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IN MEMORIAM

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19 I 2012

ERBE LEPORINE NELLA MEDICINA GRECA ANTICA

LUIGI ARATA

Far corrispondere un nome scientifico moderno alla denominazione antica di una pianta è spesso un'impresa non di poco conto. La botanica greca, infatti, non era spesso in grado di distinguere gruppi di piante da altri gruppi o singole piante da singole piante. È comunque difficile, poi, considerarla come un blocco unitario, dove le differenze siano inesistenti, soprattutto quando si tratta di dettagli. Sovente, il sostantivo greco non si riferisce ad una sola pianta, ma a più piante – in taluni casi, addirittura, finisce per indicarne un'intera classe. Non si deve dimenticare che, come succede anche con la terminologia moderna non scientifica, uno stesso nome poteva corrispondere a piante così differenti da non avere l'una con l'altra in comune altro che somiglianze esteriori.¹ Si aggiunga che la flora odierna è verosimilmente cambiata rispetto a quella della Grecia antica: con ogni probabilità specie che esistevano allora si sono estinte o più o meno radicalmente modificate, sottoposte come tutto l'ambiente ad un incessante processo di evoluzione.

Quando, poi, come in parte nel caso che andiamo a studiare, una pianta è nominata nel *corpus Hippocraticum*, non va dimenticato che i trattatisti che ne sono parte integrante, a differenza di Teofrasto o Dioscoride, per lo più ignoravano o passavano sotto silenzio le problematiche riguardanti l'identificazione delle varietà di piante. Anche questo dato va tenuto nella debita considerazione: non è improbabile, infatti, che i medici ippocratici avessero, per così dire, un loro lessico specifico, per cui chiamavano in una data maniera una pianta e sapevano riconoscerla per esperienza, anche senza far riferimento ad una tassonomia "precisa", come poteva essere quella teofrastea o quella dioscoridea. Non si può sapere

¹ M. Wellmann, "Die Pflanzennamen des Dioskurides", *Hermes* 33 (1898) 360: "ähnlich wie noch heutzutage hatte im Alterthum der Volksmund für dieselbe Pflanze in verschiedenen Gegenden verschiedene Namen"; R. M. Dawkins, "The Semantics of Greek Names for Plants", *JHS* 56 (1936) 1–2; M. A. Maurel, "Les plantes medicinales dans le Corpus hippocratique", in *Antiquité classique. D'Hippocrate à Alcuin*, Limoges 1985, 34.

quanto ciò dipendesse dalla loro sicurezza professionale (per cui erano certi che un altro medico, sentendo parlare di una data pianta, non avrebbe fatto confusione con altre, chiamate allo stesso modo, ma senza particolari qualità terapeutiche) o dalla loro fiducia nella tradizione.²

Secondo molti studiosi, anche se nel *Corpus* non si indulge a descrivere le piante come amuleti e a crederle ricche di potenti virtù magiche, esse sarebbero state scelte soprattutto per venire incontro alla clientela, la quale, com'è noto, poteva scegliere di farsi curare non da un professionista "serio", ma da un ciarlatano o in un tempio. Impiegare piante che tradizionalmente avevano fama di essere efficaci poteva significare, dunque, un onesto compromesso tra la propria esperienza professionale e le necessità "psicologiche" dei pazienti.³ In realtà, l'analisi delle proprietà delle singole piante utilizzate nel *Corpus* dimostra invece, tramite il confronto con l'odierna erboristeria, che molto spesso l'impiego delle erbe nelle opere ippocratiche corrisponde perfettamente a quello che se ne fa oggi,⁴ e che questi medicamenti, se non completamente efficaci, tuttavia potevano agire perfettamente come coadiuvanti nella terapia.⁵ Proprio per questo motivo, non si

² G. E. R. Lloyd, *Scienza, folklore, ideologia*, Torino 1987, 97–8.

³ Lloyd (sopra n. 2) 99–101; V. French, "Midwives and Maternity Care in the Roman World", in *Rescuing Creusa: New Methodological Approaches to Women in Antiquity* (Helios 13.2), 1986, 70.

⁴ Ciò dimostra che la farmacologia ippocratica era costruita sulla tradizione, ma soprattutto sull'esperienza che la confermava: cfr. ad es. J. Stannard, "The Herbal as a Medical Document", *BHM* 43 (1969) 213–20; J. Scarborough, "Theophrastus on Herbals and Herbal Remedies", *Journal of History of Biology* 11 (1978) 358, 385; G. Harig, "Anfänge der theoretischen Pharmakologie in *Corpus Hippocraticum*", in *Hippocratica. Actes du Colloque hippocratique de Paris (4–9 septembre 1978)*, Paris 1980, 225–7; J. Scarborough, "Theoretical Assumptions in Hippocratic Pharmacology", in *Formes de pensée dans la Collection hippocratique (Actes du IV^{me} Colloque international Hippocratique, Lausanne, 21–26 septembre 1981)*, Genève 1983, 324–5; Maurel (sopra n. 1) 38, 43 ("nous constatons que les propriétés que l'on demandait aux plantes sont toujours en accord avec ce que nous a appris la science moderne"). In realtà, nonostante i venditori di erbe godessero di una cattiva reputazione, soprattutto per via dei loro rituali nel raccogliere le erbe (per cui cfr. A. Delatte, *Herbarius. Recherches sur le cérémonial usité chez les anciens pour la cueillette des simples et des plantes magiques*, Liège – Paris 1938, 24–52 sui tempi giudicati propizi per la raccolta delle singole piante; 53–64 sulla preparazione dell'erborista; 65–89 sulla purificazione della sua persona prima della raccolta; 90–129 sulle parole che vanno usate per invocare le piante durante la raccolta; 130–48 sulle modalità stesse della raccolta), si deve ritenere che l'apparato di superstizioni con cui ammantavano il loro lavoro servisse anche ad eliminare la concorrenza: così A. Arber, *Herbals. Their Origin and Evolution*, Cambridge 1938, 6–8; T. Berti, "Dalla natura al farmaco", in *Di sana pianta. Erbari e taccuini di sanità. Le radici storiche della nuova farmacologia*, Modena 1988, 73.

⁵ Secondo Lloyd (sopra n. 2) 101–2, l'utilizzo delle droghe in vari composti non facilitava

può credere che queste piante siano state utilizzate a caso o solo per suggestioni esterne⁶ e non invece perché l'esperienza ne aveva dimostrato la validità.⁷

Queste motivazioni spiegano, dunque, come mai due piante tanto diverse (il λαγόπυρος e il λαγόπους) siano state frettolosamente identificate come la stessa pianta – il trifoglio – solo ed esclusivamente perché la loro denominazione ha a che fare con lo stesso animale – la lepre⁸ – che effettivamente di quest'ultima è ghiotto.

la distinzione dei loro singoli principi attivi. In realtà, occorre osservare che non sono poi numerosissime, perlomeno all'interno di *Mul.*, le preparazioni con più ingredienti. Si aggiunga che anche la preparazione di questi farmaci, secondo Maurel (sopra n. 1) 38, è corretta: essi infatti contengono alcuni rimedi di base, un adiuvante per rafforzare l'azione del preparato, un ingrediente di complemento che gli dà un aspetto gradevole, infine un ingrediente aromatico che ne migliora il gusto.

⁶ Di diversa opinione sono C. Singer, "The Herbals in Antiquity and Its Transmission to Later Ages", *JHS* 47 (1927) 1, secondo cui "most verbal remedies are quite devoid of any rational basis" (aggiunge, però, che molte delle piante utilizzate nel *Corpus* sono sopravvissute "in the modern official pharmacopoeias of civilised Europe" – a questa affermazione fa seguire poi un lungo elenco di erbe che hanno effettivamente valore terapeutico, come la Camomilla, il Cardomomo, il Coriandro etc., anche se in realtà "of these forty-four items only about a quarter have any definite pharmacological action. The remainder are diluents, flavouring agents, emollients and the like", 21–2) e M. R. Lefkowitz, *Heroines and Hysterics*, London 1981, 13, secondo cui le cure proposte da *Mul.* invece "could only be effective because of their symbolic association"; vd. anche Berti (sopra n. 4) 73–4 ("le medicine orientale, greca, romana, medievale, araba... rimasero ancora profondamente intrise da questo alone di magia"). Sulle piante usate in medicina e magia, cfr. Delatte (sopra n. 4) 1–23. In realtà tutta la medicina greca presenta una sua razionalità che porta a credere anche a rimedi magici, ma solo se funzionano (vd. ad es. Gal. *Simpl. med.* 12, 573). Si vedano anche T. G. Parkin, *Demography and Roman Society*, Baltimore – London 1992, 126; A. E. Hanson, "Paidopoiia: Metaphors for Conception, Abortion, and Gestation in the Hippocratic Corpus", in Ph. J. van der Eyck *et al.* (ed.), *Ancient Medicine in Its Socio-Cultural Context. Papers Read at the Congress Held at Leiden University, 13–15 April 1992*, Amsterdam 1994, 300 n. 38.

⁷ Alcuni studi hanno confermato ad esempio il potere abortivo ed emmenagogo di alcune piante: vd. ad es. M. Moissides, "Contribution à l'étude de l'avortement dans l'antiquité Grecque", *Janus* 26 (1922) 59–85, 129–34; E. Nardi, *Procurato aborto nel mondo greco-romano*, Milano 1971, 258–62; W. Jochle, "Menses-Inducing Drugs: Their Role in Antique, Medieval and Renaissance Gynecology and Birth Control", *Contraception* 10 (1974) 425–39; Maurel (sopra n. 1) 40–2. Come sosteneva Ambroise Paré (1510–1590), "un remède expérimenté vaut mieux qu'un nouveau inventé" (cfr. A. Benedicenti, *Malati-Medici e Farmacisti. Storia dei Rimedi traverso i secoli e delle teorie che ne spiegano l'azione sull'organismo*, Milano 1924–25, I, 534).

