen hat Véronique Dasen bei den sogenannten "orientalischen Aphroditen" hingewiesen.³⁷ Drei Exemplare sind bis dato bekannt, zwei aus einer US-amerikanischen Auktion des Jahres 1990 – heute im Martin von Wagner-Museum Würzburg –, ein weiteres befindet sich im Louvre. Die Statuetten sind nach stilistischen Kriterien sowie einer auf einem Exemplar erhaltenen Signatur eines Παπίας als hellenistische Fabrikate aus Myrina in Kleinasien zu identifizieren.³⁸ Sie stellen eine nackte sitzende Frau dar, deren Unterleib geöffnet werden kann, und ein naturalistisch gestaltetes Kind barg.

Zahl, formale Vielfalt³⁹ und die geschilderten Details legen den Schluss nahe, dass Uterusvotive für die Frauen Italiens in den ersten Jahrhunderten vor Christi Geburt ein wichtiges Medium waren, die Götter auf ihre Sorgen um Frauenleiden, Fruchtbarkeit, Schwangerschaft und Geburt aufmerksam zu machen, sie um Hilfe zu bitten oder ihnen damit für die Erhörung ihrer Bitten zu danken.

Das Motiv des Uterus ist aber noch in einer weiteren Materialgruppe zu finden, deren Verbreitung nicht nur auf Italien und die ersten vorchristlichen Jahrhunderte beschränkt ist, nämlich auf den magischen Gemmen.⁴⁰ Sie waren geographisch im gesamten römischen Reich verbreitet und traten insbesondere im

ben worden, dazu die Literatur bei Dasen, "Femmes à tiroir", 128 Anm. 5.

³⁷ Zum folgenden Dasen, "Femmes à tiroir" (Anm. 36) 135–38.

³⁸ Dasen, "Femmes à tiroir" (Anm. 36) 137 mit Anm. 45 und 46; Dies., "La vie in utero: Images et imaginaire", in R. Frydman – É. Papiernik – C. Crémère – J.-L. Fischer (Hrsg.), *Avant la Naissance. 5000 ans d'images*, Turin 2009, 26–31, hier 30–31; zu Παπίας vgl. D. Kassab, *Statuettes en terre cuite de Myrina. Corpus des signatures, monogrammes, lettres et signes* (Bibl. Inst. Fr. Et. Anatol. Istanbul 29), Paris 1988, 53–54; ferner 23 und Pl. 1,3 zu einer formal entsprechenden – der Abbildung zufolge aber nicht zu öffnenden – "Aphrodite orientale" mit Signatur eines Ἀγαθόβουλος.

³⁹ Grundlegende formale Charakterisierungen und typologische Unterscheidungen der ita-lisch-republikanischen Uterusvotive hat MacIntosh Turfa (Anm. 31) vorgenommen. Zur Frage pathologischer Darstellungen vgl. M. D. Grmek – D. Gourevitch, *Les maladies dans l'art antique*, Poitiers 1998, 309–13.

⁴⁰ Ähnliche Beobachtungen formulieren auch V. Dasen – S. Ducaté-Paarmann, "Hysteria and Metaphors of the Uterus in Classical Antiquity", in S. Schroer (Hrsg.), *Images and Gender. Contributions to the Hermeneutics of Reading Ancient Art* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 220), Göttingen 2006, 239–61. Zu Amuletten im Geburtskontext vgl. die Zusammenstellung literarischer Zeugnisse bei Binder (Anm. 9), 94–96 (Griechenland) und 119–21 (Rom), 160–61 (christliches Amulettwesen).

2. und 3. Jahrhundert n.Chr., jedoch auch noch bis weit ins 4. Jahrhundert auf.⁴¹ Die Darstellungen auf magischen Gemmen vereinen ägyptische, orientalische, griechisch-römische, jüdische und christliche Einflüsse aus Religion, Mythos, Medizin und Zauberei zu Bildern, mit denen magische Kräfte gegen alle erdenklichen negativen Einflüsse verbunden wurden.⁴² Schwangerschaft und Frauenleiden definieren einen der zentralen Lebensbereiche, in denen magischen Gemmen zur Anwendung gebracht wurden.⁴³ Ikonographie sowie literarische und dokumentarische Zeugnisse greifen exemplarisch gut ineinander, wenn Plinius *nat.* 28,27,103 schreibt, gebärenden Frauen seien solche Amulette aufgelegt worden. Im 2. Jh. n.Chr. erkennt Soranos *gyn.* 3,42 in der Wirkung der Steine einen Placeboeffekt: Die Amulette seien generell ohne Wirkung, beruhigten aber die in den Wehen liegenden Frauen.

Die motivische Vielfalt der magischen Gemmen, speziell auch jener, die dem Wirkungsbereich von Fruchtbarkeit und Schwangerschaft zuzuordnen sind, orientiert sich insbesondere an ägyptischem Gedankengut. Auf den typischerweise für den Schutz in den entsprechenden Lebensphasen verwendeten roten Hämatitamuletten trifft man häufig auf die Darstellung eines Uterus über einem Schlüssel. Dieser symbolisierte, je nachdem, welche ägyptische Gottheit damit in Beziehung gestellt wurde, verschiedene Risikosituationen, denen sich Frauen vor und vor allem während ihrer Schwangerschaft ausgesetzt sahen. Über die Hintergründe und Einzelheiten informieren medizinische Rezeptbücher und Zauberpapyri, die gewissermaßen Anleitungen für die Herstellung der Amulette und ihre Anwendung liefern.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Mit magischen Gemmen hat sich in den vergangenen 15 Jahren maßgeblich Simone Michel in einer Reihe grundlegender Studien und Kataloge auseinandergesetzt; exemplarisch sei hingewiesen auf S. Michel, *Bunte Steine – dunkle Bilder: "Magische Gemmen"*, München 2001; Dies., *Die magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum*, London 2001; Dies., *Die Magischen Gemmen. Zu Bildern und Zauberformeln auf geschnittenen Steinen der Antike und Neuzeit* (Studien aus dem Warburg-Haus 7), Berlin 2004; speziell zu byzantinischen magischen Amuletten J. Spier, "Medieval Byzantine Magical Amulets and their Tradition", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 56 (1993) 25–62.

⁴² Michel, *Die Magischen Gemmen* (Anm. 41), 3; Dies., *Bunte Steine – dunkle Bilder* (Anm. 41), 41–64.

⁴³ Michel, *Die Magischen Gemmen* (Anm. 41), 178–202; kurz auch G. Coulon, "Réussir un bon accouchement", in Gourevitch – Moirin – Rouquet (Anm. 18), 47–48.

⁴⁴ Hierzu und zum folgenden Michel, *Bunte Steine – dunkle Bilder* (Anm. 41), 73–81; Dies., *Die magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum* (Anm. 41), 220; Dies., *Die Magischen Gemmen* (Anm. 41), 181–202, dort mit der Diskussion der betreffenden dokumentarischen Quellen. Kurz zusammenfassend auch Dasen – Ducaté-Paarmann (Anm. 40), 250–54 sowie V. Da-

In ägyptischen Zauber- und Heiltexten ist von Dämonen die Rede, die insbesondere bei Nacht einen männlichen, schädlichen Samen in den Leib einbringen und so Krankheit und Schmerzen verursachen. In Analogie zu den als Gegenmittel erachteten Eselshoden, die zerrieben und mit Wein gemischt gegen den *Incubus* getrunken werden sollten, stellte man sich diesen in Gestalt eines Esels vor.⁴⁵ Auf den Gemmen symbolisierte der mit einem Eselskopf dargestellte Seth in Kombination mit Uterus und Schlüssel den dämonischen *Incubus*, der durch unzeitige Öffnung der Gebärmutter Schwangerschaften bedrohte und Fehlgeburten bewirkte.⁴⁶ Dagegen versuchte man sich mit den entsprechenden Amuletten zu schützen.

Stand Seth für die negativen Folgen einer Öffnung der Gebärmutter, verband man mit Horus die positiven Wirkungen ihrer Schließung. Einerseits konnte damit eine Empfängnis verhindert werden, andererseits diente ein derartiges Amulettbild der Abwehr von dämonischen Einflüssen und von unkontrolliertem Blutfluss.⁴⁷ Mit der Darstellung des Chnum, der auf den Gemmenbildern den Uterus bisweilen sogar in den Händen hält,⁴⁸ versicherte sich die Frau schließlich des rechtzeitigen Öffnens der Gebärmutter für eine gute Geburt.⁴⁹

Die Bedeutung des Schlüssels, oder zunächst allgemeiner formuliert, von Öffnen und Schließen, Binden und Lösen, ist im Kontext von Geburt von zentraler Bedeutung. Mehrfach berichten die Schriftquellen von Riten, wonach alles Gebundene, gemeint sind Kleider, Gürtel, Haare und auch verschränkte Hände

sen, "Représenter l'invisible: la vie utérine sur les gemmes magiques", in V. Dasen (Hrsg.), *L'embryon humain* (Anm. 36), 41–64.

⁴⁵ W. Westendorf, "Beiträge aus und zu den medizinischen Texten. III. Incubus-Vorstellungen", *ZÄS* 96 (1970) 145–51; Michel, *Die Magischen Gemmen* (Anm. 41), 181–82.

⁴⁶ Michel, *Die Magischen Gemmen* (Anm. 41), 185; dazu auch *PGM* XXXVI 286–87 und *PGM* LXII 103–04.

⁴⁷ Michel, *Die Magischen Gemmen* (Anm. 41), 186 mit Anm. 964; R. K. Ritner, "A Uterine Amulet in the Oriental Institute Collection", *JANES* 43 (1984) 209–21, hier 216; J.-J. Aubert, "Threatened Wombs: Aspects of Ancient Uterine Magic", *GRBS* 30 (1989) 421–49, hier 425–41.

⁴⁸ Vgl. dazu die Beispiele bei Michel, *Die Magischen Gemmen* (Anm. 41), 186 Anm. 964. Zur Ikonographie und den therapeutischen Kompetenzen des Chnum zuletzt V. Dasen – Á. M. Nagy, "Le serpent léontocéphale Chnoubis et la magie de l'époque romaine impériale", *Anthropozoologica* 47 (2012) 291–314.

⁴⁹ Michel, *Die Magischen Gemmen* (Anm. 41), 186 mit Anm. 964 und 965; Ritner (Anm. 47), 215; Aubert (Anm. 47), 442.

für eine leichte Geburt gelöst werden sollen.⁵⁰ Ein göttliches Beispiel überliefert Ovid im neunten Buch der Metamorphosen (*met.* 9,273–323, besonders 298–315): Iuno Lucina, eifersüchtige Gattin des Zeus und zugleich Geburtsgöttin, zögert durch ihre verschränkten Hände die Wehen bei Alkmene, die mit Herakles schwanger ist, hinaus. Erst eine Liste von deren Magd Galanthis führt dazu, dass die Göttin überrascht auffährt, die Finger löst und Alkmene gebären kann.

Derartige, als förderlich betrachtete Maßnahmen fanden gerade auch auf den magischen Gemmen bildlichen Niederschlag, etwa in der Form dass gebärende Frauen mit langen offenen Haaren dargestellt wurden.⁵¹ Insbesondere wird die Relevanz des Schlüssels im Kontext von Geburt außer in den Amulettbildern schließlich aber auch in literarischen und archäologischen Zeugnissen evident. Der Lexiograph Festus (*de verb. sign.* 56,16–17 ed. Thewrewk de Ponor) schreibt im ausgehenden 2. Jh. n. Chr. dass es üblich war, einer Gebärenden einen Schlüssel zu geben: als Symbol und Wunsch für eine leichte Geburt.

Zu diesen Überlieferungen kommen ferner Funde von Schlüsseln aus antiken sakralen Zusammenhängen, die als Votive gedeutet werden können.⁵² Umfassende Arbeiten zu Siedlungsfunden von Schlüsseln und kontextbezogene Auswertungen liegen bis dato nicht vor. Umso aufschlussreicher ist eine erste, im Jahr 2011 publizierte Analyse entsprechender Funde aus der Colonia Ulpia

⁵⁰ Zu den antiken literarischen Quellen und den Wurzeln der betreffenden Vorstellung E. Staehlin, "Bindung und Entbindung. Erwägungen zu Papyrus Westcar 10, 2", *ZÄS* 96 (1970) 125–39, ferner Binder (Anm. 9), 93–94 und 121–22 sowie W. Köhler, "Die Schlüssel des Petrus. Versuch einer religionsgeschichtlichen Erklärung von Matth. 16, 18. 19", *ArchRW* 8 (1905) 214–43, hier explizit im Blick auf die Bedeutung des Schlüssels, dabei auch 216 und 229 zum Schlüssel zur Gebärmutter; ferner E. Goldmann, "Schlüssel", *Handwb. des deutschen Aberglaubens* VII, Berlin 2005, 1224–28, hier 1225–26.

⁵¹ Als Beispiele Michel, *Die magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum* (Anm. 41), 245–46 Nr. 387 und 388.

⁵² Dazu Dasen – Ducaté-Paarmann (Anm. 40), 254–55. Ergänzend vgl. J. D. Baumbach, *The significance of votive offerings in selected Hera sanctuaries in the Peloponnese, Ionia and Western Greece* (BAR Intern. Ser. 1249), Oxford 2004, 81–82 mit Hinweisen auf entsprechende, nicht als Tempelschlüssel deutbare Funde aus Aegina (silberner Miniaturschlüssel) und der Korykische Höhle am Parnass. Bei den Grabungen im makedonischen Bylazora wurde im Jahr 2009 ein über 20 cm großer eiserner Votivschlüssel gefunden, dazu <http://www.tfahr.org/key.html> (abgerufen 6.11.2013) und P. Aparicio Resco, "The Votive Key of Bylazora", http://www.academia.edu/1313524/The_Votive_Key_of_Bylazora (abgerufen 6.11.2013). Jüngst zu Schlüsseln, v.a. unter typologischen Aspekten: M. Pall, *Schlüssel und Schlösser. Exponate aus der Schell Collection Graz*, Graz 2012, 7–28 zu Stücken von keltischer bis in byzantinische Zeit.

Traiana – Xanten.⁵³ Die Vorlage im Rahmen der Xantener Ausstellung "Gefährliches Pflaster. Kriminalität im römischen Reich" fokussierte auf den mit Schlüssel und Schloss verbundenen Sicherheitsaspekt und reflektiert, Martin Müller zufolge, die allgegenwärtige Furcht vor Diebstahl in der römischen Kaiserzeit.⁵⁴ Über diesen zweifellos zentralen Aspekt hinaus legt die Verteilung der Funde im Siedlungsareal aber noch eine weitere Deutung nahe: Eine Reihe von Schlüsseln ist im Areal des Matronentempels von Xanten konzentriert.⁵⁵ Für diese ist eine Deutung als bauliche Sicherungsmaßnahmen wenig überzeugend. Gestützt durch die Beobachtung von Jens David Baumbach, wonach Schlüssel insbesondere in Heiligtümern von Göttern auftreten, die im Zusammenhang von Schwangerschaft und Geburt angerufen wurden,⁵⁶ drängt sich vielmehr der Gedanke auf, die betreffenden Stücke als Votive, und zwar als Ausdruck des Dankes für eine gute Geburt zu werten.⁵⁷

Das Wickelkind, der Uterus und der Schlüssel sind drei zentrale Motive, deren man sich zu verschiedenen Zeit und an unterschiedlichen Orten in der römischen Antike bediente, um mit Hilfe der Götter und magischer Kräfte Risiken, denen sich Frauen im Zusammenhang ihrer Schwangerschaft und Geburt ausgesetzt sahen, zu minimieren. Ihnen gemeinsam ist, dass sie in unterschiedlichen Medien auftreten: als eigenständige Votive, Bestandteile von Götterbildern, Darstellungen auf magischen Gemmen, Rezepturen in Zauberpapyri und Bestandtei-

⁵³ M. Müller, "Schlüssel und Schloss im römischen Alltag – Ausgewählte Funde aus der Colonia Ulpia Traiana", in M. Reuter – R. Schiavone (Hrsg.), *Gefährliches Pflaster. Kriminalität im römischen Reich* (Xantener Ber. 21), Mainz 2011, 19–40.

⁵⁴ Müller (Anm. 53), 35.

⁵⁵ Müller (Anm. 53), 24 Abb. 4. Zum Heiligtum: Y. Freigang, *Das Heiligtum der Insula 20 in der Colonia Ulpia Traiana* (Xantener Ber. 6), Mainz 1995, 139–234.

⁵⁶ Baumbach (Anm. 52), 81.

⁵⁷ Während bei den Wickelkinder- und Gebärmuttervotiven darauf verzichtet wurde, auf die zahlreichen neuzeitliche Beispiele des katholischen Wallfahrtswesens hinzuweisen, soll hier – da in Antike und Neuzeit weniger häufig – auf entsprechende Schlüsselvotive aufmerksam gemacht werden. Vgl. dazu allgemein L. Kriss-Rettenbeck, *Ex Voto. Zeichen, Bild und Abbild im christlichen Votivbrauchtum*, Zürich 1972, 291–92 mit Fig. 54 sowie 397–98 Anm. 138–46, ferner N. Gockerell, *Glaube und Bild. Sammlung Rudolf Kriss* (Kultur im Landkreis Passau 15), Passau 2009, 195. Konkrete Beispiele stammen aus Dingolfing und Belalp (CH), dazu R. Kriss, *Die Volkskunde der Altbayrischen Gnadenstätten. II. Niederbayern, südliche Oberpfalz und österreichisches Innviertel*, München 1955, 109 sowie R. Kriss – L. Rettenbeck, *Wallfahrtsorte Europas*, München 1950, 23–4.

le literarischer Überlieferung.⁵⁸ Die Verflechtung der Quellen zeigt die Mühe, die man auf diese Risikobewältigung verwendete, betraf sie doch zentral das eigene Leben und das jener, die die eigene Zukunft sicherten.

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⁵⁸ Ein weiteres dokumentarisches Zeugnis magischer Praktiken im Kontext von Frauenleiden und Schwangerschaft liegt aus Britannien vor. Ein Goldblech, das südlich von Oxford im Jahr 2003 als Detektorfund zu Tage kam, datiert Roger Tomlin nach der Schriftführung an die Wende des 3. zum 4. Jh. n.Chr. Es enthält die in magischer Form vorgetragene Bitte um eine gute Geburt für Fabia, Tochter einer Terentia, und ist in seiner Form für den lateinischen Westen bisher ohne Parallele, vgl. R. S. O. Tomlin, "Special Delivery: A Greco-Roman Gold Amulet for Healthy Childbirth", *ZPE* 167 (2008) 219–24. Zu literarisch bezeugten magischen Praktiken im Kontext von Schwangerschaft ferner P. Gaillard-Deux, "Rites magiques néfastes à l'accouchement d'après les sources de l'époque romaine impériale", in V. Boudon-Millot – V. Dasen – B. Maire (Hrsg.), *Femmes en médecine. Actes de la Journée internationale d'étude organisée à l'Université René-Descartes-Paris V, le 17 mars 2006*, Paris 2008, 61–73.

**VON POPPAEA ZU PULCHERIA –
DAS BEMÜHEN UM GÖTTLICHEN BEISTAND BEI DER
GEBURT EINES KAISERLICHEN NACHFOLGERS¹**

RUDOLF HAENSCH

Jedes politische System bemüht sich um Stabilität und Kontinuität. Im Falle eines monarchischen Regierungssystems stellt dabei eine fest verankerte und allgemein anerkannte Nachfolgeordnung eine zentrale Stütze dar. Eine solche einzuziehen, war im römischen Prinzipat nicht möglich: Der zentrale Gedanke des von Augustus und seinen Beratern nach dem Sieg über Mark Anton konzipierten Systems bestand darin, die neue politische Ordnung gegenüber der politischen Führungsschicht, dem Senat, als Restaurierung des alten republikanischen Systems – als *res publica restituta* – darzustellen. Wenn man aber nicht in einer Monarchie lebte, konnte es auch keine Nachfolgeordnung geben. Vielmehr musste ein Nachfolger in derselben Weise indirekt aufgebaut werden, wie Augustus selbst seine eigene Stellung entwickelt hatte: Durch die Übernahme von Amtsgewalten, durch das Verfügen über immer größere finanzielle und militärische Mittel und ihre überzeugende Verwendung, um sich so weitgehend allgemeine Zustimmung zu verschaffen. Um all dies sinnvoll und überzeugend durchführen zu können, musste der präsumptive Nachfolger zumindest ein gewisses Alter erreicht haben. Andererseits durfte nicht zu lange unklar sein, wer der Auserkorene war. Ansonsten drohte ein Wettkampf zwischen denen, die sich selbst als geeignet betrachteten oder von ihrer Umgebung derart eingeschätzt wurden, der die Stabilität des Systems aufs höchste gefährden konnte. Die einfachste und naheliegendste Lösung für diese Situation bestand darin, den erstgeborenen Sohn des Herrschers in eine solche Position zu bringen. Dementsprechend musste ein Kaiser, wenn er nicht mit erwachsenen Söhnen in den Besitz der Macht gekommen war, wie

¹ Der Aufsatz fußt auf einem Vortrag bei der Konferenz "Infertility and Sacred Space: From Antiquity to the Early Modern", Cambridge 15–16 July 2013.

es bei Vespasian der Fall war und was auch schon die Zeitgenossen als ein Atout betrachteten,² so schnell wie möglich einen Sohn bekommen. War dies absehbar unmöglich, musste ein solcher Sohn fiktiv über eine Adoption geschaffen werden. Plinius der Jüngere faßte Ideologie und Realität sehr gut in einen (vermutlich älteren) Gedanken, wenn er in seinem Panegyrikus auf Traian als Bitte an Jupiter formulierte: "Gewähre ihm später einmal als Nachfolger einen leiblichen Sohn, den er selbst herangebildet hat und einem Adoptivsohn gleichwerden ließ, oder wenn das Schicksal ihm den Sohn versagt, dann hilf ihm bei der Wahl eines Erben mit Deinem Rat und zeige ihm einen Mann, der würdig ist, auf dem Kapitol adoptiert zu werden".³

Dieser Druck lastete aber nicht nur auf dem Kaiser selbst, sondern insbesondere auf seiner Frau, auch wenn sie in einer "Nicht-Monarchie" notwendigerweise zumindest zunächst keine offiziell sanktionierte "Herrscherin" war.⁴ Sie musste nämlich damit rechnen, wegen Unfruchtbarkeit verstoßen zu werden.⁵ In welchem Maß ein solcher Druck schon (oder gerade) unter den ersten Kaisern auf diesen Frauen lastete, zeigt sich u. a. daran, dass bereits die weiblichen Angehörigen der ersten Herrscher wegen ihrer Mutterrolle ex eventu⁶ als "Mütter des Erdkreises" bzw. als "um den Staat verdient" bezeichnet wurden.⁷ Livia wurde wegen ihres Sohnes Tiberius von der spanischen Stadt Hispalis nach

² Ios. *bell. Iud.* 4,596; Tac. *hist.* 2,77,1.

³ Plin. *paneg.* 94,5: *deinde ut quandoque successorem ei tribuas, quem genuerit quem formaverit similemque fecerit adoptato, aut si hoc fato negatur, in consilio sis eligenti monstres aliquem, quem adoptari in Capitolio deceat.* Dazu Mause 1994, 57 mit Anm. 68, 115 f.; Temporini 1979, 56 f., 59 f., 135 f., wobei sich aber in den bekannten Formularen für die jährlichen, am Jahresanfang von den Vertretern Roms ausgesprochenen *vota* kein wirklich vergleichbarer Wunsch nach der Geburt eines Nachfolgers findet. Die Worte des Plinius warnen davor, allzu überzeugt davon zu sein, dass die "Ideologie des *optimus princeps* keine dynastisch motivierten" Handlungen zuließ, so aber Alexandridis 2004, 18, 20 f. (dort etwas vorsichtiger), 38, 101, 110 f.

⁴ Vgl. z. B. Dürr 2001, 1058 f.; Scheer 2006, 314 f.; Kunst 2013a, 7 f.

⁵ Dio 59,12,1; 23,7 (Lollia Paulina / Caligula; dazu Barrett 1989, 95; Winterling 2003, 81). Zu entsprechenden Vorwürfen gegen Neros erste Frau Octavia – Suet. *Nero* 35,2; Tac. *ann.* 14,60,1; 63,1 – s. Eck 2002, 159; Riemer 2000, 149 ff.; Waldherr 2005, 97 f., 101.; anders Wood 1999, 270.

⁶ Alexandridis 2004, 18: "Die dynastische Funktion der Frauen wurde retrospektiv begriffen" – systembedingt sollte man wohl hinzufügen.

⁷ Als erstes weibliches Mitglied des Kaiserhauses wurde Iulia mit ihren beiden Söhnen auf einer Münze dargestellt, allerdings bezeichnenderweise noch ohne erläuternde Legende: *RIC* I² 404–405; dazu Scheer 2006, 297.

dessen Regierungsbeginn als *genetrix orbis* geehrt.⁸ Im *senatus consultum de Gnaeo Pisone* des Jahres 20 n. Chr. stellte man sie u. a. aus dem gleichen Grund als "um den römischen Staat im höchsten Maße verdient" heraus (*optume de r(e) p(ublica) merita non partu tantum modo principis nostri, sed etiam multis magnisq(ue) erga cuiusque ordinis homines beneficis*).⁹ In demselben Dokument lobte der römische Senat an der Frau des Germanicus, der älteren Agrippina, dass diese mit ihrem Mann in einzigartiger Eintracht gelebt habe und ihm so viele, zu diesem Zeitpunkt noch lebende Unterpfänder ihrer Liebe aus ihrem fruchtbaren, alles Glück in jeder Hinsicht verheißenden Gebären heraus gegeben habe (*cum quo unica concordia vixisset, et tot pignora edita partu felicissimo eorum, qui superessent*).¹⁰ Man erwartet, dass sich in einem vormodernen Staat, in dem

⁸ RPC I 73; vgl. Temporini 1979, 61 f.; Wood 1999, 90. Maßvoller: *Cons. Liv.* 81 f. (für Flory [1993, 299] allerdings "extravagantly"). Vergleichbares wurde zu einem noch späteren Zeitpunkt, nämlich unter Claudius, auch über die Eltern der Livia gesagt: *IGR IV 982–83 = IG XII 6, 1, 370–71* (Samos). Zu ähnlichem für die Mutter des Augustus s. *Epigr. Bob.* 39; dazu Lausberg 1992. Erneut taucht der Gedanke dann bei Iulia Mamaea auf: *Iuliae Avitae Mamaeae Augu(stae) matri domini n(ostri) sanctissimi Imp(eratoris) Severi Alexandri Pii Felicis Aug(usti) et castrorum et senatus et patriae et universi generis humani* (*CIL II 3413 = ILS 485*); [*Iuliae Mamaeae matris Aug(usti) n(ostri) et ca]str(or)um [et patriae et universi huma]ni gener[is]* (*CIL III 7970 = IDR III 2, 64*). Faßbar ist er schließlich auch für Eudokia: *Anth. Pal.* I 10. Eine zusätzliche Dimension gewann er, wenn Petrus Chrysologus, Bischof von Ravenna, von Galla Placidia als *mater christiani perennis et fidelis imperii* sprach und von einer *Augusta tritanitas* (*sermo 130,3 – CChr. 24 bis, 798*).

Iulia Domna wurde vereinzelt und anscheinend regionspezifisch als *mater Caesaris* bzw. *mater Caesarum* bezeichnet: *CIL VIII 9033*, cf. p. 1960; *CIL VIII 10981 = 20986*; *CIL VIII 20987*; *IAM II 1, 96*; übernommen für Annia Faustina, die Frau Elagabals (*IAM II 2, 400*; wegen Severus Alexander!; Keltanen 2002 weist die Inschrift irrtümlich der jüngeren Faustina zu) und Otacilia Severa (*CIL VI 1097*, cf. p. 3778, 4323 = *ILS 506 (?)*; *CIL XII 10*).

Auf das Entstehen und die Entwicklung des Titels *mater castrorum (et senatus et patriae)* wird hier nicht eingegangen. Einerseits gibt es dazu eine Reihe von Studien (zuletzt Speidel 2012) und andererseits spielte für die Vergabe dieser Titel die Geburt von Kindern, wenn überhaupt, nur noch eine sehr geringe Rolle (vgl. Speidel a. O. 138 und z. B. Scheer 2006, 318: "zu Müttern im römischen Sinn: nicht zu Pflegerinnen von Kleinkindern, sondern zu mütterlichen Autoritätspersonen gegenüber den Legionen, dem Senat und schließlich der patria").

⁹ *AE 1996, 885 = CIL II² 5, 900 Z. 115 f.*; dazu Eck – Caballos – Fernández 1996, 225 f. Vgl. auch Scheer 2006, 311.

¹⁰ *AE 1996, 885 = CIL II² 5, 900 Z. 138 f.*; dazu Eck – Caballos – Fernández 1996, 243 f. Die Übersetzung bei Eck – Caballos – Fernández 1996, 49 ist recht frei, ebenso die von Damon – Potter 1999, 35; näher am Text die der *AE*. Zu den unterschiedlichen, hier mitschwingenden Aspekten von *felix*: Eck – Caballos – Fernández 1996, 244 und Lausberg 1992, 260. Vgl. in dem Zusammenhang auch Tac. *ann.* 2,75,1.

göttliche und menschliche Sphäre nach allgemeiner Ansicht eng verwoben waren, eine Reihe offizieller und persönlicher Akte darum bemühten, für ein solch wichtiges Ereignis wie die Geburt eines Nachfolgers göttliche Hilfe und damit letztlich überhaupt das Gelingen herbeizuführen. Wieweit geschah dies in der römischen Kaiserzeit, bzw. vorsichtiger formuliert, inwieweit sind solche Bemühungen für uns noch fassbar?

Dasjenige Dokument, das am ehesten und ausführlichsten über offizielle religiöse Akte des römischen Staates informiert, auch wenn es nur teilweise erhalten ist, sind die *Acta Arvalium*. In diesen, aus den ersten drei Jahrhunderten des Prinzipats stammenden Aufzeichnungen der Arvalbrüder über ihre Tätigkeit finden sich nur zwei Hinweise auf ein Bemühen um göttliche Hilfe für die Geburten der Frau des Herrschers: Am 21. Januar 63 n. Chr. lösten die Arvalen auf dem Kapitol ein *Votum* ein, das sie während der Schwangerschaft von Neros Frau *Poppaea* eingegangen waren – *[p]ro partu et incolumitate Poppaeae [Augustae]*.¹¹ Weiterhin kamen nach einem besonders korrupt überliefertem Eintrag zum Jahr 241 die Arvalbrüder im Mai dieses Jahres auf dem Kapitol vor der *Cella* der *Iuno Regina* (?) zusammen, um angesichts der Heirat *liberorum creandorum ca[usa]* zwischen Gordian III und *Furia Sabinia Tranquillina* Gelübde einzugehen.¹² *liberorum creandorum ca[usa]* – das war nach traditioneller römischer Auffassung das entscheidende Ziel jeder Ehe.¹³ Wann die Gelübde einzulösen waren – nach erfolgreicher Hochzeitszeremonie, am jeweiligen Jahresanfang, bei der ersten Geburt, beim ersten Jahrestag der Hochzeit oder nach dem Tode eines der Partner –, ist nicht zu erkennen.

Warum finden sich nur diese zwei Einträge (zu unterschiedlichen Anlässen), bzw. inwieweit darf man für vergleichbare Ereignisse ähnliche Handlungen der Arvales vermuten, die beispielsweise wegen des fragmentarischen Zustandes der Inschriften mit den Akten verloren gingen oder im Rahmen der unterschiedlichen Aufzeichnungspraxis der Arvalen nie in Stein eingraviert wurden? Im ersten Fall zeigt eine recht ausführliche Parallelüberlieferung, wie typisch das Geschehen war. Tacitus kommentierte es wie folgt: Im Jahr 63 "wurde Nero von *Poppaea* eine Tochter geboren, was er mit übermenschlicher Freude (*ultra*

¹¹ Scheid 1998 p. 76 Nr. 29 I Z. 17–24.

¹² Scheid 1998 p. 338 Nr. 115 Z. 2–8.

¹³ Gell. 4,3,2; cf. Dion. Hal. 2,25,7; Gell. 17,21,44; Liv. *per.* 59; Suet. *Caes.* 52,3; Val. Max. 2,1,4; 7,7,4; Dig. 50,16,220,3; *PSI* VI 730; *FIRA* III 17. Dazu z. B. Gourevitch 2009; Gourevitch 2013. Eine besonders tugendhafte Frau orientierte sich nur daran: *HA, XXX tyr.* 30,12. Umgekehrt wird dann über nicht von *concordia* geprägte Ehen berichtet, die Frau habe bewußt Nachkommen zu vermeiden gesucht: *Epit. Caes.* 14,8.

mortale gaudium) begrüßte. Er nannte sie Augusta und gab Poppaea den gleichen Beinamen (...). Schon vorher hatte der Senat den schwangeren Leib der Poppaea den Göttern anempfohlen und öffentliche Gelübde ausgesprochen, die jetzt vervielfacht eingelöst wurden (*iam senatus uterum Poppaeae commendaverat dis vota que publice susceperat, quae multiplicata exsolutaque*). Auch Dankprozessionen wurden veranstaltet und ein Tempel der Fruchtbarkeit (*et additae supplicationes templumque fecunditatis*) sowie ein Wettkampf nach dem Muster der religiösen Feier von Actium beschlossen. Ferner sollten goldene Bilder der Glücksgöttinnen an den Thron des kapitolinischen Jupiters aufgestellt und ein Circusspiel (...) veranstaltet werden. Doch diese Beschlüsse wurden nicht wirksam: im vierten Monat starb das Kind".¹⁴

Ganz offensichtlich waren solche Dankesbezeugungen für die Geburt eines Kindes zumindest zu Zeiten des Tacitus, also bis in die 120er Jahre, noch ungewöhnlich und anstößig.¹⁵ Ähnliches dürfte sogar noch für die Zeit Mark Aurels gegolten haben: In einem seiner Briefe an Fronto erwähnte er eher beiläufig, dass eine Geburt Faustinas bevorstände und man dabei auf die Götter vertrauen müsse. In einem Brief an Smyrna sprach er, ohne eine große Erschütterung erkennen zu geben,¹⁶ davon, dass der Sohn, zu dem ihm die von dieser Stadt geschickte Gesandtschaft gratulieren wollte, bereits wieder verstorben sei.¹⁷ Es muss also insgesamt sehr fraglich bleiben, ob jede einzelne bevorstehende Geburt regelmäßig Anlass für *vota publica* war. Vielleicht wäre dies schon als zu deutliche Herausstellung des eigentlich am meisten geschätzten Weges der Machtweitergabe empfunden worden. Zudem sollte man sich bewusst machen, dass in der Antike eine glücklich verlaufene Geburt nur einen Schritt auf einem sehr langen, vielstappigen Weg vom Embryo zum Erwachsenen darstellte – und keineswegs einen so zentralen wie heute.¹⁸ Dazu verstarben zu viele Kinder im Kleinkindalter. Das

¹⁴ Tac. *ann.* 15,23. Nicht erwähnt bei Talbert 1984, 438 ff., doch s. 388. Wissowa 1909, 2098 und Ganschow 1997, 583 meinen, der Tempel sei erbaut worden. In Neros Leichenrede auf Poppaea spielte das von ihr geborene Kind ebenfalls eine wesentliche Rolle: Tac. *ann.* 16,6,2.

¹⁵ Wir haben keinen Beleg dafür, dass die angeblich traditionelle Bewirtung von Pilumnus und Picumnus bzw. Iuppiter und Hercules im Geburtshaus am Tag der Geburt eines Kindes eines Kaisers vollzogen worden wäre (Varro a. Non. 848 L; Serv. auctus *Aen.* 10,76 bzw. Philarg. *Verg. ecl.* 4,63; dazu z.B. de Cazanove 2011, 11 f.).

¹⁶ Vgl. zu seinen Prinzipien: *Ad se ipsum* 1,8; 9,3.

¹⁷ Fronto, *ad M. Caes.* 5,45 (60): *eo accedit adpropinquatio partus Faustinae. Sed confidere dis debemus* bzw. Oliver 157 = *I.Smyrna* 600. Vgl. demgegenüber Neros Reaktion: Tac. *ann.* 15,23,3.

¹⁸ Die *lustratio* des Neugeborenen, bei der es seinen Namen bekam, erfolgte erst nach acht

zeigt z. B. gerade der frühe Tod vieler Nachkommen von kinderreichen Kaisern oder mutmaßlichen Nachfolgern wie Germanicus oder Mark Aurel.¹⁹ Aus diesem Blickwinkel heraus war es nur folgerichtig, wenn der Senat bei der Geburt von Gaius Caesar keine Dankesopfer beschloss, sondern sich dafür entschied, in Zukunft immerwährend an seinen Geburtstagen öffentliche Opfer durchzuführen.²⁰

Man könnte in einer Passage – *iam divina suboles tua ad rei publicae vota successerit*²¹ – in dem Panegyrikus von 313 auf Konstantin einen Beleg dafür sehen, dass in dieser Zeit regelmäßig *vota* für die Geburt eines Nachfolgers eingegangen wurden. Doch bleibt erstens fraglich, ob man den Begriff *rei publicae vota* wirklich konkret im Hinblick auf eingegangene Gelübde und nicht allgemein im Sinne von "Wünsche der Allgemeinheit" verstehen soll. Zweitens ist damit zu rechnen, dass eine derartige Praxis sich erst im 3. Jh. angesichts der zahlreichen Herrscherkrisen herausgebildet hatte.

Anders ist dies im Falle einer Eheschließung und des dabei angestrebten Kindersegens. Hier gibt es vor allem eine Parallelnachricht zu den Angaben der Acta Arvalium über das Geschehen im Jahre 241 n.Chr.: Angesichts der Eheschließung zwischen Mark Aurel (zu diesem Zeitpunkt nur präsumptiver Nachfolger) und Faustina der Jüngeren im Jahre 145 n.Chr. wurden verschiedene Münzen mit der Legende *vota publica* geprägt.²² Diese Münzen zeigen eine zentrale neue Form der Darstellung eines heiratenden Ehepaares, nämlich zu beiden Seiten einer Personifikation der Concordia, die beiden die Hand über die Schulter legt und den Blick zum Bräutigam wendet.²³ Es ist dies nur ein Element von vielen, mit denen diese Heirat unter sehr speziellen Umständen herausgestellt wurde.²⁴ Es war die erste Heirat von Angehörigen des Kaiserhauses, nachdem Antoninus Pius im bewussten Bemühen, sich von seinem Vorgänger Hadrian abzusetzen, nach dem

(Mädchen) bzw. neun (Junge) Tagen: Hänninen 2005, 57; Rawson 2003, 111.

¹⁹ Generell z. B. Dixon 1988, 136 Anm. 3 (danach Rawson 2003, 103 f.), die noch für das 18. Jh. angibt: "Court mourning was not observed for small children of the English royal family".

²⁰ Dio 54,8,5 βουθύσια τέ τις τοῖς γενεθλίοις αὐτοῦ αἰδῖος ἐδόθη. Καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ ψηφίσματος, ὡσπερ πού καὶ τᾶλλα, ἐγένετο.

²¹ *Paneg.* 9 (12),26.

²² Aurei: *RIC* III p. 75, 81 Nr. 402a. 434; Strack 1937 III Nr. 159. 435. Sesterzen und Asse (oder Dupondien?): *RIC* III p. 176 f. Nr. 1253. 1269 (nicht 1259); Strack 1937 III Nr. 957; dazu Weiß 2008, 18 f. mit Anm. 59.

²³ Abbildungen und ausführliche Erläuterung bei Weiß 2008, 19. Vgl. auch Alexandridis 2004, 97.

²⁴ Zu all dem Weiß 2008.

Tode seiner Frau diese nicht nur vom Senat hatte divinisieren lassen. Vielmehr hatte der Senat, über vergleichbare Divinisationen hinausgehend, dazu aufgefordert, in Zukunft sollten alle Ehepaare vor der Statue des Pius und der seiner vergöttlichten Frau ein Bittopfer, eine *supplicatio*, darbringen, um deren vorbildliche Ehe zu ehren und ihre eigene unter deren Schutz zu stellen. Aufgestellt waren beide Statuen in Rom vermutlich im Tempel der Venus und der Roma. Diese im Jahr 176 beim Tod der jüngeren Faustina noch einmal wiederholte Aufforderung hat reichsweit großen Eindruck gemacht.²⁵ Wieweit dabei auch die ungeheure Zahl der dem Ehepaar Mark Aurel und Faustina d. J. geborenen Kinder – mindestens 11, eventuell sogar 13 – eine Rolle spielte, ist nicht zu ermitteln. Schon das erste war auf jeden Fall zum Anlass für eine außerordentliche Ehrung²⁶ der Frau des mutmaßlichen Nachfolgers geworden: Sie erhielt den Beinamen Augusta, während Mark Aurel erst bei Regierungsantritt den Titel Augustus erhielt. Erstmals bekam also eine Frau vor ihrem Mann dieses älteste und prestigeträchtigste aller Cognomina eines Herrschers über das Imperium Romanum. Faustina die Jüngere war auch die erste Herrscherfrau, für die im größeren Umfang Münzen mit der Legende *Fecunditas* oder *Fecunditati Augustae* und einer Darstellung der Göttin *Fecunditas* mit bis zu vier Kindern²⁷ geprägt wurden.²⁸

Wie im Jahre 145 wurde dann auch 178 bei der ersten auf den Tod der jüngeren Faustina folgenden Hochzeit im Kaiserhaus, nämlich der des Commodus und der Bruttia Crispina, ein Aes-Medaillon mit der Legende *vota publica* und einer weitgehend identischen Hochzeits-Concordia-Darstellung geprägt.²⁹ Spä-

²⁵ Dazu Weiß 2008, 24–29 mit Zusammenfassung der bisherigen Forschung. Für die Spätantike Kantorowicz 1960.

²⁶ Dazu Ameling 1992, 148; dort auch zu den Thesen von Fittschen 1982. Jetzt auch Priwitzer 2009, 96 f; Kunst 2013b, 118.

²⁷ Kleinere Serien hatte es schon für ihre Mutter gegeben (dazu Keltanen 2002, 131 f.). Zur Prägung für Faustina die Jüngere insbesondere Weiß 2008, 21 mit Hinweis auf Alexandridis 2004, 23 ff., 83 f.; grundsätzlich zur *Fecunditas* auf Münzen auch Ercolani 2012, 334 ff.; Mikocki 1995, 97 f.; Ganschow 1997 (dort auch zum allmählichen Bedeutungswandel; zu diesem vgl. ferner Klein 1998, 147). Da die Münzen keine für eine Datierung verwendbaren Anhaltspunkte aufweisen, läßt sich nicht sagen, wann präzise Faustina d. J. so geehrt wurde. Vgl. auch ein aus Lugdunum bekanntes Ton-Medaillon mit der Legende *Fecunditas [Augus]tae: ILTG 500*. Zum grundsätzlichen Problem der fast nie möglichen präzisen Datierung bei Emissionen für die Frauen der Herrscher: Alexandridis 2004, 28; Langford 2013, 10; zum sehr seltenen Bezug auf aktuelle Ereignisse: Alexandridis 2004, 10.

²⁸ Reinsberg 2006, 103 Anm. 819 weist aber daraufhin, dass *Fecunditas* für Gruppen der Reichsbevölkerung ("bürgerliches Ehepaar"(?)) keine Rolle spielte.

²⁹ Hölscher 1990, 487 Nr. 95.

testens ab 145 wird man also davon ausgehen dürfen, dass bei Hochzeiten der wichtigsten Mitglieder des Kaiserhauses *vota publica* eingegangen wurden, auch wenn dies nur einmal, im Jahr 241, in den Arvalakten zu fassen ist.³⁰

Vota publica meinen allerdings nur von den zentralen Priesterschaften in Rom eingegangene Gelübde. Es gibt keinen Anhaltspunkt, dass derartige Gelübde auch von Vertretern Roms in den Provinzen wie Statthaltern oder Procuratoren oder insbesondere den Organen der Städte des Reiches ausgesprochen wurden. Dementsprechend sind bis heute auch praktisch keine Altäre anlässlich der Geburt von Kindern der Frau des Herrschers oder des Nachfolgers in der epigraphischen Überlieferung fassbar. Die beiden Ausnahmen sind in sich problematisch: Sueton erwähnt in seiner Diskussion des umstrittenen Geburtsortes von Caligula, der ältere Plinius überliefere (in einem heute offensichtlich verlorenen Werk), Besuchern des *vicus Ambitarvium* oberhalb oder stromaufwärts von *Confluentes* im Treverergebiet würden Altäre gezeigt mit der Inschrift *ob Agrippinae puerperium*, also wegen einer Geburt der Agrippina.³¹ Überraschenderweise wird nicht gesagt, wer diese Altäre gestiftet habe. Noch mehr erstaunt das Formular: *ob puerperium* ist keine übliche Formel lateinischer Weihinschriften. Vielmehr tauchen die Begriffe für eine Geburt (*puerperium* bzw. das häufigere, weil weniger literarische, *partus*) oder eine Schwangerschaft (*gravitas*) nicht in Weihinschriften, sondern nur in Grabinschriften auf – zumeist als Angabe der Todesursache, unter Umständen auch als Hinweis auf die Zahl der Geburten der Verstorbenen.³² Das paßt zu dem, was Ulrike Ehmig (o. S. 115) generell feststellte: Der Dank für einen erfolgreichen Verlauf einer Geburt war *nicht* ein Altar mit Weihinschrift.³³ Angesichts all dessen liegt der Verdacht nahe, dass die Bewohner des

³⁰ In diesem Zusammenhang fragt sich, ob die bei Callistratus (*Dig.* 50,16,220,3) fassbare Erweiterung der traditionellen Formel für den Ehezweck um *et voto* nicht in diesem Zusammenhang eingeführt wurde: *parentes pios, qui liberorum procreandorum animo et voto uxores ducunt*.

³¹ Suet. *Cal.* 8: *Plinius Secundus in Treveris vico Ambitarvio supra Confluentes; addit etiam pro argumento aras ibi ostendi inscriptas OB AGRIPPINAE PUERPERIUM*. Kein Hinweis auf diesen *vicus* bei Heinen 1985, Cüppers 1990 oder dem *LGRC*. S. aber Syme 1969, 214 = *RP* II 754 und Wightman 1970, 129.

³² *Puerperium*: *CIL* III 9632 = *Salona* IV 2, 618; *CIL* X 1112; *CIL* XIV 2737; *partus*: *CIL* III 272 = 6759 = *I.Ancyra* I 44; *CIL* III 3572, 13529; *CIL* VI 3499, 5534, 30111a, cf. p. 3736; *CIL* VIII 20288; *CIL* IX 5401; *CIL* XIV 2737; *AE* 1972, 40; 1991, 674; 1994, 1060; 1997, 823 = 1998, 736; 2001, 1168; 2006, 222; *CLE* 2080; *HEp* 7, 135; *ILAlg.* I 2242; *gravitas*: *CIL* V 6808 = *I.It.* XI 2, 32; *CIL* X 1537, cf. p. 1008 = *ILCV* 173 = *ICNapol.* 157; *ICVR* I 1500 = *CLE* 1399 = *CLE* 1403; *AE* 1972, 37. Vgl. auch Gell. 10,2,2.

³³ Hänninen 2005, 52 mit Anm. 28 "Thus, a father, or father and mother together might also

vicus entweder die Altäre gefälscht hatten oder die Inschriften schlecht erhaltener epigraphischer Monumente uminterpretiert hatten, um römische Besucher (und ihr Geld) in den Ort zu locken.³⁴

Ein zweifelsfrei authentisches Monument stellt ein Altar da, den ein *dispensator decurialium gerulorum* am 23. August 166 in Rom der Iuno Lucina dedizierte.³⁵ Iuno Lucina ist eine der Göttinnen, die in Rom am engsten mit Geburten verknüpft war,³⁶ und an der Inschrift fällt auf, wie ausführlich auf die Frauen von Mark Aurel und Lucius Verus hingewiesen wird: *Iunoni Lucinae pro salute domus Augustorum Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) M(arci) Aureli Antonini (...) et Faustinae Aug(ustae) eius et Imp(eratoris) Caes(aris) L(uci) Aureli Veri (...) et Lucillae Augustae eius liberorumque eorum*. Beides legt nahe, dass dieser Altar, wie auch schon früher vermutet,³⁷ mit einer der Geburten von Faustina und Lucilla in Zusammenhang stand. Warum sich aber ein Kassenwart der im Auftrag des römischen Staates tätigen und daher in Dekurien organisierten "Träger"³⁸ dazu veranlasst sah, im Zusammenhang mit einem solchen Ereignis einen Altar zu stiften, ist nicht unmittelbar zu erkennen. Am ehesten möchte man vermuten, dass bei einer Fahrt in der Tragesänfte³⁹ bei Faustina – Lucilla war im Osten – die Wehen einsetzten und nur mit Mühe ein für eine Niederkunft geeigneter Ort erreicht wurde. Mehr als eine Hypothese kann das freilich nicht sein.

express gratitude to the gods for a successful delivery" trifft so nicht zu. Es gibt keinen Hinweis in den zitierten Inschriften (*CIL* VI 357a; *CIL* VI 362) auf eine Geburt als Anlaß für die Weihung. Die zweite gilt zudem nicht einmal Iuno Lucina, sondern Iuno Moneta Regina. Vgl. generell dazu in diesem Band: U. Ehmig, "Risikobewältigung bei Schwangerschaft und Geburt in der römischen Antike", 111–29.

³⁴ Die Kommentatoren der Caligula-Vita haben allerdings keinen Zweifel an der Existenz dieser Altäre: Hurley 1993, 20; Lindsay 1993, 65; Wardle 1994, 130. Ebenso Stein 1931, 11, 70, 76.

³⁵ *CIL* VI 360 bis = *ILS* 366.

³⁶ S. z. B. *RAC* IX (1976) 106–07, s. v. "Geburt II".

³⁷ Vgl. Dessaus Kommentar, der ohne zwingenden Grund an eine Geburt der Lucilla denkt (übernommen von Temporini 1979, 34). Nichts bei Kolb 1993. Die bei Ameling 1992, 161 gegebene Datierung der Geburten ist, wie dieser selbst zugibt, mit vielen Hypothesen verbunden. Wenn 172 noch eine Tochter geboren wurde (a.O. 160: "etwa"), dann können zwischen 162 und 172 noch andere Kinder das Licht der Welt erblickt haben.

³⁸ Zu den *geruli* zuletzt Kolb 2000, 21, 270, 273, 304 f.

³⁹ Zu den wenigen öffentlichen Zeugnissen der *geruli* gehört auch eine Ehrung der Furia Sabina Tranquillina: *CIL* VI, 1096, cf. p. 3071, 3778, 4323, 4340 = *CIL* VI 31239a = *ILS* 504.

Dieser Altar ist das einzige epigraphische Zeugnis, für das ein Zusammenhang mit einer Geburt in der Kaiserfamilie wahrscheinlich gemacht werden kann.⁴⁰ Es gibt nicht nur keine anderen inschriftlichen Votive von Untertanen beziehungsweise ihren offiziellen Vertretern, sie fehlen auch für die Kaiser und ihre Frauen selbst. Überhaupt erfahren wir aus der Kaiserzeit erstaunlich wenig über religiöse Handlungen der Kaiser und ihrer Frauen im Zusammenhang mit Geburten in der kaiserlichen Familie. Ein wenig ausführlicher⁴¹ gehen die Quellen insbesondere auf die Handlungen Caligulas nach der Geburt seines ersten Kindes ein. Dieses Ereignis war für ihn nicht nur von derartiger Wichtigkeit, dass er die Kindsmutter, Milonia Caesonia, sofort (oder einen Monat vor ihrer Niederkunft⁴²) heiratete.⁴³ Er soll vielmehr mit dem neugeborenen Mädchen zu allen Heiligtümern der Stadt geeilt sein, um es dann letztlich unter den besonderen Schutz der Minerva und Jupiters⁴⁴ (oder nur dieses⁴⁵) zu stellen.

Mehr als für die Hohe Kaiserzeit⁴⁶ erfahren wir im Falle der Spätantike von den persönlichen Bemühungen der Kaiser und vor allem ihrer Frauen um göttlichen Schutz bei einer Geburt. Hinter diesen häufigeren Geschichten dürfte zweierlei stehen: Erstens bekam mit der neuen Religion des Reiches und ihren Glaubensspaltungen die persönliche Religiosität des Kaisers und jener, die ihm besonders nahestanden, eine andere Bedeutung als vorher. Zweitens aber führte die neue Religion dazu, dass deren "heilige Männer" in ganz anderer Weise mit Kaisern und den diesen Nahestehenden umgingen als dies bis dahin der Fall gewesen war – wobei es letztlich oft nicht zu entscheiden ist, wie weit sie dies real taten und wieweit ihre Zeitgenossen und spätere Historiker dies nur unterstellten. Denkbar war es jedenfalls geworden, dass "heilige Männer" noch viel freier Mitgliedern des Kaiserhauses ihre Meinung sagten als man dies bis dahin selbst Philosophen zugestanden hatte.

⁴⁰ Vielleicht noch einschlägig angesichts der angesprochenen Gottheit: *CIL VIII 27357 I[uno]ni Lucinae A[u]g(ustae) [s]a[c]ru[m] pag[us et ci]vitas Thuggensis fe[c]e[r]u[n]t [et] dedic(averunt).*

⁴¹ Vgl. o. 135 zu einer in einem seiner Briefe fassbaren Reaktion Mark Aurels.

⁴² So Dio 59,23,7.

⁴³ Suet. *Cal.* 25,4; vgl. Dio 59,23,7; 28,7 mit Hurley 1993, 105 f.; Priwitz 2009, 183 f.; Wardle 1994, 236 f.; Wood 1999, 216.

⁴⁴ Suet. *Cal.* 25,4.

⁴⁵ So Ios. *ant. Iud.* 19,13,2. Zu dem Geschehen insbesondere Barrett 1989, 96.

⁴⁶ Vgl. auch Flemming 2000, 170: "It is interesting to note that he never attaches the name of any lady of the imperial household to a specifically female remedy".

Die meisten derartigen Hinweise finden sich für Eudoxia, die offensichtlich tief gläubige, aber auch machtbewusste und durchsetzungsfähige Gattin des 395 im Alter von etwa 18 Jahren auf seinen Vater Theodosius I in der östlichen Reichshälfte folgenden Kaisers Arcadius. Als Eudoxia im Jahre 400 den Titel Augusta erhielt, wurde dieses Ereignis mit einer ganz neuen, sofort zum Muster werdenden bildlichen Darstellung auf den Münzen gefeiert: Die Hand Gottes, keine weltliche Institution, setzte der Augusta ein Diadem auf.⁴⁷ Dass sie diese so propagierte unabhängige politische Stellung ganz wesentlich ihren Kindern zu verdanken hatte, war Eudoxia allem Anschein nach bewusst. Auf jeden Fall setzte sie ihre Kinder wie wohl keine andere Kaiserin⁴⁸ für ihre politischen Ziele ein: Der Sturz des *praepositus sacri cubiculi* Eutropius im Jahre 400 soll nach Philostorgius u. a. dadurch verursacht worden sein, dass bei der entscheidenden Audienz "die Kleinkinder heftig für ihre Mutter schrien".⁴⁹ Auch bei einer der ersten Streitigkeiten⁵⁰ mit Bischof Johannes Chrysostomus benutzte sie den von ihr geborenen Thronfolger in entsprechender Weise, um die angestrebte Versöhnung zwischen Johannes und Bischof Severianus von Gabala zu erreichen. Vor einer großen religiösen Öffentlichkeit, in der Apostelkirche, setzte sie Johannes das Kleinkind auf die Knie und bat ihn bei dem Kleinkind um die gewünschte Aussöhnung.⁵¹

Wie wichtig ihr die göttliche Hilfe insbesondere bei der Geburt des ersten männlichen Kindes war, das wird vor allem daran deutlich, was die Vita Porphyrii des Diakons Marcus über Eudoxia, die Geburt ihres ersten Sohnes und Bischof Porphyrius von Gaza überliefert. Inwieweit die einzelnen Elemente der Darstellung einen authentischen Bericht eines Zeitgenossen, eben des Diakons Marcus, darstellen oder ob es sich nur um einen irgendwann in der Spätantike um einen (kleinen) wahren Kern herausgesponnenen "roman historique"⁵² handelt, ist umstritten.⁵³ Je nachdem stellt der Bericht mit den einzelnen Details (der

⁴⁷ *RIC* X p. 247 f. Nr. 77–84; dazu z. B. Clauss 2002, 394 f.; Dürr 2001, 1085; Tiersch 2002, 212.

⁴⁸ Doch s. z. B. *Tac. ann.* 14,61,4; vgl. 2,71,4; Philostr. *v. soph.* 2,1,11 (p. 560).

⁴⁹ Philostorg. 11,6. Vgl. *Socr. hist. eccl.* 6,2,7; *Soz. hist. eccl.* 8,7,3.

⁵⁰ Tiersch 2002, 220–222.

⁵¹ *Socr. hist. eccl.* 6,11,20; *Soz. hist. eccl.* 8,10,6.

⁵² So Grégoire – Kugener 1930, LXXI.

⁵³ Auf der einen Seite stehen insbesondere Grégoire – Kugener 1930, VII–LXXXIX und Peeters 1941 (danach z. B. Hahn 2004, 203 Anm. 57), auf der anderen z. B. Trombley 1993–1994 I 187–282, besonders 246–282, und Chuvin 1990, 76 ff., 89 f.; ders. 2004. Zur Untersuchung

griechischen Version) entweder ein einzigartiges, herausragendes Zeugnis für die Durchsetzung des Christentums in einer Stadt mittlerer Größe in der Spätantike dar oder aber ein Ergebnis der "Fabulierfreude des Hagiographen".⁵⁴ Die beiden zentralen Ereignisse der Vita – dass das wichtigste pagane Heiligtum, das Marneion, in Gaza zunächst geschlossen und dann zerstört und durch eine Kirche

lokalgeschichtlicher wie übergreifender Fragen wird die Vita üblicherweise ohne große Bedenken herangezogen, s. z. B. in unseren Zusammenhängen Holum 1982, 55; Dürr 2001, 1091, 1094; Clauss 2002, 395 f.; Glucker 1987, 46 ff.; Kelly 1995, 142, 168–70, 173; Sivan 2008, 161 ff., 308 f., 331 ff. Etwas vorsichtiger Tiersch 2002, 207.

Im Rahmen dieses Aufsatzes kann auf die verwickelten, unterschiedlich überzeugenden und oft polemischen Argumentationen beider Seiten nicht adäquat eingegangen werden, sondern nur zentrale Überlegungen des Autors dieser Studie angedeutet werden: Meiner Ansicht nach hat Trombley überzeugend die Argumente von Peeters 1941 (die auch schon Grégoire und Kugener in den Grundzügen bekannt waren) widerlegt, wonach die viel kürzere georgische Version die ältere sei, weil sie auf einer verlorenen syrischen beruhe, von der die ganze Überlieferung ausgehe (1993–1994 I 246 ff., besonders 250 und 252 f. – zum τετράμφοδον). Unabhängig davon scheint mir erstens der gemeinsame Grundgedanke der Proömien der Vita und der Historia religiosa des Theodoret – es sei zwar am eindruckvollsten, große Glaubenskämpfer selbst zu erleben, es mache aber ebenfalls Sinn, deren Leben zu beschreiben, weil man auch so zur Nachahmung anrege und das Vergessen und Verfälschen ihrer Taten verhindere – keineswegs so einzigartig zu sein, dass er von dem einen Autor dem anderen entnommen sein müsste. Ebenso wenig halte ich die Formulierungen im Einzelnen für so identisch, dass ich die immer wieder aufgestellte Behauptung, das Vorwort Theodorets sei in der Vita plagiiert worden und deshalb datiere die erhaltene griechische Fassung der Vita nach 445/6, für überzeugend halte. Wenn überhaupt ein Zusammenhang besteht, kann eine derart randständige Partie auch ohne weitere Änderungen am übrigen ergänzt worden sein. Vor allem aber könnten sich die Anklänge aneinander auch aus einer dritten, heute wie so vieles verlorenen, gemeinsamen Vorlage ergeben haben.

Die dem Autor nachweisbaren Fehler – vor allem die fälschliche Behauptung, der Bischof von Jerusalem, unter dem Porphyrius als Kleriker Karriere machte, sei Praulius gewesen; daneben schwer mit unseren übrigen Nachrichten vereinbare Angaben zur genauen Chronologie der einzelnen Etappen des Aufenthaltes von Porphyrius in Konstantinopel – wiegen vergleichsweise leicht im Vergleich zu: 1. den präzisen und nur für diese Zeit typischen Ämtern der Reichs- und Provinzialverwaltung, die Marcus nennt (z.B. ist der Statthalter der Palaestina I ein *consularis*; ein *subadiuva* und *commentarienses* erscheinen); 2. den ansonsten in der Antike so nirgends faßbaren, aber überzeugenden Informationen zu den Beweggründen und Modalitäten herrscherlichen Handelns – man will den präzisen Steuereingang auf keinen Fall stören; Eudoxia organisiert ein geschicktes, ganz auf diesen Kaiser und einen bestimmten Anlaß hin konzipiertes Manöver, um die Annahme der Petition zu erreichen; 3. das Bild der Eudoxia ist überhaupt noch nicht von ihrer Rolle bei der Verbannung von Johannes Chrysostomus (negativ) bestimmt; 4. die Marienverehrung spielt ebenfalls noch gar keine Rolle. Alles dies wäre bei einer Abfassung der Schrift nach den großen Konzilien der Mitte des 5. Jh. nicht vorstellbar.

⁵⁴ So Hahn 2004, 211.

ersetzt wurde – bestätigen zwei Angaben bei Hieronymus.⁵⁵ Eine weitere, bisher vernachlässigte, Quelle hat auch einen Beleg für die Existenz und Prominenz ihres Helden vor dessen Episkopat in Gaza geliefert.⁵⁶

Nach der Darstellung seiner Vita betrachtete es Bischof Porphyrius von Gaza als die zentrale Aufgabe seines Episkopats, den Kult im wichtigsten paganen Heiligtum von Gaza, dem Marneion, zu beenden und den Tempel zu zerstören. 398 war dieses Ziel scheinbar in greifbarer Nähe: Nach einer Gesandtschaft des Diakons Marcus nach Konstantinopel erschien ein *subadiuva* des *magister (officiorum)*, begleitet von zwei *commentarienses* des *consularis Palaestinae I* und Truppen der Provinz sowie einem kaiserlichen Schreiben des Inhalts, die paganen Heiligtümer notfalls mit Gewalt zu schließen. Aber die pagane Bevölkerung bestach den Vertreter des kaiserlichen Befehls. Er schloss zwar alle kleineren Heiligtümer und zerstörte deren Statuen, ließ aber den Kult im Marneion zunächst heimlich und dann wieder in den üblichen Formen fortbestehen.⁵⁷

Im Jahre 400 unternahm Porphyrius eine neue Initiative:⁵⁸ Zusammen mit seinem Metropolitanbischof, Johannes von Caesarea, reiste er nach Konstantinopel, um in direkter Intervention eine Schließung durchzusetzen. Doch der Kaiser war dazu nicht bereit: Gaza zahlte regelmäßig seine Steuern, warum also Gefahr laufen, eine so gute Einnahmequelle zu stören oder gar zu verlieren? Mehr als einen immer stärker werdenden Druck wollte er nicht ausüben. Da half auch der Kontakt von Porphyrius zu der Kaiserin, den er mittels des Ortsbischofs – eben Johannes Chrysostomus – und über diesen mittels eines besonders gläubigen Hofbeamten, eines *cubicularius* und *castrensis*, hergestellt hatte, zunächst nicht weiter. Doch bei der zweiten Audienz der Bischöfe bei der Kaiserin bot sich diesen die Chance, ihr das zu prophezeien, was ihr seligster Wunsch war: Gott werde die bevorstehende Geburt leicht machen und es werde ein Junge werden. Darauf versprach Eudoxia nicht nur, in einem solchen Fall für die Zerstörung des Marneions zu sorgen, sondern auch an seiner Stelle eine neue, großartige, beeindruckende Kirche zu erbauen. Als das Neugeborene dann tatsächlich ein Junge

⁵⁵ Hieron. *ep.* 107,2 bzw. *Comm. in Esaiam proph.* 7,17,2.3 (CCL 73, 268).

⁵⁶ Hahn 2004, 204 Anm. 62 mit der Ankündigung einer bisher m. W. nicht publizierten Studie zu einer Homilie des Johannes II von Jerusalem.

⁵⁷ *V. Porph.* 26–27. Warum die Details in der griechischen Version der Vita erfunden sein sollen (so Hahn 2004, 210 Anm. 90), ist mir nicht erkenntlich; die *πρωτεύοντες* z. B. waren eine größere, zunächst nur informelle, dann institutionalisierte Gruppe im Stadtrat einer spätantiken Stadt (z. B. Jones 1964, 731).

⁵⁸ *V. Porph.* 33–62.

war, wurde ein Vorgehen vereinbart, das den kaiserlichen Widerstand aushebelte: Anlässlich der Taufe des Neugeborenen wurden die Bischöfe so am Kirchenausgang platziert, dass sie dem Baby und seiner Begleitung, darunter auch seinem Vater, nach der Taufe eine Petition "übergeben" konnten, in dem sie ihr Anliegen darstellten. Der eingeweihte Träger des Babys ließ sie sich bringen, verlas sie zum Teil und hob den Kopf des Jungen, was, wie er laut verkündete, als Zeichen der Zustimmung zu verstehen sei. Unter dem Druck der Öffentlichkeit und des Anlasses konnte der kaiserliche Vater nicht anders, als die Umsetzung der Bitte anzuordnen. Eudoxia selbst übernahm den größten Teil der Kosten der Gesandtschaft, stiftete eine erhebliche, aber keineswegs unvorstellbar große Summe für den Bau der Kirche und eines Hospitals (14400 Solidi), sorgte für einen Architekten und mit 32 marmornen Säulen aus Karystos für ein zentrales schmückendes Ornament.

Eudoxia in der *Vita Porphyrii* ist eine fromme Frau⁵⁹, deren Rechtgläubigkeit nicht bezweifelt wird. Ganz anders wird sie dann in den Quellen dargestellt, die von ihrem Streit mit Bischof Johannes Chrysostomus in den letzten Lebensjahren von ihnen beiden berichten. Die Gründe für den Streit sind hier nicht wichtig.⁶⁰ Von Belang ist, dass nach dem Zeugnis der Quellen die beiden entscheidenden Etappen jeweils Auswirkungen auf zwei Schwangerschaften Eudoxias hatten – ein weiterer Beleg dafür, wie wichtig dieser Geburten und die göttliche Hilfe dabei waren. In der Nacht, nachdem der verbannte Johannes zum erstenmal Konstantinopel verlassen hatte, soll nach dem Biographen des Johannes etwas im Schlafzimmer der Kaiserin geschehen sein – die heutige Forschung vermutet eine Fehlgeburt.⁶¹ Auf jeden Fall sorgte die Kaiserin dafür, dass Johannes zurückgerufen wurde und es zu einer Aussöhnung kam. Nach einem neuen Streit musste Johannes im Juni 404 Konstantinopel erneut und diesmal für immer verlassen. Am 6. Oktober desselben Jahres starb Eudoxia an den Folgen einer Fehlgeburt – möglicherweise deshalb weil sie einen starken Hagelsturm wenige Tage vor-

⁵⁹ Für sie aufschlußreich ist aber auch eine bei Sozomenos (*hist. eccl.* 8,15,1–2) überlieferte Anekdote, nach der sie trotz der Krankheit ihres Sohnes nicht bereit war, den Segen des Epiphanius für diesen mit dem Verzicht auf die Protektion der "langen Brüder" zu erlangen. Kelly 1995, 209 und Tiersch 2002, 338 betrachten die Episode als historisch.

⁶⁰ Dazu die eingehende und überzeugende Untersuchung von Tiersch 2002, besonders 206–28, die unsere Möglichkeiten, das Geschehen zu rekonstruieren, keineswegs so skeptisch sieht wie z.B. Cooper 1996, 17 f.

⁶¹ Clauss 2002, 399 und Kelly 1995, 232 in der Interpretation von Pall. 9,4–5; vorsichtiger Tiersch 2002, 356; anders Holum 1982, 75 mit Anm. 109.

her als Zeichen göttlichen Zornes interpretiert hatte.⁶² Eine ihr noch feindlichere Überlieferungstradition behauptete, sie sei an den Folgen von Magie verstorben, die sie angewandt hätte, um schwanger zu werden.⁶³

So viel, wie über Eudoxia und ihre Geburten berichtet wird, überliefern die Quellen für keine andere Kaiserin. Einzelne Hinweise aber gibt es dennoch für eine Reihe von Kaiserinnen: Es beginnt mit Eusebia, der Frau von Constantius II, die anscheinend keine Kinder bekommen konnte. Zonaras und Philostorgius sprechen von ihrer *μητρομανία*, also ihrem krankhaften Bemühen darum, Mutter zu werden.⁶⁴ Ob sie deshalb andere Frauen der kaiserlichen Familie beneidete und ihre Kinder zu töten versuchte, wie es Ammianus Marcellinus behauptet, muss offenbleiben.⁶⁵ Ebenso fraglich ist, ob sie wirklich dafür sorgte, dass der arianische Bischof Theophilus aus dem Exil zurückgerufen wurde, weil sie sich davon Heilung für ihren Uterus versprach.⁶⁶ Schließlich ist es auch nur möglich, aber nicht sicher, dass sie diejenige ist, von der Johannes Chrysostomus in einer Predigt sagte: "Ein anderer aber sah seine Frau sterben durch Pessare. Denn weil sie nicht gebar, hat eine unglückliche und elendige Frau (unglücklich und elendig <war sie> nämlich, die hoffte, das Gottesgeschenk durch eigene Weisheit zu verschaffen) die Kaiserin getötet, indem sie ihr Pessare verabreichte, und sie starb ebenfalls".⁶⁷

Eusebia und Eudoxia waren nicht die einzigen, die zu "heiligen Männern" Kontakt aufnahmen, um ihren Kinderwunsch erfüllt zu bekommen. Leo I sandte aus diesem Grund einen *officialis* als Botenträger zu dem heiligen Daniel Stylites und finanzierte diesem das Fundament zu einer neuen Säule, als der Kinderwunsch 463 in Erfüllung ging.⁶⁸ Er und seine Frau Verina⁶⁹ waren auch diejenigen, die für den angeblichen Schleier der Maria eine Kirche in Blachernai

⁶² Socr. *hist. eccl.* 6,19,5–6; Soz. *hist. eccl.* 8,27,1–2; Phot. *bibl.* 77 (I 158); *Chron. Pasch.* 404 (p. 569); Kedrenos 334 B (p. 585 f.); vgl. Tiersch 2002, 385 Anm. 29.

⁶³ *Vita aceph. Ioh. Chrysostom.* (van Ommeslaeghe 1976) p. 352 f.

⁶⁴ Zon. 13,11,9 f.; Philostorg. 4,7.

⁶⁵ Amm. 16,10,18 f.; vgl. Wieber-Scariot 1999, 231 ff.

⁶⁶ Philostorg. 4,7.

⁶⁷ Ioh. Chrysost. *ad ep. in Philipp.* 15,5 (PG 62, 295; Übersetzung bei Wieber-Scariot 1999, 253 f. Anm. 307).

⁶⁸ *V. Dan. Styl.* 38.

⁶⁹ Deren Bedeutung in unseren wie anderen Zusammenhängen zu Recht von James 1997, 133 f. herausgestellt wird.

in Konstantinopel und ein kostbares, gold- und edelsteingeschmücktes Reliquiar stifteten.⁷⁰ Die Reliquie wurde sehr schnell auch von anderen Frauen im Zusammenhang mit Geburten verehrt.⁷¹

Dass es eine entsprechende Geschichte auch für Theodora gibt, obwohl es eine weit verbreitete Überzeugung war, sie könne wegen ihrer Vergangenheit als Schauspielerin keine Kinder haben, verwundert angesichts ihrer Bedeutung kaum. Nach der Vita des berühmten Mönches Sabas habe er 531, als er nach dem Aufstand der Samariter in die Hauptstadt kam, um kaiserliche Hilfe zu erbitten, auch sie aufgesucht. Diese habe ihn freudig begrüßt und ihn gebeten, für sie im Gebet eine Leibesfrucht zu erbitten. Sabas habe geantwortet, Gott als der Herr über alles würde über das Reich wachen. Theodora habe ihn daraufhin erneut gebeten, für sie zu beten, auf dass Gott ihr ein Kind schenke. Sabas sei wiederum ausgewichen: Gott würde das Reich in Frömmigkeit und Sieghaftigkeit beschützen. Nachdem die Besucher von der wütenden Kaiserin entlassen worden seien, hätten seine erstaunten Begleiter Sabas nach dem Grund dafür gefragt, dass er nicht für diese gebetet habe. Dieser habe geantwortet: Aus ihrem Schoß würde Gott nie ein Kind kommen lassen, aus Angst dass dieses die Kirche mit den Lehren des Severus nähre und mehr Unruhe stifte als Anastasius. Alles weist darauf hin, daß die Unterhaltung eine Erfindung nach der Maxime "die mächtige Häretikerin und der schlaue und gewitzte Heilige" war. Aber sie zeigt, was man von einer christlichen Kaiserin erwartete und was man von einem Heiligen mutmasste, wenn Zweifel an der Rechtgläubigkeit dieser Kaiserin bestanden.⁷²

Alle bis hierhin diskutierten Nachrichten über spätantike Kaiserinnen und ihre Bemühungen um göttlichen Schutz bei einer bevorstehenden Geburt stehen – mutatis mutandis – in einer Kontinuitätslinie zu dem, was über die Frauen der Herrscher der Hohen Kaiserzeit zu erfahren ist. Geändert hatte sich dabei im Wesentlichen nur, an welche Gottheit man sich wandte. Das gilt auch noch für eine Änderung, die angesichts der Heirat zwischen der Augusta (seit 414) Aelia Pulcheria und dem auf Theodosius II folgenden Marcianus im Jahr 450 eingeführt

⁷⁰ Herrin 2000, 14; vgl. auch dies. 2013, 286 f. Zu den Quellen auch James 1997, 134 mit Hinweis auf Wenger 1952.

⁷¹ *V. Steph. min.* p. 92 f., dazu Herrin 2000, 19; *Script. orig. Const.* II § 107 p. 251 (die Frau von Leo III [717–741], dazu Herrin a. O. 25 f.); Kurtz 1898 p. 2 Z. 28–34, dazu Herrin a. O. 26. Bei der Kirche gab es seit der Zeit Leos I *triclinia* für Besuche des Hofstaates: *Const. Porph. cer.* I 27.

⁷² *Cyr. Scyth. v. Sab.* 71; keine Zweifel an der Geschichte bei Dürr 2001, 1100. Für die Frau des Anführers eines Klientelstammes und den heiligen Symeon Stylites s. *Theod. hist. rel.* 26,21; generell: 11.

wurde. Die Heirat (*feliciter nubtiis* hieß die Legende) wurde auf Münzen nicht mehr in der Form des seit Faustina üblichen bildlichen Bildtypus – also *Concordia* zwischen den beiden Partnern⁷³ – dargestellt. Vielmehr nahm jetzt Christus ihren Platz ein.⁷⁴ Damit hatte man für eine kaiserliche Heirat eine Darstellung übernommen, die in der Bevölkerung schon verbreitet war⁷⁵ – hier war das Vorbild also von "Unten" gekommen.

Der eigentliche Bruch aber verbarg sich in den Modalitäten der Heirat zwischen dieser letzten Angehörigen der theodosianischen Dynastie und dem Strohmann des *magister militum* Aspar. Pulcheria setzte durch, dass die Ehe nur auf dem Papier geschlossen wurde und damit nur der Legitimation des neuen Kaisers diene. Ein Ehevollzug wurde entsprechend dem Willen der Pulcheria, die als junges Mädchen Jungfräulichkeit gelobt hatte,⁷⁶ ausgeschlossen.⁷⁷ Mit dem Abschluß einer Ehe *non creandorum liberorum causa* war das römische Eheverständnis durch Gedanken der neuen Religion auf den Kopf gestellt⁷⁸ und auch die bis dahin zentrale Aufgabe der Frau eines Kaisers beiseite gelegt. Das erwies sich aber, wie manches in diesen "Welten im Aufbruch", als zu radikal gedacht.⁷⁹ Es widersprach allzusehr den Gedanken monarchischer Herrschaft, als dass Pulcheria in dieser Hinsicht hätte zum Vorbild werden können. Auf den Frauen der

⁷³ Auf Münzen Aurelians hatte Sol zwischen den Ehepartnern gestanden: Kantorowicz 1960, 6 mit Abb. 19.

⁷⁴ *RIC X* p. 278 Nr. 502. Dazu insbesondere Burgess 1993/1994, 49 f., 67; vgl. Claus 2002, 425; Reinsberg 1983, 315. Die Darstellung griff das Münzbild für die Hochzeit zwischen Valentinian III und Licinia Eudoxia im Jahr 437 auf, bei dem aber Theodosius II zwischen den Ehepartnern gestanden hatte. Holum 1982, 209 vermutet für die Prägung aktuelle politische Gründe: "This iconography declared that Christ Himself sponsored the union and that it therefore should not provoke shock or unjustified suspicions".

⁷⁵ Kantorowicz 1960, 8 f. (danach Herrin 2000, 20) mit Hinweis auf einen Sarkophag der Villa Albani (Abb. 7) und Paulinus von Nola *carm.* XXV Z. 151 f. (CSEL 30, 243). Insofern war der Bildtyp gegen Reinsberg 1983, 315 keineswegs auf das Ostreich beschränkt.

⁷⁶ *Soz. hist. eccl.* 9,1,1–4; *Theoph. Conf.* 5901 (408/9, I 81); *Suid.* 2,2145.

⁷⁷ *Evagr. hist. eccl.* 2,1 (38 B-P); *Theoph. Conf.* 5942 (449/450, I 103); *Zon.* 13,24,1–3. Dazu Burgess 1993–1994, 64 f. mit der exzellenten Einbindung dieser Nachrichten in die gesamte Überlieferung für die Ereignisse und dem Schluß: "if my understanding of Pulcheria's character is correct, there is nothing that could have induced her to break her vows. From the very beginning, then, it must have been understood by all concerned that if there was to be a marriage it would have to be a false union".

⁷⁸ *Val. Max.* 7,7,4.

⁷⁹ Vgl. in dem Zusammenhang auch Brubaker 1997, 63 f. Für eine intensive Diskussion und nützliche Kritik habe ich U. Ehmig (Wien) zu danken.

Monarchen der folgenden Jahrhunderte lastete wieder der Druck, möglichst bald für einen Nachfolger zu sorgen.

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THE ARROGANT ARMENIAN – TIRIDATES (BAGRATUNI) IN CASSIUS DIO AND MOVSES KHORENATS'I*

KAI JUNTUNEN

There are a few individuals who have left their mark on history only because of their questionable character. One such person seems to have been the Armenian Tiridates, who, according to Cassius Dio, caused disturbances in Armenia during the reign of Marcus Aurelius and who behaved violently towards the Roman legate Martius Verus when the latter reproached him for his conduct. Although Dio mentions this man only *en passant* in relation to a minor incident, the early medieval Armenian historian Movses Khorenats'i records in his work *History of the Armenians* a local folklore tradition of another Tiridates, who also seems to have been a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius and whose arrogance matched that of the Tiridates mentioned by Dio.

A closer examination of the details in these two stories would seem to suggest that both Cassius Dio and Movses are talking about one and the same individual. The combined details of these two stories help us to understand the incident recorded by Cassius Dio in its proper context. It also enables us to see the incident as another example of the challenges the Roman Empire faced in its more remote frontiers. Furthermore, the folklore tradition recorded by Movses would seem to provide us with valuable clues for our understanding of the situation in Armenia on the eve of the Parthian war of Lucius Verus, as well as the causes of this conflict and possibly the identities of some of its key players.

* I would like to express my gratitude for Ms. Maija Holappa for providing the maps of this article.

Cassius Dio: The Incident with Tiridates and the Heniochi

The incident that Cassius Dio recorded has not survived in its original context, but instead as an excerpt in the tenth century Byzantine encyclopaedia *Excerpta Constantiniana*.¹ This encyclopaedia originally contained excerpts of several classical historians divided under fifty-three topics, each providing examples of historical incidents of a specific nature.² The excerpt of Dio that mentions the altercation between Tiridates and Martius Verus was added in the collection *de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, as it mainly dealt with the lenient nature of Marcus Aurelius. It begins by describing the bitterness of the emperor towards Ariogaesus, whom the Quadi – a Germanic tribe on the Danubian frontier – had made their king against the objections of the Roman Empire.³ The anger of the emperor is emphasised to have gone even so far that Marcus declared a price on Ariogaesus' head, payable either on his capture or death.

Cassius Dio tempered this stern depiction of Marcus Aurelius by noting that even though the emperor had at the time been infuriated by Ariogaesus, he did him no harm when the German king was eventually captured, but instead merely exiled him to Alexandria. In an attempt to make sure that his readers would see Marcus Aurelius as a lenient ruler, Dio added a similar incident to his anecdote that occurred roughly at the same time in Armenia. In this episode, another man had behaved insolently towards the representative of the emperor, but instead of being sentenced to death, the man was instead exiled to the opposite end of the Empire:

"... Yet in general the emperor was always accustomed to treat even his most stubborn foes humanely; thus, when Tiridates, a satrap, stirred up trouble in Armenia and slew the king of the Heniochi, and then thrust his sword in [Martius] Verus' face when the latter rebuked him for it, he did not put him to death, but merely sent him to Britain." (tr. E. Cary 1927)

¹ Dio 71,14,2 = Exc. *de virt.* (ed. Büttner-Wobst – Roos) V. 304 (pp. 370–71).

² Roberto 2009, 73–4.

³ Cf. Dio 71,13,3–4 = Exc. *de leg.* (ed. de Boor) U^G 58 (p. 432). One should note that there is a numerical difference between de Boor's edition of *Excerpta de Legionibus* and earlier editions. In de Boor's edition, the fragments U^G 2 and U^G 3 have been combined, which causes the quotation number to be one lower after the second fragment than what has been used in the other editions.

The precise date of the Armenian incident is uncertain, but the excerpt associates it with the feud between Marcus Aurelius and Ariogaesus. The elevation of Ariogaesus seems to have occurred when the relations between the Roman Empire and the Quadi deteriorated c. 172/173 CE over the issue of the Iazyges (to whom the Quadi gave assistance), while his later capture and exile into Alexandria most likely occurred in 174 CE, when Marcus Aurelius adopted his seventh imperial salutation after his victory over the Quadi.⁴ The preceding excerpts in the collection deal with the praetorian prefect M. Bassaeus Rufus, who assumed the post around 169 CE, while the following excerpt describes the grief of Marcus Aurelius at the death of Avidius Cassius in 175 CE.⁵ As Martius Verus continued to serve as the legate of Cappadocia until 175 CE, none of these facts will help us narrow down the time of the incident more closely.

The Tribal Territory of the Heniochi

The location of the incident on the other hand can be defined slightly more accurately. The Heniochi, whose king Tiridates had killed, were Roman clients who dwelled along the south-east corner of the Pontic coast. Originally, the name Heniochi seems to have been associated with a number of interrelated tribes who occupied much of the eastern Pontic coast from the foot of the Caucasus to the borders of Armenia, but by the mid-second century the name seems to have been used to refer to a single (although still significant) tribe.⁶ In Arrian's day in the

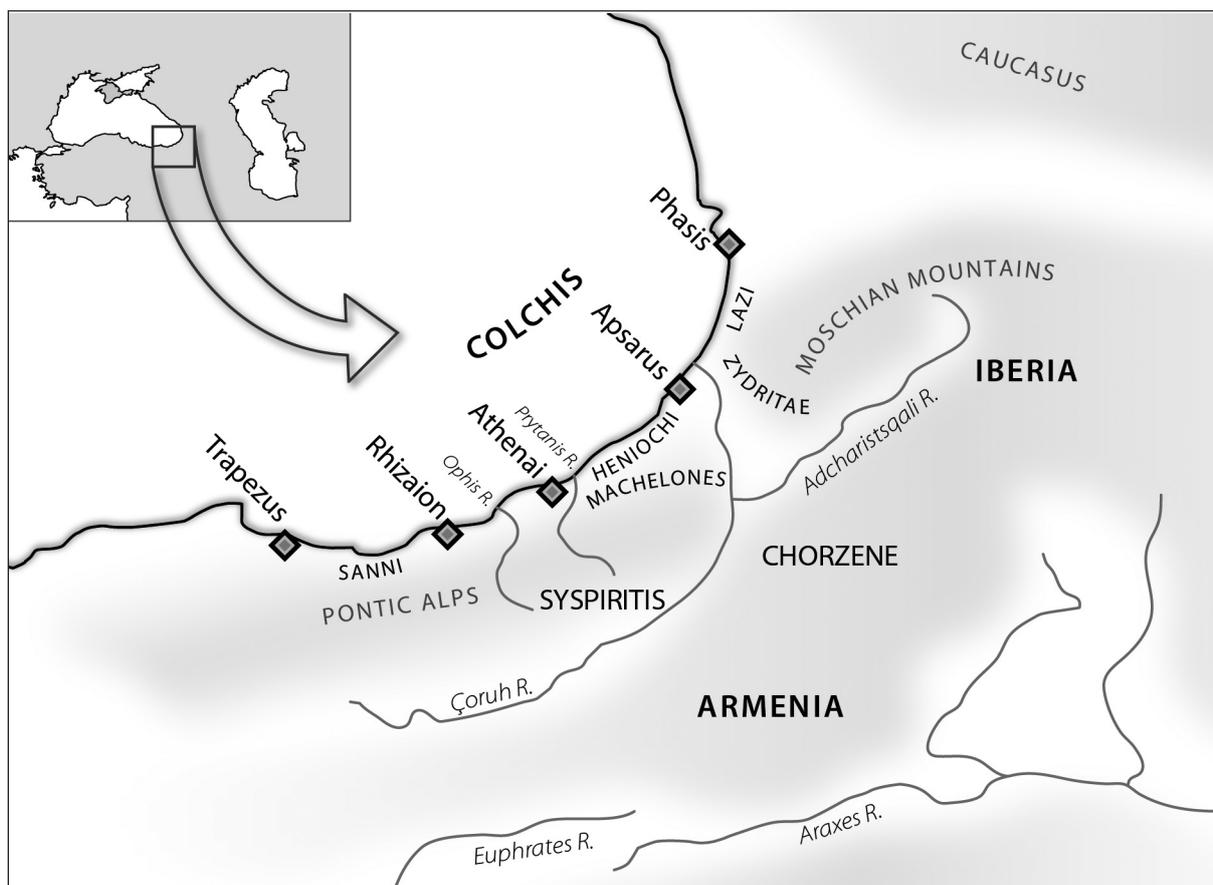
⁴ Birley 1987, 176–78; Dodd 1913, 282–91; Kienast 1990, 139.

⁵ Exc. *de virt.* (ed. Büttner-Wobst – Roos) V. 302–303 (p. 370); V. 305 (p. 371). M. Bassaeus Rufus (*PIR*² B 69): Jördens 2009: 535; Thomasson 1984, 351 (no. 37: 66); Thomasson 2009, 147 (no. 37: 66).

⁶ According to Strabo (*geogr.* 11,2,1; 11,2,12–14), the Heniochi lived north of Phasis next to the Zygi and the Achaei during the final days of Mithridates Eupator (63 BCE), while the hinterland of their territory is said (*geogr.* 11,5,6) to have reached the southern Caucasus mountains (Moschian mountains). Pliny on the other hand identifies several tribes named Heniochi: one living on the southern Colchis between Trapezus and Apsarus (*nat.* 6,iv,12) either named Sanni Heniochi or more probably two tribes named the Sanni and the Heniochi; another on the coastline near Apsarus (*nat.* 6,iv,12) that possibly refers to the same tribe (if the previous entry meant two distinct tribes); and numerous unnamed subtribes belonging to the Heniochi on the coast north of Sebastopolis (*nat.* 6,iv,14). Arrian, who had visited these regions, states (*peripl.* 11,1–2) that after Trapezus the tribes occupying the southern section of the coast were the Sanni, Machelones, Heniochi and the Zydritae. To Arrian no other tribe along the Pontic coast seems to have been associated with the Heniochi at that time.

first half of the second century, the Heniochi were ruled by one king together with their neighbours – the Machelones – a practice that may have continued even into the later second century.⁷

The domains of these tribes would seem to have been limited to between the rivers Ophis (modern Of) and Apsarus (modern Çoruh) on the Pontic coast.⁸ Arrian's association of the Zydritae – the next tribe along the coast line after the Heniochi – with the Iberian kingdom also suggests that Apsarus was the eastern extremity of the tribal territory belonging to the Heniochi, as otherwise the communications between Iberia and the Zydritae would have been severely



Map 1. Pontic coast and the Çoruh Valley.

⁷ Under Trajan and Hadrian they were ruled by a king named Anchialos, cf. Dio 68,19,2; Arr. *peripl.* 11,2.

⁸ Arrian (*peripl.* 7,1) defines the river Ophis as the boundary between Thiannike and Colchis, which thus most likely functioned also as the western border of the Heniochi (and the Machelones) separating them from the Sanni. Pliny's (*nat.* 6,iv,12) association of the Heniochi being near Apsarus most likely means that they occupied the coastal line up to that point, cf. Braund 1994, 185.

hampered.⁹ This could mean that the extraordinarily large five-cohort garrison at Apsarus served both as a buffer between the Heniochi and the Zydratae, while simultaneously being strategically located near the entrance of the Goderdzi Pass (i.e., the Adcharistsqali river valley, a tributary of the Çoruh) that provided passageway across the Moschian mountains into Iberia.¹⁰

In the hinterland the tribal territory was undoubtedly limited by the Pontic Alps in the south and the Moschian mountains in the east, but if Pliny's Machelones who lived further upstream on the Apsarus River were the same Machelones mentioned by Arrian then the territory of these two tribes would seem to have reached further up the Çoruh Valley.¹¹ This is most likely the same region that the trilingual Persian inscription set up by Shapur I around 262 at Naqsh-e Rostam refers to as Machelonia.¹² The royal residence mentioned by Arrian at the mouth of the Prytanis River (modern Büyük Dere), would have been located conveniently in the middle of the tribal lands.¹³ The limitation of the tribal territory of the Heniochi and Machelones to the Pontic coast and the Çoruh River valley makes it unlikely that these tribes would have wandered far from their traditional domains and thus the conflict seems to have occurred along the border zone between Armenia and the territory of the Heniochi, most likely somewhere upstream in the Çoruh River valley.

The Armenian Satrapies and the Rule of King Sohaemus

The identity of the other participant in the conflict is given only as a satrap named Tiridates. The Iranian name of the satrap has caused some to believe that the Parthians or Parthian collaborators were behind the incident,¹⁴ but after centuries of cultural interaction and nearly a hundred years of direct Arsacid rule, many Iranian names had been adopted among the traditional Armenian nomenclature.¹⁵

⁹ Arr. *peripl.* 11,2. Braund (1994, 185) locates the Zydratae more on the hills behind Apsarus and ascribes the actual coastal strip north of Apsarus to the Lazi.

¹⁰ Apsarus: Bosworth 1977, 228; Braund 1991, 215–17; Kakhidze 2008, 313; Mitford 1980, 1202; Speidel 1986, 658. Adcharistsqali: Braund 1994, 184–85; Idem 2000, 1257.

¹¹ Plin. *nat.* 6,x,29, cf. Braund 1994, 241 n. 21.

¹² Braund 1994, 239–42.

¹³ Arr. *peripl.* 7,3.

¹⁴ Debevoise 1938, 254.

¹⁵ Lang 1983, 525–26.

Also, in Cassius Dio's work the title "satrap" is encountered only on four other occasions and each time it was used to define eastern administrative regions and their regents.¹⁶ The identification of this Tiridates as a satrap should thus be understood to mean the local aristocratic ruler of the region bordering the territory of the Heniochi.

The administration of ancient Armenia was organised along the lines of a pre-feudal society. The kingdom was divided into cantons, each held by one of the Armenian noble houses – the Nakharars – as hereditary fiefdoms, against which they were expected to provide military assistance when so required.¹⁷ According to Pliny, there were up to 120 such cantons, some of which were large enough to have existed as independent kingdoms in previous times.¹⁸ Although Pliny does not go into details, Strabo mentions twenty-four larger regions within Armenia, while Claudius Ptolemaeus catalogues only twenty that contained 85 populated settlements.¹⁹ Both Strabo and Ptolemaeus agree that the region south of the Moschian mountains, that lies on the east side of the Çoruh Valley was called Chorzene (or Cotarzene), while the upper Çoruh Valley running in an east-west direction along the southern slopes of the Pontic Alps corresponded with the ancient district of Syspirtis (also known in the Armenian sources as Sper).²⁰ It is with these two Armenian regions that the tribal territory of the Heniochi and the Machelones shares a common border, and thus, the Tiridates in question was likely the satrap of either one of these cantons.

Although the incident between Tiridates and the Heniochi is known only from the passing remark by Cassius Dio, it has still caused some speculation regarding its wider significance. Some scholars have seen in it the (direct or indirect) cause of the restoration of the Armenian king Sohaemus to his throne.²¹ The assumption that the Armenian king needed to be restored into his kingdom in the

¹⁶ Dio 40,12,2 (Silaces the satrap); 40,14,3 (satrapies of Mesopotamia); 40,30,2 (Ornodapates the satrap); 68,18,2 = Xiph. S. 235,20–24 (satraps of Armenia and the surrounding regions).