⁸ Per l'etimologia del nome greco della lepre, cfr. Y. Duhoux, "L'étymologie de λαγός, lièvre", *AC* 47 (1978) 523–7; J. Faucounau, "Note sur l'étymologie de λαγός lièvre", *AC* 48 (1979) 611.

1. λαγόπυρος

La prima attestazione di quest'erba nella letteratura greca è in un passo ippocratico, da cui, probabilmente, quasi tutti gli altri autori medici successivi dipendono in un modo o nell'altro: si tratta del c. 15 del trattato *Sulle ulcerazioni*, dove si elencano rimedi per guarire le ferite profonde e pulite: l'erba citata per prima (dunque quella probabilmente che ha una maggiore probabilità di curare in modo efficace) è proprio il λαγόπυρος. Come succede talora nelle ricette che appaiono nel *corpus*, quando viene citata una pianta di difficile identificazione o sulla quale è possibile che ci sia un fraintendimento, il trattatista ippocratico aggiunge qualche annotazione per permettere una più facile identificazione.⁹ Già dunque l'autore di *Ulcere* riteneva che non tutti conoscessero bene il "grano della lepre" (λαγόπυρος).¹⁰ Galeno, che a qualche secolo di distanza cerca di spiegare tutti i vocaboli ippocratici che non apparivano più perspicui al lettore del *corpus*, glossa il termine, desumendolo ovviamente da questo trattato, sostanzialmente senza spiegarlo, visto che lo avvicina ad un'altra oscura denominazione: ἡ λαγονάτη καλούμενη βοτόνη (*Linguarum seu dictionum exoletarum Hippocratis explicatio* 19,117). λαγονάτη, in effetti, è un *hapax* in tutta la letteratura greca; d'altra parte, non esiste nessun aggettivo denominativo che abbia come suffisso -νατος, mentre di λαγός il greco conosce come aggettivi λαγῶς o λαγῶειος o eventualmente λάγειος. È vero, tuttavia, che Esichio presenta una forma λαγώνεια, che è stata corretta in λαγώεια (λ 68): forse la consonante ν fu inserita, per sbaglio, per evitare lo iato in entrambi i passi (dovremmo dunque leggere λαγῶατη in Galeno?).¹¹

Come in altri luoghi del *corpus*, anche qui si procede a identificare la pianta con un confronto con altre piante più conosciute, in questo caso l'olivo (le foglie di entrambi sono piccole, ma quella dell'olivo è meno lunga: μικρὸν τὸ φύλλον ὡσπερ καὶ τὸ τῆς ἐλαίης καὶ μακρότερον). Inoltre, si dice che la pianta, una volta seccata, è πιτύροισιν ὁμοίη "simile alla crusca": il λαγόπυρος viene, quindi, com'è naturale considerando la sua etimologia (evidente, venendo il termine dalla fusione di λαγός "lepre" e πυρός "grano"), paragonato al grano, anzi ad

⁹ Ad es. in *Malattie femminili*, in due casi si danno anche precisazioni sulla natura di due piante, in particolare la saponaria e la oloconitide: 78 VIII 174, 9–10 Littré (la saponaria) φύεται δ' οἶον τὸ ἐν Ἄνδρῳ ἐν τοῖσιν αἰγιαλοῖσιν; 78 VIII 182, 21–22 Littré (l'oliconitide) ἔστι δὲ ὡς βολβός, σμικρὸν δὲ ὡς ἐλαίη.

¹⁰ J. M. Raudnitz, *Materia medica Hippocratis*, Würzburg 1843, 68.

¹¹ Cfr. P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1968, 612.

un particolare scarto del grano, la crusca, che tuttavia aveva una sua importanza, soprattutto in allevamento.¹² Qualunque pianta essa sia, quindi, il λαγώπυρος è un'erba che ha una sua somiglianza coi cereali più importanti ed è per questo motivo che non sembra sufficiente, come invece fanno i dizionari più importanti in uso,¹³ identificarla con un semplice trifoglio. È vero che il trifoglio è certamente una delle piante delle quali la lepre si nutre: tuttavia, non è l'unica e anzi è abbastanza attestata dalla letteratura scientifica la voracità di questo animale selvatico per tutti i cereali coltivati dall'uomo.¹⁴

C'è poi da considerare che, se il λαγώπυρος fosse effettivamente il trifoglio, non si capirebbe come mai il medico ippocratico usi un termine tanto raro (tanto da sentirsi poi costretto a spiegarlo) invece che uno più comune, come poteva essere τρίφυλλος che nel *corpus Hippocraticum* è attestato otto volte (*Morb.* II 42. 43, *Morb.* III 16. 17, *Nat. Mul.* 32. 109, *Mul.* 78) e in una occasione anche dallo stesso autore di *Sulle ulcerazioni* (c. 11). Si tenga presente inoltre che il trifoglio comune non sembra avere nessuna qualità curativa delle ferite, mentre, in genere, c'è una forte corrispondenza tra gli utilizzi medici delle piante officinali così come immaginati dai professionisti ippocratici e quelli della erboristeria moderna, che quasi sempre li conferma, anche sulla base dell'analisi delle componenti chimiche delle piante stesse.

Non è questa l'unica pianta la cui denominazione è un composto di πυρός.¹⁵ C'è αἰγίπυρος, letteralmente "il grano (il cibo) della capra (αἶξ)", un'altra pianta di difficile identificazione,¹⁶ menzionata in un passo teocriteo (4,25)¹⁷ assieme

¹² Cfr. ad es. Ps.Luc. *Asinus* 28.

¹³ Cfr. Chantraine (sopra n. 11) s.v. ("trifle").

¹⁴ La lepre esce all'aperto, durante il crepuscolo o di notte, ad alimentarsi di vegetali freschi e succosi (cavoli o barbabietole); tuttavia, nelle stagioni primaverile e estiva, preferisce numerosi tipi di erbe di prato (dalle graminacee alle leguminose), come il trifoglio, la festuca, il loglio e il tarassaco, mentre si ciba anche di cereali (grano, orzo, avena, segale) nel periodo autunnale, quando si nutre anche dei resti della trebbiatura del mais, oltre che dei germogli della colza e di alcuni ortaggi tardivi. Durante il periodo invernale, riesce ad usare tutto il potenziale trofico a disposizione, costituito ad es. da semi sparsi ma anche da cortecce.

¹⁵ Da aggiungere, anche μελάμπυρος "grano nero" (pianta parassita del cereale) e forse anche ἀνθηλήπυρος "grano col ciuffo (?)", parola fantasma attestata da Esichio e glossata con due verbi (α 5133: †ἀνθηλήπυρος· ἀνθεῖ. ἀνθήσει).

¹⁶ L'ononide (*Ononis antiquorum*), secondo il *LSJ*.

¹⁷ Secondo il *LSJ*, la pianta sarebbe citata anche da Teofrasto (*HP* II 8, 3), ma si tratta di un errore.

alla conizza¹⁸ e ad una imprecisata erba profumata,¹⁹ come un'erba da foraggio pregiata per un vitello.²⁰ La maggior parte dei lessicografi,²¹ tuttavia, fa ritenere che il termine αἰγίπυρος, o piuttosto la sua variante αἰγίπυρρος,²² derivi piuttosto dall'aggettivo πυρρός "rossastro": l'atticista Pausania la descrive come "un'erba rossastra che le capre mangiano" (α 39); usano le stesse parole anche Fozio (α 511), Eustazio (*ad Il.* 1, p. 476,22–23), il Lessico Segueriano (α 49),²³ che non è improbabile dipendano tutti dalla stessa fonte, forse lo stesso Pausania.²⁴ Se avesse ragione Pausania, allora anche λαγώπυρος potrebbe derivare il suo nome dal fatto di essere rossastra (o forse, come è possibile anche nel caso dell'αἰγίπυρος, di avere fiori rossastri). Se ciò fosse vero, costituirebbe una motivazione in più per distinguere λαγώπυρος da λαγώπους.

¹⁸ Cioè alla cosiddetta κόνυζα o anche pulicaria (*Dittigia viscosa*). L'etimologia del termine greco si basa sull'odore forte e terribile che ha questa pianta aromatica (J. André, *Lexique des termes de botanique en latin*, Paris 1956, 74; A. Carnoy, *Noms grecs de plantes*, Paris 1959, 92). Si tratta infatti di una confera che con il suo odore uccide scarafaggi e pulci (ma il suo nome potrebbe essere dovuto piuttosto al fatto che i suoi semi sono molto piccoli, come pulci). L'uso antico di questa pianta, testimoniato nel *Corpus hippocraticum* ed anche da Dioscoride, è quasi esclusivamente ginecologico: serve ad espellere la placenta, è un abortivo, il suo odore è estremamente utile nelle terapie isteriche (J. H. Dierbach, *Die Arzneimittel des Hippokrates, oder Versuch einer systematischen Aufzählung der in allen hippokratischen Schriften vorkommenden Medikamenten*, Heidelberg 1824, 182–4; J. Berendes, *Die Pharmacie bei den alten Culturvölkern*, Halle 1891, 217; S. Amigues, *Recherches des plantes*, Paris 1988, III, 135–6 n. 12).

¹⁹ Viste le qualità della conizza e quelle presumibili di questa altra erba profumata, è probabile che anche l'αἰγίπυρος sia un'erba dal forte odore. Non è improbabile allora che la sua denominazione venga proprio da questa sua qualità: dunque, non sarebbe la capra a cibarsene, ma l'erba stessa ad avere un odore simile a quello dell'animale, che notoriamente non è affatto profumato.