¹⁷ Adontz 1970, 235f. (territorial limits), 304f. (origin of the system); 327f. (under the Arsacids); Lang 1983, 529.

¹⁸ Plin. *nat.* 6,x,27.

¹⁹ Strab. *geogr.* 11,14,3–12; Claud. Ptol. *geogr.* 5,13,9–22.

²⁰ Chorzene: Strab. *geogr.* 11,14,4–5; Claud. Ptol. *Geogr.* 5,13,9. Syspirtis: Strab. *geogr.* 11,14,9; 11,14,12, cf. Adontz 1970, 22; Hewsen 1992, 152 n. 10.

²¹ Birley 1987, 175; Chaumont 1976, 150; Debevoise 1938, 253–54; Dodd 1911, 261–65, but see also Astarita (1983, 47 n. 121) who prefers to separate the restoration of Sohaemus and the incident involving Tiridates.

first place is based on an entry in the *Suda* attributed to Cassius Dio, which records that at one point Martius Verus was required to send his subordinate Thucydides to conduct Sohaemus into Armenia.²² The confusion seems to originate from the assumption that at the time when Martius Verus was responsible for arranging the conduct of Sohaemus into Armenia, he was the legate of Cappadocia, a position he acquired after the conclusion of the Parthian war in 166 CE, while the Roman coinage of 164 CE celebrating the installation of Sohaemus onto the throne of Armenia with the legend *rex Armeniis datus*, has been understood to signify the date when Sohaemus physically arrived into his kingdom and began his rule.²³

It is uncertain whether Sohaemus could have been sent immediately after his investiture into his new kingdom as after the campaign of 163 the old capital of Artaxata lay in ruins, while the new one at Eçmiadzin (named Kainepolis) probably remained under construction for some time.²⁴ Also, although the main theatre of war against the Parthians was transferred into Mesopotamia in late 164, it is doubtful that Armenia had become completely pacified, as there is evidence suggesting that the Roman army continued to campaign in the Caucasus at the Darial Pass and the final Roman offensive against Media (Atropatene) in 166 may have been launched from Armenia.²⁵ Under such conditions, the conduct of

²² *Suda*, s.v. Μάρτιος (edited between Dio 71,3,1¹ and 71,3,1²).

²³ Martius Verus (*PIR*² M 348): for the discussion regarding his military command in Armenia during the Parthian war of Lucius Verus, and the subsequent Cappadocian legateship, cf. Alföldy 1977, 221; Eck 1999, 966; Juntunen 2013, 479f.; Thomasson 1984, 270–71 (29:34). Coinage: *RIC* III (Lucius Verus) 511–13; 1370–75.

²⁴ Artaxata: Fronto, *ad Verum Imp.* 2,3; HA, *Marc.* 9,1. Kainepolis: Birley 1987, 131; Mitford 1980, 1205. During the Parthian war of Nero (58–63 CE), the Roman-appointed King Tigranes did not arrive into his kingdom until the cessation of hostilities with the Parthians and Corbulo's withdrawal into Syria (*Tac. ann.* 14,26). A similar process most likely occurred during the Parthian war of Lucius Verus.

²⁵ Darial Pass: *CIL* XIII 8213, cf. Mitford 1980, 1204. At the end of the war, both Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus temporarily adopted the triumphal title *Medicus*. This was not a result of Roman armies campaigning in Media proper (a region deep in the Iranian plateau), but instead in Media Atropatene. Some scholars (Birley 1987, 144–45; Dodd 1911, 259) have assigned this campaign to Avidius Cassius, assuming that he invaded the Iranian plateau from northern Mesopotamia, but that route would have taken the Roman armies first through Adiabene and then the difficult climb over the Zagros mountain range. A much easier route into Media Atropatene went through Armenia, which is part of the same Iranian plateau. Also, those Roman emperors – such as Septimius Severus and Diocletian – who actually did conduct campaigns from northern Mesopotamia across the Tigris eventually adopted the triumphal title *Adiabenicus*, thus indicating the region that is accessible from Mesopotamia. It is thus more likely that the Median campaign was conducted by Martius Verus, whom Fronto (*ad Verum*

Sohaemus into Armenia may have been delayed until 165 or 166 at the latest, by which time Martius Verus seems to have been in supreme military command of Armenia. Thus, there is the possibility that the fragment in the *Suda* may actually record the original arrival of Sohaemus into his kingdom.

Our sources do not tell us when or how Sohaemus was originally driven away from Armenia, which leaves open the possibility that the restoration could mean his return to his native land after years of exile among the Romans. Iamblichus refers to Sohaemus as being of both Arsacid and Achaemenid lineage, which could mean that he belonged to one of the most powerful Armenian noble houses who had intermarried with the Arsacid dynasty.²⁶ As the Armenian Arsacids seemingly followed the Iranian dynastic custom of having multiple wives, there would have been relatively large number of offspring, who were most likely married to the most important Armenian noble families, thus tying them to the royal house with bonds of blood. Iamblichus also refers to Sohaemus as a Roman senator and a consul, which, if he was a descendant of an Armenian noble house, means that his family had fled the country a relatively long time ago, possibly even before his birth.²⁷ In addition, if the disturbances caused by Tiridates were the cause of Sohaemus' exile, one must wonder why he did not remain in Kainepolis under the protection of the Roman garrison posted there.

The fact remains that our sources are too fragmentary to make any direct association between the two incidents and it is thus best to deal with them as separate events. The location of the tribal lands of the Heniochi along the Pontic coast with only the Çoruh Valley connecting them to Armenia proper would seem to indicate that the whole incident occurred in the mid/upper river valley at the outer reaches of the Armenian kingdom. As clients of the Roman Empire, any violation against the Heniochi would have also been an offense against the Roman Empire, but since the investiture of Sohaemus, Armenia too with its upper class would have been Roman clients. The incident between the Heniochi and Tiridates may thus have been nothing more than a border dispute between two neighbours. After all, the fragment of Dio states that Tiridates was originally only reproached for his conduct, not that the Romans needed to intervene by force.

Imp. 2,3) associates with equal experience during the war, probably taking the same northern route via Armenia used by Mark Antony in 36 BCE.

²⁶ Phot. *bibl.* 94.

²⁷ Similar event can be found in Dio 54,9,4 where Dio states that Augustus restored Tigranes (III) to Armenia (in 20 BCE), but that would have been the first occasion when he entered Armenia in 15 years, as he had first been a captive in Egypt with his father the Armenian king Artavasdes II (54–34 BCE), and afterwards a hostage in Rome.

Movses Khorenats'i: The Ill-tempered Suitor

The second episode involving a person named Tiridates, or Trdat if one follows the Armenian form of spelling, at the roughly same period of time is recorded in the *Patmut'iwn Hayots'* (i.e. *History of the Armenians*), written by Movses Khorenats'i (i.e., Moses of Chorene). This work examines the history of Armenia from its mythical past down to the mid-fifth century. It is the first known attempt at writing a universal history of Armenia and for this reason the Armenian literary tradition tends to refer to Movses as "Father of [Armenian] History", in emulation of Herodotus.²⁸ Movses himself states that he wrote the book at the behest of the prince Sahak Bagratuni, whom the later Armenian sources identify as the man who died at the Battle of Charmana in 482, but not much actual information is known about the historical author of the work.²⁹ In recent studies there have been some doubts regarding the authenticity of the date, mainly due to some name forms and institutes that seem to be more relevant much later than mid-fifth century, and so the majority of scholars now favour a much later date of compilation.³⁰

Movses' fashion of writing history is at times challenging to interpret. This is especially true when he writes about the mythical past of Armenia, but also when he deals with historical events during the Artaxiad and Arsacid dynasties. Although he states that he has used proper classical sources – and he often refers to these by name – some of his facts are distorted for the benefit of the Armenian people (for example, when he attributes the Parthian victory over Crassus at Carrahae to Tigranes II and the Armenians), his chronology of events is inconsistent and the deeds of the people with identical dynastic names are occasionally attributed to the wrong person. In addition, the material that Movses had been able to find from proper historical sources is constantly mixed with the tales recorded by the Armenian oral tradition or collected from the more obscure written sources (such as the *Alexander Romance*), which results on occasion in a highly colourful history.³¹ But even with all the handicaps and quirks, the account of Movses con-

²⁸ Thomson 1978, 1–5; Idem 2004, 215.

²⁹ Movses 1,1 (transl. by Thomson 1978, 65–6). For the identification of Sahak Bagratuni by Thomas Artsruni, cf. Thomson 1978, 4.

³⁰ For the debate regarding the date of composition, cf. Thomson 1978, 1–8; Toumanoff 1961, 467–76.

³¹ Sources: Thomson 1978, 10–56; Topchyen 2006, 1–15; Method of writing: Thomson 1978, 8–10, 56–61.

tains detailed information about Armenian society and history that is otherwise unknown. One such peculiar episode concerns the son-in-law of the Armenian king, who after dishonouring his wife in a fit of rage, went into voluntary exile to the southern parts of Armenia, only to dishonour his host who had received him in spite of his feud with the king:³²

"King Tiran married his daughter Eraneak to a certain Trdat of the Bagratuni family, the son of Smbatuhi, daughter of the valiant Smbat, a spirited and powerful man, short in stature and ugly in appearance. She hated her husband Trdat and was continuously grumbling and complaining, lamenting that she, a beautiful woman, lived with an ugly man, and that being of noble family she lived with a man of ignoble origin. At this Trdat was angry, and one day he beat her severely. He clipped her blond hair, pulled off her thick locks, and ordered her to be dragged outside and thrown from the room. He himself went in rebellion to the secure regions of Media. After he had arrived in the land of Siunik', the news of Tiran's death reached him; on hearing it he stopped there. It happened one day that Bakur, the prince of Siunik', invited him to a banquet. When they had become merry with wine, Trdat saw a woman who was very beautiful and was playing; her name was Nazinik. He was enamored of her and said to Bakur: 'Give me this singer.' He replied: 'No, for she is my concubine.' But Trdat seized the woman by force, drew her to himself on the couch, and passionately worked his lust like an incontinent and ardent young man. Bakur, mad with jealousy, rose to pull him from her. But Trdat stood up, took a vase of flowers as a weapon, and drove the guests out from the feast. There one could see a new Odysseus slaughtering the suitors of Penelope, or the struggle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs at the marriage of Perithous. And thus, coming to his own house, he immediately mounted his horse and went to Sper with the concubine. It is superfluous for us to say more about the prowess of this lascivious man." (tr. R. W. Thomson 1978)

Movses places this story between the reigns of kings Tiran and Tigran (i.e., Tiranés and Tigranes). Neither of the names corresponds with the Greco-Roman sources dealing with the Arsacid dynasty, and would instead seem to originate

³² Movses 2,63 (transl. by Thomson 1978, 206–8).

from the Armenian historiographical tradition concerning the Arsacid dynasty of the second century.³³ The date of these two kings' reigns is revealed by Movses' comparative references, as he states that King Tiran ruled a few years after the death of Hadrian, while the rule of King Tigran occurred at the time when Lucius Verus arrived in the East.³⁴ It is the latter fact that identifies the king called Tigran in the Armenian tradition with Sohaemus, whom Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus made a king of Armenia in 164 CE.³⁵ This means that the incident concerning Tiridates seems to have occurred roughly around 162, when the Armenian throne became vacant and a prize of contest between the Parthians and the Romans. Interestingly, although Movses does not have much to say about the reign of King Tiran, he states that he ruled for 21 years and that he was loyal to the Romans. This would suggest his reign began in 141 CE (counting backwards from 162), which seems to be confirmed by the Roman coinage of 140/144 CE that proclaim *Rex Armeniis Datus* (thus explaining the odd reference to King Tiran's loyalty).³⁶ Also, the dynastic chronology of Movses is missing two years after the death of King Tiran, which would correspond with the *interregnum* of 162–164 CE.³⁷ These odd chronological coincidences would seem to give some credence to the accuracy of Movses or at least to some of his sources.

Movses does not specify where he picked up this particular tale, but he states that he found the core of the history covering the reigns of the Arsacid kings from Artavasdes to Khosroes (associated with the universal events from

³³ In Movses and the *Primary History* (cf. Thomson 1978, 357f.), the early Arsacid rulers are referred to with Artaxiad ruler names such as Artashes (Artaxias); Tigran (Tigranes) and Artavazd (Artavasdes). Although these names were also of Iranian origin, none of them are known to have been used by the Parthian Arsacids either in Parthia proper or in Armenia.

³⁴ Tiran: Movses 2,60–62 (Thomson 1978, 201–4); Tigran: Movses 2,64 (Thomson 1978, 208–10).

³⁵ Thomson 1978, 208 n. 1; Toumanoff 1963, 213 n. 241.

³⁶ The Roman coinage: *RIC* III (Antoninus Pius) 619.

³⁷ The rather peculiar comparative chronology of Movses states (Movses 2,62 [Thomson 1978, 204–6]) that king Tiran began to rule in the second year of Peroz (i.e., the Parthian king, Vologaesius IV, cf. Thomson 1978, 208 n. 2), which makes the date of his death the twenty-second year of Peroz. In the following chapter (Movses 2,64 [Movses 1978, 208]), Movses informs us that King Tigran began to rule in the twenty-fourth year of Peroz, which thus leaves two calendar years missing from the chronology. It should also be noted that neither the comparative chronology of Movses, the local legends related to individual kings, nor the material from the written sources, fit together chronologically, which makes the history of Movses occasionally hard to interpret as some of the described events occur outside the given comparative chronology.

the death of Hadrian to the end of the Arsacid rule in Parthia) from a history written by Bardaisan of Edessa.³⁸ It is unknown whether Bardaisan ever wrote such a history as Movses describes, but whatever the work Movses consulted, it would seem that it provided only rough dates and summaries of individual reigns. Instead, in most cases when Movses provides lengthy anecdotes or historical episodes concerning the Arsacid dynasty, he tends to state that he found them among the fables and songs of the bards of Golt'n.³⁹ This would also make perfect sense with the anecdote concerning Tiridates, as the canton of Golt'n or Golthene was located in the southern parts of Siunik' (i.e., Siwnik) and the tale in question concerns an insult made against the lord of Siunik'.⁴⁰ Also, as the whole history of Movses was written at the behest of the Bagratuni family – and consequently they appear prominently in its pages – it is rather odd that in this one anecdote a principal member of that family is presented in an unfavourable light. This would be understandable if the anecdote originated from a hostile source, such as the songs of Golt'n, as they were sung by the minstrels of a rival Nakharar house, and not from a relatively neutral source such as a work written in Edessa.

The Bagratuni and the Lords of Siunik'

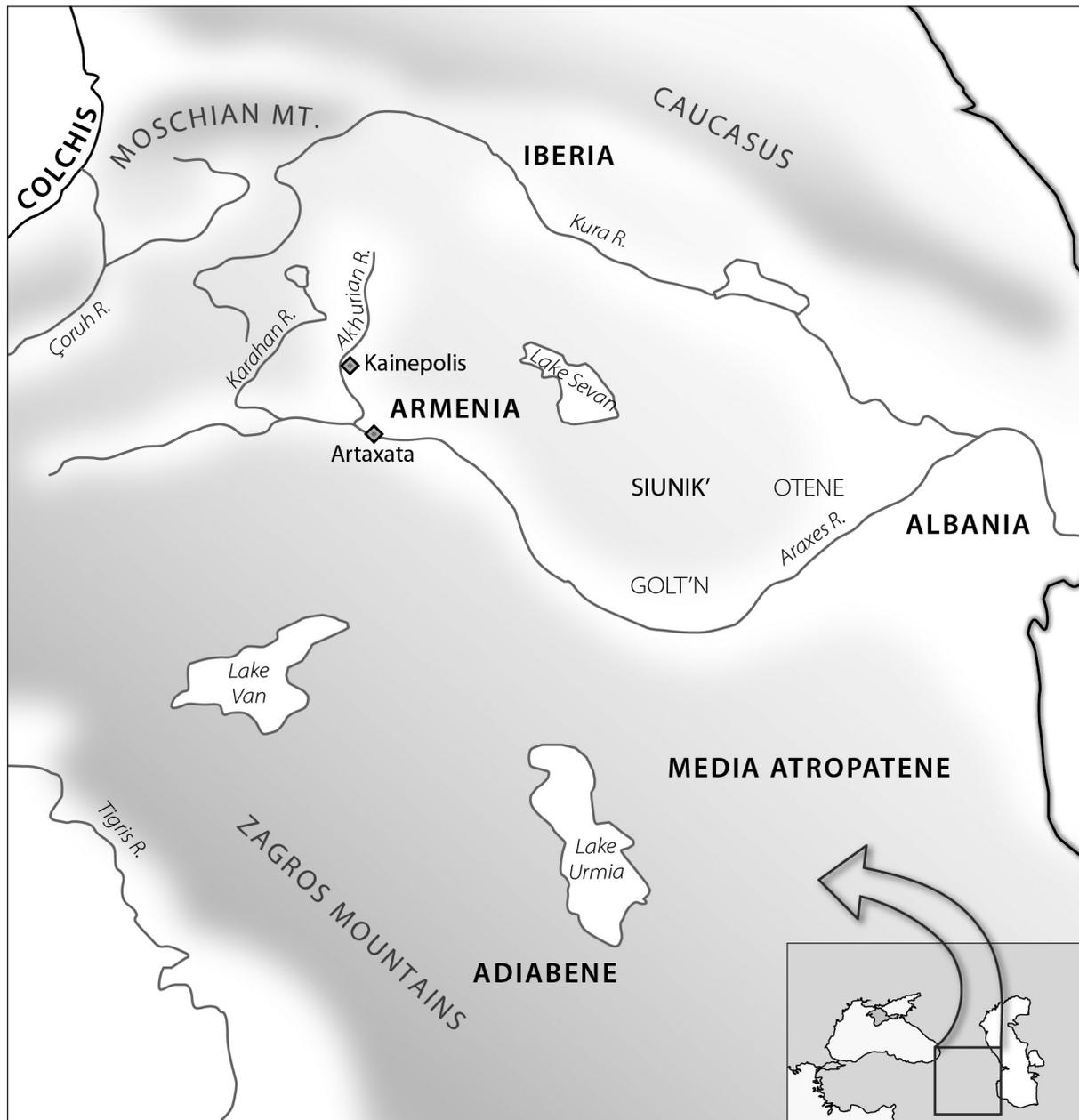
The episode that Movses describes contains several people that provide an interesting setting not for the incident alone, but also for the larger political framework of the Armenian society on the eve of the Parthian war of Lucius Verus. The first one of these is the political union between the Bagratuni clan and the Arsacid dynasty. As seen from the episode this alliance had been cemented with a marriage between the daughter of King Tiran and Trdat, who thus seems to have been the head of the Bagratuni clan. The close connection between the Bagratuni and the royal house has also been emphasised by Movses on previous occasions where he states that the Bagratuni hold the hereditary positions of coronant and *aspēt* (i.e., honorary second-in-command of the Armenian army), in addition to being in command of the western regional army of the Armenian kingdom, thus indicating that the clan held one of the highest ranks in Armenian society.⁴¹ Also

³⁸ Movses 2,66 (Thomson 1978, 212–13), cf. Drijvers 1966, 207–9.

³⁹ Cf. Thomson 1978, 10–1.

⁴⁰ Hewsen 1992, 180 n. 144; Hübschmann 1904, 346; Thomson 1978, 120 n. 5.

⁴¹ Movses 2,3 (Thomson 1978, 132–33); 2,7 (Thomson 1978, 136–37). For the meanings of these ranks cf. Thomson 1978, 137 n. 1 (*aspēt*); Toumanoff 1963, 326 (coronants).



Map 2. The province of Siunik' in the Greater Armenia.

Smbat, the maternal grand-father of Trdat, had, according to Movses, personally saved and raised King Artashes, son of Sanatruk, from whom the dynastic lineage of the Arsacids in Armenia continued after a break during the reign of Trajan.⁴²

⁴² Movses 2,37–38, 43–46 (Thomson 1978, 178–81, 184–87). The patronym of king Artashes reveals him to be identical with the Arsacid Vologaesius, son of Sanatruces, who according to Cassius Dio (75,9,6 = Exc. *de leg.* [ed. de Boor] U^G 16 [p. 88]) appeared in Armenia in 117 CE with an army to claim his ancestral throne. In Movses' version the period of his exile, when Armenia was ruled by other Parthian dynasties (i.e., the sons of the Parthian king, Pacorus II) and then by the Romans, is covered by the imaginary reign of King Eruand (Orontes), but both

The second aspect of interest is the injured party of the altercation. The episode informs us that Bakur had offered his hospitality to the son-in-law of the king, even though the latter was in voluntary exile after offending the king. This tells something not only about the rules of courtesy in Armenian society, but also about the standing of the lords of Siunik' in the society in general. The early medieval Armenian documents show that the house of Siunik' was the most influential of the Nakharar houses during that period of time. In the *Gahmanak* or *Throne List* the princes of Siunik' are placed in first place out of seventy Nakharar houses, followed by the *aspet* (i.e., Bagratuni), who held the second place.⁴³ Also, the so-called *Military List*, which records the individual contingents that each of the eighty-six Nakharar houses contributed to the four regional armies of the Armenian kingdom, states that the largest contingent – nearly a quarter of all the troops – was provided by the house of Siunik', while they were also almost single-handedly responsible for the defences of the eastern border.⁴⁴ The situation presented in these documents is reinforced by the literary descriptions of the events preceding the Armenian rebellion against the Sassanid Persia in 450 CE, in which Vahak of Siunik', who at the time was the *marzpan* (i.e., governor) of the Persian-dominated part of Armenia, is ranked first among the Armenian lords.⁴⁵ Even though the lords of Siunik' were probably not as overwhelmingly strong among the Nakharar houses in the mid-second century as they would be in the fifth century, they undoubtedly were one of the most powerful houses of the time.

The most obvious connection between the story related by Movses and the fragment of Cassius Dio is the arrogant nature of Tiridates. The tendency to sudden bursts of rage that resulted in the beating of his wife and the abduction of his host's concubine sounds quite similar to the Tiridates who, in a fit of rage from being reprimanded for his actions, threw his sword against the Roman legate Martius Verus. Such behaviour is quite unheard of in the interaction between the Roman Empire and their minor client states or tribes. That is not to say that the

Dio and Movses state that King Artashes/Vologaesius reclaimed his ancestral kingdom with the backing of an army.

⁴³ *Gahmanak*: Adontz 1970, 191–93. For the analysis of all these documents and the literary sources dealing with the ranks of the Nakharar houses, cf. Adontz 1970, 195–234.

⁴⁴ *Military List*: Adontz 1970, 193–95. In the list the lords of Siunik' are said to have provided 19,400 troops out of 21,000 comprising the eastern army, while the total strength of all the four regional armies of Armenia is given as 84,000 troops.

⁴⁵ For the analysis of the descriptions by the Armenian historians Elishē, Lazar P'arpets'i, and Agathangelos of the most distinguished Nakharar houses in 450/451 CE, cf. Adontz 1970, 188–91, 227–32.

Roman history has not known its share of political meetings that have gone terribly wrong, but in the recorded cases when the opposing party either ambushed or violated the Roman embassies, the actions were always premeditated and performed by parties strong enough to consider themselves equal in strength to the Romans.⁴⁶

The episode in Cassius Dio would seem to suggest that the rash and violent action against the Roman legate was taken by Tiridates alone, and not by his fellow clansmen, as Dio does not mention any sanctions against them. This would seem to suggest that the punishment of exile was the result of the uniquely volatile nature of Tiridates himself. Nor does the fragment in Dio give any suggestions as to whether Tiridates (and his retinue) was required to appear in the presence of Martius Verus in Cappadocia, or whether the legate was obliged to seek out the offender in Armenia himself. In any case, as Tiridates was clearly allowed to approach the Roman legate while retaining his arms, the relations between the Romans and Tiridates seem to have been at least outwardly cordial (such as relations between a patron and client), which they would not have been if the representative of the Emperor had arrived to punish an offender of Roman prerogatives.⁴⁷

Another aspect that speaks on behalf of identification of the Trdat of Movses with the Tiridates of Cassius Dio is the location of the home canton of the Bagratuni clan. As Movses and other Armenian sources clearly specify, the Bagratuni had established themselves at Sper, an area that lies in the upper Çoruh Valley and was known to the Greco-Roman world as Syspiritis.⁴⁸ This would have made

⁴⁶ Such as the capture and execution of Crassus by the Parthians in 53 BCE or the capture of the legate Longinus by the Dacian king Decebalus in 105 CE.

⁴⁷ There is a strong possibility that the Bagratuni themselves were considered Roman clients or allies. In Arrian's description of his expedition against the Alans, the Roman allies (*symmachiarii*) in the marching column are described as being from Armenia Minor, Trapezus, Rhizaion, and Colchis (Arr. *acies* 7). The last contingent of these undoubtedly included the Heniochi, but it is significant that most of the allies dwell next to each other on the Pontic coast. This raises the interesting question of whether the Armenians under Vasakes and Arbelos who appear later in the description of the battle line (Arr. *acies* 12) belong to a clan living next to the allies coming from the Pontic coast, or to one living in the upper Euphrates valley bordering Armenia Minor? If the former is the case, then the Armenians of Arrian must have belonged to the Bagratuni clan, although if Movses' assignment of the command of the western regional army to the Bagratuni is correct, then all the clans bordering Roman Cappadocia would have been under the military jurisdiction of the Bagratuni clan.

⁴⁸ Adontz, 1970, 98, 242; Hübschmann 1904, 287; Thomson 1978, 179 n. 8; Toumanoff 1963,

the Bagratuni the immediate neighbours of the Heniochi and the Machelones. As the regions of Syspirtis and Chorzene systematically separate the Heniochi from the rest of Armenia, the conflict that led to the death of the king of the Heniochi would seem to have been a dispute between the Bagratuni clan and the Heniochi, who dwelled at the opposite ends of the same river valley. The issue could have been a simple border dispute over grazing land or, if the southern branch of the Heniochi were as keen raiders as Strabo⁴⁹ informs us their northern kin to have been, then the incident could also have been the result of escalated cattle rustling, a practice undoubtedly endemic in the more rugged regions of the ancient world. On the other hand, as the fragment from Dio does not clearly specify what kind of trouble Tiridates had stirred in Armenia, we cannot know whether there had been a physical confrontation between the Heniochi and the Bagratuni clansmen, or whether the impulsive Tiridates had once again experienced one of his amorous incidents of the kind described by Movses, which had ended badly for his host.

Armenia on the Eve of the Parthian War according to Movses

There are also other aspects in the episode of Movses that may very well have significant meaning for our understanding of the political situation in Armenia on the eve of the Parthian war of Lucius Verus. In the anecdote, Movses refers to the death of King Tiran, an event he had already elaborated on in a previous chapter. The death of the king is stated to have occurred accidentally: on a journey he was overtaken by the northern snow.⁵⁰ This statement has a very similar sense to what Strabo has to say about the sudden snowstorms in Chorzene and Cambysene, the two northernmost regions of Armenia.⁵¹ Strabo explains that the snowstorms in these regions are so sudden and violent that whole caravans are occasionally swallowed up by the snow. If Movses is referring to the same phenomenon as Strabo, then the sudden death of King Tiran seems to have occurred in the region of Chorzene, the district neighbouring the Bagratuni homeland of Syspirtis. Although one cannot say with absolute certainty why the Armenian king would have wandered into this remote region during the winter months, it could be speculated that the reason was the abuse his daughter received from her husband

321 n. 76.

⁴⁹ Strab. *geogr.* 11,2,12.

⁵⁰ Movses 2,62 (Thomson 1978, 206).

⁵¹ Strab. *geogr.* 11,14,4.

Tiridates. Thus, the king may have been on his way to punish Tiridates (without knowing that the culprit had already fled the scene of the crime) and to retrieve his daughter, when the snowstorm apprehended his entourage in the mountain passes of Chorzene, which lied between Artaxata, the capital of Armenia, and the Bagratuni homeland of Sper.

If the account of Movses is correct, then the sudden death of the king would have left the throne unexpectedly vacant which would have naturally in turn have led to tensions between the rival branches of the Armenian Arsacid dynasty and the Nakharar houses supporting them. It is this sudden appearance of a power vacuum in Armenia that makes the Parthian interference in the kingdom in early 162 much more understandable than a premeditated confrontation with the Roman Empire as is occasionally claimed.⁵² The episode from Movses also raises questions regarding the identity of the pro-Parthian king Pacorus, who ruled Armenia in 162–163 CE.⁵³ Could he possibly be identified with Bakur (or Pacorus in Latin spelling), the lord of Siunik', whom Tiridates had insulted by making his advances on the concubine of his host and even possibly injuring him physically, if Movses' Homeric reference to a new Odysseus and the struggle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs alludes to similar violent behaviour?

All the accounts would seem to favour such an assumption. After all, Bakur bears the same name as the known pro-Parthian king, he was the head of one of the most powerful Nakharar houses, and he had a personal grievance with the son-in-law of the previous pro-Roman king. Some credence is also lent to this by a fragment of Asinius Quadratus' *Parthica*, which mentions that the pro-Parthian Pacorus spent time in the canton of Otene, a district bordering Siunik' in the east.⁵⁴ Also, the Parthian policy under Vologaesius IV that favoured local dynasts as satraps and subject kings in the outer rims of the Parthian State instead of full-blooded members of the Arsacid dynasty, who could always turn into rivals for the Parthian throne, adds further support to this possibility.⁵⁵ This would not have

⁵² Birley 1987, 121; Chaumont 1976, 147; Debevoise 1938, 246.

⁵³ This man is mentioned by Fronto (*ad Verum Imp.* II.16) and he was seemingly the same Aurelius Pacorus, who, in a dedication on a tombstone to his brother Aurelius Methridates (*CIG* 6559) in Rome, refers to himself as the king of Greater Armenia, cf. Braund 1984, 43; Chaumont 1976, 147; Van den Hout 1999, 302.

⁵⁴ Steph. *ethn.* s.v. Ὠτηνῆ: μοῖρα Ἀρμενίας. Κουάδρατος ἐν Παρθικῶν τρίτῳ· "Ὁ δὲ τῆς Ἀρμενίας βασιλεὺς Πάκορος ἐν τούτῳ περὶ Ἀρτάξατα καὶ τὴν Ὠτηνῆν τῆς Ἀρμενίας διάγων".

⁵⁵ After obtaining sole rule of the Parthian kingdom after decades of internal strife, Vologaesius IV seems to have begun a vigorous reunification policy. Regions that had splintered from the

been the only occasion when the lords of Siunik' decided to side with the Iranians against their Armenian brethren, as during the rebellion of 451 they supported Sassanid Persia against the other Nakharar families.⁵⁶ The close ties between Armenian Siunik' and Parthian (and later Sassanid) Iran may have been partly due to a shared (although only partially) ethnic background, as according to Strabo the region assumed to be Siunik' was taken from Media (Atropatane) by the early Armenian kings.⁵⁷

Conclusions

It would seem almost certain that the Tiridates, of whom Cassius Dio and Movses Khorenats'i both write, was actually one and the same individual. The similar volatile character and identical name makes the Trdat of Movses a prime suspect for the person in Dio, but it is the geographical setting of the Bagratuni and the Heniochi in the same river valley that would seem to confirm the issue. Thus, instead of being a larger disturbance as the episode in Dio has been so often interpreted, the matter seems more likely to have been a regional dispute between two neighbouring peoples.

In addition to bringing some light to the disturbances caused by Tiridates, the anecdote(s) of Movses Khorenats'i would seem to contain several details that would explain the political situation in Armenia on the eve of the Parthian war of Lucius Verus. If the Bakur of Siunik' in Movses' narrative is the same pro-Parthian king, Pacorus, known from the classical sources, then this would be a third example of the Parthian policy of installing client-kings who did not belong to the Arsacid royal family. It would thus seem that underneath all the confu-

central administration were reconquered and the existing dynasts that belonged either to a rival Arsacid branch or were hostile to the new King of Kings were replaced with more submissive local dynasts. In Mesene, this process led to the replacement of the king, Mithridates, son of Pacorus (i.e., Pacorus II of Parthia) with the otherwise unknown Orabzes II in 150/151 CE, while in Osrhoene, the pro-Roman king, Mannus, was (temporarily) replaced during the Parthian war of Lucius Verus with an equally unknown person bearing the obscure non-dynastic name of Wael son of Sahru. For Mesene, cf. Al-Salihi 1984, 225–29; idem. 1987, 164; Black 1984, 231–32; Nodelman 1960, 114; Potter 1991, 283–86. Osrhoene: Millar 1993, 112, 473; Ross 2001, 36–9.

⁵⁶ Garsoïan 2004, 100; Thomson 1982, 3–9.

⁵⁷ Strab. *Geogr.* 11,14,5. For the identity of Siunik' as the Phaunitis of Strabo, cf. Hewsen 1985, 57 n. 8; Idem 1992, 147.

sion resulting from combining very diverse material into a single historical work, Moses had been able to find some unique material that contained the essence of historical events, lost in our other surviving sources.

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LEVELS OF STYLE IN BYZANTINE GREEK AND THE ROLE OF SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY: A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SENTENCE STRUCTURE OF THREE EARLY BYZANTINE HAGIOGRAPHIC TEXTS¹

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1. Levels of style in Byzantine Greek

A characteristic of Medieval Greek literature that readers have always been instinctively aware of is its linguistic heterogeneity. Traditional linguistic forms dating as far back as Homer and Classical Attic continued to be cultivated by learned Byzantines alongside a range of varieties ultimately derived from the Hellenistic Koine, the internationalized Attic cemented as the lingua franca of the Eastern Mediterranean in Hellenistic times, but influenced to varying degrees by later developments in the history of the spoken language. The metaphor of verticality is often applied to this kind of variation, which in sociolinguistics is referred to as *diglossia*, with two main language systems, H(igh) and L(ow), in use in the same speech community.²

¹ I would here like to express my warmest gratitude to a number of people in both Helsinki and Rethymno, who in one way or another helped me complete my Master's thesis (University of Helsinki 20.8.2012), on which this paper is based: my instructors, Prof. Mika Kajava and Dr. Hilla Halla-aho for their helpful and diligent guidance; Dr. Marina Detoraki for her enthusiastic support and feedback; Dr. Marja Vierros for her valuable comments; Prof. Fred Karlsson for pointing me to a series of studies of syntax which proved most useful in both theory and practice; and my father, MS Timo Kälviäinen for helping with inferential statistics. I also wish heartily to thank Otto Nieminen for correcting my English expression. The responsibility for any remaining errors lurking in the pages of the present paper are of course solely my own. Finally, to Georgia: *επιτέλους είμαι σπίτι!*

² N. Toufexis, "Diglossia and register variation in Medieval Greek" *BMGS* 32.2 (2008) 208–09. Toufexis is concerned specifically with the Late Byzantine period, but the diglossic situation is present during the entire Byzantine millennium, ultimately dating back to antiquity (cf. the dichotomy of Atticism and Koine).

There is, however, no question of two distinctly separate linguistic systems being in use.³ Throughout Byzantine history the conventional terms H and L can be seen as the two idealized extreme poles of a linguistic continuum stretching from the elite literature of highly educated Constantinopolitans, with their Atticizing and classicizing pursuits, through the various levels of educated, bureaucratic and ecclesiastical Koine all the way down to "vernacular" literature with relatively few archaisms and comparatively heavy influence from spoken forms of Greek.⁴ Of these two poles, H enjoys higher prestige and is associated with learning and elite literature, whereas L is less prestigious and is associated with everyday uses of language. L is based on the spoken language of Greek-speaking Byzantines, whereas H is no-one's native tongue; the ability to use H is acquired through extensive education and as a consequence it is, in the words of Toufexis, "far from homogeneous, as it incorporates more than one register or variety with different linguistic characteristics in correlation both with the genre of each text and the educational level of each author".⁵ Of course, the written L is heterogeneous as well, being necessarily influenced by the conventions of the more conservative written registers, since one could not learn to write without learning at least some H.⁶

Apart from genre and the author's own literary background, there is another important factor affecting the choice of register: that of the target audience's educational level. It has often been observed, in the case of hagiographical works intended to cater to the spiritual needs of common people, that even educated authors such as Palladius, John Moschus and Leontius of Neapolis would sometimes deliberately write in a low register in order for less educated audiences to be able to derive benefit from their edifying tales.⁷ In fact, one can easily appreciate the stylistic difference by examining the proems of texts such as Moschus' *Pratum Spirituale* and Palladius' *Historia Lausiaca*, the rhetorical character of which

³ Toufexis (above n. 2) 210.

⁴ See, e.g., G. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, Chichester 2010², 207–30 for a concise account of this variation in the language of Byzantine literature and p. 244 for the coalescing of the middle registers after the Early Byzantine period.

⁵ Toufexis (n. 2) 211–12.

⁶ Toufexis (n. 2) 212.

⁷ Cf., e.g., K. Hult, *Syntactic Variation in Greek of the 5th century A.D.*, Göteborg 1990, 28; Horrocks 2010 (n. 4) 225–26; D. Hesselning, *Morceaux choisis du Pré Spirituel de Jean Moschos*, Paris 1931, 49; I. Ševčenko, "Levels of Style in Byzantine Prose", *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 295–96.

contrast starkly with the simpler, lower style of the main text.⁸ Thus, the relationship between education and the use of H in writing is not always as straightforward as it might seem. It is also worth mentioning that direct speech in Byzantine narrative texts seems to be rendered quite often by a lower linguistic form than that used in the actual narrative.⁹

Now the obvious question facing the student of Byzantine style is how do we operationalize this continuum of vertical stylistic variation (i.e. replace it with something countable) in order to study it? This problem was tackled by I. Ševčenko in an insightful paper published some thirty years ago.¹⁰ Ševčenko adopted the concept of "Three Styles", which have been used in rhetorical and stylistic theory since ancient times, and posited three main levels of style: *high style*, characterized by Atticisms, linguistic classicism and periodic syntax; *middle style*, denoting works in a less complex style, influenced by the Scripture and patristic writings, syntactically less periodic and tending towards parataxis; *low style*, that of works with plentiful vernacular vocabulary, influenced by the New Testament and the Psalter (i.e. the most commonly read parts of the Scripture) and simple paratactic syntax.¹¹

This tripartite division, simplified as it is in order to be able to capture significant generalizations, is criticized by Wahlgren on the grounds that it presents Byzantine literature as divisible into categories that "are stable across the centuries without being influenced by each other".¹² Wahlgren rightly points out that style should not be oversimplified into "levels" as if they were the only stylistic divisions to be made in Byzantine literature.¹³ It is of course to be hoped that a fu-

⁸ For Palladius, cf. Hult (n. 7) 28 and the discussion in I. Ševčenko, "Additional remarks to the report on levels of style", *JÖB* 32.1 (1982) 214.

⁹ See, for example, M. Hinterberger, "How should we define vernacular literature?", <http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/unlocking/Hinterberger.pdf> (quoted 14.10.2011) 2006, 8; Horrocks (n. 4) 254; also N. Kälviäinen, "Αναζητώντας τις ἀπαρχές τοῦ γραπτοῦ δημώδους λόγου: Στατιστικά στοιχεία γιὰ τὴν ἔκφραση τοῦ μελλοντικοῦ χρόνου στὴν πρώιμη βυζαντινὴ ἀγιογραφία", in the proceedings of the conference *Neograeca Medii Aevi VII* (forthcoming).

¹⁰ Ševčenko (n. 7).

¹¹ Ševčenko (n. 7) 291. Toufexis' subdivision of the higher register H into *classicizing Greek* and *Schriftkoine* is easy to equate to Ševčenko's high and middle levels, while his L would roughly correspond to Ševčenko's low style: see Toufexis (n. 2) 210 and 212.

¹² S. Wahlgren, "Byzantine Literature and the Classical Past", in E. Bakker (ed.) *A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language*, Chichester 2010, 528.

¹³ Wahlgren (n. 12) 529. Ševčenko himself was clearly aware of this, as he contrasted the "ver-

ture classification of Byzantine styles will be able to locate texts in a multidimensional relation to others, instead of having just a single vertical axis. However, every investigation has to start from somewhere, and Ševčenko's classification – in part precisely because of its simplicity – is as good a starting point as any.

Ševčenko's system of levels of style is further criticized by Kazhdan as being "primarily grammatical" and therefore failing to "make clear the link between the ideas expressed and the mode of expression"; neither does it reflect e.g. individual styles.¹⁴ What Kazhdan has in mind is that the "style" of a literary work consists of much more than just linguistic style: it is the result of a complex interplay of language, discourse structure etc. However, as Dover points out, it is necessary to distinguish between linguistic and non-linguistic style or we risk being unable to cope with the complexity of the data.¹⁵ Similarly, Jeffries & McIntyre argue that dividing linguistic style into "levels" corresponding to the traditional categorization of the structure of language (phonology, morphology, syntax etc.) has the advantage of enabling the researcher to concentrate on one level at once.¹⁶ Surely this applies also to distinguishing linguistic style from other aspects of style. If we try to bring too many factors into play at once, the task becomes impossible.

With this in mind, we will here concentrate on a single aspect of the syntactic level of linguistic style, namely the complexity of sentence structure. Obviously this restricts the scope of the generalizations we will be able to make, as we cannot automatically expect a linguistically archaizing author to write in a syntactically complex style (or vice versa).¹⁷ Even so, syntactic complexity as a stylistic factor should not be left unexplored, since it is arguably the easiest of all the structural categories of language (such as morphology, syntax, vocabulary etc.) to generalize across the board.

tical levels" with "horizontal kinds" of style such the ἰδέαι of Hermogenes' rhetorical theory (i.e. level-internal variation conditioned by genre, text/discourse type etc.): Ševčenko (n. 7) 290.

¹⁴ A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650–850)*, Athens 1999, 162.

¹⁵ K. Dover, *The Evolution of Greek Prose Style*, Oxford 1997, 3–4.

¹⁶ L. Jeffries – D. McIntyre, *Stylistics*, Cambridge 2010, 35.

¹⁷ Cf. Ševčenko (n. 8) 223.

2. Syntactic complexity

So far the discussion has been theoretical in nature, but in order to test in practice the scientific validity of levels of style coupled with syntactic complexity as a conceptual framework for a stylistic classification of Byzantine literature, we need empirical data. We accordingly need to develop a method for quantitatively analysing the syntactic complexity of Byzantine texts.¹⁸

Syntactic complexity essentially refers to "syntactic structures which necessitate increased parsing and processing effort".¹⁹ In other words, increased syntactic complexity means structural differences that make a text harder to read. Complexity in itself, however, is something far too complex to be directly measured: in order to make use of syntactic complexity, we will need to operationalize it as one or more variables that can be credibly linked to the abstract concept of complexity.

First of all, it has been established that *sentence length* can be utilized as an accurate index of syntactic complexity.²⁰ Counting the amount of words per sentence is an economical method of establishing differences in syntactic complexity

¹⁸ Although this aspect of linguistic style remains largely unexplored in Classical and Byzantine philology, there are a few studies that must be cited as having inspired the present paper. T. Webster, "A Study of Greek Sentence Construction", *AJPh* 62 (1941) 385–415 studies the evolution of Classical Greek sentence structure by using syntactic variables such as sentence length and embedding depth. Webster's study can be criticized for overlooking stylistic variation inside a given work (see Dover [n. 15] 50), but as a pioneering attempt it is noteworthy. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas", *BSEB* 5 (1978) 137–70 demonstrates in a short qualitative analysis that Anna Komnene's syntactic structure is more complex than that of Michael Glykas in terms of both sentence length and the use of subordinate structures. Similarly, W. de Melo, "Zur Sprache der republikanischen *carmina Latina epigraphica*: Satzumfang, Satzkomplexität und Diathesenwahl", in P. Kruschwitz (ed.), *Die metrischen Inschriften der römischen Republik*, Berlin 2007, 97–120 used, among others, mean T-unit length (though without calling it a T-unit) and the ratio of main clauses and subordinate clauses to show that the syntax of Lucretius' *De rerum natura* is more complex than that of Terence's *Eunuchus* and the early Latin *carmina epigraphica*. Finally, Dover's book (n. 15) on Classical Greek prose style is a treasure trove of ideas and observations on the use of syntactic variables such as T-unit (which Dover calls MCF or "main clause-finite verb unit") and the analysis of Greek sentence structure and genre-conditioned stylistic variation.

¹⁹ B. Szmrecsányi, "On Operationalizing Syntactic Complexity", in G. Purnelle – C. Fairon – A. Dister (eds.), *Actes du colloque JADT 2004 (Journées internationales d'Analyse statistique des Données Textuelles)*, Louvain-La-Neuve 2004, 1031.

²⁰ Szmrecsányi (n. 19) 1037–38.

and is therefore suitable for large-scale research in cases where a more detailed analysis would be impossible, or for fast and easy analysis in general.

Sentence length as a variable, however, possesses one fundamental drawback: the lack of an unambiguous definition of the concept "sentence". While a definition based on punctuation is commonly used, it cannot here be considered an optimal approach, as in most cases whatever punctuation is found in the manuscripts neither reflects a consistent system nor originates from the author's own pen. Modern editors normally replace it with a more or less intuitive punctuation (influenced by their own working language) and significant differences can on occasion be detected in the practice of different editors.²¹ Thus, we cannot rely on an author's punctuation as a guide to analysing his sentences, as is the case with modern languages endowed with reasonably standardized writing systems. On the other hand, a lexical definition based on identifying coordinating conjunctions does not work either, as most comparable items can be used alternatively as conjunctions or as discourse particles (cf. the "biblical" sentence-initial καί).

As an alternative Hunt proposes the concept of the *minimal terminable unit* or "*T-unit*", defined as a single main clause plus any subordinate clauses dependent on it.²² In essence, the T-unit corresponds to the sentence in all respects save that it does away with the coordination of main clauses, which would be difficult to define. However, despite the usefulness of the T-unit variable, structural length does not automatically translate to structural complexity.²³ That is, measuring length probably only works as an index of syntactic complexity due to the general probability that longer syntactic units contain more complex structures. We will thus take a step further in the hope that more complex variables will enable us to support the conclusions drawn from measurements of T-unit length.

It is generally accepted that, apart from length, syntactic complexity is related to the number, type and depth of embedding or subordination in a text.²⁴ Subordination is defined as "the nonsymmetrical relation holding between two

²¹ Dover (n. 15) 27. Cf. also K. Hunt, *Grammatical Structures Written at Three Grade Levels*, Champaign, Illinois 1965, 8 for a similar observation, in his case concerning the revision of schoolchildren's punctuation by English teachers.

²² See Hunt (n. 21) 21. Essentially the same idea is proposed in Dover (n. 15) 28. Cf. also de Melo (n. 18) 101–02.

²³ Szmrecsányi (n. 19) 1032–33.

²⁴ K. Beaman, "Coordination and Subordination Revisited: Syntactic Complexity in Spoken and Written Narrative Discourse", in D. Tanner – R. Freedle (eds.), *Coherence in Spoken and Written Discourse*, Norwood 1984, 45.

clauses such that one is a constituent or part of (i.e. dependent upon) the other".²⁵ In order to understand what this means, we need to consider the fundamental structural characteristics of language. When looking at language at the phonological level, we see phonological segments strung one after another in a monodimensional chain. At the syntactic level, however, linguistic theory postulates a two-dimensional model of language structure, with two different ways of combining elements of the same type (such as clauses) to form larger structural units (such as sentences or T-units): *iteration* and *recursion*.

The main difference between iteration and recursion, as formulated by Karlsson, is that iteration "yields flat output structures, repetitive sequences on the same depth level as the first instance" while recursion "builds structure by increasing embedding depth".²⁶ In other words, elements combined through iteration are "concatenate",²⁷ syntactically equal, while elements combined through recursion form a hierarchic structure²⁸ in which some elements are subordinate to others of the same type (i.e. embedded in them). Such hierarchic structures are considered more complex than flat iterative structures: to quote one definition of complexity, "increased complexity is, at its most general level, increased hierarchic organization; that is, an increase in the number of hierarchic levels within a system".²⁹

In sentence structure, where structural units called sentences are formed from smaller structural units called clauses, iteration manifests itself as *coordination*, where syntactically equal clauses are combined, often by means of conjunctions such as *καί*. The result of recursive combination of clauses, on the other hand, is known as *subordination*, where a clause is syntactically dependent on another; this relationship is in turn marked by conjunctions such as *ὅτι*.

Now the contrast between iteration/coordination and recursion/subordination is relevant to the issue of syntactic complexity precisely because hierarchical structures are considered more complex than flat iterative structures. A fundamental difference can be discerned between the two in actual language use as well: whereas iteration appears practically unconstrained (i.e. there are no theo-

²⁵ Beaman (n. 24) 55.

²⁶ F. Karlsson, "Syntactic recursion and iteration", in H. van der Hulst (ed.), *Recursion and Human Language*, Berlin 2010, 45.

²⁷ Karlsson (n. 26) 46.

²⁸ Karlsson (n. 26) 46.

²⁹ T. Givón, *The Genesis of Syntactic Complexity: Diachrony, ontogeny, neuro-cognition, evolution*, Amsterdam 2009, 4.

retical limits to how many syntactically equal clauses can be coordinated into a single sentence) and successive application of iterative clause combination can very well result in unusually long sentences,³⁰ the actually occurring use of recursion to create structural complexity has been found much less impressive in comparison.³¹

Thus, according to Karlsson, even extremely long and complex sentences seem to owe their size and complexity mostly to iteration rather than recursion: it appears the greatest clausal *embedding depth*³² (or one of the greatest in any case) achieved in Karlsson's example sentence from James Joyce (12,931 words) is 6 levels of depth, while the number of coordinated clauses certainly runs in the hundreds, if not thousands.³³ Similarly, empirical data from the study of several European languages shows that the distribution of subordinate clauses at different levels of embedding depth follows a falling curve, with an added level of embedding corresponding to a drop in the frequency of clauses occurring at that level.³⁴ Furthermore, it seems that more complex styles (e.g. legal language) tend to have more clauses at deeper levels of embedding than syntactically simpler varieties, an observation directly related to the issue at hand.³⁵

Thus far, then, we have seen that iteration/coordination and recursion/subordination as strategies of clause combination differ greatly in actual usage, with recursion heavily limited and iteration lacking similar constraints. What is the reason behind this discrepancy? The answer is assumed to lie in the relatively greater cognitive processing difficulty of more complex, "deep" hierarchical recursive structures in comparison with less complex, "flat" iterative structures. In other words, it is considered that increasing recursive combining of elements

³⁰ Karlsson (n. 26) 46.

³¹ For an in-depth theoretical discussion, see Karlsson (n. 26) 50–65; cf. also R. Laury – T. Ono, "Recursion in conversation: What speakers of Finnish and Japanese know how to do", in H. van der Hulst (ed.), *Recursion and Human Language*, Berlin 2010, 69–70 and 84–85.

³² The term refers the structural depth achieved through successive application of recursive cycles. The embedding depth of a subordinate clause is the "vertical" relation of the level of the hierarchic structure it occupies to that of the main clause it is dependent upon (either directly or indirectly, through other embedded clauses). The level of embedding occupied by a clause is 1 + the level of embedding of its superordinate clause, with all main clauses assigned level 0. In other words, subordinate clauses directly dependent on a main clause are assigned level 1, the subordinate clauses embedded in these level 2 and so on.

³³ Karlsson (n. 26) 46–47.

³⁴ See F. Karlsson, "Multiple final embedding of clauses", *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 15.1 (2010) 95–99.

³⁵ See Karlsson (n. 34) 96–97.

leads precisely to the kinds of "syntactic structures which necessitate increased parsing and processing effort" that were mentioned above. There is a large body of psycholinguistic research that indicates that increasing subordination and especially increasing embedding depth may strain the ability of the human brain to process language structure.³⁶

What all this means for us is that clausal subordination is a prime candidate for a successful index of syntactic complexity in texts, on a par with T-unit length. Thus, the ratio of main and subordinate clauses in a text can be used as a simple and easily presentable index of complexity.³⁷ Furthermore, in order to account for the complex hierarchic structures produced by recursive clause combining, we can measure the distribution of clauses at different levels of embedding depth.

Having explored the theoretical background of syntactic complexity, we may now comment on our expectations as to its relevance to the stylistic variation observed in Byzantine Greek. Our previous experiences with texts of varying registers as well as common logic suggest that greater complexity will be found in those texts that belong to higher registers. This would also make sense insofar as learning to write in a classicizing style was a symbol of status in Byzantine literary society: the more complex the style and the greater the efforts required to master it, the greater the prestige associated with it in the elite literary circles.³⁸ Since the liberal use of embedding and other complexity-increasing strategies can be assumed to contribute heavily towards a style that is progressively more difficult to understand, we can hypothesize that it will accordingly augment the social standing of those who do manage to cope with it.

3. Methodological considerations

The broad research questions emerging from the preceding discussion – ones that this study alone cannot attempt to answer – are a) whether the complexity of a

³⁶ See Szmrecsányi (n. 19) 1033–34; Karlsson (n. 34) 101–02; Laury – Ono (n. 31) 79. However, see also Givón (n. 29) 12–13 for possible difficulties involved in this interpretation. For the sake of the argument we adopt in this study the view that assumes the existence of a real psychological correlation between syntactic complexity and cognitive complexity, the latter being understood here to imply increasing mental processing difficulty.

³⁷ In measuring the performance of different indices of syntactic complexity, Hunt found this simple subordination ratio less efficient than T-unit length but better than sentence length: Hunt (n. 21) 23.

³⁸ Ševčenko (n. 7) 304.

text's sentence structure consistently mirrors its level of style throughout Byzantine literature and b) whether this relation can be effectively utilized in order to create an objective system of classifying Byzantine texts stylistically, i.e. by using syntactic complexity as an index of the levels of style. These questions can obviously only be answered when data from the analysis of an extensive corpus of texts is made available. The contribution of the present study is to demonstrate empirically that there exists a relation between the stylistic level and syntactic complexity and that this relation can be quantitatively measured. This aim is achieved by analysing a small test corpus, the data of which cannot yet be generalized across the board but which serves to indicate why this line of research is, in the author's opinion, worth pursuing.

In order to validate theoretically our basic hypothesis for the test corpus - according to which texts perceived as belonging to higher levels of style manifest correspondingly increasing syntactic complexity - we need to demonstrate that a systematic correlation exists between two variables: "level of style" and "syntactic complexity". Both variables, however, are far too abstract to study in themselves, so they must somehow be operationalized as measurable categorical variables. In this study, the variable "level of style" is represented by three text samples (see section 4 below), each assigned to a certain level of style on the basis of a combination of personal observation as well as judgments and comments expressed in the scholarly literature.

The variable "syntactic complexity", in turn, is operationalized as the following 5 different syntactic variables involving the length of syntactical units or the extent of recursive clause combining (subordination/embedding), both concepts theoretically linked to the complexity of syntax, as seen in the discussion above. Each variable is examined as an independent index of syntactic complexity and the overall image presented by the results yielded by the different variables is then considered the "final verdict". Variables 1–2 and 4–5 are analysed as categorical (i.e. not continuous but with a limited number of possible outcomes) and the categories of each are given here. Due to the fact that the statistical χ^2 -test (see below) requires that at least 5 tokens be found in the data for each category of each variable, the categories have been adjusted after carrying out the analysis to comply with this requirement.³⁹

³⁹ Cf. A. Hakulinen – F. Karlsson – M. Vilkkuna, *Suomen tekstilauseiden piirteitä: kvantitatiivinen tutkimus*, Helsinki 1996, 99.

1. T-unit length (measured in words). T-units are grouped according to the amount of words they contain into the following 6 categories: 1–5 words, 6–10 words, 11–15 words, 16–20 words, 21–25 words and 26+ words.
2. T-unit length (measured in clauses). T-units are grouped according to the amount of clauses they contain into the following 5 categories: 1 clause, 2 clauses, 3 clauses, 4 clauses and 5+ clauses.
3. Mean T-unit and clause length. These are simple average values obtained by dividing the number of words in the sample by the number of T-units/clauses and the number of clauses by the number of T-units.
4. Main clauses and subordinate clauses. A simple measurement of the total ratio of main to subordinate clauses in the sample, with 2 categories.
5. Embedding depth. Measuring the distribution of all subordinate clauses at different levels of embedding, with 5 categories (levels 1–5) since no clauses at level 6 or deeper were found in the data (but see n. 73).

Once the raw data has been collected, it is subjected to a statistical χ^2 -test or *chi-square test* in order to a) establish the significance of the results and b) evaluate the extent to which each of the three texts differs from the two others.⁴⁰ Explaining the basics of inferential statistics is beyond the scope of this article, and the reader should turn to an exposition of the subject in a basic manual of statistics for linguists.⁴¹

However, in a nutshell, the probability value or *p-value* obtained by means of the test is a gauge of the statistical probability that the performance of variable X (one of our complexity variables) is *not* conditioned by variable A/B (the "level

⁴⁰ I have used Preacher's online χ^2 calculation tool to compute the values: see K. Preacher, *Calculation for the chi-square test: An interactive calculation tool for chi-square tests of goodness of fit and independence*, <http://quantpsy.org> (quoted 13–18.8.2012), 2001.

⁴¹ E.g., E. Levon, "Organizing and Processing Your Data: The Nuts and Bolts of Quantitative Analyses", in L. Litosseliti (ed.), *Research Methods in Linguistics*, London 2010, 68–92. See also Dover (n. 15) 47 for another demonstration of how to use the χ^2 -test in practice to establish differences or similarities between Ancient Greek texts composed in different styles.

of style" variable, i.e. the different texts being compared). For example, a p-value of $p = 0.75$ would mean there is a 75% chance that texts A and B are so similar in their use of the variable X that any observable difference is due purely to chance. Where to draw the line in these probabilities is a matter of convention; according to Levon, in the humanities the standard cut-off point is $p = 0.05$.⁴² This means that a p-value of 0.05 or smaller (5% or less chance that A and B do not differ with respect to X) is conventionally considered proof enough that A and B differ significantly from each other with respect to variable X, which is formally expressed by saying that the difference between A and B with respect to X is *statistically significant* at the $p < 0.05$ level.

Conversely, a p-value greater than 0.05 (over 5% chance) is taken to mean that the findings are not statistically significant, since pure chance cannot be ruled out as being responsible for the differences between A and B, and the hypothesis of A and B belonging to different levels of style has to be rejected with respect to the use they make of variable X. A and B would thus be considered in our theoretical model to belong to the exact same style as far as syntactic complexity is concerned and as far as syntactic complexity is accurately represented by X. The meaning of statistical significance to the linguist or philologist is that having statistically significant findings provides "predictive power to the descriptive facts"⁴³ and gives a powerful tool for objectively evaluating the differences between texts.

Apart from the p-value, there are two other values involved in the χ^2 -test, the χ^2 -value and the *degrees of freedom* (abbreviated *df*). These are also reported, although the p-value in itself reveals all that is essential. However, since a progressively higher χ^2 -value corresponds to a progressively lower p-value as far as the *df* remain the same, the χ^2 -values can also be compared where the comparison of extremely small p-values is impractical. (Note that χ^2 -values, unlike p-values, *cannot* be compared if the corresponding *df* differ!) In short, when comparing two texts with respect to a single syntactic variable, a high χ^2 -value and a low p-value indicate a large difference between the texts, whereas a low χ^2 -value and a high p-value indicate a smaller difference (even if that difference may still be statistically significant if the p-value is low enough).

Having identified the variables to be measured, the question remains how to analyse a given text in such a manner that the analysis is unconditionally reproducible and falsifiable. As we have already seen in the case of the concept

⁴² Levon (n. 41) 81.

⁴³ Levon (n. 41) 71.

of "sentence", even basic linguistic terms such as word, clause and sentence are ambiguous categories and by no means immediately applicable to any text. In the Master's thesis on which this paper is based, problems related to the definition in Ancient and Byzantine Greek of concepts such as word, sentence, clause, subordination and coordination were explored in some depth. However, due to limitations of space, what is presented here is only a summary of the most important (i.e. most likely to impact on the statistics) coding decisions made in the analysis of our test corpus, leaving out most of the theoretical discussion.

1. Word. In our analysis, *word* is defined as an orthographic word (i.e. a sequence of graphemes separated from others by empty space in the text of the critical edition, including all clitics, particles, articles etc.), with the exception that words that have undergone crasis (such as κἀγώ) are counted separately.⁴⁴
2. Clause. We define clause as a syntactic unit consisting of a single predicate and any elements syntactically dependent on it, including an initial coordinating or subordinating conjunction or relative pronoun/adverb, but excepting other clauses.
 - 2.1 Nonverbal predicates (e.g. δεινός γὰρ οἶνος [Eur. *Cyc.* 678]) are treated as normal clauses, i.e. exactly as if the copula verb εἰμί were overtly present.⁴⁵
 - 2.2 Elliptic clauses where the predicate has been omitted are treated as normal clauses, exactly as if the predicate were present. In cases where coordinate structures make it difficult to determine exactly how many elliptic clauses are involved, the following rules are applied.⁴⁶
 - 2.2.1. If the half of the coordinate construction that seems to lack a predicate verb consists of a single constituent,⁴⁷ no ellipsis

⁴⁴ For further discussion cf. Dover (n. 15) 26ff. and de Melo (n. 18) 100–02.

⁴⁵ Cf. Dover (n. 15) 29.

⁴⁶ Cf. Hakulinen – Karlsson – Vilkuna (n. 39) 10–11 and M. Haspelmath, "Coordination", in T. Shopen (ed.), *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*. Vol. II: *Complex Constructions*, Cambridge 2007², 4–5 and 37–44.

⁴⁷ For instructions on how to analyse a clause in terms of its constituent structure, see, e.g., M. Tallerman, *Understanding Syntax*, London 1998, 116–25 or R. Van Valin, *An Introduction to*

is posited. For example, ἔφαγε τὸν ἄρτον καὶ [τὸ μῆλον] counts as one clause (the coordination only involves the noun phrases and not the verb).

- 2.2.2. If the half of the coordinate construction that seems to lack a predicate verb consists of two or more separate constituents with differing syntactic functions, ellipsis of the predicate is assumed. For example, ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔφαγε τὸν ἄρτον καὶ [ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος] [τὸ μῆλον] counts as two clauses.
- 2.3 Monoclausal verb phrases consisting of two or more coordinated verbs are accepted only in cases where the sole constituents being coordinated are the bare, unmodified verbs. For example, ὁμοθυμαδὸν [καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἐστρατεύοντο] (Xen. *Hell.* 7,1,22) counts as one clause, but [ὁ πατὴρ αἰεὶ λέγει] καὶ [σὺ φῆς] καὶ [οἱ ἄλλοι δὲ πάντες ὁμολογοῦσιν] (Xen. *Cyr.* 3,3,19) counts as three.⁴⁸
- 2.4 Periphrastic constructions such as ἔχω + infinitive or εἰμί + participle are treated as monoclausal.
- 2.5 Non-finite clauses (i.e. *all* infinitival and participial constructions) count as fully fledged clauses. This approach, while theoretically debatable, is here considered justified on the grounds that such constructions exhibit verbal syntax on a par with finite verbs (e.g. nominative or accusative subjects, accusative direct objects) that is not shared with comparable non-verbal action nouns (which take at best a genitive object or subject).⁴⁹ Note that nouns and adjectives historically de-

Syntax, Cambridge 2001, 110–15 or any other up-to-date introduction to syntax.

⁴⁸ Cf. Hunt (n. 21) 13–14 and Dover (n. 15) 31 and Hakulinen – Karlsson – Vilkuina (n. 39) 11. Hunt generally dislikes the idea of coordinated verbs counting as separate clauses; Dover is in theory willing to accept both possibilities; Hakulinen – Karlsson – Vilkuina adopt a position diametrically opposite that of Hunt and count all overtly expressed verbs as separate clauses. Our solution is intended as a compromise.

⁴⁹ For the clausal status of non-finite constructions in general cf., e.g., D. Cheila-Markopoulou, "Προτασιακότητα και μετοχικές δομές στην Αλεξανδρινή και Μεσαιωνική Ελληνική", in D. Theofanopoulou-Kontou (ed.), *Σύγχρονες τάσεις στην ελληνική γλωσσολογία. Μελέτες αφιερωμένες στην Ειρήνη Φιλιππάκη-Warburton*, Athens 2003, 129; S. Kemmer, "Clause: Overview", in W. Frawley (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics I*, Oxford 2003, 320; Hakulinen, Karlsson & Vilkuina (n. 39) 12. For the "internal" verbal syntax of non-finite

- rived from participles (e.g. ὁ ἡγούμενος in the sense "hegumen") are of course not counted as clauses, as they are (synchronically) not verbal at all.
- 2.6. Pragmaticalized exclamations such as Κύριε ἐλέησον, ἰδοὺ or Ποίησον ἀγάπην ("Please"), functioning as discourse markers rather than true verbal predicates, are not treated as clauses unless they occur on their own.⁵⁰
- 2.7 Grammaticalized lexical items such as ἄφες used as a subordinating conjunction (cf. Modern Greek ας) in ἄφες ἴδω τί ἐστίν ὃ ἔχεις (*Mir.Artem.* 1) are not counted as separate clauses.
- 2.8 Parenthetical clauses occurring inside another T-unit are counted as embedded in it due to the added complexity they bring to the structure.⁵¹
- 2.9. Parenthetical expressions of saying such as φησὶν and ἦ δ' ὅς, whose function is simply that of markers of reported speech, are not counted as clauses.⁵²
3. Subordination and coordination. In practice, distinguishing between subordination and coordination in Greek is not so difficult as to have an impact on the statistics.⁵³ Some problematic cases are presented below.
- 3.1. It is not always clear where to draw the line between relative clauses and independent sentences introduced by what is morphologically a relative pronoun or adverb. For the sake of consistency, in carrying out our analysis ὅθεν, διό etc. as well as digressive relative clauses⁵⁴ were always treated as

constructions, cf. M. Haspelmath, *Understanding Morphology*, London 2002, 230–32 and for Greek substantivally used (articular) infinitives see A. Rijksbaron, *The Syntax and Semantics of the Verb in Classical Greek. An Introduction*, Chicago 2002³, 112–14.

⁵⁰ Cf. De Melo (n. 18) 103 and Laury – Ono (n. 31) 71–74.

⁵¹ See Dover (n. 15) 29.

⁵² See Dover (n. 15) 29.

⁵³ For a detailed account of Classical Greek finite subordinate clauses, see e.g. Rijksbaron (n. 49) 49–94.

⁵⁴ Dover suggests that digressive relative clauses such as ἐντὸς Ἄλλου ποταμοῦ, ὃς ῥέων ... ἐξίει should in principle be treated as separate T-units whenever possible: Dover (n. 15) 29. I

introducing subordinate clauses, though in hindsight this approach should probably be subjected to criticism.

- 3.2. In order to avoid unrealistically long T-units, reported speech is separated from the verb of saying introducing it by positing an additional T-unit boundary after the verb of saying and treating the clauses introduced by it as main clauses (with the exception of the first infinitive in indirect reported speech).⁵⁵

4. The test corpus

The material analysed in this study consists of three samples, each taken from an Early Byzantine hagiographical work: the *Miracles of Ss. Cyrus and John* of Sophronius of Jerusalem (*Mir. Cyr. & Jo.*), the *Pratum Spirituale* of John Moschus (*Prat.*) and the *Miracles of St. Artemius* (*Mir. Artem.*) of unknown authorship.

The texts have been chosen with a view to minimizing the impact of factors other than register or level of style, i.e. Ševčenko's "kinds of style" such as genre or text/discourse type (e.g. the distinction of narrative and descriptive compositional elements⁵⁶). Each work is dated to the same period (the late 6th to 7th centuries) and belongs to one of two hagiographical subgenres with a reasonably similar internal structure. *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* and *Mir.Artem.* represent the genre of *Miracula/Θαύματα*, independent collections of short episodes detailing the saintly hero's miraculous exploits, while *Prat.* is a collection of short edifying stories, anecdotes and sayings that illustrate the spiritual prowess of the desert-dwelling ascetics of the Near East.

In order to use this corpus as an index for the variable "levels of style", each of the three texts in the following description is tentatively assigned to a certain level of style on the basis of lexical and content-related criteria as well as comments and judgments made by other scholars: *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* to high style and *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* to low style.

Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem (ca. 560–638) is known to have been a teacher of rhetoric before assuming monastic garb, and went on to author both

do not see why they should be treated differently from other relative clauses, however.

⁵⁵ See Dover (n. 15) 29–30.

⁵⁶ Cf. Kazhdan (n. 14) 159–60.

rhetorical homilies and hymns in the classical Anacreontic metre.⁵⁷ It is hardly surprising, then, that the *Miracles of Ss. Cyrus and John* is the work that represents high style in our corpus. Contrasted with the other two texts, its rhetorical nature is thrown into sharp relief: *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* uses a classicizing vocabulary and morphology, abounds in learned, epideictic digressions, quotes Homer (30,2) as well as the Scripture, mentions various pagan classics (e.g. 30,4; 64,3; 70,8–9) and seemingly prefers to report speech indirectly rather than by means of direct quotations from its protagonists, although these too make the occasional appearance.

The monk John Moschus (ca. 540–619/634), mentor and travelling companion of our Sophronius,⁵⁸ was certainly a learned man.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, his extant work, the *Pratum Spirituale*, is written in a simple, unaffected language. It has justly been characterized an important source for the development of the spoken Greek language of the period.⁶⁰ The heavily rhetorical style of Sophronius is absent and a distinct vernacular element is present in both morphology and vocabulary, often in the form of recent loans from Latin. Horrocks characterizes Moschus' language as "the simple narrative style of educated speakers of the period, modelled on that of the only vernacular-based literary tradition and including features that were almost certainly in decline in the popular speech of Móschos' own time".⁶¹ Although by no means consistently vernacular in the manner of much of the popular literature of the Late Byzantine period, *Prat.* is doubtless a good candidate for Ševčenko's low style.

Our third text, the anonymous *Miracles of St. Artemius*, can be dated approximately to the years 656–668.⁶² There can hardly be any question that the

⁵⁷ See *ODB* s.v. "Sophronios", 1928; Th. Detorakis, *Εισαγωγή στη σπουδή των αγιολογικών κειμένων*, Rethymno 1985, 38; H. Chadwick, "John Moschus and his Friend Sophronius the Sophist", *JThS* 25 (1974) 53.

⁵⁸ *ODB* s.v. "Moschos, John", 1415; Chadwick (n. 57) 49–56 and 59.

⁵⁹ Cf. Ševčenko (n. 7) 295–296; Chadwick (n. 57) 50–51; R. Maisano, "Tradizione orale e sviluppi narrativi nel 'Prato' di Giovanni Mosco", in C. Giuffrida – M. Mazza (eds.), *Le trasformazioni della cultura nella tarda antichità. Atti del convegno tenuto a Catania, Università degli studi, 27 sett.–2 ott. 1982*, Rome 1985, 665–70. Also, as is the case in each of our three texts, the proem is heavily rhetorical in comparison to the rest of the work.

⁶⁰ Detorakis (n. 57) 38.

⁶¹ Horrocks (n. 4) 255.

⁶² A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia Graeca Sacra. Сборникъ греческихъ неизданныхъ богословскихъ текстовъ IV–XV вековъ* (Записки Историко-Филологического Факультета Императорскаго С.-Петербургскаго Университета 95), St. Petersburg 1909, ii; Kazhdan (n.

Miracles of St. Artemius belong to the lowest stylistic level in Early Byzantine hagiography. Kazhdan and Papadopoulos-Kerameus describe the use of vernacular vocabulary as conspicuous, the expression as largely brief, simple and inartistic (with little use of rhetorical figures) and the syntax as clear.⁶³ Papadopoulos-Kerameus even goes as far as to suggest that, on occasion, the text is so natural and inartistic that it may approach the speech of contemporary Greeks.⁶⁴ The numerous cases of direct speech are indeed rendered in what might be thought of as a credible approximation of a "written spoken language" (the question of the fundamental differences between writing and actual speech is, of course, another matter).

As far as "vertical" levels of style are concerned we expect *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* to differ greatly from the two others in terms of syntactic complexity. At the same time we expect *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* to display a very similar (if probably not identical) use of syntax, since according to our hypothesis they belong to the same level of style. In terms of "horizontal" kinds of style, we can probably assume that the difference in content between the hagiographical subgenres of *Miracula* and *Apophthegmata Patrum* does not in itself correspond to differences in language use, since the two are structurally very similar.

Nevertheless, even if genre, in the broad sense of "the genre of a literary work as a whole", has been accounted for, any lengthy piece of writing may be assumed to contain sections that differ from each other in terms of style.⁶⁵ For the purposes of this work it has not been possible to subject the selected samples to such rigorous control as to eliminate this factor entirely. It is simply hoped that, even if some compositionally heterogeneous material is inevitably included in the samples, the overall similarity in structure of the three texts will dampen their impact. Ultimately, it is difficult to ascertain whether possible differences between the texts are due to genre, personal stylistic choices or other factors (for example, it may be that *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* contains a disproportionate amount of descriptive – as opposed to narrative – elements in the form of learned digressions such as rhetorical ἐκφράσεις.⁶⁶

14) 27.

⁶³ Kazhdan (n. 14) 34; Papadopoulos-Kerameus (n. 62) i–ii.

⁶⁴ Papadopoulos-Kerameus (n. 62) ii.

⁶⁵ Cf. Dover (n. 15) 46–56.

⁶⁶ In many places Sophronius adopts the tone of rhetorical ἐγκώμια, as has also been pointed out in N. Fernandez Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: Contribución al estudio de la incubación cristiana* (Manuales y anejos de Emérita 31), Madrid 1975, 154.

However, a result which pairs *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* as relatively similar and clearly less complex than *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* will corroborate our hypothesis and suggest this line of research should be pursued further. For the purposes of this pilot study, the criteria outlined in this section will suffice to enable our results to demonstrate the fundamental validity of our method.

The next questions concern the size of the samples to be collected and the method of their collection. In their study on Finnish sentence structure, Karlsson, Hakulinen & Vilkuna compared samples of different sizes with a view to discovering how much data is required for projects investigating syntactical structure. They came to the conclusion that for syntactic variables with less than 10 categories a sample containing a few hundred clauses should suffice to provide a reliable image of the text as a whole, provided of course that the text is internally reasonably homogeneous; even the differences between their two smallest test samples (100 and 300 clauses) were not statistically significant for most of the variables examined.⁶⁷ In order to be on the safe side, we have aimed at 500+ clauses, selecting samples of approximately 2500 words (the first 2500 words plus the rest of the T-unit which would otherwise be cut in half). Furthermore, as an added security measure we have performed a "split-half test" on each of the samples, analysing the first half of each sample and performing χ^2 -tests to compare each of these halves with its parent text. No statistically significant differences were detected, with the lowest p-value being 0.45 for embedding depth in *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* Our samples are thus clearly of sufficient size.

One final question concerns the method of collecting the samples. In this study random sampling of T-units has not been used: the samples are continuous chunks of text. This is generally not considered a statistically valid approach, especially if the text is not homogeneous, but Hakulinen, Karlsson & Vilkuna argue that in studies involving syntax it is perhaps better to have a sample that works as a coherent text by itself than a random collection of unrelated syntactic elements.⁶⁸

The samples have been selected as follows, leaving out the short proem of each work, since these are composed in a higher style than the main text:⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Hakulinen – Karlsson – Vilkuna (n. 39) 99–100 and 102–104.

⁶⁸ Hakulinen – Karlsson – Vilkuna (n. 39) 101.

⁶⁹ The samples have been obtained in digital form from *TLG* (<http://www.tlg.uci.edu>, quoted 29.7.2012). The texts are those published in Fernandez Marcos (n. 66) 241–402 (*Mir. Cyr. & Jo.*), Papadopoulos-Kerameus (n. 62) 1–75 (*Mir. Artem.*) and J.-P. Migne, "Beati Ioannis Eucratae liber qui inscribitur Pratum", in J.-P. Migne (ed.) *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca 87c*, Paris 1864, 2852–3112 (*Prat.*).

Mir.Cyr.&Jo. = Miracula 1,2–14 + miracula 2–7 + the first T-unit of miraculum 8 (2500 words)

Prat. = Capita 1–19 + the first 3 T-units of caput 20 (2505 words)

Mir.Artem. = Miracula 1–11 + the first 9 T-units of miraculum 12 (2504 words)

5. Presentation and analysis of the data

5.1. T-unit length in words

T-unit length/words	Mir.Cyr.&Jo. (114 T-units)	Prat. (270 T-units)	Mir.Artem. (223 T-units)
1–5	8 (7.0%)	84 (31.1%)	64 (28.7%)
6–10	21 (18.4%)	105 (38.9%)	72 (32.3%)
11–15	21 (18.4%)	46 (17.0%)	35 (15.7%)
16–20	17 (14.9%)	16 (5.9%)	22 (9.9%)
21–25	12 (10.5%)	11 (4.1%)	16 (7.2%)
26+	35 (30.7%)	8 (3.0%)	14 (6.3%)

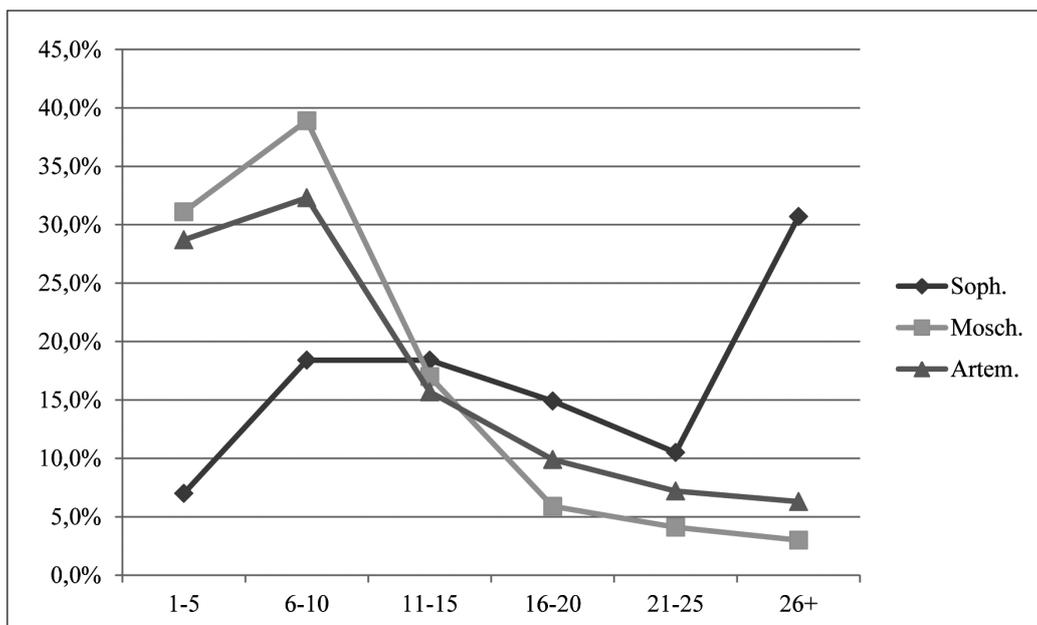


Fig. 5.1: T-unit length in words (% of total T-units / words per T-unit)

χ^2 -test(df = 5)	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> vs. <i>Prat.</i>	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> vs. <i>Mir.Artem.</i>	<i>Prat.</i> vs. <i>Mir.Artem.</i>
	$\chi^2 = 97.925$ p < 0.01	$\chi^2 = 55.82$ p < 0.01	$\chi^2 = 9.464$ p = 0.09

Table 5.1.2.

Our first variable, T-unit length in words, offers tangible support to our hypothesis. *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* show closely parallel distributions, while the high-level *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* differs from them dramatically on two separate counts. First, while the low-level texts show a peak at T-units of 6–10 words, followed by a falling curve, in *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* the peak is shared with T-units of 11–15 words and the fall that comes after is much less steep.

Secondly, unlike the low-level texts, *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* shows a second peak at T-units of 26 or more words, betraying a significant difference in the way T-units of different lengths are handled by the two groups of writers: *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* prefer small T-units of around 1–10 words and much more rarely use longer ones, whereas *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* seems to strive for a balanced variation of long and short T-units, with its short ones longer than the short ones of *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* This kind of balanced variation in *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* is exactly what we would expect from a sophist trained in the conventions of classical literature, while the preponderance of short T-units in *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* reflects their paratactic "καί-style".

Thirdly, there do seem to be some minor differences between *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* in the form of slightly greater T-unit length in *Mir.Artem.* (note that the χ^2 value of *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* vs. *Mir.Artem.* is much lower than that of *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* vs. *Prat.*, although the p-value is in both cases too small to conveniently reveal this difference). The χ^2 -test reveals these differences are not statistically significant at the 0.05 level, but it is a close call, with a p-value of only 0.09. In contrast, the p-values obtained in comparing either low-level text with *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* are vanishingly small.

5.2. T-unit length in clauses

T-unit length/ clauses	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> (114 T-units)	<i>Prat.</i> (270 T-units)	<i>Mir.Artem.</i> (223 T-units)
1	20 (17.5%)	113 (41.9%)	86 (38.6%)
2	23 (20.2%)	94 (34.8%)	58 (26.0%)

3	13 (11.4%)	34 (12.6%)	30 (13.5%)
4	14 (12.3%)	20 (7.4%)	19 (8.5%)
5+	44 (38.6%)	9 (3.3%)	30 (13.5%)

Table 5.2.1.

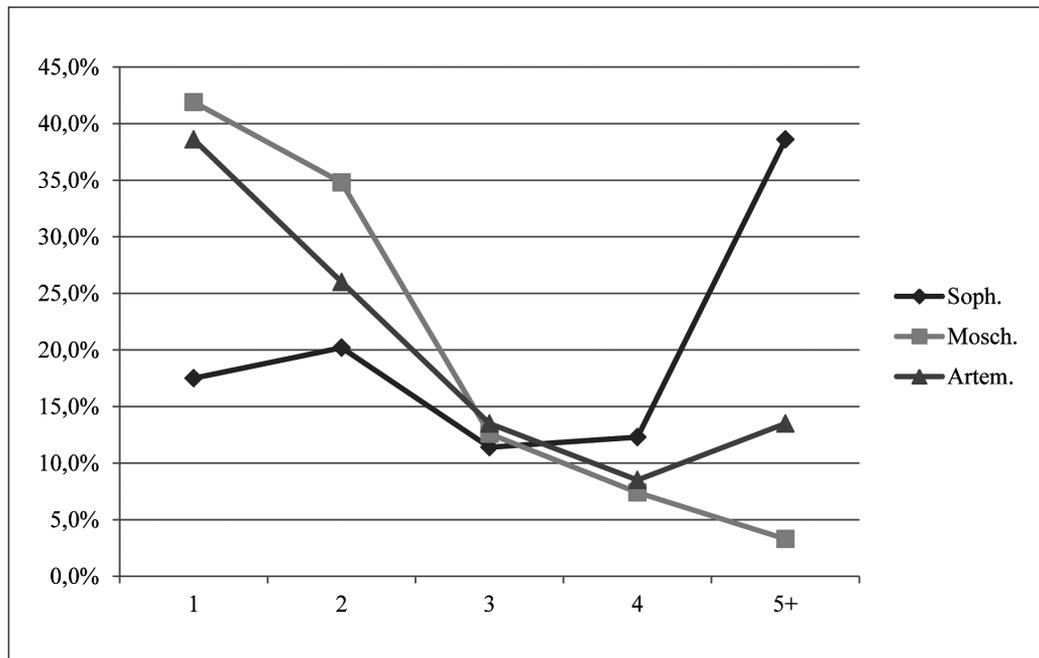


Fig. 5.2: T-unit length in clauses (% of total T-units / clauses per T-unit).

χ^2 -test (df = 4)	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> vs. <i>Prat.</i>	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> vs. <i>Mir.Artem.</i>	<i>Prat.</i> vs. <i>Mir.Artem.</i>
	$\chi^2 = 93.772$ p < 0.01	$\chi^2 = 34.722$ p < 0.01	$\chi^2 = 19.469$ p < 0.01

Table 5.2.2.

Our second variable yields results that closely parallel those of T-unit length in words as far as differentiating *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* from the other two texts is concerned. The basic pattern is the same. However, what is interesting is that *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* appear slightly less similar this time – although the overall shape of their curves is again parallel, this time *Mir.Artem.* has a slight peak at 5+ clauses, while *Prat.* clearly relies slightly more on very short T-units of 1–2 clauses than *Mir.Artem.* does. Furthermore, this time the χ^2 -test reveals statistically significant dif-

ferences between all three authors, and although the difference between *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* is the smallest one, it is far from negligible.

5.3. Mean T-unit and clause length

<i>Mean T-unit & clause length</i>	Mir.Cyr.&Jo.	Prat.	Mir.Artem.
words	2500	2505	2504
T-units	114	270	223
clauses	504	540	553
mean T-unit length in words	21.9	9.3	11.2
mean T-unit length in clauses	4.4	2.0	2.5
mean clause length in words	5.0	4.6	4.5

Table 5.3.

Average T-unit length in *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* is nearly twice that of *Mir.Artem.* and over twice that of *Prat.*, the difference between which is a small one of 1.9 words only. Mean T-unit length in clauses continues the same story, as does mean clause length in words, although here there is only a relatively small difference of around 0.5 words between *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* on the one hand and *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* on the other (these being practically identical). In order to interpret this result, further study is required to explore to what extent clause length generally varies in Byzantine Greek prose.

5.4. Ratio of main to subordinate clauses

<i>Subordination ratio</i>	Mir.Cyr.&Jo.	Prat.	Mir.Artem.
clauses	504	540	553
main clauses	114	270	223
subordinate clauses	390	270	330
ratio of main to subordinate clauses	22.6% : 77.4%	50.0% : 50.0%	40.3% : 59.7%

Table 5.4.1.

χ^2 -test (df = 1)	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> vs. <i>Prat.</i>	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> vs. <i>Mir.Artem.</i>	<i>Prat.</i> vs. <i>Mir.Artem.</i>
	$\chi^2 = 84.052$ p < 0.01	$\chi^2 = 38.065$ p < 0.01	$\chi^2 = 10.328$ p < 0.01

Table 5.4.2.

The simple subordination ratio reveals that *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.*, the high style text, has approximately three quarters of all his clauses embedded, whereas a full half of the clauses in *Prat.* are main clauses. *Mir.Artem.* is now situated in the middle even more clearly than was the case with T-unit length in clauses; clear differences seem to be emerging between the two low-style texts.

5.5. Embedding depth

Embedding depth	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> (390 sub.clauses)	<i>Prat.</i> (270 sub.clauses)	<i>Mir.Artem.</i> (330 sub.clauses)
1	202 (51.8%)	233 (86.3%)	245 (74.2%)
2	121 (31.0%)	34 (12.6%)	67 (20.3%)
3	54 (13.8%)	2 (0.7%)	16 (4.8%)
4	12 (3.1%)	1 (0.4%)	2 (0.6%)
5	1 (0.3%)		

Table 5.5.1.

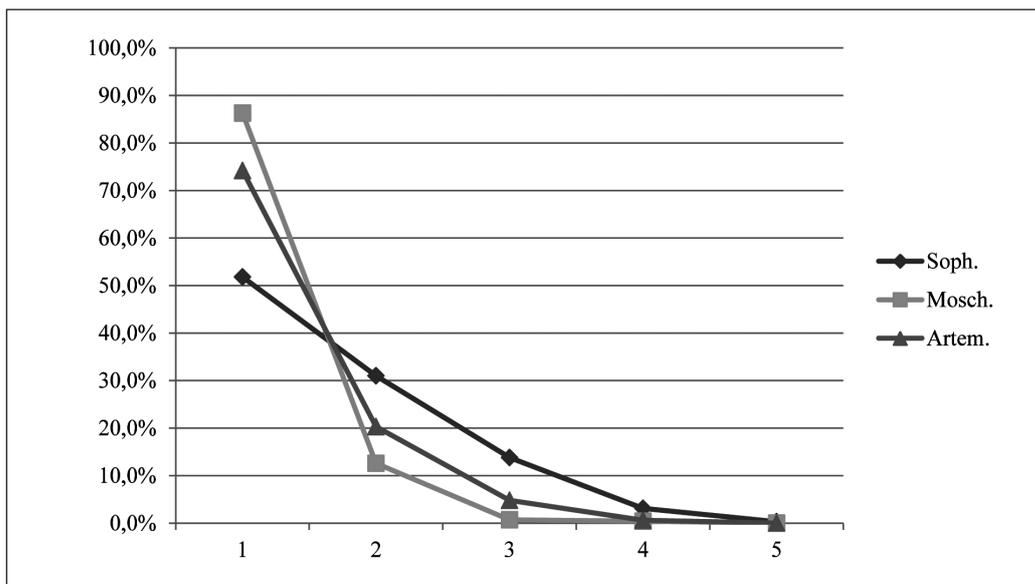


Fig. 5.5: Embedding depth (% of subordinate clauses / level of depth)

χ^2 -test ⁷⁰ (df = 1)	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> vs. <i>Prat.</i>	<i>Mir.Cyr.&Jo.</i> vs. <i>Mir.Artem.</i>	<i>Prat.</i> vs. <i>Mir.Artem.</i>
	$\chi^2 = 84.523$ p < 0.01	$\chi^2 = 38.263$ p < 0.01	$\chi^2 = 13.32$ p < 0.01

Table 5.5.2.

Embedding depth presents our authors in no different light than the previous variables. *Mir. Cyr. & Jo.* is clearly our most complex text, having significantly more clauses embedded at levels 2 and 3 than either of the others. As with T-unit length in clauses and the basic subordination ratio, these again differ among themselves as well, with *Mir.Artem.* continuing to display greater complexity than *Prat.* The difference between *Mir.Artem.* and *Prat.* is again statistically significant.

Our data for embedding depth are difficult to compare directly with those of previous studies involving modern languages since in many cases only finite clauses are counted. Nevertheless, generally speaking our texts seem to conform to the picture emerging from previous research, with embedding beyond level 4 being extremely rare and level 4 itself relatively uncommon.⁷¹ For our purposes, then, the critical zone consists primarily of the levels 1–3: it is here that embedding depth bears out the general impression derived from studying our previous variables, as we can appreciate both the yawning chasm between *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* and *Prat.* as well as the smaller but nevertheless distinct difference between *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* At level 4 the difference between *Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.* vanishes while *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* remains distinct, and by the time level 5 is reached all distinctions have by and large been ironed out.

6. Conclusions

These results demonstrate that there indeed exists a relation between the two basic variables investigated, syntactic complexity and level of style. The sample identified as belonging to the higher level of style (*Mir.Cyr.&Jo.*) consistently manifests greater syntactic complexity than the samples identified as belonging to a lower level of style (*Prat.* and *Mir.Artem.*), with these differences being sta-

⁷⁰ In the case of embedding depth, due to the low incidence of tokens from level 3 onwards (especially in *Prat.*) the χ^2 -test has been carried out with levels 2–5 collapsed into a single category in order to fulfil the requirement of 5+ tokens per table cell.

⁷¹ Cf. Karlsson (n. 34) 96–98 and Laury – Ono (n. 31) 77–78.

tistically significant at the $p < 0.05$ level. Thus, the basic research hypothesis of the correlation of level of style and syntactic complexity is corroborated by these results.

On the other hand, there are two caveats. Firstly, although the vast difference between high-level text *Mir.Cyr.&Jo.* and the low-level text *Prat.* is consistently borne out in the behaviour of all 5 variables, the second text identified as belonging to a low stylistic level, *Mir.Artem.* exhibits somewhat greater complexity than *Prat.*; this difference is statistically significant in 4 out of 5 variables. On the other hand, it must be stressed that the overall image of syntactic complexity presented by *Mir.Artem.* is still relatively close to that of *Prat.* and that the differences between the two, while undeniable, should not be exaggerated either.

That statistical significance or lack thereof alone cannot neatly divide our texts into clearly separate levels of style is of course obvious, since in reality the "levels of style" are not levels but a continuum with plenty of room for statistically significant differences between personal styles even within groups of relatively similar styles. The question remains whether the continuum is an even, unbroken line across the whole corpus of Byzantine texts or whether such groups of relatively similar styles, ones that might then be named levels of style, can be identified. In such a future classification of Byzantine styles on the basis of their syntax, we might conceivably see *Mir.Artem.* labelled "lower middle style" or alternatively "low style" with *Prat.* as "super-low". Before more data are available, however, all such characterizations remain speculative.

Secondly, the corpus of texts examined in this study is extremely limited and as such the results cannot be generalized across the board. In order to establish the applicability of our method to Byzantine literature as a whole, a much larger corpus is required, with texts from different periods, genres and levels of style. It goes without saying that the method of analysis needs also to be further refined. Future research should prepare the ground for a more comprehensive account of complexity-related syntactic variation in Byzantine literature. Such an account could then be related to findings made in other areas pertaining to style, such as the lexicon, morphology, rhetorical devices and so on.

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GAIUS CAESAR, OR THE IDEAL NON-PRINCEPS: A TIBERIAN ISSUE

ANTONIO PISTELLATO

1. Portraying a prospective leader

Historiographers portraying Gaius Caesar, the adoptive son of Augustus, focus not only on a most prominent member of the imperial family, but also on a potential successor to Augustus himself and a rival to the future emperor Tiberius. Indeed, the heyday of Gaius coincided with Tiberius' debated withdrawal to the Greek island of Rhodes (6 BC).¹ The closest reporting on Gaius in chronological terms and especially interesting is Velleius Paterculus, who published his work in AD 30, during the Principate of Tiberius. While just mentioning his brother Lucius Caesar quite fleetingly,² Velleius devotes much more attention to Gaius. He served him as a soldier during the Eastern mission that Gaius undertook (1 BC – AD 4) holding a proconsular *imperium*.³

¹ See B. Levick, *Latomus* 31 (1972) 779–813; J. Bellemore, *Klio* 89 (2007) 417–53.

² Vell. 2,96; 99,2; 103,3. Basic references on Lucius at V. Gardthausen, *RE* X 1 (1917) 472f.; *PIR*² I 222; W. Eck, *DNP* 6 (1999) 30.

³ Vell. 2,101–102: *Breue ab hoc intercesserat spatium, cum C. Caesar ante aliis prouinciis ad uisendum obitis in Syriam missus, conuento prius Ti. Nerone, cui omnem honorem ut superiori habuit, tam uarie se ibi gessit, ut nec laudaturum magna nec uituperaturum mediocris materia deficiat. Cum rege Parthorum, iuvene excelsissimo, in insula quam amnis Euphrates ambiabat, aequato utriusque partis numero coiit. Quod spectaculum stantis ex diuerso hinc Romani, illinc Parthorum exercitus, cum duo inter se eminentissima imperiorum et hominum coirent capita, perquam clarum et memorabile sub initia stipendiorum meorum tribuno militum mihi uisere contigit: quem militiae gradum ante sub patre tuo, M. Vinici, et P. Silio auspiciatus in Thracia Macedoniaque, mox Achaia Asiaque et omnibus ad Orientem uisis prouinciis et ore atque utroque maris Pontici latere, haud iniucunda tot rerum, locorum, gentium, urbium recordatione perfruor. Prior Parthus apud Gaium in nostra ripa, posterior hic apud regem in hostili epulatus est. Quo tempore M. Lollii, quem ueluti moderatorem iuuentae filii sui Au-*

On the one hand, Velleius stresses Gaius' subordinate position in relation to Tiberius while the latter was in Rhodes, notably on occasion of a meeting on Samos, where Gaius had placed his headquarters.⁴ The rendezvous took place in early 1 BC, during Gaius' tour of Greece on the march toward the East. According to Velleius, Gaius first paid his respects to Tiberius, whom indeed he treated as his superior (see below § 2). On the other hand, Gaius' lack of ability as a commander and a guardian of the Roman commonwealth is frequently pointed out, because of his weak nature and tendency to be led astray by others.⁵

gustus esse uoluerat, perfida et plena subdoli ac uersuti animi consilia, per Parthum indicata Caesari, fama uulgauit. Cuius mors intra paucos dies fortuita an uoluntaria fuerit ignoro. Sed quam hunc decessisse laetati homines, tam paulo post obiisse Censorinum in iisdem prouinciis grauius tulit ciuitas, uirum demerendis hominibus genitum. Armeniam deinde Gaius ingressus prima parte introitus rem prospere gessit; mox in conloquio, cui se temere crediderat, circa Artageram grauius a quodam, nomine Adduo, uulneratus, ex eo ut corpus minus habile, ita animum minus utilem rei publicae habere coepit. Nec defuit conuersatio hominum uitia eius adsentatione alentium (etenim semper magnae fortunae comes adest adulatio), per quae eo ductus erat, ut in ultimo ac remotissimo terrarum orbis angulo consenescere quam Romam regredi mallet. Diu deinde reluctatus inuitusque reuertens in Italiam in urbe Lyciae (Limyra nominant) morbo obiit, cum ante annum ferme L. Caesar frater eius Hispanias petens Massiliae decessisset. The Latin text is that established by W. S. Watt, *Velleius Paterculus. Historiarum ad M. Vinicium Consulium libri duo*, Leipzig 1988, whereas all English translations are taken from F. W. Shipley, *Compendium of Roman History. Res gestae diui Augusti*, London–Cambridge (MA) 1924. On Gaius Caesar's mission to the East cf. V. Gardthausen, *RE* X 1 (1917) 424–28, esp. 426–28; *PIR*² I 216, esp. pp. 167f.; J. E. G. Zetzel, *GRBS* 11 (1970) 259–66; F. E. Romer, *TAPhA* 109 (1979) 199–214; P. Herz, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 285–90; Id., "Gaius Caesar und Artavasdes", in J. Ganzert, *Das Kenotaph für Gaius Caesar in Limyra. Architektur und Bauornamentik*, Tübingen 1984, 118–26; H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im römischen Reich*, Stuttgart 1986, 166–68; W. Eck, *DNP* 6 (1999) 29f.; A. Pistellato, "Banchettare in missione. Due testimonianze oculari di Velleio Patercolo", in R. Bortolin – A. Pistellato (eds.), *Alimentazione e banchetto. Forme e valori della commensalità dalla preistoria alla tarda antichità*, Venezia 2007, 103–14, esp. 103–07; A. Luther, *Gymnasium* 117 (2010) 103–27.

⁴ Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 12. Differently, Dio 55,9,5 claims that the rendezvous occurred on Chios. On the meeting between Tiberius and Gaius cf. Bellemore (above n. 1) 441f.

⁵ Quite conveniently, Velleius inserts some harsh lines dedicated to the death of Marcus Lollius, an advisor of Gaius but "a crafty and deceitful mind" (Vell. 2,102,1), and a fierce enemy of Tiberius. For Velleius, Lollius was one of those having a negative influence on Gaius, and this concurred in affecting Gaius' qualities. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 12f.; E. Groag, *RE* XIII 2 (1927) 1377–87; J.W. Ambrose Jr., *TAPhA* 96 (1965) 1–10; *PIR*² L 311; W. Eck, *DNP* 7 (1999) 430–31; Bellemore (above n. 1) 446–49.

This view is shared by Cassius Dio, who adds slightly negative information.⁶ Dio provides further details on Gaius (and Lucius) Caesar's wicked personality – affected by luxury, insolence and love of flattery. In the very same context, Dio explains both the bestowal on Tiberius of the tribunician power and the assignment of Armenia – prospecting a mission to the East for 6 BC – with the two brothers' excesses. Indeed, a sort of counterbalance was needed in order to preserve steadiness within the *domus Augusta*.⁷ Had Tiberius not gone into voluntary exile in 6 BC, he would have undertaken the Eastern expedition. Gaius Caesar replaced him five years later, despite Augustus' awareness of his practical inexperience. Notwithstanding, it may be worth noting that an earlier source, Flavius Josephus, reports on Gaius participating in a diplomatic meeting at Rome, beside Augustus, in the context of the Roman reorganization of the Judean kingdom in 4 BC.⁸ This proves that, after Tiberius' eclipse, Gaius' background was somehow, if only theoretically, fit to the undertaking of the Eastern operations.

Gaius is depicted by Velleius in unfavourable terms at quite an early stage. This is in reference to the operations that he carried out on the Parthian front, which reached their diplomatic pinnacle on occasion of a meeting with the Parthian king Phraataces (Phraates V) on the river Euphrates, between late AD 1 and early 2.⁹ Operations then transferred to Armenia. Very shortly referring to some early achievements (see below § 2), Velleius again describes a negative situation, and firstly points out Gaius' inadequacy in governing. In another meeting, near Artagira (AD 3), he behaved rashly (*temere*), and for this he was ambushed and wounded by an Armenian (named Adduus or Donnes), so that "his body became

⁶ Dio 54,26,1; 27,1; 55,6,4f.; 8,3; 9,1f.; 4f.; 9f.; 10,6; 18.

⁷ Dio 55,9,1f.; 4f.

⁸ Joseph. *AJ* 17,229; *BJ* 2,25. Gaius actually began to participate in the meetings beside Augustus as soon as he came of age. Cf. the information on embassies from Asia, that took place in 5 BC: *IGR* IV 1756 = *Sardis* VII 1, 8 = R. K. Sherk, *Rome and the Greek East to the Death of Augustus*, Cambridge 1984, 104 A–B = H. Freis, *Historische Inschriften zur römischen Kaiserzeit von Augustus bis Konstantin*, Darmstadt 1994², 16 (cf. *SEG* L 1685), 15f.; 30f.; 43f.; 50f.; 57f.; 68f.; 73f.

⁹ See again Dio 55,10,19. A. J. Woodman, *Velleius Paterculus: the Tiberian Narrative (2.94–131)*, Cambridge 1977, 125, maintains that Velleius' opinion on Gaius Caesar, regarding his Syrian operations, is more positive than Dio's, and complains about an over-evaluation by R. Syme, *Danubian Papers*, Bucharest 1971, 48 generalizing Velleius' attitude in terms of a mere adulation toward Tiberius. On Phraataces cf. L. Petersen, *PIR*² P 394; M. Schottky, *DNP* 9 (2000) 960f.

less active, and his mind of less service to the state."¹⁰ As a consequence, he wished to spend his life anywhere in the world other than Rome. A few months later Gaius died because of complications of the wound he had received,¹¹ and his body was transferred to Rome in the Augustan Mausoleum together with that of his brother Lucius, who had died two years earlier in Massalia on his way to Spain.¹²

That Gaius' expedition was a crucial event for Augustan propaganda is clear from prose writers and poets, who frequently focus their attention on it, but also from other sources.¹³ Indeed, while on mission he was honoured with pomp as "new Ares",¹⁴ and as "fighting against the barbarians for the safety of all mankind."¹⁵ The resemblance with the tones of the well-known cenotaph inscription from Pisae celebrating his memory is close.¹⁶

¹⁰ Vell. 2,102,2. Cf. P. von Rohden, *RE* I (1893) 353; A. Stein, *RE* V 2 (1905) 1548; *PIR*² I 104; W. John, *Hermes* 78 (1943) 108f. Dio 55,10a,8, tallies with Velleius' assessment; thus Woodman (above n. 9) 128, supports Velleius. Some details are provided by Flor. 2,32 and Dio 55,10a,6.

¹¹ *CIL* XI 1421, 5290; XIV 2801; *InscrIt* XIII 2, 164f.

¹² *CIL* XI 1420; XIV 2801. Cf. S. Panciera, in H. von Hesberg – S. Panciera, *Das Mausoleum des Augustus: der Bau und seine Inschriften*, München 1994, 98–108.

¹³ As for prose writers: Plin. *nat.* 2,168; 6,141; 160; Plut. *Mor.* 207 D–E; Flor. *epit.* 32; Tac. *ann.* 1,3,3; 3,48,2; 4,40,4; 6,51,1; Suet. *Aug.* 64; 93; *Tib.* 11–13; Gell. 15,7,3. As for poets: Antipat. *AP* 9,59; 297 (cf. perhaps *AP* 7,626); Ov. *ars* 1,177–278. As for iconography, see J. Pollini, *The Portraiture of Gaius and Lucius Caesar*, New York 1987, 41–75. As for inscriptions, cf. *AE* 1920, 43 (Nemausus); 1928, 49f. (Thespiae); V. Ehrenberg – A. H. M. Jones, *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius*, Oxford 1976², 115 (Cyprus); *IGR* I 835 (Thasos); IV 1756, esp. 7–17 (Sardis; see above n. 8); *I.Ephesos* 253. As for numismatics see, e.g., *RPC* I 210 (Tarraco), 979 (Cnossus), 1136 (Corinthus), 2148 (Amisus), 2361, 2363, 2365 (Pergamum), 3908–13 (Cyprus).

¹⁴ *IG* II/III² 3250: νέος Ἄρης. Cf. Romer (above n. 3), 201f.

¹⁵ *SEG* XXIII 206 = *AE* 1967, 458, 10–12 (Messene, AD 2): Γάϊον / τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντων σωτηρίας τοῖς βαρβάροις μαχόμενον. Cf. Zetzel (above n. 3); P. Herz, *Klio* 75 (1993) 272–88. See also below n. 30.

¹⁶ *CIL* XI 1421, 7–14: *cum a(nte) [d(iem) II]II Nonas Apriles allatus esset nuntius C(aium) Caesarem Augusti patris patri/ae [po]ntif(ici)s maxsumi custodis imper(i) Romani totiusque orbis terrarum prae/si[dis] filium diui nepotem post consulatum quem ultra finis extremas popu/li [Ro]mani bellum gerens feliciter peregerat bene gesta re publica deuicteis aut / in [fid]em receptis bellicosissimis ac maxsimis gentibus ipsum uolneribus pro re / pu[bli]ca exceptis ex eo casu crudelibus fatis ereptum populo Romano iam designa/tu[m] iustissimum ac simillum parentis sui uirtutibus principem coloniaeque / no[st]rae unicum praesidium. The document is paralleled by another one previously set up in Pisae for Lucius Caesar, who died*

Gaius, when still living and operating in the East, was granted the substance of the ideal ruler. Of course, that was mere etiquette. At the same time, it was a neat statement of the central place of Marcus Agrippa's son in the Augustan settlement.¹⁷ An inescapable testimony of the ideological status quo is provided by the *Res Gestae*, issued after Augustus' death in AD 14, where the crystallization of Gaius and Lucius Caesar's memory is confirmed at the highest level of official propaganda. Chapter 14 entirely focuses on them through an emphatic vocabulary ("my sons, whom still young Fortune tore from me"¹⁸), which aims at stressing their special position and honours obtained with the consensus of all orders in Rome.¹⁹ Gaius alone is recalled in the account of the Eastern affairs.²⁰ His very position would become Velleius' main target.

2. Rhetoric and politics

It may be argued that Velleius' primary desideratum is to emphasize Gaius Caesar's flaws as a possible but unsuccessful heir of Augustus.²¹ Such a memory is supposed to be rhetorically designed, and politically loaded. Indeed, Velleius' condemnation of Gaius in terms of inadequacy as a leader serves the purpose of highlighting the prominence of Tiberius. Thus, Gaius Caesar entirely lacks the qualities that Velleius attributes to Tiberius. It is patent that such a narrative is perfectly suitable to get rid of any possible doubt surrounding Tiberius' legitima-

in A.D. 2: *CIL* XI 1420. See S. Segenni, *I decreta Pisana: autonomia cittadina e ideologia imperiale nella colonia Obsequens Iulia Pisana*, Bari 2011.

¹⁷ Subsequently, further honours aimed at perpetuating the memory of both Gaius and Lucius Caesar. This served as a model for the official tributes to other prospective but unfortunate heirs to power: Germanicus (died in AD 19: *PIR*² I [1952–66] 221) and Drusus the Younger (died in AD 23: *PIR*² I 219). *R. Gest. diu. Aug.* 14,1; 27,2. Cf. *CIL* XI 1421, 12; *Suet. Tib.* 23; W. D. Lebek, "Come costruire una memoria storica: da Lucio Cesare a Druso Minore", in M. Citroni (ed.), *Memoria e identità. La cultura romana costruisce la sua immagine*, Florence 2003, 39–60.

¹⁸ *R. Gest. diu. Aug.* 14,1: *flios meos, quos iuvenes mihi eripuit fortuna*. Cf. *CIL* XI 1421, 12; *Suet. Tib.* 23.

¹⁹ F. Hurllet, *Les collègues du prince sous Auguste et Tibère. De la légalité républicaine à la légitimité dynastique*, Paris 1997, 123.

²⁰ *R. Gest. diu. Aug.* 27,2.

²¹ Cf. K. Welch, "Velleius and Livia: Making a Portrait", in E. Cowan (ed.), *Velleius Paterculus: Making History*, Swansea 2011, 309–34, esp. 323.

cy as a ruler, which had been disputed under Augustus and was crucially disputed even when Velleius published his work in AD 30.²² This leads us to the contemporary setting of Velleius' work, which deserves proper attention.

It is then worth considering *how* Velleius focuses on Gaius Caesar. The virtues of the son of Agrippa as a commander cut a very poor figure if compared with the enormous amount of qualities that Tiberius is credited with.²³ They concur in arranging both Velleius' portrait of the latter as an emperor – in positive terms – and the historical image of Gaius as a prospective heir of Augustus – in negative terms. Now, it is true that Tiberius held important posts and was granted several honours, especially in the years following Marcus Agrippa's death (12 BC) and preceding his own eclipse.²⁴ In the fateful year 6 BC such distinction culminated with the grant of a five-year tribunician power, but this was somehow an obvious outcome, as at that time Tiberius was the only experienced man in the imperial family.²⁵

Indeed, if we focus on the relation between Gaius and Tiberius, and take into account their meeting at Rhodes, Suetonius' and Dio's accounts differ from Velleius', as they describe the situation as humiliating for Tiberius.²⁶ Dio especially focuses on it in completely opposite terms: it was Tiberius who honoured Gaius before the latter went to Syria. Dio's version affected the establishment of Velleius' text concerning the passage at 2,101,1, where the relative pronoun *cui*, which is found in the *editio princeps* by Beatus Rhenanus (1520) and in the apograph by Bonifacius Amerbach (1516), was corrected by Justus Lipsius (1591) in *qui*. The correction was accepted by Anthony Woodman (1977) on the grounds of two elements: the analogy with Dio, and the fact that Gaius was holding the *maius imperium*, being, thus, technically superior to Tiberius, whose tribunician

²² On the succession affair concerning Gaius and Lucius Caesar see Hurlet (above n. 19) 113–41. On opposition to the legitimacy of Tiberius see Tac. *ann.* 1,53,2; Suet. *Tib.* 59; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford 1956², 16–18; M. Pani, *Tendenze politiche della successione al principato di Augusto*, Bari 1979, 53–103.

²³ Cf. Vell. 2,93,1; 94,2, 3, 4; 95,2; 97,2, 4; 98,1; 99,2, 4; 100,1, 4; 103,1, 4, 5; 104,2–4; 105,2f.; 106,2f.; 107,2; 109,1; 111,4; 112,1, 5; 113,2; 114,1; 116,1–4; 118,1; 120,4f.; 121,1; 123,2; 124,1; 125,5; 126,2, 4f.; 127,3; 128,1, 3f.; 129,1, 3; 130,2; 131,1.

²⁴ Between 12 and 9 BC Tiberius operated in Pannonia and Dalmatia, and was granted the *ornamenta triumphalia* and an *ouatio ex Pannonia*; in 8 BC operated in Germany; in the following year was saluted *imperator* and designated consul. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 9,4; Dio 54,31,1–3.

²⁵ On the early honours for Gaius and Lucius Caesar see Hurlet (above note 19) 115–27.

²⁶ See Suet. *Tib.* 12,2; Dio 55,9,5 (Xiph. 100,18–30; Exc. V. 177; Zon. 10,35,3–10 B.); 10,19 (Zon. 10,36,1–13 B.; Xiph. 101,32–102,4).

power was about to expire at the time of the meeting.²⁷ But most editors, i.e. Joseph Hellegouarc'h (1982), William S. Watt (1988), and Maria Elefante (1997), preferred to retain the version handed down by the *editio princeps*.

The choice between these two options makes difference. If we consider all sources available, one point is clear: Tiberius actually moved from Rhodes to salute Gaius, who had come to Samos (or Chios) while heading toward the East. Thus, if *cui* is to be preferred, the respectful homage which Velleius says Gaius paid to Tiberius should be rather regarded, at most, as protocol, if not fake. *Qui* would invert the terms of the relation, of course, and make Tiberius' behaviour respectful and coherent with the version presented by Dio. But there is no significant reason to replace the original *cui* of the *editio princeps*, as it perfectly fits the context of Velleius' representation of Gaius as inferior to Tiberius. Elefante pointed it out conveniently: she highlights Velleius' passages at 99,1 and 4, where Tiberius is presented as *uere alterum rei p. lumen et caput*, and legates sent to Rhodes honour his *maiestas*²⁸. Although such presentation may well be altered *ex post*, what matters is that Velleius needs to draw a fluent narrative, where the future *princeps* is just superior to Gaius since the time of his eclipse coinciding with Gaius' peak²⁹.

A further element must be added: Velleius' method and selection of facts. He leaves out a detail concerning what seems to have been a military success of Gaius Caesar in the East in AD 1 during his consulship, which is apparently recorded by two inscriptions. A possible victory in Arabia is celebrated on a Greek inscription from Messene in honour of Publius Cornelius Scipio: "[...] (Gaius Caesar) *was well and had avenged himself upon the barbarians*, having escaped dangers [...]"³⁰ Emphasis on the operations undertaken by Gaius Caesar owes much to the Augustan propaganda, within the framework of the universal power ideology. But some achievement is highlighted here. In the cenotaph inscription from Pisae such ideology appears even more evident: "[...] after the consulship

²⁷ Woodman (above n. 9) 125.

²⁸ Vell. 2,99,1, 4.

²⁹ M. Elefante, *Velleius Paterculus. Ad M. Vinicium consulem libri duo*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1997, 457, also noting the syntax found in the *editio princeps*: *cui... ut superiori* is a perfectly balanced construction with the use of a double dative, which would result affected by the replacement with *qui*.

³⁰ Cf. *SEG XXIII 206 = AE 1967, 458, 12f.* (AD 2–3): [...] (Γάϊον) ὑγιαίνειν τε καὶ κινδύνους ἐκφυγόντα ἀντιτετιμωρῆσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους [...]; transl. by Zetzel (above n. 3) *ad loc.*; T. D. Barnes, *JRS 64* (1974) 21–26, esp. 23; Romer (above n. 3). On the identity of Cornelius Scipio, cf. *AE 1967, ad loc.*

which he had passed successfully *by waging war beyond the farthest boundaries of the Roman people*, having successfully protected the Republic, *and defeated or received into fides the most warlike and greatest nations [...]*.³¹ Reference to military success may well be due not so much to the victory of AD 1 as to a conventional way of memorializing facts related to the general praise of a deceased member of the greatest family in Rome,³² according to the 'orthodoxy' of a celebratory representation. In this sense, the inscription may as well refer to the siege of Artagira in AD 3, which proved successful, if fatal to Gaius.

Although it is true that Velleius focuses on Gaius Caesar's important operations in the East and stresses his own participation in them, he only generically refers to a military achievement of Gaius in Armenia. The very little he says about it is however noteworthy, as he specifies that it was obtained only in the early phase of his campaign.³³ He clearly prefers shortcut, which seems a gentle form of elision. In this sense, Woodman regards the Arabian omission as due not so much to Velleius' "Tiberian bias" as to his aim to write a brief narrative, which happens to involve the selection of facts worthy of record.³⁴ I would argue that such an omission plays the role of a deliberate silence about any successful aspect – however minor it might have been – in Gaius' career as a military leader, or as a leader *tout court*.

This rhetorically serves a *diminutio* strategy in the portrait of Gaius Caesar. As a possible witness of Gaius' Eastern victories, Velleius might have had the opportunity to record the success of a prominent member of the imperial family, but this is not the case. It may actually be inferred that in the Tiberian narrative personal testimony works as an effective medium of historiographical persuasion. This is especially true when it deals with positive elements, as in the case of the account of Tiberius' achievements as a general under Augustus.³⁵ But it also works in negative circumstances, as is the case here: thus, the omission of Gaius Caesar's success(es) is strengthened by Velleius' testimony in order to diminish Gaius' merits.

Similarly, it should be noted that Velleius omits another detail, concerning the end of Gaius' experience in the East, when Augustus gave him permission

³¹ *CIL* XI 1421, 9–11. See above n. 16.

³² Cf. G. Cresci Marrone, *Ecumene augustea. Una politica per il consenso*, Rome 1993, 166f.

³³ Vell. 2,102,2 (*prima parte introitus rem prospere gessit*).

³⁴ Woodman (above n. 9) 124f.; on Velleius' conciseness cf. J. A. Lobur, *TAPhA* 137 (2007) 211–30.

³⁵ Vell. 2,94–123.

to retire into private life, as Dio informs us.³⁶ Velleius' passing over this may be due to an immediate and uncomfortable analogy with Tiberius' retirement to Rhodes. It may also emphasise Gaius' contradictory misbehaviour and isolation after being wounded: "He wished to spend his life in a remote and distant corner of the world rather than return to Rome. Then, in the act of returning to Italy..."³⁷ (2,102,3)

Besides, the insertion of the portrait of Marcus Lollius, an influential adviser of Gaius Caesar, and an overt enemy of Tiberius, within the frame of Gaius' narrative gives us further information about the writing of Velleius³⁸. It certainly implies that Velleius designed his narrative in order to reinforce his disparaging portrait of Gaius in accordance with his aim. By using a subtle indirect technique, he openly criticizes one of the most eminent assistants of Gaius, without directly denigrating Gaius himself. Moreover, this seems to imply a covert disapproval towards Augustus having chosen the wrong man to support Gaius. Such blame, once more indirect, is very interesting. It affects the celebrated memory of Augustus, which has something to do with the place of Tiberius in the imperial establishment:³⁹ it purports the latter's representation as an ideal emperor and, at the same time, partly connects Gaius Caesar's failures with the faults of Augustus. This draws a neat divide between Tiberius and the couple Gaius Caesar-Augustus, the former being on the 'right' side, the latter on the 'wrong'.

Moreover, if we look beyond the portrait of Gaius Caesar and consider it within a wider context, we find that Velleius puts it in a special narrative position. Indeed, it is preceded by the account of the banishment of Julia the Elder and Iullus Antonius in 2 BC, and followed by that of the return of Tiberius to Rome in AD 4, which is celebrated as a U-turn in world history that "brought back to the Republic her defender".⁴⁰ Thus, the disastrous scandal of 2 BC, on the one side,

³⁶ Dio 55,10a,8.

³⁷ Vell. 102,2. For Gaius Caesar's desire to retire from active politics, see U. Schmitzer, *Velleius Paterculus und das Interesse an der Geschichte im Zeitalter des Tiberius*, Heidelberg 2000, 220f., who describes it as a historiographical *topos*.

³⁸ See above n. 5.

³⁹ D. C. A. Shotter, *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1117–23, esp. 1120, connects Lollius' influence over Gaius to Augustus' concern about the place of Tiberius in the Principate. He regards it as a move to control Tiberius during his retirement.

⁴⁰ On Julia the Elder and Iullus Antonius: Vell. 2,100,2–5; on Tiberius' return to Rome: Vell. 2,103, esp. 103,1 *rei publicae sua praesidia reddiderat*. Cf. P. Groebe, *RE* I (1894) 2584f.; K. Fitzler, *RE* X 1 (1917) 896–906; E. Groag, *PIR*² A 800; *PIR*² I 634; V. Nutton, *DNP* 1 (1996) 814; W. Eck, *DNP* 6 (1999) 2.

and the unheroic death of Gaius Caesar in AD 4, on the other, are a perfect narrative prelude and an effective climax to the entrance of Tiberius as the saviour of Rome. Indeed, a good expedient to highlight the role of Tiberius.

What has been said so far provides a good idea of the attention which Velleius paid to designing the portrait of Gaius Caesar. Nonetheless, it is necessary to go further. We learn from Suetonius that Tiberius wrote a *carmen lyricum* known as *Conquestio de morte Luci Caesaris*,⁴¹ which urges us to regard the absence of a similar respectful homage toward Gaius Caesar as, at least, peculiar, if not suspect – even more considering that when Gaius died Tiberius had already come back to Rome. The information from Suetonius seems to confirm the idea of a tension existing between the two men, and perhaps provides us with another useful element concerning Velleius' representation of Gaius. That would be the sign of a long-lasting unpleasant relationship between the son of Agrippa and the successor to Augustus.⁴²

In spite of this, Velleius needs to preserve a general aura of celebration, since the memory of Gaius Caesar – alongside that of his brother Lucius – was officially celebrated under Tiberius,⁴³ together with that of Augustus. It is well known that the senatorial-equestrian centuries which the Roman senate instituted in AD 23 in honour of Germanicus and Drusus Caesar for the *destinatio* electoral process were based upon the model of those designed in memory of Gaius and Lucius Caesar in AD 5.⁴⁴ That is to say: Velleius does not portray Gaius in entirely negative terms, and respects the political and 'dynastic' needs of the time, i.e. the official façade. Of course, this is just another aspect of the contemporary frame of Velleius' agenda.

But such an aura lacks strength. Gaius Caesar is awarded special status on occasion of the meeting with the Parthian king Phraataces. Despite this, such a prominence is somehow shared with the Roman army, and is part of the magnificence of the situation: "This spectacle of the Roman army arrayed on one side,

⁴¹ Suet. *Tib.* 70.

⁴² See G. Zecchini, *Il Carmen de bello Actiaco. Storiografia e lotta politica in età augustea*, Stuttgart 1987, 67.

⁴³ Cf. again *CIL* XI 1421 = *InscrIt* VII 1, 7 = *ILS* 140 = *AE* 1991, 21 = *AE* 2000, 37, and G. Rowe, *Princes and Political Cultures: The New Tiberian Senatorial Decrees*, Ann Arbor 2002, 115–18. Celebration of the memory of princes of the imperial family is dealt with by Lebek (above n. 17). For posthumous coinage celebrating Gaius and Lucius Caesar see R. Wolters, *Chiron* 32 (2002) 297–323.

⁴⁴ See A. Frascchetti, *AION(archeol)* 6 (1984) 151–89, esp. 184–88.

the Parthian on the other, while these two eminent leaders not only of the empires they represented but also of mankind thus met in conference." (2,101,2)

While on duty, Gaius probably had in mind to acquire Julius Caesar's military reputation, perhaps in accordance with an *imitatio Alexandri* which might fit the aim of his mother Julia the Elder to legitimate the development of a prominent 'dynastic' line within the imperial family.⁴⁵ (see below § 3) If this is true, Velleius somehow needs to demonstrate Gaius' ineptitude, that is to show repeatedly how much Tiberius, rather than Gaius, was the ideal emperor, and the better option for Augustus. The connection between the wound that Gaius received in battle in Armenia and his uselessness toward the commonwealth overturns the well-known multicultural and panegyric *topos* of the identity between physical integrity and disposition to command⁴⁶ – thus to *utilitas publica*⁴⁷ – into a negative identity. No surprise, then, that Tiberius is depicted by Velleius as physically forceful. After all, Suetonius tells us the same.⁴⁸

This, beside the fact that Velleius blames Gaius Caesar's misbehaviour before being wounded, determines a patent anti-leader portrait. In this sense, the pre-eminence which Velleius assigns to Tiberius over Gaius during the former's

⁴⁵ On Gaius Caesar's *imitatio Alexandri* cf. D. Sidari, *AIV* 138 (1979–80) 275–302, 284–302, and Ead., "Seiano e Gaio. Rivalità o accordo?", in F. Broilo (ed.), *Xenia. Scritti in onore di Pietro Treves*, Rome 1980, 191–205, esp. 23–29. On his participation in Julia's political designs cf. Zecchini (above n. 42) 59–81; Id., *QLF* 5 (1990) 191–205, esp. 203; B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, London 1999², 41–42; F. Rohr Vio, *Le voci del dissenso*, Padua 2000, 239; Luther (above n. 3) *ad loc.*

⁴⁶ Examples come from a variety of sources, ancient, medieval and modern. Cf. e.g. the Bible (see Exod. 2,2; 1 Sam. 9,2; 16,12; 2 Sam. 14,25. Cf. 1 Kings 5,9–11); Ibn Baṭṭūṭa writing on the sultanate of Delhi (H. A. R. Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa. A.D. 1325–1354*, Translated with Revisions and Notes from the Arabic Text edited by C. Defrémery – B. R. Sanguinetti, Vol. III, New Delhi 1999, 643); Sharaf ad-Din Ali Yazdi writing on the Turco-Mongol conqueror Tamerlane (M. Bernardini [ed.], *Ghiyāṣoddīn 'Alī di Yazd. Le gesta di Tamerlano*, Milan 2009, *passim*). Cf. also Men. rhet. 371,14–17; Sidon. *epist.* 1,2; R. Combès, *Imperator. Recherches sur l'emploi et la signification du titre d'Imperator dans la Rome républicaine*, Paris 1966, 288–98; E. A. Judge, "Veni. Vidi. Vici, and the Inscription of Cornelius Gallus", in *Akten des VI. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, München 1972*, München 1973, 571–73; F. Del Chicca, *AFLFC* 43 (1985) 79–113; E. R. Curtius, *Letteratura europea e Medio Evo latino*, ed. by R. Antonelli, Scandicci 1995 [Bern 1948] 203–05; M. Lolli, *Latomus* 58 (1999) 620–25.

⁴⁷ See, e.g., G. Longo, *Labeo* 18 (1972) 7–71.

⁴⁸ Vell. 2,94,2, awards Tiberius *forma* and *celsitudo corporis*. Cf. Suet. *Tib.* 68; C. Kuntze, *Zur Darstellung des Kaisers Tiberius und seiner Zeit bei Velleius Paterculus*, Frankfurt am Main – Bern – New York 1995, 42–45.

retirement to Rhodes is entirely focused on *dignitas* and prestige, and legitimates the rise of Tiberius in opposition to Gaius. This also explains why Velleius, when describing Tiberius' reasons for abandoning Rome in 6 BC,⁴⁹ points out that the relationship between Tiberius and Augustus was privileged. According to Velleius, it was the love and respect of Tiberius for his father-in-law and stepfather that made Tiberius not want to put himself against the advancement of Gaius and Lucius Caesar, "in order that his own glory might not stand in the way of the young men at the beginning of their careers."⁵⁰

Interestingly enough, in mentioning the adoption of Tiberius by Augustus in AD 4 Velleius points out that the *princeps* insisted upon carrying out "what he had wished to do after the death of Lucius but while Gaius was still living, and had been prevented from doing by the strong opposition from Nero himself."⁵¹ This sounds as if Gaius Caesar had been left out of the 'dynastic' programme since the return of Tiberius to Rome,⁵² and underlines the eminence of Tiberius as not depending at all on Lucius' and especially Gaius' death. Here, Suetonius tells us a different story. Indeed, he points out Tiberius' subordination even on occasion of the adoption by Augustus, who wanted Germanicus to be adopted by Tiberius in turn, Germanicus actually becoming the future heir apparent.⁵³ Of course, from Velleius' point of view, Tiberius was tested and reliable enough to take over absolute power; indeed Augustus would have chosen him as his successor had Tiberius not shown his refusal (*recusatio*).⁵⁴ The point seems to allude to a sort of favour Tiberius would have done for Augustus, had he accepted the

⁴⁹ Bellemore (above n. 1) 428–32, puts Tiberius' official statements on his stepping-aside between 5 and 3 B.C.

⁵⁰ Vell. 2,99,2: *ne fulgor suus orientium iuvenum obstaret initiis*. Cf. Hurlet (above n. 19) 111f.; Bellemore (above n. 1) 428–32, 434.

⁵¹ Vell. 2,103,3: *quod post Lucii mortem adhuc Gaio uiuo facere uoluerat atque eo uehementer repugnante Nerone erat inhibitus*.

⁵² Cf. Bellemore (above n. 1), 449f. Hurlet (above n. 19) 112f., points out that Tiberius actually wanted to live as a private citizen after returning to Rome. That is why he moved from the *Carinae* to a new house on the Esquiline.

⁵³ Suet. *Tib.* 15,2; *Cal.* 1,1, 4; Dio 55,13,2. On Tiberius' adoption see also Suet. *Tib.* 23, referring to Augustus' will. Cf. H. U. Instinsky, *Hermes* 44 (1966) 324–43, esp. 327–30; B. Levick, *CR* 22 (1972) 309–11.

⁵⁴ On *recusatio* as a standard formula being used by heirs apparent about to take over power, see J. Béranger, *Recherches sur l'aspect idéologique du principat*, Basel 1953, 137f., 152f., 159.

succession at that time. This would have spared Rome from the risk of Gaius Caesar's succession.

Such an imbalance, which I tried to point out, so clearly – and cleverly – unfavourable to Gaius Caesar, is developed according to a precise epideictic scheme, Tiberius being the positive pole, and Gaius the negative pole, representing what may be called the ideal Non-*princeps*. From a stylistic point of view, this is certainly in accordance with the rhetorical principle of antinomy between Good and Evil⁵⁵.

3. One *domus*, divergent family lines, and contemporary historiography

For Velleius, with Gaius' death Rome simply escaped the unfortunate destiny of being ruled by an inadequate emperor. The reverse of such a medal consisted in strengthening and re-legitimizing the place of Tiberius and his family, even and especially in the perspective of the complex issue of the succession to Tiberius himself. This involved the family lines of the Julio-Claudian house. Therefore, it may be inferred that in many respects the portrait of Gaius Caesar lays within the framework of Velleius' tightly contemporary purpose. In other terms, Velleius portrays Gaius in a contemporary way. This implies that his historiography is not to be interpreted as just a matter of plain flattery.⁵⁶ It certainly is, and to a significant extent, but it also shows a political shade which in turn reflects a political and 'dynastic' background.

Barbara Levick's doubts on a real separation between family branches, namely 'Julians' and 'Claudians', within the *domus Augusta*⁵⁷ cannot be overlooked. Nonetheless, it seems that actual division existed in terms of 'priority'. Accession to absolute power being the ultimate goal for the members of the family and their cavaliers almost throughout the Principate of Augustus, it is to be noted that Gaius and Lucius Caesar were the sons of Julia the Elder, and Tiberius the son of Livia. Divergent family traditions and backgrounds were involved. The relationship between Julia, the daughter of Augustus, and her husband Tiberius shows that a main motive of contrast was not as much a matter of blood

⁵⁵ See, e.g., R. Nicolai, *La storiografia nell'educazione antica*, Pisa 1992.

⁵⁶ Cf., for Velleius as a mere flatterer, I. Lana, *Velleio Patercolo o della propaganda*, Turin 1952; Syme (above n. 9). On the relationship between Velleius and Tiberius see, more recently, K. Christ, *Historia* 50 (2001) 180–92.

⁵⁷ B. Levick, *G&R* 22 (1975) 29–38. Differently D. C. A. Shotter, *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1117–23.

as a matter of primacy of blood. Julia regarded Tiberius, Tacitus says, as *impar* even before his Rhodian eclipse.⁵⁸ Both 'Julians' and 'Claudians' were prominent families, but once joined under the Augustan initiative, and thus forming a unified body, there still existed a difference which could not be settled. If we believe Tacitus, Julia knew it full well and stressed her main concern, i.e. that of her own sons, in view of an eventual scenario of succession.

In this respect, the manoeuvres for the eligibility of her son Gaius Caesar to the consulship of 5 BC, which she may have fostered,⁵⁹ might stand as a symptom of inner *Spannung*, on account either of their possible consequences or premises. Moreover, Gaius and Lucius became *principes iuuentutis* in 5 and 2 BC respectively as a reaction to Tiberius' departure, and not as its cause.⁶⁰ After having been prominent in Augustus' family network after the death in 23 BC of the first presumable heir, Marcellus (the nephew of Augustus and first husband of Julia the Elder), Tiberius' position – alongside that of his brother Drusus the Elder – changed when Gaius Caesar was born three years later (20 BC). Indeed, if Plutarch says that Marcellus and Tiberius came second after Agrippa in Augustus' consideration, the birth of Gaius Caesar and, subsequently, that of his brother Lucius in 17 BC made the family of Agrippa and Julia the Elder absolutely paramount.⁶¹

Ann Kuttner, in her reading of the Boscoreale cups as an honorary initiative in memory of Drusus the Elder who died in 9 BC, argued that the couple Tiberius-Drusus was pre-eminent until the retirement of Tiberius in 6 B.C., so that Augustus would have been forced to choose Gaius and Lucius Caesar to succeed him.⁶² It must nonetheless be noted that before his death, Marcellus was Augustus' favourite – though never designated as successor nor adopted, very likely on

⁵⁸ Tac. *ann.* 1,53,1. Julia married Tiberius in 11 BC. For *impar* referring to *genus* cf. *ThLL*, s.v., 519, ll. 43–77.

⁵⁹ Levick (above n. 44) 37–39.

⁶⁰ B. A. Buxton – R. Hannah, "OGIS 458, the Augustan Calendar, and the Succession", in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 12, Bruxelles 2005, 290–306.

⁶¹ Plut. *Ant.* 87,2: τὴν δὲ δευτέραν τῶν Λιβίας παίδων ἐχόντων. Cf. A. L. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire in the Age of Augustus: the Case of the Boscoreale Cups*, Berkeley 1995, 172–75. On Marcus Agrippa see R. Hanslik, *RE* IX A 1 (1961) 1226–75; D. Kienast, *DNP* 1 (1996) 294–96, esp. 295; on Marcellus cf. A. Gaheis, *RE* III 2 (1899) 2764–70; *PIR*² C 925; W. Eck, *DNP* 3 (1997) 18.

⁶² Kuttner (above n. 61) 182–83. On Drusus the Elder cf. A. Stein, *RE* III 2 (1899) 2703–19; *PIR*² C 857; D. Kienast, *DNP* 3 (1997) 15f.

account of his untimely death –,⁶³ and this highlights the role of Julia the Elder. Once again, we deal with a matter of primacy of family blood. The position of Tiberius and Drusus the Elder may well have been prominent between 23 and 20 BC, but what happened in 21, when Julia married Agrippa, and particularly from 20 onwards shows that it was secondary in Augustus' designs. While Kuttner thinks that the marriage of Tiberius to Julia in 12 BC, after Agrippa's death, made Tiberius the heir apparent of Augustus just as he would have been after Marcellus' death,⁶⁴ she does not seem to consider one key-aspect, i.e. that the newly married couple had no children, except for one who unfortunately died in infancy.⁶⁵ Julia, instead, bore five children to Agrippa: Gaius and Lucius Caesar, Agrippa Postumus, Julia the Younger and Agrippina the Elder. Tiberius actually had a son, Drusus the Younger, by his beloved former wife Vipsania Agrippina the year before his second marriage (13 BC).⁶⁶ Despite their common Julio-Claudian 'royalty', what happened in subsequent years shows that they both acted as separate players within the *domus Augusta*.

Beth Severy assumed that Augustus did not establish a succession plan until the adulthood of Gaius Caesar in 5 BC and of Lucius in 2 BC, which coincided with Augustus' title of *Pater Patriae*.⁶⁷ In her opinion, however, he never really wanted to choose a single heir as long as there were more powerful men in the house he dominated: hence Ernst Kornemann's model of the couples system which has been revived by Frédéric Hurlet – Marcellus-Tiberius, Tiberius-Drusus the Elder, Gaius-Lucius Caesar, Tiberius-Agrippa Postumus –, where one controlled the other.⁶⁸ It is very likely that Augustus developed his 'monarchy' over

⁶³ B. Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, New York – London 2003, 68f.

⁶⁴ Kuttner (above n. 61), 186.

⁶⁵ Suet. *Tib.* 7,3.

⁶⁶ Cf. Severy (above n. 63) 67. Had he lived enough, Agrippa might have certainly acted as tutor of his children until their coming of age (cf. 71f.). For Agrippa Postumus, cf. D. Kienast, *DNP* 1 (1996) 296; for Julia the Younger, *PIR*² I 635; W. Eck, *DNP* 6 (1999) 3; for Agrippina the Elder, *PFOS* 812; D. Kienast, *DNP* 1 (1996) 297f.; for Vipsania, *PFOS* 811; D. Kienast, *DNP* 1 (1996) 297.

⁶⁷ Cf. M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria Principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums*, Heidelberg 1999, 35–40, who elaborates on the contemporary, highly significant dedication of the temple of Mars Ultor involving Gaius and Lucius Caesar.

⁶⁸ E. Kornemann, *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum*, Leipzig – Berlin 1930; Severy (above n. 63) 70, 72 (cf. 72–77 on Augustan coins struck between 19 and 13 BC as part of the development of the *domus principis* ideology), 158–87. See also Sidari

the years, but it seems certain that the process had already come to an end with the adoption of Gaius and Lucius Caesar in 17 BC, a crucial year in the Augustan Principate in ideological terms, as it also coincided with the celebration of the *Ludi Saeculares*.⁶⁹ Moreover, in the previous year Augustus enacted his marriage laws, which constituted another pivotal event in the ideological definition of his Principate.⁷⁰ In such a context, the *kallitekno*s Julia the Elder was of course a model of Roman matron, in addition to her privileged position as daughter of Augustus.⁷¹ Suetonius tells us how Augustus held the children in special consideration, which implies their early prominence – since the adoption in 17 BC.⁷² The marriage between Julia and Tiberius in 12 did not change this, as proved by the adoption of Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus only after Gaius Caesar's death in AD 4.⁷³ Tiberius' withdrawal to Rhodes in itself provides us with further proof of Gaius' primacy: Julia was perfectly within a succession plan as the daughter of Augustus who had given birth to two sons being close to come of age, and indeed her banishment in 2 BC did not change things.⁷⁴ The mother of Tiberius, and wife of Augustus Livia Drusilla could do nothing to support his son at this stage.⁷⁵ Tiberius must have been humiliated by his wife (cf. the *impar* affair above) and frustrated by Gaius' position. Things changed once he was the only one left.

Under the Tiberian Principate, events somehow repeated themselves. The deaths of Germanicus (AD 19), whom Tiberius had adopted in AD 4, and his son Drusus the Younger (AD 23) generated confusion within the *domus Augusta*. When Velleius published his work in AD 30, the house had just experienced the

(above n. 44) 275–84; Hurlet (above n. 19).

⁶⁹ Cf. P. Southern, *Augustus*, New York – London 1998, 137, 153; and Spannagel 1999, 79–85 on the possibility that the adoption influenced Augustus' urban architecture programme.

⁷⁰ *Leges Iuliae de adulteriis coercendis* and *de maritandis ordinibus*: Dio 54,16,1f.; Dig. 4,4,37 (Tryphoninus), 48,2,3 (Paulus), 48,5 (Ulpianus et al.).

⁷¹ For Julia as *kallitekno*s see I. Priene, 225. Cf. K. Galinsky, *Philologus* 125 (1981) 126–44; A. L. Morelli, "Il ruolo della *mater* come simbolo di continuità nella moneta romana", in M. G. Angeli Bertinelli – A. Donati (eds.), *Misurare il tempo, misurare lo spazio. Atti del colloquio AIEGL-Borghesi 2005*, Faenza 2006, 55–77; M. Kajava, *Arctos* 42 (2008) 69–76, esp. 69–71.

⁷² Suet. *Aug.* 64, 93; *Tib.* 11–13.

⁷³ *CIL* I², p. 68.

⁷⁴ On Julia the Younger's banishment see B. Levick, *Latomus* 35 (1976) 301–39; W. K. Lacey, *Antichthon* 14 (1980) 127–42.

⁷⁵ General references at L. Ollendorff, *RE* XIII 1 (1926) 900–24; *PIR*² L 301; H. Stegmann, *DNP* 7 (1999) 366f.

death of Livia (29)⁷⁶ and the banishment (soon after) of Agrippina the Elder, widow of Germanicus and mother of six children, of whom three were sons (Nero and Drusus Caesar, and Caligula) and three daughters (Agrippina the Younger, Julia Drusilla, and Julia Livilla). The two elder sons, Nero and Drusus, followed Agrippina in exile, the former immediately alongside his mother in 29 as *hostis publicus*, the latter in 30.⁷⁷ Drusus the Younger had left one living child, Tiberius Gemellus (born in A.D. 19 or 20) and one daughter, Julia.⁷⁸ At this stage, the only mature and powerful man in Rome was an 'upstart', Sejanus the praetorian prefect of equestrian origin from the Etruscan city of Volsinii, whom Velleius praises with exceptional emphasis near the end of his work.⁷⁹ Sejanus was about to be accepted into the imperial family, if Jane Bellemore is right in arguing that he married Livilla, perhaps the former wife of Gaius Caesar and widow of Drusus the Younger, early in AD 31 when he entered upon his office as consul.⁸⁰ That would make Sejanus a perfect tutor for Tiberius Gemellus, and potentially a prospective *princeps*.⁸¹ On the other side of the *domus principis*, among the sons of

⁷⁶ Vell. 2,130,4; Tac. *ann.* 5,1f.; Dio 58,2,1–6.

⁷⁷ Tac. *ann.* 5,3,2 (cf. 6,25,2); 6,23,2. Suet. *Tib.* 53f., 65; *Cal.* 7. Dio 58,3,6–9. Cf. M. Pani, *Comitia e senato: sulla trasformazione della procedura elettorale a Roma nell'età di Tiberio*, Bari 1974, 113f.; Id., *QS* 5 (1977) 135–46, esp. 135–37. As for Nero, cf. V. Gardthausen, *RE* X 1 (1917) 473–75; *PIR*² I 223; W. Eck, *DNP* (1999) 30f.; for Drusus, V. Gardthausen, *RE* X 1 (1917) 434f.; *PIR*² I 220; W. Eck, *DNP* 3 (1997) 826f.; for Caligula, M. Gelzer, *RE* X 1 (1917) 381–423; *PIR*² I 217; W. Eck, *DNP* 2 (1997) 937–39; for Agrippina the Younger, *PIR*² I 641; W. Eck, *DNP* 1 (1996) 298; for Julia Drusilla, *PIR*² I 664; W. Eck, *DNP* 6 (1999) 5; for Julia Livilla, *PIR*² I 674; R. Hanslik, *DNP* 1 (1999) 368.

⁷⁸ Suet. *Cal.* 15,2; Dio 59,8,1. As for Tiberius Gemellus, whose twin brother Germanicus (?) died in 23, cf. V. Gardthausen, *RE* X 1 (1917) 536f.; *PIR*² I 226; for Julia, *PIR*² I 636; *PFOS* 422.

⁷⁹ Vell. 2,127f. Basic references at P. von Rohden, *RE* I (1893) 529–31; *PIR*² A 255; W. Eck, *DNP* 1 (1996) 173f. See also below n. 81.

⁸⁰ J. Bellemore, *ZPE* 109 (1995) 255–66. Differently Dio 58,3,9. See M.-P. Arnaud-Lindet, *RD* 58 (1980) 411–22. Cf. also G. V. Sumner, *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 134–45, esp. 144; Sidari (above n. 44) 199. General references about Livilla at L. Ollendorff, *RE* XIII 1 (1926) 924–27; *PIR*² L 303; R. Hanslik – H. Stegmann, *DNP* 7 (1999) 368.

⁸¹ Severy (above n. 63) 71, notes this possibility in the case of Marcus Agrippa if Augustus had died before the adulthood of Gaius and Lucius Caesar. Cf. earlier A. Garzetti, *L'impero da Tiberio agli Antonini*, Bologna 1960, 56; H. W. Bird, *Latomus* 28 (1969) 61–98, esp. 84–87. On Sejanus' ideological programme see A. Birley, "Sejanus: His Fall", in N. Sekunda (ed.), *Corolla Cosmo Rodewald*, Gdansk 2007, 121–50; A. Pistellato, "Seiano, Servio Tullio e la Fortuna. Note a *CIL* VI 10213", in G. Cresci Marrone – A. Pistellato (eds.), *Studi in ricordo di Fulvio-mario Broilo, Atti del Convegno di studi, Venezia 14–15 ottobre 2005*, Padova 2007, 487–512;

Germanicus, Caligula (born in AD 12) was the sole one left,⁸² though protected by his grandmother Antonia, the widow of Drusus the Elder and mother of Germanicus.⁸³

Such was the situation of the house in the turbulent years between the second half of the Twenties and the beginning of the Thirties AD.⁸⁴ The Julio-Claudian *domus* was torn in family lines disputing for succession again. In this respect it must be noted that the entire line starting from Julia the Elder now risked to be the loser in the game, to the advantage of Tiberius, whose – and whose family's – legitimacy had been repeatedly called into question by Agrippina the Elder and her supporters.⁸⁵ Without any experienced candidates ready to succeed him – his direct grandson Tiberius Gemellus being only a child, and his adopted grandson Caligula still being a teenager – Tiberius may have been in doubt whether to choose his own line or Germanicus' in view of the accession to power. As noted, indeed, Augustus' will would have privileged the latter, whereas Tiberius would have very much preferred his own family to continue holding power in Rome. Apart from the fact that Tiberius had been formally adopted by Augustus, and Germanicus had been formally adopted by Tiberius as well – both being practically members of the same large *domus* –, the difference here between form and substance must be stressed.

In historiographical terms, Velleius may be regarded as a witness to such a state of affairs. This is reflected by Velleius' sharp treatment of the players within the imperial house, dead or alive. He draws a sort of family tree including the 'wrong' members of the *domus principis*, i.e. all those not related to Tiberius' family directly in terms of blood. Julia the Elder is obviously harshly blamed together with her lover Iullus Antonius, as well as Agrippa Postumus; Germanicus is only very briefly described if one considers his prestige, whereas Agrippina

E. Champlin, *Chiron* 42 (2012) 361–88.

⁸² Suet. *Cal.* 8,1.

⁸³ Cf. N. Kokkinos, *Antonia Augusta. Portrait of a Great Roman Lady*, London – New York 1992, 25. Further references at P. von Rohden, *RE* I 2 (1894) 2640f.; *PIR*² A 885; H. Stegmann, *DNP* 1 (1996) 800f.

⁸⁴ Cf. O. Devillers – F. Hurlet, "La portée des impostures dans les Annales de Tacite: la légitimité impériale à l'épreuve", in M. A. Giua (ed.), *Ripensando Tacito (e Ronald Syme). Storia e storiografia. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Firenze, 30 novembre – 1 dicembre 2006)*, Pisa 2007, 133–51, esp. 147–49.

⁸⁵ Cf. the information, either explicit or implicit, provided by Tac. *ann.* 1,33,3; 41,2; 69; 2,43,5f.; 71,4; 75,1; 3,4,1; 4,12,2f.; 13,3; 17,1–3; 52,2f.; 54,1f.; 60,2f.; 67,3f.; 68,1; 6,51; Suet. *Tib.* 52f. See Pani (above n. 22), 71ff.

the Elder is not even mentioned, though severely alluded to.⁸⁶ Antonia, interestingly enough, is never quoted. The memory of Gaius Caesar in itself is therefore designed in accordance with the atmosphere of AD 30. Separation between two blood lines formally unified for the 'dynastic' sake was clearly perceived in Rome, as the events of the Twenties AD show. In this sense, Gaius Caesar had been an eminent member of just the wrong family branch, the one which in AD 30 might seem succumbent, at least before the rise of Caligula. Velleius knew it perfectly when he published his work.

Since Velleius wishes to support Tiberius' legitimacy, i.e. the legitimacy of his family, he needs to focus on the best way to support Tiberius' pre-eminence. In this sense, to develop the memory of relatives who failed as successors of Augustus would have been a most obvious choice. I hope to have shown this through the case of Gaius Caesar. When Velleius published his work, such a state of affairs was in progress, but he had a clear view of what to write and how to write it. The memory of the deceased members of the imperial family – or politically deceased like Agrippina the Elder and her elder sons – that he constructs serves a specific purpose, which varies depending on the side of the *domus* an individual belonged to. Within such a context, the portrait of Gaius Caesar provides us with a sound picture of Velleius as a contemporary historiographer, and a sophisticated connoisseur of the Roman *status quo*.

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⁸⁶ Julia the Elder and Iullus Antonius: Vell. 2,100,3–5; Agrippa Postumus: Vell. 2,104,1 and 112,7; Germanicus: 2,125,1–3; Agrippina the Elder: Vell. 2,130,4.

**PHYSICAL AND VISUAL CHARACTERISTICS OF LATIN
BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS:
THE CASE OF NORTH AFRICA***

ARI SAASTAMOINEN

Introduction

For a long time Latin epigraphy was regarded as an auxiliary science whose principal or even only task was to provide well-edited documents to be used as evidence by classical historians.¹ As epigraphy gradually became an independent discipline, interest in inscriptions themselves increased and many new questions started to be posed. This increasing attention is indicated by the many scholars who have examined lapidary inscriptions as material or visual objects. Di Stefano Manzella, Donati, Panciera and Susini have studied the functioning of stone-

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¹ For the traditional view, see, e.g., P. Harvey, *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature*, 1937 (reprinted as late as 1989), 164: "§ 6. Utility of Latin inscriptions. Latin inscriptions ... are of great value to the historian as a supplement to the limited literary sources" and A. Gordon – J. Gordon, *Contributions to the Palaeography of Latin Inscriptions*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 1957, 65: "Epigraphists ... concentrate on the deciphering and elucidating of the contents of the pieces studied, and their interest in the writing – and ours too – is limited, in the main, to the contribution it can make to an understanding of the text."

cutters' shops,² Prag, Pensabene and Gordon inscriptional materials,³ Corbier, Derks and Zimmer the placement of inscriptions in the public space,⁴ Buonopane, Gordon, Grasby, Kruschwitz, Mallon, Panciera, Priuli, Sartori, and Sertã the *ordinatio* of inscriptions and their visual outlook,⁵ Petrucci the relationship between

² I. Di Stefano Manzella, "Esercitazioni scrittorie di antichi marmorari", *Epigraphica* 43 (1981) 39–44; A. Donati, *Tecnica e cultura dell'officina epigrafica brundisina*, Faenza 1969; S. Panciera, "La produzione epigrafica di Roma in età repubblicana. Le officine lapidarie", in H. Solin – O. Salomies – U.-M. Liertz (eds.), *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae* 3.–6. Sept. 1991 *habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 319–42; Id. "La produzione epigrafica di Roma in età repubblicana: le officine lapidarie, II: nascita e sviluppo del sistema abbreviativo", in S. Demougin – J. Scheid (eds.), *Colons et colonies dans le monde romain*, Rome 2012, 359–85; G. Susini, *Il lapicida romano. Introduzione all'epigrafia latina*, Bologna 1966.

³ J. R. W. Prag, "Epigraphy by numbers: Latin and the epigraphic culture in Sicily", in A. E. Cooley (ed.), *Becoming Roman, Writing Latin. Literacy and Epigraphy in the Roman West*, Portsmouth 2002, 15–31 (analyses all Punic, Greek, and Latin inscriptions found in Sicily, their temporal and geographical distribution, types and materials used); P. Pensabene, *Marmi antichi: problemi d'impiego, di restauro e d'identificazione*, Roma 1985; Id., *Marmi antichi II: cave e tecnica di lavorazione, provenienze e distribuzione*, Roma 1998; A. Gordon, *Epigraphica. 2: On marble as a criterion for dating Republican Latin Inscriptions*, Berkeley 1936. For marbles in general, cf. J. C. Fant (ed.), *Ancient Marble. Quarrying and Trade*, Oxford 1988; R. Gnoli, *Marmora romana*, Roma 1971 that also discusses – despite its name – other polishable types of stones (e.g. porphyry) as well; cf. N. Herz – M. Waelkens, *Classical Marble: Geochemistry, Technology, Trade*, Dordrecht 1988.

⁴ M. Corbier, *Donner à voir, donner à lire. Mémoire et communication dans la Rome ancienne*, Paris 2006; T. Derks, "The perception of the Roman pantheon by a native élite: the example of votive inscriptions from Lower Germany", in N. Roymans – F. Theuws (eds.), *Images of the Past. Studies on Ancient Societies in Northwestern Europe*, Amsterdam 1991, 235–65; G. Zimmer, *Locus datus decreto decurionum. Zur Statuenaufstellung zweier Forumsanlagen im römischen Afrika. Mit epigraphischen Beiträgen von Gabriele Wesch-Klein*, München 1989.

⁵ A. Buonopane, "Un caso di *ordinatio* graffita in una iscrizione funeraria atestina (SupplIt, 537)", *Epigraphica* 50 (1988) 226–34; A. Gordon – J. Gordon (above n. 1); R. Grasby, "A comparative study of five Latin inscriptions: measurement and making", *PBSR* 64 (1996) 95–138; Id. "Latin inscriptions: studies in measurement and making", *PBSR* 70 (2002) 151–76; Id. "Processes in the Making of Latin Inscriptions", a poster at the *Thirteenth International Congress of Greek and Roman Epigraphy*, <http://ciegl.classics.ox.ac.uk/html/posters.shtml> (Grasby has interesting ideas on the methods of carving of the inscriptions based on practical exercises but ignores practically all earlier scholarship; moreover, even if his hypotheses were correct, they can be applied to very few inscriptions); P. Kruschwitz, "Patterns of text layout in Pompeian verse inscriptions", *SPhV* 11 (2008) 225–64; J. Mallon, *Paléographie romaine*, Madrid 1952; S. Panciera, "La genesi dei documenti epigrafici secondo Mallon. A proposito di una nuova iscrizione metrica", *RAL*, ser. VIII, 22 (1967) 100–08, esp. 100–05 (now published with bibliographical addenda as "Dalla minuta all'incisione. Una nuova iscrizione metrica dall'Agro Pontino", in S. Panciera, *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti. Scritti vari editi e inediti*

epigraphy and palaeography,⁶ and Manacorda and Oliver special characters.⁷

These materialistic or visual approaches have been given impetus by the rapidly increasing digitalization of scientific data that has revolutionized the field of Latin epigraphy during the past two decades.⁸ Several on-line databases have brought practically the whole corpus of Latin inscriptions within reach of everyone who has the access to the Internet.⁹ The ever-growing number of easily accessible digital photographs of inscriptions combined with evolved standards of editing¹⁰ mean that inscriptions can be much more easily analysed as visual

(1956–2005) con note complementari e indici II, Roma 2006, 1809–15); S. Priuli, "Una lapide sepolcrale di Roma con iscrizione incisa nel recto e minuta dello stesso testo graffita nel verso", *Epigraphica* 46 (1984) 49–63; A. Sartori, "L'impaginazione delle iscrizioni", in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.–6. Sept. 1991 habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 183–200; Id., "L'eloquenza del monumento, l'appariscenza dell'iscrizione", in M. Mayer i Olivé – G. Baratta – A. Guzmán Almagro (eds.), *Acta XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae. Barcelona, 3–8 Septembris 2002*, Barcelona 2007, 1303–08; C. Sertã, "Le tombe a schola di Mamia e di Marcus Alleius a Pompei", *Epigraphica* 58 (1996) 131–39.

6 A. Petrucci, "Epigrafia e paleografia. Inchiesta sui rapporti fra due discipline", *Scrittura e civiltà* 5 (1981) 265–315 (an interview of R. Favreau, M. Guarducci, J. Mallon, S. Panciera, A. Prosdocimi, G. Scalia, H. Solin, G. Susini).

7 D. Manacorda, "Ex ascia", *AC* 24 (1972) 346–52; R. Oliver, "The Claudian Letter †", *AJA* 53 (1949) 249–57.

8 For more on this theme, see J. Bodet, "Latin Epigraphy and the IT revolution", in J. Davies – J. Wilkes (eds.), *Epigraphy and the Historical Sciences*, Oxford 2012, 275–96 who also discusses new methods for reading worn stones; in the same congress another, promising method was introduced, see a poster by A. Barmpoutis – E. Bozia – R. Wagman: <http://ciegl.classics.ox.ac.uk>

9 The four most important databases for the present study are *Epigraphik-Datenbank Claus/Slaby EDCS Online* (<http://www.manfredclauss.de>); *Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg EDH* (<http://www.epigraphische-datenbank-heidelberg.de>); *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (<http://irt.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/>) and *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum database* (http://cil.bbaw.de/cil_en/index_en.html) (the last mentioned now offers facsimile versions of all earlier editions of *CIL* in PDF-format). For a theoretical discussion, see F. Feraudi-Gruénais, *Latin on Stone: Epigraphic Research and Electronic Archives*, Lanham 2010. For practical applications of these new possibilities, see a poster by A. Felle, "La documentazione epigrafica della catacomba di Domitilla a Roma alla luce dell'*Epigraphic Database Bari*: nuovi elementi di riflessione", <http://ciegl.classics.ox.ac.uk>

10 There are two essential improvements: first, most inscriptions are now published with photographs and with detailed descriptions of their outward aspect; secondly, the introductory chapters of many epigraphic corpora discuss some aspects related to the outward appearance of inscriptions. An excellent example of the former is *Uchi Maius 2. Le iscrizioni*, a cura di A. Ibba, Sassari 2006, where a description of an inscription that was presented in a half page

and physical objects¹¹ and that such analyses can cover much larger masses of data than was previously possible.¹² Accordingly, the present study has benefited greatly from numerous photographs that are now available in Internet databases; the analysed material in this study has also been recorded in a database of its own. The database format made statistical calculations easy to execute, and it also offers readers the possibility both for easy verification of those calculations and for carrying out further research.¹³

The present article analyses visual and physical aspects of Latin building inscriptions. Although this theme has so far been ignored in the scholarly research, building inscriptions are ideally suited to this kind of investigation. Like honorary inscriptions, they were prestigious public documents and usually carefully composed and skilfully carved.¹⁴

I will focus on material found in Northwest Africa, as this area is one of the richest in Latin building inscriptions and Latin inscriptions in general in the the Roman world.¹⁵ My sample is a collection of 1002 building inscriptions from Roman North Africa the diction of which I analysed in my Ph.D. thesis.¹⁶ For

in *CIL* may take over ten pages. As for the latter, see, for example, M. Khanoussi – L. Maurin (eds.), *Mourir à Dougga. Recueil des inscriptions funéraires*, Bordeaux – Tunis 2002, especially chapter 2, "Le support", pp. 44–60 and chapter 3, "Écriture et mise en page", pp. 60–76.

¹¹ Cf. also an Internet article "Worth a thousand words: A new approach to the development of monumental inscriptions at Ephesus during the early Imperial period" by A. Graham (see http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/classics/staff/graham/rae_article-finalversionult.pdf), 2. The advantages of the databases are not limited to the availability of the texts and photographs, of course; they have immensely facilitated the sorting and comparing of inscriptions. Now the formerly arduous task of identifying an inscription or a fragment of an inscription can be done in minutes; similar inscriptions can be rapidly collected and compared to find parallels and consequently more reliable restorations for fragmented texts.

¹² Cf. the difficulties encountered e.g. by A. Gordon – J. Gordon (above n. 1), 65 and I. Di Stefano Manzella, "Problemi di paleografia epigrafica latina", in *Acta Colloquii Epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.–6. Sept. 1991 habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 163; cf. also Graham (above n. 11), 2.

¹³ All the data collected for this paper is published in a searchable Internet database created by me, see <https://sites.google.com/site/africanbuildinginscriptionsdb>

¹⁴ A. Saastamoinen, *The Phraseology of Latin Building Inscriptions in Roman North Africa*, Helsinki 2010, 15.

¹⁵ African Latin building inscriptions also seem to represent a separate regional tradition, at least as far as Italy is concerned. See, for example, A. Saastamoinen, "On the Local Characteristics of Latin Building Inscriptions in Roman North Africa", *AfrRom* 16 (2006) 1891–906.

¹⁶ Saastamoinen (above n. 14). The descriptions and measurements of the monuments are mostly given according to the publication that I used as a principal source in my thesis. For

this study, I will compare the African material with inscriptions collected and analysed by the Gordons.¹⁷ Their collection comprises all kinds of texts, but does include also a number of building inscriptions from Rome and its environs and has the advantage of furnishing exact details on the archaeological aspects of inscriptions.

In this article, I will discuss several key elements of the physical presentation and appearance of these inscriptions. I will start by discussing the types of supports (architraves, panels, slabs etc.) and their material (various types of rock). Then I will analyse the measurements of supports and their letters, paying particular attention to possible interdependencies between types of supports and the letter sizes of their inscriptions.

I am not going to discuss the various letter forms, special characters or interpuncts. Few epigraphic publications provide photographs or precise descriptions of the letter forms of *all* inscriptions included. Besides, there are numerous palaeographic studies devoted to various character sets and individual letter forms in general and to special characters or forms of interpuncts in particular. I will also pass over the spacing of the letters and their module (the width compared with height) as these measures are hardly ever recorded in epigraphic publications.

This same factor, insufficiently recorded data, has also complicated the analysis in a more general manner. Many analysed inscriptions originally appeared in old epigraphic publications that focused mainly on inscriptions as texts.¹⁸ Consequently, they were published without photographs and their verbal

example, inscription number 317 in the appendix of my thesis (p. 447) was based on *ILAlg.* II 7751 and the description of the monument is based on that same source. Exceptions are, however, the cases where I have found out that data offered by an older publication seem to be more accurate. For example, inscription number 16 in the appendix of my thesis (p. 407) was edited according to *ILPBardo* 2, 7 but the letter sizes are certainly incorrectly recorded there (10 cm throughout): the photograph shows that the first line is clearly taller than the rest. Thus, I have employed the measurements given by *IL Afr.* 353: 15.5–9 cm.

¹⁷ A. Gordon – J. Gordon (above n. 1).

¹⁸ The most important collection is by far *CIL* VIII. I have used it as the principal source for 408 inscriptions (41 per cent of the total), and the majority of those inscriptions have not been republished in collections or databases that would offer more information on their visual or physical aspects. Naturally, I have tried to add missing details by using my own photos; but few of the inscriptions can actually be seen today. They were found in no less than three hundred sites scattered all around northwestern Africa and have frequently been removed to other locations after their discovery. That alone makes the personal inspection of all inscriptions concerned a Herculean task while the subsequent disappearance of many, perhaps most

descriptions are meagre. Although many of those inscriptions are now republished with photographs in Internet databases, not all of them are; moreover, the original insufficient descriptions are only seldom updated with new information.

In the case of older issues of *AE*, the descriptions of supports are almost always missing and the original publications might be impossible to find or are almost as defective as the *AE* entries themselves.¹⁹ In *CIL*, the situation is slightly better, but descriptions are never comprehensive. The descriptions in both publications are not only marred by missing information (for example, the letter type, the size of the epigraphic field or the depth of the support are hardly ever recorded) but also by imprecision: different types of rock are seldom distinguished (they are just "lapis" or "pierre"), the types of the support are not characterized (they too are "lapis" or "pierre"), or, if they are, the description can be ambiguous. For example, in *CIL* the word 'epistylum' can denote a frieze, an entire entablature or, occasionally, a lintel.²⁰ Thus, the reader should bear in mind that the information on which this article is based is incomplete and should be cautious when using it as a basis for statistics.

1. The types of supports

The majority of carriers of inscriptions (that is, the supports on which inscriptions were carved) are known and recorded. When the 354 undefined cases (the

of the inscriptions turns it into a completely impossible one. This disappearance is occasionally recorded already in *CIL*. See, for example, the commentary on *CIL* VIII 993: "Ego frustra quaesivi: ex marmore nuper calcem factam esse mihi dixerunt incolae oppidi."

¹⁹ To give just one example: neither *AE* 1899, 216 nor *AE* 1898, 50 describe the monument at all; they are based on *RSAC* 32 (1898) 375 no. 20 which records only the find spot and the type of rock (limestone).

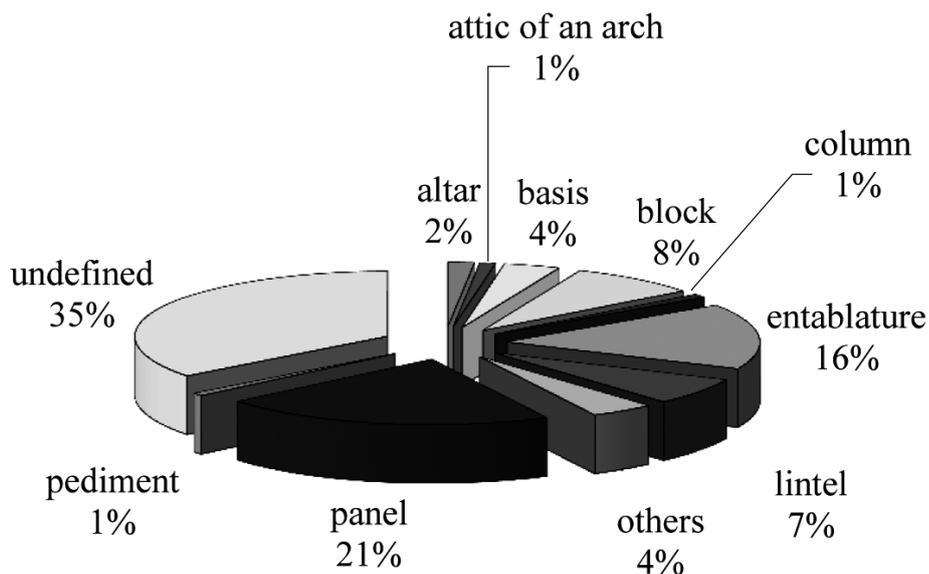
²⁰ The vagueness in *CIL* is sometimes due to the fact that several inscriptions published in it were already lost and their presentation had to be based on very defective descriptions given by early travellers (for example, the text and the description of the monument in *CIL* VIII 501 is based solely on G. T. Temple, *Excursions in the Mediterranean. Algiers and Tunis*, London 1835, 221, 328). This is not the whole truth, however. I have found out that the editors of *CIL* occasionally omitted details concerning the visual appearance of a given inscription even when those details were already recorded in the publication on which they based their description. Thus, an inscription published in *RevAfr* 11 (1867) 315–16 was republished in *CIL* VIII 8375 with the following changes and omissions: the letter size was given only approximately, the type of support was not specified, the type of rock was not specified and the mention of frames was omitted.

support is either not mentioned or characterized vaguely as "stone") are removed, the remaining 648 cases can be divided into 27 different types.²¹ Only ten types are attested seven or more times. These types are represented in Chart 1 below. Among these ten types there are four that are far more common than the others: panels, blocks, entablatures, and lintels.

The most frequently attested type by far is a panel (slab).²² It is recorded 214 times, that is, 33 per cent of recorded supports are panels. Their temporal spread is as follows: the first century BC: one case; the first century AD: eight cases; the second century: 80 cases; the third century: 48 cases; the fourth and fifth centuries: 47 cases (a remarkably large share as compared with the other types of the period); thirty cases are undatable.

The original placement of these panels varied but is known only rarely: for example, one was placed over a gate of a fortress²³ and some others on a stone base of a ponderarium.²⁴

Chart 1: Types of support



²¹ They are: altar, attic of an arch, basis, bench, block, capital, cippus, column, doorsill, entablature, jamb, keystone, lintel, monument, mosaic floor, panel, part of the edge of a manhole in a cistern, pavement, pediment, pier, pillar, rim of a cistern, rock, semicircular recess, stele, stone counters and stones forming arches.

²² This preference is no African speciality but holds true of Roman building inscriptions in general. See O. Salomies, "Some Observations on Consular Dating in Roman Inscriptions of the Empire", in *Acta colloquii epigraphici Latini Helsingiae 3.–6. Sept. 1991 habiti*, Helsinki 1995, 276.

²³ *AE* 1942–43, 81. The letter size is rather small considering the elevated placement: 6.5 cm.

²⁴ *ILAlg.* II 7938. The letters are much taller than they were in the previous case although the inscription was placed near the ground: 13.5–11.5 cm.

The block is attested in 82 cases, which makes it the third most common type.²⁵ 13 per cent of recorded supports are blocks and their temporal spread is as follows: the first century BC: five cases (a large number considering that only seven examples survive from this period); the first century AD: 16 cases; the second century: 24 cases; the third century: 13 cases; the fourth and fifth centuries: four cases; 20 cases are undatable.²⁶

As was the case with panels, the exact original placement of blocks is rarely known.²⁷ One exception comes from the circus in Thugga: the inscribed blocks were fixed on an outside wall of a semicircular structure that was employed as the western *meta*.²⁸

In the epigraphic publications, the inscribed elements of entablatures are variously named: architrave, entablement, epistylum, frise, frise architravée, linteau, etc. These terms are not employed systematically. For example, 'architrave' is an ambiguous term in itself; the general meaning of it is the epistyle, i.e. any horizontal element spanning the interval between two columns while the more restricted one refers to the lowest member of an entablature, under the frieze. Although the latter surfaces were seldom carved, there are exceptions.²⁹ The term 'frise' may well describe a stone that either combines architrave and frieze or architrave, frieze and cornice and the exact terms are 'frise architravée' and 'entablement', respectively;³⁰ 'entablement', in its turn, can be used to refer to a mere 'architrave' or 'frise' and so on.³¹ I decided to group under the term 'entablature' all inscribed stones that were placed on the entablature no matter how they were identified in their epigraphic publications. I tried, however, to separate 'entablature' from 'lintel', that is, the upper horizontal part of a door or window frame.³²

²⁵ I have only counted blocks that do not form part of a larger architectonic element (e.g. architrave). Thus, for instance, *AE* 1997, 1663a, the text of which is carved on four opisthographic entablature blocks is analysed as an entablature.

²⁶ If one compares this set of statistics with that of panels, one gets the impression that after a strong start the blocks declined in popularity, while panels gradually became more common.

²⁷ This is, of course, partly due to my decision to discuss architrave blocks etc. separately.

²⁸ *CIL* VIII 26549.

²⁹ See, for example, *AE* 1997, 1673.

³⁰ See, for example, the descriptions in *AE* 2005, 1689 and in *ILAlg.* II 7929–7930.

³¹ See, for instance, the description in *DouggaFrag* 27 = M. Khanoussi – L. Maurin (eds), *Dougga, fragments d'histoire. Choix d'inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées (Ier–IVe siècles)*, Bordeaux – Tunis 2000.

³² This was complicated, because complete entablatures, all parts of entablatures and also all

If three uncertain cases are taken into account, 164 cases can be classified as entablatures. Their share of recorded supports is 25 per cent, which makes them the second most common type. Their temporal spread runs as follows: the first century BC: no cases; the first century AD: three cases; the second century: 66 cases; the third century: 62 cases; the fourth and fifth centuries: 20 cases; 13 cases cannot be dated.

I have classified 67 supports as lintels. Their temporal spread is surprisingly even, if the unrepresented first century BC is not taken into account: the first century AD: 14 cases; the second century: 18 cases; the third century: 12 cases; the fourth and fifth centuries: 10 cases; 13 cases cannot be dated.

Thus, these four types – panels, blocks, entablatures and lintels – form the bulk of the building inscriptions as their combined share shows: 81 per cent. Not all building inscriptions were carved on the building itself, however, and there is a small but interesting group of free-standing decorative monuments: altars, bases, cippi and stelae. Their mutual shares are surprising: it is the base that is the most common type by far (37 cases).³³ If the number of altars is less than half of that (17 cases),³⁴ the remaining types are restricted to scattered attestations: five stelae and just two cippi. This dominance of bases over the other types is difficult

lintels are called "epistylia" in *CIL*. For example, in *CIL* VIII 26512 the whole description of the monument runs: "epistylum altum m. 0.12, longum m. 0.94, litteris cm. 4½. Thuggae rep. à l'est du Capitole, ibi fere ubi n. 26482 seq." Due to the small size of the monument, I have classified it as a lintel. Another example is *CIL* VIII 23876. In *CIL*, it is described as "epistylum", but which one is it, a large lintel or a small architrave? Perhaps the latter, because the text is quite long and detailed and starts with the *pro salute* formula. The inscriptions on lintels are typically shortened versions of the principal building inscription and they focus on the personality of the builder. See, for example, *ILAfr*: 553, which was carved on the lintel over the gate of the middle cella in the temple of Tellus, the building project of which was recorded in detail in *ILAfr*: 530. For more on secondary inscriptions, see Saastamoinen (above n. 14), 68–69.

³³ The temporal spread of bases is: the first century BC: no cases; the first century AD: one case; the second century: 11 cases; the third century: 14 cases; the fourth and fifth centuries: seven cases; four are undatable. The recorded materials are: limestone (seven cases) and marble (three cases). The smallest base has measurements (w x h x d) 56.5 x 62 x 23.5 cm (*IRT* 358) and the largest 119 x 119 x 146 cm (*IRT* 467). The smallest letters measure 2 cm (*CIL* VIII 1548 and *ILAlg*. II 10323A) and the largest 14–5 cm (*CIL* VIII 23964).

³⁴ With one first century exception and six undatable cases altars are datable either to the second (three cases) or to the third century (seven cases). Surprisingly enough, the only recorded type of rock is limestone (six cases). Neither the sizes of altars nor their letters vary much: the smallest altar (*ILAlg*. II 6436) measures 38 x 63 x 32 cm while largest one (*AE* 1973, 646) measures 46 x 189 x 50 cm; the smallest letters (*AE* 1992, 1769) measure 3.5–1 cm and the largest (*AE* 1968, 595) 8–5 cm.

to explain, especially when one remembers that altars could be erected to commemorate the construction or repair of a secular building.³⁵

As building inscriptions were relatively rarely carved on these kinds of monuments, it would be very interesting to know how they were placed in relation to the constructed building. Sadly, but hardly unexpectedly, their exact original location is seldom known.³⁶ In addition to these, there are a few free-standing monuments from Lepcis Magna that are borderline cases as building inscriptions, as their building projects are small in scale: two benches and several stone counters.³⁷

Entablatures and lintels were by far the most common architectural elements on which building inscriptions were carved, but one can find other types as well. Most importantly, there are at least ten cases where the building inscription was carved on the attic of an honorary arch (more usually, however, building inscriptions in arches were carved on their entablatures³⁸). These ten cases form an ill-documented group concerning which not much can be said – for instance, the type of rock is recorded only once – except that five of them are datable to the second century, three to the third, and two to the fourth century.³⁹

The other architectural elements are quite varied and mostly rare: capital (one case), column (nine cases),⁴⁰ doorsill (one case), jamb (one case), keystone (one case), manhole in a cistern (one case), unidentified monument (one case),

³⁵ See, for example *IAM* 2, 824 (baths). This was noted already by Salomies (above n. 34), 276.

³⁶ There are two interesting exceptions, however: *IRT* 318 was carved on an altar erected in the orchestra in the theatre at Lepcis Magna and *ILAlg.* II 7914 on a cippus in the apse of a basilica in Cuicul where it still stands. *CIL* VIII 18328 is a base found in the forum at Lambaesis, possibly *in situ*.

³⁷ Stone counters: *IRT* 590a–d; *IRT* 590e–f; *IRT* 590g; benches: *IRT* 599a; *IRT* 599b.

³⁸ *CIL* VIII 210a; *CIL* VIII 306; *CIL* VIII 801; *CIL* VIII 1798; *CIL* VIII 2698; *CIL* VIII 4598; *CIL* VIII 11798; *CIL* VIII 11929; *CIL* VIII 15516b; *CIL* VIII 26262; *CIL* VIII 27775a–c; *IAM* 2, 390; *IAM* 2, 391; *IL Afr.* 558; *IL Alg.* I 3037; *IL Alg.* I 3038; *IL Alg.* I 3039; *ILPBardo* 227; *IRT* 232a. In addition to the previous 19 cases, there are numerous uncertain ones that are not listed here.

³⁹ See *CIL* VIII 17842; *CIL* VIII 17843; *CIL* VIII 11319; *CIL* VIII 18510; *CIL* VIII 18498; *IL Afr.* 525; *IL Alg.* II 7818; *IL Alg.* II 674; *CIL* VIII 11326; *AE* 1981, 878.

⁴⁰ Columns form a small group of monuments that either date from the first century AD (two cases) or the second century (three cases), or are undatable (four cases). The recorded materials are: limestone (two cases) and marble (one case). The only recorded measurements of a completely preserved column (*IL Alg.* I 2136) are 43 x 150 cm; the smallest letters measure 1.5 cm (*ILPBardo* 411) and the largest 7.5 cm (*IRT* 605).

pediment (seven cases), pier of arch (three cases), pillar (five cases), stones forming arches (one case), rim of cistern (one case), semicircular recess (so-called *schola*, five cases). All these types are somewhat exceptional unlike the remaining small group of inscriptions that employ standard surfaces: mosaic floor (one case), pavement (three cases), and the face of a rock (four cases).

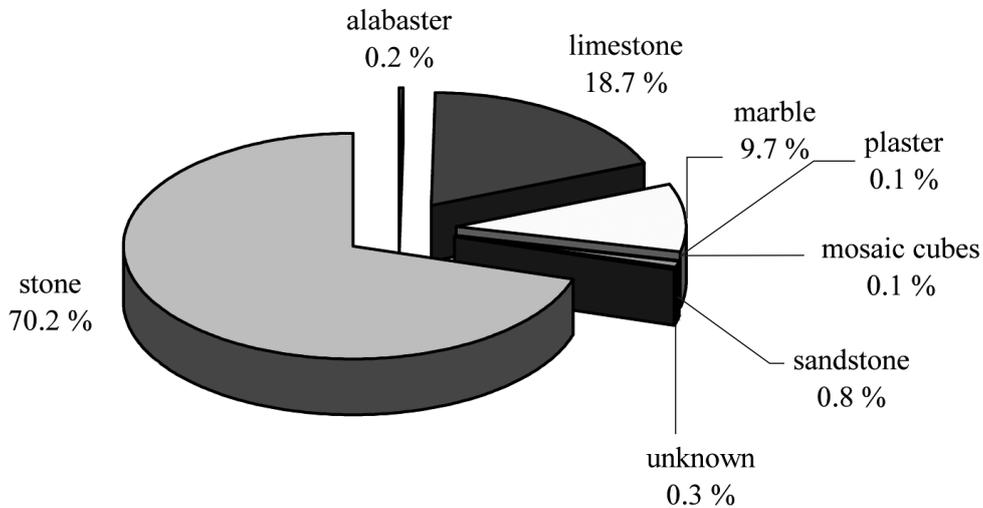
2. The material

In the majority of cases, epigraphic publications do not specify the material on which a given building inscription is carved. There are no less than 704 cases (70 per cent) where the material is either not mentioned at all or it is vaguely stated to be "stone". Among the recorded types of rock, limestone is by far the most common one: 188 cases (19 per cent). Marble holds the second place with 97 attestations (ten per cent) but sandstone is attested only sporadically, just eight instances or one per cent of the cases.⁴¹ All the other materials are very infrequently attested: alabaster twice, plaster and mosaic cubes each just once.⁴² The situation is summarized in Chart 2 below. The statistics on the provenance of different materials are quite striking. Compared to the overall distribution shown in Chart 2, Proconsularis is hugely overrepresented in the case of limestone and marble; Mauretania Tingitana is greatly overrepresented in the case of marble; Mauretania Caesariensis is underrepresented in the case of the marble and limestone; Numidia's shares are closer to the expected values but still clearly underrepresented.⁴³

⁴¹ *AE* 1955, 140; *AE* 1966, 593; *AE* 1985, 976; *AE* 1994, 1887; *CIL* VIII 12274; *ILPBardo* 21; *IRT* 319; *Libyca* 1953, 240. It might be more than a coincidence that so many of these texts originate from Mauretania Caesariensis: *AE* 1955, 140; *AE* 1966, 593; *AE* 1985, 976; *Libyca* 1953, 240.

⁴² Alabaster: *AE* 1991, 1620; *AE* 1995, 1641; plaster: *LibAnt* 1969–70, 141; mosaic cubes: *ILAlg.* II 7959.

⁴³ From Proconsularis originate 58.5 per cent of all building inscriptions, but 79 per cent of the inscriptions carved on marble and 71 per cent of the inscriptions carved on limestone; from Mauretania Tingitana come just 1.1 per cent of all building inscriptions, but five per cent of the inscriptions carved on marble and one per cent of the inscriptions carved on limestone; from Mauretania Caesariensis originate 9.4 per cent of all building inscriptions, but just two per cent of the inscriptions carved on marble and three per cent of the inscriptions carved on limestone; for Numidia the respective percentages are 30.4; 14; 25. For the numbers of inscriptions found in each province, see Saastamoinen (above n. 14), 42–43.

Chart 2: Material

These statistics are as striking as they are distorted. They result, of course, from defective information. Proconsularis and Mauretania Tingitana are over-represented simply because most of their inscriptions have been republished in modern epigraphic corpora (e.g. *IAM 2*) where the material is usually recorded; almost all of the inscriptions from Mauretania Caesariensis have only appeared in very old publications where such details are omitted; Numidia is partly covered by modern publications and is thus better represented.

The statistics on the temporal spread of these materials are more reliable, because the epigraphic corpora used as sources, both old and new, are not confined to a certain period. It must be noted, however, that the first centuries BC and AD are much better documented (57 and 80 per cent of the cases are covered) than the later periods, especially the third century AD (only 16 per cent of the known cases are either marble or limestone).⁴⁴ The reason is again the same: almost all building inscriptions before the second century AD originate from Africa Proconsularis while most of the building inscriptions found in Mauretania Caesariensis date from the third century AD. The number of examples is so high, however, that it seems likely that these statistics that are represented in the accompanying table (see Table 1 below) should reflect the historical situation that once existed. Thus, we can see that the limestone clearly dominated during the first century BC and AD, but then marble became more common and its relative share increased to 40

⁴⁴ The temporal spread of all 820 datable building inscriptions is as follows: 1st century BC, 7 inscriptions or 0.9 per cent; 1st century AD, 59 inscriptions or 7 per cent; 2nd century AD, 302 inscriptions or 37 per cent; 3rd century AD, 287 inscriptions or 35 per cent; 4th and 5th centuries AD, 165 inscriptions or 20 per cent. The remaining 182 cannot be dated within a century. See Saastamoinen (above n. 14), 30.

per cent in the second century AD. The number of examples of both marble and limestone collapses in the third century, but the relative share of marble declines much less sharply and even increases during the fourth and fifth centuries.

The panel is the only major type of support in which marble is the most frequently employed type of rock.⁴⁵ In the other three major types, blocks,⁴⁶ entablatures,⁴⁷ and lintels,⁴⁸ it is limestone that dominates. The reason for this is most probably that because marble was more expensive than limestone, it was used more often in panels where the volume of stone was smallest.

Time	Marble		Limestone	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
1 st cent. BC	1	25	3	75
1 st cent. AD	5	11	42	89
2 nd cent. AD	42	40	63	60
3 rd cent. AD	15	32	32	68
4–5 th cent. AD	15	37	26	63

Table 1: Temporal spread of marble and limestone

3. The measurements of supports and letters

Older epigraphic publications often leave out the exact measurements of supports, especially depths or any dimension whose original extent cannot be established due to the fragmented state of the stone. The width is recorded in 520 cases, the height in 637 cases, but the depth only in 270 cases. The number of

⁴⁵ The most commonly recorded material in panels is marble (68 cases), followed by limestone (57 cases), sandstone (five cases), alabaster (two cases), and plaster (one case). There are 81 unspecified cases.

⁴⁶ The most commonly recorded material in blocks is by far limestone (40 cases), marble is a distant second (only three cases) and sandstone holds third place (two cases). There are 38 unspecified cases.

⁴⁷ The most frequently recorded material in entablatures is limestone (23 cases); marble is the only other recorded type of rock (eight cases). The number of unspecified types of rock is very high, however, 133 cases, and it seems risky draw any conclusions on the material typically used in entablatures.

⁴⁸ In the case of lintels, almost the only recorded type of rock (35 cases are unspecified) is limestone (30 cases); marble is attested just twice and sandstone never.

cases where all these measurements are recorded is lower, 196; the number of completely preserved supports⁴⁹ in which all these measurements are recorded is even lower, just 74, and still lower is the number of cases that can be dated within a century, 60. That number is unfortunately too limited to allow a chronological analysis on the average development of the dimensions of supports, viz. the question of whether building inscriptions become more or less monumental with time. Nonetheless, those 74 completely preserved and three-dimensionally measured supports merit an analysis as physical objects. They form a very motley group – from panels to pillars, from altars to attics – but their measurements can still give us an idea of their limits as three-dimensional objects.⁵⁰ Here we will discuss only the four most important types: panels, blocks, entablatures, and lintels.

There are 25 completely preserved panels; their sizes and their letter dimensions differ widely. The smallest completely preserved panel measures 54 x 39 x 6.6 cm⁵¹ while the largest one has a surface over fifteen times larger with measurements of 456 x 69 x 25 cm.⁵² The largest ensemble of completely preserved and joining panels is somewhat larger still, 570 x 113 x 15 cm.⁵³ The tallest letters are 25–16 cm⁵⁴ while the shortest ones are 3.3 cm high.⁵⁵

The seventeen completely preserved blocks have much greater differences in size than the panels did. The smallest completely preserved block measures 13 x 10.5 x 6 cm⁵⁶ while the largest, slightly damaged one has a surface area almost

⁴⁹ By 'completely preserved' I mean supports which are not so damaged that the original dimensions cannot be established.

⁵⁰ The cases are listed in Appendix 1.

⁵¹ *AE* 1991, 1620. Even smaller is *AE* 1953, 153 (41 x 22 cm) but its depth is unrecorded.

⁵² *IRT* 308.

⁵³ *IRT* 347.

⁵⁴ *IRT* 308.

⁵⁵ *AE* 1985, 976. Even smaller letters are found in *ILPBardo* 408 (2–0.25 cm) but its depth is unrecorded. The letter sizes in completely preserved and measured panels are: *AE* 1985, 976: 3.3 cm; *ILAlg.* II 6225: 4–3 cm; *BCTH* 1925, 287: 4.5–2.5 cm; *IAM* 2, 404: 4.8–4 cm; *AE* 1982, 961: 5–3.5 cm; *ILPBardo* 21: 5 cm; *IRT* 895: 5.5–3.5 cm; *ILAlg.* I 2131: 5.5 cm; *ILAlg.* II 7670: 6–4 cm; *AE* 1967, 565: 6–5 cm; *AE* 1991, 1620: 6 cm; *AfrRom* 11, 1369: 6.5–5.5 cm; *CIL* VIII 17906: 6.5 cm; *AE* 1942–43, 81: 6.5 cm; *IRT* 914: 7.5–6.5 cm; *IRT* 913: 7.5 cm; *AE* 1985, 873: 8–5 cm; *ILAlg.* II 7796–7797: 9–5.5 cm; *AE* 1955, 134: 9–7.5 cm; *AE* 1968, 647: 11–5 cm; *ILAlg.* II 531: 12–5 cm; *IRT* 347: 22–14 cm; *IRT* 308: 25–16 cm. There are two cases in which letter size is not indicated: *AE* 1997, 1640; *AE* 1934, 40.

⁵⁶ *CIL* VIII 24106.

180 times (!) larger with measurements 258 x 95 x 28 cm.⁵⁷ The largest completely preserved ensemble of joining blocks is far larger still, 645 x 128 x 270 cm.⁵⁸ By contrast, the letter sizes have the same range as the lettering of panels did: the smallest letters are carved on that tiny block mentioned above and they measure only 0.9–0.7 cm⁵⁹ while the largest letters are 20–18 cm high.⁶⁰

As one would expect, fully preserved entablatures are rare. There are just three completely preserved and precisely measured entablatures, and the differences in sizes are smaller than they were in panels and blocks. The smallest completely preserved entablature measures 200 x 52 x 29 cm⁶¹ while the largest one has a surface only five times larger, with measurements 956 x 52 x 57 cm.⁶² The letter sizes have a quite limited range: the heights of the smallest letters are 5.5 cm⁶³ and the tallest measure between 13–8 cm.⁶⁴

The nine completely preserved and measured supports that I have classified as lintels vary less in size than blocks and panels did. The smallest completely preserved lintel measures 90 x 58 x 23 cm⁶⁵ while the largest fully preserved and accurately measured one has a surface nearly 10 times larger, with dimensions 464 x 103 x 54 cm.⁶⁶ In a similar manner, the sizes of letters vary less than in

⁵⁷ *IRT* 357.