²⁰ Diversamente, in uno degli epigrammi sepolcrali della *Anthologia Palatina* (238,2) è definita "cattiva" (κακόν), perché non ornamentale. Per il passo, cfr. il commento di A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus*, Cambridge 1950, *ad loc.*

²¹ La glossa di Esichio è più semplice: "una forma di pianta" (α 1724), come lo è lo scolio al passo teocriteo: ἀκανθῶδες φυτόν "una pianta spinosa" (*Sch. vet. in Theoc.* IV 25a, 1 Wendel).

²² Essa è tuttavia attestata solo da Pausania e da uno scolio ad Aristofane (*in Ran.* 308,9 Dübner). In quest'ultimo, si fa riferimento ad un sacerdote di Dioniso che veniva preso in giro per la sua capigliatura rossastra: pare che Eupoli lo chiamasse appunto "αἰγίπυρρον invece che πυρρόν".

²³ *Collectio verborum utilium e differentibus rhetoribus et sapientibus multis* 49,13.

²⁴ Cfr. anche *IG XIV* 2508.

Una ipotesi di identificazione si può fare sulla base del confronto con Plinio il Vecchio, il quale in un'occasione (24,139: *sed Graeci clematidas et alias habent, unam quam aliqui aetiten vocant, alii laginen, nonnulli tenuem scamoniam. ramos habet pedales, foliosos, non dissimiles scamoniae, nisi quod nigriora minoraque sunt folia. invenitur in vineis arvisque. estur ut olus cum oleo ac sale; alvum ciet. eadem dysintericis cum lini semine ex vino austero sorbetur*) cita una pianta dal nome greco traslitterato, la λαγίνη, che è probabilmente il convolvolo dei campi o vilucchio (*Convolvulus arvensis*), detto appunto "erba leporina" perché cibo preferito dalle lepri. In effetti, la botanica italiana popolare prevede per questa erba la denominazione di "cibo delle lepri" (e λαγώπυρος significa appunto "grano delle lepri" e quindi facilmente, per metonimia, "cibo delle lepri"), oltre che quella, già citata, di "erba leporina".²⁵ Il λαγώπυρος, insomma, sarebbe non un trifoglio, ma un'erba delle Convolvacee, con spiccate qualità depurative e lassative, la quale tuttavia trova applicazione validissima anche come rimedio antiabortivo e come antisettico in tutte le malattie infettive. Proprio quest'ultima sua caratteristica la avvicinerebbe all'utilizzo immaginato dal medico ippocratico.

2. λαγώπουν

La prima attestazione del termine risale a Dioscoride (4,17), cioè al I secolo d.C. Il farmacologo sostiene che la pianta abbia una capacità astringente dei flussi ventrali, se bevuta con vino (la stessa indicazione appare anche in *Euporista* 2,49,2); poi, che è utile per chi ha la febbre, se mescolata con acqua; ed ancora, che è adatta a curare le infiammazioni dei fianchi. L'ultima annotazione riguarda il fatto che questa erba nasce nelle aiole. Nessuna delle indicazioni terapeutiche di Dioscoride sembra anche solo lontanamente concernere il campo di utilizzo indicato nel trattato ippocratico né c'è altrove una indicazione che possa suggerire che λαγώπουν e λαγώπυρος siano effettivamente la stessa pianta. A parte la completa disattenzione da parte dei lessicografi, anche quelli di campo medico,²⁶ anche le altre attestazioni non sembrano permettere un avvicinamento delle due piante "leporine".²⁷ È dunque molto probabile che i due termini si riferiscano a

²⁵ André (sopra n. 18) 39 e bibliografia cit.

²⁶ Per una rassegna dei lessici di ambito medico, cfr. E. Degani, "La lessicografia", in *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, II, Roma 1995, 509, 513, 517.

²⁷ È interessante ricordare, anche se non sembra che da queste indicazioni si possano trarre vere e proprie conclusioni, che Dioscoride, in una annotazione, ricorda come "alcuni chiamano

due piante in realtà diverse.

Galeno pure prende in considerazione il λαγώπουν, mettendone in evidenza le stesse qualità di cui parla Dioscoride, dal quale probabilmente dipende: secondo l'esame di *simpl. med.* 12,56, si tratta di un'erba disseccante, tanto potente da essere in grado di eliminare i flussi ventrali (cfr. P. Aeg. 7,3,11; Orib. 15,1 (11),1.2: mentre Galeno usa la forma neutra, i due medici successivi, che da lui dipendono, preferiscono il maschile λαγώπους al posto di λαγώπουν,²⁸ v. anche Orib. 14,23,1, passo che non dipende strettamente da quello galenico, ma che ripropone la stessa lezione²⁹).

L'etimologia, anche in questo caso evidente (la seconda parte del composto infatti viene da πούς "piede"), sarebbe legata ad una caratteristica tipica della pianta, al fatto cioè di assomigliare ad una zampa di lepre.³⁰ Piuttosto che alla sua conformazione generale, è probabile che il nome fosse dovuto al fatto che il λαγώπουν presentava una peluria sulla sua superficie (ed in questo caso difficilmente potrebbe essere un comune trifoglio). È appena il caso di ricordare che la botanica moderna usa la denominazione *lagopus* per indicare appunto questa caratteristica: la *Plantago lagopus*, ad es., denominata "piantaggine piede di lepre" (sulla quale torneremo tra poco), presenta i suoi caratteristici fiori di colore violaceo in spighe, ovali-subsferiche, completamente pelose e pure le sue brattee sono lanose.³¹

questa pianta il cumino delle lepri" (οἱ δὲ λαγοῦ κύμινον καλοῦσιν), espressione che potrebbe ricordare appunto il sostantivo λαγώπυρος, con "grano" al posto di "cumino" (Diosc. 4,17). Evidentemente, forse, tra le due piante qualcuno si confondeva anche in antichità; tuttavia, il fatto che l'annotazione al testo di Dioscoride reciti οἱ δὲ ... καλοῦσιν evidenzia bene che si tratta di una abitudine linguistica non diffusa. Galeno, del resto, cita (e questa è l'unica attestazione del composto) una pianta che chiama λαγοκύμινος, ma non la riferisce alle altre piante leporine, ma ad un'altra pianta sconosciuta che indica con il nome di ἄμεως (Λέξεις βοτάνων 386), un altro *hapax*. È impossibile ricostruire con sicurezza a quale pianta mai si riferisse il glossario galenico, dato che con un nome simile si conosce solo l'ἄμι (o ἄμμι).

²⁸ È probabile che la forma maschile sia una innovazione della tradizione medica post-galenica. Non è tuttavia il caso di correggere il testo dei passi di Oribasio e di Paolo Egineta, anche se dipendono strettamente da *simpl. med.* 12,56.

²⁹ La pianta è in questo caso inserita in un elenco di piante disseccanti.

³⁰ In italiano, l'espressione "piede di lepre" indica un attrezzo utilizzato nella lavorazione della lana, in particolare uno zampino peloso utile come spazzoletta.

³¹ Si conoscono con la stessa denominazione anche: *Dalea lagopus*, *Ochroma lagopus*, *Psoralea lagopus*, *Uraria lagopus*, *Oxytropis lagopus*, tutte con caratteristiche simili. In particolare, la *Dalea lagopus* è conosciuta anche come "coda di volpe" (in inglese, "foxtail prairieclover"): se ne deduce che la denominazione "piede di lepre" non è dovuta tanto al fatto

È attestata, del resto, anche nelle lingue moderne, l'abitudine linguistica di denominare alcune piante sulla base della analogia con una zampa di un animale: in italiano, ad es., sono attestati il piede di colombo,³² il piede di leone (che è peraltro più comunemente conosciuto come stellaria) e il piede di vitello (noto anche come gichero o iaro). È da osservare, inoltre, che del piede di leone sono note qualità astringenti e nella cura delle ferite (è interessante che la stessa pianta accomunerebbe i due campi di utilizzo delle diverse "piante leporine" conosciute dalla Grecia antica). La stellaria fu chiamata "piede di leone" probabilmente per il fatto che i suoi otto angoli sono dentati (in effetti, quando le fronde sono bene aperte, assomigliano ad una stella – e ciò spiega piuttosto la sua più comune denominazione). Non sempre, quindi, è semplice ricostruire le motivazioni sottese a certe etimologie popolari, tantomeno se si prendono in considerazione denominazioni antiche.

La botanica popolare italiana comprende almeno tre piante denominate "piede di lepre": si tratta del carice pié di lepre (*Carex lagopus*), della piantaggine pié di lepre (*Plantago lagopus*)³³ e del trifoglio piede di lepre, detto anche semplicemente piede di lepre (*Trifolium pratense*). Quest'ultima pianta, e in parte anche la piantaggine, ha lo stesso nome anche in altre lingue europee: in spagnolo, è "pie de liebre", in inglese "hare's foot trefoil" (o anche "hare's foot clover"), in francese "pied-de-lièvre". Effettivamente, questa specie di trifoglio, contenendo come componenti attive tannini, flavonoidi e oli essenziali, ha varie applicazioni terapeutiche nell'erboristeria moderna: in tisana, quest'erba si utilizza come rimedio contro la tosse spasmodica (ad es. per la cura delle bronchiti) o contro la

che l'erba sia nutrimento tipico della lepre, quanto al fatto che essa presenta, come la stessa coda di volpe, una qualche peluria. Si osservi che anche il *LSJ* interpreta *λαγώπους* in questo modo ("a downy plant"), identificandolo poi con il *Trifolium arvense* (vedi oltre, per le mie conclusioni): tuttavia, ritiene che il *λαγώπους* sia la stessa erba (per la verità, il lessico legge *λαγωπύρος*), ciò che si è dimostrato essere impossibile.

³² Si tratta di una pianta che produce coppie di fiori celesti e piuttosto comune nei terreni incolti.