⁵⁸ *IRT* 521 (seven blocks forming the inscribed part of the podium at the theatre at Lepcis Magna).

⁵⁹ *CIL* VIII 24106.

⁶⁰ *IRT* 269. Even taller (22.5–15 cm) are the letters in *IRT* 427 (from the Severan basilica at Lepcis Magna), but the inscription is fragmentary. The letter sizes in completely preserved and measured blocks are: *CIL* VIII 24106: 0.9–0.7 cm; *ILPBardo* 22: 3.3 cm; *AE* 1968, 586: 4–3 cm; *AE* 2000, 1624: 4.5–4 cm; *IRT* 314: 4.5–4 cm; *ILAlg.* II 3576: 5–3 cm; *ILAlg.* II 7573: 5–4.5 cm; *AE* 1994, 1887: 5.5–3 cm; *AE* 1976, 697: 5.6–5.2 cm; *IRT* 916: 6–5 cm; *AE* 1975, 870: 7–6 cm; *AE* 1976, 698: 7.5–4.5 cm; *ILAlg.* II 3574: 7.5–6.5 cm; *IRT* 357: 10–5 cm; *IRT* 521: 13 cm; *IRT* 346: 16–5 cm; *IRT* 269: 20–18 cm.

⁶¹ *CIL* VIII 26400 (an architrave block).

⁶² *IRT* 273 (blocks of frieze). Much wider is *CIL* VIII 8809 (1022 x 85 cm) but its depth is not measured.

⁶³ *ILAlg.* II 7649 (the letter size is almost the same in *CIL* VIII 26400 (7.5–6 cm), which is another completely preserved and measured architrave). Smaller letters (3–2.5) are found in *CIL* VIII 23876 and in *AE* 1993, 1715 but their depths are not recorded.

⁶⁴ *IRT* 273. Much taller letters are to be found in the fragmentary *CIL* VIII 26607. They measure between 35–17.5 cm and are the largest in any building in Roman Africa.

⁶⁵ *AE* 1974, 690.

⁶⁶ *IRT* 323. Even wider (600 and 750 cm, respectively) are *CIL* VIII 15514 and *AE* 1974, 723

blocks and panels: the smallest letters measure 4–3 cm⁶⁷ while the largest ones are carved on the huge lintel just mentioned, and are no higher than 15.7–12 cm.⁶⁸

In order to contextualize these measurements, we can compare them with the recorded maximum and minimum measurements of all building inscriptions⁶⁹ and then with individual maximum and minimum measurements of those four main types.⁷⁰ The maximum width, 2942 cm, was made up by joining marble blocks of a massive entablature in the theatre at Lepcis Magna;⁷¹ the maximum width of a monolith – 1022 cm – was recorded in the architrave found in Lemellef.⁷² The minimum width of a fully preserved support was recorded in a shaft of column and was just 12.2 cm.⁷³

The maximum height, 420 cm, was measured in the wall of the basilica Severiana at Lepcis Magna. This inscription was also remarkably wide, 592 cm, and had, as a consequence, the largest recorded surface, no less than 248,640 cm² or almost 25 square meters.⁷⁴ The maximum height of a monolith was 236

but their other measurements are not recorded.

⁶⁷ *AE* 1974, 690. Even smaller letters (3 cm) are recorded in *ILPBardo* 319, but its depth is not measured.

⁶⁸ *IRT* 323. The letter sizes in completely preserved and measured lintels are: *AE* 1997, 1642: 4–2.6 cm; *AE* 1974, 690: 4–3 cm; *AE* 1968, 599: 4–3.5 cm; *AE* 1975, 873: 5 cm; *AE* 1968, 594: 7 cm; *AE* 1968, 587: 7 cm; *IRT* 322: 9–6.5 cm; *CIL* VIII 26602: 12.5 cm; *IRT* 323: 15.7–12 cm.

⁶⁹ By 'minimum' I mean the smallest *completely preserved* maximum dimension. For example, *ILPBardo* 411 is a column, the lower part of which is broken, but its diameter can be measured in its original extent. The maximum value of that diameter is 12.2 cm which is the shortest completely preserved minimum width among the African building inscriptions.

⁷⁰ In other words, all blocks, panels, entablatures and lintels are counted, and the measurements concern all dimensions taken separately; with those completely preserved and precisely measured supports we were only looking at their overall volumes, not individual measurements.

⁷¹ *IRT* 534. There is another, even longer (3570 cm) inscription in this very same theatre: *IRT* 347 was carved on the parapet of the orchestra. The parapet is, however, interrupted by three passages and thus the inscription does not form a measurable whole. The largest completely preserved width is 1300 cm: three connected blocks of the frieze of the capitolium at Thugga (*CIL* VIII 15513).

⁷² *CIL* VIII 8809. Cf. *AE* 1974, 723 (750 cm) which was recorded in the huge lintel above the northern gate of the *praetorium* at Lambaesis, and *CIL* VIII 15514 (600 cm), a lintel placed above the door of the cella in the capitolium. This inscription is also completely preserved.

⁷³ *ILPBardo* 411. Cf. *CIL* VIII 24106, a completely preserved tiny marble block that measured 13 x 10.5 x 6 cm.

⁷⁴ *IRT* 427.

cm and appeared in a great limestone stele from Lepcis Magna.⁷⁵ The minimum height was 10.5 cm, recorded in the above-mentioned tiny marble block.⁷⁶ With these measurements this block covers the smallest completely preserved surface area, only 136.5 cm² – it is smaller than a page in an average modern pocketbook – and the largest recorded surface is over 1800 times larger!

The maximum depth, 270 cm, was made up by joining limestone blocks of a huge podium;⁷⁷ the maximum depth of a monolith, 146 cm, was measured in a huge marble base from Lepcis Magna.⁷⁸ Incidentally, it is quite striking how many of the most massive inscriptions originate from Lepcis Magna, undoubtedly reflecting the wealth and importance of that city. The minimum depth was 1.8 cm and it was found in a small marble panel at Volubilis.⁷⁹

The maximum height of letters was 35–30 cm, found on a pavement;⁸⁰ the minimum height, 0.9–0.7 cm, was used on that tiny block that had the smallest surface.⁸¹ The following table (Table 2) compares these extreme values with the ones from all panels, blocks, entablatures, and lintels.⁸²

The two most striking features in the table below are the huge variation in the sizes of supports and the *lack* of variation in the sizes of letters. As one would expect, the tallest letters are to be found in entablatures, but it is interesting to note that there are letters almost as tall in panels; even the minimum height of letters – 2.12 cm – is not much higher in entablatures than it is in other types of support.⁸³

⁷⁵ *IRT* 338. The number of the lines of the inscription is exceptional, too: 24.

⁷⁶ *CIL* VIII 24106.

⁷⁷ *IRT* 521. This is also the greatest measured completely preserved depth.

⁷⁸ *IRT* 467. The thickest (100 cm) architectural element was a monumental architrave from Cuicul: *ILAlg.* II 7649.

⁷⁹ *IAM* 2, 404. Surprisingly enough, on this small panel an imperial inscription was carved.

⁸⁰ The tallest letters were found on the pavement of the forum of Hippo (*AE* 1949, 76) where heights varied between 35–30 cm (cf. an architrave, *CIL* VIII 26607, where the variation is between 35–17.5 cm) but the average height of the letters (34 cm) was the greatest in *AE* 1980, 956, which was carved on panels.

⁸¹ *CIL* VIII 24106. This is also the smallest recorded completely preserved letter size in African building inscriptions.

⁸² The references are listed in Appendix 2.

⁸³ It would be very interesting to compare average letter heights between various types but that is impossible as the older epigraphic publications typically record only the maximum and minimum heights of letters rather than the height of each individual line.

Measurements	All supports	Panels	Blocks	Entablatures	Lintels
maximum width	2942 (entablature)	535	844	2942	600
maximum width, monolith	1022 (entablature)	456	258	1022	600
minimum width	12.2 (column)	24	13	155	35
maximum height	420 (blocks)	183	420	120	103
maximum height, monolith	236 (stele)	183	122	120	103
minimum height	10.5 (block)	22	10.5	18	12
maximum depth	270 (blocks)	55	270	100	96
maximum depth, monolith	146 (base)	52	67	100	82
minimum depth	1.8 (panel)	1.8	6	20	10
maximum height of letters	35–30 (pavement)	34	22.5–15	35–17.5	15.7–12
minimum height of letters	0.9–0.7 (panel)	2–0.25	0.9–0.7	2.12	1.5–1

Table 2: The measurements of types of support and letters

In fact, one can find some exceptional cases where the letters carved on an entablature are *smaller* than those carved on a base.⁸⁴ It is obvious, then, that the carvers of building inscriptions did not use the oversized letters to ensure or at very least to improve the readability of those inscriptions that were set up high over the ground.⁸⁵ It is very difficult to estimate, however, how necessary such tall letters

⁸⁴ For example, the letter height is 7 cm in *CIL* VIII 2736, a statue base and only 5.3 cm in *AE* 1982, 931, which is a block of an entablature.

⁸⁵ This is interesting, because it might weaken the common claim that Roman stone-cutters put much emphasis on the readability. See, e.g., Corbier (above n. 4), 42–45 who examines this question thoroughly; esp. 42: "l'écriture exposée romaine se caractérise d'ordinaire par sa lisibilité". She also discusses (ibid. 43–44; 62–64) references to attempts to ensure readability of the text found in administrative sources. For example, *AE* 1967, 533 (a limestone panel whose very fragmentary inscription seems to record a letter, found in Cyrenaica) enjoins the receiver of the letter to carve the text in question in clear letters (*claris litteris*) and to place it in a forum. See also ibid. 47 for an interesting summary of *Ulp. dig.* 14,3,11,3, which describes how private persons should publish their announcements to make them legally binding (i.e. so that the persons concerned cannot plead ignorance): the announcement must be composed in Latin or in Greek in clear letters that can be read from street level and it must be conspicuously placed in a place that is frequently visited. Cf. also ibid. 62–64, analysing how the emperor Caligula ordered a certain law to be placed (*proposuit quidem legem sed et minutissimis litteris et angustissimo loco uti ne cui describere liceret*; *Suet. Cal.* 41,1). But cf. now Graham (above n. 11), 1–2, who claims that physical appearance and visibility were more important than the

would have been. It must be remembered that freshly carved letters must have been easier to read than the ones we see today, after several centuries of wear and tear. Besides, the letters might have been painted with minium or red-lead, which greatly improves readability.⁸⁶

Even if too few completely preserved building inscriptions are both three-dimensionally measured and datable with reasonable precision to allow their chronological analysis, something about monumentality can still be said by basing the analysis on cases where the width and height are recorded. There are 191 completely preserved inscriptions whose widths and heights are both recorded, and 148 of them can be dated within a century. Their statistics are presented in the chart below (Chart 3). The finer details of this development cannot be established due to the limited number of dated examples, and it might well be that the first centuries BC and AD are both somewhat misrepresented, but during the period extending from the second to the fifth century the diminution of the sizes of supports is so steady that it does seem to reflect reality. This is a very interesting development, because we know that the text of the building inscriptions did not shorten but on the contrary lengthened during this time.⁸⁷ It is noteworthy too, that this contraction of the inscriptional surface is due to the shortened average length. By contrast, the average height does not vary much and even slightly increases during the fourth and fifth centuries. The reason for this is that during this period the number of panels increased at the expense of the entablatures.⁸⁸ The panels were, on average, taller than entablatures, which in their turn were on average much wider than panels.⁸⁹

Again, the length of the texts of inscriptions increased with time but the sizes of supports did not. Although there were several means of fitting the text to the

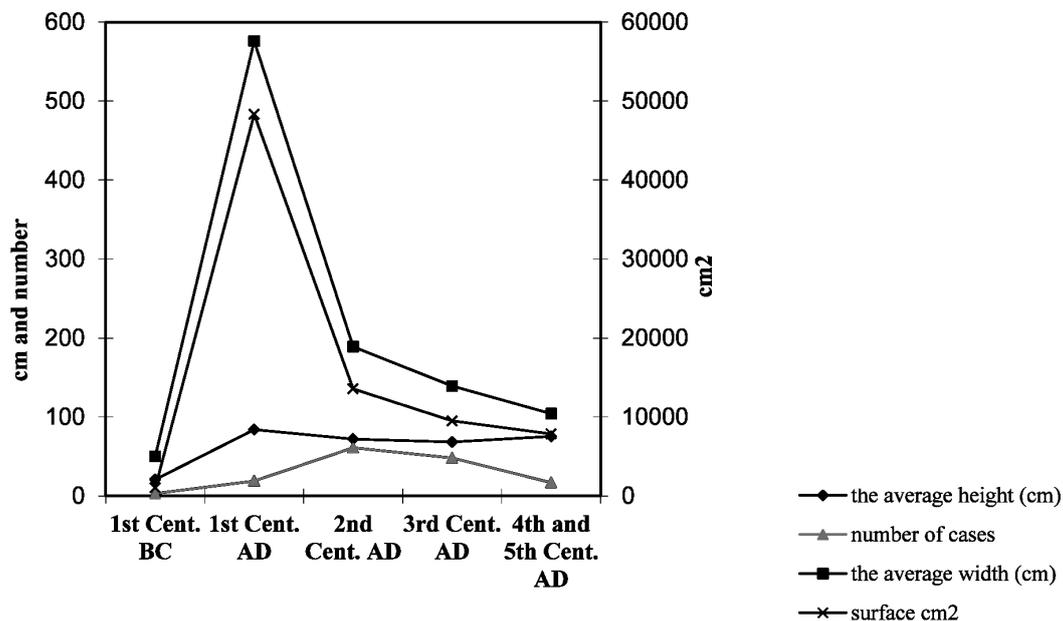
text of the inscription and its readability.

⁸⁶ See A. Gordon – J. Gordon (above n. 1), 73 who note that the extent of this practise is impossible to determine. On the use of minium, see Plin. *nat.* 33,40,122. Cf. Grasby (above n. 5 (2)), 172 where one observes the striking difference between carved (Fig. 21.VIII) and carved and painted letters (Fig. 21.IX).

⁸⁷ See Saastamoinen (above n. 14), 87–88. The statistics of the total word count presented in Chart 10 in page 87 are as follows: the first century BC: 20; the first century AD: 34; the second century: 38; the third century: 45; the fourth and fifth centuries: 38.

⁸⁸ See section 1 above.

⁸⁹ If we base our calculations on those 74 completely preserved and three-dimensionally measured supports, the measures of which are listed in Appendix 1 below, we obtain the following results: the average height of panels, 70 cm; that of entablatures, 41 cm; the average length of panels, 157 cm, and of entablatures, 452 cm.

Chart 3: The temporal variation in the size of supports

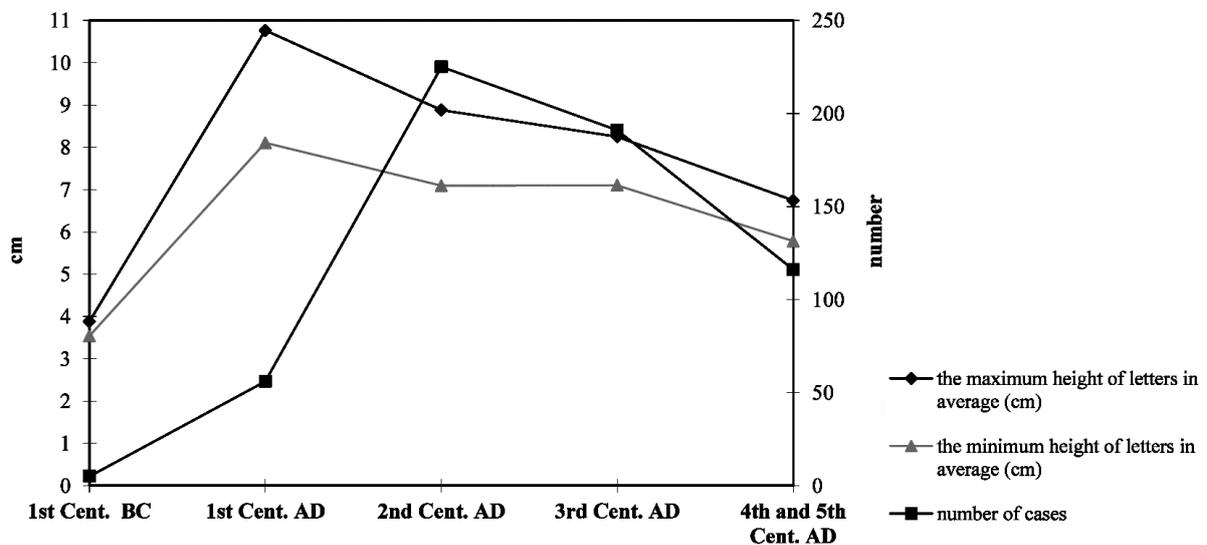
available space – one could use more and shorter abbreviations, employ more and longer ligaturae or space letters more densely, or employ undersized or taller letters (such as *T longa*)⁹⁰ – one would still expect that lengthened inscriptions were carved with smaller letters.⁹¹ Letter size, for a change, is a phenomenon that can be reliably analysed, as it is the most frequently recorded measurement in epigraphic publications. Letter size is mentioned in 715 cases and most of these – 593 – can be dated within a century.

Chart 4 below shows that our supposition is, *grossomodo*, correct. If the anomalous first century BC is not taken into account, letters sizes grow slowly but steadily smaller. This development can be compared with general average letter sizes during this period as a whole: the maximum height: 8.4 cm; and the minimum height 6.9 cm.⁹²

⁹⁰ Cf. A. Gordon – J. Gordon (above n. 1), 150 on such devices.

⁹¹ Cf. A. Gordon – J. Gordon (above n. 1), 90: "the man who wants to say much but has only a limited space in which to do it ... must sacrifice either text or letter size or perhaps both".

⁹² If we base the statistics of letter sizes on those 148 inscriptions in which the surface was completely preserved (133 of these also include letters that are measured) the results are similar (but the decrease is even more pronounced): the first century BC (three cases): the maximum average letter size is 2.8 cm and the minimum average is 2.7 cm; the first century AD (19 cases): the maximum average letter size is 12.9 cm and the minimum average is 9.7 cm; the second century (53 cases): the maximum average letter size is 7.5 cm and the minimum average is 6.2 cm; the third century (45 cases): the maximum average letter size is 6.3 cm and the minimum average is 5 cm; the fourth and fifth centuries (13 cases): the maximum average letter

Chart 4: Variation in letter size

Conclusions

In this article, I have described some aspects of Latin building inscriptions understood as material objects. I have confined myself to the prose building inscriptions found in Northwest Africa. Although the number of photographed inscriptions has recently rapidly grown, a large portion of published building inscriptions still remains without accompanying photographs or careful descriptions of the supports. Thus, the picture presented here is based on *available recorded* facts and could well be modified if we had all information at our disposal.

The immediate context of the inscription, that is, the support on which it is carved, is known and recorded in majority of cases (648). They can be divided into 27 different types, but only ten of these are attested seven times or more. The most frequently attested type is by far a panel (214 cases, 33 per cent), followed by entablature (164 cases, 25 per cent), block (82 cases, 13 per cent), and lintel (67 cases, 10 per cent). Some building inscriptions were not carved on the building itself. The most common alternatives were bases (37 cases) and altars (17 cases).

The two recorded major materials are limestone (188 cases) and marble (97 cases). Panels were the only format in which marble was the most common material. There seem to have been temporal fluctuations in the proportions of the two major materials. Limestone clearly dominated during the first century

size is 4.8 cm and the minimum average is 4.2 cm.

BC and AD, but during the second century AD marble significantly increased its share and never returned to its former insignificance.

It seems that during the period extending from the second to the fifth century the average surface areas of building inscriptions diminished steadily while the text of the building inscriptions lengthened.

The 74 fully preserved supports that have been measured in all three dimensions form a motley group – from panels to pillars, from altars to attics. The most striking measurable feature in them is the lack of variation in the letter sizes between the various types of support. The tallest letters are to be found in entablatures, but their difference from the ones appearing on panels is slight; even the minimum letter height is not much higher in entablatures than in other types of supports. In other words, letter sizes were not adjusted according to their placement to ensure or at least to improve the readability of those inscriptions that were set up high over the ground. The letter size is mentioned in 715 cases and most of these – 593 – can be dated. If the anomalous first century BC is not taken into account, letters grow slowly but steadily smaller in size. This phenomenon results from the above-mentioned development: inscriptional surface areas were diminishing while inscriptions themselves were becoming longer.

Helsinki

Appendix 1: Completely preserved and measured supports

Altars (3): *ILAlg.* II 6436: 38 x 63 x 32 cm; *AE* 1992, 1815: 48 x 81.5 x 36.5 cm; *AE* 1992, 1769: 56 x 100 x 56 cm.

Bases (8): *CIL* VIII 18328: 48 x 118 x 53 cm; *AE* 1991, 1641: 51.5 x 95 x 49.5 cm; *AE* 1991, 1643: 52 x 120 x 42 cm; *AntAfr* 1968, 219: 55 x 131 x 18 cm; *IRT* 358: 56.5 x 62 x 23.5 cm; *ILAlg.* II 671: 74 x 96 x 26 cm; *CIL* VIII 26474: 77 x 55 x 128 cm; *IRT* 467: 119 x 119 x 146 cm.

Blocks (17): *CIL* VIII 24106: 13 x 10.5 x 6 cm; *AE* 1975, 870: 49 x 80 x 23 cm; *ILPBardo* 22: 55 x 37 x 20 cm; *AE* 2000, 1624: 65 x 24.5 x 44.5 cm; *ILAlg.* II 3576: 65 x 39 x 55 cm; *ILAlg.* II 7573: 84 x 47 x 21 cm; *IRT* 314: 93 x 44 x 30 cm; *AE* 1976, 698: 103 x 41 x 14.5 cm; *ILAlg.* II 3574: 104 x 103 x 49 cm; *AE* 1976, 697: 110.7 x 65.5 x 44 cm; *IRT* 916: 120 x 71 x 40 cm; *AE* 1968, 586: 138 x 26 x 30 cm; *AE* 1994, 1887: 168 x 47 x 57 cm; *IRT* 357: 258 x 95 x 28 cm; *IRT* 269: 165 x 70 x 60 cm; *IRT* 346: 530 x 51 x 52 cm; *IRT* 521: 645 x 128 x 270 cm.

Column (1): *ILAlg.* I 2136: 43 x 150 x 43 cm.

Entablatures (3): *ILAlg.* II 7649 (architrave): 200 x 19 x 100 cm; *CIL VIII* 26400 (architrave): 200 x 52 x 29 cm; *IRT* 273 (frieze): 956 x 52 x 57 cm.

Lintels (9): *AE* 1997, 1642: 60 x 92 x 26 cm; *AE* 1974, 690: 90 x 58 x 23 cm; *AE* 1968, 594: 115 x 30 x 10 cm; *AE* 1968, 587: 122 x 35 x 20 cm; *AE* 1968, 599: 125 x 30 x 15 cm; *CIL VIII* 26602: 289 x 69 x 82 cm; *IRT* 322: 317 x 97 x 30 cm; *AE* 1975, 873: 320 x 26 x 21 cm; *IRT* 323: 464 x 103 x 54 cm.

Panels (25): *AE* 1997, 1640: 49 x 56.5 x 6.5 cm; *AE* 1991, 1620: 54 x 39 x 6.6 cm; *IAM* 2, 404: 54.5 x 44 x 1.8 cm; *AE* 1967, 565: 69 x 117 x 20 cm; *ILPBardo* 21: 74 x 42 x 8 cm; *ILAlg.* I 2131: 74 x 44 x 7 cm; *AE* 1985, 976: 74.5 x 45 x 10 cm; *CIL VIII* 17906: 89 x 70 x 12 cm; *AE* 1982, 961: 90 x 44 x 15 cm; *IRT* 913: 93 x 71 x 16 cm; *ILAlg.* II 7670: 100 x 62 x 26 cm; *ILAlg.* II 6225: 102 x 74 x 25 cm; *IRT* 895: 104 x 57 x 19 cm; *BCTH* 1925, 287: 110 x 57 x 8 cm; *AfrRom* 11, 1369: 128 x 65 x 19 cm; *AE* 1934, 40: 130 x 93 x 20 cm; *ILAlg.* II 531: 154 x 105 x 38 cm; *IRT* 914: 157 x 57 x 15 cm; *AE* 1985, 873: 165 x 76 x 32 cm; *AE* 1942–43, 81: 195 x 77 x 19 cm; *ILAlg.* II 7796–7797: 210 x 85 x 7 cm; *AE* 1968, 647: 325 x 108 x 20 cm; *IRT* 308: 456 x 69 x 25 cm; *IRT* 347: 570 x 113 x 15 cm; *AE* 1955, 134 (three identical inscriptions on panels, the largest one measures 305 x 75 x 21 cm).

Pillar (1): *AE* 1939, 36: 23 x 65 x 21 cm.

Steles (3): *IRT* 919: 45 x 188 x 14 cm; *IRT* 338: 85.5 x 236 x 30 cm; *AE* 1963, 124: 205 x 52 x 26 cm.

Undefined monuments (4): *I.ALTAVA* 67: 85 x 50 x 20 cm; *AE* 1966, 593: 94 x 66 x 21 cm; *AE* 1955, 137: 145 x 63 x 22 cm; *CIL VIII* 12332: 164 x 21 x 28 cm.

Appendix 2: Measurements of panels, blocks, entablatures, and lintels

Panels: the maximum width: 535 cm (*ILAlg.* II 7751; cf. *IRT* 347 discussed above); the maximum width, monolith: 456 cm (*IRT* 308); the minimum width: 24 cm (*AE* 1999, 1825); the maximum height: 183 cm (*CIL VIII* 2369, a fragmentary panel); the minimum height: 22 cm (*AE* 1953, 153); the maximum depth: 55

cm (*CIL* VIII 20835); the maximum depth, monolith: 52 cm (*ILAlg.* II 487); the minimum depth: 1.8 cm (*IAM* 2, 404); the maximum height of letters: 34 cm (*AE* 1980, 956); the minimum height of letters: 2–0.25 cm (*ILPBardo* 408).

Blocks: the maximum width: 844 cm (*IRT* 324b); the maximum width, monolith: 258 cm (*IRT* 357); the minimum width: 13 cm (*CIL* VIII 24106); the maximum height: 420 cm (*IRT* 427); the maximum height, monolith: 122 cm (*AE* 1973, 613); the minimum height: 10.5 cm (*CIL* VIII 24106); the maximum depth: 270 cm (*IRT* 521); the maximum depth of a monolith is remarkably limited especially when compared with that of entablatures, mere 67 cm (*ILAlg.* II 675); the minimum depth: 6 cm (*CIL* VIII 24106); the maximum height of letters: 22.5–15 cm (*IRT* 427); the minimum height of letters: 0.9–0.7 cm (*CIL* VIII 24106).

Entablatures: the maximum width: 2942 cm (*IRT* 534); the maximum width, monolith: 1022 cm (*CIL* VIII 8809); the minimum width: 155 cm (*CIL* VIII 23876); the maximum height: 120 cm (*CIL* VIII 17852, a monolith (the height is 200 cm in both *IAM* 2, 390 and *IAM* 2, 391 but both are special cases: panels that are fixed over the cornice of an honorary arch); the minimum height: 18 cm (*CIL* VIII 23876; there are also three examples of the height of 15 cm but they might be fragmentary, see *CIL* VIII 9908; *CIL* VIII 23282; *CIL* VIII 23283); the maximum depth: 100 cm (*ILAlg.* II 7649, a monolith); the minimum depth: 20 cm (*ILAlg.* II 7949–7950, three connected fragments of a frieze); the maximum height of letters: 35–17.5 cm (*CIL* VIII 26607; cf. *IRT* 428 where the letter height is uniformly 27 cm); the minimum height of letters: 2.12 cm (*CIL* VIII 11932).

Lintels: the maximum width: 600 cm (*CIL* VIII 15514, a monolith); the minimum width: 35 cm (*ILAfri*: 196); the maximum height: 103 cm (*IRT* 323, a monolith); the minimum height: 12 cm (*CIL* VIII 26512); the maximum depth: 96 cm (*CIL* VIII 26475); the maximum depth, monolith: 82 cm (*CIL* VIII 26602); the minimum depth: 10 cm (*AE* 1968, 594); the maximum height of letters: 15.7–12 cm (*IRT* 323); the minimum height of letters: 1.5–1 cm (*ILPBardo* 206).

MYRRHINE'S BALL REVISITED

ELINA M. SALMINEN – MIKA KAJAVA

The present note on a late archaic clay ball emerges from our work on "Greek Inscribed Discs" (the results of which are forthcoming elsewhere). This is because the unique expression ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίων scratched on this artefact has been taken to further contribute to the understanding of the function and meaning of the late 6th-century BCE discuses inscribed ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων (or sim.) that have been found in Athens. Conversely, a common interpretation of the discus phrase has been employed to give support to that of the text appearing on the sphere. Before dealing with this object and its inscriptions, a few words on the ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων discuses are called for.¹ The relevant evidence is as follows:

1. *IG I³ 1394*: Τελεσάρχο ἐκ τῶ ἐρί[ο]. – Marble discus (diam. 28.4 cm, th. 5.9 cm [centre]); late 6th century BCE; Athens (precise provenance unknown), now Metropolitan Museum of Art, NY (MMA.G.1985.11.4). Auctioned together with no. 2 at Sotheby's London in 1929. – Photograph: Jacobstahl 1933, 18 no. 2 (fig. 9).
2. *IG I³ 1395*: ἐκ τῶν ἐ[ρί]ων (rather than ἄ[θλ]ων; "utrumque legi potest" *IG*, but the crucial letter seems to be E). – Marble discus (diam. 28.4 cm, th. 6.1 cm [centre]) with remains of painted decoration in the centre, "fortasse equitis" (*IG*); late 6th century BCE; Athens (precise provenance unknown), now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (accession no. 1987.621). – Photograph: Jacobstahl 1933, 18 no. 1 (fig. 8).

* Our thanks go to the anonymous reader who offered helpful suggestions and to Simo Örmä for sending us a copy of a not readily available article.

¹ A more detailed survey will be provided by Kajava – Salminen 2014.

3. *IG I³ 1397*: ἐχ τῶν ἐρίων εἰρμῖ (EINI stone). – Marble discus (diam. 28 cm, "crassior medio quam in marginibus" *IG*, letter ht. 4.5 cm); late 6th century BCE; Athens ("angeblich aus einem Grab bei Anavyssos": Jacobsthal 1933, 19 no. 4), now Sammlung Werner Peek, Archäologisches Museum der Universität Münster (no. 2071). – Photograph: Stupperich 1990, Pl. 16, 6.7.

Since the term ἡρίον, occurring in Homer in reference to the monument planned by Achilles for Patroklos and himself,² is traditionally translated as 'mound, barrow, tomb', it has been a popular interpretation since Jacobsthal's work that "from the grave-mound(s)" is a reference to funeral games commemorating individuals and that the preserved discuses inscribed in this way were those awarded as prizes to winners at such games.³ Various objections may be raised against this view. Firstly, the term ἡρία (or ἡρίον) is not otherwise known to have been used for funeral games. Secondly, ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων is not what one would expect for prize inscriptions, which were normally construed with partitive genitive (e.g. τῶν Ἀθηνᾶθ' ἄθλων, "[one] of the prizes from Athens", which is often mistranslated as "from the games at Athens"). Thirdly, and most importantly, as Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood demonstrated, ἡρίον actually does not mean 'mound', but denotes 'grave monument' independently of its precise appearance.⁴ Later on, the term came to cover the wide concept of 'tomb', but in the archaic period it must have meant 'grave monument'. In our material, this should be evident from **1**, which has a singular form (Τελεσάρχο ἐκ τῶ ἐρί[ο]) and thus obviously marks the grave monument of Telesarchos, while reference to various games and contests was typically made by using the plural. Finally, it is noteworthy that all these discuses, as well as some others of the same date from Athens, are almost identical in diameter (c. 27–28 cm), as if designed for similar use.⁵

² Hom. *Il.* 23,126.

³ Jacobsthal 1933, 22; see, e.g., Immerwahr 1967, 263–64; Roller 1981, 3–5; Stupperich 1990, 73–5 no. 65 (= discus **3**). Kyle (1987, 19) was reasonably cautious.

⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 126–28, 152–58.

⁵ Cf. *IG I³ 1210* (diam. 27 cm); *1393* (diam. 27 cm); *1396* (diam. 28 cm). While *IG I³ 1210* and *1393* are funerary, *1396* (Ὀἴθ' ἐν ἄθλα) is usually regarded as having no funerary connotation to it. For this and the surprising form ἄθλα, see, however, Kajava – Salminen 2014.

What this use may have involved was explained tentatively by Lilian Jeffery.⁶ She argued that the discuses with the expression ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων formed part of the superstructure of funerary monuments, with the inscriptions' main purpose perhaps being to "ensure that such a useful and portable object was not snapped up by some passing Autolycus". The preposition ἐκ would be quite apposite here, as it could denote origin and belonging to a category or a group. Protection from theft seems, indeed, a plausible interpretation, and so ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων appearing on a discus probably reminded the passers-by that the object was part of the grave monument and that it should be left where it was fixed. The proper epitaph, of course, was engraved on the stele or whatever the monument's type was. This would have been the case also with **1**, which names the deceased.

Now that it can be conjectured, with great probability, what the formula ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων meant when appearing on Athenian funerary discuses of the late 6th century BCE, we may turn to our main subject.

The artefact in question is a miniature clay rattle in the shape of a sphere (diam. 4.6 cm), presumably of Athenian origin and from about 500 BCE, which judging by its inscriptions belonged to someone called Myrrhine.⁷ The find context is unknown, but the good preservation makes it likely it was found in a burial. It has been commonly thought that this was a child's rattle imitating a playing ball that was given as a gift to a girl called Myrrhine, but the ball's decoration may rather point to ownership by a hetaira. The black-gloss scenes show two discus-throwers (Figs. 1, 5), two javelin-throwers with a stool between them (Figs. 2, 5), and a boy with a dog being approached by a cloaked man leaning on a staff, followed by donkey foal or a fawn (Figs. 3, 5).⁸ The young boy and the elderly man offering him a flower (or some other object) is reminiscent, of course, of peder-

⁶ Jeffery 1962, 147 no. 64, accepted by Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, 157. Karouzos (1951, 98–9) has offered examples of reliefs showing discuses as part of funerary monuments, but the examples he cites are missing the discus due to an unfortunate break and showing a thick, more drum- than discus-like artefact, respectively.

⁷ Immerwahr 1967 (figs. 1–7) = *SEG XXIV 73*. A preliminary account appeared some years earlier, but it did not devote any attention to the inscription discussed here (Hoffmann 1963). The authenticity of the ball was strongly challenged by Frel 1970 (1994) (in his opinion, the object itself would be ancient, but its decoration and inscriptions are modern work). As far as we know, this view has not found favour (cf., however, Marcadé [1995, 100], who did not disagree). Purchased in Athens in 1929, the object has been in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston since 1963 (accession no. 63.119).

⁸ Fawn seems to be the most common interpretation for the figure, but to one of us (EMS) the large ears are more reminiscent of a donkey, albeit one with scrawny legs. See n. 26 below for donkeys as comic animals.



Fig. 1. Ball depicting palaestra scenes (central field): discus-throwers.

astic courtship scenes featuring gifts.⁹ While similar objects in clay imitating a toy ball have been found on Samothrace and Thasos in Hellenistic burials, the erotic scene, in particular, might have been considered more suitable for a hetaira than a young girl.¹⁰ Even so, it was deemed suitable to add an emphatic "ναίχι" (Fig. 1) after "Μυρρίνες εἰμί" (see below) – perhaps adding humour, or at least an acknowledgment that such artefacts with such decoration were not made for women on a regular basis.

⁹ Such scenes were already described by Beazley (1947, 195–244), although they typically feature a cock or a hare as the gift.

¹⁰ Immerwahr 1967 discusses the associations between toy balls and eroticism, starting with Odysseus and Nausicaa. For some further evidence (mainly literary) of the erotic associations of girls or women and ball-playing, see O'Sullivan 2012, 20–21 (Myrrhine is mentioned on p. 21). See Dusenbery (1998, 199–208) for the Samothrace burial, dated to 275–250 BCE. The osteological material seems to have been so poorly preserved that sexing it was impossible, but the deceased were two adolescents. For the Thasian burial, only a brief note by Ghali-Kahil (1954, 242–44, referenced in Immerwahr 1967) exists, dating the burial to the 2nd century BCE but not giving any information on the human remains. The clay ball itself is undecorated save for incisions imitating the joins of the leather patches.

In any case, the object shows four texts, one of which is probably a later addition:

1. Μυρρίνες εἰμί· ναίχι (on central frieze; painted before firing)
2. Μυρρίνες εἰμί (bottom cap; incised after firing)
3. *ho paîs kalós* (top cap; incised after firing)
4. : *hos êoiken apò tòn êríon ênai{ai}* (top cap, incised on the outside of **3**)

2 and **3** were scratched by the same hand, perhaps the painter himself.¹¹ **4** seems a later addition, possibly coinciding with a change in the use of the artefact. The conventional *ho paîs kalós* may refer to one of the youths represented in the athletic scenes of the central field. Subsequently, either already in the workshop or some time later, a comment on, allegedly, the "beautiful boy" was added by someone seemingly also having one of the depicted figures in mind (Fig. 4). Whether the two remarks matched in referring to one and the same boy remains uncertain – perhaps they did. Various readings of **4** have been proposed. The one given above was suggested by Henry Immerwahr (n. 7), who examined the inscription on the original (the last two letters would have been written by mistake or in an attempt to rewrite them after a first and slightly unsuccessful trial).¹² Taking *hos* as *ὄς*-relative and *êríon* as indicating 'funeral games' (*êríōn*) rather than 'wool' (*êríōn*, which, if for no other reason, would sound odd with the article), he translated the inscription as follows: "(The boy is handsome), who seems to be from the mounds", that is, from the funeral games.¹³ In other words, "that is how

¹¹ Note the repetition of Μυρρίνες εἰμί. See below for more discussion: was the duplication the result of someone practicing their writing, or perhaps something to mark the artefact moving into a new phase in its "life" as it left the potter's kiln?

¹² The appearance of *ênai* (**4**) alongside *εἰμί* (**1–2**) in about 500 BCE is noteworthy, see Threatte 1980, 176, who cites this case. That **4** is an addition should not be significant, as it is hardly much later than **1–3**.

¹³ Note that Immerwahr (1967, 264 n. 12) objected to Jeffery's idea about the funerary function of the discuses with *ἐκ τῶν êρίων*: "Her explanation seems unlikely, since two of Jacobstahl's discuses are anonymous and since the statement 'from the tombs' would make sense only after the object had been removed from the tomb". But the anonymous discuses would naturally have been accompanied by epitaphs. The second objection remains partly opaque. Roller (1981, 4) also missed the point when referring to anonymity, which would have made the use of the discuses "as burial markers or votives improbable".



Fig. 2. Ball depicting palaistra scenes (central field): javelin-throwers.

he looks as he comes from the [games at the] funeral".¹⁴ That a winning athlete returning from festivals may appear handsome makes perfect sense, but as we saw, ἐρία should mean 'grave monuments' or tombs in general, and not contests of any kind. A further problem is that the text may end with ΕΝ, the first Α (in ἐνοι{αι}) looking less like a letter and the second one being considerably dislocated, and it is difficult, moreover, to discern any traces of the two iotas (Fig. 4).

Provided that the word division is correct and that the text really includes the expression ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίων,¹⁵ we would then be dealing with the expression "from the tombs" in possible reference to the παῖς καλός.¹⁶ What does this mean? Could it be that instead of reinforcing the praise of the boy, the remark actually

¹⁴ This is the translation given at the Museum of Fine Arts web site: <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/ball-depicting-palaistra-scenes-153578>. A different version (by Gregory Nagy) appears in the MFA entry of one of the discuses listed above (no. 2): "... as he comes from the funeral games at the Eria" (cf. below n. 18): <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/discus-130164>.

¹⁵ Various early readings, many of them related to ἔριον 'wool', were reported by Immerwahr 1967, 261. As for other word combinations, none seems workable (ὡς ἔοι κεν, ἄποτον, ἄπωτον, ἀπ' ὄτων, Ἐριοῦνην, etc.).

¹⁶ See below for alternative interpretations.



Fig. 3. Ball depicting palaestra scenes (central field): boy and elderly man.

served a slightly derisive purpose, as if the figure in question resembled someone "from the tombs", or indeed was like a corpse "from the graves". The youthful figures are all customarily beautiful and athletic (see below), but a jeering comment like this might have been made with some sense of malicious humour in mind. We observe that Margherita Guarducci arrived at a similar conclusion when reconsidering her earlier adhesion to Immerwahr's hypothesis.¹⁷ She did not discuss the ἐκ τῶν ἐπίων evidence at all, but had intuitive doubts about any connection with funeral games ("debbo ammettere che il passaggio dal significato di "tombe" a quello di "ludi sepolcrali" è decisamente troppo audace", p. 13). Even if the address of the anonymous comment can hardly be established with certainty, our impression is that Guarducci was basically right in her explanation of the text, which was accompanied by a translation with fitting comment: "(il fanciullo bello), che sembra venuto dal cimitero"; quasi a dire: "Altro che bello! Egli è un mezzo morto, il fantasma di un morto" (p. 15). As far as may be gathered from the entry *CAVI* no. 2809, although referring to Guarducci's hypothesis ("differently Guarducci"), Immerwahr continued to prefer his original interpretation.

¹⁷ Guarducci 1980, 13–5 (earlier, Guarducci 1970), with due critique of the interpretations of Gallavotti (1971, 349–53) and Cataudella (1978).



Fig. 4. Ball depicting palaistra scenes (top cap): graffiti.

One may add that both Immerwahr and Guarducci referred to an interesting topographical detail preserved in Etym. Magn. s. v. Ἡρία: Αἱ πύλαι Ἀθήνησι· διὰ τὸ τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐκφέρεσθαι ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τὰ ἡρία, ὃ ἔστι τάφους.¹⁸ It has been assumed long since that this "Gate of the Graves" led to an archaic cemetery northeast of the Dipylon, and thus close to the Kerameikos with a concentration of pottery production. If so, one may wonder if the clay ball was manufactured in a workshop situated in this district, the commentator *also* playfully alluding with the phrase ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίων to a local toponym.

There is something more, however. Considering that the text may end with EN (see above), one wonders whether the latter character could be read as A rather than N (based on photographic evidence, this might be just possible¹⁹). In that case one could think of the imperative ἔα, the whole phrase then correspond-

¹⁸ Immerwahr 1967, 263 n. 19; Guarducci 1980, 15–6 n. 28. In the latter's view, the entry should be emended to Ἡρία<ι>αι πύλαι. Rather Ἡρία{α}ι πύλαι (unless Ἡρία{α}ι). Matthaiou (1983) less convincingly opted for Ἡρία, a general descriptive term for all the gates, through which the dead were carried. See Ruggeri 2013, 64 (D 7).

¹⁹ Not only would one expect the second hasta of N be more oblique, but its middle stroke also differs from those of the other *nus*. Such minor differences are admissible, however. Unfortunately, final judgement is complicated by an abrasion straight in the crucial part of the letter.

ing to something like "(The boy is handsome), who seems (to be/come) from the graves; let it be". However, to avoid undesirable ellipsis with ἔοικεν, one might opt for a version like this: "As it seems, (he is like one) from the tombs; so let it be". Taking *hoc* as a relative adverb of the common parenthesis ὡς ἔοικε(ν), as this translation does, might even allow for regarding the phrase as metric.²⁰ With ἔα, one could also get rid of ἐναί (alongside εἰμί), though this is an interesting feature rather than a real problem (see above n. 12). Alternatively, one might read ἔα as the (not very common) interjection of displeasure or surprise, which, however, usually occurs before a question (that it is also preponderantly poetic would not be an obstacle). Speculating even further, if the inscription really shows AI{AI} at the end, as Immerwahr claimed (and others have agreed), could this be the exclamation αἰαῖ, perhaps a final comment by still another hand? By this reading, the "problem" of dittography would be eliminated.²¹

An entirely different explanation would be that ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίων simply states that the παῖς καλός is "far from the tombs", i.e., that he has avoided premature death. However, this sounds somewhat colourless and too moderate for a comment, and one would rather expect an explicit wish to the same effect.

Let it be noted, finally, that in the opinion of Quintino Cataudella, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐρίων would refer to the custom of scratching acclamatory graffiti (like *kalos*) on grave monuments, and thus inscription 4 would mean "(The boy is beautiful), who, from the graves (i.e., judging by *kalos*-graffiti), appears to be so (= *kalos*)".²² However, even if *kalos*-acclamations are well known to have been scratched on walls, natural rocks or in the bark of trees, for those on small-scale standing monuments the evidence is meagre.²³ The phenomenon of scratching one's admiration even on tombs evidently existed,²⁴ but the problem in our case is that the boy who is *kalos* is not recorded by name, nor is he otherwise identified

²⁰ The iambo-trochaic sequence, whether acephalous iambic or catalectic trochaic, would not be quite faultless, though. Note that Cataudella (1978, 172–73) thought that he could recognize here, not without difficulties, an acatalectic anapaestic dimeter.

²¹ "Ahi, ahiii" was also considered by Gallavotti 1970, 353, but his reconstruction was otherwise completely untenable.

²² Cataudella 1978, 174.

²³ Cf. Miller 2001, 86–8, and the epigram of Aratos, which is cited by Cataudella (1978, 174), *A.P.* 12,29: Ἀργεῖος Φιλοκλῆς Ἄργει καλός, αἴ τε Κορίνθου / στῆλαι καὶ Μεγαρέων ταῦτ' ὀβωῶσι τάφοι / γέγραπται καὶ μέχρι λοετρῶν Ἀμφιαράου / ὡς καλός.

²⁴ Cf., however, Guarducci 1980, 14: "uso non dimostrato (ch'io sappia) da documenti epigrafici".

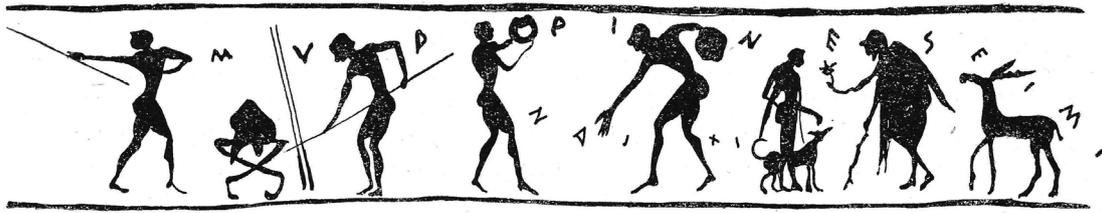


Fig. 5. Panorama of central field.

for that matter. Therefore, reference to graffiti on tomb stones or anywhere would seem pointless.

Who, then, was the zombie-like *παῖς καλός*?²⁵ Immerwahr, who thought of someone coming from funerary athletic contests, preferred the boy, accompanied by a dog, who in what is clearly an erotic scene is being presented a flower by an older man (Fig. 3). The other two scenes represent two athletes each in the act of practising discus throwing in one case, and with javelins in the other (see Figs. 1, 2, 5). Now, if one wishes to say who among these youths is the one fresh from games, the choice would hardly be the boy approached by the elderly lover, for even if he may be considered beautiful, he is definitely a less athletic figure, being not only of smaller stature than the other youths but also without any sportive attributes. And this is precisely why Guarducci's guess hit the same boy, who, in her view, in comparison with the fearless athletes, appears as a lean, feeble-looking and awkward figure. This may not be objectively true, but in the words of the ancient commentator, he would have looked like a living dead "from the graves".

The inscription circling a seemingly straight-forward statement of beauty seems to stubbornly elude a singular interpretation, as there is yet another possible reading. For even though undercutting the clichéd phrase *παῖς καλός* with a reference to the undead would make for a sensible reading, it is possible to read the two utterances as separate. If the *παῖς καλός* is, indeed, a separate formula, it would appear conceivable that the one crawling out of the grave, perhaps re-

²⁵ One of the present authors (MK), while pondering on which of the figures might best qualify as the "zombie", cannot help confessing that what is painted between the two athletes practising with their javelins, at first sight, very much looked to him like a human creature squatting in a somewhat deformed position, as if in the act of winding the throwing thong of his companion's javelin, until he realized that it is a folding stool with clothes rolled up on it. This may simply result from a modern observer's limited or perverted spatial visualizing ability. The ancient Greeks must have immediately recognized such stools on vase paintings.

ferred to by the ὄς-demonstrative, is the elderly man leaning on his staff, looking unappetizing to the youthful athletes and the boy he is accosting, his humiliation possibly further emphasized by a donkey traipsing behind him.²⁶

As evidenced by the multiple possible interpretations offered above, Myrrhine's ball has a colourful biography and sits at an intersection of male and female, young and adult, athletic prowess and ridicule. When the ball was first painted and fired, the artisan or the commissioner found the combination of Myrrhine's name and the aristocratically male painted scenes amusing or confounding enough to add a confirmatory "indeed!" Either during the making of the ball or shortly after, someone added to this play on gender by repeating "I am Myrrhine's" while also adding a clichéd comment on (anonymous) male beauty. Whether this was idle scribbling, a reaffirmation of ownership on the object leaving the kiln and being further decorated, or even a bit of writing practice by copying what was already on the painted panel, the same person felt comfortable combining an almost stereotypically male motif of the beautiful *eromenos* with a female owner and viewer. Finally, one more comment was added, perhaps with an edge of ridicule, again flipping our (modern) expectations of a dignified courtship on their head: be the "zombie" the young boy or the elderly man, the inscription might give us an insight into the more tongue-in-cheek discussion coexisting with the lofty ideals of philosophers.²⁷ Whether there was an added morbid humour to the inscription coinciding with a repurposing of the rattle as a funerary object must remain an unanswered but tantalizing question. Either way, it seems likely the artefact had as many readings as it had readers in Antiquity as well as in the present day.

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Figures

Figs. 1–4. *Ball depicting palaistra scenes*. Ceramic, Black Figure. Late Archaic Period, about 500 BC. Athens. Diameter: 4.6 cm, height 4.3 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Helen and Alice Colburn Fund, 63.119. Photographs © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 5. *Panorama of central field*. From Guarducci 1980, 11.

²⁶ See Dover 1978 for mockery of both the *erastes* and the *eromenos*. See n. 8 on fawn vs. donkey. Mitchell (2009, 61–62) discusses donkeys as comic characters, although not in connection with an *erastes* or elderly men.

²⁷ Discussed, of course, by Dover at length. See preceding note.

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A NOTE ON THE SPEECHES OF THE PROSECUTORS IN CICERO'S *PRO MILONE* 35–6

OLLI SALOMIES

Quintilian advises the prospective orator to study the speeches by both the prosecutors and the advocates dealing with the same case (*inst.* 10,1,22f.). However, regarding the trials known from Cicero's speeches, this is of course not possible for us, so we must try to reconstruct the allegations of the opposing party – that is, of the prosecution, as Cicero normally acted as an advocate rather than a prosecutor – on the basis of what Cicero says in his speeches.¹ This article deals briefly with a detail – a very small one – concerning the performance of the prosecution as described by Cicero in his speech on behalf of Milo in 52 BC. It is well known that the speech we have is a revised version of the one Cicero actually gave (Asconius p. 42 C.). Although I am not sure this point is of much importance in this particular context, I am inclined to think that the speech that we have differs from the one Cicero actually gave only with respect to certain details rather than its structure and content.²

¹ Cf. Alexander 2002 (on *Font.*, *Flacc.*, *Scaur.*, *Rab. Post.*, *Mur.*, *Planc.*, *Rosc. Am.*, *Cluent.*, *Sull.*, *Sest.*, *Cael.*; on *Cael.* cf. also Gotoff 1986).

² Cf., e.g., Neumeister 1964, 87; Wisse 2007, 65–6. Asconius (p. 41 C.; cf. *Schol. Bob.* p. 112 St.) says that the whole (original) speech was aimed at showing that Clodius ambushed Milo (*Cicero ... Clodium Miloni fecisse insidias disputavit, eoque tota oratio eius spectavit*), but, of course, the speech we have contains another line of argument (originally proposed, according to Asconius, for the whole speech by M. Brutus), namely that Clodius' death was in the interest of the state (*pro re publica*). There is a school of thought according to which this would show that this latter part is a later addition to the original speech (thus Melchior 2008, with references to predecessors p. 286 n. 23; add Humbert 1925, 192; Clark – Ruebel 1985, 70f.). However, I do not see a problem in assuming that Cicero from the beginning thought it would be a good idea to try to show that Clodius had ambushed Milo but that it would be of use, in view of the possibility that all of the judges would not swallow this, to present the additional argument that Clodius' death was in any case *pro re publica* (cf. *Quint. inst.* 7,1,35); one could

As for the prosecutors' claims as adduced by Cicero, it is of course obvious that he would try to reproduce them in a manner advantageous to him, by distorting them in various ways, e.g., by arranging them differently (as in the *pro Murena*, cf. below), as well as by isolating a certain point made by the prosecution more or less in passing and representing it as an important accusation, etc. (cf. on this Classen 1982, 167f.; also Wisse 2007, 51f.). It seems, for instance, quite obvious that the prosecutors cannot have meant to say that they accused Murena simply of "having been in Asia" (*Mur.* 11, *obiecta est enim Asia*) or Ligarius of "having been in Africa" (*Lig.* 1, cf. 9); and in the trial of Murena, it is hard to believe that the prosecutors could have presented their accusations in the same way and order as Cicero wants to make us believe they did (*Mur.* 11).³

From the report of Asconius (p. 31f. C.) we of course know that Milo was in fact responsible for the murder of Clodius inasmuch as he had ordered his slaves to kill him when he was already seriously wounded. This is naturally presented in a different light by Cicero (*Mil.* 29, cf. 56), who claims that Milo's "faithful" slaves thought that Milo himself had been killed and thus avenged his assumed death by killing Clodius *nec sciente nec praesente domino*. However, there was clearly no point in keeping the minds of the judges fixed on what happened once the encounter between the retinues of Milo and Clodius on the via Appia had commenced; instead, Cicero insists on interpreting the incident as the result of an ambush, and on representing the question of who had ambushed whom as the main and only issue to be discussed, the perpetrator of course in his narration having been Clodius, who accordingly was himself to be blamed for his own death.

Although one would expect that concentrating on the question of who had ambushed whom would have been useful from the point of view of Cicero rather

perhaps compare the approach in the speech for Archias, in which Cicero shows that there was no problem with Archias' citizenship but goes on by pointing out that even if there were one Archias should be made a citizen because of his merits (cf. on this Berry 2004, 299). As for Asconius' observation on the content of the speech, I also do not see a problem in considering his remark quoted above as referring to the *main*, but not to the only, argument used by Cicero in his speech (cf., e.g., the very frequent use of *insidiae*, *insidiator*, *insidiari* and *insidiosus* in the speech, as observed by Stone 1980, 92 n. 21).

³ *Intellego, iudices, tris totius accusationis partis fuisse, et earum unam in reprehensione vitae* (Cicero immediately adds that this particular *accusatio* was meant to be the *gravissima*), *alteram in contentione dignitatis, tertiam in criminibus ambitus esse versatam*. This is described as "irreführende Zusammenstellung von Anklagepunkten und Vorwürfen" by Classen 1982, 168 n. 1. On the manipulation of accusations made by the prosecutors in the *pro Caelio*, see Gotoff 1986.

than from that of the prosecution, Asconius (p. 41 C.; cf. Quint. *inst.* 6,3,49) assures us that although the confrontation was in fact accidental, the prosecutors, too, had concentrated on the question of who had ambushed whom, obviously naming Milo as the culprit. In fact, Asconius' words⁴ could be interpreted as implying that it was only because of this choice of strategy by the prosecution that Cicero himself settled on this line of defence (with the *pro re publica* aspect being added to strengthen his case). Because of Asconius' report, the fact that the prosecutors emphasised the question of who had ambushed whom can in any case not be doubted, although one may wonder about the exact motives behind this choice of strategy,⁵ especially as it must have been extremely convenient for Cicero, who, as observed above, had absolutely no reason to dwell on whatever happened *after* the hostilities had commenced. On the other hand, it must be admitted that in the months preceding the trial the incident had already been labelled by several persons as an ambush set up by either Clodius or Milo.⁶ And naming Milo as the initiator of the *insidiae* did, from the point of view of the prosecution, have some advantages.⁷

However, whereas Cicero had good reasons to concentrate only on the question of the *insidiae*, it is quite inconceivable that the prosecutors, after having tried to establish Milo's guilt as far as the *insidiae* went, would not have had a lot to say also about what followed. As Cicero had his own version of the facts, not much of what the prosecutors had said about the details of the incident is reflected in his speech. However, I suggest that we can recover from the speech traces of what the prosecutors had said concerning the events leading to Clodius' death.

As stated above, an important section of the speech deals with the question of who was responsible for the ambush, Cicero doing his best to show that

⁴ *Itaque cum insidias Milonem Clodio fecisse posuissent accusatores, quia falsum id erat – nam forte illa rixa commissa fuerat – Cicero apprehendit et contra Clodium Miloni fecisse insidias disputavit.*

⁵ Cf. Humbert 1925, 191f. (according to whom the prosecutors acted "*maladroitement*"); Wisse 2007, 63. Riggsby (1995, 248 n. 13) says it "is not impossible that Asconius is here dependent on [i.e., *only* on] Cicero's text", but goes on to correctly observe that Asconius did have "a variety of materials" (and not just Cicero's speech) at his disposal.

⁶ See Stone 1980, 92f.; Wisse 2007, 63 n. 115. To be exact, Metellus Scipio had not, according to Asconius (p. 34f.), accused Milo of *insidiae*, but only of having attacked Clodius while he was off his guard (*inopinantem*). According to Stone (1980, 92), even the Senate itself had declared that "insidiae had been perpetrated by someone", but I am unable to locate a passage in Asconius saying this.

⁷ Stone 1980, 94f.

Clodius was the culprit (§ 32–60). Now in this section Cicero quotes his opponents at least four times; according to Dyck (1998, 231), we have here an "imaginary objector", but surely we must be dealing with quotations, although no doubt modified, from the prosecutors' speeches.⁸ In paragraphs 34 (*obstabat in spe consulatus Miloni Clodius*) and 48 (*igitur ne Clodius quidem de insidiis cogitavit, quoniam fuit in Albano mansurus*) the quotations are clearly from those parts of the prosecutors' speeches which dealt with the question of the *insidiae*. But what about the prosecutors' observations referred to in paragraphs 35 and 36? They, too, have been inserted into the discussion of who could have wanted, or had reason, to arrange the ambush (i.e., Clodius), and this seems to be taken at face value in all commentaries on the speech known to me, as well as in studies of the speech which have addressed this passage. However, the quote in § 35 goes as follows: *At valuit odium, fecit iratus, fecit inimicus, fuit ultor iniuriae, punitor doloris sui*. This is quoted as an introduction to a section meant to prove that Milo had felt no *odium* whatsoever for Clodius, *segetem ac materiem* of his own *gloria* – except, of course, that which all good citizens feel for bad men –, whereas Clodius had every reason to hate Milo. This of course takes us back to the question of the *insidiae*; however, the quotation leaves the impression of coming from a quite different context. *Oidium* and *inimicitia* are indeed suitable sentiments to be attached to a villain at any stage of his criminal career aiming at the destruction of a respectable citizen, but *iratus* is not at all the *mot juste* to describe the state of mind of a cunning criminal who is planning an ambush. Moreover, the verb *facere* (*fecit iratus* ...) strikes me as rather lame if applied to the scheming of a man with sinister plans, and the use of the perfect *fecit* in any case means that the prosecutors had pointed out that Milo had brought an action to a conclusion, which of course one would not expect them to say when describing the preparations – as contrasted with the result – of an ambush. But the key word here is *valuit*. The use of this verb at the beginning of the passage clearly implies a situation in which Milo had to choose between two or more possibilities, and at the end chose one line of action. However, it is quite impossible to assume that the prosecutors would have presented Milo as having been uncertain about whether to ambush Clodius at all; they would certainly not have implied that Milo would have been asking himself questions such as "Is it really such a good idea to ambush for Clodius?", "What would Fausta say at dinner if she found out?", or "Would it not perhaps be better just to take it easy for a while

⁸ Dyck (1998, 231 n. 54) sees also *cur igitur victus est?* (§ 55) as a quote from the prosecutors (or rather from the "imaginary objector"). Of course they must have touched upon this point.

and think of something later?"; and they would certainly not have described Milo as concluding in the end that he might, after all, give the ambush a try and then proceed to the preparation of his scheme. No, in presenting their case, the prosecutors will certainly have portrayed Milo as a man of grim determination right from the start.

Hence, I suggest that this quote from the speech by the prosecution, however modified, does not at all belong to a section of the speech by one of the prosecutors dealing with the question of who planned the ambush and how, but to a section describing the scenario leading to Milo's decision to order his slaves to kill Clodius. If this were the case, everything would fit into this scenario: equipped from the start with *odium* and *inimicitia*, Milo would at the end of the encounter have been enraged, and seeing, full of *ira*, his arch-enemy Clodius lying on the ground wounded, he would have realised that he could now dispose of Clodius once and for all, and having quickly considered the possible consequences, would have let his *ira* dictate his course of action. As for the second part of the quote, *fuit ultor iniuriae, punitor doloris sui*, this obviously cannot be a faithful reproduction of what the prosecutors had said, for it is hardly conceivable that they would have stressed the *iniuriae* suffered by Milo and his *dolor*; but perhaps one could assume that the prosecutors had decided, in order to illustrate the circumstances of Clodius' murder as clearly as possible, to dwell on Milo's motivations when deciding to order his enemy killed, and that in doing so they had admitted, although surely rather in passing, that Milo may well have had his reasons to hate Clodius. (Another possibility could perhaps be that Cicero had simply made up this part of the "quotation").

In addition, the quote from the speech of one of the prosecutors in the next paragraph (§ 36), *nihil per vim umquam Clodius, omnia per vim Milo*, would seem to fit well into the narration by the prosecutors of the final phase of the encounter. This quote is introduced by Cicero at the beginning of a section pointing out that Milo's *natura* and *consuetudo*, characterised by moderation and restraint and to be contrasted with the sinister disposition of Clodius, showed that it would be quite unlikely that Milo could have even thought about the possibility of ambushing Clodius. I am not sure the prosecutors' speeches would have included a corresponding section, but even if there had been one, I wonder whether the key word would have been *vis*, for although *vis* is of course something that normally results from *insidiae*, one would expect the prosecutors, when describing the actions of Milo in devising the *insidiae*, to have highlighted, rather than just *vis*, such traits of Milo as his ruthlessness, his tendency to be aggressive, his resolution to proceed with his evil plan, etc. On the other hand, saying that Milo did

omnia per vim would be exactly the right thing to say when explaining Milo's decision to have the wounded Clodius killed in the end.⁹

In conclusion, I suggest that the quotations from the prosecutors' speeches in paragraphs 35 and 36, or at least that in § 35, however modified and tampered with, may in fact come not from that section of the speech of the prosecution they are purported to come from, namely from that dealing with arranging the ambush, but from a section which dealt with the situation leading to the killing of Clodius. As observed above, Cicero had no reason whatsoever to discuss at length the later developments of the encounter, but it may have seemed a good idea to leave the impression that he was reacting to at least some accusations put forward by the prosecution. Moving them from their original context to one which he preferred to concentrate on, may have seemed an attractive idea to Cicero, an orator not at all alien to the manipulation of details.

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⁹ However, it must be observed that the presence of the words *nihil per vim umquam Clodius* renders this interpretation a bit problematic, and the prosecutors may well have pointed to Milo's propensity to *vis* when describing his decision to ambush Clodius. On the other hand, the claim that Clodius had no record of violence is so absurd that it is not easy to believe that the prosecutors (who had no reason to deal with Clodius' activities prior to the encounter with Milo) could have made it; one could thus imagine that this description of Clodius was added by Cicero himself to make the allegations of the prosecution seem ridiculous.

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ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CCLXXXVI. WEITERE LATEINISCHE COGNOMINA

Hier eine Auslese zum x-ten Mal. Zu den im Folgenden gebrauchten Abkürzungen und diakritischen Zeichen s. *Rep.*² 475. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 189.¹

Apricula: Kajanto 325 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *NSc* 1915, 37 (Rom) *Heria Apricla*; 1920, 287 (Rom) *Faenia Apricla*; *ICUR* 18436 *Apricla*; *AE* 1977, 193 (Capua) *Silvia L. f. Apricula*; 2010, 329 (Capua) *Claudia Apricula*; *Suppl. It.* 4 Sulmo 57 K(---) *Apricla*.

Aquinus: Kajanto 184 mit zwei Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 132. 43 (2009) 162. Dazu *AE* 2010, 851 (Aquae Sextiae) *M. Anton[ius] Aquinus*.

Avitilla: Kanto 304 zwei Belegen aus der Lugdunensis. Dazu *IGLS* XIII 9198 (Bostra) *Rufonia Avitilla*; 9507a (Bostra) *Sempronia L. f. Avitilla*.

Balba: *ILJug* 621 vgl. *AE* 2010, 1161 (Municipium Malvesiatium in Dalmatien, ca. 3. Jh.) [*St?*] *atia Balba*. Der Männernamen *Balbus* (Kajanto 240) ist ein bekanntes Senatorencognomen, einigermaßen verbreitet auch beim gemeinen Volk. Vom Frauennamen *Balba* kann Kajanto keine sicheren Belege anführen.²

Bassina: *Rep.* 301 aus *ThlL Onom.* Dazu noch etwa *ICUR* 1547 *Bassines* (Gen.); *HEp* 9, 100 (Emerita Val. *Bassina*; *EpRomEmerita* 233; *ILD* 757 (Largi-

¹ Mein herzlicher Dank geht an Helmut Diekmann, der meinen Text einer sprachlichen Durchsicht unterzogen hat. Olli Salomies und Mika Kajava haben die *Analecta* in altbewährter Weise durchgelesen. Enrico Garavelli und Marco Buonocore bin ich für die Unterstützung beim Studium der Handschrift von Sarti schuldig.

² Er weist auf *ILGN* 569 VXORI·BALBA[---] hin, verwirft aber den Beleg als fragmentarisch (auch wenn an sich etwa *Balba[e]* ergänzt werden könnte). In Wirklichkeit lautet der Text aber [---] *uxori et Alba*[---], vgl. *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* 34, 4: Béziers (2012) 234.

ana) *Aurelia Bassina* (ihr Vater *Aurel. Bassus* stammt aus Syrien, weswegen der Name auch als semitisch beurteilt werden kann).

Bassinus: *Rep.* 301 aus *ThLL Onom.* Dazu noch etwa *AE* 1980, 48 (Rom, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *Aur. Bassinus aedituus cast(rorum) pereg(rinorum)*; *Inscr. It.* X 2, 69 (Parentium, christl.); X 5, 347 *Biveius Bassinus*; *IRomProvSalamanca* 72 *Domitio Bassini*; *ERomBeira* (Civitas Igaeditanorum) Vater *Bassus*; *AE* 2007, 1198 (Apulum) [*Ul*]p(ius?) *Bassinus dup(licarius)*; *IDR* III 5, 456 *Val. Bassinus*; *ILD* 520 (Potaissa); *ILAlg* I 3187 (Theveste) *Q. Baebius Bassinus*; *AE* 1952, 98 (Caesarea Maur.) *Iulius Bassinus eques Romanus*; *IAM* II 307 II b, 10 (Sala, 144 n. Chr.) *Sex. Antonius Bassinus*.³

Bassio: *Rep.*² 301. 497. Dazu noch etwa *SEG* XXXVII 964 (Kolophon, 138/9 n. Chr.?) Βασσίων Βάσσοῦ; *O. Wilcken* 94. 105. *P. Bad.* 101. *SB* 7399 (Elephantine, 1. Hälfte 2. Jh.). Man muss sich aber vergegenwärtigen, dass die Belege aus den östlichen Provinzen semitisches Namengut beherbergen können.

Bibulus: *Kajanto* 270 mit vier Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes (*Bibulus* war ein bestehendes Cognomen der Calpurnier und Publicier). Dazu noch *CIL* VI 4257 (dort werden ein *Amomus Bibuli* und eine *Iulia Natalis Bibuli* erwähnt; während *Amomus* ein Sklave des *Bibulus* gewesen sein kann, so war *Iulia Natalis* augenscheinlich Frau des *Bibulus*, weswegen dieser kein Senator sein konnte);⁴ *V* 1596 (christl.); *II* 3422 (Carthago Nova) *M. Cal[purnius] Bibulu[s]* (aus dem Foto zu schließen, scheint die Inschrift alt zu sein, man hat an republikanische Zeit gedacht; ob der Mann möglicherweise Senator war, bleibt ungewiss).⁵ – Zu *AE* 1922, 126 siehe unten 297.

Brutulla: *AE* 2010, 1270 (Mursa, Pann. inf., 3. Jh.) *Aelia Brutulla*. Es mag epichorisches Namengut vorliegen, doch konnten die Sprachteilhaber diese neue Bildung auch als lateinisches Cognomen identifizieren, der Grundname *Brutus* war ja allbekannt. Zur Bildung aus *Brutus* vgl. etwa *Aper* ~ *Aprulla*,⁶ *Catus* ~ *Catulla*, *Primus* ~ *Primulla*, *Quietus* ~ *Quietulla*, *Sextus* ~ *Sextulla*. Verdacht erweckt nur, dass der Frauenname *Bruta* in der römischen Namengebung prak-

³ Die Editoren nehmen unverständlicherweise einen Fehler für *Bassianus* an.

⁴ Dagegen können wir es in *CIL* VI 3866 *Anchiali Bibuli l(iberti)* mit einem senatorischen *Bibulus* zu tun haben.

⁵ Zu ihm *Syme, Roman Papers* 7, 193. Zur Inschrift zuletzt B. Díaz Ariño, *Epigrafía latina republicana de Hispania*, Barcelona 2008, 25, der den Mann für den Konsul 59 hält; wenn so, wäre die Inschrift aus republikanischer Zeit. [Warum übrigens die Editoren *faciun[dum coeravit]* durch die archaische Graphie *coer-* ergänzen, versteht man nicht.]

⁶ *Kajanto* 170 leitet das recht übliche *Aprulla* aus dem nur wenig gebrauchten Gentilnamen *Aprius*, es ist aber vorzuziehen, *Aprulla* zu dem sehr populären Cognomen *Aper* zu beziehen.

tisch ungebräuchlich war (er kommt nur in Provinzen vor und dürfte dabei epichorisches Gut vertreten), indem die Namengeber und Namenbeobachter ihn mit der pejorativen Bedeutung von *brutus* in klassischer Zeit in Verbindung bringen konnten. Vgl. auch den oskischen Vornamen *Brutululus* (Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen* 99), von dessen Weiterleben in der römischen Namengebung wir freilich nichts wissen und der als Namensvorbild für *Brutulla* nicht in Frage kommen kann.

Caestianus: RGZM 19 (121 n. Chr.) *Cohors IIII Gallor(um) quae est in Cilicia sub Calpurnio Caestiano praef(ecto)*.⁷ Ableitung aus dem seltenen Gentilnamen *Caestius* (mir nur aus *CIL* XI 2744 bekannt);⁸ doch scheint eine andere Erklärung nicht möglich. Auch der in *Arctos* 46 (2012) 199 gebuchte *Καίσιτιλλος* aus Aphrodisias mag als eine Ableitung aus *Caestius* deutbar zu sein, wie ich a.a.O. geltend gemacht habe. – Trotz der Seltenheit von *Caestius* braucht es sich nicht um eine bloße Nebenform von dem üblichen *Cestius* handeln.

Candorius: Kajanto 230 mit einem Beleg (afrikanischer Bischof [*episcopus plebis Mullitanae*] 411 n. Chr.). Dazu ein anderer afrikanischer Bischof, von Aggar (*Aggeritanus*), bezeugt für dasselbe Jahr: *Conc. Carth. a.* 411, 1, 126 l. 108. Beide sind auch aus anderen Quellen bekannt, siehe *PCBE Afrique*, 187 Nr. 1–2.

Carpilio: R. Egger, *Die Stadt auf dem Magdalensberg* (1961) 267 (Virunum, spätrepublikanisch bis claudisch) Nom. *Carpilio*; drei Beamten in *PLRE* II 262 aus dem 4./ 5. Jh.; einer von ihnen (*CIL* V 8743 aus Concordia) war *domesti(cus) de num(ero) Bat(avorum) sen(iorum)*; Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien* (1993) 98 vgl. *PCBE* 2, 400 (Vicetia, christl., 4./ 5.Jh). Ich beurteile den Namen als lateinisch. Trotz der Verdichtung der Belege auf Cisalpina und die Balkanprovinzen wird es sich kaum um keltisches Substrat handeln,⁹ und erst recht kann er nicht mit gr. *Carpus* in Zusammenhang gebracht werden. Auch

⁷ An anderer Stelle in derselben Inschrift wird der Name desselben Präfekts CESIIANO geschrieben, doch muss an *Caest-* festgehalten werden (es handelt sich um eine Art *lectio difficilior*). – *Caestianus* in Bloch *Suppl.* 122 ist lediglich eine Nebenform von *Cestianus*, der in mehreren Ziegelstempeln desselben Mannes belegt ist (*CIL* XV 482. 483), soweit der immer abgekürzte Name so zu ergänzen ist (Bloch druckt *Caes(tini)*, was ein Druckfehler sein mag). – *ICUR* 6605c [---]s *Caest*[---].

⁸ Die Inschrift ist nur aus der Abschrift eines alten Autors bekannt, doch ist an der Lesung kaum zu zweifeln; die Inschrift ist außerdem recht alt: *M. Caestius C. f. Arn. Clemens*. – In der verschollenen Inschrift *CIL* XI 2914a wird neben mehreren *Caesii* und *Cestii* eine *Caestia L. f. Quarta* erwähnt. Ihr Name muss wohl zu *Cestia* geändert werden (so auch Bormann ad loc.).

⁹ A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* I (1896) 808 registriert den Namen.

die mitunter vorgeschlagene gotische Herkunft des Namens bleibt in der Luft hängen.¹⁰ Vielmehr ist er aus dem unbelegten Gentilnamen *Carpilius* abgeleitet. *Carpilius* neben *Carpus* *Carpinius* *Carponius* usw. ist leicht anzunehmen.

Castio: Kajanto 252 mit zwei Belegen aus keltischen Gebieten; also keltisch? Dazu *HEp* 2, 686 (Toletum, Hisp. cit.) *Castio Cast[ioni]s* (wenn nicht der Gentilname *Castius* vorliegt); *AE* 2010, 1857 (Militärdiplom, 124 n. Chr.). Sein Vater war aus Sirmium (Pann. inf.) und die Mutter aus Siscia (Pann. sup.). Auch hier haben wir es mit nicht-lateinischem Substrat zu tun (der Vater Bato und der Bruder Dasius führen illyrische Namen, die beide in den Balkan- und Donauprovinzen häufig belegt sind).¹¹

Cestianus: Kajanto 144 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 38 (1004) 167. Dazu *ILAlg* II 6624 (Sigus) *C. Ingenius Cestianus*; *IG* VII 1772 (frühes 2. Jh. n. Chr.); *Corinth* VIII 3, 269 (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) Πεδουκάιος Κεστιανὸς Ἀπολλωνιάτης ῥήτωρ (derselbe *I.Apollonia* 193); *SEG* LIV 670 (Tomis (frühes 3. Jh. n. Chr.); *I. Smyrna* 761 (etwa 1. Jh. n. Chr.) Κλ. Πρόκλος Κεστιανός, στρατηγῶν; Ἄλλιος Κεστιανός; *I.Anazarbos* 417 (1./ 2. Jh.); *Anat. Stud.* 18 (1968) 127 Nr. 6,08 (Komana Kappad.) Μάξιμος Κεστιανοῦ; *Studia Pontica* 3, 37 (Neoclaudiopolis in Pontos; seine Frau führt lat. Gentilnamen und Cognomen).

Cestillus: *Rep.*² 498. Dazu drei Gladiatoren aus der griechischen Welt: *I.Beroia* 382 (frühes 3. Jh.); *I.Smyrna* 419 ῥ[ητι]άριος; 843 Ζμυρναῖος. Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Cestius*, eine griechische Erklärung steht nicht zu Gebote.¹² – Ist es ein reiner Zufall, dass die Belege aus der griechischen Welt Gladiatoren gehören? Oder was *Cestillus* ein Gladiatorenname?

Κεστρωνιανή: *I.Beroia* 248 (3. Jh. n. Chr.) Κεστρωνιανὴ Ἀὐρηλία. Aus dem nicht üblichen Gentilnamen *Cestronius*, der einige Male in Italien und Afrika belegt ist.¹³ (oder ist der Name als Gentilicium zu bewerten?).

¹⁰ So D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia dignitatum* 2, Düsseldorf 1970, 82.

¹¹ Zu *Castio* als keltischer Name: Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* I (1896) 836; X. Delamarre, *Noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique*, Paris 2007, 60.

¹² Es ist ein Name Κεστός im Griechischen belegt: *IG* X 2, 1, 69 (Thessalonike, um 100 n. Chr.) Γ. Μάρκιος Κεστός; es wird sich aber um eine okkasionelle Bildung handeln (auch wegen der 'Bedeutung' des Namenwortes), die kaum suffixale Ableitungen erzeugt hat.

¹³ *CIL* XI 2872; *Epigraphica* 73 (2011) 313 aus dem Gebiet der Marsi in der regio IV; *I.Aquileia* 989; *CIL* VIII: 4mal; *ILTun* 519. – In formaler Hinsicht wäre Κεστρωνιανή hier als Gentilname zu bewerten, auch wenn darauf ein allbekanntes Gentile folgt.

Cognita: Kajanto 278 mit zwei Belegen (der Männername *Cognitus* ist üblicher; vgl. *Arctos* 44 [2010] 236). *Arctos* 35 (2001) 194. Dazu *AE* 2010, 1602 (Nysa, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) Κλωδία Αὔλου θυγάτηρ Κόγνιτα, γυνή δὲ Ποπλίου Οὔηδίου Δημάδου.

Collega: Kajanto 306 mit zwei Belegen aus dem Senatorenstand. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 168 aus Pisidien. Weitere östliche Belege: *MAMA* IV (Apollonia in Phrygien, 3. Jh.) Αὐρ. Κολλήγου (Gen.); *IGUR* 37 Αἴλιος Ἀντιπάτρου Κολληγα(ς) (aus Laodikeia am Lykos, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.); Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens* 2 (1892) 226, 200 (Sagalassos in Pisidien) Τ. Φλ. Κολλήγας; *SEG* XXXII 1302 (Antiocheia Pisid., 4. Jh.) Γ. Καλπ(ούρνιος) Κολληγα(ς) Μακεδών; *I.Ankara* I 141 (128/9 n. Chr.) Γαίου Ἰουλίου Κολλήγα Νεο[καισαρέως κωμω]δοῦ παραδόξου (also aus Neokaisareia in Pontos). Im Westen: *IGUR* 850 = *JIWE* II 341 (scheint eher jüdisch zu sein, etwa 2. Jh.) Αὔλο[ς] Βήδιο[ς] Κολλη[γα(ς)] ἀρχίατρ[ος].

Comitianus: Kajanto 306 mit einem Beleg (und für den Frauennamen *Comitiane* (sic) einem Beleg). Dazu *RIB* I 154 (Aequae Sulis); *IDR* III 384 (Sarmizegetusa) *C. Aquilius Comitian(us)*.

Corvinus: Kajanto 331 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *ILJug* 1953 (Tilurium in Dalmatien) *Mebdius Corvin[us]*, Prätorianer, aus Bracaraugusta; *IGRR* IV 706 (Synnada) Οὐαλέριος Κορουεῖνος ἄρχων. Hier hat möglicherweise als Namenquelle der hochberühmte Redner gewirkt, dessen noch in späteren Quellen oft gedacht wird, und zwar öfters mit dem bloßen *Corvinus*. Auch der Konsul 58 n. Chr. hat zur Berühmtheit des Namenpaares *Valerius Corvinus* beigetragen.

Corvus: Kajanto 331 mit drei Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *CIL* I² 2765 (Caere) *L. Laterius Cor(v)us* (die Deutung ist sicher, da ein naher Verwandter *L. Laterius Corvinus* hieß); Bloch *Suppl.* 454 (Anagnia); *AE* 2010, 555 (Ferrara) *T. Aellienus Corvus*.

Crispinianus: Kajanto 223. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 163. Dazu *AE* 2010, 1223 (Scardona in Dalmatien, 2. Jh.) *L. Apuleius C.*

Cruscellio(?): Kajanto 225 mit einem Beleg (*PIR*² C 1389 *Lentulus Cruscellio* Senator in den 40. und 30. Jahren v. Chr.). Dazu *AE* 2010, 1866 (Militärdiplom, 127 n. Chr.) *Cruscel[lio?]*, Präfekt der Cohors I Lucensium.

Decianianus: *CIL* VI 3590 *T. Egnatio Decianiano ... militi*. Kajanto 13 meint, *Decianianus* sei ein als Dittographie entstandener Fehler. Ein solcher Name mit zweifachem Suffix kann jedoch akzeptiert werden. Die Inschrift ist aus dem 2./3. Jh., wo solche Häufungen von Suffixen reichlicher vorkommen als früher.

Dives: Kajanto 281 mit zwei Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 237 aus Aquincum. Dazu *Antiqua Beneventana* (2013) 417 *Avi-dius Dives* (Beneventum, etwa 3. Jh. n. Chr.; Lesung bleibt etwas unsicher).

Divus: Kajanto 211 mit zwei Belegen (beide *Divos* geschrieben). *Rep.* 324 (*Divus*). Dazu *Bull. com.* 43 (1915) 233 = *NSc* 1916, 98 Nr. 16 (Rom, circa 2. Jh. n. Chr.) [---] *onio Divo* (Lesung sicher, Deutung plausibel);¹⁴ *AE* 1995, 665 (Mediolanum, 2./3. Jh.) *L. Trebius Divus*; *IMS* VI 24 (Scupi) *Claudi[us] Divus* \subset *centurio* \supset . Zuletzt sei auf einen Terra sigillata -Töpfer hingewiesen, dessen Stempel auf den Namen *Divus* schließen lassen;¹⁵ es ist aber möglich, diesen Beleg ebenso als keltisch zu deuten, wie auch den von Kajanto verzeichneten Beleg aus *CIL* XIII 8606.¹⁶ – Fernzuhalten ist das populäre *Dius* griechischer Herkunft (42 Belege aus Rom),¹⁷ auch wenn es in Einzelfällen zu graphischen Überschneidungen kommen kann.

Domnus: Kajanto 362; ausführliche Übersicht in *Arctos* 39 (2005) 164–168; ferner *Arctos* 44 (2010) 237. Dazu noch *SEG* LVIII 1538 = *AE* 2010, 1597 (Kotiaion, christl.) Ἀὐρ. Δόμνος.

Egrilianus: Kajanto 146 mit sechs Belegen (davon 1 senatorisch). Dazu *IGLS* XIII 9181 *Cor(nelius) Egri(lianus)* \subset *centurio* \supset *leg. III Cy(renaicae)*; derselbe 9182 (griech.).

Φλαουιανία: *AE* 2010, 1593 (Lamunia in Phrygien, vom Editor ins 3. Jh. gesetzt, dem man zustimmen kann) Ἰουλία Φλαβιανείη. Enthält das für die spätere Kaiserzeit so charakteristische Suffix *-ius -ia*.

Fontanus: Kajanto 308 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *CIL* X 4852 (Mommsen im Cognominaindex hält den Beleg für korrupt, doch besteht kein Grund, an der Lesung zu zweifeln); *AE* 2007, 1075c (Noricum) *Flav(i-) Fontan(---)*; *Tab. Vindol*

¹⁴ Die Inschrift ist links gebrochen. DIVO endet die zweite Zeile. Da keine Cognomina mit *Divo-* anfangen, muss konsequenterweise *Divo* verstanden werden. Auch das gute Foto, das in EDR000584 zu sehen ist, spricht für diese Deutung.

¹⁵ B. R. Hartley – B. M. Dickinson, *Names on Terra sigillata* 3 (BICS Suppl. 102–3), London 2008, 288 mit drei Belegen: OFF·DIV, DIVVS, DIVI und mit der Bemerkung "It is unlikely that all these stamps are misreadings".

¹⁶ Zur Inschrift vgl. z. B. H. Gummerus, *Der Ärztestand im Römischen Reiche nach den Inschriften* I (CHL 3, 6), Helsingfors 1932, 95 Nr. 372; B. Rémy – P. Faure, *Les médecins dans l'Occident romain*, Bordeaux 2010, 167 Nr. 65 mit gutem Foto. Aufgrund des Fotos lese ich ohne Zögern *Divos / medicu(s)*. (Man hat das Schluss-s in die folgende Zeile transponieren wollen und *Divo medicus* gelesen; doch wäre, von allem anderen zu schweigen, ein Name *Divo* eigentümlich.)

¹⁷ S. mein griechisches Namenbuch 705f. Zur sonstigen Verbreitung *ThLL Onom.* III 197f.

43 = 325 [---]ius Fontanus. 296 vgl. vol. III 159 *Flavius Fontanus* (beide etwa 2. Hälfte des 1./ 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.).

Frontinianus: Kajanto 236 mit zehn Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *TitAquinc* II 994; *ILTun* 1611, 8; *ILAlg* II 7096; *AE* 2010, 1838 (Lambaesis) K. Ἀττιος Φροντινιαν(ός).

Frontosa: *TitAquinc* II 574 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Avid[i]a Frontosa*. Zum Männernamen *Frontosus* s. Kajanto 268 (mit einem Beleg). *Arctos* 44 (2010) 239.

Genitor: Kajanto 303 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *CIL* XV 7242 (203 n. Chr.) *Mucius Genitor (centurio) coh. VIII pr.*

Gentianis: *ICUR* 2844. Gebildet mit dem griechischen Suffix *-is* aus dem Gentilnamen *Gentius*; vgl. *Gentinus Gentilla* (Belege in *Rep.* 338). Zum Suffix vgl. unten S. 286 unter Φλαβιανίς.

Gnata: siehe unter *Nata*.

***Gnato:** Kajanto 304 aus *CIL* VI 34210 (Freigelassener). Kajanto zufolge gleich *Nato*, doch ist der Name eher als griechisch *Gnatho* zu deuten. Dieser Name lässt sich sonst im römischen Westen nicht belegen, Γνάθων war aber in Griechenland ein geläufiger Name.

Largianus: Kajanto 148 = 256 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 21868b [*L]argian[---]* (die Ergänzung ist sicher, aber der Sexus bleibt unbestimmt).

Larginus: Kajanto 256 mit einem senatorischen Beleg aus domitianischer Zeit (jetzt *PIR*² L 109). Dazu *CIL* XIII 1072, wo aufgrund der Kopie eines alten Gewährmannes Veyrel *C. Iulius Aemuli* (sc. *filius*) *Larg[i]/nus* gelesen werden kann. Hirschfeld im *CIL* hatte aus Veyrels Kopie etwas ganz anderes herausgeholt: *C. Iulius Aemilianus*, was doch ohne weiteres zurückzuweisen ist. In Veyrels Kopie, die in der neuen Edition *ILA Santons* 42 nachgebildet ist, endet die dritte Zeile mit LARG, während am Ende der übrigen Zeilen kein einziger Buchstabe vermisst wird; deswegen wird man kaum mehr als das I ergänzen können – also wäre *Larg[ia]/nus* etwas zu lang; außerdem ist auch *Largianus* ein nur selten belegter Name.¹⁸ Aus Pompeji kommt ein weiterer Beleg, der etwas unsicher bleibt, doch durchaus möglich als Zeugnis dieses Cognomens gewertet werden kann: *CIL* IV 3590, wo die vierte Zeile L·IVNCVS·LACO LARΘINVS gelesen wurde (man kann an einem Gentilnamen *Iuncus* zweifeln, obwohl Mau im *CIL* ausdrücklich sagt, es könne nicht *Iunius* gelesen werden). Das zweite Cognomen wird üblicherweise als etruskisch gedeutet mit Hinweis auf das Praenomen

¹⁸ Zur Bezeugung s. gleich oben.

Larθ,¹⁹ ein solches Cognomen wäre aber einmalig (in lateinischer Schrift sind nur Vornamen *Larth*, *Larhi*, *Larthia* aus etruskischem Gebiet belegt) und im kaiserzeitlichen Pompeji kaum zu begründen.²⁰ So drängt sich der Verdacht auf, hier sei das Cognomen *Larginus* verkannt worden. Ein Lesefehler Θ für G wäre in einer gemalten Inschrift nicht öffentlichen Charakters leicht verständlich, um so mehr als der Text auch andere verdächtige Graphien aufweist. – Ferner sei hingewiesen auf den Gentilnamen *Larginius*: *CIL* VI 21128; *IG* XIV 914 = *IGrPorto* 17 (in beiden wird ein *Larginius Vitalio* angeführt; ob es aber um dieselbe Person geht, bleibt ungewiss).

Leoparda: Kajanto 327 mit neun Belegen, alle christlich und aus Rom (der Männername ist üblicher, Kajanto zählt 21 Belege aus christlichen Inschriften). Dazu *ICUR* 14418. 16312. 20111. 22535. 24843 (spät). 25165; *HEp* 4, 610 *Leopardes bita*.

Litoria: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 205 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. Dazu noch *ICUR* 21809; *AE* 2001, 544 (Rom, christl.) *Litor[ia]* (die Editorin der Erstpublikation und die von *AE* ergänzen *Litor[a]*; 552 (Rom, christl.) *Litora*, was zweifellos für *Litoria* steht.

Litorianus: *RIB* II 5, 2491, 101 (Tripontium, Ziegelgraffito) *Lit[o]rianus* (die Ergänzung ist sicher, denn darauf folgt *Litorius*).

Litorinus: Kajanto 308 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *P.Hamb* 39 (2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Litorius: Kajanto 308 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 530 (Rom, 4. Jh., christl.) *Litorus*; *SEG* XXVII 713 (Tarraco, 3. Jh. n. Chr.); *RIB* II 5, 2491, 101 (s. oben unter *Litorianus*).

Λόγγιλλα: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 205. 38 (2004) 176. 41 (2007) 96. Dazu aus dem Osten *IGRR* III 500 (Oinoanda in Lykien) Αἰ[λ]ίας Λικτι[ν]νίας Λονγίλλης τῆς καὶ Ἄρσασίδος; *MAMA* I 50 (Laodicea Combusta) Λονγίλλη (Dat.); Sterrett, *WE* 619 (Pisidien Λονγίλλης (Gen.)); Lanckoroński, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* 2 (1892) 226, 200 (Sagalassos in Pisidien) μετὰ Φλ. Λονγίλλης.

Lupina: Kajanto 328 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *HEp* 5, 928 *[Pe]tron[ia]* *Lupina*; *O.Bu Njem* 140 (prov. proc.).

Lupinus: Kajanto 328 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *HEp* 11, 652; *RIB* II 4, 2447, 36 (Verulamium); *LIA* 17 (Dalmatien).

Macriana: Kajanto 244 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 25356; Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien* (1993) 91 (Vicetia, christl.); *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* 80, 1 (200) 206 (Samarobriva in der Belgica).

¹⁹ So A. Sogliano, *NSc* 1883, 92; I. Kajanto. *NphM* 66 (1965) 458.

²⁰ Nicht besser steht es mit einem Cognomen **Lartinus*, das freilich theoretisch möglich wäre als Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Lartius*, doch nirgends überliefert.

Mariniana: Kajanto 308 mit vier Belegen (der Männernamen *Marinianus* ist üblicher). Dazu *IGUR* 708 (3. Jh.) Κλ. Μαρινιανή; ihr Mann war aus Nikomedeia, weswegen auch sie östlicher Herkunft sein kann, so dass der Verdacht entsteht, ihr Cognomen sei als semitisch einzustufen; Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien* (1993) 89 (Vicetia, christl.); *AE* 1995, 1753 (Theveste in Numidien, christl.).

Mascellina: *AE* 1973, 71 (Rom) *Coelia Mascellina*; wohl dieselbe *CIL* XV 8166 *Caelia Cn. f. Mascellina*. Die Frau stammt aus Baetica, 3. Jh. n. Chr.

Masclio: *Rep.* 359 mit zwei Belegen aus Rom. Dazu *I.Lingons* 189 (Divio); vgl. unten 287.

Maternianus: Kajanto 150 = 304 mit sechs Belegen. *Arctos* 41 (2007) 98. Der Eintrag in Kajanto ist aber sehr unvollständig (ist in seinen Sammlungen etwas ausgefallen?), weswegen hier eine kurz gefasste Übersicht gegeben werden soll: Rom: 1mal; die hispanischen Provinzen: 5mal; üblich in den gallischen Provinzen, Kajanto verzeichnet aus XII zwei Belege, die Gesamtzahl beträgt etwa 5; Raetien: etwa 4mal; Pannonien (Flavia Solva): *AE* 2004, 1087. Belege spätantiker Würdenträger in *Arctos* 41 (2007) 98.

Matrinia: *ICUR* 25196 (etwa 4., wenn nicht 5. Jh.). Kann auch als Gentilname in der Funktion des Einzelnamens aufgefasst werden. Wegen der späten Datierung kann auch ein 'echtes' Cognomen vorliegen, gebildet aus *Matrinus* mit dem für die spätere Kaiserzeit so charakteristischen Suffix *-ius -ia*. Bedenken erregt nur, dass *Matrinus* kein übliches Cognomen war, während *Matrinus* einen üblichen Gentilnamen darstellt, auch in Rom einigermaßen belegt.

Matronianus: Kajanto 305 mit fünf Belegen aus der späteren Kaiserzeit. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 178 mit östlichen Belegen. Dazu *BCTH* 1926, LVII (Thamugadi in Numidien).

Matronilla: Kajanto 305 mit fünf Belegen (davon zwei christlich). *Arctos* 35 (2001) 208. 43 (2009) 169 (chr.). Dazu *ICUR* 16342. 19098.

Matronula: Kajanto 305 mit zwei Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *ILAlg* II 6163 (Numidien) *Caecilia Matronu(la)*.

Mauricius: Kajanto 206 mit sechs Belegen (davon vier christlich). *Arctos* 39 (2005) 172 (spätantike Beamten). Dazu *AE* 2010, 1464 (Thebai Phthiot.; vielleicht nachantik) Ὀνησίμου τοῦ καὶ Μαυρικίου (Gen.).

Maurilio: Kajanto 206 mit einem heidnischen und drei christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 172 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *ICUR* 21185. Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien* (1993) 81 (Verona, christl.).

Memoria: Kajanto 255 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien* (1993) 74 (Verona, christl.).

Memorius: Kajanto 255 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *Inscr. It.* X 2, 59 (Parentinum, christl.); *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* 13, 5 (2008) 682 (Arelate).

Munatianus: Kajanto 151 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *I. Ephesos* 701 vgl. *PIR*² P 204 [Πεδ]όνιος Σε[κ]οῦν[δος] Πομπήιος Φῆστος [Μο]υνατιανός (Senator aus flavischer Zeit); *AE* 1974, 120 vgl. *PIR*² P 739 *Q. Pomponius Munat[ianus] Clodianus* Senator, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.; 2010, 1834 [*Cl. Fla*]vius *Catulus Munatianus c(larissimus) p(uer)* aus der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.; Ineditum aus Sardinien (Neu-0012 bei Clauss – Slaby) *M(---) Munatianus*; *ILAfr* 38, 59 (Thaenae) *Cn. Pontius Paulinus Munatianus*; *ILTun* 1614 (Sicca Veneria) [*C. Art*]ori[us] *P]ap. [C]el[er] Munatianus*; *IGX* 2, 1, 35 (Thessalonice, 132/133 n. Chr.) *Μ. Οὐαλέριος [---]βανὸς* *M.* Üblich in Ägypten: ein Alexandriner Beamter hadrianischer Zeit (*P.Lips* 112; *P.Oxy* 4859. 4862. 4863); *P.Mil.Vogl* 26. 266 (Tebtynis, 128 n. Chr.) *Μουνατιανὸς Μουνατιανοῦ*; *SB* 13156 (2. Jh.); 14180 (2. Jh., Soldat); 16241 (Pselkis in Nubien, 2. Hälfte 2. Jh. – 1. Hälfte 3. Jh., Soldat); *ChLA* 42, 1225 (Karanis, 150 n. Chr.); *P.Oxy* 4482 (Busirites, 182 n. Chr.); *P.Oxy* 1498 (2. Hälfte des 3. Jh.) *Κλαύδιος Μ. ὑπερέτης*. – Unbekannter Herkunft *ChLA* 10, 458 (Soldat, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.).

Nata/Gnata: Kajanto 304 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1934, 265 (Carnuntum) *Gnata Susi f(ilia)*. Trotz des keltischen Namens des Vaters kann der Tochter bewusst ein lateinischer Name zugelegt worden sein.

Natulus: Kajanto 304 mit zwei Belegen.²¹ Dazu *AE* 1904, 71 (Lambaesis, Primipilarius der Legio III Augusta) *Numisius Natulus*.

Nigrío: Kajanto 228 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2005, 383 (Uria in Apulien) *Nigr[i]o vilicus*.

Obsequentius: Kajanto 255 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1994, 607a (Florentia, christl.).

Optatiana: Kajanto 296 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *TitAquinc* 520 (3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Iulia Optaciane* (mit Assibilierung des *t* vor vulgärlat. *j*, dem sog. Jotazismus vom Typ *nacione* [*CIL* VI 34635], für das 3. Jh. schon eine glaubhafte Schreibung).²² Der Männername *Optatianus* ist üblicher.

²¹ *CIL* II 4346 (jetzt II² 14, 1497 bezieht sich auf eine Frau, nicht auf einen Mann).

²² Vgl. dazu z. B. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (1977²) 154. Für die frühe Prinzipatszeit ist diese Assibilierung nicht glaubwürdig überliefert. Schreibungen aus pompejanischen Graffiti (für die ja unter normalen Umständen 79 n. Chr. terminus post quem non bildet) wie *Antiscius* (*CIL* IV 1101) für *Antistius* vertreten falsche Lesungen von Autoren des 18. und 19. Jh., Irrtümer, die an sich leicht verständlich sind: T und C konnten in der kursiven oder semikursiven Schrift leicht verwechselt werden, und sodann war für Gelehrte jener Zeit die Schreibung *-ci-* für *-ti-* aus der mittelalterlichen Praxis geläufig. [Es könnte sich aber auch um

Parasita: *CIL IX 5620 (Septempeda) Taflenia L. l. Parasita*. Kann auch als griechisch aufgefasst werden; Kajanto hat *Parasitus* (s. unten).

Parasitus: Kajanto 306 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *CIL VI 37418 P. Herennius Parasitus; 37817 [P]arasito Secund[iano]*. In meinem Namenbuch als griechisch eingestuft.

Passenianus: Kajanto 152 mit einem Beleg (und mit einem Beleg für den Frauennamen). Dazu *CIIP II 1267 Clod(ius) Passenianus v. c., praes(es) prov(inciae) Syr(iae) Pal(aestinae)* (Caesarea Pal., 2. Hälfte des 3. Jh.).

Passenillianus: *Antiqua Beneventana* (2013) 240: ein Senator aus severischer Zeit namens *M. Casineius M. fil. Stel. Vassius Passenillianus Titianus*. Zugrunde liegt der Gentilname *Pass(i)enius*, aus dem einige Cognomina abgeleitet wurden; mir bekannt sind *Passenianus* (s. oben) und *Passienil[la?]* (Lesung und Ergänzung sind vertretbar) *Rep. 375* aus *CIL VIII 23156*.²³ *Passenillianus* ist Weiterbildung aus der letzteren (nur mit *-ie-* geschrieben).

Paterninus: Kajanto 304 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *ILCV 3573*.

Patiens: Kajanto 259 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *EpigrRomProvLeón 143* Vater und Sohn.

Patientia: *Arctos 35* (2001) 214. Dazu *AE 2010, 854* (Arelate, chr., 3./4. Jh.).

Petrulla: *CIL IV 4562 vide qu(a)e pateor peterula rogo*. So der Editor Mau. Die mehrmals vorgeschlagene Emendation in *Petrulla* liegt auf der Hand.²⁴ Sie passt auch zum Textverlauf gut: *Petrulla* wäre der Name der Geliebten des Schreibers im Vokativ. Hierzu gehört wohl auch *Petruilla* aus Rom *Bull. com. 56* (1928) 316. Der entsprechende Männernamen *Petrullus* war schon bekannt (s. gleich unten).

Petrullus: Kajanto 310 mit zwei Belegen, beide aus den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen. Dazu *I. Luxemburg 103* (die Mutter führt einen keltisch aussehenden Namen); *BRGK 58* (1977) 470 Nr. 19 (Sitzinschrift aus Crutisium in der Belgica); *IGLS XIII 9188*, Zenturio der Legio III Cyrenaica aus Britannien (s. weiter unten). Kajanto leitet den Namen aus *Petro* ab (den er ein paar Male als Cognomen belegt), den er zum Vornamen *Petro* stellt (diesen hält er für etruskisch, er ist aber eher als oskisch zu betrachten). Da die bisher zutage getretenen

einen Irrtum des antiken Schreibers handeln.]

²³ Mein Urteil basiert auf dem in Z. Benzina ben Abdallah, *Catalogue des inscriptions latines païennes du Musée de Bardo* (1986) 116 publizierten Foto. Aus dem Textverlauf scheint hervorzugehen, dass in *Passienil[---]* ein Frauennamen vorliegt.

²⁴ Als erster E. Diehl, *Pompejanische Wandinschriften*² 749, und in seiner Nachfolge V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*³ 47 (als Anaptyxe verzeichnet); F. P. Maulucci Vivolo, *Pompei. I graffiti d'amore*, Foggia 1995, 38.

Belege aus dem keltischen Gebiet kommen, ist der Name dort wohl als keltisch abzustufen (vgl. etwa J. L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* [1968] 241f).

Praesentina: Kajanto 289 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 248. Dazu G. Lettich, *Le origini e le epigrafi cristiane di Concordia* (2007) 57 Nr. 17 [*P*]resentina.

Praesentinus: Kajanto 289 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 32812 (Eques singularis, 3. Jh.) [*Pra*]esentinus (Ergänzung sicher).

Primitus: Kajanto 290 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *RIU* 1436 (Matrica, Pann. inf.) *Ael(ius) Primitus*; *AE* 2010, 1819 (Thamugadi) *Primitus actor*. Ich teile aber mit Kajanto den Verdacht, hier könne eine Haplologie für *Primitivus* vorliegen. Denn ein Name *Primitus* ist morphologisch schwierig zu erklären.

Privigna: Kajanto 305 mit einem Beleg (mit zwei Belegen für den Männernamen *Privignus*). Dazu *AE* 1988, 116 (Fabrateria Nova in Latium adiectum) *Purpurnia L. f. Privigna Curvi*.

Procus: Kajanto 307 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 24112; *CIL* IX 2756(?). Öfters im Instrumentum in dunklem Kontext mit Formen *PROCI* und *PROCVS*. Im Ganzen steht die ganze Existenz des Namens auf dem Spiel (wenigstens für die Belege im Nominativ könnte man mit Kajanto an Haplologie aus *Proculus* denken).

Proximilla: Kajanto 303 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *IRC* II 42 vgl. *HEp* 1, 441 (Aeso) [*F*]abia *Pr[oxi]mi f. Prox[im]illa*.

Proximus: Kajanto 303 mit 12 Belegen. Dazu *IRC* II 42 (s. oben zu *Proximilla*) *P.Oxy* 1834 (2. Hälfte 5. Jh. / 1. Hälfte 6. Jh.).

Punicus: Kajanto 207 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 176 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu noch *PIR*² J 802 *M. Iunius Punicus*, ein ritterlicher Procurator in severischer Zeit, gebürtig aus Leptis.

Ravus(?): Kajanto 228 mit zwei Belegen aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu *AE* 2010, 1857 (Militärdiplom vom 124 n. Chr.) *M. Ulpius Gravi f. Bato* aus Sirmium in Pann. inf. Die Editoren nehmen einen Schreibfehler für *Ravi* an, was an sich möglich wäre. Doch wird der Name eher als nicht-lateinisch einzustufen sein; sein Sohn und sein Enkel (ein Dasius) führen illyrische Namen.

Reditus: Kajanto 355 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1988, 660 (Tharros, wahrscheinlich Sklave); 1973, 363 (Germania inferior) *Quartius Reditus*; 1994, 1334 (Virunum, 184–201 n. Chr.) zweimal; 1993, 1583 (Apamea Syr.) *Aur(elius) Reditus eq(ues)*.

! *Romanus -ia*: *Rep.* 392; aus der dortigen Liste entferne *CIL* IX 990 (*Romania*), wo *Romana* zu lesen ist (vgl. *Epigraphica* 2014, im Druck).

!Rosula: Kajanto 418 mit heidnischen und vier christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 11411. 17127; *ILAlg* II 6661 (Sigus); *ILTun* 1611, 44 (Sicca Venetia); *InscrFunChrCarthage* I 77. – Dagegen zu entfernen *CIL* X 2915, wo eher *Ro[m]ula* statt *Ro[s]ula* zu ergänzen ist: vgl. H. S., *Puteoli* 11 (1987) 56.

Rutila: Kajanto 230 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 9 Amiternum 117 *Rutila Numesia Q. f.*; *AE* 2009, 1744 (Ammaedara) *Vinnia Rutila*.

Rutilus: Kajanto 230 mit fünf Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 183 (mit einem Beleg aus Termessos). Dazu *AE* 1996, 423 (Puteoli); *HEp* 11, 684 (Lusitanien); *AE* 2010, 971 (Belgica, instr.).

Sagittarius: Kajanto 320 mit zwei Belegen (aber in dem einen, *CIL* VI 37262 muss *ex sagittaris* verstanden werden). Dazu *CIL* II 5895 vgl. *AE* 2010, 736 (Hispanien) *C. Cassius [Sa]gittar[ius]*.

Salgamius: Epist. Maxim. Aug. in psalm. 36, serm. 2,20,1. 75 (vgl. *PCBE* Afrique 1021), donatistischer Diakon von Karthago Ende des 4. Jh. Bildung mit dem späten onomastischen Suffix *-ius* aus *salgama* 'Kräuter'.

Satrianus: Kajanto 154 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 830(?); *Suppl. It.* 25 Liternum 13 (1. Jh. n. Cr.) *[S]atrian[us]* (die Ergänzung hat viel für sich) Praefectus unbekannter Art; *EE* VIII 371 (Puteoli) *Silius Satrianus*; *ILJug* 2147 (Salona) *Caetenius Satrian(us)*; *AE* 1992, 1468 (Potaissa); *IL Afr* 146 (Sufetula).

Scitus: Kajanto 250 mit elf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2003, 709 (Vicetia) *[M. Se]mpronius M. l. Scitus*; *AE* 2010, 699 (Hispanien) *Clemes Sciti f.*; 1984, 482 (Lusitanien) *Placida Sciti f. ... Scitus Victoris f.*; 1996, 856 (Lusitanien) *Cessee Sciti lib.* Häufig belegt auf der iberischen Halbinsel; also dort epichorisch?

Scurra m.: Kajanto 306 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1959, 283 (Saepinum) *L. Ventrius D. f. Scurra Ilvir ter*; 1996, 506 (Iuvanum) *[-] Mettius C. f. Arn. Scurra IIIvir*; *Suppl. It.* 5 Superaequum 24 *P. Cavius Scurra*; 9 Amiternum 69 *Q. Atrius Q. l. Scurra*.

Scurra f.: Kajanto 306 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 240 (Rom) *Cornelia L. l. Scurra*.

Sexio: Kajanto mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* X 4607 *Pontidia Sexion(is) fil.*; doch der Text dieser nur durch einen mittelmäßigen Gewährsmann überlieferten Inschrift ist korrupt, auch wenn es nicht ganz ausgeschlossen ist, dass hier *Sexio* vorliegen könnte (in meiner Edition *I. Trebula, Caiatia, Cubulteria* 77 gebe ich freilich andersartige Erklärungen). Ich füge noch hinzu, dass die von Kajanto zitierte Inschrift *CIL* IX 333 einen hohen spätantiken Beamten nennt (*PLRE* I 838), dessen voller Name *Flavius Sexio* lautet.²⁵

²⁵ Er war v. p., *corrector Apuliae et Calabriae* 379/395. Derselbe von Symm. *epist.* 2,43 erwähnt.

Sisenninus: *AE* 2009, 560 = 2010, 681 (Onoba in der Baetica, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *P. Porcius Quir. Sisenninus aedilis, Ilvir.* Zunächst wohl zum Gentile *Sisenninus* zu setzen, wenn nicht seitens der Sprachteilhaber als Ableitung von *Sisenna*, dem bekannten Senatorencognomen, identifiziert.

Speratianus: Kajanto 297 mit sechs Belegen. *Arctos* 43 (2009) 173. Dazu noch *AE* 2010, 1442 und 1833 *Aur. Speratianus v. p.*, Praeses von Numidia (295–305) und Scythia (308–324).

Splendonius: Kajanto 277 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 251 mit weiteren Belegen. Dazu noch Caillet, *L'évergétisme monumental chrétien* (1993) 89 (Vicetia, christl.).

Tartinus(?): *ICUR* 24099 *Po[mpo]nio Tartin[o]*. Das wäre aus dem höchst selten belegten Gentilnamen *Tartius* abgeleitet (vgl. auch *Tartianus* Kajanto 156). Oder liegt hier eine phonologisch bedingte Nebenform von *Tertinus* (Kajanto 292 mit 14 Belegen) vor (siehe unten 299)?

Telesina: Kajanto 187 mit fünf Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu christl. *ICUR* 22037.

Telesinus: Kajanto 197 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *JIWE* II 565; *AE* 1968, 129 (Beneventum) *L. Licinius Telesinus*; *InscrRom-MusNavarra* 33–34; *AE* 2007, 1029 (Germ. inf.); *IL Afr* 115 (prov. proc.); *AE* 1995, 1695 und 1698 (Theveste) *Pompeius Telesinus*. Der Name ist auch griechisch.²⁶

Terentulla: Kajanto 171 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 221. 41 (2007) 104. Dazu noch *AE* 2010, 215 (Rom) *Terentia M. filia Terentulla Albini* (eine Homonyme in *CIL* II 3643); *HEp* 17, 167 (Edeta) *Cornelia Terentulla* (Schwester *Terentina*).

Tullio: Kajanto 165 = 178 mit einem zu streichenden Beleg, aber sichergestellt durch neuere Belege; vgl. *Rep.*² 414. 504. Dazu noch *AE* 2010, 811 (Vindolanda, 4. Jh.). Ist aber der Beleg in diesem Kontext als keltisch zu deuten?²⁷

Valerianilla: *AE* 1994, 554 (Tibur, 1./2. Jh.) *Natronia Valerianilla*; Mutter Valeria.

Varronianus: Kajanto 158 = 265 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1994, 1334 (Virunum, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *Helvi(us) Var(r)onianus*. Ferner zwei spätantike Beamte: *PLRE* I 946 Nr. 1, comes domesticorum ein wenig vor 363 und Nr. 2, sein Enkel, den sein Vater Iovian in jungen Jahren in 364 zum Mitkonsul machte.

²⁶ Vgl. mein griechisches Namenbuch 1385.

²⁷ A. Holder, *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* II (1922) 1982 hält den Namen für lateinisch.

[*Vassio*: *CIL* XIII 2363 = *ILCV* 2728a (Lugdunum, 2. Hälfte des 5. Jh.). Gebildet aus dem Gentilnamen *Vassius* (hierzu meine Bemerkungen in *Antiqua Beneventana*, Benevento 2013, 429f). Oder aber – und eigentlich eher – handelt es sich um eine epichorische Bildung.^{28]}

Vastus -a: Kajanto 265 mit drei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Die drei Belege für den Männernamen kommen aus der Narbonensis (der Frauennamenbeleg aus Rom), und jetzt kennen wir mehrere andere Belege aus den gallischen und germanischen Provinzen, was den Verdacht nahelegt, dass der Name keltisch sei;²⁹ auch sein Begriffsinhalt spricht dafür. Hierher gehört auch *Vastinus*, vor kurzem aus Vindolanda bekannt geworden: *AE* 2010, 813 *Manduorix Vastini filia*; es wäre ganz unglaublich, den Namen in diesem Kontext als Ableitung von lat. *vastus Vastus* zu deuten. Überhaupt wäre *vastus -a* als Namenwort etwas merkwürdig, so dass letzten Endes auch der stadtrömische Beleg des Frauennamens zur keltischen Namensippe zu attribuieren sei, umso mehr als wir heute über mehrere Belege von *Vastus* aus den gallischen und germanischen Provinzen verfügen.

CCLXXXVII. FALSCH NAMEN

Φλαβιανιό[ς] (sic) und *Hermocius*. Siehe unten Φλαβιανίς und *Hermoclus* unter 'Verkannten Namen'.

Herus. Der Editor Hülsen lässt *CIL* VI 34893 TI·CL·SEVERIANVS [he]/RVS etc. beginnen. Entweder handelt es sich um einen seltenen Einfall von Hülsen oder aber um einen (Druck)fehler irgendwelcher Art. Hier kann kein Cognomen *Herus* vorliegen, das auch ganz einzigartig in der römischen Namensgebung wäre; mir sind keine Belege bekannt.³⁰ Und kein Deut von einer solchen Ergänzung seitens des Erstherausgebers Gatti in *NSc* 1887, 286.

²⁸ Holder III (1908) 121; X. Delamarre, *Noms de personnes celtiques dans l'épigraphie classique*, Paris 2007, 190.

²⁹ Als keltisch beurteilt von Holder III 123f; Delamarre 190.

³⁰ Auszuscheiden *CIL* X 551, wo etwa [*Eleut*]/*herus* zu ergänzen ist. Ich erwähne dies eigens, da Bracco in seiner Edition *Inscr. It.* I 192 diesen Namen, wenn auch zögernd, annimmt. Ebenfalls auszuscheiden *CIL* II² 14, 447 (seit jeher verschollen), wo auch etwa [*Eleut*]/*herus* ergänzt werden soll (G. Alföldy, *AEA* 54 [1981] 129 sieht hier den Namen *Heros*, geschrieben *Herus*, doch ermöglicht die alte Kopie, das einzige Zeugnis des Textes, die von mir angenommene Ergänzung).

Neronianus. Aus leicht verständlichen Gründen ist das Cognomen *Nero* mit seinen Ableitungen in nachneronischer Zeit in der römischen Welt als Cognomen äußerst selten belegt. Deswegen wurde mein Verdacht laut, als ich bei der Durchsicht der Inschriften von Beroia auf diesen Namen in *I. Beroia* 144 A 3 (von den Herausgebern ins 2./ 3. Jh. gesetzt) stieß: [---] Νηρωνιανός (sic!).³¹ Anhand des in der Edition publizierten Fotos glaube ich, freilich nicht ganz ohne Zögern, Πηρωνιανός lesen zu können (in der Lesung bleibt der erste Buchstabe Π etwas unsicher; auch P ist undeutlich, aber eine ähnliche Form weist das P in der folgenden Zeile auf; auch den Querstrich des vorhergehenden T sieht man nicht gut, das beruht aber auf dem Bruch des Steines). *Petronianus* war ein populärer Name;³² er ist selbst in Beroia öfters belegt: *I. Beroia* 138 (255/6 n. Chr.). 210 (1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.). 211 (Ende 2.–Anfang 3. Jh.). – Ich habe früher, in *Arctos* 35 (2001) 211 diese falsche Lesung akzeptiert, freilich mit Zögern.

Onitus. Laut einer alten Abschrift vom Anfang des 20. Jh. lautet die erste Zeile des erhaltenen Teiles von *Suppl. It. 25* Aquae Statiellae 19 L·F·ONITVS·FRA. Ein Name **Onitus* ist unerklärlich. Es könnte sich an sich um epichorisches Substrat handeln (wir befinden uns in Ligurien), doch stehen keine Parallelen zu Gebote. So sei eine Deutung ausgelegt, die freilich recht hypothetisch bleibt: Der Lokalforscher Assandria, von dem die Kopie stammt, wollte hier die Filiation auf dieselbe Weise wie in Zeile 4–5 (dort ist PETRONIA / Q·F·VERA überliefert) erkennen und glaubte, L·F statt LE lesen zu können (dies wäre um so verständlicher, wenn E und F sich ähnelten, wie es durchaus vorkommen kann). Also hätte auf dem Stein LEONITVS gestanden. Nun ist auch **Leonitus* kein Name, so dass wir einen weiteren Eingriff in den Text benötigen: die Folge TI wird nicht selten IT verschrieben oder verlesen und umgekehrt.³³ Dabei hätten wir den Namen *Leontius*, ein guter griechischer Name, populär in der späteren Kaiserzeit geworden. Schwierigkeiten bereitet aber, dass die Inschrift deutlich in die frühe Kaiserzeit gehört, in eine Zeit, da *Leontius* im Westen noch nicht in Gebrauch genommen worden war. Λεόντιος ist aber ein alter griechischer Name, seit der klassischen Zeit üblich. Es ist nicht ausgeschlossen, dass einzelne Belege des Namens im Westen schon vor der späteren Kaiserzeit auftauchen können. Doch hat

³¹ Νηρ- statt Νερ- mag ein purer Lapsus sein. Die Fotografie jedenfalls zeigt ein deutliches lunares E, nicht H. Doch steht Νηρ- schon in der editio princeps von J. Hatzfeld, *BCH* 35 (1911) 237f Nr. 5. So auch in Ch. Avezou – Ch. Picard, *BCH* 37 (1913) 93f Nr. 5.

³² Kajanto, *LC* 152 verzeichnet aus *CIL* insgesamt 40 Belege.

³³ Gerade in Namen auf *Leonti-* kommen Schreibungen auf LEONIT- vor: *ICUR* 20106 *Leonite*.

dieser Deutungsversuch mit zu vielen Unsicherheitsfaktoren zu rechnen. Etwas Besseres konnte ich aber nicht finden.

Zweiter Fall eines vermeintlichen Namens *Onitus* kommt aus Spanien, aus Tarraco: *CIL* II 4313 = *RIT* 442 = *CIL* II² 14, 1280. Dort lesen wir *Dis m. Tib. Cl. Apollinaris Ti. Cl. Oniti lib. et heres* usw. Der Text basiert auf Abschriften alter Gewährsleute von etwas ungleicher Qualität. Aber wie soll der Name erklärt werden? Hier fällt die Möglichkeit eines epichorischen Namens ebenfalls weg, er ist auch in der hispanischen Überlieferung einmalig. Auch die zuweilen vorgebrachte Annahme, der Name in der überlieferten Form sei griechisch,³⁴ entzieht sich jeder Wahrscheinlichkeit. Den vorigen Beleg wollten wir mit Verlesung des Kopisten erklären, hier ist es aber nicht möglich, da alle Abschriften den Namen auf dieselbe Weise wiedergeben. Aber Missdeutung der eventuell kursiven Vorlage durch den Steinmetzen? Ja, das wäre ein Weg zur Klärung. Das N wäre entstanden aus Verlesung der zwei kursiven oder semikursiven Buchstaben RF, was alles andere als ausgeschlossen ist. Also der Patronus wäre ein Ti. Cl(audius) Orfitus. *Orfitus* war nicht in Gebrauch bei den Claudiern, aber der Patron braucht kein Senator gewesen zu sein, sondern ein normaler wohlhabender Bürger von Tarraco. Claudii Orfiti sind bezeugt: *AE* 1997, 1583 (Leptis Magna) *Ti. Clau[di]us Orff[i]tus*; vgl. auch *ILAlg* II 8003a (Cuicul) *Claudia L. f. Orfita sac(erdos)*.

Petrullo. Dieser Name soll in *IGLS* XIII 9188 aus Bostra belegt sein. Dem Editor zufolge beginnt die Inschrift *T(itus) Quintus Petrullo (centurio) leg(ionis) III Cyr(enaicae), dom(o) Britan(nia)*; *Quintus* soll Fehler für *Quintius* und *Petrullo* ein bisher unbelegtes Cognomen sein.³⁵ Aus dem freilich nicht sehr deutlichen Foto lese ich aber T QVINTIO (die zwei Buchstaben TI im Gentilnamen sind nicht sehr gut im Foto ersichtlich, doch plausibel, während das Schluss-O feststehen dürfte). Zur Verbreitung von *Petrullus*, der in den gallisch-germanischen Provinzen einheimisches Namengut verbergen kann, siehe oben S. 275.

Primiger. Ein solcher Name soll in einem Amphorenstempel vorhanden sein. In *AE* 2010, 564 wird der Name in der Form *[Primi]ger* aus S. Mazzochin, *Quaderni di archeologia del Veneto* 26 (2010) 26f zitiert. Ein Name *Primiger*

³⁴ So A. Lozano Velilla, *Die griechischen Personennamen auf der iberischen Halbinsel* (BNF Beih. 49), Heidelberg 1998, 149, ohne überhaupt eine Klärung vorzulegen. Ebenso J. M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania* (Anejos de Antigüedad y Cristianismo 2), Murcia 1994, 444.

³⁵ In den Addenda *IGLS* XIII 2, S. 20 wird nachgetragen, *Petrullo* sei in *CIL* XIII 5557 belegt, was nicht stimmt: der dort belegte Name ist *Petrullus*.

existiert aber nicht im antiken Latein, wie auch kein Appellativ *primiger*.³⁶ Der Töpfer hieß höchstwahrscheinlich *Primigenius*.³⁷

Tzolutus: siehe unten 285 unter *Diodotus*.

CCLXXXVIII. VERKANNTEN NAMEN

Abascantilla. Mommsen *CIL* X 6496 publiziert aus dem zweiten Band des berühmten *Vetus Latium profanum et sacrum* von Pietro Marcellino Corradini (Rom 1705, 202) eine Inschrift aus Tor Tre Ponti (Gebiet der Paludes Pomptinae) mit einem recht verdächtigen Wortlaut: *D. m. / A. Calphurnio L. f. Men. / Abscantilla mater / filio piissimo m. f.* Verdacht erweckt schon, dass auf die Widmung *D(is) M(anibus)*, dazu in abgekürzter Form, der Name des Verstorbenen ohne Cognomen folgt, denn *d. m.* wird erst seit claudischer Zeit üblich, in einer Zeit, da das Cognomen schon regelmäßig seinen Platz im Namen eines Bürgers erobert hatte. Auch die Tribus Menenia würde man nicht in dieser Gegend erwarten (in Südlatium haben wir einen zerstreuten Beleg aus Formiae in *AE* 1964, 220b). Ferner könnte die Graphie *Calph-* mit *h* auf ein nachantikes Produkt hinweisen.³⁸ Und zu guter Letzt ist das Cognomen der Mutter (deren Gentilname

³⁶ Als Kuriosum sei hier erwähnt, dass *primiger* bei dem Dichter Albertus Stadensis (Mitte 13. Jh., gest. 1264/5), *Troilus* 5, 528 belegt ist. Ist das aber vielleicht eine metrisch bedingte gekürzte Form von *primicerius*?

³⁷ Vgl. A. Buonopane – S. Pesavento Mattioli, "Puntualizzazioni epigrafiche e tipologiche sulle anfore prodotte nei possedimenti imperiali dell'Histria", in *Le proprietà imperiali nell'Italia romana. Economia, produzione, amministrazione*, a cura di D. Pupillo (Quaderni degli Annali dell'Università di Ferrara, Sezione Storia 6, 2007), 296, wo ein Stempel PRIMIGEN desselben Töpfers aus Mursella angeführt wird (schon früher publiziert; bei Buonopane – Pesavento Mattioli 307 eine Zeichnung des Stempels, in dem der letzte Buchstabe eine dem R ähnelnde Form hat, doch stand da zweifellos ein N). Der von Mazzochin herangezogene Stempel ist mit dem von Mursella identisch. Weitere Varianten von Stempeln desselben Töpfers in S. Cipriano, "Nuovi dati sulle anfore olearie istriane da Iulia Concordia", in *Est enim ille flos Italiae. Vita economica e sociale della Cisalpina romana*, Verona 2008, 306–08.

³⁸ Die Form *Calphurnius* findet sich ein paar Male in echten Inschriften überliefert: *ICUR* 15953 (gesehen von Ferrua, an der Lesung ist kaum zu zweifeln) und *Suppl. It.* 16 Aletrium 4 (seit langem verschollener, problematischer Text, scheint echt zu sein, nähere Datierung schwierig). In Fälschungen: *CIL* X 341* (wahrscheinlich stadtrömisch, vgl. *ILMNI* 653); 916*. Außerdem oft als Variante alter Abschriften von Texten, die selbst keine Aspiration aufweisen (z. B. Waelschappel, *Cod. Berol.* 61s f. 38v von *CIL* VI 9872, wo der Stein *Calp-* hat). Ähnlich zu beurteilen sind Fälle wie *CIL* II 1395 oder V 5617, in denen noch *Calph-* gegeben wird, während nunmehr feststeht, dass im Original *Calp-* ohne Aspiration stand: *CIL* II 5437 (=

etwas überraschenderweise nicht angegeben ist, auch wenn eine sie Freigeborene sein muss, da der Sohn es ist) in der Form, in der Corradini sie gibt, korrupt. Nun war Corradini kein schlechter Autor (auch wenn er nicht immer gut gelesen hat), und er hat die Inschrift selbst gesehen,³⁹ so dass man letzten Endes den Text als authentisch einstufen würde; etwa das Fehlen des Cognomens könnte aus einem Versehen des Steinmetzen herrühren, oder aber die Inschrift gehört gerade in die Übergangszeit, da das Cognomen noch gelegentlich fehlte und man *d. m.* in den Grabinschriften zu verwenden begann (und wegen der Filiation kann die Inschrift nicht sehr spät sein). Doch den Namen der Mutter hat Corradini sicher falsch wiedergegeben. Nun ist Mommsen entgangen, dass die Inschrift auch von dem berühmten Francesco Maria Pratilli, *Della Via Appia*, Napoli 1745, 95 publiziert wurde;⁴⁰ seine Abschrift enthält eine Korruptel, die bei Corradini fehlt, nämlich *L. l.* für *L. f.* (am Stein muss *L·F*, wie Corradini angibt, gestanden haben). Was uns aber an seiner Textform am meisten interessiert, ist seine Wiedergabe des Namens der Mutter *ABSCANTILLA*. Wir kennen die Quelle von Pratillis Abschrift nicht; er hat für diesen Landstrich etliche Autoren gebraucht wie Gruter, Corradini und Muratori, die er mal namentlich nennt, mal nicht. Hier wird Pratilli von Corradini abhängen (soweit die Vorlage eine sonst nicht bekannte Abschrift ist,

CIL II 823) bzw. *AE* 1992, 763. Unsicher bleibt *CIL* III 128 *Livius Calphurnius* (Syrien, 3. Jh. n. Chr.), vgl. Brandis, *De aspiratione Latina*, Diss. Bonn 1881, 13. Vgl. meine Bemerkungen "La misteriosa dedica alle Ninfe da Guarcino", in *Usus veneratioque fontium. Fruizione e culto delle acque salutari nell'Italia romana*, a cura di L. Gasperini, Tivoli 2006, 355–62; zuletzt P. Garofoli, "La dedica alle Nymphae hospites di Guarcino", *Epigraphica* 75 (2013) 128–40, bes. 138 mit Anm. 24. Jedenfalls ist die Graphie mit Aspiration selten und erscheint nur in späten Urkunden. So mag sie in unserer Inschrift überraschen, kann aber die Unechtheit der Inschrift nicht beweisen. Corradini war ein nicht schlechter Autor; entweder stand im Stein *Calph-*, oder Corradini hat diese Form, die in jener Zeit im Umlauf gewesen sein mag, in den Text gesetzt. Vielleicht hat hier der Name *Calphurnius* (zu ihm Schulze, *ZGLE* 137f) eine Rolle gespielt, wobei *Calph-* eine Art Hyperurbanismus darstellen könnte (notiere auch Fälle, wo *Calph-* und *Calf-* nebeneinander in Abschriften alter Autoren stehen, wie *CIL* X 916* aus Pratilli; zu bedenken gibt nur der Umstand, dass *Calphurnius* nur selten belegt ist [mir sind bekannt *CIL* VI 20712; XI 3045; *Suppl. It.* 13 Nursia 49] und zunächst zum Namenrepertoire Mittelitaliens gehört). Das Fazit: die Graphie *Calph-*, so überraschend sie ist, kann für die Unechtheit unserer Inschrift nicht stehen.

³⁹ Zur Person M. Vigilante, *DBI* 29 (1983) 328–32.

⁴⁰ Pratilli hat einen sehr schlechten Ruf, was vor allem auf Mommsens schroffes Verdikt zurückgeht (*CIL* X S. 373). Im Grunde hat Mommsen Recht, doch ist sein Urteil zu streng. Vgl. z. B. R. Palmieri, "Su alcune iscrizioni pratilliane", *MGR* 8 (1982) 417–31; H. Solin, "Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum X. Passato, presente, futuro", in *Epigrafi e studi epigrafici in Finlandia*, a cura di H. Solin (*ActaIRF* 19), Roma 1998, 93.

was ich nicht anzunehmen bereit wäre; dagegen ist es kaum wahrscheinlich, dass er die Inschrift selbst abgeschrieben hätte).⁴¹ So wäre sein ABSCANTILIA gegen Corradinis ABSCINTILLA nur ein Flüchtigkeitsfehler. Trotzdem wäre ich bereit, wenn auch mit einigem Zögern, hier den Namen *Abascantilla* zu konjizieren. Er ist freilich sonst nur einmal in der antiken Anthroponymie belegt, aus Puteoli (*CIL* X 1884, etwa 2. Jh., n. Chr.), ist aber eine plausible Bildung aus dem sehr populären *Abascantus*; neben anderen Ableitungen wie *Abascantis*, *Abascantio*, *Abascantianus* *Abascantulus* würde ein *Abascantilla* nicht wundern.⁴²

Athabis. In *CIL* IX 3198 aus Corfinium (frühe Kaiserzeit) lesen wir den vielleicht akephalen Namen [---]*thabis*: *Accia T. l.* / [---]*thabis*. Aus dem Schriftbild des *CIL* zu schließen,⁴³ scheint von dem Cognomen links nur ein, höchstens zwei Buchstaben zu fehlen; aber Mommsen nimmt an, das Cognomen sei heil (er schreibt im Gentilnamenindex *Accia T. l. Thabis*), was an sich möglich ist. Wenn als akephal zu beurteilen, könnte man an *Athabis* denken; dieser Name ist in der antiken Anthroponymie sonst unbekannt, kann aber als griechisch erklärt werden, als feminine Motion aus *Athabus*, in Rom (*CIL* VI 11547) neben *Athambetus* und *Thambus* in Rom belegt.⁴⁴ Das Fehlen des *m* ist leicht verständlich; auch das Griechische kennt Ἀθαββος (*FD* III 1, 104 und *SGDI* II 1784, beide aus Delphoi, 3. bzw. 2. Jh. v. Chr.) neben Ἀθαμβος, der in Delphoi sehr populär war, sonst aber nur spärlich belegt; Ἀθάμβητος aus den Inseln des Ägäischen Meeres ein paar Male belegt. Oder liegt eine semitische Bildung vor? Vgl. etwa *CIL* VI 27316 *Thabibu matri* (Sklavin; der Sohn oder die Tochter heißt *Abdalgulla*)⁴⁵ oder *CIL* VI 25973 *Scaeniae Amatthabi* (dazu zu vergleichen sind einige wohl punische Bildungen aus dem römischen Afrika)⁴⁶ oder noch *ICUR* 23522a *Athaborus* (gesch. AIH-).

⁴¹ Notiere, dass aus diesem Trakt der Via Appia Pratilli nur eine Inschrift bringt, die allein von ihm überliefert ist (*CIL* X 916*).

⁴² Zur Sippe vgl. mein griechisches Namenbuch² 913–17. Allein *Abascantus* ist in Rom 226mal belegt. *Abascantulus* in Afrika: *CIL* VIII 12658; alle übrigen in Rom (der Frauenname *Abascantis* 3mal, woneben ein anderer Frauenname *Abascantilla* ganz plausibel wäre).

⁴³ Die Inschrift ist verschollen (mündliche Mitteilung von Marco Buonocore). Die Textform basiert auf zwei Apographa, von Walther (17. Jh.) und von Gandelli (Ende 18. / Anfang 19. Jh.), zwei Autoren, die nicht immer zuverlässig sind.

⁴⁴ Siehe mein griechisches Namenbuch 818.

⁴⁵ Vgl. H. Solin, *ANRW* II 29 (1983) 634 und *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, Stuttgart 1996, 605.

⁴⁶ Einige angeführt bei K. Jongeling, *North-African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, 8.

Diodotus. Die herkömmliche Lesung des Namens des Errichters von *CIL* III 7789 (Alba Iulia/Apulum, 3. Jh.) lautet *Aurel(ius) Tzolutus*; so, außer Mommsen in *CIL*, auch I. I. Russu, *IDR* III 4, 74 und I. Piso, *IDR* III 5, 245. *Tzolutus* ist aber kein Name. Anhand des guten Fotos in Pisos neuer Edition stellt man leicht fest, dass die Schrift zum Kursiven tendiert, dass aber die Lesung bis auf den vierten Buchstaben des Cognomens feststeht. Man hat diesen seit jeher als L gelesen, trotz seiner unlateinischen Form und der Tatsache, dass der Steinmetz in AVREL eine andere Form, die herkömmliche, wenn auch kursivierende (indem der Querstrich ein wenig schräg ist) gebraucht hat. Das L in der Inschrift sieht aus wie ein griechisches Minuskel-Lambda, eine an sich sehr häufige Form in griechischen Inschriften des römischen Westens. Aber wie gesagt, die Lesung mit L ergibt keinen glaubhaften Namen. Ich schlage vor, den vierten Buchstaben als D zu lesen; das wäre eine kursivierende und gräzisierungsfähige Form zugleich, in der freilich der untere horizontale Strich fehlt. Wenn der Steinmetz auf die sorgfältige Ausführung und die Unversehrtheit der Buchstabenformen nicht viel Wert gelegt hat, könnte man wohl ein diesbezügliches D in Kauf nehmen. *Tzodotus* wäre gleich *Diodotus*. Wie bekannt, wird im Vulgärlatein der Kaiserzeit postkonsonantisches *-io-* im Hiatus zu *-jō-*, wobei *-j-* über die Spirans *j* zu einer assibiliierten Affrikata *dz* wird. Dass gelegentlich diese Lautentwicklung durch *-tz-* wiedergegeben werden konnte, beruht auf der Abschwächung des Unterschiedes zwischen Mediae und Tenues. Einen perfekten parallelen Fall bietet eine altchristliche Inschrift aus Rom (*ICUR* 15665), wo *Tzodoto* für *Diodoto* steht. Man könnte freilich meinen (wegen der Tenues T), dass hier *Theodotus* vorliegen könne, nach der bekannten Entwicklung von *i* für *e* in Hiatus (wie man aus dem Romanischen sieht): wenn so, dann wäre unser Mann ein *Aurelius Theodotus*. Wie dem auch sei, andere ähnliche Schreibungen sprechen jedenfalls dafür, dass wahrscheinlich *Diodotus* (oder *Theodotus*) vorliegt. Ich meine Graphien wie *Vonifatia* (*CIL* VIII 23568), *Exitio[sus]* (*InscrFunChrCarthage* I 144), *Laurentzio* (*CIL* III 12396), *Balentzies* (*ICUR* 2446), *Vincentza* (*CIL* VIII 16208), *Vincentzus* (*BCTH* 1946–49, 159, Mactaris).⁴⁷ Sie alle weisen eine Tenues vor dem Hiatus auf, in unserem Fall, wie auch in *ICUR* 15665, kann der Konsonant eher eine Media gewesen sein. Sichere Fälle dafür, dass der Konsonant vor dem Hiatus *d* und nicht *t* war, liefern die Schreibungen *-dz-* wie ADZAB für *Adiabenicus* (*AE* 1926, 116, Rom, Septimius Severus), ADZABB für *(duo) Adiabenici*, d. h. Septimius Severus und Caracalla (*CIL* VIII 22611) *Adzecta* für *Adiecta* (*ILAlg* II 5813), *Adzetus* für *Adiectus* wie

⁴⁷ Vgl. auch solche wilde Graphien wie *p(res)b(yster) Egyptzuius* (*AE* 1958, 295, Hipporegius).

es scheint (*CIL* VIII 18918), *Adzutor* (*CIL* VIII 26683; *Mourir à Dougga*), *Dzoni* Dat. für *Dioni* (*CIL* V 6215 = *ILCV* 4206).⁴⁸ Auf dieselbe Lautentwicklung weist auch Z- + Vokal für Di- + Vokal hin; z. B. *Zodorus* für *Diodorus* (*CIL* VIII 9139. 9742; XIV 2325); *Zodotus -e* für *Diodotus -e* (*ICUR* 4347. 23512); Dat. *Zone-sai* für *Dionysia* (*CIL* VI 1588), *Zonisia* für *Dionysia* (*InscrFunChrCarthage* II 162), *Zonysas -isas* für *Dionysias* (*CIL* V 1647. *ICUR* 8224. 15905); *Zonysius Zoni- Zonu-* für *Dionysius* (*CIL* III 3174a. VI 2464. 12980. VIII 7933 *ICUR* 2472. 12603 = *CIL* VI 9317); *Zofantus* für *Diophantus* (*ICUR* 17776); *Zacintus* für *Hyacinthus* (*ICUR* 24753); in griechischer Schrift Ζοκλῆς für *Diocles* (*JIWE* II 575); Ζέρων für *Hiero* (*ICUR* 15050). Zi- in *Ziogas* für *Diogas* (*CIL* II² 14, 1305); *Ziomedes* für *Diomedes* (*CIL* VI 16866; VIII 10839), *Zionisas* für *Dionysias* (*ICUR* 4199), *Zionysius* für *Dionysius* (*ILTun* 88c).

Φλαβιανίς: *I.Perinthos* (ed. Sayar 1998) 205 (verschollen). Die Kopien aus der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jh. geben den Text [---]ΝΙΑ ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΙΚ mit einem Frauenporträt. Während der erste Name sich leicht als [---]νία festlegen lässt, hat man den zweiten meistens verschiedentlich weginterpretieren wollen: Φλαβιαν[οῦ] (Aristarchis), Φλαβιανή (Kalinka), Φλαβιανιο[ῦ] (Sayar).⁴⁹ Alle Konjekturen sind überflüssig, die überlieferte Form soll man nicht antasten. Es handelt sich um das Cognomen einer Frau, deren Gentilname auf [---]νία endete. Es sollte allbekannt sein, dass lateinischen Cognomina zuweilen griechische Suffixe angehängt wurden. Klassisches Beispiel -ᾶς m. (Ποπλᾶς) mit -άς fem. (Αἰλιάς), öfters von mir behandelt. Auch -is wurde nicht selten lateinischen Frauennamen angehängt,⁵⁰ verwandte Fälle liegen in *Gentianis* (*ICUR* 2844) und *Lucianis* (*JIWE* II 618) vor.

Hermoclus. In *CIL* VIII 4706 = *ILAlg* I 2382 (Madauros, ca. 2. Jh.) ist der Name des einen der zwei Verstorbenen *Q. Clodius Hermocius* überliefert. *Hermocius* ist aber kein Name und vertritt keine plausible Bildung. Durch die Annahme einer kleinen Verschreibung oder Verlesung -CIVS für -CLVS hätten wir *Hermoclus*, einen Namen, der freilich nirgends bezeugt ist, doch eine mögliche Bildung neben *Hermocles* vertritt. Auch *Hermocles* ist in der römischen Namensgebung nicht belegt, aber im griechischen Bereich war Ἑρμοκλῆς wenn nicht

⁴⁸ Nicht verifizierbar bleibt *T. Flavius DZIOGAMIN[V]S* aus Zarai in Numidien (St. Gsell, *Recherches archéologiques en Algérie*, Paris 1893, 149; non vidi); könnte da der gute griechische Name *Dioga* vorliegen?).

⁴⁹ Die Nachweise in Sayars Ausgabe. Hinzugefügt sei noch, dass in der PHI-Datenbank griechischer Inschriften Φλαβιαν{ι}ο[ῦ] konjiziert wird.

⁵⁰ Vgl. Kajanto, *LC* 130 mit ungenügender Behandlung.

populär, so doch einigermaßen verbreitet, das bezeugen die Inschriften und die ägyptischen Papyri. Ἑρμοκλος *Hermoclus* wäre ein zweistämmiger Kurzname von Ἑρμοκλῆς wie etwa Πάτροκλος von Πάτροκλῆς. Man beachte noch, dass Vollnamen auf Ἑρμο- *Hermo-* überaus reichlich in der Kaiserzeit vorkommen, ganz wie der Grundname *Hermes* erst in der Kaiserzeit als Männernamen überhaupt in Gebrauch kommt und in Rom an der Spitze aller griechischen Namen steht.

Masclio. So heißt der ganze Text von *I.Lingons* 189 aus Divio (Dijon). Der Editor Y. Le Bohec fasst *Masclio* als Dativ des Gentilnamens auf, wie aus seiner Übersetzung hervorgeht. Wie er aber selbst zugibt, ist es etwas seltsam, dass in seiner Grabinschrift das Cognomen des Mannes nicht mit eingehauen wurde. Da nun der Namen des Verstorbenen in der Gegend oft im Nominativ steht, besonders wenn im Text keine grabinschriftlichen Formeln verwendet wurden, so hindert uns nichts daran, *Masclio* hier als Nominativ zu nehmen. Man erwartet hier eher das Cognomen als den Gentilnamen. *Masclio* fehlt in Kajantos Cognominabuch, ist aber in Rom zweimal belegt (*CIL* VI 22274. *IGUR* 156).

Psyllis. In *CIL* VI 5019 aus tiberisch-claudischer Zeit aus Vigna Codini lautet der Name der Frau in der herkömmlichen Lesung *[Vip]sania Suriis*.⁵¹ Ein Cognomen *Suriis* kann nicht erfolgreich erklärt werden. Die Inschrift ist kürzlich von D. Manacorda und V. Di Cola mit anderen Inschriften von Vigna Codini neu aufgenommen worden; die letztere hat davon eine neue Fassung in der Datenbank EDR126615 mit nicht schlechtem Foto eingereicht.⁵² Sie liest *[Vip]sania Psuriis* (PS hält sie für unsicher). Auch wenn diese Lesung einen Fortschritt bedeutet (dadurch, dass am Anfang des Cognomens ganz richtig PS erkannt wurde), kann sie nicht verteidigt werden: nicht nur gibt es keine griechischen oder lateinischen Cognomina, die auf *-iis* enden, auch *Psur-* bleibt in der Luft hängen. Ich lese anhand des Fotos *Psullis*. Das wäre *Psyllis*. Das erste L hat einen schräg geschriebenen Querstrich, ein kursiver Zug. Das zweite L scheint eine identische Form aufzuweisen, auch wenn auf dem Foto der Querstrich nicht sehr gut sichtbar ist. *Psullis* = *Psyllis* ist ein Name, der erklärt werden kann, auch wenn bisher sonst nirgends belegt. Die griechische Anthroponymie kennt einige zu ψύλλα (seltenere Form ψύλλος) 'Floh' gebildete Namen: Ψύλλος, Ψυλλίων, Ψύλλα.⁵³ Aus

⁵¹ Die Zeit der Inschrift lässt sich dadurch bestimmen, dass der Mann von Vipsania Freigelassener des Konsuls 23 n. Chr. C. Asinius Pollio war, während Vipsania selbst Freigelassene (oder Tochter eines Freigelassenen) der Mutter des Pollio war.

⁵² Ich danke herzlich Silvia Orlandi, die mich auf diesen Fall aufmerksam gemacht hat.

⁵³ Die zwei ersteren finden sich schon bei Bechtel *HPN* 544. 546. Freilich reiht er sie fälsch-

Namen von Insekten gebildete Anthroponyme fehlen im Griechischen nicht.⁵⁴ Ψύλλος kennen wir aus Amisos in Pontos aus dem 4. Jh. v. Chr. (*SNG Oxford Bosporus – Aeolis* 50), sonst aus Apollonia von Illyrien (drei Belege in *LGPN*, ins 3./2. Jh. datierbar) und aus Issa in Dalmatien.⁵⁵ Ψυλλίων in Aitolien (*IG IX* 1² 97, 190 v. Chr.), in Apollonia von Illyrien (2 Belege in *LGPN* zwischen 3. und 1. Jh. v. Chr.) und auf Samos (*IG XII* 6, 252, um 350 v. Chr.).⁵⁶ Ψύλλα (wenn nicht Ψυλλάς) auf Korkyra (*IG IX* 2² 798, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).⁵⁷ Ferner kommen mehrere Belege von der Sippe aus den ägyptischen Papyri.⁵⁸ Zweideutig bleibt die Erklärung von ΨΥΛΛΑΣ aus Alexandrien (W. Horbury – D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt* 8, frühptolemäisch, jüdische Zuweisung unsicher): ist das Genetiv vom Frauennamen Ψύλλα oder der Männernamen Ψύλλας / Ψυλλᾶς oder aber der Frauennamen Ψυλλάς, wie er auch in *IG IX* 2² 798 möglicherweise vorhanden ist? Zu derselben Sippe gehört noch Ψύλλακος aus Krannon in Pelasgiotis (*SEG LI* 711, 3. Jh. v. Chr.). Dass daneben in römischer Zeit ein Name

lich den Ethnikonnamen ein: seine Erklärung "Die Ψύλλοι bildeten einen Teil der Λίβυες, Strab. 838" ist schief. Aus Namen von Insekten gebildete Anthroponymen sind nicht selten im Griechischen. Schon L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12, 517 hat die richtige Erklärung gegeben (ähnlich G. Daux, *REG* 85 [1972] 87 und O. Masson, *Onomastica Graeca selecta* III, Genève 2000, 83).

⁵⁴ Vgl. etwa die Listen bei Bechtel, *HPN* 180–192 und die feinen Bemerkungen von O. Masson, "Onomastique et lexique. Noms d'hommes et termes grecs pour "ver", "sauterelle", "cigale", etc.", *MH* 43 (1986) 250–57 = *Onomastica Graeca selecta* III, Genève 2000, 485–92.

⁵⁵ Brunšmid, *I. Dalmatien* 7 Nr. 20 (3. Jh. v. Chr.). Der Beleg ist aber fragmentarisch und kann auch anders ergänzt werden, z. B. Ψυλλ[ίων].

⁵⁶ Dem Editor zufolge war der Namensträger wahrscheinlich ein ιερόδουλος, d. h. ein Sklave (oder Ex-Sklave) und demnach unbekannter Herkunft.

⁵⁷ Dieser Name, der mehrere Male in der Inschrift vorkommt, ist stets ΨΥΛΛΑΣ geschrieben. Normalerweise sieht man dort den Namen Ψύλλα, geschrieben mit einem überflüssigen *sigma*. Ich frage mich, ob da nicht eher die suffixale Bildung Ψυλλάς festzulegen sei. -άς ist ja ein überaus beliebtes Suffix in Frauennamen.

⁵⁸ Ein Beleg aus ptolemäischer Zeit: Ψύλλος *SB* 16157–16160 (Arsinoites, 2. Jh. v. Chr.). Die übrigen Belege sind kaiserzeitlich: Ψύλλος: *P.Corn.* 21, 262 (Arsinoites), 33 n. Chr.); *SB* 12739 col. III 25 (Arsinoites, 35 n. Chr., aber abgek. Ψυλ(---), kann auch anders erklärt werden; und was hat der Mann mit dem vorhergehenden zu tun?); *P.Sarap.* 61, 23 (Hermopolites, 2. Jh.). – Ψύλλα oder Ψύλλας oder Ψυλλᾶς: *SB* 12739 col. III 23 (vgl. den vorhergehenden). Aus der späteren Antike: *P.Oxy* 43 verso col. V 11 (295 n. Chr.); 2474 (3. Jh.); *PSI* 316, 5 (Oxyrhynchos, 328 n. Chr.). – Abgekürzt Ψυλλ(---): *CPR* XX 38 (8. Jh.); *P.Ross.Georg.* IV 24 B, 3 (Aphrodites Kome, Anfang des 8. Jh.).

Psyllis auftauchen kann, versteht sich von selbst; *-is* wurde ja in Rom in Namen griechischer Herkunft ein sehr populäres Suffix.

CCLXXXIX. VERKANNTÉ IDENTITÄTEN

CIL VI 16578 (vgl. S. 3519. 3914) = IX 197*. Die wohl seit dem 17. Jahrhundert verschollene stadtrömische Inschrift wurde von mehreren guten Autoren des 16. Jahrhunderts im Campus Martius gesehen; die Angaben des Fundortes variieren, ein Zeichen dafür, dass der Text in der Tat von mehreren alten Autoren abgeschrieben wurde (dadurch wird die große Variation in den Fundortsangaben besser verständlich). Der Textverlauf ist einwandfrei. Derselbe Text (außer den Zeilen 11–12, die auch bei einigen Autoren des stadtrömischen Exemplars fehlen) findet sich bei Muratori 1157, 5 irrtümlich als beneventanisch. Muratori hat ihn von Nicolaus Pacedianus (16. Jahrhundert), der ihn unter anderen unechten Stücken publizierte. Deswegen hat Mommsen ihn unter spuria Beneventana relegiert, ohne Rücksicht darauf zu nehmen, dass der Wortlaut der Inschrift tadellos ist und ohne zu bemerken, dass die Inschrift eine einwandfreie stadtrömische Geschichte hat.

CCXC. VARIA URBANA

1. Der Anfang von *CIL* VI 7700 muss folgendermaßen verstanden werden: *Cornelia Malugin[ensis l(iberta)] / Memor*. Ich bemerke dies eigens, da dieser Beleg von *Memor* im Cognominaindex von Vidman fehlt.⁵⁹

2. *CIL* VI 23471 endet in der letzten Zeile mit dem Wort *FECIT*, auf dessen linken Seite der Editor Henzen die Buchstaben *LVC* und rechts die Buchstaben *DVS* las; ihre Bedeutung konnte er nicht eruieren.⁶⁰ Sie wurden wohl, aufgrund des Fotos zu urteilen, in einer späteren Phase geschrieben. Der letzte Buchstabe links ist aber nicht ein *C*, denn auf *C* folgt ein vertikaler Strich, der wohl ein *I* darstellt; also *LVCI*. Auch die späteren Editoren haben erkannt, dass auf *C* ein vertikaler Strich folgt, deuten aber den Buchstaben als ein invertiertes *D*, kaum

⁵⁹ Dagegen ist er in Bangs Gentilnamenindex verzeichnet. Auch Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 255 verzeichnet ihn, übrigens als den einzigen Beleg für den Frauennamen *Memor*.

⁶⁰ Zwischen *C* und *F* gibt Henzen einen Punkt an, von dem an den guten publizierten Fotos keine Spuren vorhanden sind.

richtig.⁶¹ Auch ihre Erklärung, LVD und DVS seien unerklärlich und unecht, stimmt kaum. Vielmehr haben wir es mit einer späteren Eintragung zu tun, wodurch eine weitere Person in der Inschrift Erwähnung fand; zu lesen ist LVCI/FE-CIT/DVS. Der Name der später eingetragenen Person war also *Lucidus*. Ich habe diese Erklärung schon in meiner Besprechung des Bandes *Imagines in Arctos* 42 (2008) 300 vorgelegt, da sie aber unter allen Mitforschern möglicherweise nicht gegenwärtig ist, habe ich sie hier wiederholt.

3. *CIL* VI 24963 lautet *Primilla Nigri Africa[ni], vixit ann. XII[---]*. Ich nehme diesen Fall auf, weil Bang in seinem Nominaindex hier einen *Nigrius Africanus* sieht (auch Vidman im Cognominaindex fasst *Africanus* als Cognomen auf). Ich würde hier eher ein Sklavenpaar sehen, Primilla und den aus Afrika gebürtigen Niger.⁶² *Nigrius* ist ein nur selten belegter Gentilname und gehört zu den in gallisch-germanischen Provinzen üblichen Gentilciabildungen aus bestehenden Cognomina, die nur wenig in Rom und Italien gebraucht wurden; bezeichnenderweise stammen die zwei sonstigen in Rom belegten Nigrii aus dem germanischen Raum.

4. Moretti *IGUR* 1272 liest den Namen der Frau (im Genetiv) Τατιάων[ῆς] / Βαυκυλίδος. Darin hat er Recht, wie man anhand des der Edition beigelegten freilich etwas unscharfen Fotos ohne Schwierigkeiten feststellen kann; die Früheren hatten Τατία<ς> gelesen. Die Sache wird aber dadurch interessant, dass dieselbe Frau (wie es scheint) in *CIL* VI 8942 *Tatia Baucyl[is]* genannt wird. Wahrscheinlich lautete die 'offizielle' Form ihres Gentilnamens *Tatiana*, die mitunter 'normalisiert' werden konnte, da ja die Gentilnamen regelmäßig die Endung *-ius -ia* hatten (*Tatius* ist ein uraltes Gentilicium, während *Tatianus* sonst nirgends in dieser Funktion bekannt ist, soweit ich übersehe; vgl. freilich *Tattianus* aus Untergermanien *AE* 1977, 549). Beispiele für die Schwankung zwischen *-ius* und *-ianus* im Namen derselben Person fehlen nicht; aufs Geratewohl sei auf die Namenform *Lollius Avitus* des Konsuls 144 n. Chr. L. Hedi Rufus Lollianus Avitus in *IAM* II 307 hingewiesen; er und andere Nachkommen seines Vaters, des Konsuls von 114 n. Chr., gebrauchten den kürzeren Namens *L. Lollianus Avitus*.⁶³ Im Falle der Baucylis muss noch vergegenwärtigt werden, dass *Tatiana*

⁶¹ A. Gunnella, *Le antichità di Palazzo Medici Riccardi*, I: *Le iscrizioni del corte*, Firenze 1998, 138f, mit gutem Foto; S. Crea, in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines. Roma 3: Collezioni Fiorentine*, Roma 2008, 408f Nr. 4020 ebenfalls mit gutem Foto; F. Cantarelli, *La collezione epigrafica Fusconi (Roma, secoli XVI–XVIII)*, Soveria Mannelli 2012, 133 Nr. 28.

⁶² So schon in meinem Sklavennamenbuch 54.

⁶³ Vgl. O. Salomies, *Adoptive and Polyonymous Nomenclature in the Roman Empire* (CHL 97), Helsinki 1992, 52.

Baucylis wegen der griechischen Sprache ihrer Inschrift aus dem östlichen Teil des Reiches stammen kann (aber nicht braucht!), wo dieser Typ der Gentilnamen besonders verbreitet war.

5. *CIL* VI 2521* aus Ligorio, *Ant. Neap.* 1. 39 f. 165v kann echten Stoff wiedergeben.⁶⁴ Der Text lautet *d. m. / M. Picati Onesimì / Trebulana Agete / coiugi et / Picatius Neritus / patri plüssmo*.⁶⁵ Der Wortlaut enthält nichts Verdächtiges. Der einzige wunde Punkt ist das Cognomen der Frau, das sich aber leicht in *Agele* verbessern lässt. Eine harmlose Verschreibung oder Verlesung. Alle Namensteile sind gut beglaubigte Bildungen, einige populäre Namen wie *Onesimus*, andere wenig verbreitet, wie *Picatius*, von dem wir aus Rom zwei Belege kennen, die aber zur Zeit Ligorios noch nicht bekannt waren; der erste in *CIL* VI 10025, seit Mitte des 19. Jh. bekannt;⁶⁶ der zweite ist *CIL* VI 24176, Epitaph einer Picatia M. f. Sabina, um die Wende des 18. und 19. Jh. ans Licht getreten. Woher hätte Ligorio also den Namen kennen lernen können? Dagegen findet sich der nicht sehr populäre Name *Neritus* in Ligorios eigener Produktion, in der Edition von *CIL* VI 16702 in *Ant. Neap.* 1. 39 f. 234v.⁶⁷ Doch spricht der Textbefund mehr für Echtheit als für ligorianische Erfindung. So würde ich diese Inschrift, trotz der Tatsache, dass Ligorio der einzige Zeuge ist, unter die echten Inschriften verlegen.

6. *Bull. com.* 105 (2004) 440 wird folgender Text auf einer Olla cineraria mitgeteilt: *M. Iuni Sila(ni) / Clyti*. Anhand des beigefügten Fotos kann man nicht feststellen, ob nach SILA Buchstaben ausgefallen sind oder ob der Name abgekürzt geschrieben wurde. Wie dem auch sei, man muss zweifellos *Silani liberti* verstehen. Clytus war wohl Freigelassener des Konsuls 46 n. Chr. M. Iunius Silanus (*PIR*² J 833), von dessen Dienerschaft mehrere Sklaven und Freigelassene inschriftlich bezeugt sind (Nachweise in *PIR*).

⁶⁴ In der *Edizione nazionale delle opere di Pirro Ligorio*, vol. 8, Libro XXXIX, Codice XIII B.8, *Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi*, a cura di S. Orlandi, Roma 2009, 215.

⁶⁵ In 2 findet sich zwischen N und S ein vertikaler Strich, der beträchtlich länger ist als übrigen; was Ligorio damit meint, ist schwierig zu sagen. Wollte er damit vielleicht einen Nexus von N und E andeuten? In 4 findet sich über OI etwas; ob Ligorio nachträglich ein N hinzufügen wollte, lässt sich nicht sagen; die Wiedergabe sowohl in der Edition als auch in der beigefügten CD ist so unscharf, dass eine sichere Entscheidung nicht möglich ist.

⁶⁶ Außerdem ist es nicht ganz sicher, ob hier *Picatius* vorliegt: vor P haben de Rossi und Schmidt einen Trennpunkt gesehen und davor einen schrägen Strich, der den letzten Strich von A oder M ausmacht. Trotzdem meint der Editor Henzen (und mit ihm Bang im Gentilnamenindex), man solle *Apicatius* vorziehen. Warum aber nicht *M. Picati*? *Marcus* war üblich in der gens Picatia.

⁶⁷ Und 10125 ist schon seit Iucundus bekannt und 1921 seit Sabinus.

CCXCI. ZU SARTIS BERLINER HANDSCHRIFT

Mauro Sarti (Bologna 1709–1766) war ein Gelehrter, Kanzler des Ordo Camaldulensium und seit 1755 Abt des Klosters des Heiligen Gregorius in Rom. Er hat unter anderem einige Schriften antiquarischen Inhalts hinterlassen, darunter eine epigraphische Handschrift, die sich heute in Berlin befindet: *Cod. Berol. Lat.* 61 t (67 Seiten). Sie enthält Kopien von Inschriften von Tuficum und Attidium in Umbrien, Trea, Cupra Montana und San Vittore di Cingoli (wo ein von Cingulum verschiedenes Municipium lag)⁶⁸ in Picenum, Sentinum in Umbrien. Auf S. 26 begegnen wir der ersten stadtrömischen Inschrift, von der noch die Rede sein wird; dann von S. 28 an beginnt die stadtrömische Reihe mit sowohl lateinischen als auch griechischen und christlichen Inschriften, doch sind darunter Texte verschiedener Herkunft hier und da zerstreut (sofort auf S. 28 aus Bononia); einige Texte kommen aus Alatium (aus Praeneste auf S. 34 und Albano S. 54). Und S. 57. 58. 61 enthalten eine Menge tiburtinischer Inschriften. Am Ende stehen auf S. 63–67 (64 und 66 sind leer) römische Ziegelstempel; sie finden sich alle in *CIL XV*.⁶⁹ Als Kuriosum sei hinzugefügt, dass die ganze Seite 55 von einer lateinischen Inschrift aus dem Jahre 1551 in Anspruch genommen wird.

Die Mehrheit der Texte hat Sarti älteren Publikationen entnommen, einige hat er aber selbst gesehen und abgeschrieben. Der Kodex ist von Mommsen und Bormann für *CIL IX* und *XI* verwertet worden, aber nicht systematisch (von Bormann vollständiger als von Mommsen). Die Editoren der stadtrömischen Corpora und Dessau im Stammband des *CIL XIV* und Dressel in *CIL XV* scheinen den Kodex nicht verwertet zu haben (in den Nachträgen zu *XIV* S. 495 erwähnt Dessau ihn); nur Ferrua hat in dem altchristlichen Inschriftenwerk den Kodex voll bewertet, wie es scheint.

Auf S. 26 werden vier Inschriften abgeschrieben (davon eine nur mit incipit), bei denen wir zuerst haltmachen:

1. Ad fontes bonas apud Camaldulum

*Fontem peremnem, qui loco
nomen dedit, Ambr(osius) prior
in laudem Dei renovavit.*

⁶⁸ Zur Frage der Lage von Städten in diesem Bereich in römischer Zeit s. G. Paci, *Suppl. It.* 22, 147–59.

⁶⁹ Hier sei nur bemerkt, dass von *CIL XV* 464 = Sarti IV (S. 65) die Variante APRON statt APR des *CIL* geboten wird.

Ad fontem Bonis apud Camaldulens.
 FONTEM. PEREMNE MI. QVI. LOCO
 NOMEN. DEDIT. AMBR. PRIOR
 IN LAudem. DEI. RENOVAVIT.

In Castro Balneo Thusciae.
 FVFICIA. C. L
 EEEV THERA Ita.
 (egam ELEUTHERA.

In Monte Jons/Buellanz
 L. SENTINATIS

ΠΑΝΧΑΡΕΙ
 ΑΕΙΜΝΗ
 ΘΘΙ
 ΥΡCΙΩΝΤΗ
 ΜΗΤΡΙ. ΑΖΙΑΙ

*Ad divi Gregorii Camal
 dalensium Romae
 cippius in vivi
 dario reperitur.*

Der Errichter ist allem Anschein nach der berühmte Ambrogio Traversari von Camaldoli (1386–1439).

2. In Castro Balneo Thusciae

Fuficia C. l.

E'leuthera.

Der Fundort war Bagnoregio (heute in der Provinz von Viterbo),⁷⁰ das zum Gebiet von Volsinii gehört haben dürfte.⁷¹ Sarti emendiert das Cognomen ganz richtig zu *Eleuthera*. Die Inschrift scheint unveröffentlicht zu sein. Die Fuficii sind in der regio VII einigermaßen bezeugt: *CIL* XI 6700, 302f. 6712, 195; *AE* 1946, 223 (Tarquinii). 1983, 389 (Luna). 2010, 442 (Lucus Feroniae). Das Cognomen *Eleuthera* lässt sich neben den üblichen *Eleuther* und *Eleutheris* nur spärlich belegen; als entsprechender Frauenname in der Sippe zu *Eleuther* kam eben *Eleutheris*, nicht *Eleuthera* in Gebrauch.⁷² Das sieht man gut an der stadtrömischen Dokumentation; auch sonst im Westen ist *Eleutheris* viel populärer als *Eleuthera*.⁷³

⁷⁰ Sein alter Name war *Balneum regis* o *regium*. Die Benennung *Castrum Balneum* z. B. in C. Sigonio, *Historiarum de regno Italiae libri viginti* (1591) 316; und in lokalen Urkunden (Archivio vescovile und Archivio comunale von Bagnoregio).

⁷¹ In *CIL* XI scheinen keine Inschriften aus Bagnoregio enthalten zu sein.

⁷² In meinem griechischen Namenbuch kommt *Eleuther* 52mal vor, *Eleuthera* 5mal, *Eleutheris* 70mal.

⁷³ Aufs Geratewohl kann man *Eleuthera* 5mal und *Eleutheris* 75mal belegen (und *Eleuther* 80mal). In der griechischen Welt ist die Sippe weniger populär gewesen; aus den bisher

3. In Monasterio fontis Avellanae

L. Sentinati(?)

Aus dem Fundort zu schließen, scheint es sich um das incipit von *CIL* XI 5762 zu handeln, die von vielen alten Gewährsleuten *in abbatia S. Crucis fontis Avellanae* überliefert ist (um 5761 mit identischem incipit kann es sich nicht handeln, da Sarti sie auf S. 25 Nr. XII hat). Nur fragt man sich, was der Autor mit dem Zeichen nach SENTINATI gemeint hat. Muss man es als ein S deuten oder als Trennpunkt (die Zeile 2 hat einen von den anderen abweichenden größeren Trennpunkt)? Die Entscheidung fällt schwierig, auch weil Sarti von S sonst andere Formen gebraucht. Wenn wir S lesen, müssen wir (sofern es sich nicht um pure Nachlässigkeit des Schreibers handelt) eine dritte Inschrift des L. Sentinas im Bereich des Klosters annehmen.

4. *Ad Divi Gregorii Camaldulensium Romae cippus in viridario reperi-*
tus, gefolgt von einer fehlerhaften Abschrift von *IGUR* 869: 3 CΘI, 4
UPCIQN für ΩPEIQN. Sarti hat den Text anscheinend am Stein abge-
schrieben (er war ja Abt des Klosters seit 1755), denn er wiederholt den
Text auf der folgenden Seite, wo er richtig 3 CΘOIC schreibt.

Auf S. 32 gibt Sarti die Abschrift einer Inschrift, die unveröffentlicht zu sein scheint. Ihre Provenienz steht nicht ganz sicher fest. Auf der vorigen Seite beginnt eine lange Reihe von Texten, die sich dem Autor zufolge *Romae apud Blasium lapidicidam* befinden sollten (sie setzt sich bis S. 33 fort), wie im Lemma der ersten Inschrift der Reihe, *CIL* VI 678 vgl. 30812 steht (allen nachfolgenden fügt er *ibidem* hinzu). Man könnte daran zweifeln, dass sich all diese Inschriften einmal bei demselben Steinmetzen befunden hätten; es könnte sein, dass Sarti jeden Text gedankenlos mit *ibidem* versehen hat, dass er aber alle diese Texte wirklich bei demselben Steinmetzen gesehen hätte, von denen nicht alle von anderen alten Gewährsleuten dort angegeben worden sind, ist alles andere als sicher. Bei demselben Steinmetzen, dessen gesamter Name Egidio Blasi war und dessen Werkstatt sich an der Piazza della Madonna della Consolazione, also im Bereich des Forum Romanum, befand, werden folgende Inschriften auch von anderen alten Autoren angezeigt: *CIL* VI 12988, angezeigt von einem Anonymen, *Novelle letterarie pubblicate in Firenze* 1752, 770–72 Nr. 9 *ritrovata di fresco*

erschienenen Bänden des *LGPN* habe ich für Ἐλεύθερος ca. 36, für Ἐλευθέρα 2 und für Ἐλευθερίς 8 Belege gezählt. Doch man sieht, dass auch in Griechenland Ἐλευθερίς die Oberhand hat.

in Roma ... dal Blasi scarpellino (daraus Donati 339, 6); interessant ist, dass Marini, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 9122 f. 163 die Abschrift von Sarti gibt mit der Angabe *in domo Bavariae Romanae curiae praelati*; wenn dieser die Inschrift wirklich in Blasis Werkstatt gesehen hat, muss das kurz nach ihrer Entdeckung stattgefunden haben, während die Inschrift später ins Haus Baviera gelangte, wovon Sarti ebenso Kenntnis erworben hatte. – *CIL* VI 13882, von Marini, *Gli atti e monumenti de' fratelli Arvali* (1795) 393f *già nella bottega di uno scarpellino in campo Vaccino* gesehen. – *CIL* VI 14812 wurde von Colucci *Romae apud Aegidium Blasium quadratarium* angezeigt. – *CIL* XI 716* (= V 199* = IX 627*)⁷⁴ vom Grafen Aurelio Guarnieri Ottone in Rom *nel magazzino di uno scarpellino che tiene bottega nella piazza della Madonna della Consolazione verso Santa Galla* gesehen und von Giovanni Francesco Lancellotti als Werkstatt von Egidio Blasi definiert.⁷⁵ Wie dem auch mit Sartis Fundortsangaben steht, hat er doch einen wertvollen Beitrag zu Geschichte einzelner von ihm der Werkstatt Sartis zugeschriebenen Inschriften geliefert. Sehen wir noch Nummer für Nummer die restlichen Fälle durch. *CIL* VI 678, die bei Sarti die Reihe der in Blasis Werkstatt kopierten Texte einleitet, wurde 1661 außerhalb der Porta S. Sebastiano bei den Chigischen Ausgrabungen gefunden und ins Palazzo Chigi gebracht. Man würde nicht gern den Angaben von Sarti misstrauen; weswegen hätte er die Reihe der zusammenhängenden Serie der Inschriften in Blasis Werkstatt mit einer falschen Angabe eingeleitet? Nun wissen wir, dass die Altertümer des Palastes Chigi auf Piazza SS. Apostoli, darunter auch wertvolle Inschriften, zu einem guten Teil verloren gingen;⁷⁶ es bereitet demnach keine Schwierigkeiten anzunehmen, dass auch unsere Inschrift aus dem Palast verschwand, um dann in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jh. von Blasi an Giovanni Rinuccini (1743–1801) vermittelt und in den Palast Rinuccini in Florenz gebracht zu werden; Giovanni hat während seiner römischen Periode als Governatore di Roma die Grundlage für die Sammlung stadtrömischer Inschriften des Florentiner Palastes geschaffen.⁷⁷ – 9010 taucht

⁷⁴ Zur Geschichte des Textes Fr. Kränzl – E. Weber, *Die römerzeitlichen Inschriften aus Rom und Italien in Österreich*, Wien 1997, 89 Nr. 116 mit Foto Tafel 46.

⁷⁵ Die Nachweise hat Bormann in *CIL* XI 716* gesammelt, worauf hingewiesen sei. – Zu Guarnieri *DBI* 69 (2003) 443–45; zu Lancellotti, *DBI* 63 (2004) 298–300.

⁷⁶ Vgl. z. B. R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* V, Roma 1994², 208 mit einem Verzeichnis verloren gegangener Inschriften (dort zu entfernen Kaibel 1102 [= *IGUR* 240] und 1104 [= *IGUR* 239], die nie im Palazzo Chigi waren). 284.

⁷⁷ Zu seiner Sammeltätigkeit s. A. Gunnella, in *Palazzo Peruzzi – Palazzo Rinuccini*, Roma 1980, 101–07; M. G. Granino Cecere, *Supplementa Italica. Imagines. Roma (CIL, VI) 3: Collezioni fiorentine*, Roma 2008, 13f. Die Inschrift selbst dort 474 Nr. 4119.

erst in Florenz in Palazzo Rinuccini auf (wo sie von Marini und Fea gesehen wurde),⁷⁸ ist aber zweifellos stadtrömischer Provenienz.⁷⁹ Ein analoger Fall mit der vorigen Inschrift.⁸⁰ Nichts spricht gegen ihr Verweilen in Blasis Werkstatt. – 28141 war in S. Maria Maggiore, wo sie von Justus Ryckius und Giovanni Battista Doni gesehen wurde. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass sie in die Hände von Blasi gelangte.⁸¹ – 28363: Der einzige sonstige Zeuge der Inschrift ist der berühmte Künstler Pier Leone Ghezzi, der in *Cod. Angelic.* 2136 f. 5 ihren Text unter von ihm im Jahre 1726 abgeschrieben stadtrömischen Inschriften gibt. Auch in diesem Fall ist ihre Präsenz in Blasis Werkstatt nicht auszuschließen. Heute vermisst. – *CIL* XIV 3645/6 vgl. S. 495 = VI 1828 = I² 1490: Die Inschrift ist tiburtinisch, dort von Ficoroni angezeigt, der sie nach Rom gebracht hat (so Muratori 745, 3). An anderer Stelle zeigt Muratori 977, 6 sie in der Sakristei von S. Maria Maggiore. Dass sie später in die Werkstatt von Blasi gelangt wäre, ist nicht ohne weiteres von der Hand zu weisen; und dass Sarti sie selbst gesehen hätte, darauf deutet seine nachlässige Textform hin: bei ihm fehlt *Gallus*; andererseits bietet er in 3 zwei I longae in *primis*.

Als Fazit lässt sich aufgrund dieses kurzen topographischen Exkurses sagen, dass es trotz anfangs vorgebrachter Zweifel durchaus möglich ist, dass Sarti alle diese Texte in Blasis Werkstatt wirklich gesehen und abgeschrieben hat. Wenn dem so ist, dann bilden seine Abschriften eine wertvolle Bereicherung für die stadtrömische Epigraphik. Es wäre der Mühe wert, auch seine übrigen Abschriften stadtrömischer Inschriften hinsichtlich Provenienz und Textform zu untersuchen, was hier nicht geschehen kann.

Der Sarti zufolge *grandibus litteris* geschriebene Text lautet:

The image shows a handwritten Latin inscription in large, bold letters. The text is arranged in two lines: 'SERGIAE' on the top line and 'PHILIPPORVM' on the bottom line. To the right of the second line, there is a handwritten note in cursive script that reads 'Grandibus litteris'.

Sergiae Philipporum.

⁷⁸ Feas Zeugnis ist heute als *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 10591 f. 65 zu zitieren.

⁷⁹ Sarti gibt einen besseren Text als Henzen im *CIL*: in 3 liest er *procurator et libertis* statt *procurator et sibi et libertis*. Henzen hat die Lesungen von Marini und Fea (dessen Lesung freilich wegen des schlechten Zustandes der Schrift nicht gut entzifferbar ist) gedankenlos übernommen.

⁸⁰ Text und Foto in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines*, o. c. 474 Nr. 4121.

⁸¹ Zur Textform sei notiert, dass Sartis Lesung mit der von Ryckius übereinstimmt.

Sergia war entweder Freigelassene oder Sklavin von zwei (oder mehreren) Philippi. Wenn sie Freigelassene war, dann muss der Text rechts fortgesetzt haben mit *libertae* und dem Cognomen der Sergia. *Sergia* kann auch als Sklavename gebraucht worden sein (Gentilnamen konnten gelegentlich auch Sklaven zugelegt werden),⁸² in welchem Fall der Text rechts intakt sein kann. Es war nicht üblich, das Patronencognomen allein im Plural hinzuzufügen, der Typ existiert aber:⁸³ *Silucus Albinoru(m) s(ervos)* aus Praeneste (*CIL* I² 1455), *Q. Fabius Longoru[m l. ---]* aus Ostia (*AE* 2009, 193),⁸⁴ *Q. Fabius Maximorum l. Amicus* (*CIL* VI 9219), *L. Calpurnius duom Pisonum libert. Apollonius* (*CIL* VI 6001), *Lupus Quadratorum* aus Rom (*AE* 1988, 124, wo falsch *quadr-*); vgl. auch *AE* 2007, 430 (Luceria) *Icarus Q. L. Lutatorum Catulorum* mit vollständigem Namen der Patronen und *AE* 1922, 126 (Interamna Lirenas, 38 n. Chr.) *Crysantus M(arcorum) Bibulorum s(ervus)* mit Praenomen und Cognomen.⁸⁵ Nun sind die Patronen in diesen Fällen außer den praenestinischen Albini und den Fabii Longi Senatoren; wenn man dasselbe hier postulieren möchte, dann müsste Sergia Sklavin gewesen sein, wobei als Herren möglicherweise die Marcii Philippi der spätrepublikanischen Zeit in Frage kämen; zunächst würde man etwa an L. Marcius Philippus, cos. 56 (*RE* 76) und seinen gleichnamigen Sohn, cos. 38 (*RE* 77) denken (um Philippus Arabs und seinen Sohn kann es sich unmöglich handeln). Aufgrund der im Kodex gegebenen Abschrift kann man keinerlei Vermutungen zur Datierung der Inschrift anstellen, dass sie aber der Übergangszeit zwischen Republik und Kaiserzeit angehörte, ist prinzipiell nicht auszuschließen. Jedenfalls scheint wahrscheinlich, dass die meisten Belege dieser Gewohnheit in die spätrepublikanische oder frühe Kaiserzeit gehören, was auch dadurch erhärtet wird, dass in der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit in derselben Familie immer weniger ein Cognomen in Gebrauch war, nachdem das Cognomen anstelle des Vornamens die Stellung des Individualnamens eingenommen hatte, weswegen eine Variierung von Cognomina vonnöten geworden war.

⁸² Siehe H. S., *Die stadtrömischen Sklavennamen* (1996) 16–20.

⁸³ Siehe H. S., *Arctos* 39 (2005) 191–94. Das hier oben gegebene Verzeichnis ist vollständiger.

⁸⁴ Vgl. zur Inschrift die wichtigen Bemerkungen in M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni – M. L. Caldelli – F. Zevi, *Epigrafia latina. Ostia: cento iscrizioni in contesto*, Roma 2006, 187f. Die Editoren datieren die Inschrift in den Anfang des 1. Jh. n. Chr., was durch die Nomenklatur (d. h. den Gebrauch nur eines Cognomens in der Familie) gestützt wird.

⁸⁵ Es dürfte sich um zwei Marci Calpurnii Bibuli handeln. Ob sie zu den senatorischen Calpurnii Bibuli gehörten, bleibt aber ungewiss. Wenn Senatoren, dann müssen sie sonst unbekannt sein – der letzte uns bekannte senatorische Bibulus ist der von Tac. *ann.* 3,52 zum Jahre 22 n. Chr. erwähnte Ädil C. (Calpurnius) Bibulus (*PIR*² C 254). – Zur interamnatischen Inschrift neuerdings L. Buchholz, *ZPE* 190 (2014), im Druck.

wenn der links stehende Strich darauf deutet. Jedenfalls hat er *ibid.* dann unter dem Text neu geschrieben. – Schwierigkeiten bereitet das Cognomen der Frau. Bei der Lesung *Tarbe* gibt es nur wenige Anhaltspunkte: einen Namen unbekannter Herkunft *Τάρβης* (Männernamen) in einer Inschrift aus Chalkidike in Makedonien aus der Mitte des 4. Jh. v. Chr. (*SEG XLVI* 804). Im semitischen Bereich sind einige Personennamen und Toponyme auf *Θαρβ-* belegt: eine *Θαρβοννα Νεσειβηνή*, Frau eines *Δ<ι>οφάνης Φιλαδελφεύς*, in Athen begraben (*IG II²* 11621, 1. Jh. n. Chr.);⁸⁶ in Syrien eine *κώμη Θαρβαίων* (Le Bas – Waddington 2269); aus Ägypten kommt ein höchst unsicherer Beleg für einen Frauennamen *Θαρβη* in *CPR XIII* 6, 42, neu als *Θάιβις* gelesen in *P.Count.* 24 IV, 85 (Arsinoites, 254/231 v. Chr.).⁸⁷ All das hilft aber nicht weiter.⁸⁸ So drängt sich der Verdacht auf, hier sei ein in der römischen Namengebung gebräuchliches Cognomen verkannt worden. Aber welches? Sarti ist der einzige Zeuge der Inschrift, und er hat sie wahrscheinlich selbst abgeschrieben. Da er in der Entzifferung von römischen Namenelementen nicht sattelfest war, kann er das Cognomen der Plautia gründlich missverstanden haben. Nun sind nicht alle Buchstaben ganz sicher identifizierbar. Der vierte könnte auch ein T sein; ähnlich sind die T in *poster(is)* in der Inschrift links (12988) und *et lib. libertabusq(ue)* in der Inschrift oben (28141). Aber *Tarte* ist kein Name; also Korruptel? Aber aus welchem? Könnte sich dahinter *Tertia* verbergen? Die Schreibung *Tart-* für *Tert-* ist nicht unüberwindlich. Im Latein der nachklassischen Zeit erscheint zuweilen *ar* für *er*. Die Appendix Probi bietet mehrere solcher Formen (*carcer non carcar* 43; *camera non cammara* 84; *passer non passar* 163; *anser non ansar* 164, *noverca non novarca* 168), die auch in epigraphischen Urkunden belegen lassen (z. B. *Passar* in *CIL VI* 2698. 32627, 21 und sonst in Ableitungen; *Carcaris* *CIL IX* 1617). Solche Formen lassen sich meistens als vulgäre Assimilation an die vorhergehende (oder an die folgende) Silbe erklären. Doch findet sich *-ar-* auch sonst, das zeigen Schreibungen wie *libartis* in *CIL VI* 10104b oder *Melicarti* in *CIL VI* 22400 vgl. *ZPE* 87 (1991) 246. Hier ist *a* vom *r* provoziert worden, das

⁸⁶ Zur Inschrift vgl. L. Robert, *Hellenica* II 79–81. Dort wird eine semitische Erklärung von H. C. Puech und A. Dupont-Sommer gegeben: Der Name *Θαρβοννα* entspreche dem syrischen Wort *tarbānā*, Adjektiv im Sing. fem., das *pinguis* bedeutet.

⁸⁷ W. Clarysse – D. J. Thompson, *Counting the people in Hellenistic Egypt* I, Cambridge 2006, 352 möchten *Θάιβις* vorziehen, obwohl ihnen auch hier fast alle Buchstaben unsicher bleiben. Aber *Θάιβις* ist in Ägypten einigermaßen belegt, auch in Arsinoites.

⁸⁸ Ich lasse hier weg *Tharbe* (*Θάρβη*), die Tochter des Aithiopenkönigs, von den byzantinischen Chronographen Georgios Synkellos (p. 139, 16. 23) und in seiner Nachfolge von Georgios Kedrenos (1 p. 75, 20) erwähnt.

den vorigen Vokal zu öffnen tendiert.⁸⁹ Vor diesem Hintergrund wäre eine Form *Tartia* für *Tertia* wohl nicht auszuschließen. Man fragt sich auch, ob das Cognomen *Tartianus*, einmal aus Afrika belegt (*CIL* VIII 3114) als Nebenform für *Tertianus* und nicht als Ableitung aus dem höchst seltenen Gentilnamen *Tartius* (nur aus *CIL* VI 36402 bekannt) aufgefasst werden könnte. Ebenso könnte *Tartinus* (s. oben 278) gedeutet werden. Doch, um zu unserer Inschrift zurückzukehren, ist es schwieriger, das Schluss-*e* wegzuschaffen. Da dieses -*e* sicher festzustehen scheint, könnte man sein Glück in der Suche eines griechischen Namens finden. Namen auf -*rbe* oder auf -*rde* stehen nicht zur Verfügung, dagegen gibt es im griechischen Namengut Roms mehrere Namen auf -*rte* wie *Sparte* (Sarti hätte P fälschlich als T wiedergegeben und das S nicht bemerkt) oder *Heorte* (man sollte am Original nachprüfen, ob Sarti den zweiten Buchstaben möglicherweise als O gemeint hätte; doch schreibt er O sonst anders). Man könnte noch auf *Storge* hinweisen, doch macht der Autor das *g* immer anders (und auch mit *o* hätten wir dieselben Schwierigkeiten wie bei *Heorte*). An sich sind alle diese Namen gute griechische Bildungen, mehr oder weniger auch in Rom beglaubigt.⁹⁰ Fazit: Non liquet. Videant meliores.

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⁸⁹ Dazu vgl. etwa V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, Paris 1963, 35f.

⁹⁰ *Sparte* ist selten im römischen Bereich; ich kenne nur *CIL* VI 8794 (dagegen ist Σπάρτη in der griechischen Welt als Frauennamen einigermassen bezeugt; in *LGPN* I–VA siebenmal verzeichnet; dazu noch etwa *BCH* 4 [1880] 398 Nr. 7 und 8, Halikarnassos). *Heorte* üblich in Rom (16 Belege in meinem griechischen Namenbuch 1117f), auch sonst in Italien und gelegentlich in Provinzen belegt. *Storge*: 16mal belegt in Rom (s. mein Namenbuch 1344), auch anderswo in Italien einige Male belegt.

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Monumentum et instrumentum inscriptum. Beschriftete Objekte aus Kaiserzeit und Spätantike als historische Zeugnisse. Festschrift für Peter Weiß zum 65. Geburtstag. Hrsg. von HENNING BÖRM – NORBERT EHRHARDT – JOSEF WIESEHÖFER. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2008. ISBN 978-3-515-09239-5. 256 S. EUR 59.

Il presente volume raccoglie 16 articoli scritti da colleghi e allievi di Peter Weiß, ordinario di "Alte Geschichte" all'Università di Kiel dal 1987 al 2008. I contributi rispecchiano principalmente gli ampi interessi dell'onorando, cioè, temi di stampo storico studiati con l'ausilio dell'epigrafia greca e latina, della numismatica e dell'archeologia. I materiali trattati provengono da più regioni, orientali e occidentali, dell'impero romano.

Ecco il contenuto del ricco volume: C. Berns (frammento di un monumento, probabilmente funerario, del II o I sec. a.C., con iscrizione latino-iberica, evidente indizio, questo, di romanizzazione di chi l'aveva eretto); O. Bingöl (resoconto degli scavi del teatro di Magnesia al Meandro; ma perché non vengono descritte le iscrizioni sui sedili?); A. Birley (alcune divinità germaniche documentate nelle dediche poste dai militari delle unità germaniche di stanza in Britannia; spicca la divinità dal nome "Hvitir" o "Hvitris", le cui testimonianze, in numerose varianti grafiche, sono raccolte in un'appendice); H. Börn (osservazioni sulla durata dell'idea di un impero occidentale dopo l'anno 476 d.C.); K. Dietz (nuova lettura e interpretazione di Moretti, *IGUR* 1658, con dedica a Caracalla e Giulia Domna, ora databile al 213 d.C.); W. Eck – A. Pangerl (processi amministrativi relativi alla consegna della cittadinanza romana; in particolare, vengono analizzate alcune peculiarità osservabili in due diplomi della flotta misenate del 119 d.C.); W. Günther – N. Ehrhardt (ricostruzione del cursus dell'equestre milesio Cn. Vergilius Capito [fl. verso la metà del I sec. d.C.]; interessante la nuova iscrizione onoraria proveniente dai pressi di Didima, con menzione del titolo ἑπαρχος ἐπὶ da Apamea in Bitinia; [fl. verso me Ῥώμης, che, secondo gli autori, potrebbe corrispondere a quello di *praefectus vigilum*; notevole anche la designazione di Capito come σωτήρ); R. Haensch (l'uso continuo, fino alla fine del III sec. d.C., di documenti greci nei protocolli giuridici prodotti in Egitto e in altre regioni orientali); H. Halfmann (alcune iscrizioni del II/III sec. d.C. menzionanti membri della famiglia senatoria dei Catilii da Apamea in Bitinia); P. Holder (diplomi adrianei delle flotte di Miseno e Ravenna, di cui vengono discussi soprattutto gli aspetti esterni e di contenuto); S. Mitchell (alcuni monumenti votivi dell'Asia Minore sudoccidentale, dedicati rispettivamente a Dioniso, Angdisis e Dioscuri); J. Raeder (iscrizione bilingue su un sarcofago da Sinope eretto da un P. Aelius Pompeius alla moglie, probabilmente nel terzo quarto del II sec. d.C.); S. Rebenich (giardini funerari romani, spesso ovviamente modellati su quelli delle ville aristocratiche della tarda repubblica e del primo impero. Tali strutture funerarie sembra siano state realizzate prevalentemente da nuovi ricchi, liberti e altri, per scopi autorappresentativi); B. Freyer-Schauenburg (iscrizione funeraria, come sembrerebbe, di un φροουμεντ[άριος] da Samo; ora *IG XII* 6, 2, 807; va notata, tuttavia, anche l'esistenza di nomi latini in *Frument-*; ri-

mane inoltre problematica l'interpretazione della prima linea, ΘΕ ΕΠΙ Φ[---], se veramente è da leggere così; forse si potrebbe pensare, in via d'ipotesi, che il testo inizi con una dedica del tipo Θε. ἐπιφανεῖ / ἐπιφανέσιν, benché ciò possa essere difficilmente compatibile con l'immagine del soldato sul rilievo); U. Weber – J. Wiesehöfer (le fasi storico-cronologiche della rivolta di Ormies [Hormezd] verso il fratello, il re sassanide Wahram II [276–293 d.C.]); M. Zahrnt (attività di Adriano riguardo alla municipalizzazione e colonizzazione delle regioni africane, che non si limitarono alla Proconsolare, ma sono rintracciabili anche in Numidia e Tripolitania).