³³ Effettivamente, anche la piantaggine ha una grande fama nella medicina popolare, testimoniata anche dal fatto che era considerata una pianta benedetta che rendeva felici e amati da tutti. In erboristeria moderna, per via del fatto che contiene emulsina, mucillagine, acido citrico, sali minerali e sostanze amare particolarmente attive per la regolazione delle funzioni organiche, si ritiene che abbia uno specifico potere astringente, cicatrizzante, emolliente, diuretico e depurativo. Essa è dunque adatta alla purificazione del sangue, dei polmoni e dello stomaco; sostituisce con vantaggio l'olio di fegato di merluzzo; è antiemorragica, antidiarroica, decongestionante e astringente. Può anche essere usata come valido rimedio ad uso esterno per le vene varicose, le dermatosi, le infiammazioni del cavo orale e la puntura di insetti velenosi.

tosse prodotta dall'irritazione della gola. Un impiego altrettanto diffuso è contro la gotta. Ma è molto più rilevante che per il suo alto contenuto di tannini essa sia utile come antidiarroico, che è anche una delle qualità che sono proprie del *λαγώπους*, come è lo stesso Dioscoride a ricordare.³⁴ È possibile dunque che il *λαγώπους* sia effettivamente un trifoglio, ma possa essere più convenientemente tradotto come "piede di lepre".

Antidiarroico è anche il frutto della *λάγινις* (o forse *λαγινίς*), altra pianta "leporina", probabilmente da identificare con il *λαγώπους*, citata dal medico autore del trattato *De cibis* (13 = *De alimentis* 9) tra gli alimenti che sono in grado di trattenere i flussi ventrali.

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³⁴ Non è questo il caso di insistere anche sulle proprietà magiche che si attribuivano alla specie di questa pianta (il trifoglio in genere) e che sono note anche oggi, tanto che esso viene usato per attrarre la buona sorte, soprattutto se presenta, come raramente succede, non tre foglioline, ma quattro o addirittura cinque.

NEW PROSOPOGRAPHICAL DATA DERIVED FROM ROMAN LEAD PIPE INSCRIPTIONS*

CHRISTER BRUUN

The impressive volume charting ancient archaeological finds in the territory of Velletri near Rome by Manlio Lilli¹ contains some previously unknown data of prosopographic nature. In particular, the work presents three previously unpublished inscriptions on lead pipes (*fistulae*), which all merit further comment.

1. The woman [---]lia Calligone

The lead pipe inscription [---]LIAE CALLIGONES, of which a good photo is published by Lilli,² is previously unknown. The *fistula* on which the text appears is labelled "materiale sporadico", i.e. it lacks a securely recorded provenance, but the pipe apparently comes from a site near Via Appia Nuova called "La Pilara" and is now in private ownership ("conservata da un abitante della zona"). The piece of lead pipe is only 90 cm in length, the diameter is given as 0.25 m (which,

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¹ M. Lilli, *Velletri Carta Archeologica. Velletri – Le Castella (IGM 150 II SO – 158 IV NE)*, Roma 2008.

² Lilli (cit. n. 1), 538 no. 501.

if measured correctly, means that the pipe is of enormous size),³ while the letters are said to measure only 0.7 cm in height.⁴

The name *Calligone* is somewhat unusual, in that Heikki Solin's authoritative inventory shows only three occurrences of this Greek *cognomen* in Rome.⁵ In the index to *CIL X*, which includes Velletri, the name does not appear at all, nor is it present in *CIL XIV*, which covers the region around Rome. Two of the cases recorded by Solin are found in late-antique Christian inscriptions (*ICUR* 7480, 21706), while one seems to be earlier (*CIL VI* 14091 *Kalligoneti*). None of these women bear a family name, while our case from Velletri does so. The name is fragmentary and there are several ways in which to complete it, though for statistical reasons the extremely common *Iulia* would be the strongest candidate. As for dating this stamp, the style of lettering in *fistula* inscriptions must be considered even less of a reliable dating criterion than when interpreting inscriptions on stone. Yet the quality of the well-executed letters and their "square" appearance would seem to point to sometime in the late second or early third century.⁶

As always when dealing with a name on a lead pipe, a central concern is to determine the status and function of the person in question. In the context of inscribed *fistulae*, one may note that women's names are occasionally found on lead pipes from the Castelli Romani region (with surroundings), which is adjacent to Velletri. In particular, from Velletri itself there is the incomplete stamp [---] *Quartillae Egnatiae Taurinae* [---] (*Suppl. It.* 2, 52 no. 17 = *AE* 1984, 160), in which it may well be that two women are recorded.⁷ Altogether, in central Italy outside Rome and Ostia, female names in the genitive are found on *fistulae* in some twenty cases, including women of the imperial family twice.⁸ There is a

³ C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki 1991, 138–9 on the maximum size of known lead pipes. I suspect a typographical error may have inflated the number as given.

⁴ Letters of such minuscule size are practically unheard of on lead pipes.

⁵ H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*, Berlin – New York 2003², 95 (cf. p. 1445 for a possible fragmentary instance).

⁶ H. Dressel, "Fistulae urbanae et agri suburbani," *CIL XV* (1899) 906–13, esp. 912.

⁷ See M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Prosopographie des femmes de l'ordre sénatorial (I^{er}–II^e siècles)* I, Lovanii 1987, 300 no. 340 *Egnatia Taurina*.

⁸ The references are (only one reference per stamp is given): *CIL XV* 7778, 7798, 7800, 7822, 7829–31, 7833, 7835, 7853, 7880; *AE* 1905, 208; 1984, 160; 1994, 341; 2006, 437; *Inscr. It.* IV.1 620; *Epigraphica* 24 (1962) 67; *Epigraphica* 73 (2011) 319; *NSA* 1931, 280 no. 110. I intend to present a full study of these instances in my "Women and Wealth in Roman Italy" (in progress).

clear pattern in these names, in that for the most part these women can clearly be identified as being of senatorial rank, bearing "good" traditional senatorial names (Crispina, Rufina, Agrippina, Priscilla, etc.). There are some exceptions, however, such as the stamp *Aeliae Aste* (CIL XV 7829) or *Claudiae Aug. l. Actes* (CIL XV 7835). In the latter inscription, we find both a Greek *cognomen* and the designation of imperial freedwoman (but Acte, Nero's mistress, was a woman of note⁹). One further Greek *cognomen* occurs in this group, in the stamp *Atriae Moscharus c. f.* (CIL XV 7831.1–2 = EE IX 732a–b). Atria Moscharo appears to have been of senatorial rank, since *c(larissima) f(emina)* is a more likely reading than *G(ai) f(ilia)*, the filiation typically being inserted between *gentilicium* and *cognomen*. Therefore we cannot rule out that Iulia Calligone was also a woman of means, and that in our stamp she appears in the capacity of owner of the conduit, regardless of her carrying a Greek *cognomen*. (The alternative would be that she was a manufacturer and that the complete stamp read [*ex off. Iu]liae Calligones.*)¹⁰

2. Ti. Claudius Liberalis, likely a *plumbarius*

Another discovery by Manlio Lilli at Velletri comes from a site called Colle de' Marmi along the Via Appia Antica. Among the items found on the site there is, in the possession of the "vecchio proprietario dell'abitazione", a piece of lead pipe, broken at both ends and 24 cm in length, with a diameter of 5.5 cm, which carries the inscription TICLLIBERA[---] (letter size 2.6 cm). The editor completed the reading of this inscription as *Ti. Cl(audi) Libera[lis (centurionis) coh. V pr.]*, with reference to CIL XV 7432 and to the historian Flavius Josephus, who mentions a centurion called Λιβεράλιος (BJ 6,262). This reconstruction is difficult to accept, for a variety of reasons.¹¹

The lead pipe stamp CIL XV 7432 is not a particularly good parallel, because that inscription is only known from a manuscript that gives the beginning of the text as CLLIBE, followed by a gap where the letters are missing, followed

⁹ On the literary sources and rich epigraphic evidence for Claudia Acte, see A. Mastino – P. Ruggeri, "Claudia Augusti liberta Acte: la liberta amata da Nerone ad Olbia," *Latomus* 54 (1995) 513–44.

¹⁰ The female gender of [---]lia Calligone by no means rules out that she might have been a *plumbaria*, a manufacturer of the lead pipe. For a list of female manufacturers, see Bruun (cit. n. 3), 343–4.

¹¹ Lilli (cit. n. 1), 684 nos. 810–2. The letters are tightly squeezed together, and the horizontal bars of L and E are very short.

by the name *Restitutus*, which must belong to the manufacturer, the *plumbarius*. In *CIL XV*, Dressel restored the first part of the stamp as *Cl(audiae) Libe[ralis]*, though why he thought that the name of a woman appeared in the stamp is not clear.¹² *Liberalis* is a common Latin *cognomen*, and although it can be borne by both men and women, it is much more common among men.¹³ The name is also the most common one beginning with *Libe[---]* (as can be seen in Kajanto's *Latin Cognomina*), which is why it makes sense to restore the *cognomen Liberalis* in both *CIL XV 7432* and the new lead pipe stamp from Colle de' Marmi. It is, however, unwarranted to add anything more to the text, since there is nothing to indicate that Claudius Liberalis from the region of Velletri was a praetorian officer, or indeed a soldier at all.

If one were to look for homonymous persons, there are more likely candidates attested much closer to Velletri, although in no case is there a strong reason for identifying any of the other Claudii Liberales with the man mentioned on the *fistula*. From the territory of Tibur (Tivoli) some 30 km to the north as the crow flies (by road the distance is much greater) comes an inscription which mentions the Roman knight Ti. Claudius Ti. f. Qui(rina tribu) Liberalis Aebutianus, who takes credit for having held the offices of *praefectus fabrum*, *trib. mil. leg. III Cyrenaicae* and *decurialis Caesarum consulum praetorum* (*CIL XIV 4239 = ILS 1013 = Inscr. It. IV.1 105*). From Tibur derives also *CIL XIV 3624 (= VI 3512)*, the epitaph of the sixteen-year old Ti. Claudius Liberalis, *praef. fabrum* and enjoying the right to an *equus publicus* (likely the brother of the former¹⁴). A better candidate may be a third man bearing the same name who appears in a brick stamp in the formula *ex fig(linis) Cl(audi) Lib(eralis) Sul(picianis)*, accompanied by the consular date for 123 CE (*CIL XV 559*). Many examples of the stamp were known to Dressel, the editor of the *CIL* entry, five of which had a secure prov-

¹² Thus also W. Eck, "Die *fistulae aquariae* der Stadt Rom. Zum Einfluß des sozialen Status auf administratives Handeln", in Idem, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge 2*, Basel – Berlin 1998, 264 (first publ. 1982). The first lines in *CIL X 5872* from Ferentinum read *D. M. Claudiae Liberalis ...*, but there is no reason why this woman should be the person mentioned in the lead pipe inscription from Rome.