Mika Kajava

THOMAS A. SZLEZÁK: *Was Europa den Griechen verdankt. Von den Grundlagen unserer Kultur in der griechischen Antike*. Mohr Siebeck (UTB), Tübingen 2010. ISBN 978-3-8252-3394-5. X, 290 S. EUR 24.90.

THOMAS A. SZLEZÁK: *Homer oder Die Geburt der abendländischen Dichtung*. C. H. Beck, München 2012. ISBN 978-3-406-63729-2. 255 S., 14 Abb. EUR 24.95.

Thomas A. Szlezák hat seit seiner Emeritierung als Professor für Gräzistik an der Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen im Jahre 2006 in kurzer Folge zwei Bücher vorgelegt, die sich beide über die Grenzen der Altertumswissenschaften hinaus an ein breiteres, an der Antike und ihrer Wirkung interessiertes Publikum richten. Das erste der beiden widmet sich in insgesamt zwölf Kapiteln der Frage nach Bedeutung und Geltung der griechischen Antike für die Prägung des modernen Europa. Dabei geht Szlezák von zwei Prämissen aus, die heutzutage – leider, möchte der Rezensent ergänzen – nicht mehr als selbstverständlich zu erachten sind: Zum einen ist da die Grundannahme, dass so etwas wie 'Europa' und 'europäisch' in einem exklusiven, abgrenzbaren (jedoch deswegen keineswegs *a priori* als superior zu betrachtenden) Sinne überhaupt existiert bzw. dass sich zur Postulierung einer dezidiert europäischen Existenz und Identität zumindest eine Vielzahl triftiger Gründe anführen lässt; zum anderen das Bewusstsein einer historischen Kontinuität von der griechischen Antike in die europäische Post-(Post-)Moderne, die zugegebenermassen längst nicht sämtliche Lebens- und Denkbereiche der heutigen europäischen Wirklichkeit umfasst, die jedoch – allen anderen, nicht-griechischen Einflüssen, Neuerungen und Transformationen zum Trotz – dennoch weder eine *quantité négligeable* noch eine *qualité négligeable* darstellt.

Will und soll auch Szlezáks Buch keine systematische Literaturgeschichtsschreibung (und schon gar kein Sammelsurium an tatsächlichen oder vermeintlichen Rezeptionszeugnissen) sein, sondern vielmehr die grossen Bögen griechischen Denkens und griechischer Werte und deren Einfluss auf unsere heutige Zeit nachzeichnen, so folgt der Autor in der Anordnung seiner zwölf Kapitel gleichwohl einem zumindest groben (literar-)chronologischen Ablauf: Anfangend bei der archaischen Epik Homers (Kap. 1 und 2), schreitet er über die Darstellung der frühgriechischen Lyrik, der Vorsokratiker und der mit der Dichtung Pindars verknüpften panhellenischen Sportfestspiele (Kap. 3–5) in die Zeit der Klassik, wobei die athenische Demokratie, die Sophistik, die Geschichtsschreibung, das Theaterwesen sowie die Philosophie von Sokrates, Platon und Aristoteles gesondert behandelt werden (Kap. 6–11), ehe eine Schlussbetrachtung zum "kosmopolitischen Geist der griechischen Kultur" das Gesagte bündelt und ei-

nen Ausblick auf einige nicht behandelte Aspekte bietet (Kap. 12; praktisch völlig ausgelassen sind bspw. der Bereich der bildenden Kunst oder auch die auf den Hippokratischen Schriften und Galen basierende Medizin, die im europäischen Kulturkreis bis ins 19. Jahrhundert hinein praktisch alleinig wirkmächtig blieb).

Immer im Fokus hat Szlezák dabei das genuin Griechische – sprich: das, wodurch unser Denken und unsere Identität von der griechischen Antike her wesentlich geprägt sind. So sieht er – um nur einige Beispiele herauszugreifen – in der *Ilias* Humanismus und Nächstenliebe vorgezeichnet, in der *Odyssee* Heimat, Ehe und Familie als europäische Kernwerte zum ersten Mal angelegt, im vorsokratischen Denken die typisch abendländische Scheidung zwischen Weisheit und Wissenschaft verwurzelt, aus der Sophistik den einem absoluten Wahrheitsbegriff abholden Werterelativismus und, damit verbunden, die Fähigkeit und Bereitschaft zur Infragestellung von Autoritäten entsprungen. Auf der anderen Seite ist Szlezák jedoch in keiner Weise ein Apologet, der griechischen Einfluss oder gar eine direkte Kontinuität griechischer 'Vorläufer' in sämtlichen modernen Lebensbereichen sehen will oder nachzuweisen sucht – vielmehr sieht er, um mit Uvo Hölscher zu sprechen, an vielen Punkten in den Griechen das "Nächste Fremde", das uns mit seiner gleichzeitigen geistigen Nähe *und* Ferne sowohl zu faszinieren als auch zu verstören vermag. So räumt er etwa mit dem verbreiteten Stereotyp, unsere demokratischen Staatssysteme wurzelten tel quel in der Radikaldemokratie des klassischen Athen, radikal auf: Mit eindringlicher Schärfe zeigt er, wie 'undemokratisch' unsere heutigen 'Demokratien' einem Athener des 5. Jahrhunderts v.Chr. vorgekommen sein müssten (was, nebenbei bemerkt, dem geneigten Leser als Gelegenheit dienen mag, wieder einmal über die Situation *unserer* als demokratisch geltenden Staaten in Europa nachzudenken) und wie sehr andererseits das, was damals als Demokratie bezeichnet und empfunden wurde, von den heutigen Europäern wohl vielmehr als brandgefährliche (da u.a. auch für manipulatorische Demagogie hochempfindliche) 'Pöbelherrschaft' angesehen würde.

Ein problematischer Punkt, der hier kurz diskutiert sei, besteht m.E. in Szlezáks Deutung der frühgriechischen Lyrik als einer Gattung, die durch das 'Erwachen' der Persönlichkeit und der Bewusstwerdung der Subjektivität des 'Ichs' geprägt sei. Diese im Kern auf Bruno Snell zurückgehende Auffassung geht von der grundsätzlich problematischen Gleichsetzung des Dichter-'Ichs' mit der Persönlichkeit des realen Autors aus, die sich in dieser Weise nun einmal einfach nicht halten lässt. Zweifellos, das Autorsubjekt ist im zeitgenössischen literaturtheoretischen Diskurs zu Recht wieder lebendiger geworden, als es in früheren Dezennien war, da man seinen Tod allzu vorschnell verkündigte. Gleichwohl begeht Szlezák einen m.E. folgenschweren methodischen Fehler, wenn er sich der zwingend notwendigen Unterscheidung zwischen realem und implizitem Autor begibt. Dass zumindest einige der in der frühgriechischen Lyrik anzutreffenden 'Ich'-Aussagen durchaus einen autobiographischen Wert haben *können*, ist das eine – Tatsache ist und bleibt jedoch, dass uns literarische 'Ich'-Aussagen immer nur das *Bild* eines Autors (eben den impliziten Autor) zu vermitteln vermögen; zum realen Autor vorzustossen wäre höchstens dann möglich, wenn wir nebst den literarischen Erzeugnissen an sich auch noch über verlässliche ausserliterarische Quellen verfügten, die wir jedoch im Falle des in der frühgriechischen Lyrik herrschenden Trümmerfeldes nicht haben und wohl auch nie finden werden.

Szlezáks zweites Buch stellt in gewisser Weise ein *spin-off* von *Was Europa den Griechen verdankt* dar, nimmt es doch mit Homer den 'Urvater' der griechischen – und somit überhaupt der europäischen – Literatur in den Blick. Im ersten der gesamthaft vier Kapitel, die

allesamt einführenden Charakter in dem Sinne haben, dass sie nicht genuin neue Forschungsergebnisse präsentieren, sondern Bekanntes bündeln und einem breiteren Publikum zugänglich machen wollen, wird die Wirkungsgeschichte der homerischen Epen einschliesslich der Wissenschaftsgeschichte seit Friedrich August Wolf mit groben, doch klar konturierten Pinselstrichen nachgezeichnet. Rasch wird hierbei ersichtlich, dass Szlezák keine 'Spezialmeinungen' vertritt: Er geht von der *communis opinio* aus, dass Ilias- und Odysseedichter nicht identisch seien und Letzterer eine bis zwei Generationen nach Ersterem anzusetzen sei; ferner wird die von Martin West versuchte Vordatierung der hesiodeischen Gedichte vor die *Ilias* ebenso abgelehnt wie die von Joachim Latacz und Manfred Korfmann mit Nachdruck vertretene Historizitätsthese, dergemäss Troja ein mächtiger anatolischer Handelsstützpunkt gewesen sei und ein 'grosser' Trojanischer Krieg *loco ipso* tatsächlich stattgefunden habe ('Troja-Debatte'). Stattdessen schliesst sich Szlezák der auf Erich Bethe u.a. zurückgehenden und neuerdings bspw. auch von Frank Kolb wieder vertretenen Auffassung an, dass ein möglicher historischer Kern des Trojanischen Krieges ein Lokalkonflikt im griechischen Mutterland gewesen sein könnte, der dann im Laufe der Zeit nach Osten 'gewandert' und erzählerisch zu einem weltkriegsähnlichen West-Ost-Konflikt ausgebaut worden sei.

Kernstück von Szlezáks Homerbuch sind sodann die folgenden beiden Kapitel, in denen von *Ilias* und *Odyssee* jeweils zuerst eine relativ ausführliche "Skizze des Geschehens" gegeben wird; im Anschluss daran erfolgen Beobachtungen und Analysen zur 'Architektonik' der jeweiligen Epen sowie "Interpretationen ausgewählter Szenen und Situationen"; beschlossenen werden die beiden Kapitel jeweils mit Ausführungen zum Menschen- und Weltbild, das in den jeweiligen Epen vermittelt wird und das – was Szlezák zu Recht mehrfach betont – in vielen Bereichen der *Ilias* und der *Odyssee* so grundverschieden ist. Was vielleicht erstaunen mag, ist Szlezáks Sendungsbewusstsein, welches zu spüren ist, wenn es darum geht, die Einheit der Komposition der beiden homerischen Werke aufzuzeigen – erstaunlich scheint dies darum, weil die unitarische Position heutzutage eigentlich nicht mehr verteidigt zu werden braucht, sondern als *communis opinio* gilt. Kurzum: Szlezák ist Unitarier durch und durch – die althergebrachte Homeranalyse ist ihm (zu Recht) ein Graus, die Neanalyse scheint ihn (was vielleicht eher schade ist) wenig bis gar nicht zu interessieren. Leuchtendes Vorbild ist ihm Wolfgang Schadewaldt, dessen profunde Homerinterpretationen – etwa in Bezug auf die inhärente dramatische Gestaltung der *Ilias* – immer wieder durchschimmern, wiederholt referiert und zitiert werden.

Das letzte Kapitel greift einen in der Homerforschung der vergangenen Jahrzehnte viel diskutierten Aspekt auf, den Szlezák auch schon in seinen beiden Homerkapiteln in *Was Europa den Griechen verdankt* ausführlich behandelt hat: die Frage nach Ausmass und Qualität des altorientalischen Einflusses auf die griechische Kultur der archaischen Epoche. Die Erkenntnisse und Thesen zu diesem Themenkomplex, die insbesondere auf die Forschungen von Walter Burkert und Martin West zurückgreifen, werden von Szlezák einer kritischen, hochgradig differenzierten Prüfung unterzogen. Erstens betont Szlezák, dass von einem Dialog zwischen den beiden Kulturkreisen insofern nicht gesprochen werden kann, als sich in den uns fassbaren griechischen Quellen kein Bewusstsein eines entsprechenden östlichen Einflusses zeigt und da ausserdem der Einfluss nach dem heutigen Stand der Wissenschaft einseitiger war – anders gesagt: griechische Einflüsse auf den altorientalischen Raum konnten bisher nicht nachgewiesen werden, so dass von irgendeiner Form von Dialogizität in Ermangelung von Reziprozität *per definitionem* nicht die Rede sein kann. Zweitens wird anhand eines detaillier-

ten Vergleiches narrativer, motivischer und inhaltlicher Parallelen zwischen dem akkadisch-sumerischen Gilgamesch-Epos und den beiden homerischen Epen gezeigt, dass nicht-triviale altorientalische Einflüsse auf die früheste griechische Epik zwar unverkennbar vorhanden und nachweisbar sind, dass jedoch die spezifische Physiognomie, die charakteristische Welt- und Menschensicht der homerischen Epen, ihre "Gesamtkonzeption in Verbindung mit der dichterischen Atmosphäre und der Darstellungsweise" (S. 223), ebenso klar *nicht* aus der altorientalischen Vorstellungswelt entlehnt sein können. Bei allen unzweifelhaft existenten motivischen und thematischen Bezügen, die die homerischen Epen zum Gilgamesch-Epos aufweisen und die kaum auf Zufall beruhen können, erweisen sich *Ilias* und *Odyssee* in der Summe – sozusagen auf einer 'höheren Ebene' – gleichwohl als genuin 'griechische' Produkte. Kurz gesagt: Trotz allem, was das Griechentum dem Osten ohne Wenn und Aber verdankt, liegt Europa letztlich eben doch nicht in Asien.

Szlezáks beide Bücher sind in durchgehend brillanter Sprache mit zuweilen nachgerade essayistischer Sprengkraft, dabei immer mit bestechender intellektueller Schärfe sowie einem gelegentlichen Hang zur feinen, jedoch immer gänzlich unpolemischen Ironie geschrieben. Die Lektüre ist somit von der ersten bis zur letzten Seite ein Hochgenuss. Leicht macht es Szlezák seinem Leser freilich nicht: So sehr ihm, was das Formale angeht, die besonders in deutschsprachigen akademischen Publikationen zuweilen zu beobachtende, ärgerliche Tendenz zur sprachlichen Verdunkelung zwecks *tuning* schaler Inhalte fremd ist, so sehr liegen ihm im Inhaltlichen Vereinfachung, Verflachung oder gar opportunistische Annäherung an den vorherrschenden intellektuellen Mainstream fern. Gerade darin liegt jedoch m.E. die eigentliche Meisterleistung Szlezáks: Das detaillierte Wissen um Vermächtnis, Einfluss und Geltung der griechischen Antike auf das heutige Europa soll und darf selbstverständlich nicht nur "eine[r] besondere[n] Gemeinde von Philhellenen, Humanisten oder Bildungsbürgern" zugänglich sein, sondern vielmehr "alle[n] Europäer[n] [...], die sich als solche fühlen" (*Europa* S. 2) – doch sind diese Einsichten, salopp gesagt, nicht 'kostenlos' zu haben, sondern erfordern die Bereitschaft zur vertieften geistigen Beschäftigung mit einer an Gehalt und Komplexität reichen, doch dafür auch umso lohnenderen Materie.

Wer sich mit Fragen, die die eigene Zukunft betreffen, befasst, muss sich zwangsläufig auch mit der eigenen Identität beschäftigen. So gesehen, kommt eigentlich niemand, der sich Gedanken über die Zukunft eines (wie auch immer gearteten und zu definierenden) Europa machen will oder muss, ohne entsprechendes Wissen um und über die griechische Antike aus. Szlezáks beide Bücher sind hervorragend geeignet, diese Bildungslücken wo vorhanden zu schliessen und gleichzeitig zum vertieften Weiterdenken jenseits von ausgetretenen Pfaden und vorgefertigten Schablonen anzuregen.

Silvio Bär

PETER J. AHRENSDORF: *Greek Tragedy and Political Philosophy: Rationalism and Religion in Sophocles' Theban Plays*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 9780521515863. X, 192 pp. USD 80.

This relatively concise book (178 pages) stands on the middle ground between classical and political-philosophic studies. It discusses classical Greek tragedy but its focus is on questions

of political and moral philosophy. At the beginning of the study, Ahrens Dorf (= A.) observes that since the end of the Cold War, the importance of religion in politics has increased. It seems, however, that most modern studies on political theory are written in the spirit of a certain democratic liberal *ratio* and that they tend to underestimate the weight of religion. A. states that the first turn to the irrational instead of the rational in modern times can be traced back to F. Nietzsche's *Die Geburt der Tragödie* (1872 and 1886), in which Nietzsche severely attacked the western science-oriented, optimistic, so-called 'Socratic' world view. Nietzsche argued that it is the grimly tragic world-view, as shown in the plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles, that describes the true nature of our hard existence and that hence, tragic heroes should be looked upon as ideal human beings. According to Nietzsche's view, rationality is the weakness and inability to face the chaos of the universe, whereas suffering is courageous, and accepting one's fate makes one strong. Tragic heroes did exactly this, for they confronted the irrational universe, and through their suffering at the mercy of blind coincidence they became noble. The leading tragic hero for Nietzsche is Sophocles' *Oedipus*. Nietzsche's tragic philosophy is controversial (and has probably been misinterpreted from the very beginning), but, as A. notes, surprisingly it does seem to resonate in our times. A. has not, however, written this book to study Nietzsche, but to re-examine the Theban plays and Nietzsche's interpretation of Sophocles as a pious anti-rationalist tragic poet, whose views were totally opposed to those of Socrates and other 'rationalists'. In short, A. questions if Sophocles' description of Oedipus' story confirms Nietzsche's conclusion that Sophocles supported a human's resignation from reason and his submission to fate and blind faith. In the study, A. re-examines the relationship between rationality and religious piety in Sophocles' Theban plays, *Oedipus Tyrannus* (*OT*), *Oedipus at Colonus* (*OC*) and *Antigone*, asking if Sophocles in his plays really supports such anti-rationalism and submission to fate as Nietzsche claims. A. dedicates a chapter to each play, the overall ethos of which he summarizes in the concluding chapter (p. 178) as the "political rationalism" of *OT* (Chapter 1), the "religious anti-rationalism" of *OC* (Chapter 2) and the "pious heroism" of *Antigone* (Chapter 3).

In *OT*, Oedipus makes the full turn from a person who has based all his achievements on pure human reason to one who, after realising that he has committed horrible crimes, albeit unknowingly, deserts reason completely, which leads to his total destruction. He solved the Sphinx's riddle alone, a task divine soothsayers couldn't accomplish. He saved Thebes with his wit alone and guided the city and his family successfully for many years. Yet, when the plague strikes the town, Oedipus does an irrational thing by consulting the Delphic oracle, a deed that triggers the horrible downfall of a man and his whole family as the result of patricide and incest having been revealed. A. looks at the relationship between Oedipus and his actions from several angles and argues that Sophocles seems to indicate that Oedipus falls partly because his government was based on pure political rationalism, which in the face of death is not enough for human beings. On the other hand, Sophocles also demonstrates that turning to absolute irrational piety does not lead to good results for the society and, as Oedipus' case shows, can lead to the unnecessary suffering of one's nearest and dearest. Sophocles in fact implies that things could have gone differently had Oedipus clung to some form of rationality. His pious but irrational behaviour (self-blinding and voluntary exile) seems to be motivated by vanity and his love of himself and it this irrationality that destroys his family. According to A.'s reading of the play, Sophocles, the author himself, by no means approves of his protagonist's total resignation of *ratio*.

In the *OC* (which in this study once again is described as a reversal of *OT*), the formerly proud King of Thebes is now a blind and despicable outcast who wanders around with his daughters. He ends up in Colonus and understands that it his destiny to die there. Oedipus begs the citizens of Colonus for pity, King Theseus shows sympathy towards him, Oedipus gains a moral victory over his enemies and at the end of play dies, is buried in Athens and is rewarded by the gods (possibly with immortality). A. discusses in detail the arguments for Oedipus not being responsible for his crimes and for him to deserve the gods' favour and forgiveness. In A.'s analysis, Theseus is the real hero of the play who sees the self-contradictory and destructive nature of Oedipus' piety, but he also understands that Oedipus' weakness is essentially humane, which again underlines Sophocles' pragmatic view of religion and devotion to the gods. Sophocles, according to A., does not dismiss Oedipus' pious anti-rationalism, but tends to show its dangers; it is in this respect that Nietzsche errs in his interpretation.

Antigone is all about divine laws and piety. Both protagonists, Antigone and Creon, believe that they are pious and devoted to justice. Creon is not just a lawless tyrant but Thebes is his highest priority. In his logic, Polyneices attacked Thebes and killed its lawful king Eteocles. The gods saved the city and therefore it is simply in accordance with the divine law to bury Eteocles and leave Polyneices unburied. For Antigone the highest justice is her family and she wants to bury her bad brother Polyneices, although she does not deny his crimes. Antigone does not give in to the authorities and defies Creon's commands. Creon and Antigone are both destroyed because of their piety, Antigone kills herself and Creon loses his family. As A. formulates it, this is not a battle between "godly right" and "godless might" (p. 88); instead the audience is forced to ask whom the gods supported and whom they punished, which one of the two was more pious. In the course of the play, Antigone, unlike Creon, begins to doubt the justification of her piety. A. argues that this self-doubt makes Antigone more courageous and strong than Creon, and that this is how Sophocles shows his own humane wisdom. A. underlines at several points that Sophocles, the author himself, can be detected in all the characters of the plays, not only in Oedipus. The characters of Teiresias, Ismene and Antigone recur in all his plays, and A. does a great deal to put them on the map of Sophoclean morality.

A. concludes (Chapter 4) his study by comparing Nietzsche's, Plato's and Aristotle's views of tragedy and the relationship between tragedy and philosophy. A.'s starting point is that because tragedy shows the unjust suffering of its heroes, it is in natural conflict with philosophy, the goal of which is to gain wisdom by rationality and happiness through wisdom. Somewhat disappointingly, since much of the study was meant to challenge Nietzsche's views, A. focuses on Nietzsche relatively briefly. Instead, Plato's idea of tragedy and his rejection of Homer, "the first tragic poet", from his ideal state is covered at length. A.'s remarks on this matter are illuminating and he manages to show that despite the harsh rejection of tragedy from the ideal state, the views of Plato are more complicated and that he shows deep understanding of tragic heroes. A. rounds up his study with a discussion of Aristotle's theory of tragedy's cathartic effect and how it assists people to use calm reason in the terrible twists of life. A's conclusion is that Sophocles and Plato were not so far from each other as Nietzsche claims.

Those interested, for example, in the history and context of the composition of Sophocles' Theban plays will probably not make much of this study. A. seems to ignore the fact that these plays were not written in the order they are published today and that they can be understood as a trilogy only with some caution. Given that this book is not a philological or a purely literary study, this might be excused. More problematic is the fact that in the few cases where

the Greek text of the plays is quoted, no accents or other diacritical marks are used (except on some few occasions when they are used erroneously, as, e.g., on p. 175). This strikes me as odd and surprising for a publisher as prominent as Cambridge University Press. I also object to the system of referring to older studies with the publication year of the edition after the author, e.g., Nietzsche 1968, Montaigne 1958. There are some strange repetitions in certain parts of the book, too, e.g., the sentence "Socrates issues a devastating attack on tragic poetry in the *Republic*" starts two successive paragraphs on p. 152.

Despite these critical remarks, I must conclude that this book has been written with intellectual clarity and that the author's views of Greek tragedy and philosophical literature are clearly worth becoming acquainted with.

Tiina Purola

LAWRENCE KIM: *Homer between History and Fiction in Imperial Greek Literature*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-19449-5 (hb). XI, 246 pp. GBP 61.

Le livre de Lawrence Kim est le remaniement de sa thèse de doctorat, soutenue sous le titre *Supplementing Homer: creativity and conjecture in Ancient Homeric criticism*, à Princeton, en 2001. La publication dans la collection "Greek Culture in the Roman World" fut couronnée par le "Goodwin Award of Merit", en 2011. L'étude est divisée en sept chapitres dont le premier est l'Introduction et le dernier l'Epilogue.

Dans le Chapitre I (pp. 1–21), Kim présente les principes de sa problématique et retrace l'influence d'Homère sur les auteurs de l'époque impériale. Kim s'occupera de quatre textes de cette époque: la *Géographie* de Strabon, le *Discours Troyen* de Dion de Pruse, les *Histoires Vraies* de Lucien et les *Héroïques* de Philostrate. Ces quatre textes, dit-il, traitent d'Homère non seulement comme poète, mais aussi comme source historique sur l'époque des héros et reflètent la relation de chaque écrivain avec lui.

Le Chapitre II (pp. 22–46) examine l'attitude de Thucydide et d'Hérodote envers Homère. Selon Kim, cela est important pour sa recherche car les deux historiens classiques furent les premiers à essayer de confirmer ou de réfuter l'historicité de la poésie homérique. Il étudie l'épisode d'Hélène dans le deuxième livre des *Histoires* d'Hérodote et l'"Archéologie" de Thucydide et conclut que les deux auteurs considèrent Homère comme une source historique peu fiable de l'époque héroïque. Les deux auteurs sont sûrs qu'Homère connaissait la vraie histoire de la guerre de Troie puisqu'ils trouvent des allusions à la réalité historique dans ses épopées.

Le Chapitre III (pp. 47–84) est consacré à Strabon, le "défenseur obstiné de la sagesse universelle d'Homère", un auteur qui qualifie le poète épique d'historien et géographe idéal au point d'interpréter les lieux et les monstres des aventures d'Ulysse comme des transformations des lieux et des créatures existants (la "mythification homérique de l'histoire"). Selon Strabon, la légende c'est l'élaboration de quelque chose de vrai, et le but du récit des mythes et légendes est l'amusement des auditeurs, tandis que le but du récit des faits réels est leur éducation. Homère connaît la vérité mais il se détourne d'elle pour des raisons de poésie.

Le Chapitre IV (pp. 85–139), le plus long de tous, est un commentaire exceptionnel du onzième discours de Dion Chrysostome où l'orateur raconte la "vraie" histoire de la guerre de

Troie et prouve qu'Homère est un historien menteur. Selon Kim, le texte ironique de Dion est une réponse à la révérence déraisonnable d'Homère, l'exaltation du passé héroïque et l'importance de la guerre de Troie à la définition de la grécité. L'arme de Dion est sa formation d'orateur: le *Discours Troyen* se sert beaucoup des règles de l'exercice rhétorique de l'*anaskeuē*.

Le Chapitre V (pp. 140–74) a pour objet le célèbre roman de science-fiction de Lucien, les *Histoires Vraies*. Dans la deuxième partie de l'opuscule, Lucien rencontre Homère et d'autres caractères de l'*Illiade* et de l'*Odyssée* dans l'île des Bienheureux. C'est là une occasion unique pour Lucien (et pour tous les philologues et les commentateurs de l'œuvre homérique) de savoir la vraie histoire de la guerre de Troie. Alors il a une entrevue avec Homère mais les questions qu'il lui pose ne sont pas relatives à ce sujet. De plus, il ne semble pas vouloir interroger les autres héros, qui répètent à l'infini le rôle que leur avait composé Homère. Selon Kim, cet épisode est la réponse de Lucien à la question sur la relation du poète épique avec l'histoire: "Homer's legacy to the Imperial world resides not in his role as cultural icon, ambassador of Hellenism, or historiographical recorder of the glorious deeds of the Greek heroic age, but in his capacity as a storyteller, a creator of fictions that have become so powerful that they possess a certain reality of their own, even though they are acknowledged as invented" (p. 174).

Le Chapitre VI (pp. 175–215) analyse les *Héroïques* de Philostrate, un texte étrange et novateur, selon Kim. Il s'agit d'un dialogue entre deux personnes anonymes qui se montrent fins connaisseurs de l'œuvre homérique et de ses problèmes textuels et critiques. Encore une fois la question est de trouver ce qui s'est vraiment passé à Troie, et pour ce faire Philostrate évoque un fantôme, celui du héros Protésilas, le premier mort à Ilion. Les *Héroïques* s'inscrivent ainsi dans la série des textes qui prétendent avoir découvert une source non-homérique, beaucoup plus fiable que les épopées d'Homère, qui raconte la vraie histoire de Troie. Philostrate y examine la relation entre le présent et le passé héroïque, voire homérique et pose la question brûlante que tant d'auteurs avant lui avaient évitée: quelles furent les sources d'Homère? La réponse inattendue (le fantôme d'Ulysse avait tout raconté à Homère à condition de ne pas révéler la vérité) est sa propre critique de la vénération d'Homère par ses contemporains et, en même temps, le meilleur hommage au génie inventif du poète épique.

Le dernier chapitre (pp. 216–20) résume les points principaux des conclusions de l'étude et construit la connexion interne des quatre textes examinés. Le livre se termine par la Bibliographie (pp. 221–38) et deux Index (général, pp. 239–43 et *Index locorum*, pp. 244–46).

Kim emploie la même construction pour tous les chapitres: il met devant une brève introduction où il trace les lignes de sa recherche par rapport à chaque auteur, ensuite il développe ses thèses à travers une interprétation pertinente des textes étudiés et des comparaisons toujours convaincantes avec d'autres textes du même ou d'autres auteurs et enfin dans les conclusions il fait une récapitulation de ce qu'il a prouvé en ouvrant aussi un chemin aux futures études sur le sujet. Ses idées sont clairement exprimées et dûment argumentées. Kim établit un dialogue fructueux avec la bibliographie, qu'il connaît parfaitement. Il a étudié pratiquement tout ce qui a été écrit sur son sujet jusqu'en 2009, même les thèses non publiées de Karen Ní Mheallaigh et de William R. Kahles (à propos, il faut corriger la date de la thèse de doctorat de François Jouan dans la p. 90, n. 14 et dans la p. 229: 1960 et non pas 1966). On oserait seulement penser que Kim aurait bien profité du livre de Jacyntho L. Brandão, *A poética do Hipocentauro. Literatura, sociedade e discurso ficcional em Luciano de Samósata*, Belo Horizonte 2001 (spécialement du chapitre "Ulisses entre os Feácios", pp. 229–47) et de

la thèse de doctorat de Valentina Popescu, *Lucian's Paradoxa: Fiction, Aesthetics, and Identity*, Université de Cincinnati, juin de 2009.

La présentation typographique du livre est assez soignée. Néanmoins on a compté plus de cinquante esprits et accents grecs erronés. Sont également gênantes les fautes de coupures des mots et des noms grecs à la fin de la ligne: φαν-ερῶς p. 70; τᾶλ-ηθές p. 133; Demod-ocus p. 159; Hephaes-tus p. 203; Her-akleitos p. 222 (même pour les mots anglais il semble ne suivre aucune règle). Enfin, à deux reprises on peut regretter l'oubli du numéro de page exact: p. 51, n. 16 (Ch. 2: 00–0) et p. 140, n. 1 (Ch. 1: 00–0).

L'étude de Kim représente une contribution remarquable dans le domaine des études sur l'époque impériale et deviendra certainement un ouvrage de référence pour la réception d'Homère à l'époque post-classique.

Orestis Karavas

LILIANE BODSON: *L'interprétation des noms grecs et latins d'animaux illustrée par le cas du zoonyme sēps-seps*. Académie royale de Belgique, Bruxelles 2009. ISBN 978-2-8031-02631. 368 pp. EUR 30.

Professor Bodson is well known as a specialist of Graeco-Roman zoology. She has written on animals in religion and as pets, on horses, dogs, birds and serpents and edited an impressive series of proceedings of thematic conferences on animals, held at the University of Liège.

The present volume has a reptilian theme: the discussed words (σῆψ, Latin *sēps*) are variously applied to serpents (vipers), lizards and occasionally even insect larvae and myriopoda. The textual evidence has been carefully collected. It contains altogether 63 occurrences in Aelian, Aristotle, Dioscorides, Lucan, Nicander, Pausanias, Pliny, etc. Every extract is given in both the original and in translation.

The word σῆψ is derived from σήπειν 'to putrify' (cf. σήψις 'putrifying, putrification'). As an animal, different texts give it different characteristics, but all agree that a σῆψ is poisonous. After a methodological introduction and a general discussion of the sources, the book presents the four offered identifications in four different chapters. The most common (18 texts, some with several occurrences) is a viper, possibly with two different species, the European *Viper ammodytes* and the African (Egyptian) *Echis pyramidum*. The characteristics of both are given in detail and compared to descriptions provided by texts.

The second group of six texts describe σῆψ as a lizard. The term is synonymous with χαλκίς and a σῆψ is probably a member of the family of the *Scincidae*. Several closely related species are discussed with a view to identifying them. Thirdly, two passages of Pliny describe *sēps* as a poisonous centipede (*Chilopoda*), and finally, seven texts (mostly in late glossaries) as a moth larva, *Traumatocampa pityocampa* (the pine processionary, of the *Notodontidae* family).

All cases are very carefully presented and there is no need to doubt them. The definitions and characteristics of a σῆψ given in the texts are analysed in detail and compared to the biological, taxonomical and toxicological aspects of the animals. The results are also arranged in lucid tables. The fact that different authors used the same word for different animals

with one common characteristic – poison – is not to be wondered. Even now, more than two centuries after Linné's work, many non-biologists tend to mix the different species.

In the second chapter some possibly relevant iconographical evidence (a few works of art and some manuscript illustrations) are discussed. It is a pity that we have no illustrations here.

The book concludes with a detailed bibliography (almost 40 pages), several indices and four colour plates presenting the four different identifications of σήψ. A fifth showing the imago of the moth would have been nice.

Klaus Karttunen

LUCIO CECCARELLI: *Contributi per la storia dell'esametro latino*. I–II. Studi e testi tardoantichi 8. Herder, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-89670-36-1, ISSN 1973-9982. 238 pp., 110 tavv. EUR 50.

The dactylic hexameter is a unique metre in that it allows a variety of expression and personal poetic styles, as its long history in Greek and Latin literature manifests. This owes largely to its considerable length and its employment of two distinctly different metrical feet: the dactyl and the spondee. It is also remarkable that Roman authors imposed a new set of rules on its basic structure: this was mainly necessitated by the high rate of long syllables in the Latin language as well as its system of accentuation. Indeed, judging by the extant fragments of Ennius' verse, Latin hexameter poetry showed, from its very beginning, several features which its Greek models do not have. The Latin hexameter is generally characterized by its very high rate of spondees and its system of caesurae: virtually all Latin hexameter lines have either a penthemimeral or a hephthemimeral caesura (a word break in the middle of either the third or fourth foot). Even these restrictions allow for significant variation in the employment of the metre, and the individual styles of authors are easily recognizable by their placement of dactyls and spondees and their use of word division.

Several attempts to chart the history and evolution of the Latin hexameter using statistical methods have been undertaken previously, but none of them are as extensive or ambitious as Ceccarelli's compendium: the author has manually scanned and analysed over 140,000 lines of hexameter verse from Cicero's *Aratea* to Venantius Fortunatus' *Vita Sancti Martini*. As the sheer scope of such a study is in itself massive, the author has, probably wisely, limited his analyses to a handful of the central structural features of the Latin hexameter. The main objects of his study are the ratio of dactyls and spondees, their placement in the hexameter line and the use of different dactyl-spondee patterns. Ceccarelli's study of other structural phenomena such as word division is more narrowly focused, and his observations are, by and large, limited to penthemimeral and hephthemimeral caesurae, line endings and the use of elision. The author himself readily admits that he discusses the structure of the hexameter on an abstract level, and syntax and style do not enter the picture (although he does touch on such considerations in his immensely learned footnotes). Ceccarelli divides the first volume of his work into two sections: in the first, he discusses the early exponents of the Latin hexameter up to Juvenal, and in the second, the Late Antique poets. The second volume of the work contains the statistics to which Ceccarelli constantly refers in his first volume.

Ceccarelli's inevitable model in his study of the frequency and distribution of dactyls and spondees is George E. Duckworth (e.g., *Vergil and Classical Hexameter Poetry: A Study in Metrical Variety*, Ann Arbor 1969), and, similarly, he uses four-foot patterns as his main tool of analysis. On the whole, his statistical methods are more solid than those of his predecessor; also, his corpus of study is much more extensive (Duckworth only analysed partially the works of most Late Latin poets and excluded Venantius Fortunatus altogether). Ceccarelli has also renounced several of Duckworth's specious conclusions and generalizations: unlike Duckworth, who generally lumps most poets of the Silver Age and Late Antiquity together into the groups of 'post-Vergilian' and 'post-Ovidian' authors, Ceccarelli effectively demonstrates that such poets as Lucan, Statius and Valerius Flaccus were also true innovators and that the evolution of the hexameter did not end in Late Antiquity.

Ceccarelli demonstrates the gradual 'dactylisation' of the hexameter that took place in Classical and Silver Latin verse: remarkably, he observes not only the roles of individual feet but also their combinations, showing that the process was not uniform: different authors favoured dactyls in different feet, and although the tendency was towards a more dactylic and 'hexameter-like' style, alternation of dactyls and spondees was sought even by the most dactylic authors. Regrettably, there is no room for an actual discussion of style and genre in Ceccarelli's work: it is obvious that the process of dactylisation actually ran counter to many features of spoken Latin, such as syncopation (e.g. *calidus* > *caldus*), which largely account for the relatively high ratio of spondees in the more colloquial Roman satire of even such late exponents of the genre as Persius and Juvenal. Similarly, Ceccarelli's discussion of word breaks takes place on a very abstract level without entering into such stylistic issues as enjambment. But, taken as a whole, these are very minor reservations indeed, and Ceccarelli's thorough, and thoroughly-analysed, data are nearly always very thought-provoking.

In general, Ceccarelli's momentous work is probably of most use for readers who are already well-acquainted with hexameter style and its concomitant metrical features; those who are not would be wise to turn elsewhere for preliminary instruction before consulting the book. For serious scholars of the Latin hexameter, however, *Contributi per la storia dell'esametro latino* should prove an indispensable companion.

Seppo Heikkinen

HERMANN HARRAUER: *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie*. Text- und Tafelband. Bibliothek des Buchwesens 20. Anton Hiersemann Verlag, Stuttgart 2010. ISBN 978-3-7772-0924-1. XVI, 534 S., 285 Abb., CD-ROM. EUR 188 (Textband), EUR 142 (Tafelband).

Die griechische Paläographie ist nicht nur ein wichtiger Zweig der Forschung, sondern kann auch zur Beantwortung allgemeinerer Fragen herangezogen werden, z. B. der Frage nach der allgemeinen Lese- und Schreibfähigkeit sowie der Ausbildung der Schreiber in der Antike. Dies ist natürlich allen bekannt, die sich in irgendeiner Weise mit Papyri beschäftigt haben. Allerdings ist es bekanntlich nicht immer einfach, Papyri überhaupt zu entziffern. Dieses Handbuch erleichtert dies aber ohne Zweifel.

Das Werk besteht aus zwei Bänden, von denen der erste eine allgemeine Einleitung in die Paläographie, die Materialkunde, die äußeren Formen der Schriftträger, den Buchhandel,

die Bibliotheken, das Schriftwesen überhaupt und die Schreiber enthält (Kap. I–VIII). Darauf folgen Verzeichnisse der Editoren und Editionen der besprochenen Texte und eine Übersicht über das Leidener Klammersystem (Kap. IX–XI), eine Bilddatei zu den verschiedenen Buchstabenformen und schließlich die entzifferten Texte der Auswahl von Beispielen im Tafelband und auf der beigegebenen DVD (Kap. XII–XIII). Der zweite Band und die DVD enthalten eine Auswahl von Originaltexten; sie sind ein unersetzliches Hilfsmittel für denjenigen, der in Zukunft griechische Paläographie studieren will. Noch lehrreicher könnte der Textband mit der DVD allerdings sein, wenn auch die Größenangaben der Papyri angegeben worden wären. Aber auch so hat vor allem die DVD der Unterzeichneten viel Unterhaltung und Belehrung geboten.

Harrauer hat das Handbuch als Hilfsmittel konzipiert, in dem die Texte in chronologischer Folge angeordnet sind, wobei die für eine bestimmte Periode und einen bestimmten Kontext typischen Buchstabenformen hervorgehoben werden. Die ausgewählten Beispiele der griechischen Kursivschriften werden in einem zeitlichen Abstand von etwa 10 Jahren vorgelegt, und dies ermöglicht es, außer chronologisch bedingten Unterschieden auch etwa regionale Unterschiede zu beobachten (s. Kap. VI.9, "Stilbeobachtungen").

Dem Verf. ist die einschlägige Literatur zur griechischen Paläographie natürlich wohl bekannt. In der Tat ist die umfangreiche und auf dem aktuellen Stand gehaltene Bibliographie (Bd. I, Kap. XIV, "Literatur zur Paläographie") eine der vielen wertvollen Leistungen des Buches. Das Buch basiert auf jahrzehntelanger Beschäftigung des Verfassers mit der Papyrologie, und dieses umfangreiche Werk ist in der Tat nicht nur ein Handbuch der Paläographie, sondern auch eine beachtenswerte Einführung in die Papyrologie überhaupt, die unter anderem auch eine nützliche Dokumentation der Schreibmaterialien und ein Register der gängigen Terminologie enthält.

Erja Salmenkivi

GIULIO MAURO FACCHETTI: *Scrittura e falsità*. Historica 8. Giorgio Bretschneider editore, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-7689-240-0. XI, 170 pp. EUR 48.

In *Scrittura e falsità* Giulio Mauro Facchetti propone una stimolante discussione della falsificazione documentale, fenomeno che può sembrare marginale, ma che invece è di vitale importanza per alcune scienze storico-linguistiche che si occupano dei documenti scritti. Sono discussi anche i temi di pseudodecifrazione e pseudosaggistica, attività pseudoscientifiche che, in particolari condizioni, possono rivelarsi lesive del normale sviluppo della ricerca scientifica. Nel campo entrano in gioco, oltre a banali ragioni economiche, anche e soprattutto motivi di prestigio e di pseudoerudizione. Facchetti, professore all'Università dell'Insubria, noto soprattutto per le sue ricerche sull'etrusco e sui sistemi scrittori minoici, arriva ad elaborare in questo volume una teoria su ciò che è sistematico nella fraudolenza e nell'attività falsaria per quanto riguarda la scrittura.

Il libro, suddiviso in quattro capitoli, l'ultimo dei quali include un'appendice, procede dall'universale al particolare, dall'astratto ai casi concreti. Prima di cominciare a formulare la teoria della falsificazione documentale, Facchetti considera necessario definire dettagliatamente quello che la scrittura è e quello che *non è*. Pertanto, il primo capitolo si apre con un meticoloso

esame del concetto di 'scrittura', accompagnato da un'opportuna rettifica della terminologia (ad esempio tra 'pittografia' e 'iconismo') che, non di rado, viene applicata in modo approssimativo perfino in manuali rispettabili. Per Facchetti, la scrittura consiste sempre in segni riconducibili alla fonetica della lingua codificata. Questi segni, ovviamente convenzionali, devono avere una relazione fissa con le forme linguistiche sottostanti. A ciò si ricollega l'esigenza della chiusura del repertorio dei segni. È imperativo che una scrittura propriamente detta debba anche essere adeguata a codificare qualsiasi enunciato della lingua.

Facchetti insiste parecchio sulla necessità di correggere alcune inesattezze correnti: i concetti di 'lingua' e 'scrittura', due codici ben distinti dal punto di vista semiotico, sono spesso banalmente confusi, come anche quelli di 'grafema' e 'fonema'. L'autore constata che, a livello sistemico, il grafema, elemento grafico minimo, è indipendente dalle unità linguistiche che codifica: si tratta anche qui di nozioni facenti parte di codici diversi. La presa di posizione teorica più centrale del capitolo è comunque la divisione dei sistemi di scrittura in fonografici e sematografici. I primi utilizzano fonogrammi, ossia grafemi indicanti una sequenza fonica della lingua, i secondi adoperano sematogrammi, ossia grafemi che rappresentano il significato della parola (ideogrammi) oppure sia il significante che il significato della parola (logogrammi). Segue poi una classificazione dei sistemi di scrittura basata sulla suddetta divisione fondamentale.

Sebbene alcune sue definizioni possano essere rimesse in discussione, Facchetti riesce a delineare un apparato teorico efficace e, per lo più, di agevole comprensione. Malgrado la lucidità generale, la trattazione è qualche volta disturbata dall'esteso dialogo critico con altri saggi sulla materia, il che la rende alquanto difficile da seguire di tanto in tanto. Peraltro, il lettore avrebbe apprezzato un anche breve riassunto cronologico della storia dei sistemi di scrittura, così scrupolosamente esaminati. Mancano anche gli indici, che aiuterebbero soprattutto chi non legge il libro dall'inizio alla fine.

Nel secondo capitolo, Facchetti crea un *toolkit* di strumenti per indagare sistematicamente il fenomeno della falsificazione. Come punto di appoggio, utilizza l'apparato metodologico sviluppato nel campo della semiotica. Facchetti introduce un "quadrato semiotico della falsificazione documentale", basato sulla classica figura del semiotico lituano-francese A. J. Greimas, in cui colloca i 15 tipi di falsificazione discussi nel testo che segue. I tipi, definiti come, ad esempio, "documento autentico con elementi di falsità insitici", "pseudodecifrazione" e "telescrittura non fraudolenta", si classificano a seconda della loro posizione relativa sugli assi verità-falsità e segreto-menzogna, rappresentati dai quattro lati del quadrato.

È il tipo 7, ossia "falsificazione documentale in senso stretto", che costituisce il nocciolo del discorso. La falsificazione documentale vera e propria differisce dalle categorie limitrofe per l'intento totalmente falsificatorio della scrittura. Come materia del libro, Facchetti sceglie solo la falsificazione dei documenti antichi, tra cui distingue i seguenti tre sottotipi che giocano tutti sul piano linguistico: 1) falsificazione di un testo scritto in una lingua nota, 2) falsificazione di un testo scritto in una lingua ignota o poco nota, 3) falsificazione di un testo scritto in una lingua e/o scrittura inesistente.

Nel terzo capitolo, Facchetti fornisce esempi di applicazione dell'apparato teorico a casi concreti. Egli si limita alla trattazione delle falsificazioni epigrafiche di origine mediterranea, soggetto che conosce meglio. Spiega scrupolosamente sette fattispecie che illustrano bene le sfide affrontate dagli epigrafisti, ma prescindono purtroppo dalle altre comuni sedi di falsificazione, come, ad esempio, i documenti pergamenei medievali, notoriamente spesso

spuri. Ciò nonostante i casi scelti dimostrano bene la complessità delle investigazioni condotte dall'autore su alcune pagine di cronaca nera delle discipline umanistiche.

Per aprire la discussione, l'autore sceglie due falsificazioni manifeste, tra loro collegate, per dimostrare quali possono essere in pratica i criteri di individuazione della falsità. Il primo caso è quello dell'idoletto di Roccacasale, trovato in circostanze dubbie intorno al 1960, un idolo di terracotta raffigurante la dea madre iscritto in presunta lineare A. L'oggetto porta un testo, di straordinaria lunghezza, perfettamente conservato e leggibile, che tuttavia, a causa della scarsa conoscenza della lingua soggiacente, non esclude di per sé l'autenticità del reperto. Lo fa invece l'eccezionalità del supporto assieme alle sospette circostanze del ritrovamento: è infatti collegato ad un altro falso apparso nella cerchia dell'associazione archeologica volontaria *Sole Italico*, attiva in quella regione e responsabile del ritrovamento anche di questo manufatto.

L'altro falso è la lamina plumbea ritrovata in una tomba della necropoli di Anversa degli Abruzzi, iscritta in 'etrusco' e recante informazioni fantastiche su un tale sacerdote Larth, un sacrificio umano e un tempio del demone Tuculca. Il prudente falsario, volendo allontanare ogni sospetto, si era assicurato che l'oggetto sarebbe stato ritrovato in un contesto veramente antico e da archeologi professionalmente rispettabili. Applicando la sua triplice lista di controllo dei caratteri falsificatori, Facchetti smaschera l'inganno in modo innegabile: 1) indagini sull'aspetto formale: la tipologia della lamina non si conosce altrove, il testo si conserva interamente; 2) indagini sulla provenienza: gli scavi lasciati incustoditi di notte, la presenza dei volontari di *Sole Italico*; 3) indagini sul contenuto testuale: il testo è evidentemente compilato con brani estratti da un noto manuale di etruscologia, la grafia presenta tratti tipici sia di diversi secoli che di diverse provenienze, tutte le parole impiegate sono ricavabili dai vocabolari, la sintassi risulta talvolta erronea. Oltre a tutto ciò, Facchetti cita un articolo, pubblicato posteriormente da una persona coinvolta negli scavi, che sembra accrescere gli indizi a carico di una falsificazione. Resta al lettore sentenziare sulla possibile complicità dell'autore di quel contributo.

A volte si affrontano casi in cui alcuni elementi dell'epigrafe parlano contro l'autenticità mentre altri la sembrano difendere. Facchetti presenta pertanto la cosiddetta "biscritta eteocretese", ossia un'epigrafe databile al IV o III secolo a.C., scritta sia in caratteri greci che in lineare B, ma in una pretesa lingua non greca. La dubbia localizzazione del ritrovamento, l'integrità del testo su un supporto d'altronde mutilo, l'altrimenti non attestata sopravvivenza di caratteri sillabici nei testi dell'epoca sono tutte ragioni che parlano contro l'autenticità. La vicenda è, però, complicata dall'osservazione che, ammesso che sia lecito interpretare un sillabogramma come risultante dall'autentica evoluzione grafica, il testo sillabico (*i-ne-ti*) potrebbe essere letto come la replica di una sequenza scritta in caratteri alfabetici (ENETH) in una riga superiore. Dato che la biscritta fu ritrovata prima della decifrazione della lineare B, la ripetizione della sequenza sarebbe una considerevole testimonianza in favore dell'autenticità.

In seguito Facchetti introduce la descrizione di due reperti iscritti la cui scrittura (o protoscrittura) non si lascia tuttavia decifrare. Entrambi i casi illustrano i problemi causati dal quasi completo isolamento culturale dell'oggetto in esame. Il primo caso è una tavoletta fittile iscritta, evidentemente autentica, ritrovata in una grotta del Carso Triestino. In assenza di ogni indizio sul repertorio scrittorio impiegato, Facchetti si permette di ipotizzare, in base alla mera somiglianza esterna, un atto di emulazione, per copia d'idea, del sistema protoscrittorio della cultura Vinča (area Balcanica, tra VI e III millennio a.C.). L'altro caso riguarda un masso ritrovato a Castenegro, non databile, coperto da un'epigrafe scritta in caratteri che vagamente richiamano quelli dell'alfabeto copto, e che però non si presta a nessuna immediata lettura,

salvo per la sedicente parola IEOY 'Dio'. Qualora risultasse confermata l'ipotesi copta, magari attraverso una più profonda indagine linguistica sull'apparenza corrotta e non standard della grafia, rimarrebbe lo spinoso dilemma circa l'inquadramento storico-culturale del documento.

Dopo la trattazione dei casi concreti, Facchetti ritiene necessario aggiungere un capitolo sulla pseudodecifrazione e pseudosaggistica, fenomeni di grande portata per quanto concerne lo studio scientifico delle lingue e scritture antiche di scarsa attestazione. Riguardo l'etrusco, il minoico ed alcune lingue indoeuropee estinte, abbondano pseudointerpretazioni di vario genere come anche una vera e propria letteratura pseudosaggistica, prodotta da autori tanto appassionati quanto incompetenti. Tale letteratura è riuscita addirittura a infiltrarsi in riviste scientifiche di prestigio a causa dell'offuscamento di tutta la materia di ricerca provocato dalla smisurata proliferazione di scritti antiscientifici. Il fenomeno è particolarmente nocivo agli studi interdisciplinari, gli scrittori dei quali non possono verificare tutti i dati al di fuori dalle proprie materie. Perciò Facchetti sottolinea l'importanza di divulgare i risultati delle discipline, per quanto specializzate siano, nel modo più comprensibile possibile, sia agli altri studiosi che al pubblico non specialista, perché non vengano oscurati e conseguentemente gettati in discredito questi argomenti di ricerca più esposti al maltrattamento pseudoscientifico.

In effetti, in questo libro di sorprendente versatilità, lo scrivente non solo propone una definizione sistematica del fenomeno della falsificazione, ma lo fa con tale rigore scientifico da arrivare a creare una nuova disciplina avente come oggetto di studio la pseudoscienza circa la scrittura. Inoltre il libro è una chiara presa di posizione per una scienza rigorosa e propositiva e, pertanto, una protesta contro la divulgazione di informazioni pseudoscientifiche, per così dire, danbrowniane.

Timo Korkiakangas

MICHAEL GAGARIN: *Writing Greek Law*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-88661-1. XI, 282 pp. GBP 69 (hb).

In questo ricco e originale volume Gagarin, noto esperto di diritto greco, affronta in dieci capitoli vari argomenti relativi al ruolo e al significato della scrittura nei vari sistemi giuridici della Grecia arcaica e dell'Atene classica. Ma sono discusse anche altre epoche e regioni, così nel primo capitolo vengono analizzate, soprattutto in base a Omero ed Esiodo, le testimonianze sulle leggi, o piuttosto regole, procedure e prassi normative, spesso relative ai casi di liti, che sembrano caratteristiche dei periodi precedenti all'uso del greco alfabetico per la codificazione del diritto.

Dopo la loro introduzione verso la metà del VII sec. a.C., le leggi scritte si diffusero rapidamente in varie parti del mondo greco; erano tipicamente accessibili al pubblico, anche se, come l'autore (pp. 64–5) fa giustamente notare, in alcuni casi i testi erano poco visibili e difficilmente consultabili (cfr. i frammenti di un documento arcaico di Tirinto, esposto sui muri di un passaggio coperto, in un luogo piuttosto buio, e iscritto, in aggiunta, in maniera "serpentina"; Van Effenterre – Ruzé, *Nomima* I, 78). Gagarin discute in modo pertinente l'uso e il significato delle leggi scritte dal punto di vista dell'identità dei cittadini e delle città. L'espansione demografica ovviamente comportò l'aumento della pubblica esposizione dei documenti giuridici, ma non tutte le città agivano nello stesso modo e in molti luoghi la visibilità, o invisibilità,

delle leggi veniva controllata dalle aristocrazie locali. Comunque sia, Gagarin sottolinea che lo scopo fondamentale della scrittura era quello di strutturare, standardizzare e razionalizzare le regole e le norme esistenti nelle comunità greche.

Tra i tanti argomenti trattati si possono ricordare anche quelli che riguardano le leggi di Dracone sull'omicidio, l'uso di requisitorie (*graphai*) e di altri documenti scritti nelle procedure giuridiche ad Atene, il ruolo dei *thesmothetai* ateniesi, il significato, pratico e funzionale, delle leggi di Gortina. Molto interessanti anche i confronti di alcune caratteristiche della legislatura scritta greca con quelle note dalla Roma arcaica e dall'Inghilterra medievale. L'ultimo capitolo offre un utile resoconto del ruolo della scrittura nei sistemi giuridici ellenistici. Il volume conclude con un sommario, quattro appendici (con una selezione dei testi greci discussi nei capitoli precedenti), una bibliografia e indici (alquanto scarsi).

Mika Kajava

JOSEPH W. DAY: *Archaic Greek Epigram and Dedication: Representation and Reperformance*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-89630-6. XXII, 321 pp. GBP 69, USD 99.

Recent discussion of the Hellenistic epigram, both verse inscriptions and literary epigrams (and how these two intertwine) has given rise to interest in the earlier stages of the genre. Joseph W. Day's book focuses on the Archaic material and deals with several aspects which have all been under discussion lately: verse inscriptions and literature, reading/performing epigrams, the ritual, the audience, and the reception of epigrams. Thus this book is interesting reading not only for the epigraphist, but also for scholars interested in ancient literature and its reception in general, and for all those interested in the social aspects of dedications containing epigrams.

First, Day discusses the reading and understanding of these dedicatory texts. The Mantiklos epigram (*CEG* 326, discussed in Chapter 2) shows that the inscriptions themselves often guided the reader, and with several other examples Day indeed provides evidence for archaic literacy – at least in certain social circumstances that he then discusses. In assuming epigraphic literacy he is not alone, for several scholars have argued on these lines recently. Day also offers information on reading by providing enlightening tables that help the reader to understand the circumstances in which an audience faced an inscribed text.

Chapters 3–6 focus on different aspects of the dedication texts: "Presenting the dedication" (Chapter 3) discusses *agalma* from various viewpoints. "Presenting the god" (Chapter 4) deals with ritual and especially with the *Panathenaia* and its (re)presentation. "Presenting the dedicator" (Chapter 5) discusses, e.g., the family of a dedicator, his background, etc. In "Presenting the act of dedicating" (Chapter 6), the focus is on *charis*. All these aspects offer valuable information on the epigram genre, and especially on the reception and social context of the texts. Day offers translations of his examples, and detailed discussion of each, connecting the themes together. Several subtitles structure the text, making the book effortless to follow. As Day shows, together with the monument that was perceived both by hearing and by viewing, the texts were part of the rite, its performance and re-performance. He states that the language of the epigrams, for its part, enhanced their representational power.

As Day mentions, "this book has been long in the making". This shows in the book in a highly positive sense: Day's profound knowledge of the dedicatory texts and their context, together with his expertise in the field of the verse inscriptions, makes this study an enlightening, thorough and highly recommendable read.

Saara Kauppinen

Thera arcaica. Le iscrizioni rupestri dell'agora degli dei. A cura di ALESSANDRA INGLESE. *Themata* 1. Edizioni Tored, Tivoli 2008. ISBN 978-88-88617-13-8. XIX, 525 pp., ill. EUR 150.

Le iscrizioni rupestri discusse in questo studio sono già tutte (tranne i nn. 92–95) pubblicate da Hiller in *IG XII 3* (più *Suppl.*), ma lo scopo principale dell'autrice è di contestualizzarle dal punto di vista dello sviluppo storico-sociale dell'insediamento insulare tra l'VIII e il V sec. a.C. L'importanza del materiale analizzato risiede non solo nel fatto che si tratta di un corpus di provenienza piuttosto coerente (l'area della cd. Agora degli dei), ma anche nel contenuto dei testi spesso riconducibile a modi di espressione e comunicazione meno formali. Il merito dell'autrice è quello di aver documentato, aggiornato e rivisto tutto questo complesso epigrafico, prestando particolare attenzione ai rapporti tra i testi con loro contesti-supporti e la società terrea in cui vivevano gli autori dei graffiti e le persone in essi menzionate. In generale, però, l'esposizione risulta piuttosto verbosa, anche ripetitiva, il che ha reso il volume inutilmente corposo. Gli indici sono ben strutturati, ma la consultazione del libro sarebbe più comoda se per i rimandi intertestuali fossero usati i numeri del Catalogo (invece di riferimenti alle *IG*). Riguardo ai nuovi testi, interessante la proposta di leggere ΔAM nel n. 92 (= Δάς per Ζάς, forma rarissima, questa, di Ζεύς). Si notino inoltre gli antroponimi Φοτίας/Φοτίας (n. 93) e Αιθίοπ[ς] (n. 94).

Mika Kajava

GYÖRGY NÉMETH: *Supplementum Audollentianum*. Hungarian Polis Studies 20. Budapest – Debrecen – Zaragoza 2013. ISBN 978-963-473-620-2. 239 pp. EUR 34.

This book is an important corollary to Audollent's classic corpus of ancient *defixiones* of 1904. As is well-known, Audollent did not include in his edition drawings or photographs. With the publication of such materials Németh has done a great service to the study of ancient curse-tablets. But not only that. His book contains other valuable information and materials, to begin with a short biography of Audollent. But the central part of the book is taken up by a thorough analysis and description of the archival bequest of Audollent, followed by the publication of numerous drawings and photographs from the property left by Audollent. Németh has also gathered together bibliographic additions to drawings and photographs published elsewhere. In addition to these valuable materials, Németh gives some thought to various questions connected with *defixiones*: on *charaktères*, on iconographical problems, and on "texts in boxes". But the central and most important part of the book is taken up with reproductions of drawings and photographs, originating either at Audollent's bequest or other sources.

So Németh's book has become a most important tool for the study of these peculiar documents of ancient magic. My criticisms are few. Németh refers regularly to Kropp's recent edition of Latin *defixiones* (in the Bibliography, p. 10 Németh refers to Kropp's *Magische Sprachverwendung in vulgärlateinischen Fluchtafeln* of 2008, but the reference should be to *Defixiones. Ein aktuelles Corpus lateinischer Fluchtafeln*, also from 2008), but it would have been useful to have a look at other sources recorded by Kropp; to take just one example, of the famous and important *defixio* (edited as a Sethian testimony by Wünsch in his classic *Sethianische Fluchtafeln*) Aud. 140, Németh has included the drawing published by Wünsch. But this drawing is not completely reliable, as N. would have learned from my comments in *Analecta epigraphica* (1998) 77f (to which Kropp refers) that there is a more accurate drawing, given by F. Bartoloni in his *Esempi di scrittura latina* (1934) no. 6. Let me add that col. III 15, where the lectio vulgata has been for a long time the senseless reading **cupede frange Pr[aesetici]o* (not even Bartoloni succeeded in removing it), should be read *et pede(m) frange Pr[aesetici]o*, "break the foot of Praeseticus" (*Praeseticio* is dative sympatheticus) (the reading of the name as *Praeseticus* is certain, as it has been written many times elsewhere in the tablet; the name itself was probably *Praeseticus* written without *-n-*). – The English expression would have needed a better revision.

Heikki Solin

Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae / Palaestinae. Vol. I: *Jerusalem*, part 1: 1–704. Edited by HANNAH M. COTTON, LEAH DI SEGNI, WERNER ECK, BENJAMIN ISAAC, ALLA KUSHNIR-STEIN, HAGGAI MISGAV, JONATHAN PRICE, ISRAEL ROLL, ADA YARDENI, with contributions by ERAN LUPU, with the assistance of MARFA HEIMBACH and NAOMI SCHNEIDER. De Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2010. ISBN 978-3-11-022219-7. e-ISBN 978-3-11-022220-3. XVI, 694 pp. EUR 139.95.

Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae / Palaestinae. Vol. I: *Jerusalem*, part 2: 705–1120. Edited by HANNAH M. COTTON, LEAH DI SEGNI, WERNER ECK, BENJAMIN ISAAC, ALLA KUSHNIR-STEIN, HAGGAI MISGAV, JONATHAN PRICE, ADA YARDENI, with contributions by ROBERT DANIEL, DENIS FEISSEL, ROBERT HOYLAND, ROBERT KOOL, ERAN LUPU, MICHAEL STONE, YANA TCHEKHANOVETS, with the assistance of MARFA HEIMBACH, DIRK KOSSMANN, NAOMI SCHNEIDER. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2012. ISBN 978-3-11-025188-3. e-ISBN 978-3-11-025190-6. XVI, 572 pp., 3 maps. EUR 129.95.

Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae / Palaestinae. Vol. II: *Caesarea and the Middle Coast*. 1121–2160. Edited by WALTER AMELING, HANNAH M. COTTON, WERNER ECK, BENJAMIN ISAAC, ALLA KUSHNIR-STEIN, HAGGAI MISGAV, JONATHAN PRICE, ADA YARDENI, with contributions by ROBERT DANIEL, AVNER ECKER, MICHAEL SHENKAR, CLAUDIA SODE, with the assistance of MARFA HEIMBACH, DIRK KOSSMANN, NAOMI SCHNEIDER. De Gruyter, Berlin – Boston 2011. ISBN 978-3-11-022217-3. e-ISBN 978-3-11-022218-0. XXIV, 918 pp., 5 maps. EUR 179.95.

Together these books form the first two volumes of a multilingual corpus of inscriptions which originate in Judea/Palestine and belong to the Graeco-Roman period. Eventually the corpus

will consist of nine volumes, each containing the inscriptions of a certain area of Judaea/Palestine.

Volume I collects the texts found in Jerusalem and its surroundings. The majority of them are written in Greek, Latin, Hebrew or Aramaic while there are also some in Armenian, Coptic and Georgian in part 2. Part 1 covers the texts of the Hellenistic and early Roman period up to the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE and part 2 those of the Roman period from 70 CE up to the Arab conquest. In both sections, the inscriptions are in principle arranged according to their subject, but within this thematic arrangement the inscriptions which belong to the same archaeological contexts are published together, in this case each group of inscriptions with the same provenance being preceded by a description or a summary of the site. This approach is particularly expedient for texts coming from burial caves, but I think it works well with other cases, too.

Most of the inscriptions have already been published elsewhere, but several previously unpublished ones are also included. As far as possible, the authors have based their work on autopsy, and in numerous instances this has led to new readings and interpretations. The texts are provided with photographs whenever possible. As for sarcophagi and ossuaries, it is reasonable that pictures not only of the inscriptions but also of the whole object have often been included.

The inscriptions are presented in a simple but clear fashion. As a rule, the commentaries are kept short and only the most significant matters are dealt with. The quantity of the material being quite large it is easy to understand why the authors have made this decision. For those interested in finding out more about certain text references to essential literature are offered. In some cases, I observed discrepancies between the illustration and the edited text, which are not explained in the commentary.

In no. 441, fig. 441.1 shows a vertical stroke before the first edited letter in line 2. It is tempting to interpret that stroke as a *waw* meaning 'and'. However, nothing regarding this is said by the editor. Perhaps we are dealing only with a scratch.-

In fig. 943.1, the order of the letters is, as far as I can see, clearly ΓΧΜ, but the editors print ΓΜΧ and discuss only this latter, clearly wrong reading. Could the picture represent some other inscription than the one referred to in no. 943? Note also that the letters ΜΧ+[-]Α seem to be faintly visible after the *gamma-khi-my* combination.

In three cases more letters seem to be visible in the photographs than the editors have printed. In no. 41, the name written in the ossuary is interpreted as Ατελλ[-], but I wonder whether one could not read, e.g., Ἀπελλᾶ[ς]. In fig. 41.1, the second letter looks like *pi* not a *tau*, and after the second *lambda* an *alpha* could still be partly visible. Names like Ἀπελλᾶς or Ἀπελλᾶϊος are well attested, whereas names beginning in Ἀτελλ- seem extremely rare. Also fig. 286.2 seems to offer more readable letters than what is presented in the edition 286 (b). On the basis of the photograph there could be *mem* (similar as e.g. in no. 453), *nun* and *waw* before the *samek*, סגמ[-], which might represent a Greek male name ending *-menos*. In no. 775, the last preserved letter of line 4 is *sigma*, which is clearly visible in the photograph and should be added to the edition after the last *iota*.

For a long time, there has been a need for all this material to be collected and made accessible. Now the first part of the task has been done and the outcome is excellent. The only true weakness in these books is their almost total lack of indexes. The personal names which appear in the inscriptions are listed at the end of part 2, but in my opinion this is not enough. Especially in a multilingual corpus an index arranged by languages should be included, and of

course also indexes of institutions, monument types, dates, various formulae, etc. I also find peculiar the way the index of personal names has been constructed. All the names are listed together and arranged alphabetically in their Latin form, disregarding the language/writing system in which they are written.

At the end of part 2, there are addenda (nos. 1088–1120) and corrigenda to part 1 and an appendix containing 54 inscriptions. Except for no. 1118 (illustrating no. 605) the inscriptions in the appendix are all new texts which for some reason could not be included in part 1 or 2.

The list of corrections is short but as far as I could see not comprehensive. I would like to add a few notes to it: p. 39, the majuscule text, the fifth letter of line 3 and the sixth of line 7, in both cases an *omega*, clearly visible in fig. 1, is missing and should be added; there is no mention of any traces of letters after the last *iota* in line 2, and yet there is a *kappa* printed outside the brackets in the minuscule text on p. 40; the second letter of line 11 is printed as a *gamma* in majuscules but in minuscules (p. 40) as a *tau*; the line should start with either *ypsilon-gamma* or simply with a *tau*; p. 108, no. 63: the Hebrew text should start with פסהי instead of פהי. The *samek* is clear in the photograph and it is also printed in the transliteration; p. 387, the last sentence of paragraph 1 should be "For Kallon family see comm. to no. 368"; p. 424, first line: *Iaieros* should be *Iaeiros*; p. 524, fig. 503 seems to be printed backwards; p. 603, the last sentence in the first paragraph of the commentary: "medial *mem* in final position" should be "final *mem* in medial position".

Lastly, a few notes for the corrigenda to part 2: p. 67, the majuscule text (b) should be IIIIOΣ not IPPOΣ; p. 141, majuscule text, line 1, the penultimate *stigma* is missing, OIKCEKOΣMHΣC; p. 435, majuscule text, first line, the first letter, *omicron*, is missing; p. 569, (a) should read Εἰρηλίωv.

Volume II covers texts coming from several cities and locations on the middle coast of Israel. The major part of the inscriptions comes from Caesarea; 28 inscriptions come from its vicinity, namely from Binyamina, Crocodilopolis, Hadera, Kefar Shuni and Ramat Hanadiv. The rest, 55 inscriptions, are from Apollonia, Castra Samaritanorum, Dora, Mikhmoret and Sycamina. The numbering of the inscriptions continues from volume I.

The status of Caesarea as the capital of a Roman province is reflected in the preserved material. A considerable number of the texts are related to Roman institutions. Latin and Greek are the dominant languages but Hebrew and Aramaic are also represented. Two inscriptions are written in Phoenician (2139, 2152) and a few texts have been engraved in Samaritan script. Nos. 2074–2077 have not been deciphered.

Quite a few of the inscriptions have not been previously published. In many cases, they are relatively recent discoveries from archaeological excavations. As in volume I, the editors have based their work on autopsy when possible and have furnished the texts with photographs.

The main layout of this book is geographical. The individual chapters consist of introductions to the sites followed by an edition of the inscriptions of the area. Only the inscriptions from Caesarea, due to their great number, are further divided into thematic sub-groups. Even though the texts are presented within thematic chapters, inscriptions coming from the same archaeological context (e.g., those from St. Paul's chapel) are presented together irrespective of their contents.

In the case of the material from Caesarea, the presentation within thematic chapters is reasonable, but the way in which it has been carried out is sometimes a little confusing; for instance, one finds epitaphs under several headings although they do have a chapter of their own.

The great mass of epitaphs appears in Chapter I ("Funerary inscriptions"), arranged alphabetically by the name. Some epitaphs, however, are presented in other chapters, depending on the office or status of the deceased, and are well hidden because there is no index included in this book that would list the different kinds of text types and indicate their locations.

A weakness of the book, one which also characterises volume I, is that the index at the end of the volume only gives names; moreover, all the names which occur in the texts are listed in the same index in alphabetical order according to their Latin form. The index of names would, however, in my opinion, be more convenient if the names were arranged by language.

I noticed some misprints and errors; e.g., p. 146, first line PROVIDENTIS, not PROVIDENTIS; p. 211, second line, add an *omicron* between *sigma* and *phi*, ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΟΝ; p. 247, second and third line, *Iulius* should be *Furius*; p. 446, majuscule text, second line, the *iota* which is in ligature with *rho* is missing at the end of the line.

Katariina Kankaanpää

The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Ankara (Ancyra). Vol. I. *From Augustus to the End of the Third Century AD*. Edited by STEPHEN MITCHELL and DAVID FRENCH. Vestigia 62. Verlag C. H. Beck, München 2012. ISBN 978-3-406-621-901. IX, 523 pp. EUR 118.

This is an important edition of the inscriptions of an important city. It is true that there have already been published collections of inscriptions of Ancyra. vol. III of the *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* included a notable selection of texts from this city, and then there is of course the collection of E. Bosch, published posthumously in 1967. Moreover, there is the fairly recent selection of texts published in 2003 by D. French (one of the editors of this volume), *Roman, Late Roman and Byzantine Inscriptions of Ankara. A Selection*. However, a selection is not quite the same thing as a corpus, and even Bosch's book by does not cover all the material known at the time of the death of the author, and, having been published in Istanbul in the sixties, is not available in every library.

This edition contains 315 texts from the period from Augustus to the time of the Tetrarchy (vol. II will cover the rest); there do not seem to be any inscriptions of the Hellenistic period. A notable number of the texts are of above average importance (but are also usually already known to specialists). There are about 30 unpublished texts (see p. 523) of which the most interesting is surely no. 61, an altar set up [*G*]enio provinciae Africae by a senator called [M.? U]lpus Cassius, who says he is a [*sod(alis)*] Aug(ustalis) Cl(audialis) and a legate (the rest of the stone is missing), surely, as the editors say, of Galatia. The editors wonder whether this man might have something to do with the senatorial family of M. Ulpus in Pisidia, but *Ulpus* is (of course) pretty common and I would a priori regard a man honouring the *genius* of Africa as an African rather than as a Pisidian.

245 of the inscriptions are in Greek, sixty in Latin, and nine inscriptions are bilingual (p. 27); because of the large number of Latin inscriptions (their existence to be attributed to the fact that Ancyra was the capital of the Roman province of Galatia), the editors are no doubt correct in saying (p. 29) that "aside from some of the Roman colonies ... Ankara was one of the largest Latin-speaking enclaves in the eastern provinces". As for the chronology of the inscriptions, there is a very heavy concentration on the second century (p. 7–9).

The introductory part (p. 1–45), preceding the presentation of the inscriptions, consists of several shortish chapters, the first one being an overview of the references to Ancyra in literary sources. There are also chapters, e.g., on the local "epigraphic habit", the provincial aristocracy as attested in the inscriptions of Ancyra (e.g., the Iulii Severi, p. 15), the civic and tribal organisation at Ancyra, imperial visits to the city, and, finally, a most interesting chapter on travellers and other scholars attested as having described inscriptions and other monuments at Ankara since the 16th century.

The inscriptions themselves have been divided into fourteen sections, beginning with a section on "The imperial temple"; here we have, as no. 1, the *Monumentum Ancyranum* and as no. 2 the well-known list of the priests of the imperial cult (*OGI* 533, etc.; for the dates proposed by A. Coşkun, see now also *Gephyra* 9 [2012] 124). This is followed by sections on Imperial dedications "and related texts", Provincial governors, Procurators and Roman administrative staff, the Galatian aristocracy, Senators and equestrians, Civic leaders (this meaning various local dignitaries), Festivals (etc.), Roman military officers and soldiers (including both senatorial – no. 157 – and equestrian military tribunes), Religious dedications; at the end, there are the epitaphs, divided into four sections. This classification of the inscriptions will be of great use for some scholars; it must, however, be noted that those interested, e.g., in the presence of senators in Ancyra will find that senators appear in at least four different sections, namely in that on provincial governors, in that on Galatian aristocrats (among them senators, but also equestrian officers), in that on "senators and equestrians" (cf. below) and finally in that on officers and soldiers; as noted above, we find here also senatorial tribunes, but in addition to them also somewhat surprisingly a boy labelled *c(larissimus) p(uer), patricius* (no. 156 = *AE* 1977, 811), who must have ended up in this section not because of his own status but because of that of the two soldiers who set up the monument. As for the section on "senators and equestrians", it seems to have been reserved for those who could not be accommodated in the other sections; however, we seem to be dealing mostly with local men – thus the procurator P. Aelius Sempronius Lycinus ("a native of Ankara", no. 107f.), the συνκλητικός P. Aelius Sempronius Metrophanes (no. 109), etc. – and one wonders whether these persons could not also have been defined as representatives of the "Galatian aristocracy". As for the presentation of the individual texts, most – but not all (cf. no. 37 and 51) – of the inscriptions which still exist have been furnished with photos. The abbreviations have normally not been expanded, which some readers may find a bit awkward; it must, however, be admitted that one can find the abbreviations explained either already in the commentaries (e.g., no. 176) or in the translations attached to the texts (thus "μητρ." in no. 20 appearing as *metropolis* in the translation) or at least in the index (thus βουλογρ. – not a common title – in 117 explained as βουλόγραφος, Περ. in no. 6, line 20 explained as Περ(ίλλιος) in the index). However, although I understand that leaving the abbreviations unexpanded aims at saving space, this procedure can be problematic; what is an unexperienced user of this edition to make of *fam.* in *proc. fam. glad.* in no. 52, when the phrase is translated as "procurator of the association (I wonder if this is the best translation) of gladiators", and *fam.* (i.e., *fam(ilia)*) does not seem to appear at all in the index?

As for individual texts, I hope the following observations are useful. No. 17: taking into account the fact that *Aurelius* in the nomenclature of Caracalla is often spelt *Aurellius*, it is interesting that Dousa's copy in fact does have this reading which, then, might be the correct one. No. 45: when explaining line 11 as "*o(ptime) eius m(erito)*", the editors might have made clear that *eius* defines *cornicul(arii)* in line 10 and has nothing to do with *o(ptime) m(erito)* (W. Eck,

BJ 212 [2012] 414 suggests reading *ob*, and then *eius m(erita)*, but the alleged *b* in *ob* seems to me to be based on damage on the surface of the stone, and one would in any case expect the order *ob merita eius*; furthermore, *o(ptime) m(erito)* – note also the wide spaces before and after *eius* – is a suitable expression in this context). No. 109: the editors correct the reading of Perrot, Μητροφάνη, to Μητροφάνη<ν>, and say that Perrot might have missed a small *nu* at the end; but isn't Μητροφάνη in fact the correct form (and because of that used, e.g., in IG V 1, 563) and as such in no real need of emendation? No. 171: *Troian-* for *Traian-* is in fact not uncommon (cf. C. C. Petolescu, *Mélanges à la mémoire de M. Le Glay* [1994] 723ff.), and should perhaps not simply be dismissed as a mistake. No. 176 and 178: perhaps rather *stip(endiorum)*. No. 207: the editors read in line 4 *do[mo ---]*, but the photo seems to indicate that nothing was inscribed after *DO*. This inscription does seem earlyish, but I wonder if it can or should be assigned to the time of Augustus; certainly it would in that case be one of the earliest instances of the use of the abbreviation *D(is) M(anibus)*.

This volume may have been finished rather in a hurry, as there seem to be some imperfections in the use of accents in Greek texts; note, e.g., no. 42, ἀντιστρατηγόν (instead of ἀντιστράτηγον); 50, συνπάντος (instead of σύνπαντος); 72 and 73, ἀνέψιον (instead of ἀνεψιόν); 79, ἀρχιερείαν (instead of ἀρχιέρειαν); 261, Μάρκος (instead of Μᾶρκος); 278, θρέπτω (instead of θρεπτῶ).

However, these are minor matters, and a mistake or two in accents can in any case be found in any edition of Greek inscriptions. What is important is that we have at last a very solid edition of the inscriptions of Ancyra, an important city with an impressive epigraphical heritage. One can only hope that volume II, with the texts from late Antiquity, will materialise soon.

Olli Salomies

NIKOS LITINAS: *Greek Ostraca from Abu Mina (O.Abu Mina)*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Beiheft 25. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2008. ISBN 978-3-11-020118-5. XI, 335 pp., 25 pls., 107 figs. USD 95.

Nikos Litinas has done a respectable job by meticulously editing over a thousand ostraca found in Abu Mina, a pilgrim centre populated in the 7th century by Melkite Christians, some 40 kilometres southwest of Alexandria. The ostraca, dated to the beginning of the 7th century, mostly deal with wine production; they deal with grape harvests and wine deliveries. Litinas gives decent introductions to the history of the site and the excavations and discusses the conclusions that may be drawn from the archive regarding the community in Abu Mina.

Small potsherds scribbled on only for ephemeral use and then discarded are notoriously difficult material for any wider historical conclusions. Their strength as a historical source usually comes from their numbers. This is also the case with the Abu Mina ostraca. While previously only about one hundred pieces were known (the first ten were published in 1908 and 107 more in 1971), the present collection comes from the so-called Ostraca House excavated between 1986 and 1995 by Peter Grossmann. The initial edition was prepared by Patrick Robinson and Georgina Fantoni, but in 1997 the publication work was transferred to Litinas (who worked only with photographs, the originals being kept in the Coptic Museum in Cairo). There are altogether 1446 ostraca: 1088 of them are published here with the whole text, the remain-

ing 358 being only described. The high number of texts allows the editor to draw conclusions regarding the contents of individual fragments, while being of use also for the editorial work (for instance, by offering solutions for sometimes cryptic abbreviations, as different writers did not always abbreviate the same words in the same way). A key element in the texts is the *phora* (φορά), usually appearing in the expression *onikai phorai* (ὄνικαὶ φοραί). The term *phora* has many different uses, but Litinas argues that in the Abu Mina texts it means 'load'. And since some texts show fractions of *phora*, but never more than four, a 'donkey's load' probably consists of four containers (of grapes). One load totals ca. 90 kg, and the less frequently appearing 'camel's load' was twice as heavy. Another unit of transport was something that was abbreviated as κ^θ, which Litinas interprets as *kollathon*, a jar of about 25 *sextarii* (13.5 liters).

Litinas has classified different hands and scribal habits grouping them from A to Z (most groups have two or more subvariants, as it was frequently impossible to distinguish between various hands). Scribal habits may include specific abbreviation methods, as in the case of *onikai*: while some writers rendered it as an *omicron* with a small *nu* inside it, this practice was not known or followed by others. Some scribal hands seem more experienced, others appear less educated. A number of the more rudimentary hands might have belonged to the farmers themselves. The photographs in this edition show only a selection of the ostraca, but they do present all hand groups.

The receipts give us an idea about the size of the grape harvests, though only a limited one, since the archive has not been preserved in its entirety. Nor do they specify the owners of the vineyards. There are some 300 personal names, some of which are accompanied by professional and monastic titles (a monk seemed to be called *monazon*, not *monachos*). The nomenclature is mainly Christian (saints' names and also Old Testament names), Egyptian or pagan names being in a clear minority. Litinas lists all the names and titles as well as the texts in which they appear and the hands who wrote them. He also presents separate tables of people attested in texts written by certain hands, together with the size of their loads. It appears that the biggest providers were also in high positions. For example, while a deacon with the abbreviated name Io() provided 120 loads, and Appa Menas 85 loads, many other people are attested with only one load. Some of the receipts have dates, though only giving the indiction year and the day. All come from the grape harvesting season extending from the end of the month Mesore to the beginning of Thoth. There is no certainty about the indiction cycle they come from, but the date suggested by handwriting and other contextual information approximately coincides with the beginning of the 7th century.

In all, this beautifully produced edition of difficult texts succeeds in obtaining as much information from them as may be reasonably expected.

Marja Vierros

Studia epigraphica in memoriam Géza Alföldy. Herausgegeben von WERNER ECK – BENCE FEHÉR – PÉTER KOVÁCS. Antiquitas I, 61. Habelt, Bonn 2013. ISBN 978-3-7749-3866-3. 401 pp. EUR 79.

This collection of epigraphical studies in memory of Géza Alföldy, the eminent ancient historian and epigraphist based in Heidelberg who died unexpectedly in 2011 while visiting the

Acropolis in Athens, is not the result of a colloquium or of a similar event but consists, as we learn from the preface by Werner Eck, of articles by scholars whom the editors had asked for contributions. As we learn from the same preface, scholars who had been approached in view of producing something for this collection were on the one hand colleagues and friends who had been working for decades with Alföldy, and on the other hand, or rather above all, young and old colleagues from Hungary, Alföldy's country of origin which he had left in 1965. In the last years, Alföldy's interests had very much been focused on Hungary and the neighbouring countries, and (as we again learn from the preface) he had been instrumental in promoting a reedition of the part of volume III of the *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (*CIL*) which covers the two Roman provinces of Pannonia Superior and Inferior. This surely explains the presence of an impressive number of Hungarian scholars among the contributors; and the fact that one focus of Alföldy's interests was, since the 1960s, on Spain, obviously illustrates the number of Spanish scholars who contributed to this volume. However, Alföldy also dealt with other areas of the Roman Empire; one thinks for instance of his contributions on Northern Italy and, of course, on the city of Rome, of the inscriptions of which he edited, with a number of collaborators, two volumes of the *CIL*, one dealing with the inscriptions of emperors and the other covering the inscriptions of senatorial and equestrian officials. In view of this, the absence, with the exception of L. Zerbini, who deals with a 'Danubian' subject, of Italian contributors seems striking; on the other hand, it is true that there is in fact already an Italian volume dedicated to the memory of Alföldy, also published in 2013 (*Eredità di un maestro – Géza Alföldy, storico del mondo romano*, published by Quasar in the series *Opuscula Epigraphica*). And speaking of the absence (almost) of Italian contributors, one could say pretty much the same thing about German contributors, for there seem to be only two articles by scholars based in Germany, both closely connected to the *CIL*, namely W. Eck and M. G. Schmidt. However, seeing that the list of collaborators and friends of Alföldy in Italy and in Germany must be very long, it is of course understandable that the editors had to draw a line somewhere, especially as scholars from some other countries also had to be accommodated. As a result, this is a volume with a strong focus on Pannonia and Spain, but also with a number of articles dealing with other topics; thus, there are for instance also papers on inscriptions from Africa (Mitthof, Mrozewicz), Dalmatia (Šašel-Kos) and Crete (Chaniotis). Some of the papers concentrate on individual inscriptions, whereas other contributions are of a more historical nature; inscriptions seem to play a minor role only A. R. Birley's contribution; and only one inscription, namely Augustus' *Res gestae*, is cited in the paper of M. Peachin, of which it is in fact the subject.

It is surely unnecessary for me to discuss at length all the articles, especially as some of them deal with minor – although not necessarily unimportant – matters; instead, let me point out those papers which I thought were of especial interest. A. R. Birley on "The Emperor Marcus Aurelius and the Sarmatians" (p. 39ff.) offers a lucid analysis of the sources for Marcus' Danubian wars, ending with a reinterpretation of *Meditations* 10,10 (note also p. 44 on the question of whether Marcus really planned to create new provinces). W. Eck's article on the consular *fasti* of the time of Pius (p. 69ff.) will surely be the most often quoted paper in this volume; new finds, especially new military diplomas (note the references also to unpublished diplomas), have made it necessary to review Alföldy's presentation of the same *fasti* of 1977, and it is very good that this has been done by the most competent of the scholars active in this field. P. Kovács (p. 123ff.) offers interesting details on the activities for the preparation of a second edition of the Pannonian part of *CIL* III. According to its title, F. Mitthof's paper (p.

163ff.) deals with two inscriptions from Thuburnica in Africa and with related texts, and in fact the paper does offer a reinterpretation of a passage in the two practically identical inscriptions *CIL* VIII 25703f., both mentioning *triticum*. However, in spite of its title, the paper expands to a more general study of the subject "Städtische Getreideversorgung und private Munifizienz in den lateinischen Inschriften" and finishes off with a most useful list of the relevant inscriptions (usually including key words such as *annona* or *frumentum*), of which there are 56 in all, all with their texts cited in full. M. Németh returns to the inscription from Aquincum, *Tit. Aq.* 560 (*AE* 2010, 1288), mentioning an imperial freedman who was the *praeposit(us) lecticariorum*, an inscription which no doubt refers to an imperial visit to Aquincum, Severus Alexander being suggested; the cognomen must, as observed in the *AE*, surely be understood as *Pa(v)oni* from *Pavo* (rather than as representing a Greek name). In a most interesting paper, Peachin (p. 255ff.) studies some aspects of Augustus' *Res gestae*, pointing out that the document is not simply a record of Augustus' *facta*, but even more importantly meant to instruct future leaders of Rome. Peachin also stresses the importance of the physical appearance of the original document in Rome, inscribed on bronze tablets, and of its setting "as an integral element of [Augustus'] mausoleum" (p. 268). M. G. Schmidt (p. 307ff.) publishes Latin inscriptions kept in Berlin; among them is a third-century inscribed statuette of Silvanus dedicated by two praetorians, one of whom has the nomen *Catanius* of which this is only the second instance. E. Weber (p. 377ff.) republishes, with corrections, an inscription from Carnuntum which he earlier dealt with in L. Zerbini (ed.), *Roma e le province del Danubio* (2010) 206f. (*AE* 2010, 1261); the inscription is interesting not only inasmuch as it mentions a man who had been a *magister navali(or)um* of the legion XIII Gemina, but also because the man says (suitably in a publication dedicated to the memory of Géza Alföldy) that he is *nation(e) Hispan(us) Tarraconensis*.

To conclude, this is a most interesting volume which should find its way into all libraries dealing with the Roman world.

Olli Salomies

Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. XVII: Miliaria imperii Romani. Pars 4: Illyricum et provinciae Europae Graecae. Fasc. 2: Miliaria provinciae Dalmatiae. Ediderunt ANNE KOLB – GEROLD WALSER. Adiuvante ULRIKE JANSEN. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 2012. ISBN 978-3-11-017623-0. XXXI–LV, pp. 123–270. EUR 129.95.

Im Jahre 2005 erschien der erste Faszikel des vierten Bandes des Corpus der römischen Meilensteininschriften, der die Texte von Rätien und Noricum umfasste; vorher war im Jahre 1986 der erste Band dieses Corpus erschienen, in dem die Miliaria der gallischen und germanischen Provinzen zusammengestellt wurden. Weitere Bände sind in Aussicht, doch wird es sicher lange dauern, bis das Meilensteincorpus innerhalb des siebzehnten Bandes des Berliner Inschriftenwerkes fertig vorliegt.

Der vorliegende Band versammelt die Meilensteintexte der Provinz Dalmatia. Er stellt ein willkommenes Novum dar. In *CIL* III wurden, wenn ich richtig gezählt habe, 101 Stücke publiziert, in der neuen Ausgabe sind es circa 350 geworden. Der Zuwachs ist also wirklich erheblich. Freilich gibt es darunter eine ganze Anzahl unbedeutender Fragmente, teilweise

schon vor dem Abschluss des Supplements von *CIL* III bekannt geworden (und vielleicht deswegen dort weggelassen); auch fehlen anepigraphische Stücke nicht. Inedita gibt es dagegen nur ganz wenige (ich habe deren drei notiert: 426. 427. 562a), ein angenehmes Zeichen für die aktiven Bestrebungen provinzialrömischer Archäologen, Neufunde möglichst schnell öffentlich zu machen.

Die Texte werden auf hervorragende Weise vorgelegt, mit sowohl Fotos als auch Zeichnungen desselben Steines, soweit beide vorliegen; so ergänzen beide einander und erleichtern die Erfassung der Textform durch den Leser. Von verlorengegangenen Stücken wird bei Bedarf wenn möglich die im *CIL* III publizierte Fassung als solche wiedergegeben. Der kritische Apparat und der Kommentarteil geben Auskunft über schwierige Stellen und dienen so als Interpretationsansätze. Das Latein der Editoren ist klar und deutlich; Sprachfehler, denen man gelegentlich begegnet, erschweren das Verständnis nicht (S. 130, erster Absatz, Zeile 6 von unten muss es *cippus* sein, nicht *cippum*; S. 131, im kritischen Apparat von Tab. II, drittletzte Zeile schreibe *positum* statt *positam*; Nr. 572b im Lemma würde ich *posset* statt *potuisset* schreiben).

So steht uns eine Edition zur Verfügung, die einen bedeutenden Fortschritt markiert, sowohl was die Lesungen einzelner Texte (man sieht sofort an der ersten Inschrift, der sog. Tabula Dolabellae, wie die Editoren stellenweise über den von Mommsen gegebenen Text hinausgekommen sind) als auch ihre historische Interpretation angeht. Der Band bietet auch Gelegenheit zum Vergleich der Terminologie und Phraseologie von Meilensteintexten. Sie mögen auf den ersten Blick langweilig anmuten, doch ist es von Interesse, ihren Inhalt mit etwa dem der Meilensteine Italiens zu vergleichen, wobei sich sowohl Ähnlichkeiten als auch Unterschiede herausstellen (im Vorübergehen sei notiert, dass in Italien Meilensteine auch im Bereich ein und derselben Straße Verschiedenheiten des Wortlauts aufweisen können; so können Meilensteintexte der via Appia in Latium und Samnium unterschiedliche Wendungen enthalten, was von unterschiedlichen Wortlautrepertorien abhängt. – Der Band ist weitgehend frei von Druckfehlern; ich habe einen notiert: auf S. 131, zweitletzte Zeile des kritischen Apparats, steht "titlulis" statt "titulis" (in demselben Apparat wird auf eine Ergänzung für Z. 13f. von Schmidt hingewiesen, diese Ergänzung findet sich aber nicht im Text, wohin sie doch gehört).

Heikki Solin

Supplementa Italica. Nuova Serie 25 (Supplementa: Litternum, Aquae Statiellae. Supplementarum Supplementa: Brixia – Benacenses – Valles Supra Benacum – Sabini – Trumplini – Camunni. Italia, Sicilia, Sardinia epigraphicae). A cura di GIUSEPPE CAMODECA – VALENTINA E. PISTARINO – ALFREDO VALVO – GIAN LUCA GREGORI. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2010. ISBN 978-88-7140-399-1. 325 pp. EUR 46.48.

These two recent *Supplementa Italica* volumes bring the number of published volumes of the series to 26 (vol. 27 is said to be "in preparazione" in the list of the published volumes in vol. 26). If the plan was originally to try to publish about one volume a year, the publishers must be regarded as having succeeded, for vol. 1 came out in 1981, and 26 volumes in 31 years is a most respectable achievement, especially if one considers that the conditions for publishing books of this nature may not have been ideal in Italy in recent years.

In a manner now well established, both volumes begin with a "presentazione" by S. Panciera, with interesting and instructive observations on the contents of the volumes. As the introductions to the individual *supplementa* are often pretty detailed, those interested in just having a quick look at what a new volume of *supplementa* has to offer, are best advised to read Panciera's 'presentation'; for instance, having a look at his section on the *pagus* of the *Arusnates* (vol. 26, p. 6) is, I think, the fastest way to find out what the dominant scholarly opinion is concerning the administrative status of this *pagus*.

In these two volumes, we only have contributions regarding cities or other areas in the Augustan regions I, II, IX and X; central Italy north of Campania and Apulia are thus not represented. In region I there is Liternum by G. Camodeca (vol. 25), in region II there is the Ager inter Gnathiam et Barium and Caelia, both by A. Mangiatordi (and both in vol. 26), from region IX we have Aquae Statiellae by V. E. Pistarino (vol. 25) and Iulia Dertona by V. Pettirossi (vol. 26); from region X there is the *supplementorum supplementum* on Brixia, the *Benacenses*, etc. by A. Valvo (vol. 25), showing once again that Brixia and its territory, the object of three fascicles of *Inscriptiones Italicae* in the 1980s and an earlier *supplementum* of 1991, is indeed, as far as inscriptions go, "inesauribile" (A. Garzetti as quoted on p. 180); and finally we have, from the same region X, Arusnatium pagus (i.e., Valpolicella just north of Verona) by R. Bertolazzi (vol. 26).

Liternum is perhaps the most interesting chapter. As observed already by Panciera (p. 7), the Corpus contained eight texts from Liternum, but all of them, except perhaps for *CIL* X 3717 (cf. Camodeca p. 32f.), are now shown to have come from other places; instead, we now have thirty-one inscriptions which indeed can be assigned to Liternum, a place which earlier was known mainly as the final home of Scipio Africanus, but which now appears to have been a place of some significance in the imperial period. Many public buildings were identified in excavations in the 1930s (but have so far not been published in a satisfactory way, see Camodeca p. 27); as for inscriptions, there are now, e.g., inscriptions honouring various emperors, an attractive fourth-century building inscription (no. 12) and above all two very interesting *alba* of Augustales (nos. 16 and 17). Regarding this latter inscription, it remains a mystery to me how one should interpret the fact that the name of one patron, M. Caecilius Calventius Quadratus, who has at least two sons (cf. *fliorum suorum nomine* at the end of the text), is followed by the two names M. Caecilius Calventius Quadratus *f(i)lius*) and M. Caecilius Calventius Quadratus *iun(i)or*); are these the sons, and if so, how can they have identical names?

The chapters on the Ager inter Gnathiam et Barium and Caelia both include only three texts, of which only Caelia 1 (*AE* 1926, 141, etc.) is of a some more general significance (in Ager etc. no. 3 = *CIL* IX 274, *Philoma* cannot be considered an acceptable female name); but the introductions to the sites and the addenda to the texts in *CIL* are of course useful. Aquae Statiellae, to move to the north, is a more substantial contribution; here I would like to point out that the inscription from Budapest of the soldier T. Magius Clemens, for which only somewhat obscure publications are cited on p. 84, is now readily available as *Tituli Aquincenses* II 666 (with photo). And as for the addendum to *CIL* V 7547 on p. 107, the suggested date of the second half of the first century, is said to be based on the "caratteri formali del monumento" (this does not seem very informative), but what about, e.g., the fact that the father P. Caninius C. f. has no cognomen (cf. Eck's paper cited in the bibliography)?

Dertona (a place which also has many Christian inscriptions) is also a substantial contribution, with a notable introduction; however, of the 100 texts, about 75 are only small frag-

ments (there is not much one can do with, e.g., no. 98: "---- / [---]+[---]"). Brixia is surely the longest chapter, with almost 40 pages of just bibliography. There are interesting inscriptions (e.g. another inscription in honour of M. Nonius Macrinus, no. 45, a *saltuar(ius) pagi Veneri* in no. 109b, and the inscription of a person who was *immunitate donatus* by Augustus, no. 118), but there are also most notable addenda not only to the inscriptions published in *CIL* and elsewhere, but also to the *Index auctorum* in the *Inscriptiones Italiae* volume.

The section on the *Pagus Arusnatium* contains some texts of more general interest, but will probably be consulted mainly because of the introduction and the addenda to inscriptions in *CIL* and the volume by Pais.

Again, we are dealing with very useful volumes characterised in the commentaries by erudition and common sense. One can only hope that further volumes of the series will materialize soon.

Olli Salomies

MARCO TRAVERSO: *Esercito romano e società italica in età imperiale. I: I documenti epigrafici. Serta antiqua et mediaevalia 10*. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2006. ISBN 88-7689-212-5. VIII, 325 pp. EUR 100.

The aim of the author is to study the role of the "Roman army", or rather of the soldiers themselves, in the life of Italian cities ("Italy" being defined in the Roman way, with the exclusion of Sicily and Sardinia). This will happen in a second volume, of which, however, there is not yet a trace seven years after the publication of this first volume. The volume under review consists mainly of a prosopographical catalogue of the persons whose activities will be studied in the second volume. There is, however, a shortish introduction and at the end there are some observations, many of them quite interesting (e.g., p. 260, the men taken into consideration here served in "western" rather than "eastern" units), on the material presented in this first volume ("Note di commento", p. 255–67).

Most of the soldiers turn out to have been military tribunes (senatorial tribunes are of course excluded) and other equestrian officers (some of them reaching high procuratorships, cf. p. 311f.); in addition, there are some centurions, *primi pili* and *primipilares* (cf. p. 256f. n. 786) and soldiers or veterans of praetorian and urban cohorts; legionary soldiers seem to be attested only in Region XI (p. 249 no. 10, p. 252 no. 14). Altogether there are 406 (p. 255) or rather, if the anonymous cases are also included, 455 persons (see the useful review of M. Buora, *BMCR* 2009.02.21); their distribution around Italy corresponds to what one would expect a priori; the Italian regions I (105 men), IV, VI and, of course, X (Venetia, etc.) are well represented, whereas regions III (Lucania, Bruttium) and IX (Liguria) have only a few relevant persons to offer. There is a clear concentration on the Julio-Claudian period (48.7 percent of the cases), and almost 60 percent of the cases are assignable to the first century in general. The share of the second century is about one fourth; the cases datable to the Severan period and later amount to a little more than 5 percent (see p. 255f. n. 784; apparently about 10 percent of the cases cannot be dated); for third-century cases note, e.g., p. 43ff. no. 43, p. 48 no. 51, p. 89 no. 17.

Taking part in municipal life is here defined (see p. VIII; 261) above all as the holding of municipal offices; but men only attested as patrons of cities are also included as well as "euergetes", for instance persons who built something on their own expense or who bequeathed

something to a city (e.g., *CIL X 1416* = p. 42 no. 41, a certain [---]essius – not " [---]essus" – Seneca leaving behind money for a statue of Claudius to be erected in Herculaneum and for four sesterces to be distributed to all inhabitants at the occasion of its dedication).

As for the catalogue, it is arranged by regions (starting with I and ending with XI) and cities, but within the regions, the cities are presented in an alphabetical, rather than in a geographical order, which many would probably prefer. Each person appears as a separate lemma with its own number (if two or more inscriptions refer to the same person, they are designated "a", "b", etc.). Normally, also some references to secondary literature are given, although, as observed by Buora (cf. above), perhaps not very many, and clearly mainly to monographs of an epigraphical or prosopographical nature (e.g., *PME*). It follows that some items seem to appear only in the bibliography (e.g., the book by M. Roxan on military decorations which are attested for some persons appearing here, see p. 261 n. 816).

In order to be able to be of use, the texts cited in a catalogue like this one should in my opinion be flawless, and this is in fact the case with most of the texts. However, I did observe some errors: the addition of "= *ILS 2726*" to an inscription which became first known as *AE 1977, 179*, p. 38 no. 34; *Quirin(us)* on p. 67 no. 83; *laevis armaturae* on p. 76 no. 99, and *Coelio Balbinio* on p. 129 no. 7, a. On p. 45 no. 44 (*ILS 6544*), the tribe Qui(rina) seems to have been interpreted as the relative pronoun *qui*, which is quite pointless (and if the text refers to an office held in Amiternum, should it not have been presented under Amiternum in Region IV on p. 102f. rather than under "Lunghezza" in Region I?). On p. 85 no. 11 (*ILS 6507*), the reading offered is somewhat surprisingly *Aug(ustalis), II(vir) quinq(uennalis)*, but Dessau is surely right in explaining (with references to parallels) the reading *Aug. II quinq.* as *Augustalis iterum quinquennalis*. On p. 87 no. 13 (*ILS 2117*), I would prefer the ablative in *militavit in coh(orte), ad latus* rather than *adlatus*, and *optio valetudi(narii)* without a comma; and "mai" is surely the month. On p. 92f. no. 2, we are not given an explanation for the restoration of the offices of the father (*tr(ibunus) mil(itum)*, etc.) which are clearly missing on the stone (for an explanation, see EDR100730). On p. 145 no. 10 (*CIL XI 4572*), one surely has to read *Tiro f(ilius) IIIvir* rather than *f(ecit)*. On p. 146 no. 11, b (*ILS 5679*), one must understand *Marcellinus ... quinquennalic(ius) nomine suo et* etc., not *quinquennalic(io)*. Although one could go on, this sample is surely enough. The errors sometimes seem to have arisen from the fact that the texts have been taken from the Clauss-Slaby database without having been checked; thus, the nomen *Iulio* is missing on p. 47 no. 48 (*AE 1995, 311*), something which one also finds in the said database; and on p. 149 no. 14 (*CIL XI 6117*) we now read, as in Clauss-Slaby, *earumque dedicat Rufus epulum dedit*, whereas the *EDR* correctly reads *dedicat(ione)*.

Some of the texts are rather complicated and would have gained from a more liberal use of commas and full stops, especially considering that uncomplicated texts have sometimes been furnished with unnecessary commas (e.g., *tribunus, militum* on p. 59 no. 70). For instance the letter of the duoviri and decurions of Forum Sempronii addressed to Hedius Verus (p. 147ff. no. 13 = *CIL XI 6123*; on the date see Buora) would certainly have been made more accessible with the use of commas, etc., especially as this letter does exactly what the book is supposed to do, illustrating as it does in a lucid way an equestrian officer's activities in his hometown.

These observations should, however, not obscure the merits of this book which will be of great service to scholars dealing with municipal life in Italy. I must also point out here that the indexes are very detailed and thus extremely useful.

Olli Salomies

Local Knowledge and Microidentities in the Imperial Greek World. Edited by TIM WHITMARSH. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-76146-8. XIII, 228 pp. GBP 55, USD 95.

Lokale Identität im Römischen Nahen Osten. Kontexte und Perspektiven. Erträge der Tagung "Lokale Identität im Römischen Nahen Osten", Münster 19.–21. April 2007. Herausgegeben von MICHAEL BLÖMER – MARGHERITA FACELLA – ENGELBERT WINTER. Oriens et Occidens 18. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2009. ISBN 978-3-515-09377-4. 340 S., 152 s/w Abb. EUR 64.

The two books under review here both have a title which will no doubt interest a number of students of the ancient world, especially those who deal with the Roman east. Both books seem to meet a certain demand, as it cannot have escaped anybody in this field that, in that last years, the history and the culture of the Greek-speaking part of the Roman empire has been the object of considerable attention.

However, there is something which may diminish somewhat the interest possibly stirred by the titles, namely the fact that we have here not books *by* someone, but *edited by* someone. When someone writes a monograph on a certain subject, the result may not be perfect, but at least the reader can expect that, whatever the subject, the author has tried to say whatever he or she is able to say on it, furnishing the whole with a conclusion and concluding with an index. With books *edited by* someone things are quite different, for although they, too, have a subject or at least a name which points to the conclusion that a particular book is meant to deal with a particular topic, the result is often a curious mixture of various contributions of varying length and quality which may illustrate some aspects of the same topic but which, taken together, do not seem to add up to a coherent study of the same. Moreover, even colloquia with a well defined subject sometimes seem to attract scholars more interested in just joining the colloquium than in its exact subject, as a result of which it is not that rare that one observes the publications of colloquia to contain contributions which do not seem to have much in common with the topic of the colloquium. Considering this, I must say that I am glad that, say, Mommsen, Norden and Syme decided to write their books themselves rather than inviting some colleagues and friends to contribute to colloquia on *Römisches Staatsrecht*, on *Antike Kunstprosa*, and on the *Roman Revolution*.

But of course there are also collections of articles which are useful, especially those which have a very clear focus and in which all contributors concentrate on the same subject. Both of the books under review here may well be placed in this category. Both represent the results of colloquia, the book on *Lokale Identität* from 2009 those of a colloquium in Münster in 2007, the volume on *Local Identities* in 2010 those of a conference in Exeter in 2004 (that is took six years to produce the printed volume does not seem to be explained anywhere).

The latter volume begins with the contribution on "Thinking Local" by T. Whitmarsh (the editor of the whole volume), an essay which seems at least partly to have been conceived as an introduction to the whole book. This is an impressive essay which abounds in interesting observations (e.g., imperial Greeks, by "doing culture", actually replicate (Roman) imperialist ideology, p. 9; and the Severans manipulating "localism" to their own ends, p. 11). This contribution is also remarkable for referring to a surprisingly large number of different persons called Clifford.

Then there is C. Ando on "Imperial Identities", an instructive contribution concentrating on Asia Minor (and constantly taking into consideration also pre-Roman Asia); the approach may seem somewhat theoretical at places and is in fact referred to as "Foucauldian" in n. 6, but those who might at first worry about this will, by the time they finish reading, have noted that this paper is illustrated with references to an impressive and interesting set of documents. Although all readers may not agree on all points made in this paper (e.g., p. 20, "I argue that Rome sought to sunder pre-existing patterns of social and economic conduct"), it cannot be denied that the paper contains a number of marvellous observations (e.g., p. 24, on Greek literature of the imperial period being "most obviously colonial" when lamenting past failures). However, as this is a paper of a more general nature, the main focus seems to be on the regional rather than on the strictly local.

S. Goldhill on "What is Local Identity" is based on literary sources, starting with classical Greek texts; much of this interesting article is based on a study of the use of the term ἐπιχώριος (note the observation on the difference in the use of this term in Thucydides and Herodotus on p. 51), especially in Pausanias.

With the exception of the contribution of G. Woolf, the rest of the articles deal with more specific subjects. I. Romeo's paper on Crete is called "Roman Perceptions of Cretan identity", but since there are not many sources for studying what the Romans thought about Crete and Cretan identity (and thus I wonder whether it can really be asserted, e.g., that, "with the reign of Trajan", there was "a panhellenic shift in Rome's perception of Crete", p. 76), much of the article seems to deal with Crete and Cretans themselves rather than just with Roman perceptions of the place. S. Mitchell's article, although called "The Ionians of Paphlagonia", in fact has much to say on Paphlagonia's relations with the Aegean Greek world in general. C. Jones' article on "Ancestors and Identity in the Roman Empire" is an interesting essay on the importance of mythical (e.g., Heracles in the case of Statilius Lamprias from Sparta, p. 124) and historical ancestors. M. Gleason deals with the "bicultural identity" of Herodes Atticus, whereas O. van Nijf studies the identity of the people (known from a remarkably large number of inscriptions) of Termessus in Pisidia, manifesting itself in various ways, e.g., in nomenclature. The volume ends with a shortish afterword, of a more theoretical nature, by G. Woolf on "The Local and the Global in the Graeco-Roman East".

The index struck me as pretty meagre and is in any case of the type where all kinds of items appear together (e.g., "Homer" is followed by "HSBC bank"). However, considering that the next volume has no index at all, one must be grateful for what we have here.

As for the German volume, this is a much more varied collection, which includes articles which some readers may consider as dealing only remotely with the Roman world, at least if the accent is on 'Roman'. Seeing that this volume concentrates not on the East in general, but on the Near East, it is understandable that there is less on ancient authors (but note the shortish essay by Millar on Libanius' views of the Near East) and more on archaeology and epigraphy.

The variation in the themes studied here is indeed remarkable, and I only point out only a number of articles which seemed to be of special interest from my own point of view. U. Hartmann studies the "oriental self-awareness" of the 13th Sibylline oracle (and incidentally provides German translations of many parts of it). In a substantial contribution, A. Kropp studies "Roman Imperial Cult among Near Eastern 'Client' Kings in the Julio-Claudian Period"; this paper is lavishly furnished by plans and illustrations. A. Lichtenberger surveys, on the basis of the numismatical evidence, the urban identities of Tyrus and Berytus in Phoenicia, observ-

ing, e.g., that in contrast to Berytus, emperors appear on the coinage of Tyrus only after it had become a colony under Severus. W. Oenbrink investigates the spectacular funerary monument known only from older descriptions, of AD 78/9 at Edessa and pertaining to a certain C. Iulius Samsigeramos also known as Seilas, the son of C. Iulius Alexion (not "Alexionus", as on p. 195; *IGLS* V 2212). Finally, a lengthy contribution of about 90 pages by O. Stoll is dedicated to Resaina and Singara in Syria, garrison cities of the Severan legions III Parthica (the assumption that the legion was based in Nisibis is rejected on p. 275) and I Parthica, respectively; in fact, much attention is accorded to the history of the legions themselves, with a significant number of inscriptions from all over the Roman world being cited.

To conclude, this is an interesting volume on an interesting subject. However, as mentioned earlier, there is no index at all, something which some readers may find unsatisfactory.

Olli Salomies

IDA ÖSTENBERG: *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession*. Oxford Studies in Ancient Culture and Representation. Oxford University Press, Oxford – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-19-921597-3. XII, 327 pp. GBP 70, USD 129.

This is a revised version of the author's doctoral thesis defended at Lund University in 2003, and forms part of a recent flurry of investigations into the ancient Roman triumph (see, e.g., T. Itgenshorst, *Tota illa pompa: Der Triumph in der römischen Republik*, Göttingen 2005; M. Beard, *The Roman Triumph*, Cambridge, Mass., 2007; H. Krasser – D. Pausch – I. Petrovic (eds.), *Triplici invectus triumpho: Der römische Triumph in augusteischer Zeit*, Stuttgart 2008). It is important to emphasize, therefore, that this volume complements rather than repeats these earlier volumes and forms an important addition to our knowledge of this phenomenon. This is because the author is ruthless in her focus on her chosen topic – the contents of the first part of the triumphal procession preceding the *triumphator* himself – which she then investigates in exhaustive detail. The volume is divided into five chapters, the first being a relatively short introduction (pp. 1–18), and the final a somewhat longer summation and integration of its findings (pp. 262–92), but the heart of the volume consists of three long chapters whose titles repeat the contents and order of its subtitle. There follow a substantial bibliography (pp. 293–315) and a good index of people, places, and objects (pp. 317–27). Comprehension of the subject-matter is assisted by 27 well-chosen black-and-white figures dispersed at the relevant locations throughout the book.

The first chapter, "Introduction", divides into four sections wherein the author first situates her work within previous studies of the Roman triumph, then explains her intention "to look both at the form, meaning, and function of the single displays and at the syntax of the parade" (p. 9) within the theoretical framework of performance analysis, before finally explaining her methods and sources. She is very clear about what she will not be doing – examining the origin of the triumph, the role of the triumphator himself, the route of the triumph – and all those who seek information on these and similar matters must look elsewhere. She also sets the chronological limits of her study as the period from the early third century BC until the early second century AD. However, this does not deter her from reference to triumphs outside these limits where she thinks it relevant. The second chapter, "Spoils", divides into six sections

wherein the author proceeds systematically to consider the evidence for the major categories of spoil, starting with arms and equipment, with an emphasis on chariots and artillery, and proceeding through ships and rams, coins and bullion, statues and paintings, arts and valuables, until finally reaching golden crowns. The third chapter, "Captives" divides into four sections wherein the author proceeds systematically once more through the evidence for four categories of captives from the obvious human prisoners, with an emphasis on the treatment of royalty, through a section on the treatment of hostages, and another on the treatment of captive animals, with a strong emphasis on the treatment of elephants in particular, until the surprise category of captive trees. The fourth chapter, "Representations", divides into four sections again wherein the author deals first with the problem posed by the modern understanding of so-called 'triumphal paintings' before proceeding to discuss the representation of cities and towns, chiefly by means of large three-dimensional models, that of peoples and rivers, chiefly by means of statues of their personifications, and that of war-scenes, by means of dramatic re-enactment with the focus on the deeds of the leading prisoners rather than on those of the triumphator himself. Finally, the fifth chapter divides into two sections, the first mainly summarizing the findings concerning the contents of that section of the parade preceding the triumphator, the second seeking to explain the messages conveyed by the various displays, individually and as a whole.

There is little to criticize in this volume, and much to welcome. A systematic, highly structured, and well-organized approach to its topic means that it is quickly and easily mined, and so destined to become a standard reference work, not least because most of the sub-sections within the chapters stand alone very well. The negative side to this, however, is that this work can become a little repetitive at times as the same contextual information, or the same line of primary source, is repeated for the next sub-section again. Another of its strengths lies in its frequent citation of the key primary sources both in their original language and in English translation. Furthermore, the author clearly strives to draw upon as wide a range of literary sources as possible, and is to be commended for her efforts in this manner. However, one occasionally feels that that she either misrepresents the evidence, or pushes it too far. For example, she concludes her argument that the war-chariot (*essedā*) became a symbol of the Britons rather than of the Gauls (p. 37) with a passage from Persius (6,43–7) that contains no clear reference to Britain, but only to Germany instead! Similarly, there is no evidence that the horse displayed in Aemilius Paullus' triumph was actually a captive enemy horse rather than a convenient vehicle for the display of captured horse-trappings (p. 172). Very rarely does any snippet of relevant information seem to escape her notice, although she does not include any discussion of the fact that Caligula transported the triremes by which he had entered the English Channel in early AD 40 back to Rome for his ovation there (Suet. *Calig.* 47) during her wider discussion of the display of captured enemy ships at triumphs. Again, the figures have been well-chosen and include some less-familiar objects, or details of such, that deserve to be better known. Furthermore, the author has clearly mastered a large secondary bibliography, although one may notice the occasional omission, and she does not always acknowledge how disputed her favoured interpretation of some pieces of evidence is, with a larger bibliography than her footnotes might sometimes suggest. The negative side to this is that she is sometimes familiar with, and seeks to demonstrate her familiarity with, interpretations better passed over in silence, as in the dating of Julius Caesar's famous elephant denarius to 54 BC rather than to 49 BC and the identification of the object before the elephant as a Gallic *carnyx* rather than a serpent (pp. 181–82: see B. Woytek, *Arma et Nummi*, Vienna 2003, 119–33; now D. Woods,

"Caesar the Elephant against Juba the Snake", *NC* 169 [2009] 189–92), although one does note that her language carefully distances herself from both dating and interpretation in this case so that it is not really clear where she stands on either issue. Finally, one should note that the most original and important section of the book, that most likely to spark further debate, is probably her discussion of so-called 'triumphal paintings' in the fourth chapter where she demonstrates that the art works conventionally referred to as such were of two very different kinds, commemorative paintings produced after the event for display in a public place and, for use during the triumph itself, three-dimensional models or what was effectively stage-scenery as part of a dramatic re-enactment.

In conclusion, this is a thoroughly researched, user-friendly, and well-written book that will doubtless prove the standard reference work on its particular aspect of the Roman triumph for many years to come.

David Woods

ANN-CATHRIN HARDERS: *Suavissima Soror. Untersuchungen zu den Bruder-Schwester-Beziehungen in der römischen Republik*. Vestigia 60. Verlag C.H. Beck, München 2008. ISBN 978-3-406-57777-2. VIII, 344 S. EUR 70.

Since the emergence of modern studies on women in antiquity during the 1970s and the 1980s, the status and role of Greek and Roman women in the family has been one of the main topics in the field. Scholars have focused in particular on women's roles as wives and daughters. Ann-Cathrin Harders has chosen another focus, the role of woman as sister, a subject that has been much less studied. In her book she discusses the dynamics of the brother-sister relationship in Republican Rome in nine case studies, beginning with the mythical tale of the Horatii and the Curatii and ending with the emperor Augustus and the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Harders is particularly interested in social relations and norms of behaviour concerning kinship and various grades of kinship. Most of her case studies are about well-known persons from the Late Republic. Thus, she discusses the era which was criticised by early imperial authors as an era of moral decay in which traditional family loyalties and social values were broken. Harders is looking for a pattern in the ideal relationship between brother and sister. Furthermore, she is interested in the double role of a married woman as wife and sister. Harders explains her interest in the brother-sister relationship by the fact that a relationship with a brother was usually the longest male relationship to a Roman woman, as Roman children could lose their fathers very young.

A Roman woman could create social relations that surpassed the limits of the nuclear family and benefited the family in which she was born. Before starting with her case studies, Harders discusses some anthropological theories about kinship, Lévi-Strauss in particular. The point relevant for her book is the notion that producing offspring is not the only function of marriage. A marriage also makes men brothers-in-law. Women are thus also links between two families. Harders also pays attention to Maurizio Bettini's structuralistic view of the family. Bettini has demonstrated that not only agnatic kinship but also cognatic kinship was regarded as significant in ancient Rome.

There has been a long tradition in classical scholarship in emphasising the role of marriage as a tool in strengthening and creating political alliances in ancient Rome. Kinship created

by marriage was called *adfinitas* and it meant certain social expectations for those concerned. Harders sees weaknesses in this traditional view. In many of her case studies, she points out how this model does not always work. She recognises, however, that the political significance of marriage was already clearly understood by the ancients. For example, it was said that if Julia had not died in childbirth, the war between Caesar and Pompeius could have been avoided.

Harders also gives an overview of the brother-sister relationship in Roman law. She points out that even if Roman law made a sharp distinction between agnatic and cognatic kin, the social reality might be different. Co-operation and intimacy seem to dominate many brother-sister relationships known to us.

Harders' case studies are mainly based on a systematic analysis of ancient literary sources. This also means that the cases she discusses represent ideals and values of the Roman elite. This can be considered a certain weakness of an otherwise exemplary book, but it also has to be kept in mind that due to the available sources, the values of the lower social strata in ancient Rome are, in general, hard to trace.

The first case study in the book deals with the relationships between three remarkable families of the Roman Middle Republic, the Cornelii, the Aemilii, and the Sempronii. The marriage between Scipio Africanus maior and Aemilia has been regarded as the beginning of the political alliance of the Cornelii and the Aemilii in older research. According to Harders, however, concrete examples of political co-operation between brothers-in-law are not so easy to identify. I find especially interesting Harders' discussion of the marriage of Scipio Africanus minor and his cousin Sempronia, sister of the Gracchan brothers. In some later sources, Sempronia is accused of having murdered her husband. Harders does not consider it essential if these stories are true or not. She points out how Sempronia is placed in a conflict over her roles as wife and sister in these stories and it is assumed that she is more loyal to her brothers than to her husband.

Most of Harders' case studies deal with the turmoil of the first century BC and, thus, with famous persons such as Caesar, Brutus, Cicero, Clodius and Octavianus (Augustus). Marriages of sisters served as resources for social and political networks for ambitious men seeking for high offices and political influence. Harders emphasises, however, that a brother-in-law was not automatically a political ally and the co-operation would not be certain. On the other hand, as can be concluded, e.g., on the basis of some of Cicero's speeches, it was considered natural that a man favoured his brother-in-law.

Even if loyalty to a brother-in-law was not regarded as unconditional, a man was expected to act like a good brother to his sister. He was supposed to look after his sister's best interests and to marry her off if the father was no longer alive. Furthermore, a good brother also took care of the children of his sister, especially if the sister was a widow. On the other hand, the case of P. Clodius Pulcher and his sisters shows that a too intimate relationship between brother and sister could lead to accusations of incest. The dynamics of complicated family relationships are also interestingly illustrated in Cicero's letters to his friend Atticus and his brother Quintus. Quintus was married to the sister of Atticus and the marriage problems of the couple are frequently discussed in the letters.

In her double role as wife and sister, a woman could successfully act as a mediator between her husband and her brother. The story of the Sabine women gives a mythical example of this kind of behaviour. Many women from the first century BC seem to have acted as mediators between several families. The most spectacular case discussed by Harders is probably

Octavia, the sister of the first Roman emperor Augustus. Harders emphasises that her brother was always the most important man in Octavia's life. In our sources, which actually highly idealise Octavia, she manages perfectly both her role as sister and wife. Octavia eventually failed in mediating a peace between her brother and her husband Antony, but according to the sources this was rather the fault of Antony and Cleopatra. Harders discusses widely the various activities of Octavia. It is interesting that Octavia is commemorated as Augustus' sister in her funerary inscription, not as somebody's wife.

In her conclusion, Harders sums up by claiming that Roman families could create networks only if women assumed a double role as wives and sisters. Behaving according to social norms and expectations was essential even if the law did not recognise this double role. The social expectations of a proper relationship between brother and sister remained intact even if a sister was married *cum manu* or the brother was adopted into another family. Personal emotions were not essential: a brother was supposed to act like a good brother irrespective of his personal feelings towards his sister. As for the relationship between brothers-in-law, Harders considers that the affinity enabled political networking but was not a guarantee of unconditional and close co-operation.

Harders' book is a thorough and systematic study of social relationships based on kinship in Republican Rome. Her argumentation is sound and easy to follow. Kinship can be regarded as a cornerstone of Roman society and it could certainly have political implications. This book deals with the ideals and values of the Roman elite, but it would of course be interesting if the mental world of the lower classed could also be studied. As for the woman's own point of view, one would have wished for a bit more, for brothers and brothers-in-law seem to dominate the book, though it is, of course, difficult for a classical scholar to change the nature of the available evidence. Nevertheless, Harders illustrates in an exemplary way the functions of family relationships in Roman public life and politics.

Marja-Leena Hänninen

MICHAEL DOBSON: *The Army of the Roman Republic. The Second Century BC, Polybius and the Camps at Numantia, Spain*. Oxbow Books, Oxford 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-88269-9. XII, 436 pp. GBP 40.

In his book, Michael Dobson approaches the Roman army of the Republic in the second century BC through the archaeological field work conducted in Numantia as well as through the works of Polybius. He aims to stimulate interest in the Roman Republican army through a reassessment of what happened at Numantia and Schulten's excavations. Much of Schulten's interpretation of Numantia is still part of the commonly accepted wisdom on the Roman Republican army.

The book is divided into four parts. The first presents Schulten's fieldwork conducted in Numantia from 1905 to 1912 with Dobson utilising even Schulten's century-old notes from the field. Schulten's work is held in high regard but it is evident that he often gave primacy to literary evidence over the archaeological record. The second part concerns itself with the structure of Roman armies of the period of the Numantine wars through a discussion of the information supplied by Polybius. This part is extremely useful in itself as an overview of the

state of modern scholarship concerning the Republican army of the second century BC. The third main section combines archaeological data with literary evidence (i.e. Polybius) in a judicious examination of the theoretical layout of camps of this period. Dobson presents three models for the Roman camp at different phases and argues, for example, that Polybius used Greek units of measurement in his account instead of Roman ones as is usually assumed. The fourth main part is a reconsideration of the archaeological evidence on Numantia, taking up 284 of the total of 436 pages in the book. The reconsideration offers many insights such as the author's reinterpretation of Scipio's circumvallation of Numantia.

The book is invaluable in not only carefully examining a phase where the late manipular army was giving way to the early cohort armies, but also because in addition it sheds an interesting light on the often difficult relationship between ancient history, as understood through literary evidence, and the archaeological evidence. This book is an important contribution towards a better understanding of the Republican Roman army.

Joonas Sipilä

SARA ELISE PHANG: *Roman Military Service. Ideologies of Discipline in the Late Republic and Early Principate*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-88269-9. XV, 336 pp. GBP 64.

Phang's book takes on an important subject, discipline in the Roman army. Discipline is one of the facets of the Roman army that is not very well understood and is subject to numerous popular myths, as Phang herself notes. The author first lays out the theoretical framework of the book, which draws on critical theory and especially the works of Weber, Althusser and Bourdieu, bringing such concepts as Bourdieu's *habitus* into the discussion, and succeeding in finding a fresh perspective to the issue. In the subsequent chapters she considers, through the framework presented in the beginning, the training of soldiers (Ch. 2), military culture (especially employing the concept of *habitus*) and the ever-intriguing question of military punishment. The fifth chapter considers military pay and donatives while chapter six takes a look at work as a form of discipline. The seventh chapter is about military dining and feasting and their relation to the ideology of *disciplina*.

The author is able to bring together an impressive collection of very disparate evidence and discuss it in a meaningful way. Especially her discussion on the role of work, *labor militaris*, as a means for imposing control and discipline in an army that did not use parade ground drill as a source of regimentation is well founded, and her discussion of donatives is also interesting.

To my mind the only major weakness of the book is the exclusion of a comprehensive discussion of the army in action. Fighting wars is the rationale for the existence of the army in the first place and discipline in the military sense is a critical force that enables the army to function in battle. Training, exercise and discipline were all primarily means to achieve success in battle. In this light the decision not to use battle narratives to examine systematically the functioning of discipline in the battlefield is odd. This also increases the author's dependence on the work of Vegetius. Reliance on this author is perhaps unavoidable, but the problem is further accentuated by the decision not to discuss the related source problems. As a result, and

despite the sound production and impeccable proofreading, the individual chapters, which in themselves are very good, do not quite succeed in forming a complete whole. However, despite its shortcomings Phang's book is a welcome contribution to our understanding of the important subject of discipline in the Roman army.

Joonas Sipilä

CARLOS F. NOREÑA: *Imperial Ideals in the Roman West. Representation, Circulation, Power*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-00508-2. XXII, 456 pp. GBP 65, USD 105.

The Roman empire and Roman imperialism are complex phenomena; this is reflected in the great number of publications aiming to analyse and understand the essential nature of Roman imperial ideology. Carlos F. Noreña has chosen to approach this fascinating topic by focusing on the figure of the Roman emperor as the only symbol of empire-wide scope who "could affect the distribution of social power in the Roman empire" (p. 24). Basing his study on two main sources of evidence, the coins and inscriptions that were produced in the western provinces of the Roman empire between 69 and 235 CE, the author discusses a restricted range of imperial ideals that defined the emperor as a moral *exemplum*, the focus being "on the mechanisms by which these ideals came to be diffused throughout the empire; and on the reasons why the circulation of these particular ideals helped to underpin the empire's steep social and political hierarchy" (pp. 1–2).

The book consists of an Introduction which outlines the scope of the book and the methods used, and of three main parts, which analyse respectively the three concepts listed in the subtitle: representation, circulation, and power.

In Part I ("Representation"), Noreña deals with the imperial ideals that were most widely used on coins as a means of building an official image of the emperor. Through a quantitative analysis of a sample of 185,561 coins, the author shows that the most frequently represented virtues associated with the emperor were *aequitas*, *pietas*, *virtus*, *liberalitas*, and *providentia*, which all contributed to create an ethical profile of a good Roman emperor (Chapter 2). These virtues were also advertised in practice through the representation of a number of concrete benefits that the emperor offered to the inhabitants of the whole empire, e. g., *victoria*, *felicitas*, *pax*, *concordia*, *fortuna*, and *salus* (Chapter 3).

Part II ("Circulation") contains a discussion of the diffusion of these imperial ideals in the Roman West. In Chapter 4, Noreña examines the mechanisms by which the ideals were disseminated, that is, through the use of coins which circulated and the erection of inscribed monuments which were of course immovable, both coins and inscriptions including honorific terminology associated with the emperor (a corpus of 575 Latin inscriptions has been assembled for this purpose). Chapter 5 discusses how local communities responded to the dissemination of imperial ideology. The quantitative comparison between coinage and epigraphic evidence shows a high degree of lexical and ideological correspondence between centre and periphery in the public representation of the Roman emperor.

Finally, the shorter Part III ("Power"), including Chapter 6, offers a summary of the main points discussed in the previous chapters as a support to the main argument of the book.

The representation and idealisation of the figure of the Roman emperor in terms and iconography that were shared by both the central state and local aristocracies served two main functions: a high degree of ideological unification of the western empire and a long-term reproduction of social power.

The book ends with a Bibliography preceded by a list of fifteen appendices, explaining the calculations behind the sets of coin percentages and cataloguing coins and inscriptions used as a source of evidence in the chapters.

As a whole, Noreña's work develops coherent arguments with the support of appropriate evidence and offers interesting insights into the nature and workings of slippery concepts such as ideology, power, propaganda, and the symbolism of social power. Although this monograph is dedicated to the Roman West of the first three centuries CE, Noreña's work provides the readership with ample material for further discussion of the same topic in the East and in Late Antiquity.

Margherita Carucci

ALAN CAMERON: *The Last Pagans of Rome*. Oxford University Press, Oxford – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-19-974727-6. XII, 878 pp. GBP 55.

Alan Cameron's *The Last Pagans of Rome* is the synthesis of more than forty years' scholarly work on late antique history, literature and religion, especially on the last phases of official Roman paganism and of Roman aristocrats in the fourth century. The central notion in the book is that this official Roman paganism, meaning "the formal apparatus of the state cults as administered by the various priestly colleges" (p. 3), did not continue after the fourth century. Nor did the Roman aristocrats form a passionate pagan stand against the prevailing Christianity.

Cameron's work is part of a long-lasting scholarly debate on the end of Roman paganism. According to the 'traditional' view explicated especially by Andreas Alföldi and Herbert Bloch after World War II, pagan aristocrats were united into a heroic and cultured resistance to the rising Christianity and even rose up in a final battle near the Frigidus River in AD 394.

Cameron is the foremost representative and one of the introducers of the 'new radical' view that refutes the idea of the last pagan resistance as a romantic myth. There neither was a pagan reaction in the military sense nor a pagan revival in the cultural sense.

The responses to *The Last Pagans* have for the most part been positive and complimentary. Peter Brown (*The New York Review of Books*, April 7, 2011) praises the book with vivacious words: "One puts down his book with gratitude and draws a deep breath. For it has enabled us to fill our lungs with an atmosphere rendered clean, at last, through the ruthless pruning of so many false certitudes". Dennis Trout (*CJ* 108, 2012) calls it "encyclopedic in its learning and relentless in its argument" and "a far more sober assessment" (than the traditional view), whereas Ulrich Lambrecht (*HistLit* 2011-2-208 in *H-Soz-u-Kult*, June, 2011, www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=33533) welcomes *The Last Pagans* as a work that questions the *communis opinio* set by Alföldi and others and brings forth more realistic notions of the relationship between paganism and Christianity. Aude Busine (*BMCR* 2011.12.35 bmc.brynmawr.edu/2011/2011-12-35.html) regards the book as "a masterpiece" and "a sharp and stimulating reassessment".

For Mark Vessey (*JAAR* 25, 2012), the foremost achievement of *The Last Pagans* is that "unburdened at last of the pagan classics", scholars are now better equipped to understand the literary history of Latin Late Antiquity. Edward Watts (*AHR* 116, 2011) appreciates "the great skill and erudition" but reminds us that the book is only about the last aristocratic pagans and thus does not reveal other segments of society. Éric Rebillard (*CW* 106, 2013) is somewhat more critical, remarking that Cameron is, "to some degree, captured by the very thesis he strives to refute". Mischa Meyer (*Sehepunkte* 12, 2012, www.sehepunkte.de/2012/12/19388.html) regards *The Last Pagans* as a "thesenfreudig", an audacious and provocative book, but appreciates Cameron's intellectual acumen.

The most critical reviewers are François Paschoud (*AntTard* 20, 2012) and Stéphane Ratti (*Polémiques entre païens et chrétiens*, 2012). Paschoud dedicates 30 pages and Ratti the epilogue of his book to contesting Cameron's interpretations. (On Ratti's book, see my review in *BMCR* 2012.05.44, bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2012/2012-05-44.html). For several years, Paschoud's and Cameron's diverging interpretations on late antique pagans, especially Nicomachus Flavianus and his *Annales*, have been spiced with some academic nitpicking. In his review, though admitting that Cameron is right in attacking the exaggerations in the portrayal of paganism and Christianity, Paschoud writes that Cameron "has something in common with *Pravda*, at best a messianic ambition" and "It would be a pity if, for the anglophones cooped up in their monoglot fortress, he were to become the Law and the Prophets". For his part, Cameron (p. 628) jibes at Paschoud who has compared his own role to that of an astronomer; Cameron just remarks that astrology would be a more appropriate analogy.

When starting to read *The Last Pagans*, my first impression was that Cameron's apologetic tone is rather exaggerated and some battles were being fought in old trenches. However, as the discussion roused by the book shows, this is not simply the case. Several reviewers postulate the traditional view of the pagan reaction and revival as the *communis opinio* which Cameron's 'new' and 'radical' interpretation contests. There is a certain irony in the terms 'new' and 'radical', since Cameron's interpretations have been challenging the traditional view for over forty years.

The traditional view tends to live on in modern scholarship and pops up in different forms especially in non-specialist text books, even though not as vigorously or persistently as Cameron himself implies (e.g., p. 74: "All modern accounts of Eugenius' usurpation assume that he was pro-pagan"; or p. 628: "There is indeed such a consensus, at any rate among European scholars, but it is the quality of the argument that counts, not the number of believers"). Which one is the *communis opinio* seems to vary according to academic surroundings and traditions.

In historical research, our elucidations are inexorably bound to our contemporary world and all our interpretation is ultimately self-interpretation. The notion of the last pagan stand was promoted by Alföldi, Bloch and others especially during and after World War II, in a world in which it was perhaps characteristic to construe pagan-Christian relations in the frames of dichotomy and conflict. Our 'post-modern' way of outlining the world in its complexity is probably more multifaceted and nuanced than many interpretations immediately after the war. Furthermore, there are now more abundant and manifold sources available for late antique studies than before. Now, as Brown also remarks in his review, *The Last Pagans* is a book of a generation, that is, the post-postwar generation that set out to counter the dichotomies of the preceding generations. In their own way, even classicists were on the barricades in the 1960s!

The time-bound self-interpretation in Cameron's book can be seen in its systematic reassessment of the Christianization of Rome that the preceding generation of scholars had seen in terms of conflict and suppression.

Why then is the last pagan stand so persistent even today? Here I (of course) refer to the dichotomous and conflictual image of the pagan reaction that continues to attract scholars. One of the answers might be the fact that the melodrama of the last battle is neat and simple enough to be outlined. A high drama with heroes and resistance tends to be more captivating than not-so-exciting every-day nuisances with economic and social issues (such as who is paying for the performance of rituals and who spends the revenues earned by temples). "Center-Christians" and "center-pagans" whom Cameron posits in the middle of his five overlapping categories (pp. 176–77) just cannot raise as much fascination as the 'committed' categories. (For the attraction of melodramas, see also L. Lavan, "The End of Temples: Towards a New Narrative?", in *The Archaeology of Late Antique 'Paganism'*, eds. L. Lavan – M. Mulryan, Leiden 2011, xv–lxv: lv–lvi). In Christian literary sources, the committed or rigorist writers made much noise and it is this noise that has mostly influenced the scholarly tendency to see Christianization in conflictual terms. Obviously, the day-to-day social life filled with negotiations and compromises was more complex than the so-called Church Fathers intended.

Cameron proceeds with his re-evaluation in different fields, among them, terminology (Ch. 1); imperial policies and legislation (Ch. 2); priesthoods, initiations and dedications (Ch. 4); pagan converts (Ch. 5); poems against pagans (Ch. 9), including the so-called *Carmen contra paganos* (Ch. 8); late antique literature (Ch. 6) and literary life (Ch. 10–11), especially Macrobius' *Saturnalia* (Ch. 7); late antique historiography (Ch. 17–18), including the hottest potato in historiographical research, *Historia Augusta*; sarcophagi, ivory diptychs and con-torniates (Ch. 19); as well as the subscriptions of manuscripts (Ch. 12–13). Each of the 20 chapters and even each paragraph in *The Last Pagans* is so condensed and heavily loaded with argument that the text must be digested with time and care. The text is occasionally flavoured with illustrative and entertaining analogies from modern phenomena (and even popular culture), sarcastic remarks on opposing views, vivid rhetorical images such as "the arrogant, philistine land-grabbers" (p. 3) and proverbial asides such as Roman paganism petering out "with a whimper rather than a bang" (p. 12).

My favourite is Chapter 3, "The Frigidus", in which Cameron step by step uncovers how the usurpation by Arbogast and Eugenius was construed as a religious war in later Christian accounts (Rufinus, Augustine, Sozomen, Theodoret). (The construction of the pagan-Christian conflict has also been analysed by M. R. Salzman, "Ambrose and the Usurpation of Arbogastes and Eugenius: Reflections on Pagan-Christian Conflict Narratives", *JECS* 18 [2010] 191–223). As Cameron remarks, "all these accounts are stylized in ways that call into question their claim to be considered historical narratives at all in the modern sense" (p. 94), since their function is theological rather than historical.

In Chapters 10 and 11, "The Real Circle of Symmachus" and "The 'Pagan' Literary Revival", Cameron sets the pagan aristocrats and their pastimes into the proper wider context of late antique literary life. It is more appropriate to speak of 'classical', 'secular', or 'mythological' rather than 'pagan' culture. For the late antique elites, this culture had above all a social function. Classical culture was shared by all educated people – pagans and Christians alike. For the elite, "it was the only culture there was" (p. 398). In discussing the revival of Latin literature in the fourth century, Cameron demonstrates that this revival neither had anything

to do with paganism nor with Roman aristocrats: it began long before the late fourth century and flourished in many different areas around the Empire. This clearly questions the traditional view that interpreted it as a pagan revival, associating it with pagan aristocrats. A similar acute contextualization is done in Chapter 16 to the Vergil commentators, as Cameron analyses the tradition of Vergil commentaries and the polemic on Vergil during the early Empire, showing that the doctrine of Vergilian infallibility goes back long before pagan readers of Vergil may have known about Christian ideas on the infallibility of the Bible as a source of religious truth.

Cameron's approach can be characterized as what might be called minimalistic. If there is no evidence, there is no need to build hypothetical constructions of the pagan reaction or revival. Therefore, it is difficult to find solid support for theories such as the doctrine of the pagan conspiracy of silence. Silence there certainly is ("Silence is deafening enough", in Cameron's words, p. 256). It is probable that some writers occasionally avoided mentioning Christianity or spoke of Christians in a circumlocutionary way. However, if some late antique grammarians, orators, poets or historians never mention Christianity, it is not because of a conspiracy of silence. Similarly, it is hard to verify covert polemic. Cameron goes against the assumptions according to which a writer is pagan, therefore he must be hostile to Christianity, therefore he belongs to a pagan circle, therefore his writings are hidden polemic, and so forth. Because polemic is concealed, it cannot be uncovered. Minimalistic restraint is also seen in Cameron's discussion on the *Annales* of Nicomachus Flavianus (Ch. 17). All evidence we have is the word *annales* in *CIL* VI 1783. All we know therefore is that he wrote a history but no text and not even fragments survive. I find this sort of minimalism sensible: even though it is sometimes hard to accept, the fact is that sources are ultimately the only thing we have.

"A less grandiose explanation will suffice", Cameron writes (p. 205) when dismantling the famous inscription of Nicomachus Flavianus of the superfluous mythology attached to it (*CIL* VI 1783; not 1782 as indicated on p. 200, n. 129). This sentence describes the argumentation of the entire book: less grandiose explanations will suffice. Cameron is consistent in his refutation of over-interpretation of late antique sources, and his argumentation is to a large extent based on demolishing the opposing arguments. This kind of argumentation is unavoidably negative. As Cameron himself admits at the very end of his book (p. 801), "much of the argument ... has been negative" in the sense that there was no pagan revival, no pagan party, and so forth. However, what emerges as a "positive" outcome of the merciless deconstruction of romantic myths is setting more sensible proportions to pagan-Christian relations (for instance, in the case of the often overpublicized controversy of the Altar of Victory, see esp. pp. 38–40) and opening up a more complex and nuanced view of Late Antiquity. This does not imply that there was no resentment, hatred or even struggle in late Roman society. There were much bitterness and animosity in pagan circles in the East.

As Cameron stresses, his research is limited to the aristocrats of Rome and to official Roman paganism, that is, the state cults performed by priestly colleges. This inevitably is only a narrow glimpse of late pagan religiosity in Rome and, therefore, the book might be better titled "The Last Aristocratic Pagans of Rome". Indeed, *The Last Pagans* does not purport to portray the whole picture of late antique paganism, for example, covering other segments of late Roman society or other regions of the Empire in which various forms of religion and traditions lived on. Cameron (p. 784) is correct in remarking how problematic the complaints of Christian bishops on the continuing threat of paganism in their areas are. In these cases we have only the perspective of Christian leaders who were inclined to interpret every practice

and belief that deviated from their own as paganism (or alternatively, as heresy or magic). The experiences of the ordinary people escape us.

Cameron (p. 131) applies the metaphor of organism to paganism that (he states) was dying a natural death and was mortally ill even before Emperor Theodosius' coercive legislation in the late fourth century. However, the reports of the death of paganism may be greatly exaggerated. Speaking metaphorically, we could alternatively see this organism in a process of metamorphosis instead of being terminally ill. Archaeological evidence shows the continuity of local religiosity, and this is also true of Rome and its surroundings. For instance, in the case of Ostia, as Douglas Boin ("A Late Antique Statuary Collection at Ostia's Sanctuary of Magna Mater and New Evidence for the Visibility of Late Roman 'Religion'", *PBSR* 81, 2013) writes, "the strength of this visible tradition can be appreciated without an appeal to any purported Late Antique 'pagan revival'". *The Last Pagans* has already produced lively discussions and reappraisals in which Cameron's ideas are either reassessed, challenged or developed further, especially in the conferences organized by Rita Lizzi Testa, Marianne Saghy and Michele R. Salzman, held in Rome (2013) and Budapest (2014), the proceedings of both of which are forthcoming. The story of the last pagans is to be continued.

Maijastina Kahlos

SAROLTA ANNA TAKÁCS: *The Construction of Authority in Ancient Rome and Byzantium: The Rhetoric of Empire*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009. 978-0-5218-7865-4. 192 pp. EUR 60, GBP 40.

Takács' splendid and streamlined volume, now some years old, could with equal justification have been subtitled "The Empire of Rhetoric". The intensity with which rhetorics permeated the elite culture of much of Greco-Roman antiquity is, one may argue, something that can appear particularly foreign for modern mind, conditioned as it is by the traumatic circumstances of the past century to distrust most explicit forms of rhetorical persuasion. In fact Takács alludes to these factors in her Introduction, before setting out with great clarity her mission in this monograph: to mount an examination – designed for non-specialists – of Roman and Byzantine discourses on power, virtue, and the legitimisation of autocracy. The study is structured around four discrete chronological scenarios: the Late Republic until Caesar; from Augustus to the Antonines; the Christianised/-ising empire; and the Late Antique reception of earlier themes both in the Eastern Roman Empire and the Carolingian realm.

Chapter 1 ("Republican Rome's Rhetorical Pattern of Political Authority") sets off from quite a conventional point of embarkation: the Scipios and their projection of the *virtus* of Roman elite males (4–7, 16–24). As the Republican system became increasingly derailed by personal ambitions of the elite, as well as systemic handicaps, the 'rhetoric of the empire' increasingly developed into a moralising register of historiography, exemplified by Sallust. Like Sallust, other *homines novi* (Cato the Elder, Cicero) too seem to exhibit the strongest obsession with the *mores maiorum* (as well as being much occupied with 'Romanness', each in their own way), and Takács explains this dynamic very arrestingly (e.g. 24–32). She moreover demonstrates well how the nascent autocrats' appropriation of the discourse of moral excellence deprived the rest of the Roman elite males from their accustomed elements for self-promotion;

her formulation of the emperor as "the living, symbolic reality of Rome's behavioural code" (8) is particularly memorable. The chapter is rounded up with a stimulating section on Caesar's appropriation and adaptation of earlier Republican motives, especially the ideological complex around the title *pater patriae* (33–39).

Caesar's adoptive son is a natural subject for the early parts of Chapter 2: the Augustan ideological programme is not only well researched, but also shaped the whole institution that later developed into the 'office' of the Emperor. Reinforcing the inherited rhetoric of power was an important part of Augustus' agenda, and he took great pains to mask his autocracy – all the while buttressing his position by symbolic means. Classical reception and the *longue durée* of the Greco-Roman tradition are afforded some space in the section on Horace's *dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* rhetoric. The next chronological focal point is the period of Nero and Vespasian, with the first severely challenged and militarily resolved change of the ruling dynasty. In Takács' interpretation, with Nero there perished a heavy-handed and premature endeavour to dispense with some of the rhetorics of power as inherited from Augustus (55–62). The Flavian programme of *restitutio*, reasserting the imperial moral power and the dynasty's military providentiality, had to again rhetorically highlight the traditional conception of *virtus*, only to be largely undone by Domitian's bad rapport with the senatorial elite. If the Flavians had emphasised the 'Emperor as Father' ideology (cf. 72; though surely this would have been more effective with Vespasian, already advanced in years, than with his sons?), it was Trajan who brought to full fruition the associations of the emperor with Jupiter (73–80). The chapter is rounded off with a brief section on the reputation of Commodus and its enduring moral implications – as exemplified by the Hollywood movie *Gladiator* (2000).

Chapter 3 ("Appropriation of a Pattern") shifts the focus on the later Imperial rhetorics of power, and the applications of the *restitutio* ideology for the glorification of current rulers or their dynasties. The Severan Juliae and their posturing as a *mater patriae* receive a brief but fine analysis, as does the penchant of the emerging dominate of Diocletian for emphasising even more the apical position of the emperor and ridding it from the fiction that Augustus had concocted. The ideological endeavour of Diocletian and his colleagues, like several earlier morally articulated programmes of *renovatio*, necessitated a substandard outgroup, which in this case was provided by Christianity. In the context of the subsequent cessation of pressure upon Christians under Constantine, the open-endedness, ambiguity and utilitarianism of the emperor's stance is usefully highlighted by Takács (94–99). Constantine's successors, however, fell back into the older pattern of the emperor's moral excellence – this time earning him the providential favour of the Christian God – legitimating his rule (99), but without the emperor attempting to usurp the position of a 'Father' (apart from Julian: 100–7). From the Christians' new position as the imperial ingroup responsible for the empire, there arose the need for a figure who would create a new framework for Christians wielding power – and though Takács mostly focuses on Augustine (107–12), other bishops such as Ambrose were engaged in a broadly similar negotiation of roles. Claudian is taken up as a case study for the classicising treatment of the Roman virtues and imperial providentiality.

This classicising reception of the earlier rhetorics of power is a good subject to carry over the shift to Chapter 4 ("The Power of Rhetoric"), which covers quite varied chronological, cultural and political contexts that nonetheless are linked in different ways with the inherited elements of the earlier discourse on imperial providentiality, and the joining of these with Christian rhetorics. Justinian, "the prohibitive father" (122), and his somewhat anachronistic

programme of *renovatio* is a striking example of this "cultural and intellectual compromise" (120). Notably, the foreword of Justinian's *Institutes* includes both the mention of Christ, a litany of honorific adjectives essentially deriving all the way back from the Republic, and an allusive echo of Vergil *Aen.* 6,851–53. Regarding the demise of Phocas and the ascent of Heraclius, Takács observes quite brilliantly that (like in so many cases of earlier imperial changes of dynasties, e.g. the Flavians and Severans), it was the periphery that injected back into the faltering centre the traditional and defining values (127f.) and restores the *status quo ante*; echoes of Domitian and Trajan as portrayed in Pliny's *Panegyricus* invite comparison. The religious and moral overtones in Heraclius' conflict with Persia are also well treated, though now Glen Bowersock (*Empires in Collision in Late Antiquity*, 2012) should also be consulted. The following short detour in the Carolingian west (134–39) seems abrupt, but is certainly thought-provoking, especially if studied with the last section regarding the motifs of divine providentiality and virtuous rulership in Greco-Frankish and Greco-Bulgarian relations.

If Takács' book does not endeavour to challenge all scholarly simplifications or schematisations, it should be remembered that it nowhere promises to do so in the first place. The book's literary style and its division of the subject matter invite favourable comparisons with such classicists-turned-essayists as Daniel Mendelsohn and Anne Carson. The flow of the prose carries the argument beautifully, with occasional touches of almost Symean irony. The footnotes are sparse but always well structured and pertinent (another factor reminiscent of Syme), and much the same can be said of the Bibliography. Some omissions are striking, however: for example, one would have expected some engagement with McCormick's *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (1986), and Ando's *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (2000). But in a work aimed at a general interested readership, these omissions and others like them are not so much a defect as a conscious and judicious way to keep this attractive and useful book approachable and slim, as well.

Antti Lampinen

LESLIE BRUBAKER – JOHN HALDON: *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era c. 680–850. A History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-43093-7. 980 pp. GBP 100, USD 165.

In recent years, we have seen numerous multidisciplinary studies on Medieval Mediterranean history. Yet, the iconoclast era of Byzantium has not attracted a significant amount of interdisciplinary research. This comprehensive joint publication by the Byzantine scholars Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon aims to fill this gap. The volume sets an ambitious goal for itself (to say the least) by claiming to challenge a number of conventional views on iconoclasm. Essentially, this means a notable deconstruction of the triumphant iconophile view of iconoclasm. The main argument of the book is that iconoclasm was not as significant a phenomenon as both the iconophiles and the previous modern scholarship have presented. Throughout the book, critical reading of a wide range of sources from texts to visual and material sources of various types is granted a pivotal position.

In addition to the introduction and the concluding 12th chapter, the book entails eleven chapters. The chapters can be divided into two groups: the five opening chapters provide a

historical overview while the remaining chapters are categorised thematically. The historical chapters underline the significance of the official and imperial actions regarding the implementation of iconoclasm and the transformation of the Byzantine Empire. A reader might think that the authors somewhat neglect the unofficial aspects of iconoclasm, but the authors' view that imperial politics had a major role in both sides of iconoclasm is argued in detail and mostly convincingly. The discussion of Leo III is exceptionally interesting, as he is shown to have been less of an iconoclast than what is normally thought. The thematic chapters emphasise especially the socio-economic, political and administrative contexts of iconoclasm. Indeed, the book is actually at least as much about Byzantium in the iconoclast era as it is about iconoclasm itself (hence the title). In the final chapter, the representational aspects of iconoclasm are discussed together with the seminal issues of what iconoclasm was about, and why the phenomenon existed at all.

From relatively minor issues such as the dating of individual sources to wider challenges such as the influence of the rise of Islam on iconoclasm, the authors' different fields of expertise successfully complement each other. However, as the authors freely admit (p. 7), some topics are granted more limited attention. For example, the authors do not really focus on literature. Despite the complexity of the subject matter, the authors manage to write in an academically uncompromising yet notably reader-friendly style. The book does demand a decent amount of previous knowledge of the subject, but does not exclude readers who are not specialised in the iconoclastic era of Byzantium. Another laudable feature of the book is the substantial and most useful bibliography (pp. 815–906). Some points of criticism regarding editorial choices can, however, be mentioned. As a very minor annoyance, the footnotes are not always justified. A more unfortunate aspect of the book is the decision to quote the original texts of the written sources very sparingly. The praiseworthy critical reading of the sources would have been even more praiseworthy had the Greek more often been made visible in order to further convince the reader. Another slight weakness of the book is the relatively frequent use of hedges. Nevertheless, the merits of the volume easily transcend the rare points of complaint. *Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era* is a genuinely major contribution to the field of Byzantine studies and an absolutely must-read. Whether a reader agrees with all of the presented arguments is questionable, but scholars and students interested in iconoclasm and Byzantine history cannot afford to ignore this volume. Thus, the book is likely to encourage future contributions to the field.

Kalle Knaapi

PAGE DUBOIS: *Out of Athens. The New Ancient Greeks*. Harvard University Press, Cambridge Mass. – London 2010. ISBN 978-0674035584. X, 236 pp. EUR 25, GBP 20.

Page duBois has already established herself as one of the most nimble appliers of new theoretical frameworks into the study of classics, operating with a wide and stimulating selection of interpretative paradigms from postcolonial studies and Butlerian feminism to globalization theory and Vernantian comparative anthropology. Her *Out of Athens*, a wide-ranging, open-ended exploration of classical and post-classical modalities in nine case studies, is bound together by duBois' carefully chosen but cleverly oblique viewpoints and her uncompromising drive to jettison scholarly myths wherever they are encountered. Likewise, duBois is remark-

ably deft in regulating her interdisciplinary theoretical tools: no cover-all explanations are entertained, and critical voices are almost always taken into account and used to modulate the argument. Occasionally, the writer's self-conscious preoccupation with unearthing elements declared 'strange' (57), 'subversive/transgressive' (70) or 'weird' (28) may, however, be counterproductive to the overall effect of her study, as they are likely to project modern dispositions into the ancient context.

The Prologue of the book is a treat in itself – only rarely does one encounter as stimulatingly multi-faceted and theoretically daring an introduction in a classicist's contribution – and it all gets even better. Chapter 2 ("Spartacus") explores the legendary rebel's polysemic reception history. Covered are such intriguing themes as the connection between slave revolts and Dionysiac elements, possible feelings in such rebels of moving into a 'new present' by creating their own exempla, and Hollywood representations of authoritarian rulership. Alain Badiou, Homi Bhabha and Brent Shaw provide the scholarly underpinnings of the chapter, though the overall effect is closer to an essay than an actual case study. Chapter 3, "Sappho between Africa and Asia", presents a more conventional motif-study of some of the fragments of the poetess, augmented by Indo-Iranian and Egyptian parallels. Although the declared aim of exploring heterotologies is carried through, and the stratified, constantly renegotiated nature of Sappho's reception is well brought across, occasionally the reasoning borders on forced. Even so, the vistas no longer simply extend from Lesbos to modernity and the West, but also into the past and the East - or, in other words, to M. L. West.

Chapter 4, "The Tattoos of Epimenides", examines characters who might have purposefully sought unnaturalness or transgression – essentially a corporeal aspect of Foucaultian heterotology. DuBois is probably quite correct in focusing on the sense of numinosity that in antiquity seems to have been linked with the teratological or the freakish; the difference in sentiment from the Early Modern parallels would appear quite consistent, and accordingly duBois treads with some care around the 'magical freaks' (60). Epimenides, the ostensibly 'marginal' tattooed Cretan who nonetheless was regarded as a great purifier of cities and a founder of temples, is an apt figure to structure this chapter around – though the repetitive stressing of his freakishness (cf. 70) is in danger, ironically enough, of alienating the reader. This will only last until the next chapter "Slaves in the Tragic City" (Chapter 5), however, as duBois deftly negotiates the half-written margins of the 'dramatic' *polis*. She discusses very well the modes through which drama in its original context modulated the individualistic 'tragic hero' – an interpretation she quite correctly (drawing from J.-P. Vernant) derives from Aristotle, the first of the culturally detached manipulators of the image of classical drama – whereas via its modern reception 'Greek drama' has largely emerged as an empty signifier or cliché of representation. DuBois seems to envision a remedy that borrows from the Nietzschean conception of the 'Dionysiac' (75), although she finds more congenial help from Judith Butler.

Slaves are also met in Chapter 6, "Alexandrias", devoted to the multicultural Hellenistic foundations and the effect such an environment had on distinctions between ethnic and social groups. In particular, duBois' point about the dichotomy slave/free becoming a possible 'displaced sign' for all difference is worthwhile. On the other hand, the Hellenistic popularity of physiognomic treatises would point to the possibility of outward categorisations and even ethnic slurs having a prominent place, too – much as happened in the Roman Empire during the second and third centuries, when physiognomic handbooks were ostensibly quite popular among orators. It is certainly useful to bring nuances to the familiar refrain of Hellenistic 'uni-

versalism' and a Momigliano-inspired perception of a post-Alexander appreciation of 'alien wisdom'. DuBois convincingly interprets Herondean and Theocritean *ekphraseis* as examples of a very colonialist-sounding preoccupation with describing and regulating difference. In both these cases and in the Alexandrian mimes there is also incorporated a clear aim of describing the low to the members of the elite – an elite that may have become not only empowered by the monarchic systems, but also more self-conscious when engaged in defending the new mixed communities from clear outsiders, such as the Galatians. The other, less famous Alexandrias constitute something of an afterthought in the chapter, but the treatment does enrich the whole, with the more precarious but less hegemonistic Greeks of the eastern communities providing a welcome counterpoint to the epistemically dominating Egyptian cosmopolis.

From cosmopolis to doulopolis, "Histories of the Impossible" (Chapter 7) is linked with the utopianism of slave revolts already examined briefly in Chapter 2; the focus is upon Hellenistic Asia Minor, where the previously oxymoronic concept of 'city of slaves' seemed on occasion closer to reality than Aristotle, for instance, would ever have countenanced. Here, as so often, the search for heterotologies is faced with challenges posed by the narratives of hegemonic historiography, though both share a desire to alter reality by manipulation of language (cf. 117). 20th-century scholarship is engaged with to great heuristic benefit, as it is throughout the work, though duBois' own remarkable expertise regarding perceptions of slavery (see *Slaves and Other Objects*, 2003) get perhaps slightly mired in the process. The next chapter (8, "Jesus and Other Jews"), on the other hand, endeavours to remedy a perceived lack of scholarly engagement – or to be more precise, an artificially maintained and theoretically unjustifiable division between classical and Christian subjects. This is, of course, a long overdue correction, and one which duBois approaches from the relatively untrodden direction of bodily markings, physical punishment, and slavery. The cross-fertilisation yields very worthwhile results in this case, too. The following comparative treatment of the topical similarities between Jesus, itinerant holy men and magicians, Dionysus, and Socrates are rather more familiar from modern scholarship, but engagingly and stimulatingly presented.

Chapter 9 ("The Persistence of Oedipus") is again firmly engaged with reception studies, with duBois emphasising the layers of meaning that have accrued to the figure of a tragic king so favoured (indeed, reinvented) by psychoanalytic theories. Heavy on modern theorists of several fields – with the novelist Simenon thrown in for good measure – the chapter nonetheless makes very instructive reading to any classicists. Even more so is the last chapter, "Twenty-first-Century High Theory and the Classics", an impressive closure to the book. Some of the disparate strains from the previous chapters are brought together, among them the reception of drama, psychoanalysts' mining of the classical past; furthermore, much of the modern scholarship taken up is already familiar from the preceding treatment.

Out of Athens is possibly the most articulate contribution since *Classics in Progress* (ed. T. P. Wiseman, 2002) concerning the possibilities and challenges faced by Classical Studies as the field enters the 21st century. Apart from what has been singled out above, of particular heuristic value are duBois' rejection of the 'arboreal' model of classicist scholarship in favour of a 'rhizomic' one, and her emphasis on comparison between cultures and societies as a valid tool when used judiciously. She appreciates 'contamination' of texts, ideas and social *staseis* for the new perspectives that they engender, and there can hardly be found a better illustration of the value of studying these 'contaminations' than this book. What duBois achieves in *Out of Athens* is the demonstration that the fragmentary and the implied, when drawn from cleverly reading

the margins of antiquity and diagonal or tangential to the hegemonic narratives of the time, can provide insights that could never be obtained by rehearsing the established viewpoints of classical studies. Indeed, one might observe that the (only ephemerally) spotless white dust jacket of the hardback edition under review seems almost designed to act as parable for the inevitable, instructive, and highly beneficent 'contamination' of any lingering notions of 'white antiquity'. Carried along for a prolonged period of time, both the dust jacket and the classical reception have become adorned by fascinating tints.

Antti Lampinen

HYUN JIN KIM: *Ethnicity and Foreigners in Ancient Greece and China*. Duckworth, London 2009. ISBN 978-0-7156-3807-1. VI, 217 pp. EUR 60.

It is in no way surprising that Sino-Hellenic studies have exhibited a notable surge in recent years: no doubt this reflects a combination of real-life circumstances with the increasing openness of classical studies to methodological cross-fertilisation. Indeed, the recent review article by Tanner (*JHS* 129 [2009]) demonstrates well the advantages of a properly conducted comparative approach in the study of China and Greece, even as it shows how little favour the method in general has enjoyed among the classicists. One likely reason is the extensive knowledge of two entirely independent traditions that is required from a scholar embarking on such a study. It is, then, quite understandable that this contribution by Kim, focusing upon historiography and ethnography, makes no assumptions about the readers' background knowledge about the early Chinese dynasties and literature. Another explanation for the dearth of comparative studies may derive from the notional exceptionalism of classical antiquity (in the West), which may have appeared to many previous generations as barely conducive to comparisons with other traditions. A similar mentality may have held sway among students of Chinese classics.

In terms of original cultural particularism – in opposition to its inherited forms – however, the epistemic appeal of comparing the Sinocentric and Hellenocentric worldviews is quite obvious: both Chinese and Greco-Roman cultures entertained strong and theoretically buttressed notions of both moral and spatial centrality, and in both cultural traditions the formal constraints of literary traditionalism tended to create an 'ethnographic stasis' with very little testing against the anthropological realities in the field. During the classical period in Greece, Kim's primary chronological focus, writers' stylistic dependency from and reverence towards their predecessors was perhaps less pronounced than during later periods, and hence might be argued to contrast quite strongly with the mellow quality of any criticism directed at their precursors by the Chinese litterati. Antiquarianism, though subsequently a strong formative influence within both Chinese and Greco-Roman ethnographic and historiographic traditions, is treated only in passing by Kim; even so, texts such as the *Huainanzi* and the *Shanhaijing* clearly formed an already established pool of quasi-ethnographic knowledge which Sima Qian had to negotiate with (88–94).

The sections dealing with Greeks and their ethnocentricity in Chapters 1 to 3 are dependable but rather predictable, and are mainly designed to contextualise Herodotus' worldview; one supposes that a specialist in Sima Qian might say the same regarding the Chinese sections of the same chapters. But even if both writers are eminently 'classical' in terms of their

reception and influence, it may be questioned if either represent accurately their respective contexts. Another matter is the question whether Greek and Chinese worldviews during the relevant periodisation are, in fact, systemically very amenable to comparison. *Shiji*, especially, is written from the confident position of the Han Empire and projects to the past many of its perceptions of exceptionality and centrality. If we had fuller sources into Achaemenid perceptions of ethno-cultural difference, it might well emerge that a very fruitful comparison could be mounted between the Persian Empire and Han (or possibly Tang) China. What we have are vestiges of Near Eastern 'imperialistic' particularism, and as Burkert, West and others have demonstrated, Near Eastern thinking must have affected early Greek thought. On the level of individual authors, one is currently left wondering about the potentially interesting results in comparatively juxtaposing Sima, with his subtle critique of past rulers, moralising discourse on imperial expansion, and ambiguous treatment of barbarians, with Tacitus rather than Herodotus. Although the two (or three) writers all demonstrate how regular a choice the ethnographical mode has been for authors involved with debates on power, autocracy, and freedom, one may question whether the pairing of Herodotus and Sima Qian is actually the most natural one for comparison. Shankman – Durrant 2000, for instance, focused upon Thucydides and Sima Qian.

The field of Sino-Hellenic studies is an expanding one: since 1982 it has enjoyed the support of the international journal *Extrême-Orient, Extrême-Occident*. Kim's work can also be compared with two quite recent contributions to 'comparative barbarology'; namely, the *Enemies of Civilization* by Mu-chou Poo (State University of New York Press, 2005) and the accomplished article of Stuurman 2008 ("Herodotus and Sima Qian", *JWH* 19) on Herodotus, Sima Qian and the 'anthropological turn' of historiography. The latter, in particular, represents the comparative study of the respective 'Fathers of History', which seems to have grown into a modest industry in its own right. Quite understandably so: the two historians seem to offer an attractive point of entry to the study of ethnographical historiography, and Kim justifies his choice well (4–7). The conclusions of Kim's Chapter 4 ("Herodotus and Sima Qian") conform quite well with those of Stuurman, though generally he is perhaps less nuanced and open to recognising ambiguity within his sources. Both agree that Sima's *Shiji* exhibits less prominent cultural relativism – and more ethnocentrism – than Herodotus (Kim 93; cf. Stuurman 13, 39), though one should also note that *Shiji* is not written, unlike *Histories*, for the explicit aim of preserving the great accomplishments of both insiders and outsiders. For cultural relativism, it seems that the *Huainanzi*, influenced as it was by Taoist thinking, provides the clearest exemplars (88). It might be quite fascinating for a Sino-Hellenic specialist to mount a study comparing Stoic and Taoist opinions on cultural relativism and universalism.

Kim's Chapter 5 aims to contribute to the voluminous field of studies on Herodotus' *Skythikos logos* by comparative readings from Chinese sources (mainly Sima's *Shiji* and the collaborative work *Qian Hanshu*) on the Xiongnu, arranged to a large extent thematically. What emerges as a clear difference between the cultural environs of Han China and classical Greece is the lack of sedentary urban societies of comparable complexity in the East, as Kim correctly notes (115–24; sedentary rivals are treated in Chapter 6). Hence, it would appear that in response to the slightly differing set of questions that arose in their context, the Greeks were required to develop a more nuanced theory of civilisation. Even the nomadic peoples to the north, a constant feature for both China and Greece, were treated in slightly different ways – though this may be due to their more frequent intrusions into the Chinese heartland.

For the Greeks, they appeared to be a less immediate threat, though theoretically intriguing, as attested both by Herodotus and the Hippocratic *Airs, Waters, Places*. It may be noted that Kim expresses quite a lot of scepticism towards the Hartogian reading of Herodotus' Scythians (113–15), not all of it justified by the simple expediency of buttressing Kim's own comparison between the broadly coeval Xiongnu and Scythian societies.

Even as it was quite easy for the Chinese to project into international relations the Confucian notion of filial piety that younger siblings or children owed to their elders, the Greeks of the classical era would have found themselves in the unflattering circumstance of being those youngsters, even if such a mentality had prevailed among them (cf. Kim 45–9, 55–8). But while this mentality probably did not prevail, the technique of explaining differences between Greeks and Chinese by differing mentalities or cultural analogies (criticised by G. E. R. Lloyd) does constantly loom within works of this comparative type. It is more conducive and less essentialist to rather focus upon explaining the differences. In a very interesting section Kim notes that a decisive (and dismissive) polarisation between the *Huaxia* and 'barbarian nations' arose in China only after most of the surrounding societies had been conquered (64). So while the Greek exacerbation of intergroup perceptions stemmed from an outgroup threat, the corresponding phenomenon during the Zhou dynasty (or possibly a back-projection under the Han dynasty) had more to do with a lessening of outsider threats. His observations about the notion of barbarians 'becoming *Huaxia*' through corrective acculturation are also instructive and this tied into the discourse on ideal rulership in a way that saw full-fledged parallels in the West only during the Roman Imperial period, though the possibility of barbarians 'becoming Hellenes' was already recognised in some Hellenistic thinking. As implied by Stuurman (2009, 2, 24), the focus of Chinese literature was that of an empire looking outward, whereas for the Greeks of the classical era the empire was the enemy.

What, then, can Kim's comparison of Chinese and Greek material tell us about xenological writing? The danger of postulating a kind of 'Axial Age' of literature is present, though luckily avoided in this particular contribution. Neither historiography nor geography, the principal registers through which Greek description of foreign peoples was propagated developed along identical lines in China, and hence there are clear differences in the literary modalities involved. Structurally, however, some striking similarities emerge. Moralising evaluations of the strange customs of foreign groups are common and often topical. Since ingroup bias as an almost universal factor in intergroup relations has been reasonably demonstrated, the final import of a comparative study in this vein, however, will certainly stem from debunking the possibly lingering scholarly presuppositions of exceptional or teleological qualities in any cultural process of ancient civilisations.

Antti Lampinen

JORGE LÓPEZ QUIROGA: *Gentes Barbarae. Los Bárbaros, entre el mito y la realidad*. Antigüedad y cristianismo 25. Universidad de Murcia, Murcia 2011. ISSN 0214-7165. 303 pp. EUR 40.

Ancient ethnography – i.e., both the barbarians inhabiting the confines of Greco-Roman literature and those who actually led lives in diverse parts of the classical world – is something of a fashionable topic at the moment. This has become evident from a veritable deluge of recent

studies, rivalling in scope and determination the fabled oceanic inundations that some ancient writers believed to have set in motion the wanderings of suspiciously diverse northern groups. No doubt the drive to better understand the peoples called 'barbarians' by Greeks and Romans is part of the more general, by now no longer particularly recent, wish to construct less biased narratives for those on behalf of whom the classical urban patriarchy originally volunteered for this task. This 'new barbarology' accommodates a wide variety of approaches from studying the form of the narratives themselves to actually reaching, where possible, towards the ostensible objects of those narratives; thus, its subjects range from the portrayal of barbarians in literary works and physical works of art to archaeologically documented non-classical cultures, in connection with whom the use of the term 'barbarian' is perhaps less easy to justify.

Aware of the great intellectual activity currently taking place throughout this broad field, a reader will thus no doubt be eager to peruse the recent Spanish contribution for the subject of barbarians, the monograph of Jorge López Quiroga. The title itself is inviting, promising a balance between the extremes of *mito* and *realidad*. As comes clear from the Contents, the book is mostly concerned with Late Antique contexts, with 'ethnicity' and 'ethnogenesis' and their relation to realities being afforded the pride of place. The interpretational paradigm of 'ethnogenesis' has been making waves in the field of Late Antique barbarian studies for a couple of decades now: practically ever since the original contribution by Wenskus (*Stammesbildung und Verfassung*, 1961) began to be paraphrased and adapted into more accessible forms. In its basic form, the theory imagined political or professional groups of Late Antiquity coalescing into something more 'ethnic' under their leaders and the constructed, identity-building historical narratives these leaders emphasised. While there is much to recommend this complex of theories in the context of Late Imperial 'barbarian' *regna*, it has subsequently been headily applied in contexts where we have in fact no independent sources to the forms of the barbarian identity-building (such as Karl Strobel on the Galatians). Moreover, the latent assumptions and occasionally misplaced emphasis of many ethnogenesis theories have come under reassessment and critique, for which Gillett (ed., *On Barbarian Identity*, 2002) is a useful starting point.

Chapter 1 is mostly occupied with reviewing previous scholarship and giving brief accounts of the different groups of source material. The question incorporated in its title ("Did the barbarians know they were barbarians?") is revealed to be rhetorically posed in the first place, and is not in fact reflected upon in much detail (35). This is a pity. While López Quiroga is absolutely correct in saying that the barbarian world was a construction of the Greco-Roman imagination, it is nonetheless clear that Late Antique 'barbarian' strongmen who mostly (but not exclusively) forged their careers in the Roman army, would have become quite aware of their 'barbarity' by being reminded of their status by the Roman elite. They may not have internalised the category, but they would have become aware of the box circumscribing them and many of their colleagues and – in the case of 'Arians' – coreligionists. But neither would it be correct to expect only incomprehension or condescension from the Roman sources: as Amory (*People and Identity in Ostrogothic Italy*, 1997) has shown, individual adaptations among both 'Romans' and 'barbarians' seem to have been the rule.

Chapter 2 ("¿Invasiones y/o migraciones?") recounts in concise form some of the earlier and most of the current scholarly explanations for the character of the 'Migration Age', but has not much new to present. Chapter 3 examines the interplay of ethnicity, identity, and

'otherness' through a selection of categories that are familiar from previous scholarship regarding the 'barbarian *regna*'. The point-of-view of the ethnogenesis school is pervasive, though the methodological problems of the approach and of Wenskus' original contribution, and the views of its opponents are explicated. Chapter 4 gives thought to the role of the barbarians in the Late Roman army – a subject that has seen significant contributions by such scholars as Liebeschuetz, Pohl and Kulikowski, among others. The conclusions accordingly encapsulate well the current scholarly understanding regarding the 'barbarity' of Roman armies in the west. Chapter 5 ("*In habitu barbaro*") looks at the evidence that burials can offer about ancient barbarian identities, with the emphasis on archaeological cultures consequently becoming even more pronounced. Even so, the recapitulation of the typology of 'barbarian' burials within the empire is useful.

The examination of "Danubian barbarians" in Chapter 6, the lengthiest section in the monograph, is structured around the familiar ethnonyms of Goths, Suebi, Vandals, and Alans. The selection is conditioned by the Spanish focus (17): all groups held parts of Hispania at one time or other. Tracing the ethnonyms back to archaeological cultures outside the empire and to later burial practices within the empire takes a lot of space, but is overall well condensed and reliable. Attempts to harmonise the archaeological data with the classical ethnonyms has led to graphics whose explanatory power is compromised by their layout (see, e.g., pp. 120, 142) as well as by the treatment of each Greco-Roman ethnonym as a self-standing entity with a real-life referent group. But such systematic juxtaposition of archaeological cultures with ethnic names from literature is arguably exactly the thing that has plagued 'barbarian studies' for so many decades. Finally, "Conclusions" again engages with methodological issues; the oppositional pairing of 'Romans' and 'barbarians' is usefully called into question and qualified.

Is the balance between myth and reality – foregrounded in the title of López Quiroga's book – achieved in the end? If it does, the myths meant are those of the later scholarly tradition, which are frequently debated. López Quiroga's call for genuine interdisciplinarity in studying Late Imperial barbarians is certainly welcome, but in practice he still seems to attempt a synthetic narrative based on a varied range of sources, the divergent parts of which cannot in fact be interrogated through the same questions. Moreover, his heavy emphasis on ethnogenesis leads to some issues of balance, especially the increasingly archaeological contents of the work. The ethnogenesis model has nearly always worked better with archaeological sources than written evidence, given the wider latitude granted by such essentially 'mute' data. López Quiroga's clear desire is to go on using the old established ethnonyms the way they have been used, but this leads him to brush aside such criticism as Goffart's (*Barbarian tides*, 2006) in favour of arguments which seem headstrongly to endorse the old usage, despite its heuristic lack of value (see p. 14 fn. 3; cf. 62); hence no doubt his reliance on the 'Vienna school' (he is aware of its criticism, 62f., but does not make much of it) and its Spanish proponent, L. A. García Moreno.

The work comes across as more like a textbook than a study creating new understanding of the Late Imperial 'barbarians'; it is a fine introduction to the subject in Spanish, strong in explaining and showcasing the scholarly tradition on the barbarian *gentes*, as well as the archaeological cultures outside the empire usually associated with these groups. But the book seems disinclined to draw new conclusions from its summary of vast amounts of information. Quite a few typographical errors mar the whole; some depriving the works cited from all of

their meaning (see e.g. the introductory citation from Geary 2001 on p. 19, unwittingly changing 'Germanic' to 'Roman'). Appended to López Quiroga's study is also a rather handy Lexicon (171–99) as well as a Chronology (201–4), both of which are on the whole reliable: throughout the text, asterisks link terms to their respective entries in the Lexicon. In addition to the monograph under review, this volume also contains a number of articles from various contributors on diverse topics, as well as book reviews (235–96).

Antti Lampinen

KARELISA V. HARTIGAN: *Performance and Cure. Drama and Healing in Ancient Greece and Contemporary America*. Duckworth, London 2009. ISBN 978-0-7156-3639-8. XIV, 124 pp. GBP 14.99.

Hartigan's book has been published in the series Classical Inter/Faces which deals with Classical subjects focused on "issues of contemporary interest", as stated in the publisher's website (www.bloomsbury.com/uk/series/classical-interfaces/). In line with the series, the book under review is written for the so-called general public. It presents the ancient sources on its subject in a concise form and compares ancient Greek and contemporary North American approaches to curing illnesses by "mainstream" health care.

The book is divided into four main chapters followed by a concluding fifth chapter. Chapter one deals with drama and healing in (Western) contemporary medicine (pp. 5–17); in this chapter, the author briefly discusses the relationship between mind and body as well as the relationship between art and medicine, or, to be more precise, drama and healing.

Chapter two is dedicated to the ancient world (pp. 18–80). This section forms the core of the book, at least in the number of pages: it takes up half of the book. In the beginning, this chapter focuses rightly on the cult of Asklepios. The author expounds the myths regarding Asklepios, also pointing out that there were several differing stories going around in the ancient Greek world and that Asklepios was not the only god of healing. The author goes on to describe what we know, on the basis of our evidence, of the process of healing and presents some of the major sites for the cures. The section where the sites are discussed would perhaps have benefited from another way of organizing the material. Epidaurus is discussed on its own whereas other sites are presented under "Other major sites" and "Regional sites". The section on "Regional sites" seems to include three sub-categories: local sites, Pausanias and Asklepios, Athens, which, however, do not appear in the table of contents. This may indicate that the book was finished rather in a hurry.

Chapter three has some personal touches, dealing as it does with drama and healing in the contemporary American hospital (pp. 81–91). For someone not familiar with this approach to healing, the chapter is probably an interesting read. It is also refreshing to read about personal experiences of an ancient phenomenon that is studied by classical scholars.

Chapter four discusses Asklepios within the Christian framework (pp. 93–99). As it is, the discussion seems too brief. This is an important and interesting subject, and if a chapter is dedicated to such a topic it should definitely be more thorough. Instead of a short overview of this kind, a better solution would have been to include the fourth chapter in the epilogue and conclusion.

The topic of the book is important, and the author does a good job in introducing the ancient Greek practices of drama and healing to a wider audience. However, the whole seems to lack a final finish.

Manna Satama

CLAUDE CALAME: *Sentiers transversaux. Entre poétiques grecques et politiques contemporaines*. Études réunies par DAVID BOUVIER, MARTIN STEINRÜCK et PIERRE VOELKE. Collection Horos. Editions Jérôme Millon, Grenoble 2008. ISBN 978-2-84137-239-3. 332 pp. EUR 23.

Questo volume raccoglie 15 scritti di Claude Calame usciti tra 1982 e 2001, periodo pressappoco coincidente con quello da lui trascorso come cattedratico di Lingua e letteratura greca all'Università di Losanna. Il titolo rispecchia correttamente il carattere diversificato dei contributi raccolti, che si muovono tra discipline quali filologia classica, linguistica, semiotica, antropologia culturale e storia delle religioni. È altrettanto allargata la prospettiva cronologica del percorso dell'autore, in quanto Calame collega la sua conoscenza del remoto passato a un interesse etnografico verso culture contemporanee ma diverse da quelle occidentali (Papua Nuova Guinea) come pure alle realtà politiche di oggi (Svizzera). Tra i numerosi soggetti discussi figurano, per esempio, miti, riti, leggende, poesia e musica, retorica, scrittura (e voce), (lo stato degli) studi antichi, *gender studies*, e tanti altri ancora. La scelta dei lavori ripubblicati riesce ottimamente a mettere in evidenza il profilo di studioso di Calame. Il volume si conclude con una ricca bibliografia e un elenco delle pubblicazioni dell'autore dal 1966 al 2007.

Mika Kajava

CRAIG A. WILLIAMS: *Reading Roman Friendship*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-00365-1. 378 pp. USD 114.

Friendship, it has been argued, provides fertile ground for the excavation and consideration of inter-personal loyalties and obligations, particularly in times of social change (D. Meban, "The Nisus and Euryalus Episode and Roman Friendship", *Phoenix* 63 [2009] 239–59, absent from Williams' bibliography). If this is true, it seems that the time is right to stop and ask why this topic then is currently undergoing a considerable re-evaluation. Intellectuals and writers, among them A. C. Grayling most recently (with *Friendship*, New Haven 2013), are all raising probing questions around the definition(s) of friendship and its place in, and contribution to, society. Those interested in broader questions like these, and in examining the role that Rome has played in the history of Western friendship, won't necessarily find answers in Williams' monograph however. Rather, he offers a narrowly defined study of the concept of *amicitia* read across diverse "speech genres" from the second century BC to the third century AD, and across geographical locations from Spain to Asia Minor (pp. 2–3, 55), in the hopes of redressing the imbalance of classical scholarship on the topic, which to date has focused largely on the Greek material (pp. 2–3; e.g. David Konstan's monograph *Friendship in the Classical World*

[Cambridge 1997] which falls into this trap with three chapters on the Greek material, one on Roman, and one on Christian).

Drawing on Valerius Maximus (4.7), Williams, in the Introduction, briefly sketches some of the key features of Roman friendship (pp. 3–17). Firstly, he notes the special honour that this relationship was afforded in Roman society and its important role in the forming of civic bonds, especially among the Roman elite (cf. e.g. A. Wilcox, *The Gift of Correspondence in Classical Rome: Friendship in Cicero's Ad Familiares and Seneca's Moral Epistles* [Madison 2012], which, no doubt, appeared too late for Williams to include; Williams neglects Seneca but focuses instead on the correspondence between Marcus Aurelius and Fronto); secondly, the unique association that this relationship shares with death in the textual, visual, and material records (in Williams' phrasing, the "contest of death" and "unity in death"); and finally, the *mutuality* of the relationship: True Roman friends share everything, not only their wishes and desires, but also their material possessions, and sometimes even their homes (p. 14). The two partners in any friendship form a single identity (one soul in two bodies); in short, a friend, for a Roman, was another self (*alter ego*).

This kind of friendship, Williams believes, was subsumed in later Christian periods in the Western tradition by universal human love (sometimes designated as *agape*) and romantic love within the bonds of marriage (pp. 16–17). Among the later Christian thinkers to treat the subject of friendship in a substantial way, who Williams mentions briefly in a footnote, was Aelred, the abbot of Rievaulx, whose Ciceronian treatise on what he labelled "spiritual friendship" (*De spirituali amicitia*) introduced a third (divine) partner into an idealized friendship – one which, as Williams notes, would have been a curious addition to the Roman ideal of a *pair* of friends (p. 16).

In the Introduction Williams also highlights some of the difficulties – linguistic and theoretical – encountered when attempting to define Roman friendship (pp. 17–23). One lacuna in Latin that is particularly telling, for example, is that in the language no equivalent can be found for the English phrase, "just friends". This linguistic and conceptual gap demonstrates the gulf between ancient and modern ideas, and the modern tendency to downplay friendship in favour, for example, of erotic love (pp. 29–30, 17). Modern Western conceptions of friendship and their inapplicability to the Roman world is again made clear in observations by Williams on ideas found in C. S. Lewis' *The Four Loves* (London 1960), one of the two common interlocutors that Williams returns to in his work, along with Joseph Epstein's *Friendship: An Exposé* (Boston 2006), to anchor popular 20th century Western notions of friendship. Quoted in Williams, Lewis writes that lovers "are always talking to one another about their love; friends hardly ever about their friendship ... lovers are normally face to face, absorbed in each other; friends, side by side, absorbed in some common interest" (p. 33). To this Williams responds, "Although they invite being read as universally valid statements, formulations like these in fact speak to a specifically English male experience of friendship – taciturn, understated, indirect, shy – which in some other cultural spheres would seem peculiar at best, barely worthy of the name friendship at worst" (p. 33). This is a thread that Williams picks up from an earlier work, and one which he develops further here.

In the second edition of his *Roman Homosexuality* (Cambridge 2010 [first published 1999]), Williams takes Lewis to task for his (mis)reading of Roman culture and rightly exposes the homophobia and heterosexist readings of Roman male relationships that Lewis labels as

"abnormal Eros" mingled with friendship (pp. 253–54). In *Reading Roman Friendship*, Williams ties this kind of reading to the rise of the discipline of sexology at the end of the nineteenth century, where the creation of sexual identities, such as "heterosexual", "homosexual", "bisexual" etc., provoked what Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick has termed "homosexual panic", particularly in relation to intimate male friendships (p. 138). "Mythic paradigms", a subsection of chapter 2 ("Love and friendship: questions and themes"), outlines some of the rich textual history that has developed around the kinds of intimate same-gender pairings presented to us from antiquity, with a specific focus on those that played a large role in the Roman tradition, giving pride of place – as the Romans themselves seemed to (e.g. Val. Max. 4.7. pr.) – to Orestes and Pylades, Achilles and Patroclus, Theseus and Pirithous, Achates and Aeneas, Damon and Phintias, and Nisus and Euryalus, and non-classical pairings such as Gilgamesh and Enkidu and David and Jonathan, among others, all make an appearance (on the rich textual tradition, see e.g. especially David Halperin's "Heroes and their Pals", chapter 4 of his *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality, and Other Essays on Greek Love* [New York – London 1990]; and focusing specifically on David and Jonathan, see most recently, J. E. Harding, *The Love of David and Jonathan: Ideology, Text, Reception* [Sheffield 2012]).

The strengths of Williams' study are his sensitivity to issues of gender, especially in the nuance of Latin-usage (e.g. *amicus/amica*; *amor/amicitia*) in texts with diverse genres, such as Cicero's *Laelius de amicitia*, Petronius' *Satyrica* and Latin poetry, as well as his thorough treatment of friendship on Latin inscriptions, particularly in terms of Roman commemorative practices (the subject, mainly, of chapter 4).

Chapter 4, "Friendship and the grave: the culture of commemoration" – the final chapter, which ends the volume somewhat abruptly without a conclusion – fleshes out, and provides material evidence for one of the motifs of Roman friendship already mentioned above, that of "unity in death". In Roman society, while there is clearly a strong move to commemorate one's friend in death, Williams poses the question, "Does Roman idealizing of *amicitia* include the image of two friends' souls still together after death, united in the next life as well as in this?" (pp. 276–77). It seems that the Romans stop short of suggesting this, indicating that the *memory* of the friendship, and not the relationship itself, is eternal (p. 277). Pursing similar questions to Alan Bray's *The Friend* (Chicago & London 2003), which documented friendship in England up until the nineteenth century as well as joint burials among males, and on the evidence of a small sample of Latin epitaphs commemorating the joint burials of male pairs, Williams asks, "what is to stop us from reading commemorations of male pairs the same way [as conjugal male-female pairs]? After all, the labels available for communicating a conjugal or sexual bond between man and woman in this speech genre were not available in the case of male couples" (p. 354). Questions like these are unanswerable, as Williams notes, but they further the possibilities of our readings of Roman friendship.

Williams is an exceedingly capable scholar, and he has produced a cogent study of Roman friendship that will enrich and challenge the way that we read, and have read, the past. One that will in turn, no doubt, also make us question our present.

Jeffrey Murray

IAKOVOS VASILIOU: *Aiming at Virtue in Plato*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-86296-7. 311 pp. GBP 65 (hb).

Aiming at Virtue in Plato by Iakovos Vasiliou is a fascinating book. It contains innovative and important insights into Plato's ethics. Vasiliou emphasises the difference of his approach as compared to recent scholarship. His point of departure is that he does not approach Plato's ethics within a eudaemonist framework. He does not deny that Plato's ethics is eudaemonist but emphasises that "in the texts themselves the overwhelming focus is on virtue as a supreme end and aim." (p. 282) Concerning virtue, Vasiliou argues that Plato focuses on two complementary questions: 1) aiming questions – questions of the supreme aim of our actions – and 2) determining questions – questions of how to achieve these aims. Vasiliou argues convincingly that Socrates is committed to the supremacy of virtue (SV) as an answer to the aiming question. On the one hand, he does not have an answer to the corresponding determining question: how to act virtuously.