¹³ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 256: during the imperial period, three men of senatorial status are known to have carried the name; among commoners, 213 men and 19 women.

¹⁴ Thus H. Dessau, *ad CIL XIV 4239*, who also, *ibid.*, suggests that these men were somehow related to Aebutius Liberalis, to whom Seneca dedicated his *De beneficiis*.

enance. Four were from Rome, while the fifth was from the *ager Veliternus* (CIL XV 559.4), i.e. the same area as our *fistula*.¹⁵

One may also note that the fragmentary new stamp does not directly allow us to determine the function in which Ti. Claudius Libera[lis] appears on the *fistula*, since the grammatical case in which the name stands cannot be determined. As is well known, the simple genitive mostly, although not always,¹⁶ identifies the owner of the conduit and, hence, the owner of the property supplied by the conduit. The nominative case can very occasionally fulfill the same function,¹⁷ but normally it indicates the *plumbarius* and is followed by the term *fecit* or some shortened version of this verb.¹⁸ As it happens, a verb would have been quite a useful component in this stamp, since the nominative and the genitive of *Liberalis* have the same form. The case of the *gentilicium Claudius* is different; had it been written out in full one would immediately be able to distinguish between nominative and genitive. As matters stand now, only a verb at the end of the stamp could have made the situation clear, and, assuming that a *fistula* stamp served a practical function, one would therefore expect *fecit*, *fec.* or simply *f.* to have completed the stamp. This being the case, one cannot avoid the suspicion that Ti. Claudius Liberalis was in fact a *plumbarius* and not the owner of the lead conduit. There is nothing to preclude this interpretation.¹⁹ Judging from the photo of the inscribed *fistula* (which does not include a centimetre scale which would directly allow the viewer to determine the length of the fragmentary stamp), the preserved part of the stamp measures some 16.5 cm. If the stamp originally read *TiCILiberalis fec.*, this would bring the total length to about one Roman foot (29.6 cm), which is a very common size for an inscription on a *fistula*.²⁰ Thus, until evidence to the

¹⁵ I am not aware of any discussion of this Claudius Liberalis by experts on Roman brick stamps.

¹⁶ Bruun (cit. n. 3), 72–76, 81–95; C. Bruun, "Velia, Quirinale, Pincio: note su proprietari di domus e su plumbarii," *Arctos* 37 (2003) 27–48, esp. 36–43.

¹⁷ Among the *fistulae* discovered at Rome, see, for instance, CIL XV 7398α, 7424α and γ, 7453γ, 7487, 7561.

¹⁸ In addition, the term *offinator*, or an abbreviation thereof, occasionally identifies a manufacturer.

¹⁹ There would definitely have been space to include the verb, possibly abbreviated to just the letter F, at the end of the stamp. Furthermore, in lead pipe stamps the use of the *praenomen* is common both among those individuals whose name appears in the genitive and who thus are considered owners, and among the *plumbarii*. For *plumbarii* bearing a *praenomen*, see, e.g., CIL XV 7597, 7598, 7609, 7610, 7616, 7617, 7618, 7626, 7627.

²⁰ The suggested text would add seven letters to the nine that can be read (almost nothing

contrary surfaces, the most likely interpretation is that at Velletri we are dealing with a *plumbarius* called Ti. Claudius Liberalis. The homonymous person on the *fistula* found in Rome (*CIL* XV 7432) is probably a different person, since these *tria nomina* are quite common, as we have seen, and nothing new can be said about the function in which he appears on the Roman lead pipe.

3. The senator Asellius Rufus Aemilianus

The most significant new inscription presented by Lilli is mentioned in a document from 1560, in the *Liber Consilare* of Velletri. According to this local record, "in loco vulgo dicto la Pilara della Fagiola" many lead pipes were found, of which some carried the inscription B C ASELLI RVFI AEMILIANI.²¹

Numerous inscribed Roman lead pipes were found and recorded in earlier centuries,²² and surviving objects or corroborating information have shown that such early reports are quite often trustworthy. This is likely the case here too, for it seems that we are dealing with a previously known person, although the lead pipe inscription interestingly enough enables us to complete his name. Asellius Rufus Aemilianus is the only person among those revealed by these new *fistula* stamps from Velletri who is likely to be a senator, a conclusion which is based on his onomastic formula. Lilli did not dwell further upon this discovery, but a consultation of *PIR*² turns up the entry A 1211, under which is registered a senator called Asellius Aemilianus. References to him occur in Cassius Dio, Herodian, and the *Historia Augusta*, as well as in a few epigraphic and numismatic sources. He must have been suffect consul in the period 177/180 CE, for he is known to have been *leg. Aug. pr. pr. Syriae* c. 187–190 (*IGR* III 1262) and *procos. Asiae* in 192/193 (Herod. 3,2,2–3, who simply calls him Αἰμιλιανός).²³

of the A is preserved). That stamps of c. 1 *pes* in length were quite frequent is shown in my "Uniformità e prassi quotidiana nella manifattura degli stampi per le fistule plumbee nella zona di Roma e a Ostia", *Boll. Mon. Mus. Gall. Pont.* (forthcoming).

²¹ Lilli (cit. n. 1), 537 no. 498.

²² One may note that about one third of the entries in *CIL* XV 7235–7734, where Dressel published the *fistula* stamps from Rome known around the year 1900, depends on a manuscript tradition; see further my forthcoming Introduction to the edition of the lead pipe stamps in the Vatican Museum.

²³ G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen. Prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Führungsschicht*, Bonn 1977, 190–1, suggested that the consulship belong in 177, considering that the proconsulship is dated to 192/193. E. Dąbrowa,

As Edward Dąbrowa (n. 23) has remarked, it is to be expected that Asellius held some office(s) in the 180s CE, after the consulship and before the governorship of Syria. There is numismatic evidence that he was *leg. Aug. pr. pr. Thraciae*, but this task of praetorian rank necessarily dates to before the consulship; in this context he appears as Ἀσέλλιος Αἰμιλιανός.²⁴

Assuming that the lead pipe inscription from Velletri concerns the same man,²⁵ the new information about his name now adds some new possibilities to our information about the career of Asellius Aemilianus. *PIR*² S 951 (from 2006) registers a certain [---]ellius Rufus, who was governor in Moesia Inferior at some point during the period 184/192 (*AE* 1987, 893). The common view among scholars today is that the name should be restored as [Su]ellius Rufus and that the man belonged to a well-known senatorial family from Beneventum in Italy. Some time ago, Giuseppe Camodeca suggested that the governor not be identified with the *clarissimus iuvenis* Cn. Suellius Rufus Marcianus known from another inscription (*AE* 1986, 155 from Puteoli; see *PIR*² S 953). According to Camodeca, the *iuvenis* Cn. Suellius Rufus Marcianus is identical with a man who appears as Suellius Marcianus and *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* in Thrace under Commodus, c. 186 CE (later, in 192 CE, he is thought to have been *curator operum publicorum* in Rome; see *PIR*² S 950).²⁶ In Camodeca's view the governor of Moesia Inferior called [---]ellius Rufus is the father of the *iuvenis* and indeed ought to have been called Cn. Suellius Rufus (in order to explain the *cognomen* Rufus born by the young man).²⁷

The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus (Antiquitas I: 45), Bonn 1998, 125–7, prefers to date his consulship to c. 179/180, and places him in Syria c. 187 to c. 190. Briefly mentioned in P. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–235 n. Chr.)*, Amsterdam 1989, 222, 262; F. Hurlet, *Le proconsul et le prince d'Auguste à Diocletien*, Pessac 2006, 74.

²⁴ Thus *PIR*² A 1211. Cf. now conveniently W. Leschhorn, *Lexikon der Aufschriften auf griechischen Münzen II. Ethnika und 'Beamtennamen'* (Österr. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschr. 383), Wien 2009, 375.

²⁵ In principle, one can obviously not exclude that Asellius Rufus Aemilianus cited on the *fistula* is different from the Asellius Aemilianus who is known from literary, epigraphic and numismatic sources.

²⁶ G. Camodeca, "Quattro carriere senatorie del II e III secolo", *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* I, Roma 1982, 529–45, esp. 536–9. One may note that *PIR*² S 950 disagrees somewhat about the date for the governorship of Thrace (dating it between 180 and 183), and harbours some doubts as to whether the governor and later *curator operum publicorum* is identical with the *clarissimus iuvenis*; on this, see further M. Horster, "Statthalter von Thrakien unter Commodus", *ZPE* 147 (2004) 247–58, esp. 256–7.

²⁷ Camodeca (cit. n. 26), 538–9.