Vasiliou aims at relative neutrality regarding the various "isms" of Platonic scholarship although he clearly has a research orientation based on an analytical Anglo-American philosophical study of Plato. He argues (p. 18–21) that neither any particular approach to the dialogue form nor any grand theory about Plato, like developmentalism, is likely to furnish detailed and substantial answers to questions about virtue in Plato. Regarding chronology, Vasiliou also tries to avoid commitments and treats the dialogues in a moderately unitarian way. Vasiliou's interpretative tool in reading Plato's dialogues is a distinction between the inner and outer frame of a dialogue. The outer frame refers to the relation between Plato and his readers and the inner frame(s) to the relations between the characters of a dialogue. This approach provides some useful insights particularly into Vasiliou's interpretation of the *Republic*.

Vasiliou discusses dialogues which he considers to be most important from the point of view of virtue. He has a separate chapter on *Apology* and *Crito*, and another on *Gorgias*, while his main emphasis, more than half of the text after the introduction, is dedicated to the *Republic*. He writes: "It is difficult not to read almost all of Plato's dialogues either as preludes to the *Republic*, or as subsequent comments and reflections on it" (p. 166). In chapter four, a shorter treatment is given to the *Euthydemus*, the *Protagoras* and the *Euthyphro*. The discussion of the dialogues is acute and on a high level both philosophically and philologically. It is well versed concerning analytic Anglo-American scholarship and engages with an impressively wide range of textual disputes. At least discussions of the *Crito*, the *Gorgias* and the *Republic* make a lasting contribution to the scholarship on those dialogues.

The distinction between aiming questions and determining questions concerning virtue is the key idea of the book. Socrates is committed to SV but does not know what virtue is. This creates the problem of how Socrates makes actual decisions about what is virtuous in the here and now. Vasiliou thinks that this is a focal question in the *Apology* (for the jury) and in the *Crito* (for Socrates). He writes that Socrates is led either by his divine sign or by the argument that seems best to him at the time. A third option is found in the Callipolis of the *Republic*, where one can follow the guidance of philosopher-kings. The critical question in Vasiliou's analysis of the *Crito* is how such arguments are construed in the absence of the divine sign and the philosopher-kings. He argues (against some recent interpretations of the dialogue) that *Crito*'s position is quite reasonable and that the argument of the Laws basically shares Socrates' views and that the arguments are cumulative. His interpretation appears to be quite plausible.

In the *Apology* (and also some other dialogues, like the *Gorgias*) Vasiliou's distinction between aiming and determining questions works nicely in explaining Socrates' occasional avowals of knowledge in the context of his general disavowal of knowledge concerning virtue. According to Vasiliou, Socrates is fully committed to SV and is even fully conscious of this commitment (p. 27). On the other hand, concerning the determining question of what virtue actually is, he is completely ignorant. The distinction also gives Vasiliou the possibility of presenting SV as a very plausible principle. SV does not mean that one's life, wealth, or appetite gratification never enters ethical analysis. According to Socrates, they should have no room in determining the aiming principle – the aim is always virtue. However, when determining what is virtuous in each case these other considerations may be relevant.

Vasiliou argues that Socrates builds SV on two premises about the soul. Firstly, it is an independent locus of harm and benefit (like the body) and secondly the benefit to our soul is much more valuable than that to our body. A third building block is what Vasiliou calls the habituation principle. It is the principle that if one does virtuous actions one's soul becomes virtuous, while if one does actions that aim to make money one's soul becomes more competent in making money. As Vasiliou emphasises, the principle is well known in the case of Aristotle and it should receive more scholarly attention in the case of Plato, too.

The habituation principle leads Vasiliou to emphasise virtuous actions as opposed to being virtuous. This leads him to oppose many of the mainstream interpretations of Plato's ethics. Vasiliou's interesting interpretation of the *Republic* is critical in this respect. He argues against the prevalent view that the *Republic* abandons an act-oriented account of virtue in favour of an agent-oriented one. He argues that Socrates deals with SV in books I–IV and VIII–IX, and determining questions in books V–VII.

Vasiliou argues that the basic strategy of the *Republic* is to defend SV by showing that acting justly benefits us by benefitting the soul because justice is a type of health for the soul. In an interesting and innovative interpretation he gives much more weight to the education of the guardians in books II and III in the overall argument of the *Republic* than they are generally taken to have. He takes these two books to explain how acting virtuously benefits our soul by explaining the habituation principle, which is crucial for Socrates' argument concerning SV. Vasiliou argues that we should also interpret what happens in *Republic* IV in the light of this project of defending SV. In that book, Socrates tells us what it is to be just when he gives his harmony account of justice. Once we learn what it is to be just, we can see that it represents somehow the health of the soul and that this is the reason why people benefit when they become just.

The fundamental determining question "what is justice?" can only be solved by the philosopher-kings who have access to Forms, according to Vasiliou. Based on this knowledge they can answer the determining questions concerning virtue, including the question of which actions are just. The question of the relation between the Form of Justice or the philosopher's knowledge of justice and Socrates' presentation of it in the earlier books is very interesting for any student of the *Republic*. Vasiliou's interpretation of the *Republic* is interesting and coherent. His view of the Callipolis where the ordinary citizens are very much like the Socrates of the dialogues – committed to SV and disavowing knowledge of virtue and having guidelines set by the philosopher-kings (like the divine sign did for Socrates) – is a very attractive picture to any interpreter who wants to see Plato's vision of society in the *Republic* in a positive light.

Aiming at Virtue in Plato is definitely worth reading for any serious philosophically oriented student of Plato. Vasiliou has an ambitious and somewhat controversial main theme, which he manages to keep in focus throughout while simultaneously engaging in many scholarly disputes with scrupulous attention to detail.

Eero Salmenkivi

RICHARD SORABJI: *Gandhi and the Stoics: Modern Experiments on Ancient Values*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2012. ISBN 978-0-19-964433-9. XIV, 240 pp. GBP 20.

A distinguished scholar in ancient philosophy, Richard Sorabji broadens his gamut innovatively in this treatise on Mahatma Gandhi and Stoicism. Pointing out that Gandhi was not influenced by the Stoics, Sorabji juxtaposes him with them in word and conduct, bridging adroitly with Christian (esp. Tolstoy), Hindu (esp. *Bhagavadgita*) and other material that did influence him. This subtle yet flexible comparative approach is justified and consistent all through the book. "Where he was actually influenced, he still reinterpreted almost everything he read. The result is that ideas inspired by Western influence may finish up looking rather unlike the originals, whereas ideas that have merely *converged* with the Western ones may be less altered" (p. 5).

Paralleling the idea of a Stoic sage, Gandhi emerges as a *philosopher* in the ancient, original sense of the word. And while a modern man, he looks the part considerably. He even dresses like the strictest of the ancient. The effect is almost as if Sorabji had revived some major figure of the messianic stock to carry out large-scale experiments on internalized philosophy. The Stoics profit by gaining proof of feasibility of their ideas. Possibly even greater are the heuristic merits: "Gandhi also provides a picture of what the Stoic sage might be like at least in certain respects if he ever existed" (p. 45). But the benefit is mutual. The Stoics for one thing provide a philosophical background and a frame of reference especially apt to Gandhi, at least in the West, as West is where the author's expertise and readership reside. Moreover, there *are* striking doctrinal similarities, most notably *indifference* and avoidance of general rules as a consequence of a shared focus on the individual. The conformity seems significantly more pronounced and relevant than any differences, of which, according to Sorabji, views on private property are the most conspicuous.

An introductory chapter that outlines the philosophical Gandhi and his influences is followed by ten chapters concentrating on interrelated and overlapping philosophical topics like emotional detachment and love of family and mankind, detachment and politics, freedom, nonviolence, human rights, *svadharma*, general moral rules, conscience, private property and depoliticization. Some chapters deal more with the Stoics, some with Gandhi. A concluding chapter returns to the thematic of the introduction with an evaluative review of Gandhi as a philosopher. Nonviolence is undoubtedly the most recurrent topic throughout. The Sanskrit word *svadharma*, 'individual duty' turns out to be central in Gandhi's thought and very useful in coping with consistency issues and real-life diversities.

Dispassion is presumably the most estranging aspect of Stoicism for the comfortable European and bothers also the author especially when it comes to disinterest in one's own family. While moral philosophy often amounts to little more than the systematic idealization of personal preferences, Sorabji delightfully comes to see military necessity behind this awkward

but important principle: "But reflection on Gandhi has shown me that, if one wants to have a liberator of one's country or a reformer of society, it may be necessary to have one or two people who think that few things matter. It is best if they are not in one's family" (45).

Gandhi's philosophical statesmanship penetrates all the way to ethical meta-levels. A good example is his counsel of perfection: he would rather admit being insufficiently non-violent than accept exceptions to the absolute principle of non-violence. And yet his politics was always subservient to his spirituality. The book makes perceivable how important this flexible subtlety and sensitivity to circumstance *combined* with Gandhi's doctrinal rigour was in making him a political force: an algorithmic zealot would have been just as easy prey for the British as a spineless yes-man. Another success feature was a loving attitude that enabled the targets of his harsh criticism to take notice instead of striking back. Gandhi was an Indian nationalist for whom nationalism was – very sensibly – compatible with the love of all nations.

There is a curiously popular conception of studies in ancient philosophy being "mere history of" philosophy as opposed to work citing more recent authors being the actual stuff. A less common but similarly limited misnomer is the replacement of good old "classical philology" with "study of antiquity". *Gandhi and the Stoics* could even enlighten souls shadowed by such limitations.

Teemu Huttunen

RADEK CHLUP: *Proclus: An Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 9780521761482. XVI, 328 pp. USD 110.

There is no doubt that Radek Chlup's book, appropriately published on the 1600th anniversary of Proclus' birth, will serve for a long time as a standard introduction to Proclus. It is the first comprehensive, general one-volume account of Proclus' thought in English after Rosán's somewhat uneven and now outdated work (*The Philosophy of Proclus. The Final Phase of Ancient Thought*, New York 1949), and, as far as I know, has no relatively modern and adequate counterpart in any language with the exception of the solid work of Maria Di Pasquale Barbanti (*Proclo tra filosofia e teurgia*, Catania 1983, 1993²).

One possible approach in any attempt to unfold the content of the Neoplatonic doctrines is to start from the existential condition of the human soul in order to show how it is rooted in and conditioned by hypostases of Intellect and the One, and how reality in all its levels is derived from these causes. The other alternative is to begin with the treatment of the highest hypostasis, and to descend from it to the lowest levels of reality. The first alternative is the pedagogical path used by Neoplatonists themselves, the second the way generally adopted in modern presentations.

Chlup, too, chooses the latter alternative. This alternative has often resulted in oversimplification and arid listings of metaphysical levels making Neoplatonic philosophy look even more strange than it is. Chlup, however, avoids these pitfalls and manages to explain to his readers the rational foundation upon which Neoplatonic philosophers built their theoretical constructions. In addition, the author goes beyond the domain of pure philosophical thought and succeeds in contextualising the Neoplatonic movement as a historical phenomenon. This book is thus not only a valid introduction to a particular philosophy, faithfully mirroring the

internal logic in the development of the current of thought under consideration, but also a study of intellectual history.

Chlup divides his presentation into ten chapters, dealing with the content of Proclean Neoplatonism in Chapters 2 to 8 (metaphysics, theology, epistemology, deification and "mysticism", principles of the exegesis of sacred narratives, problems of evil and theodicy, and ethics). This philosophical filling to our Proclean Prague-made burger is set between the top bun (Chapter 1) dealing with the historical background, and the bottom bun (Chapter 9), which turns out to be an ambitious attempt to relate philosophy in its narrow sense to wider views of the world. In addition we are served with a sauce of after effects (Chapter 10, Proclus' legacy). The plan is sound, and its execution almost perfect. Chlup generally avoids unnecessary jargon in his prose and illustrates the text with a rich set of clarifying diagrams, thus making the book an excellent resource for teaching.

It is fascinating to see how far the continuing re-assessment of Proclus' figure in the history of late ancient philosophy has advanced from its origins in the sixties when Werner Beierwaltes and Jean Trouillard started the work of rehabilitation triggered by Dodds' second edition of Proclus' *Elements of Theology*. Chlup's arguments demonstrate complete reversal in some of the crucial questions. Until the 90s it was widely held that Plotinus preserved a judicious silence about the ineffable, in contrast to the post-Plotinian Neoplatonists' and especially to Proclus' loquacity. Proclus' theory of henads in particular was regarded as extra-philosophical speculation and the henads were understood as a separate hypostasis below the One. Now, in the picture depicted by Chlup, it is Plotinus who goes embarrassingly far in an attempt to conceptualise the ineffable and to verbalise mystical experience. Instead, Proclus vindicates pure transcendence of the One and with his "postulation of the 'henads' or 'gods' as the basic 'subunits' existing within the One" makes it easy for us to "note that their introduction into the system has the crucial and beneficial effect of shifting the boundary of the apprehensible as close to the highest point as possible" (p. 61).

While previous interpretations tended to describe Proclus' relation to Plotinus by emphasising that later Neoplatonists introduced an unnecessary number of new metaphysical levels and cluttered up a clear image inherited from the founder of the school, Chlup on the contrary sees Proclus realising in a most appropriate manner the Neoplatonic maxim "All things in all, but properly". Apparent "passion for seemingly endless conceptual distinctions is never an end in itself... Proclus works with a four-storey Plotinian model whenever he finds this sufficient for dealing with whatever problem he is discussing. It is only when this simple model no longer allows him to describe all metaphysical relations precisely, that Proclus has recourse to more detailed 'zoom shots'" (p. 21). One may add that in their exegetical endeavour, Proclus and other later Neoplatonists were trying to cope with the real gaps and theoretical discontinuity between and within Plato's dialogues which Plotinus' synoptic style of philosophising made it easier to bypass.

I am impressed by Chlup's great clarity in dealing with Proclus' ethics and epistemology. One of the strongest aspects in this book is the skilful treatment of the relationship between discursive knowledge (*dianoia*) and opinion (*doxa*), and especially Chlup's emphasis on the Proclean theory of projection (*probole*) as the basic principle explaining psychic activity at every level of cognition.

As reviewers have deservedly hailed the merits of this book, I will focus in the following on some of its weaknesses. One of the cases in point concerns henadology, a crucial, if not

the most crucial aspect of Proclean metaphysics. It appears as if Chlup had followed the more or less traditional opinion based on Dodds, Saffrey and Westerink, being somewhat critical towards Van Riel, and then had come across the innovative theory of polycentric polytheism expounded by Edward Butler. Chlup subscribes to some of Butler's theses, then labels them controversial, but again returns to his formulations emphasising the nature of the henads as unique individuals. The presentation of different perspectives is naturally worthy of praise, but a more committed stand would have been desirable. One can hardly both defend the interpretation that, for Proclus, henads are the manifestation and the aspects of the primal One, and at the same time assert that they are unique individuals beyond which there is nothing real to be seen. Another ambiguity can be observed when Chlup refers to the henads in their aspect of Limit and the Unlimited, but does not take into account all statements in Proclus, when he sheds light on them not only in their aspect as henads, but being henads themselves (for example, PT III).

As to another hot topic, that of Proclus' attitude to theurgy, Chlup, quite rightly, goes beyond Sheppard's influential model from the 80s, but occasionally returns to an even older position than that from the times when theurgy was regarded as a specific Chaldean technical innovation introduced by Iamblichus into Neoplatonism.

The same kind of discrepancy can be seen in the partly overlapping discussions in chapters 1 and 9. In the earlier discussion, Chlup speaks of the violence of persecution, but in chapter 9 dealing with the socio-political framework, that violent aspect is played down.

In spite of these critical observations and the fact that the author seems to have missed some important publications (the work of Dirk Gürsgen, Christian Tournau and Michael Erler; cf. also Jean Trouillard's *La mystagogie de Proclus* [1982] and Loredana Cardullo's *Il linguaggio del simbolo in Proclo* (1985)), I must conclude by saying that this is a most welcome publication which will be used with profit by all those interested in Proclus.

Tuomo Lankila

ANNE GABRIÈLE WERSINGER: *La sphère et l'intervalle. Le schème de l'Harmonie dans la pensée des anciens Grecs d'Homère à Platon*. Editions Jérôme Millon, Grenoble 2008. ISBN 978-2-84137-230-0. 379 pp. EUR 30.

Wersinger's book deals with the concept of ἀρμονία in ancient Greek thought and its development from the archaic to the classical period. The study focuses on pre-Socratic philosophy that is mainly known from fragments quoted by later authors like, e.g., Plato and Aristotle. The book studies different manifestations of the concept of ἀρμονία as applied to, e.g., philology, music, physiology and astronomy. The author does not always base her ideas solely on Greek theories about ἀρμονία, but also searches for allegories of it in non-philosophical contexts, like Homer's epics.

The book is divided into two parts corresponding to the two main aspects of the idea of ἀρμονία: the sphere and the interval. It proceeds from the archaic to the classical age, beginning with Homer and ending with the writings of Anaxagoras. In general, each chapter is devoted to one individual author and describes a development in the evolution of the notion of ἀρμονία. However, Chapters 2 and 3 of the second part of the book are focused on Pythagorean philosophy in general and especially on the doctrines of Philolaus and Archytas.

The first part of the book is devoted to the idea of a sphere as an expression of ἁρμονία and it presents the development of the notion of ἁρμονία from 'infinite' to 'limited'. The basic idea is that in the beginning, ἁρμονία was viewed as the junction of both ends of a circle. A circle was also conceived as 'infinite', because the junction is invisible with the result that one cannot judge where a circle begins and where it ends. In the beginning of the book, the author examines diverse signs of circularity as expressions of ἁρμονία in the works of Homer, Empedocles, Heraclitus and Parmenides.

In the second part, the author shows how the concept of interval was introduced to the notion of ἁρμονία. The author's general aim is to demonstrate that 'infinite' later became a concept that was viewed as an interval between 'more' and 'less', and that, accordingly, ἁρμονία also began to be conceived as an interval. Another essential point is that 'unity', which was earlier viewed as a result of ἁρμονία, later became identified as a commensurable monad. In the latter part of the book, the author examines other manifestations of ἁρμονία by focusing on Anaximander, the Pythagoreans, Philolaus, Archytas and Anaxagoras.

Wersinger's award-winning book (it received the Prix François-Millepierres of the Académie française in 2009) is a fascinating contribution especially to the study of pre-Socratic philosophy, but it is also a convincing account of the ways in which, e.g., the schools of Plato and Aristotle interpreted the doctrines of pre-Socratic philosophers.

Kimmo Kovanen

Greek Magic. Ancient, Medieval and Modern. Edited by JOHN PETROPOULOS. Routledge, Abingdon – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-415-28232-1. XI, 196 pp. GBP 65, USD 115.

As the name suggests, this volume edited by Petropoulos, consisting of articles first published in special issues of the journal *Archaiologia kai Technes* between December 1999 and December 2000, attempts to cover Greek magical practices from ancient to modern times. This interdisciplinary approach renders it of interest to a wide audience, but also creates certain problems. The book is divided into four sections: magic in Ancient Greece, magic in Byzantium, magic in Modern Greece and the theory of magic, each of which is provided with a short introduction by the editor. All these four sections are kept short: they all consist of ca. 30–40 pages, which means that the individual articles are rather short. This works well to some extent, but on the other hand the articles only offer a general overview of the matter. Some of them come without any notes, which academic readers may find unsatisfactory. Also, the fact that the articles were originally published over ten years ago is reflected in a certain defensive tone of some of the writers: magic has been studied widely during the past decade, and it is hardly a 'wretched' subject anymore. The importance of magical ritual practices in supplementing public, religious rituals is an admitted fact.

Despite these problems, the book offers a wide spectrum of interesting reading. In the introduction to the first part, the editor briefly defines magic: the origin of the name, and, e.g., its nature as a phenomenon belonging to the private sphere. David Jordan's article in the same part shows that Greek magic indeed has a long tradition, and that modern Mediterranean practices do have ancient roots (see the case of the migraine amulet). Sarah Iles Johnston writes about *goes/goetes* and points out that the essence of ancient Greek magic involved communica-

tion with the dead. This does not only mean solving problems caused by the dead or calming the dead and averting their anger: magic can also be used in rousing them up against people. All in all, this chapter offers interesting details on a subject which has recently been widely studied – details that complement the bigger picture of ancient Greek magic. The most interesting offering of the book, however, is the connection it establishes in the next two chapters between these ancient magical practices and modern Greek beliefs, via Byzantium to the modern world. In the second chapter, Agamemnon Tselikas shows that the magical text (spells, exorcisms, etc.) can be found not only in Antiquity, but in post-Byzantine manuscripts as well, and lived on despite the attempts to modify it by the Church. In the third chapter, Charles Stewart illustrates the relationship of magic and orthodoxy and the often vague boundaries between magic and religion. All in all, the articles in the third chapter provide interesting views of magical beliefs and practices in modern Greek society – or societies, as Vassiliki Chryssantopoulou focuses on the concept of the evil eye among the Greeks living in Australia. In a country with such a long history as Greece it is not surprising that customs live on, develop, disappear and reappear throughout the centuries and millennia. What is common to ancient and modern societies is that 'magical' and 'religious' practices intertwine, as the articles show.

The development of the magical practices could perhaps have been given more space, and the fourth chapter, discussing theories of magic, could have been partly covered in the introduction, partly interwoven into the previous chapters. The reader is in fact often left wishing for more, as the glimpses into the topic the book offers are highly interesting.

Saara Kauppinen

JUDITH M. BARRINGER: *Art, Myth, and Ritual in Classical Greece*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-64134-0 (hb), 978-0-521-64647-5 (pb). XV, 267 pp. GBP 45, USD 85 (hb), GBP 16.99, USD 27.99 (pb).

For a reader not specialised in Classical Greece, Barringer's book gives a comprehensive introduction to the discourse of myth as it has been seen and understood within the study of Greek art. Any intention of visual interpretation must start from the consideration that the role of myths in the lives of the viewers of the different forms of visual representation cannot be stressed enough. This is why the relation between the visual displays and the physical reception of them becomes a tangible part of understanding the present, the past and the continuity of life.

Barringer shows through five thorough case studies of architectural sculpture how the depicted myths can be found in different variations that depend on the specificity both of a particular site and of the expected ritualistic behaviour. She concentrates on two myths, the Centauromachy and the Amazonomachy. The case studies cover key sites in Olympia, Athens, Delphi, and Trysa and consist mainly of temples and tombs, though Barringer transcends the single focus on religion. This means that the interpretations demand a more complex and diverse understanding of the function of visual representation and its reception.

Using visual semiotics as a method of interpretation, Barringer touches upon questions that connect the study to issues of gender, of cultural diversity and of the understanding of artistic expression as intertwined with site specificity. Her approach combines specific knowl-

edge of ancient Greece with topics relevant for current literary, philosophical and art theoretical thinking.

Barringer's book unfolds unexpected and diverse perspectives on the complex relation between religion, ritual, myth and art. The phenomenological understanding of art reception, the interpretation of fragmental dispersed narrative and the idea of immersion in a predestined mediation of mythology provide interesting and perplexing ways of finding links to contemporary questions concerning meaning production in our interaction with the multidimensional world of visual representation.

Maria Hirvi-Ijäs

STEPHANIE LYNN BUDIN: *The Myth of Sacred Prostitution in Antiquity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-88090-9. XI, 366 pp. USD 107 (hb), 33.99 (pb).

It is claimed now and then that sacred prostitution existed in antiquity. However, there are not many studies on this interesting subject and this monograph by Lynn Budin is thus most welcome. It is an introduction both to the history of academic studies on "sacred prostitution" and to the ancient sources on the subject.

What this book is about becomes clear right at the beginning: "Sacred prostitution never existed in the ancient Near East or Mediterranean" (p. 1). In what follows, Budin goes through the evidence in detail in 336 pages divided into eleven chapters.

Chapter 1 is a short introduction to the history of the academic discussion of sacred prostitution and to the contents of the book. As the author states, her approach is mainly philological, because "sacred prostitution is ultimately a literary construct" (p. 4). This is obviously an important observation (which may also be valid in the case of other ideas that we have about ancient societies).

Chapter 2 focuses on the ancient Near East, normally considered the birthplace of sacred prostitution. Budin studies with care the evidence, i.e., mainly the various terms that we tend to see as evidence for sacred prostitution in Mesopotamia, Canaan and Israel. Her conclusion is clear: "There were no sacred prostitutes in the ancient Near East" (p. 47), a statement that is based on a convincing handling of the sources.

Chapter 3 proceeds to Classical times. It is an overview of the relevant evidence, and the rest of the book concentrates on the various central pieces of evidence chapter by chapter. This part begins justifiably with Herodotos (Chapter 4). Since Herodotos (*Hist.* 1,199) has, inevitably, influenced other Classical authors – and modern interpretations – in promoting the myth of prostitution, Budin rightly uses several pages to discuss Herodotos. The main passage on prostitution (see above) is quoted in full, translated and analysed line by line, followed by useful observations on Herodotos' style. There is also a discussion of cultural phenomena in Herodotos' times, including the notions of ethnicity and identity, femininity and masculinity, and conquest and rape. All these are important when reading Herodotos' accounts from the various parts of the world and naturally play a central role when discussing matters which deal with sexuality. Budin's conclusion about this passage is as follows: "...the sacred prostitution Herodotos describes in Chapter 1,199 is not real. Rather than a historical reality, it is an almost

poetic description of the current, conquered state of Babylon that pulls together a number of important themes running through the *Histories*" (p. 87).

After these two conclusions, namely that there was no sacred prostitution in the ancient Near East, and that Herodotos' account is not to be taken at face value, it is easy to follow Budin's presentation in the following chapters. Chapter 5 deals with Lucian and the apocryphal "Letter of Jeremiah". One of Budin's leading thoughts throughout the book is that we tend to interpret our sources with arguments that suit our preconceived ideas about the subject under study. This is shown, for example, in verse 43 of the "Letter of Jeremiah", which should not be interpreted as referring to "religion", unlike other verses of the "Letter". It is often analysed as a reference to Herodotos, but, as Budin argues, "in an attempt to get verse 43 to fit in with the rest of the text, modern scholars invoked Herodotos' 1,199 narrative to place religiosity *into* verse 43" (p. 107, Budin's italics). She continues aptly: "... we looked to Herodotos to make sense of 'Jeremiah', much as the drunken man looks for his keys not where he dropped them, but where the light is better."

The next three chapters deal with other texts; Chapter 6 is on Pindar's fr. 122 (set in Corinth), Chapter 7 on Strabo and Chapter 8 on Klearkhos, Justinus and Valerius Maximus. Chapter 9 is slightly different from the other chapters: its focus is on archaeology and Italy. Chapter 10 returns to literary evidence, namely to early Christian rhetoric. The concluding Chapter 11 discusses the survival of the myth of sacred prostitution in modern research starting from the early 19th century; this chapter deals at length with the Victorian era, but also considers the subject of "sacred prostitution" in the framework of the study of ancient religion in general.

Budin studies the evidence in great detail and with notable clarity. The texts quoted are analysed with care and provided with translations, and the book is based on a solid knowledge of modern scholarship. It should be read both by those who maintain that sacred prostitution existed and by those who remain sceptical.

Manna Satama

MARCO GIUMAN: *Melissa. Archeologia delle api e del miele nella Grecia arcaica*. Archaeologica 148. Giorgio Bretschneider editore, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-7689-213-3. XVI, 288 pp., 23 figg., 23 tavv. EUR 170.

Benché non sia il primo a occuparsi dell'ape e del suo prodotto nel mondo antico, questo volume risulta la più ricca analisi finora effettuata sull'argomento. L'imponente quantità di materiali discussi consiste non solo nelle tante testimonianze "archeologiche", in particolare quelle di carattere iconografico e iconologico, ma anche nelle fonti letterarie di varie epoche.

Il primo capitolo tratta la presenza delle api e del miele in varie fonti antiche estendenti da documenti in lineare B a rappresentazioni letterarie quali l'immagine dell'ape paragonata alla buona sposa (cf. Semonide 7 West) oppure la nota bugonia riportata da Virgilio ed Eliano. Nei cinque capitoli seguenti vengono discussi numerosi temi di grande interesse: api nei miti orientali e in quelli di Creta; api connessi con antri; alveari di ceramica; miele sia come nutrimento alimentare che come sostanza medicinale; miele nel mondo dei culti; miele in contesti funerari; miele come metafora della voce del poeta; il rapporto tra api (e miele) e alcuni eroi

(Aristeo, Glauco, Trofonio); il ruolo del miele nelle rinascite mitologiche (Dioniso); *melissai* nei rituali tesmoforici di Demetra; api in relazione ad Artemide in vari contesti geografico-culturali (Creta: A. Britomartis e Ditinna; Beozia: A. Hymnia; Efeso: A. Efesia; Brauron: A. Brauronia [secondo l'autore, un noto gruppo di piccoli crateri provenienti dal santuario brauronio potrebbero essere stati usati per libazioni di idromele]); le api di Delfi e l'*omphalos* (che assomiglia a un alveare); il corredo della ateniese Tomba di Sotades (V sec. a.C.), forse appartenuta a una giovane donna, nelle cui immagini decorative emerge come comune denominatore il tema del miele.

Nonostante alcune interpretazioni ipotetiche, con riguardo soprattutto a connessioni simboliche e altre tra diversi tipi di materiali, Giuman riesce a fornire al lettore una ricca e dotata panoramica delle svariatissime fonti relative alle api e al miele. Ma perché sono indicizzati solo i personaggi mitologici? Con un *index rerum* si sarebbe reso il volume sicuramente più maneggevole.

Mika Kajava

SUSAN DEACY: *Athena. Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World*. Routledge, London – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-415-30066-7. XVIII, 175 pp., 19 figs. GBP 18.99 (pb).

La serie "Gods and Heroes" della Routledge, in cui s'inserisce questo opuscolo, si caratterizza da un formato tripartito consistente di introduzione, "key themes" nonché discussione delle vicende della rispettiva divinità in tempi posteriori. Nel presente caso tale schema si realizza nel capitolo introduttivo ("Why Athena?") a cui seguono le due sezioni analitiche: nella prima vengono discussi i "temi principali" (nascita di Atena; origini e funzioni della dea; rapporto con eroi e eroine; la dea ad Atene; l'Acropoli [e la festa delle Panatenee]; Atena nel mondo greco), mentre la seconda, dal titolo "Athena afterwards", è dedicata alle molte e varie manifestazioni della dea in età post-classica (tra le altre cose, Atena è stata assimilata alla Vergine Maria, vista come allegoria della Sapienza nel Rinascimento e utilizzata dall'agenda femminista nei nostri tempi). In conformità con il carattere divulgativo del volume, sono discussi pochi testi antichi, mentre maggior rilievo viene dato al materiale archeologico. I molti aspetti "strani" di Atena (la nascita dalla testa di Zeus; il ruolo di madre assunto dalla vergine; il numero elevato di attributi, ecc.) vengono trattati con competenza, come pure i significativi rapporti della dea con tanti altri esponenti del pantheon greco, tanto da giustificarle il soprannome di "networker" divino.

Insomma, uno strumento compatto, scritto in uno stile conciso e facilmente leggibile, che sarà sicuramente molto utile per chiunque si interessi della dea Atena.

Mika Kajava

Demetra. La divinità, i santuari, il culto, la leggenda. Atti del I congresso internazionale, Enna, 1-4 luglio 2004. A cura di CARMELA ANGELA DI STEFANO. Biblioteca di "Sicilia antiqua" 2. Fabrizio Serra Editore, Pisa – Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-6227-038-0. 296 pp. EUR 185.

I 24 contributi inclusi in questo bel volume propongono di offrire uno sguardo generale sul culto e sui luoghi di culto di Demetra. I materiali discussi abbracciano un arco cronologico che

va dall'età del bronzo fino al XVIII secolo, mentre geograficamente provengono per la maggior parte dalla Sicilia (cfr., a proposito, il grande lavoro di V. Hinz, *Der Kult von Demeter und Kore auf Sizilien und in der Magna Graecia* [1998], la voce 'Demetra' in R. Rizzo, *Culti e miti della Sicilia antica e protocristiana* [2012], e ora Cap. II, "Religion and Mythology", in C. L. Lyons – M. Bennett – C. Marconi [a c. di], *Sicily: Art and Invention between Greece and Rome* [2013]). Tra le località non siciliane figurano, per esempio, Cirene, Corinto, Gortina e Naxos. Riguardo ai sottotitoli, la maggior attenzione è data ai santuari, mentre la divinità e la leggenda rimangono in margine. Il culto, con i rituali annessi, viene quasi omesso. Come lato positivo il volume riesce a illustrare fruttuosamente il ruolo assunto da Demetra nella colonizzazione greca.

Aggiungo di seguito alcune osservazioni di carattere epigrafico: p. 50, fig. 3 (E. De Miro; anche p. 174, fig. 65; P. Orlandini): per l'interpretazione della frase dedicatoria ἐκ τῶς Δικαιῶς σκωνῶς, vd. inoltre Dubois, *IGDS* I 155; Arena, *IGASMG* II² 46a; cf. ora anche S. Verger, in F. Quantin [a c. di], *Archéologie des religions antiques* (2011), 17. – Pp. 94–5 (fig. 5; V. Lambrinoudakis): sulla dedica a Demetra, Kore e Zeus Eubouleus, cf. *SEG* XLVIII 1123. – P. 95 (fig. 6): interessante la lettura dell'epiteto (?) della dea come *Hadreia*, cf. anche N. Papazarkadas, in P. Marzavou – N. Papazarkadas (a c. di), *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-classical Polis: Fourth Century BC to Second Century AD* (2012), 183 n. 3. – P. 150 (G. Mastronuzzi): mi pare difficile che OXXO, documentato o dipinto su vasi o inciso su manufatti di pietra provenienti da Vaste in Messapia, possa riferirsi a un teonimo. – P. 187 (G. Rizza): per la corretta edizione della dedica a Demetra e Kore, vd. Korhonen, *I.Catania* n. 1. – P. 270 (G. Di Stefano): POLISTEFA, da scrivere Πολυστεφά(---). – P. 271: alcuni dei termini greci sono resi in maniera trascurata (per il testo, cf. *SEG* XLVII 1433 e L 994).

Nonostante le inevitabili differenze nella qualità dei singoli articoli, il volume presenta molte novità e tante questioni interessanti. Il lettore avrebbe apprezzato un indice.

Mika Kajava

VIRGILIO MASCIADRI: *Eine Insel im Meer der Geschichten. Untersuchungen zu Mythen aus Lemnos*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 18. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2008. ISBN 978-3-515-08818-3. 412 S. EUR 68.

In questo libro, nato da una Habilitationsschrift del 2004/05 all'Università di Zurigo, l'autore si è proposto di studiare, con un'analisi prevalentemente strutturalista, tre miti separati, tutti variamente connessi con l'isola di Lemno, riguardanti rispettivamente le figure di Filottete, Efesto nonché Ipsipile e le donne lemnie. Sono trattate non solo le singole narrative e i loro contesti specifici, ma anche la trasmissione dei miti e le divergenze tra le varie versioni. Così nascono stemmata collazionati per illustrare le relazioni e interdipendenze tra le varianti mitografiche nate durante la trasmissione.

I tre capitoli principali, dedicati alla discussione dei tre miti attraverso le fonti letterarie, archeologiche e di arte antica, sono preceduti da una introduzione metodologica, che trae spunto dal mito di Melampo e i suoi serpenti (riguardo a quest'ultimi, cf. ora D. Ogden, *Drakōn: Dragon Myth and Serpent Cult in the Greek and Roman Worlds* [2013]). Benché così possa spiegarsi meglio il metodo analitico seguito dall'autore, rimane tuttavia alquanto discutibile la

scelta dello stesso Melampo come esempio dimostrativo, risultando poco chiara la relazione del mito di Melampo a quelli di Efesto e Ipsipile. Per quanto riguarda il capitolo conclusivo ("Statt eines Nachworts: Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie"), avrebbe funzionato meglio all'inizio del volume come introduzione all'approccio dell'autore alla lettura dei miti e delle loro fonti.

Insomma, uno studio di non facile lettura, ma molto erudito e soprattutto fondamentale per chiunque si occupi o dei tre miti "lemni" o dell'interpretazione dei miti antichi in generale. Gli indici, sorprendentemente scarsi e poco invitanti, sono seguiti da una bibliografia abbondante.

Mika Kajava

JÖRG RÜPKE, *Religion in Republican Rome. Rationalization and Ritual Change*. University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2012. ISBN 978-0-8122-4394-9. VI, 321 pp. USD 69.95.

Rüpke's study of religion in Republican Rome is a welcome analytic discussion about the processes and changes by which religion developed as an arena of control, communication and integration. As the author states in the preface, except for Chapters 8 and 14 all papers have been published in different forms before. However, this book is not a collection of separate articles, but an independent study with a continuous line of thought. Rüpke's focus is primarily on the last two centuries of the Republican era (roughly from 240 to 40 BC). At the end of this period, Rome had defeated its opponents and the foundations had been laid for its cultural expansion as well.

Rüpke's ambitious aim is to study how the Roman religion became a rationalised and institutionalised cultural product whose structures penetrated all social levels. Rüpke outlines his theoretical framework proceeding from the idea that the changes in Roman religion are best understood through the concept of rationalising, an idea based on Max Weber's theory which was followed and developed by Wolfgang Schluchter. By rationalisation Rüpke means the attempt to adjust the religious ideas to religious practices, which results in systematising those practices. The author's purpose is to make us realise the various contexts in which religion was applied to practical life. He is well aware that it is not possible for us to discover if there was a systematic or purposeful agenda behind the changes and developments. However, the study would not have suffered if this particular problem had been addressed.

After the relatively brief introduction, there is a chapter on the historical background of the period discussed in the other chapters. In these, the author's approach is particularly fruitful as he discusses religion through elements such as rituals (Chapters 2–5), calendars and texts dealing with law (Chapters 6–9), and texts discussing religion, in particular those by antiquarians and philosophers (Chapters 10–13). In the final chapter (14) Rüpke summarises the discussions of the previous chapters and presents some considerations on the importance of the cultural exchange between Greece and Rome. This topic is, of course, taken into account throughout the whole study.

The sources are interpreted and analysed with precision and care. Rüpke does not settle for just interpreting the sources but goes commendably further by contemplating how the matters would probably have appeared from the perspective of a person living in the ancient

world. When appropriate, he also considers the further consequences of the developments of the Republican era and pays attention to how religious innovations further evolved and were used in imperial propaganda. Despite the theoretical approach and the methodological concept of rationalisation, the reader is not in any way obliged to read Rüpke's study side by side with Weber's or others' philosophical works. By analysing Roman religion from this specific angle Rüpke is not only able to offer a comprehensive analysis of the historical development of religion in Republican Rome, but his study also helps us understand the wider significance of religion and its importance as a political tool.

Outi Sihvonon

ELISA MARRONI: *I culti dell'Esquilino*. Archaeologica 158. Archaeologia Perusina 17. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2010. ISBN 978-88-7689-245-5. 338 pp., 30 pls. EUR 210.

Elisa Marroni's book *I culti dell'Esquilino* is a welcome in-depth topographical study of the cultic history of the Esquiline region in Rome. The book is divided into historical and thematic sections so that Chapters I, II and IV narrate the historical, and Chapter III catalogues the thematic, i.e., fifty-four different cults of the Esquiline.

Marroni is well aware of the difficulties of topographically and historically limiting the Esquiline to any unshiftable borders, whether we mean the 'hill' (often the *Oppius* and the *Cispus* were distinguished as 'hills' from the Esquiline 'hill') or a *regio* in a Republican or Augustan sense (see esp. pp. 1–9 for this discussion). Marroni talks about the Esquiline both in its Republican or Varronian (the *Esquiliae*) and in its modern, post-16th century sense, the late 16th century being the time of the *rinascita* of the region from its medieval abandonment into an area of papal and residential activities. Thus the reader does not have to get stuck with the fact that the Esquiline as known today belonged to three different Augustan *regiones* (p. 7) as, in Marroni's topography, the Augustan *regio* is neither a starting nor an end point. As for Marroni's topographical chronology, it is much wider, taking the reader from prehistory to the 16th century and, in the cultic history of the Esquiline, from prehistory to late antiquity.

Chapter I provides a general topographical history of the Esquiline region, the main sources for this general presentation being publications by Rodolfo Lanciani (e.g., his *Storia degli scavi* and *Forma Urbis Romae*), Emilio Rodríguez-Almeida (e.g., his *Forma Urbis marmorea*), Filippo Coarelli (*multa et varia*), and the *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*. Lanciani is often neglected because of the source-critical problems he poses for the topographers of Rome. He was, however, one of the eye-witnesses to the early scientific excavations in Rome in the second half of the 19th century (p. 3). Lanciani could and should be used also in modern topographical studies – as Marroni has done – if not for any other purposes than at least for source-critical re-reading of him by modern researchers.

Chapter II is a brief five-page introduction to the cults of the Esquiline, which are then listed one by one in Chapter III, appropriately named *Catalogo*. The listing is based on the *CIL* as the main source and *LTUR* as the secondary source. In the case of each cult both literary and archaeological sources are presented. Marroni's catalogue is focused and matter-of-fact – and very helpful for researchers interested in reviewing Esquiline cultic findings in their topographical context. Marroni's work will hopefully be followed by similar updates on other hills and/

or regions of Rome (cf. D. Palombi, *Tra Palatino ed Esquilino: Velia, Carinae, Fagutal. Storia urbana di tre quartieri di Roma antica* [RINASA Suppl. 1], Roma 1997).

In Chapter IV, the author offers a chronological narrative – her own contribution – of the cultic history of the Esquiline region, with nuances originating from the Italian school of the history of religions. For example, the concept of the 'Oriental' is used in its broadest sense, encompassing "cults from the East", whether Egyptian, Phrygian, Phoenician, Syrian, or even Greek (see pp. 254–62 for an interesting discussion of the early Greek influences on the Esquiline cultic scene characterised as 'Oriental', Etruscan culture being the mediator for the 'east' here). The study would probably have benefited from problematising the concept of 'Oriental' as done in recent research (cf., e.g., C. Bonnet – J. Rüpke – P. Scarpi (eds.), *Religions orientales – culti misterici. Neue Perspektiven – nouvelles perspectives – prospettive nuove* [Potsdamer Altertumswiss. Beitr. 16], Stuttgart 2006).

Marroni's cultic narrative has a chronological plot, which ancient historians of religion will recognise, from the archaic cults of fecundity and war to the religious innovations of the kings (here: Servius Tullius on the Esquiline), from the Hellenising influences during the Republican era to the Augustan religious reforms and from the influx of the Oriental cults in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD to the mystery cults of late antiquity. The only deviation from this chronological plot is the sub-chapter "Le divinità tutelari delle milizie". The tutelary deities of the military characterised the area due to the presence of the camp of the *equites singulares* there, the social composition of the region making an imprint on its cultic scene as well.

Marroni's book can be warmly recommended to all those interested in Roman religious topography. The book will hopefully inspire further topographic studies on the cults of Rome, making it little by little more possible for historians to compare religious developments *between* the regions of Rome as well.

Ulla Lehtonen

Medien religiöser Kommunikation im Imperium Romanum. Hrsg. von GÜNTHER SCHÖRNER – DARJA ŠTERBENC ERKER. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 24. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2008. ISBN 978-3-515-09188-6. 148 S. EUR 40.

Si tratta di una piccola raccolta di studi sull'importante tema della comunicazione all'interno del mondo delle religioni e dei culti in età imperiale. Considerando che la stessa esistenza della religione è intrinsecamente legata al funzionamento di processi comunicativi, è ovvio che siano di primaria rilevanza i vari mezzi di comunicazione, scritti, orali o altri, e le modalità in cui questi operavano. Da ciò emergono i temi principali del presente volume, che deve molto ai partecipanti del colloquio "Medien von Religion im römischen Reich" tenutosi ad Eisenach nel 2006.

La prima parte è dedicata a testi letterari come fonti sulle varie forme di comunicazione religiosa: H. Cancik (comunicazione diretta in forma di dialogo; comunicazione indiretta osservabile, per esempio, nella storiografia della religione o nei trattati; due metodi di comunicazione o "intrareligioso" o "interreligioso"); D. Šterbenc Erker (letteratura antiquaria come mezzo comunicativo, esemplificato dalle rispettive descrizioni della *confarreatio* in Dionigi di Alicarnasso e Ovidio; le osservazioni sul significato dello stato sociale dei due autori sono

alquanto fuorvianti, come pure resta parzialmente discutibile il presunto ruolo della letteratura antiquaria nella strategia augustea); W. Spickermann (le opere, retoriche, di Luciano sarebbero poco utili per illustrare gli attuali mezzi di comunicazione religiosa; in più casi, invece, come quello della figura di Heracles Ogmios offerta nella nota *prolalia*, si tratterebbe di costruzioni di carattere allegorico indirizzate al grande pubblico).

Nella seconda parte vengono studiati alcuni materiali archeologici come mezzi comunicativi nel mondo della religione: G. F. Chiai (ricca discussione su stele votive provenienti dalla Frigia e dalla Lidia; tipologia degli oggetti; iscrizioni e rilievi decorativi; interrelazione tra testo e immagine); G. Schörner (dimensioni culturali e ritualistiche delle immagini sui rilievi delle stele nordafricane relative al culto di Saturno); U. Mania (funzione e ruolo comunicativo delle rappresentazioni egizianizzanti nei santuari fuori Egitto); D. Steuernagel (il santuario oracolare di Didima come luogo di comunicazione religiosa in età imperiale; particolare attenzione viene data alla creazione di un nuovo spazio chiuso da un muro, che, invece di una costruzione difensiva sorta nel III sec. d.C., potrebbe essere messo in connessione con eventuali cambiamenti nello svolgimento delle attività, ritualistiche e altre, all'interno della sede oracolare).

Mika Kajava

ALTAY COŞKUN: *Bürgerrechtsentzug oder Fremdenausweisung? Studien zu den Rechten von Latinern und weiteren Fremden sowie zum Bürgerrechtswechsel in der Römischen Republik (5. bis frühes 1. Jh. v.Chr.)*. Hermes Einzelschriften 101. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2009. ISBN 978-3-515-09303-3. 236 pp. EUR 50.

A full appreciation of the nature and essence of Roman citizenship is often essential in our attempts at understanding social and political phenomena in Roman society as well as the ever-changing relationships, through war and peace, between the Romans and other Italic peoples. The legal status, rights and obligations of the *cives Romani* and those of immigrants from allied communities have been studied for a long time by a succession of scholars, among which Adrian N. Sherwin-White stands out with particular distinction. His monograph on the subject, *The Roman Citizenship* (Oxford 1939; 2nd ed., Oxford 1973), remains unsurpassed in many respects. However, the study under review here demonstrates that there is more to do in this field of research, not the least of which is the careful consideration of Roman policies with regard to non-citizens residing on Roman soil.

The inclusive and generous nature of Roman citizenship policies is a commonplace in modern discussions, and is cited not only by scholars of the ancient world but also by social and political actors addressing current integration issues. Yet, as is demonstrated by the author of this study, in the republican period grants of *civitas Romana* were actually quite rare. Moreover, there are several instances documented where individuals from allied Latin and other Italic states who had taken up residence at Rome were collectively expelled from the city. The implications of these instances, with regard to the legal rights of *Latini* and other categories of foreigners, are at the centre of the present study. As stated in the subtitle, the period chosen for the inquiry extends from the Early Republic to the beginning of the first century BCE, but there is a particular focus on a series of expulsions of immigrants in the late third and early second centuries BCE (in the years 206, 187, 177 and 173).

The approach of the current study is twofold. The author deals, on the one hand, more generally with the requisites for *Latini* to receive full Roman citizenship and, on the other, more specifically with the legality of the banishment of *peregrini* residing at Rome. In discussing these problems the author reviews the evidence for a set of legal dispositions and principles which, since the days of Mommsen, have spurred a great deal of scholarly interest.

After a short prefatory note ("Vorwort", pp. 10–12) the book is organized in four sections. Section A ("Einführung. Migration und Bürgerrechtswechsel in Italien zur Zeit der Römischen Republik", pp. 13–30), provides an account of the aims of the study along with a series of introductions to the themes dealt with: migration and change of citizenship in the broader context of the Roman expansion, demographic and economic developments in the late third and early second centuries BCE and, lastly, the four mass expulsions of foreigners in the period 206–173 BCE.

Section B ("Bestandsaufnahme der tatsächlichen und vermeintlichen Vorrechte der Latiner und ein neuer Vorschlag zum Verständnis des *ius XII coloniarum*"), constituting the bulk of the book (pp. 31–155), provides a thorough analysis of the evidence for the various *Sonderrechte* that the *Latini* enjoyed as immigrants in Rome. The author demonstrates, to my mind very convincingly, that the applicability of many of the *iura* associated with the terms of the *foedus Cassianum* to a lesser or larger extent has been misconstrued by modern scholarship. I will not go into the many intricate details, since it suffices to note that the author takes a fresh look at the *ius conubii*, the *ius commercii*, the *ius suffragii*, the *ius migrandi* and the *ius exilii* along with such themes as the legal provisions concerning *recuperatio/reciperatio*, purchase of landed property as well as will-making and inheritance in view of the *ius XII coloniarum* (*ius Ariminensium*). The focus is on the changes of citizenship and other legal consequences, on the individual level, of migration on the part of non-citizens. A great deal of attention is dedicated to the *ius postliminii* and the *ius civitatis per stirpem adipiscendae* and their relationship to the *ius migrandi*. After a close examination of all the evidence, the author concludes that there was no *ius migrandi* universally available to all *Latini*. Immigrants of this legal category did not automatically become Roman citizens on taking up residence at Rome after all.

Section C ("Die kollektiven Ausweisungen latinischer [und italischer] Bündner aus Rom in den Jahren 206, 187, 177 und 173 v.Chr.", pp. 156–200) provides a thorough analysis of the evidence for the four recorded mass expulsions of foreigners from Rome in the late third and early second centuries. The legal aspects along with the citizenship rights discussed in section B are at the centre of the discussion. After a meticulous consideration of the evidence the author rejects the prevailing scholarly opinion, according to which the expelled groups of people consisted of individuals who had received Roman citizenship and that their expulsion, consequently, was unlawful. Contending that the *Latini* in question lacked the *ius migrandi* and had not yet qualified to become *cives Romani*, he concludes that the Roman state possessed the right to expel *peregrini* whenever, and for whatever reason, *Notmaßnahmen* of this kind were called for.

Section D ("Technischer Anhang", pp. 201–36), consists of a bibliography and indices. This concludes the book, an important contribution to the scholarship on the Roman Republic.

Kaj Sandberg

LUKAS THOMMEN: *An Environmental History of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-00216-6 (hb), ISBN 978-0-521-17465-7 (pb). XI, 186 pp. GBP 45, USD 60 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 29.99 (pb)

This book is a revised translation of Lukas Thommen's *Umweltgeschichte der Antike* (2009) with one chapter on the environmental history of Roman Britain having been added. The original book was a useful short introduction (188 pp.) to this subject, the interest of which is illustrated by the mere fact that this English translation has been published, even by Cambridge University Press. The quality of the photographs has greatly improved, and the Introduction (pp. 1–16), six pages longer than the original *Einleitung*, is good preliminary reading for any student interested in this field of study – not least because it includes a compact, but comprehensive overview of recent work along with "Further Reading" (pp. 144–47) and the Bibliography (pp. 152–79), which, however, has only partly been updated.

Some curious mistakes occur in the translation. For instance, Homer's similes (Thommen: *Gleichnis*) are translated as 'parables' (pp. 31, 47), Greek myths as 'legends' (Thommen: *Mythen*) and animal choruses in comedy as 'animal choirs' (Thommen: *Tierchöre*) (pp. 46–47). The translator has chosen to use the Loeb translations, which is regrettable at least as regards two important passages of classical literature on human relations with the environment. The chorus song about the superiority of man in *Antigone* (332–352) includes the word *deinos*, which has been translated as 'wondrous' (p. 30), while the more recent Loeb translation (1994) by Hugh Lloyd-Jones has 'formidable' and Thommen himself translates (following the famous translations by Martin Heidegger and Friedrich Hölderlin) the word as 'ungeheuer' (*Umweltgeschichte der Antike* p. 32). Cicero's passage about 'the second nature' in *nat. deor.* 2,152, which became a catch phrase in early modern European civilized parlance, has been translated as 'second world' (p. 77), while Thommen has 'zweite Natur' (*Umweltgeschichte der Antike* p. 76).

The preliminary discussion about the terminology (pp. 3–10), which clearly shows the (usual) difficulty of applying modern terms to the ancient world, is also more extensive in this volume. Furthermore, Thommen handles the range of environmental history with more depth than in the original (pp. 10–13), citing, for instance, R. P. Sieferle and V. Winiwarter regarding environmental determinism and emphasizing human culture as an organizational pattern. In some ways, this justifies Thommen's policy to treat both the big environmental issues like geographic space and details of the living environment of humans, although for me the concentration on the built environment and social customs sometimes turns this short history of environmental issues in antiquity into social history (e.g. the descriptions of the conduct rules in Greek symposia, nuances of Roman meals and different kinds of Roman taverns). The fact that the author has much to say on the eruption of Vesuvius may reflect the fact that the book is based on Thommen's lectures. The last days of Pompeii might be more exciting for students than, for example, climate change during the third century CE, to which Thommen refers only in passing (pp. 135).

Otherwise, Thommen has the ability to say a great deal succinctly, which is displayed well in the last chapter, added to this English translation, "The environment in Roman Britain" (pp. 132–140). Besides the fact that it contains three illustrative maps (for instance, main mining areas and products), it paints with bold brush strokes the picture of the Roman impact – both for good and for bad – on the human and natural environment of Britain during Roman rule.

Thommen speaks about the "paradoxical relationship between human and animal" (p. 95), by which he means that animals were revered "as an incarnation of nature" (p. 45), but also seen as dangerous threat, which – like 'nature' on the whole – should be overcome. We may question how far this paradox is a feature of Greco-Roman antiquity or reflects our universally ambiguous relationship with our own animality and with other animals. Some aspects of the intellectual roots of our ecological crises may lie in antiquity and it is first and foremost the task of philosophers and historians of ideas to ponder on the complexity of the relationship between man and 'nature' in the ancient world.

Thommen's work, the original as well as this slightly expanded translation, justifies its place as introductory reading to such environmental issues as climate, agriculture, foresting and deforestation, food and water supply, population and built environment, mining and urban problems in the Greco-Roman world.

Tua Korhonen

JOHN R. SENSENEY: *The Art of Building in the Classical World: Vision, Craftsmanship, and Linear Perspective in Greek and Roman Architecture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-00235-7. XV, 245 pp. USD 90.

Buildings represent some of the most tangible and durable evidence of classical culture. They can be observed, measured and interpreted on the basis of what is left, but many aspects remain hard to understand because the whole building process from idea to design to actual construction work cannot be completely reconstructed. One of the problems is that we know little about the tools and concepts used in the design of buildings. Some information can be gleaned from surviving literary evidence, but many other details have to be reconstructed on the basis of the buildings themselves. John R. Senseney courageously tackles the problems of understanding ideas related to buildings and their design as well as the importance of drawing on the creativity of Greek and Roman architecture. His data come from the writings of Vitruvius, the scant remains of drawings preserved from antiquity and, of course, the buildings themselves.

The book is divided into an introduction and four main chapters. The first concerns ideas about architecture or more specifically how Greek temples were designed before the Hellenistic period. The second chapter moves on to discuss the connection between world views and building, using Plato's and Aristophanes' texts to assess designs of theatres and round buildings in the Greek world. The third chapter explores the development of technical drawing, particularly the relationship of full-scale and reduced-scale drawing using the refinements of entasis and curvature and the fluting on columns as examples. The final chapter deals with the way practices of drawing influenced how the world was seen and consequently also how buildings could be designed. The chronological emphasis is on the Hellenistic world with some examples from the Roman period as well. The book ends in an excursus on the cosmic mechanism in the writings of Plato and Vitruvius; this is followed by three short appendices analysing surviving and hypothetical drawings discussed in the main chapters. The illustrations are beautifully executed and clear. Their presence makes the occasionally rather complicated text somewhat easier to understand.

The volume is an interesting addition to the recent literature on the art of building in the Greek and Roman world. Despite the main emphasis on the practice of drawing it manages to expand the topic into the realm of philosophy. Senseney is able to trace the development of drawing at least from the Classical period onwards until our only surviving treatise of architecture, Vitruvius' *De architectura* in the first century BC. It is also a vivid reminder that practical knowledge and skills can influence theories of how we perceive our surroundings and how we explain our world. The design of a building can embrace philosophical ideas, but it can also lead to a new perception of the world we live in.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Die Archäologie der ephesischen Artemis. Gestalt und Ritual eines Heiligtums. Hrsg. von ULRIKE MUSS. Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut. Phoibos Verlag, Wien 2008. ISBN 978-3-901232-91-6. 288 S. EUR 69.

Il presente volume intende offrire uno sguardo generale sullo stato attuale della conoscenza dei vari aspetti storico-archeologici e culturali relativi all'Artemision di Efeso, una delle sette meraviglie antiche. Sono inclusi 30 articoli, generalmente di ottima qualità, ben aggiornati e corredati da abbondanti bibliografie. Tematicamente, il volume si articola in cinque sezioni: "Raum und Zeit", "Die Göttin", "Archäologie und Ritual", "Kultur und Identität", "Architektonische Gestaltung des Sakralen". Particolarmente affascinanti risultano i resoconti dei vari tipi di materiali ritrovati negli scavi archeologici condotti nei decenni passati, una buona parte dei quali non sono di solito esposti al pubblico. Gli articoli, scritti da 23 autori, tutti austriaci tranne una (Sarah Morris), sono prodotti in maniera molto concisa, cosa che può comportare i suoi vantaggi e svantaggi. Il testo è accompagnato da ottime illustrazioni, quasi tutte a colori. Deplorable, però, la mancanza di un qualsiasi indice.

Mika Kajava

AMEDEO TULLIO: *Cefalù. La necropoli ellenistica I.* Studi e materiali 13. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-8265-517-4. XLIII, 240 pp. 38 tavv. EUR 250.

Il volume, dedicato all'edizione della necropoli ellenistica di Cefalù, curato dall'autore degli scavi, è stato pubblicato nel 2008 nella serie Studi e materiali del Dipartimento di Beni Culturali sezione Archeologia dell'Università di Palermo.

Il volume si suddivide in tre parti di cui la prima dedicata all'analisi della necropoli con una certa attenzione allo scavo ed all'analisi dei rituali funerari ricorrenti, una seconda parte all'edizione dei materiali, ed infine una terza dedicata ai reperti a cui seguono le conclusioni a cura dello stesso autore. È presente anche un'appendice dedicata ad una villa marittima in contrada Sette Frati.

Le indagini sono proseguite per trent'anni per varie problematiche, tra cui le modalità di rinvenimento; l'estensione dello scavo è stato spesso limitato e le indagini fortuite, dovute a lavori nell'area cittadina in seguito agli interventi di edilizia privata, come sovente avviene

in contesti urbanizzati o di nuova urbanizzazione; la ricerca archeologica è quindi di supporto allo sviluppo urbanistico di un territorio e si tratta di scavi di emergenza e non programmatici. Dopo un primo scavo, in cui furono individuate le prime 28 sepolture, si è dato avvio ad una più vasta indagine archeologica, che ha consentito di individuare poco più di 450 sepolture, il cui studio ha consentito di acquisire nuovi dati rispetto a quanto emerso dal solo scavo della necropoli individuata con i primissimi scavi.

La sezione introduttiva dedicata alla necropoli è corredata da tabelle che danno una sintesi circa le varie tipologie funerarie individuate, con una netta predominanza delle inumazioni.

L'edizione fa ampio uso di tabelle e grafici esplicativi nonché in alcuni casi di una sorta di matrix che tendono a semplificare la visione delle varie fasi di vita della necropoli.

L'analisi della necropoli ha consentito di definire anche una periodizzazione della stessa, individuando – anche in base all'analisi dei corredi - cinque livelli cronologici: il primo e più antico, che è anche quello in percentuale meno indagato, soprattutto per motivi logistici, si data fra la metà del quarto ed il primo quarto del terzo secolo a.C. La seconda parte è dedicata proprio all'analisi dell'architettura funeraria di cui viene effettuata una sorta di schedatura e di tipologia degli edifici individuati, suddividendoli in 10 tipi accertati che si differenziano in base alla disposizione planimetrica delle pietre che costituiscono la copertura degli edifici funebri.

Nella parte dedicata all'analisi sintetica della stratigrafia appare molto carente la sezione dedicata al rituale funerario e risulta corredata da una bibliografia molto arretrata; anche l'analisi delle sepolture è carente di dati. Ad esempio non vengono presi in considerazione dati relativi alla quota.

Gli elementi di corredo sono editi suddividendoli per classi di materiali, raggruppandoli per corredo in tabelle a corredo delle sequenze stratigrafiche; dopo una breve parte introduttiva alla classe segue il catalogo di tutti gli elementi individuati denotando una certa confusione nell'attribuzione del materiale alle singole classi, come in particolare per le ceramiche comuni.

L'edizione risente di dati vecchi e di un'impostazione ormai da considerarsi superata, con un'attenzione non adeguata ai materiali, che vengono presentati solo tramite una documentazione fotografica, non di tutti i reperti, e priva quindi di disegni. Anche la documentazione relativa alla necropoli è da ritenersi carente; il volume, trattando di un ampio settore di una necropoli di età ellenistica, periodo per il quale non sono numerosi i dati in nostro possesso, necessitava di esser curato con maggior dovizia di particolari, soprattutto con una documentazione più rispondente ai normali criteri dell'indagine archeologica.

Marco Giglio

PETER A. J. ATTEMA – TYMON DE HAAS – GIJS TOL: *Between Satricum and Antium. Settlement Dynamics in a Coastal Landscape in Latium Vetus*. Babesch Supplements 18. Peeters, Leuven – Paris – Walpole, MA 2011. ISBN 978-90-429-2465-9. XIV, 259 pp. EUR 68.

"Tomba di Nerone". Toponimo, comprensorio e zona urbanistica di Roma capitale: scritti tematici in memoria di Gaetano Messineo. A cura di FABRIZIO VISTOLI. Fors Clavigera 2. Edizioni Nuova Cultura, Roma 2012. ISBN 978-88-6134-568-3. 363 pp. EUR 65.

Archaeological survey publications tend to follow report formats and contain mostly site and find catalogues in addition to concise interpretative chapters. The two volumes discussed here adopt two different approaches to the study of landscape, sites and monuments. Attema, de Haas and Tol are publishing the results of a long field work project in the coastal area southeast of Rome and they have chosen a fairly classic report format. The volume edited by Fabrizio Vistoli is a compilation of articles concerning an area northwest of Rome known as "Tomba di Nerone". The authors in this volume wish to honour the work of Gaetano Messineo, who worked and studied the area as *soprintendente* for more than two decades. Although the texts have been written as scientific articles, their content is often more adventurous than in conventional publications on landscape studies.

The aim of a field work report is to provide the reader with as much information on the findings as possible in a fairly easily digestible form. Attema and his co-authors manage admirably to maintain the brevity of their chapters and catalogues as well as keeping them informative. Basic data is presented for over a hundred sites in a catalogue at the end. The contents of the book follow roughly the outline familiar from the *Forma Italiae* publications: it begins with a chapter on geology and geomorphology followed by an introduction to cartography and topography. This is followed by two chapters outlining the methods and main results of the archaeological and Ground-Penetrating Radar surveys. The second part features fourteen chapters discussing the results of the survey in chronological order from the Paleolithic to the Medieval period. The following two sections contain descriptions of finds from the survey as well as from the collections of the *Antiquarium* of Nettuno. A number of other experts in addition to the three main authors have contributed to the chronological discussions and the artifact studies.

The catalogue is kept to a minimum and the fairly small number of sites makes it easy to use. However, sometimes the brief verbal descriptions are not sufficient to make the topography of the complex sites understandable. The exact locations are clearly enough expressed with coordinates and small topographical maps, but the lack of graphic documentation of particularly the architectural remains is striking. Pottery and artefacts have been illustrated by drawings, but for some reason the documentation of building remains has not been reproduced. The intensive surface survey is focused heavily on artifact counts and distributions, but in this particular area, architectural remains are quite common and they should also have been documented with the same degree of detail.

The volume on the "Tomba di Nerone" starts with a brief biography of Gaetano Messineo and is then divided into three parts. The first presents and discusses the ancient monuments of the area, in particular "Nero's tomb", which in reality is the funerary monument of a certain Publius Vibius Marianus as shown by the inscription (*CIL* VI 1636) on its wall. The chapters present sculptures, sarcophagi and inscriptions found in the area and deposited in various museums of Rome – many of them previously unpublished. There are also extensive reproductions of archival documents concerning the excavation history of the area. The second part focuses on the tomb itself, discussing the inscription, the deceased and his prosopography. The complex restoration history of the monument is also discussed as well as the way its surroundings have been arranged. The last section is mostly dedicated to presenting the architectural development of the area from the Medieval period to modern times in addition to the discussion of one terracotta relief plaque found on the Via Cassia and the case of a French balloon which fell in the area in 1804.

The articles present much material that could never have been fitted into the pages of an excavation or survey report. The documents regarding the excavation history would have been mere references in footnotes and not complete texts, and many of the artefacts would have been passed over with a brief mention and maybe a photograph. However, there is no basic archaeological survey of the area and it is difficult to set all the data in this book into a wider context. Presentation of original documents and illustrations cannot replace thorough study, analysis and discussion of the archaeology of the area.

Both books are somewhat frustrating to read and, indeed, they are mostly intended to be used as sources for more detailed information searches: the reader is supposed to have some previous knowledge in order to understand the presentation or then to check all the sources mentioned in the bibliography to get a complete picture of the sites presented. The concise report of findings in the field and the abundant presentation of archival material should still somehow have been placed closer together – the data sets complement each other and give a more comprehensive idea of the history of single monuments as well as of the general development in the region. It is unfortunate that only rarely is there a chance to combine the two.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

FABIO COLIVICCHI: *Materiali in alabastro, vetro, avorio, osso, uova di struzzo*. Materiali del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Tarquinia 16. Archaeologica 145. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2007. ISBN 978-88-7689-231-1. XI, 258 pp., 53 figg., 8 tavv. EUR 200.

Il volume prevede una prefazione del curatore della collana, M. Torelli, che analizza sia le dinamiche che hanno portato all'edizione rallentata di alcuni volumi sia i motivi per cui il lavoro sui "piccoli oggetti" è stato affidato a F. Colivicchi, esperto del campo e che ha già dato alla stampa volumi analoghi, come quello sui materiali minori di Gravisca o sugli alabastra del Museo di Taranto, specializzandosi su quei piccoli oggetti di lusso che sovente vengono rinvenuti come parte del corredo funerario.

Il volume, fatta eccezione per una breve introduzione in cui si descrive la genesi della collezione museale ed i motivi per l'esclusione, condivisibile, di una classe di materiali come i vaghi di collana in vetro, riferibili a collane e monili dell'età del Ferro, è strutturato in capitoli dedicati a singole classi di materiali.

L'edizione, purtroppo, deve fare i conti con lo stato di conservazione dei reperti, che accomuna numerose collezioni museali che sono sorte nel secolo scorso e si sono sviluppate per progressive acquisizioni. In molti casi l'autore si è trovato, infatti, a schedare oggetti privi di riferimento al numero d'inventario e quindi, per le caratteristiche stesse degli oggetti, non riconoscibili nell'inventario generale redatto all'epoca dell'acquisizione, con una chiara perdita di dati archeologici.

Il volume è strutturato per sezioni dedicate a singole tipologie di materiali: I vasi ed oggetti in pietra; II vasi e oggetti in vetro; III oggetti di avorio e osso; IV uova di struzzo. A queste sezioni seguono delle considerazioni conclusive ed un'ampia bibliografia. L'apparato iconografico, posto alla fine del volume, prevede sia il disegno di 551 oggetti presenti a catalogo sia 8 tavole fotografiche per gli oggetti di maggior pregio.

Ogni gruppo di materiali è suddiviso in classi per tipologia di oggetti, con un'ampia introduzione alle problematiche alla classe, a cui segue il vero e proprio catalogo. Una maggiore attenzione, rispetto ad altri reperti, è data agli alabastra, già oggetto – come detto – di studi da parte dell'autore; essi sono organizzati per materiale e tipo. Oltre agli alabastra ed altri tipi di contenitori per unguenti la sezione dedicata al materiale lapideo prevede altri tipi di vasi potori o elementi di kline.

Il capitolo dedicato al vetro prevede un'ampia ed accurata disamina delle tecniche di produzione, con particolare attenzione per i prodotti attestati a Tarquinia; sono presenti sia vetri a nucleo, sia a stampo – esclusivamente coppe – sia a soffiatura libera (essenzialmente balsamari ed una sola olla) o entro stampo, a cui vanno aggiunti inserti decorativi o pedine da gioco. A margine sono pubblicati anche due calici post-antichi.

Il capitolo dedicato agli oggetti in avorio e osso prevede una distinzione funzionale dei reperti, partendo dalle placchette ed elementi di cornice di cofanetti, agli intarsi ed alle appliques. Un'ampia sezione è dedicata ad oggetti funzionali quali le cerniere forate, di epoca tardo ellenistica e romana, relative ad elementi di arredo. Oltre a questi il catalogo comprende anche manici di specchio, borchie, conocchie, aghi crinali, stili, strumenti musicali e dadi.

L'ultima parte è dedicata alle uova di struzzo, costituite da cinque esemplari, riutilizzati come coppe, verniciati all'interno e decorati esternamente.

I materiali presentati abbracciano un periodo molto ampio, che va dal villanoviano, con pochissime attestazioni, all'età giulio-claudia, con una progressiva riduzione nella presenza degli oggetti di lusso a partire dal primo quarto del III secolo a.C., momento in cui si assiste alla sottomissione di Tarquinia da parte di Roma (281 a.C.).

Fatta eccezione per i pezzi di maggior pregio gli altri reperti hanno una scheda di catalogo molto semplice, in cui si forniscono dati metrici, sullo stato di conservazione, sul materiale, corredata da una semplice descrizione morfologica, senza alcun dato cronologico o di confronto.

Il volume, sicuramente ben curato e con un'attenta edizione dei reperti, risente fortemente della genesi della collezione; l'impossibilità, in molti casi, di associare gli oggetti tra di loro non consente di avere dati sul contesto di rinvenimento, sull'associazione di particolari oggetti all'interno del corredo. Se da un lato è sempre di fondamentale importanza giungere all'edizione sistematica delle nostre collezioni museali e quindi è da apprezzare quanto fatto per Tarquinia, dall'altro la decontestualizzazione di tali oggetti ne rende poco utile un uso nello studio storico-archeologico della società tarquiniese, fatta eccezione per una visione generale, come, del resto, viene ben ricostruita nelle conclusioni del volume.

Marco Giglio

ALESSANDRO LAUNARO: *Peasants and Slaves: The Rural Population of Roman Italy (200 BC to AD 100)*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-00479-5. XIV, 349 pp. GBP 65, USD 110.

Archaeology has always been considered an auxiliary discipline for ancient history that can shed light on the material conditions during the past and potentially reveal new towns, villages, building structures, inscriptions and other interesting objects offering themselves to be

interpreted. However, archaeologists have relatively rarely attempted to participate in historical discussions. In this extraordinary book Launaro argues that archaeological evidence can be used to solve historical problems. He shows that historical and archaeological materials provide independent sources for exploring the same questions and ultimately testing the same hypotheses.

As a landscape archaeologist myself, I appreciate Launaro's grasp of the current historical and archaeological academic discussions and his sharp eye for pragmatic, but theoretically and methodologically soundly founded solutions for epistemological problems arising from the character of archaeological evidence. He confidently builds on both Roman landscape¹ and historical² studies and can ultimately choose between three different competing theories on the interpretations of Late Republic and Early Imperial census figures. Here archaeological material helps to answer historical question historians have tried to solve.

This book is not an introduction to the archaeology of rural Italy between 200 BC to AD 100, but a polemical book that aims at showing, as Launaro states on page xiii, "how landscape archaeology could have made a significant contribution to 'core' issues within ancient archaeology". Launaro discusses a specific historical problem, very central to the understanding of the agrarian history of Roman Italy and proves his point by using selected archaeological evidence. At the core are the historical interpretations of the comparison of the census figures from 28 BC, 8 BC and AD 14 as presented in the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (4 063 000, 4 233 000 and 4 937 000 respectively, *Mon. Ancyr.* 8,1–4) and the known census figures from 70/69 BC (910 000, Phlegon, *FGrHist* 257 F 12,6). From Beloch onwards, historians have been puzzled by the huge increase in the number of adult free male citizens this comparison shows and have tried to explain this increase in different ways. The long-standing Beloch – Brunt argument³ suggested that there was a fundamental change in the way the census was carried out and that the Augustan figures included free women and children. The assumption was that while free peasants were fighting expansive wars outside Italy, rural Italy was becoming deserted and the agricultural production was provided increasingly by villas ran with slave labour, slaves being easily available due to successful wars abroad.

This narrative, summed up by Hopkins in his *Conquerors and Slaves* in 1981, was the result of the application of the low count model suggested by Beloch and Brunt. This view was opposed by the supporters of the high count who suggested that, as Augustus himself makes clear, the ancient ways were restored by Augustus and the figures gave the number of free adult male citizens. Thus, they suggested a steep increase in the number of free citizens between the two censuses before and after the beginning of Augustus' reign. Lo Cascio,⁴ who has

¹ E.g., T. W. Potter, *The Changing Landscape of South Etruria* (1979); the POPULUS project, especially J. Bintliff – K. Sbonias, *Reconstructing Past Population Trends in Mediterranean Europe (3000BC–AD1800)* (1999).

² E.g., J. Patterson, *Landscapes and Cities: Rural Settlement and Civic Transformation in Early Imperial Italy* (2006).

³ J. Beloch, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* (1886); P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower, 225 BC–AD 14* (1971).

⁴ E.g., E. Lo Cascio, "The Size of the Roman Population: Beloch and the Meaning of the Augustan Census Figures", *JRA* 84 (1994) 23–40.

promoted the use of archaeological material in demographic studies, has been the most vocal of the 'high-counters'. The third way, suggested recently by Hin,⁵ argues that the latter, higher figures included women and children *sui iuris*. This interpretation has resulted in the theory of intermediate – i.e., somewhere between the high and the low count – demographic figures for Early Imperial Italy.

These three different models paint two very different pictures of rural Italy between 100 BC and AD 100. Either the free population was decreasing, if the Augustan figures included women and children, or it was increasing or at least stable, depending on the intermediate or high counts. The archaeological implication is that the average rural settlement was either decreasing with the smaller farms settled by free peasants dying out in the Late Republican period, or the settlement was increasing with thriving rural farms existing alongside villas with large slave populations. Launaro aims at testing these scenarios against the cumulative results of archaeological surveys from different parts of Italy in order to examine regional variability and general trends.

The problems of archaeological material collected in surface surveys are well known.⁶ However, Launaro manages to avoid the worst pitfalls and to render data from different surveys comparable by observing trends and calibrating the figures to show relative decrease or increase in percentages instead of trying to compare 'raw' numbers. His methodology combines the ideas presented by Witcher, Fentress and Ikeguchi⁷ who all developed specific aspects of the argument. Witcher made a preliminary attempt in quantifying the population of the early Imperial *suburbium* (c. 27 BC – AD 100) by comparing six different surveys in central Italy. Fentress suggested using trends instead of settlement numbers when comparing agrarian settlement in different parts of the Roman Empire. She also suggested counting the residents of farms as free citizens and the permanent residents of villas as slaves; this hypothesis is accepted by Launaro and allows him to assess the make-up of the rural population in his analysis. Ikeguchi for his part made the first, if limited, attempt in calibrating rural settlement data.

Launaro's trend analysis requires internal coherence from different data sets and expects them to fulfil three assumptions on internal methodological coherence within the survey projects, the similar visibility of diagnostic pottery wares and the same likelihood of finding sites from the periods being compared. These requirements are comfortably fulfilled if one compares the results of the modern Roman Mediterranean surveys with easily recognisable fine wares. After having stated the data requirements, Launaro presents the results and the trends from 27 different surveys from Valli Grandi Veronesi in the north to Oria in the south. He also discusses a series of surveys he willingly or unwillingly omitted in the previous discussion. The most glaring absentee is the South Etruria Survey as restudied by the Tiber Valley

⁵ S. Hin, "Counting Romans", in L. De Ligt – S. Northwood (eds.), *People, Land and Politics* (2008), 187–238.

⁶ See Patterson (n. 2) 17–24 for a summary of the main problems.

⁷ Cf. R. E. Witcher, "The Extended Metropolis: Urbs, Suburbium and Population", *JRA* 18 (2005) 120–38; E. Fentress, "Peopling the Countryside: Roman Demography in the Albegna Valley and Jerba", in A. K. Bowman – A. Wilson (eds.), *Quantifying the Roman Economy: Methods and Problems* (2009), 127–61; M. Ikeguchi, "A Comparative Study of Settlement Patterns and Agricultural Structures in Ancient Italy: a Methodology for Interpreting Field Survey Evidence", *Kodai* 10 (1999–2000) 1–59.

Project, but since only the material from Veii has been published so far,⁸ Launaro was right to finish with his project without this data set. However, he was able to use unpublished site data from the Albegna survey that gave him new insights into the developments outside the colony of Cosa.

Launaro's comparisons show that, apart from central coastal Etruria and south-eastern Italy, the numbers of the rural free population were rising in Roman Italy. In the areas around Rome and most of northern and southern Italy the numbers of both 'villas' and 'farms' were increasing between 200 BC and AD 100. This suggests that the high count interpretation is supported by archaeological evidence, which means that the overall rural population of Roman Italy must have been on the rise during this period. Naturally, the reader senses from the start that this is what was to be expected, since the low count interpretations were based mainly on the inability to believe in any substantial growth in the number of free male citizens in the Late Republican period.

A full appreciation of the method and the conclusions of the author requires some knowledge of both the historical and the archaeological arguments applied to the discussion and of Mediterranean landscape studies in general. Nevertheless, this book is essential reading for both ancient historians and classical archaeologists as it presents the fundamental arguments concerning the demographic calculations of the Roman population and the contribution of archaeology to historical debates.

Ulla Rajala

ALAN KAISER: *Roman Urban Street Networks*. Routledge Studies in Archaeology 2. Routledge, New York – London 2011. ISBN 978-0415-88657-4. XVII, 249 pp. USD 125.

Alan Kaiser's *Roman Urban Street Networks* provides a new way to study urban space in Roman cities. Within the era of the 'spatial turn' in the study of Roman archaeology and history starting from the 1990s, scholars have increasingly paid attention to streets and found them to reveal much about the surrounding society instead of being merely intermediate spaces between individual city blocks. Kaiser's contribution to this wave of interest is his method that allows the study of all cities in a similar manner – and, as he argues, even those that have not been excavated properly but known mainly from aerial photography.

Kaiser's approach is quantitative and thus enables the study of large amounts of data at once. His method borrows from urban geographers and uses concepts already previously adapted to archaeology. From space syntax analysis, for instance, he selects, very wisely, the concept of depth and proceeds to examine the depth of all streets in relation to city gates, *fora* and possible piazzas without worrying about the complex mathematical formulae that are connected to the analysis. In addition to depth, streets have other qualities that give them character. Drawing on Kevin Lynch's analysis of modern American cities and how people navigate inside them by defining paths, nodes, edges, landmarks, etc., Kaiser shows that Roman literature is also filled with descriptions of certain key elements in urban spaces. He counts the number of intersections along streets and defines the functions of buildings flanking them. This and

⁸ R. Cascino – H. Di Giuseppe – H. L. Patterson (eds.), *Veii. The Historical Topography of the Ancient City: A Restudy of John Ward-Perkins's Survey* (2012).

the way these elements were grouped, he believes, gave the urbanites cultural codes on how to interpret the street. Moreover, it created directionality, which helped people navigate along certain routes to desired locations.

In order that his exercise of counting and defining becomes meaningful, Kaiser explores literary references concerning the use of urban streets. Through an abundant use of examples, he concludes that Romans used specific terms for certain types of streets in a meaningful way. The use of specific terms entailed an assumption about the physical forms of these streets as well as the activities associated with them. Thus *viae* were primary streets. They led to gates and *fora*, were long, wide and rather straight. They had the most intersections and elevated numbers of doorways opened onto them. They were evidently the busiest with most pedestrians and cart traffic, the places to be seen and to establish one's social standing. Secondary streets that can be equated with the Roman concept of *angiporta*, on the other hand, were narrower, shorter, more crooked and had less traffic. They had fewer intersections and doorways and some of them had no wheeled traffic at all. The secondary streets were places where literary sources describe immoral behaviour and they were used, in contrast to the primary streets, when one did not wish to be seen. Taken together, this means that buildings and streets initiated certain behaviour and it was culturally learned to interpret space in certain ways. What Kaiser argues, and convincingly shows in his case studies, is that the Roman concept of the proper and orderly use of space in towns existed at least through the first century BC to the fourth century AD. People had adopted certain universal ways that helped them, for example, to navigate when visiting a completely new town. However, what is interesting is that cities are not alike, and there are differences that can be traced by diligently applying Kaiser's methods.

In order to test his concept of primary and secondary streets, Kaiser analyses Pompeii and Ostia in Italy and Silchester in England. These were selected because of the extent of their excavation that has revealed the street network. The fourth case study is selected to challenge the findings of the first examples, which show, despite variations that are interesting and discussed below, certain tendencies. The city of Empúries (Ampurias) in Spain consists of two parts that have very different characters thanks to their background. The so-called Neapolis district was established as a Greek colony and existed hundreds of years before the adjacent Ciudad Romana was founded after the Roman military presence was established there during the Second Punic War. Eventually these two parts were amalgamated but kept their distinctive character. Whereas the Neapolis district conforms very little or not at all to the patterns observed elsewhere, the Roman city fits very well to the conclusions drawn from other case studies. Indeed, whereas there are no difficulties in producing maps of primary and secondary streets in Pompeii, Ostia and Silchester, this cannot be done in a meaningful way for Neapolis. Moreover, as opposed to other examples, the *agora* area of Neapolis was an integral part of the transport network – elsewhere the *forum* was either fully blocked from carts or they at least had highly restricted access. The way the urban space was organised in Neapolis was profoundly different from Pompeii, Ostia, Silchester and the Ciudad Romana.

To analyse the role of streets further, Kaiser explores the relationship between streets and buildings. He divides the building stock of cities into broad categories of residence, entertainment, administration, health-related, religion, commerce and production. By observing their relationship with streets, Kaiser is able to offer a very interesting discussion. Whereas in Pompeii the elite in particular preferred to place their dwellings along main streets, the inhabitants of Ostia preferred secluded areas for their homes. In Silchester there are no clear pat-

terns between streets and houses and in Empúries the known residences are too few to lending themselves to definite conclusions. Kaiser explains the differences as owing to the character of Pompeii and Ostia. Ostia was an important nexus in the trading network, which meant that a large number of visitors, many with large carts or wagons, passed through the city. Pompeii instead was more of a destination in its own right with limited transit traffic. Notwithstanding the differences, all these cities, including Neapolis, have something in common, namely the plethora of shops along the main street – undoubtedly for economic reasons. While differences in other aspects of commerce exist between the case study towns, the notion of the pervasiveness of retail spaces along main streets is worth further scholarly attention. The phenomenon is, as Kaiser observes, characteristically Roman and reveals some unique qualities of the Roman social and economic system.

The merits of Kaiser's work largely boil down to his meticulous method. For a Pompeianist Kaiser's results are in no way revolutionary as his conclusions are well-identified phenomena, but now instead of being intuitively recognised truths, Kaiser has given them solid grounding. More revolutionary is his argument for meaningful patterning in the city. Because scholars have failed to find clear clusters of certain types of building types, they have been inclined to think that the distribution of buildings is rather random. Kaiser instead can show patterns that are based on streets – i.e., that Romans organised space in relation to streets – something that other scholars have failed to prove. In a similar manner, Kaiser makes the street network of Ostia appear systematic rather than erratic, as has often been claimed.

Kaiser's book has further merits. He writes well, linking the chapters to a coherent whole in which all the parts play a meaningful role, and he has done his research well. The introduction that discusses the power of built spaces to regulate human behaviour is thorough. He explains his terminology clearly and reminds us that terms are too often used without thinking of their hidden implications. Although he bases his discussion largely on rather old, albeit comprehensive, presentations of the case study sites, he still covers a wide span of more recent publications. Some of the more recent widely accepted interpretations are, however, missing. In the case of Pompeii, for example, the early settlement may not have been expanded, as traditionally thought, but contracted instead (see F. Coarelli, in P. Guzzo – M. Guidobaldi [eds.], *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana, scavi 2003–2006*, Rome 2008, 173–76). Moreover, the temple of Jupiter may not have been in ruins in AD 79, as previously assumed, but the barren look of the temple may rather be due to post-eruption looting (see J. Dobbins, in J. Dobbins – P. Foss [eds.], *The World of Pompeii*, London – New York 2007, 150–83).

Regardless of these minor comments, my main criticism deals with the illustrations. As Kaiser notes (p. 59), the best way to present spatial data is maps. It is highly surprising, therefore, that the maps are of poor quality. They are not always easy to read, mainly because they are simply too small in size. Knowing that much effort has been put into making them, this neglect is even more surprising. When an entire page has been dedicated to each of the tables, one wonders why the maps did not get their own pages. This shortcoming is not compensated by the existence of an associate website with colour-coded plans of the sites in question. Despite these shortcomings, however, Kaiser's work can be warmly recommended to all scholars interested in urban planning and movement in Roman towns.

JAMES F. D. FRAKES: *Framing Public Life: The Portico in Roman Gaul*. Phoibos Verlag, Wien 2009. ISBN 978-3-901232-96-1. XI, 487 pp. EUR 98.

Studies of Roman architecture are often either case studies or try to outline historical changes, unfortunately sometimes using only material which supports the main argument and neglecting what is contrary to it. This is, however, not the case with Frakes' book. His subject is Gaul, more precisely the three Roman provinces *Gallia Narbonensis*, *Aquitania* and *Gallia Lugdunensis*. The study starts with the Roman arrival in Gaul, although examples of porticoes before Augustus are rare; it ends in about the last quarter of the third century, when porticoes seem to disappear from Gaul, even though Frakes does mention some examples that can possibly be dated later. Frakes' aim is to study all attested porticoes in the area under study, leaving no evidence undiscussed. This is one of the strengths of the book, but unfortunately the range of the source material also causes some problems.

The work is divided into two parts, a study of the porticoes in Roman Gaul being followed by a catalogue. Frakes serves us the *antipasto* with an overview of the scholarship concerning ancient porticoes in general and by explaining his methodology. Then he brings the *primo*, which consists of an analysis of the material. After that comes the *secondo*, namely the catalogue. Its compilation has obviously been a huge task, but the result is impressive: the catalogue will probably not be read from beginning to end by many people but it will be of great use for future students of the subject.

In Chapter 1, Frakes outlines his methodology. He has constructed his own portico typology combining his own experience with previous scholarship. There are five types of porticoes: those which make up a *platea*, those which border a street, those consisting of just a façade, those known as a *stoa*, and those defined as a *cavea*. The historical context of the porticoes is labelled 'Romanization' which the author defines (p. 10) as "a convenient denotation of the complex processes that led non-Roman cultures to adopt and adapt Roman culture and its architectural and artistic means of self-representation." In examining his material, Frakes applies a 'phenomenological' model to his analysis; according to him, the colonnade was an architectural form related to Roman ideology, which was adopted by the local provincial elite. Frakes also discusses terminology, which is very complicated due to the nature of the ancient literary sources and notoriously unclear when it comes to the architecture. The many different modern applications of the same terminology do not help at all. This question might have deserved a little more attention. Frakes should perhaps also have discussed the differences between public and private architecture, although he does briefly deal with the peristyle and porticoes in the private sphere. Domestic architecture is, of course, out of Frakes' scope, but as the line between public and private is often unclear, this aspect could have profited from some more discussion.

Chapter 2 is excellent. Although Frakes reviews only a selection of literary references to porticoes, this is one of the few existing discussions of such sources. Frakes has selected four different approaches to porticoes which he sees as especially common in the written sources: building columnar spaces, porticoes as part of euergetism, porticoes as a place of vice, and porticoes related to education. Particularly the last two, but also the two other chapters, give a good picture of what happened in the porticoes, especially as these functions are almost invisible in the archaeological remains. There is a demand for an extensive study of the literary sources dealing with the various uses of porticoes, and Frakes' analysis offers a good start, but

obviously he cannot dwell too long on the written evidence, as it only rarely deals with porticoes in Gaul.

Chapters 3 and 5 are devoted to the analysis of Frakes' collection of material regarding the Gallic porticoes, and the evidence is reviewed in chronological order. The third chapter is dedicated to the Augustan era, whereas the fifth deals with the later first and the second centuries CE. In the fifth chapter, the porticoes are divided into different architectural categories: there is a section on porticoes bordered by streets and another on porticoes in sanctuaries. Although Frakes' argumentation is convincing in these chapters, there is perhaps more to be said about the dating of the porticoes. The exact chronology of the monuments under discussion is a key element in this study and at least in some cases the dating criteria seem somewhat uncertain and would need some more explanation.

Chapter 4 provides a new category of evidence, as it takes the artistic representations of columnar space in Gaul into consideration. A study of the colonnades represented in pottery is followed by a presentation of mosaic floors displaying columnar space. This chapter adds a new perspective to porticoes as we are accustomed to seeing them from above, presented in plans. However, the evidence is problematic, as it cannot be connected with known porticoes, and the possibility remains that we are dealing with artistic interpretations of non-existent porticoes.

Frakes' study of the porticoes in Gaul is impressive, and particularly so is his catalogue. The appendices supply several tables of different porticoes with information that is easy for the reader to use. There are still some aspects that might have been more thoroughly developed; for instance, the chapter based on the written sources dealing with the activities attested in the porticoes could have been related more closely to the chapters based on archaeological sources. The book consists of well-written chapters, though they do remain loosely connected to each other. The layout of the volume is elegant and the pictures and plans are clear. This study will certainly be a useful tool in future research. The portico, although so important and so Roman in our minds, has until now not been studied in such a systematic and comprehensive way, with the possible exception of Wilhelmina Jashemski's *Gardens of Pompeii* and *Herculaneum and the Villas Destroyed by Vesuvius* (1979 and 1993), but that author's focus was on gardens rather than on porticoes.

Samuli Simelius

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN: *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums. Statuenbeschreibungen, Materialien, Rezensionen*. Schriften und Nachlaß 4,5. Herausgeben von ADOLF H. BORBEIN – MAX KUNZE. Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt 2012. ISBN 978-3-8053-4569-9. XXXII, 488 S., 27 Abb. EUR 68.

In den Jahren 2002 und 2006 erschien die kritische Ausgabe von Winckelmanns Hauptwerk (der erstere Band wurde in dieser Zeitschrift in der Nummer 38 [2004] 224f. besprochen), im Jahre 2007 kam der allgemeine Kommentar heraus, und endlich erschienen 2008 als Band IV 4 die *Anmerkungen zur Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. Der hier zu besprechende Band ist der letzte Teilband der dem Hauptwerk Winckelmanns gewidmeten kritischen Edition. Dieser Teilband besteht aus Winckelmanns Vorarbeiten zu seinem Hauptwerk sowie aus Materialien

zur Entstehung und zur Wirkung der ersten und der postumen zweiten Auflage; darunter befinden sich zeitgenössische Rezensionen und Ähnliches.

Der Inhalt des Bandes ist folgender: Eröffnet wird der Band mit den verschiedenen Fassungen der Beschreibungen antiker Statuen im Belvedere-Hof im Vatikan (nicht "Bevedere", wie es auf S. V heißt). Fortgesetzt wird mit zwei auf Lateinisch verfassten Schriften, *De ratione delineandi Graecorum artificum* und *De nominibus veterum sculptorum*; begleitet sind sie von einer deutschen Übersetzung. Darauf folgen verschiedenartige Beiträge: Entwürfe zum Hauptwerk in einem Florentiner Nachlassheft; *Collectanea ad Historiam artis* von 1756/1757; Materialien zur zweiten Auflage des Hauptwerks; Ankündigungen und Rezensionen (die mit ihren über 150 Seiten interessante Einblicke in die frühe Rezeptionsgeschichte der *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* gewähren) und endlich Kommentare der Herausgeber. Abgeschlossen wird der Band durch verschiedene Register.

Die Editoren, Adolf Borbein und Max Kunze an der Spitze, haben großartige Arbeit geleistet. Ich verzichte hier auf Einzelkritik und mache aus meinem eigenen Gebiet nur auf zwei auf S. 280–283 behandelte Inschriften aufmerksam, von denen Winckelmann die erste im Großen und Ganzen gut erschlossen hat; es handelt sich um ein griechisches Epitaph *IGUR* 1328 aus Rom, von W. in der Villa Albani abgeschrieben. Da nach Winckelmann (und seinem Rezensenten Ch. A. Klotz) niemand mehr den Stein gesehen hat, ist es umso mehr wertvoller, dass er den Text so vorzüglich wiedergibt (es sind nur ein paar [von Klotz weitergeschleppte] Lesefehler geblieben, die zu emendieren leicht war). Die auch in der Villa Albani befindliche lateinische Grabinschrift *CIL* VI 8461 hat Winckelmann ebenfalls gut erschlossen (dagegen ist die Textform seines Rezensenten Klotz nachlässig).

Heikki Solin

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