To the discussion of this family tree and the somewhat hypothetical attributions of government offices can now, thanks to the *fistula* inscription, be added the putative senator Asellius Rufus Aemilianus. From a purely onomastic point of view, it is possible that the governor of Moesia Inferior instead was called [As]jellius Rufus and that it was our man who in the period 184/187 CE was *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* in that province, before moving on to Syria. This identification would be in accord with a certain administrative pattern which meant that the governorship of Moesia Inferior usually came earlier in a senator's career than that of Syria, which, with its three legions, was one of the most important provinces.²⁸

Finally some thought might be devoted to the two letters B and C on the lead pipe, which in the manuscript tradition precede *Aselli Rufi Aemiliani*, apparently with some space between them. While the letter B currently defies explanation,²⁹ the most natural interpretation is to take the letter C as standing for the *praenomen Gaius*, although there is nothing in particular that supports this suggestion. The senatorial family of the Asellii is otherwise very poorly known. The reference to a senator called Asellius Claudianus, who according to the *Historia Augusta* (*Sept. Sev.* 13,1) fell victim to the purges of Septimius Severus in the 190s CE, has led to the suggestion that we may here be dealing with a close relative, perhaps a brother, of Asellius Aemilianus. For various reasons this piece of information is problematic,³⁰ and in any case the *praenomen* of Asellius Claudianus remains unknown.

Thus, we are entirely dependent on onomastic evidence provided by common Asellii. Bearers of this *gentilicium* are absent from *CIL* XIV, while two Asel-

²⁸ Thus, for instance, A. R. Birley, *The Fasti of Roman Britain*, Oxford 1981, 28–9.

²⁹ Lead pipe stamps sometimes contain symbols or abbreviations, but they are normally placed after the name. It is impossible to read *[su]b c(ura)*, since the term *cura* is never abbreviated; *cura* is written out in full in some seventy instances on lead pipe stamps in *CIL* XV 7235–7913, passim. The reading *[su]b C. Aselli Rufi Aemiliani* is evidently impossible because the name stands in the genitive. A few cases of *sub* + ablative on *instrumentum domesticum* are known (see the two lead pipe stamps *CIL* XV 7271 and *AE* 1995, 249b, and *CIL* XV 7150, a bronze plaque).

³⁰ Most recently on the issue see D. Okon, *Septimius Severus et senatores: Septimius Severus' Personal Policy towards Senators in the Light of Prosopographic Research (193–211 A.D.)*, Szczecin 2012, 51–2. The discovery, in the 1970s, of a Roman senator called Sellius Clodianus (*AE* 1974, 11 = *CIL* VI 41261) cast suspicion on the presence of "Asellius Claudianus" in the list of proscribed senators given by the *Historia Augusta*; on the discussion, see G. Alföldy, *Die Krise des Römischen Reiches* (HABES 5), Stuttgart 1989, 164–78; C. Bruun, "Die *Historia Augusta*, die Proskriptionen des Severus und die *curatores operum publicorum*", *Arctos* 24 (1990) 5–14, esp. 6–9.

lii are found in *CIL* X (both from Puteoli) and eight in Rome (in *CIL* VI). Among these individuals, *Lucius* is the overwhelmingly most common *praenomen* with three attestations at Puteoli and two at Rome; in addition, *Aulus* appears once.³¹ Some scholars have considered it possible that the Asellii originated from North Africa;³² in *CIL* VIII, among a handful of bearers of this *gentilicium*, the *praenomen Gaius* is found once (26723), but so is *Quintus* (8985) and *Publius* (1678).

All in all, I see no reason for not including this *fistula* stamp among the genuine ones, which also means that Asellius Rufus Aemilianus can be included among the landowners of the region, likely at the turn of the second century CE.

4. *Furius Placidus vir clarissimus*, from Italy to France

In a recent publication, a team of three French archaeologists discuss the water supply of the Roman town of Durocortorum (Reims). The only epigraphic evidence used in the study is the stamp on a *fistula* which reads FVRI PLACIDI V C and is preserved in the local Musée Saint-Remi. Quite rightly the three scholars conclude that the inscription refers to a *v(ir) c(larissimus)*, a senator called Furius Placidus.³³ Did he own a building in Durocortorum which benefited from piped water? The authors have some doubts in this regard, and with reason, as will be shown, because the only thing that is known about the lead pipe is that it was acquired by the museum "lors d'un vente publique à l'hotel Drouot à Paris".³⁴

Although lead pipes at Durocortum were not unknown in Roman times (the authors, *ibid.*, refer to one or two anepigraphic pieces found *in situ*), it seems highly unlikely that the *fistula* carrying the stamp of Furius Placidus could be of local origin. In the early 1890s, a discovery was made in Campania, in the region of the Bay of Naples, reportedly near Pompeii, of an inscribed *fistula* carrying the stamp *Furi Placidi v. [c.]*.³⁵ One notes that the Italian stamp as reported did not

³¹ For Rome, see *CIL* VI 6.1. *CIL* X 2109 gives the two Lucii Asellii from Puteoli. One of them cites a third L. Asellius as his patron.

³² Leunissen (cit. n. 23), 82 n. 25.

³³ M. Arduin – A. Balmelle – Y. Rabasté, "L'eau à Durocortorum (Reims) à travers les aménagements hydrauliques", in C. Abadie-Reynal – S. Provost – P. Vipard (eds.), *Les réseaux d'eau courante dans l'antiquité* (Actes Coll. Nancy 2009), Rennes 2011, 147–58, esp. 156, the museum inventory no. is 981.4.1. The name is somewhat mistakenly given as Furius Placidius.

³⁴ See the previous note.

³⁵ See *Atti Comm. Terra di lavoro Caserta* 24 (1893) 272 = *NSc* 1895, 326.

preserve the complete "Rangzeichen" *vir clarissimus*, but one might be inclined to ascribe this difference to a superficial study of a poorly preserved object. The situation is, however, somewhat more complicated. In fact, in the first reports the stamp was read as *Euri Placidius(!)*.³⁶ The contribution in the *Notizie degli Scavi* from 1895 further stated that the lead pipe was deposited in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples, and there Giuseppe Camodeca was able to study it some time ago, after which the correct reading given above could be established.³⁷

In the museum at Reims, we are dealing with "deux fragments, de 47 et 25 cm de long(eure) pour 8 cm de large(sse), appartenant à la meme conduite",³⁸ while measurements of the lead pipe in the Naples museum are not currently available. Obviously the *fistula* which was the subject of the original report cannot have ended up in Reims. The same Italian site may, however, have yielded several pieces of lead piping, one of which carried a complete stamp. One may also note that Camodeca reported that the records of the Naples museum registered "un altro esemplare frammentario", which he could no longer find.³⁹

On the whole, it is not surprising that a *fistula* from Campania should have ended up at an auction in Paris. In the past, lead pipes were paid little attention by excavators and museum staff, even when they carried inscriptions. It is well known that there has been a tendency for lead pipes to disappear even after having been placed in a museum storage,⁴⁰ and some inscribed pieces have ended

³⁶ See the previous note.

³⁷ G. Camodeca, "Sulle proprietà senatorie in Campania con particolare riguardo al periodo da Augusto al III secolo", *CCG* 12 (2005) 121–37, esp. 135 n. 75, who also suggested that the *fistula* may in fact have its origin in the Phlegrean region, near modern Pozzuoli. Cf. G. Camodeca, "Ricerche su Puteoli tardoromana (fine III – IV secolo)", *Puteoli* 4–5 (1980–81) 59–128, esp. 104 (before his carrying out the autopsy). The *fistula* stamp was registered in C. Bruun, "*Instrumentum domesticum* e storia romana: Le fistule iscritte della Campania", in L. Chioffi (ed.), *Il Mediterraneo e la Storia. Epigrafia e archeologia in Campania: letture storiche*, Napoli 2010, 145–83, esp. 150.

³⁸ Arduin – Balmelle – Rabasté (cit. n. 31), 156.

³⁹ Camodeca 2005 (cit. n. 37), 135 n. 75.

⁴⁰ The publisher of *CIL* XV, Heinrich Dressel, in at least one instance (*ad CIL* XV 7484) complained ("frustra quaesivi") that some inscribed lead pipes from Rome could no longer be found in the storage where they had been placed. From a somewhat later period, one notices that a series of inscribed *fistulae* discovered in the region of Velletri in the early 1920s and deposited in the local museum could not be found during an inventory some sixty years later, see H. Solin – R. Volpe, "Regio I. Latium et Campania. Velitrae", *Supplementa Italica* 2, Roma 1983, 11–94, esp. 52–4 nos. 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22.

up in collections outside Italy. Specifically, a number of Campanian *fistulae*, unearthed at the turn of the 20th century, were brought to the Kelsey Museum in Ann Arbor, Michigan,⁴¹ while other inscribed *fistulae*, some of which certainly had been discovered in Campania, can be found in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto.⁴² The text discussed in the next section represents another example of this dispersal of Italian inscribed lead pipes.

Against this background, it is highly likely that the inscribed *fistula* now in the Musée Saint-Remi at Reims is of Campanian origin. There is no solid evidence for ownership of property by Furius Placidus in Durocortorum.

As for the Furius Placidus mentioned in the *fistula* from Campania, he would seem to be identical with M. Maecius Memmius Furius Baburius Caecilianus Placidus *c. v.*, who is honoured by the *regio Palatina* of Puteoli in *CIL X 1700* (= *ILS 1231*).⁴³ Among the administrative offices mentioned in this inscription is that of *praef. annonae sacrae urbis*, *praef. praetorio* and *consul ordinarius* (343 CE), while later, in 346/47 CE, he held the position of *praefectus urbis Romae*.⁴⁴

5. A new *plumbarius* from Rome, via Gothenburg⁴⁵

In the spring of 1909, a pioneering initiative by Vilhelm Lundström, Professor of Latin at Göteborgs Högskola (the precursor to today's Göteborgs Universitet) in Gothenburg, Sweden, brought a group of eight students, all with a recent degree in Classical Philology, to Rome. As can be seen in the report published at the conclusion of almost two months in Rome, the program was demanding and re-

⁴¹ See S. L. Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in the Kelsey Museum: The Dennison and De Criscio Collections*, Ann Arbor 2005, 4–5 (background), 165–70 nos. 272–84 (lead pipes).

⁴² Cited in Bruun (cit. n. 37), 171.

⁴³ See Camodeca 1980–81 (cit. n. 37), 102–4, and *PLRE I*, Placidus no. 2, an entry which does not cite the *fistula* stamp, nor does the *PLRE* attribute it to anybody else. Furius Placidus does not have an entry in the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani*.

⁴⁴ For an extensive discussion of the sources, see A. Chastagnol, *Les fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire*, Paris 1962, 125–8. On Furius Placidus' family relations, see in more detail C. Settepani, *Continuité gentilice et continuité familiale dans les familles sénatoriales romaines à l'époque impériale*, Oxford 2000, 131, 140, 144.

⁴⁵ I wish to thank the Swedish participants in the "Inscripta" conference at the Swedish Institute in Rome in April 2010, organized by Anna Blennow (University of Gothenburg), who alerted me to the finds made by the team of V. Lundström, as well as the Firestone Library in Princeton where I was able to consult the series in which the texts were published.

warding.⁴⁶ At the time, it was possible to acquire ancient artifacts in Rome, which the participants did. The same issue of *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* (the annual report of the college) which reported on the course program also published short studies on twenty-three Latin inscriptions and on a number of objects belonging to the category of *instrumentum domesticum*, which had been brought back from Rome. Among these everyday objects (lamps, Arretine pottery, two brick stamps) also one inscribed lead pipe was presented.⁴⁷ It is summarily described ("two joining pieces of a lead pipe"), and the text is given as:

IVLIVS FELIX FECIT

This *plumbarius* can be added to the comparatively large number of Iulii who are found acting as lead pipe manufacturers in Rome and Central Italy, seven of them found in Rome, four at Ostia, and three from the wider area surrounding the capital.⁴⁸

It is worth noting that a *plumbarius* C. Iulius Felix, who bears an identical combination of *gentilicium* + *cognomen*, is previously known from an inscription on a *fistula* which reportedly was found at Velletri.⁴⁹ This discovery is reported in a letter from the 1880s and the current whereabouts of the lead pipe are unknown; it was described as being "di molta ertezza ed ha il diametro nel suo vuoto di quasi mezzo palmo romano".⁵⁰ The *duo nomina* Iulius Felix are extremely common, which is why it must remain uncertain whether we are dealing with the same *plumbarius* in these two cases. Assuming that the report from the 1880s accurately reported the find, we can in any case exclude the possibility that it is the lead pipe from Velletri which ended up being sold to Gothenburg some two decades later. Since we lack a more detailed physical description of the *fistula* brought to Sweden, the report that the find from Velletri had a diameter of half a "palmo romano" or ca 12 cm (which is a considerable size) does not help to determine whether the two finds might have belonged to the same conduit. It

⁴⁶ V. Lundström, "Göteborgs Högskolas kurs i Rom 1909. Redogörelse", *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 16 (1910) v–xxi.

⁴⁷ See H. Armini, "Nyfunnen stämpel på blyrör", *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 16 (1910) 113–4.

⁴⁸ Bruun (cit. n. 3), 315, 325, 332.

⁴⁹ Published in *Suppl. It.* 2, 53 no. 21; registered in Bruun (cit. n. 3), 332 and C. Bruun, "*Cognomina plumbariorum*", *Epigraphica* 72 (2010) 297–331, esp. 311.

⁵⁰ See H. Solin in Solin – Volpe (cit. n. 40), 53 no. 21.

would appear that the lead pipe in Gothenburg has been lost; at least it was not included when in 1976 a detailed study of all the Latin inscriptions at the Institute of Classical Studies in Gothenburg was published, at which time the other texts published by Vilhelm Lundström's pupils in *Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* from 1910 were republished.⁵¹

Princeton, New Jersey

⁵¹ See B. Mattsson, "Latin Inscriptions at the Institute of Classical Studies in Göteborg", *Opusc. Rom.* 11 (1976) 105–22. Nor is our text cited in B. E. Thomasson – M. Pavese, *A Survey of Greek and Latin Inscriptions on Stone in Swedish Collections*, Stockholm 1997, where it could not have found place anyway, being a text on a lead pipe.

RATIONAL MUTINY IN THE YEAR OF FOUR EMPERORS

ROBERT CONNAL

Roman writers tended to see the mutinies accompanying the civil wars of AD 69–70 as evidence of the unreliability and even the downright insanity of the troops involved. Those troops were frequently critical of their leaders, suspicious of their officers, and dangerous to soldiers and civilians alike; but this is not quite the whole story. Much of their supposed insanity is explicable in terms of struggles – admittedly not always wise – over goals on which the men involved were not always able to agree. Though some of their suspicions were wrong-headed and might be disastrous in their consequences, others were well founded and the resulting actions could be restrained and reasonable. Much of the sad tale of repeated mutiny may be traced, in fact, to the attempts of ordinary soldiers to adjust to the circumstances of civil war without giving up what they considered their own legitimate interests.

The art of mutiny

Mutiny, for most of those involved, was not exceptionally dangerous, nor was it particularly rare. The idea that Roman armies were uniformly well disciplined and obedient has a long history, which W. S. Messer traced to the 1596 *De militia Romana* of Lipsius.¹ The idea remained popular among historians, who liked to emphasise the "supreme emphasis placed upon prompt and implicit obedience."² However, while "misdemeanours that ... could influence the outcome of a battle were usually dealt with by execution, flogging, or mutilation,"³ it is far from clear

¹ W. S. Messer, *CPh* 15 (1920) 158–75. Messer gives a much later date (1675) for Lipsius' work, probably because he was referring to a seventeenth century edition of the *Opera omnia*.

² S. E. Stout, *CJ* 16 (1921) 423–31.

³ P. Southern, *The Roman Army: A Social and Institutional History*, Santa Barbara, CA 2006

that mutiny in other circumstances was so dangerous. Vegetius, writing in the late fourth or early fifth century, but echoing sources dating from the first century and earlier,⁴ thought that only the ringleaders need be severely punished and that the threat of mutiny should be handled by quietly removing the potentially seditious.⁵ In practice, even the ringleaders stood a reasonable chance of surviving their misbehaviour. One modern study found only three cases of mutiny, out of thirty in the last half-century of the Republic, in which generals were able to impose effective punishments.⁶ The record of mutiny and the limited punishments applied suggests that mutiny could be met with a degree of tolerance when it occurred off the field of battle. The principal reason for such tolerance may be that Roman generals were already aware of a factor suggested by Messer: that mutiny could be "the exaggeration of a good quality, the ability of the private soldier to think and act for himself."⁷ It is not a quality likely to occur among troops terrified by the possibly fatal consequences of getting it wrong, or for that matter among troops who have been allowed, in peacetime, to lose the ability to improvise.⁸

Civil war, however, tipped the balance heavily in favour of the mutineer. When Roman armies were marching against their emperors, or fighting to press or uphold the doubtful claims of usurpers, they could not, at the same time, preserve the level of discipline appropriate in peacetime or in wars against external enemies. Military discipline was always "the first virtue to fly" on the approach of civil war,⁹ as Tacitus recognised (*Tac. hist.* 1,51). Military commanders in the wars of Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian learned to rule lightly or speedily learned their error. Claudius Julianus, commanding the Misenum fleet, simply allowed discipline to grow lax (*Tac. hist.* 3,57). Minicius Justus, Flavian camp-prefect of VII Galbiana, had to be rescued from his own troops at Padua when he proved

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⁴ Vegetius probably worked largely from existing epitomes, derived ultimately from writers such as Frontinus and, more distantly, Cato the Elder.

⁵ *Veg. Mil.* 3,4,7–10. See, e.g., B. Campbell, *JRS* 77 (1987) 13–29 for the value of Vegetius for the military history of the early Empire.

⁶ S. G. Chrissanthos, *JRS* 91 (2001) 63–75.

⁷ Messer (above n. 1) 160.

⁸ For the idea that peacetime armies tend to create order, which in turn makes them ineffective in the disorder of the battlefield, see O. Jacobs, "Introduction to Section 4" in R. Gal – A. D. Mangelsdorff (eds.) *Handbook of Military Psychology*, Chichester 1991, 389–92.

⁹ B. W. Henderson, *Civil War and Rebellion in the Roman Empire, A.D. 69–70: A Companion to the "Histories" of Tacitus*, London 1908, 13.

too strict a disciplinarian for civil war (Tac. *hist.* 3,7). In such circumstances, it is perhaps not surprising that mutiny was popular. If it was relatively safe at other times, it was especially safe in the midst of civil war when even loyalty to whatever emperor the Senate had been persuaded to recognize could as easily be a vice as a virtue. The effects of these real problems should not be exaggerated; men mutinied, disobeyed orders, accused their officers of corruption or worse, and even attacked or killed them; but they also marched long distances, built camps, and fought battles.

For all his references to the inadequacies of ordinary soldiers, Tacitus was aware that their leaders suffered from inadequacies of their own.¹⁰ The problem of mutiny was worsened by a general failure in leadership. The legions of Upper Germany were left without effective leadership when Galba withdrew Verginius Rufus, whom they had considered as a possible new emperor (Tac. *hist.* 1,8). The Vitellian legions, I Italica and XXI Rapax, were driven back on Cremona more by their lack of leadership than by the strength of their opponents (Tac. *hist.* 3,18). The same lack of leadership contributed to their subsequent defeat in a decisive battle at Bedriacum, when it led to a ragged and broken formation that the Flavians were able to destroy (Tac. *hist.* 3,25).

The rational mutineer

The relative safety of mutiny, while it might encourage the mutineers of the civil wars, does little to explain either the reasons for mutiny or the ways in which soldiers understood their actions. Perhaps the greatest difficulty standing in the way of understanding, however, is an attitude towards mob behaviour that links the ancient senatorial historians with modern ideas that have only recently been seriously questioned. In their modern guise, those ideas derive from the social troubles of late nineteenth century France; in their ancient guise, with the analyses of Plutarch and Tacitus. In the simplest terms, while Plutarch and Tacitus blamed the instability or insanity of the troops, a theory of crowd behaviour, now more than a century old, hid the nature of mutiny – and other forms of crowd behaviour – under the supposed ruling position of a single crowd mind.

Ancient writers were generally inclined to put the blame for the mutinies of 69 AD firmly on the shoulders of the mutineers, whose mob behaviour was

¹⁰ See G. G. Mason, *CB* 60 (1984) 30–5 for ways in which Tacitus draws attention to the absence or failure of leadership.

both source and result. For Plutarch, the troubles of the time were due less to the successive emperors and would-be emperors than to the greedy and licentious soldiers who subjected the empire to military forces that he considered both ignorant and irrational (ἄλογος) (Plut. *Galb.* 1,3–4). Plutarch is not alone in the accusation of irrationality. Tacitus records several instances when the soldiers, as he thought, gave way to impulses that had little or no connection with rationality, or even sanity.¹¹ At Divodorum, chief town of the Mediomatrici, Vitellian troops, he claims, were seized by a sudden panic, and began a massacre of innocent civilians. Tacitus rules out plunder as a motive and decides that the reason is a mystery, though it is evident that the soldiers were seized by some form of madness (Tac. *hist.* 1,63). Flavian troops of VII Galbiana similarly fell into a needless panic on sighting a cavalry force that later turned out to be their own; though they could prove nothing against him, they cried for the execution of the unpopular legate of Pannonia, Tampius Flavianus.¹² Other Flavian troops, supposedly infected by a similar madness, shortly afterwards attacked Aponius Saturninus, leader of the Moesian army.¹³

In the late nineteenth century, something not far removed from Plutarch's theory of military mobs ruled by irrational impulse became the standard approach to crowd behaviour. In 1895, Gustav Le Bon introduced the notion of a collective mind that made the members of a crowd feel, think, and behave in ways quite different from the ways in which they would feel, think and behave when alone.¹⁴ For Le Bon, therefore, the "psychological crowd" was an entity whose human parts behaved like cells in a body to create something quite unlike the single cells. For a sociological theory, it has proved uncommonly resilient and still colours perceptions of crowd behaviour.¹⁵ If anything, Le Bon reduced the crowd to something less than the Tacitean mob. It may be that Tacitus "detests all mobs,

¹¹ However, see R. Ash, *Ordering Anarchy: Armies and Leaders in Tacitus' Histories*, London 1999, 71 for the view that Tacitus, unlike Plutarch, saw a steady deterioration, with the level of irrationality reaching a peak with the Flavians.

¹² Tac. *hist.* 3,10. Flavianus was accused of having betrayed Otho and of embezzling a donative meant for the troops; but Tacitus evidently does not expect either accusation to be taken seriously. Indeed, accusations of this kind were frequent, and needed little justification.

¹³ Tac. *hist.* 3,11. This time, the immediate cause was the appearance of letters supposedly written by Saturninus to the sitting emperor, Vitellius.

¹⁴ G. Le Bon, *Psychologie des foules*, Paris 1895.

¹⁵ For the continuing influence of Le Bon's views, see, e.g., J. Drury and S. Reicher, *Journal of Social Issues* 65 (2009) 707–25. Drury and Reicher also emphasise the connection between crowd behaviour and power: the crowd may empower those who are individually powerless.

civil or military,"¹⁶ and the Tacitean mob can often seem like something less than the worst of its parts; but it remains a human mob nonetheless, however affected by supposed insanity.¹⁷ Le Bon's approach quite literally gave the mob a mind of its own, albeit not a very bright one, and effectively separated the behaviour of the mob from the ordinary aims and beliefs of its members. As long as that remarkably persistent model of crowd behaviour was accepted, there could be little reason to consider the values, aims, motives, or attitudes of its individual cells.

Recent theories of crowd behaviour, however, tend to restore the decision-making power of the individual and emphasise rational action over irrational submersion.¹⁸ Admittedly, the results of this rational action are not always remarkable, to the outsider, for their appearance of good sense; but with a fire behind and a tunnel in front it is hardly irrational to choose the tunnel, especially if you have first weighed the risk of being trampled to death against the certainty of burning. Seen in this light, apparent demonstrations of extreme and uncontrollable behaviour may turn out to be, if not less extreme, at least less uncontrolled. Even the worst mutinies may have their roots in the rational pursuit of the mutineers' wishes.

Those wishes, admittedly, could be insalubrious; but moral judgement is not in question here. It is unfortunate but evident that murder and pillage can be the work of sane people following courses that are entirely rational given the premises on which they operate. In the confused circumstances of civil warfare, the premises were sometimes mistaken. The legitimate shipment of arms might be interpreted as a prelude to treason (*Tac. hist.* 1,80); the evident greed of a general might lead to suspicions that he was hiding loot that should have been shared with his troops (*Tac. hist.* 2,29). However, errors in premises – or disagreements over values – need not signify irrationality.¹⁹ The soldiers of 69 and 70 AD acted on the information available to them. The motives for their rational actions, while

¹⁶ R. Syme, *Tacitus*, Oxford 1963, 531.

¹⁷ Thus, Mason (above n. 10) 34 emphasises Tacitus' ability to see the soldiers composing the military mob as still "human even in their flaws".

¹⁸ Discussion of these theories is beyond the scope of this article; however, a good introduction to the subject may be found in C. McPhail, *The Myth of the Madding Crowd*, New York 1991. For the present purpose, what matters is the general agreement of these theories on the basis of crowd behavior in the interaction of rational people. See also R. Boudon, *Theories of Social Change: A Critical Appraisal*, Berkeley CA 1986, 52 for criticism of the tendency to see massed action as evidence of a lack of individual motivation.

¹⁹ See, e.g., D. Davidson, *Problems of Rationality*, Oxford 2004, 189.

sometimes laudable, were often selfish or worse, but in the midst of civil war, feelings were bound to run high.

Discerning motives

Among the consequences of accepting a rational model for the behaviour of mutineers is the recognition that they can no longer be treated necessarily as a single, undifferentiated group. Mutineers acting under the influence of Le Bon's single crowd mind could be treated as a single unit. Once the persisting rationality of individual soldiers is recognised, their part in the crowd behaviour that forms a mutiny becomes not only voluntary but also directed by individual and possibly quite different concerns.

Some of the ordinary motives thought to govern the actions and attitudes of troops appear in a passage where Josephus describes arguments used to persuade them to support Vespasian's bid for power.²⁰ There are dangers involved in the use of speeches as evidence. However, the speech Josephus reports need not be pure fiction. It suits the period and the circumstances, and, while the content is unlikely to be literally accurate, Josephus might have been present when speeches of this kind were made and could have been familiar with the arguments used. In the absence of better evidence, therefore, the speech recorded by Josephus may be taken as an indication of what was said, if not on this specific occasion, then more broadly at various times before Vespasian finally made his bid for power.²¹ It may be doubted whether much persuasion was required, but the troops were being asked to revolt against an emperor, however murky his claim to legitimacy might be.

The first item is simple jealousy of the soldiers in Rome and the easy life they lead in Italy while others grow old in war. They are condemned for making emperors in hope of gain, but it is hard to avoid the suspicion that the hope of gain, while being condemned in others, is simultaneously offered as an inducement. It would have been senseless not to mention the possibility. Safety is also

²⁰ Joseph. *BJ* 4,592–600. For Ash (above n. 11) 56 this passage is designed to demonstrate, for the soldiers, "a sense of integrity and an ability to make moral judgments." It is unlikely that they were all so virtuous; but concern for the fate of Rome is surely realistic, even if it is only a minority interest.

²¹ Josephus should have had little reason to distort these pro-Flavian arguments; it must be admitted, however, that his account of the troops persuading Vespasian to take the throne (*BJ* 4,601–4) surely reflects either naivety or distortion on his part.

a concern, relieved by pointing out the size of the forces available to Vespasian as well as the useful fact that Vespasian already has members of his own family in Rome. Possession of Rome, in spite of the creation of emperors elsewhere, still counted for something. Thus far, self interest; but Josephus also includes arguments that affect Rome as a whole. That Vespasian was a better choice than Vitellius was not difficult to argue; and his possession of an adult son, Titus, an effective commander capable of earning the support and affection of his troops (Tac. *hist.* 2,5; 5,1), was an additional benefit likely to be important in Roman eyes. The final point suggests a gap in the troops' understanding of realities: they are told that if they do not act, the Senate may impose another emperor, though the Senate, in practice, had long been more imposed upon than imposing.²² Later, according to Tacitus, Vespasian's supporter, Gaius Licinius Mucianus, claimed that Vitellius intended to move the Syrian legions to Germany (Tac. *hist.* 2,80), an effective threat since XII Fulminata and VI Ferrata had been in Syria for decades and hoped to remain there.²³ It hardly mattered whether there was any truth in the assertion. If the soldiers, and the local people with whom they had formed close ties over the years, could be made to believe it, they would have a personal interest in the war against Vitellius.

The motives suggested by Josephus and Tacitus cover a wide range, from the simple promise of loot, through references to safety and comfort, to pleas on behalf of Rome and its need for good government. They thus suggest a range of motivation and a diversity of wishes and opinions among ordinary soldiers, to which the speeches were supposed to appeal. Some were expected to be moved only by thoughts of looting, others by promises that this would be a relatively safe war, in which they would face only limited opposition from a weak enemy. Others would be most interested in the promise that they would be allowed, after the fatigue of the campaign, to return to the familiar and comfortable quarters to which they had become used. Others still, though perhaps only a minority, were expected to react well to the promise that they would serve Rome well by giving it, in Vespasian, the best emperor available.

Diversity of opinion is implied also by the manner in which officers often survived attacks that ought to have been murderous in consequence as well as in-

²² P. A. Brunt, *CQ* 34 (1984) 423–44.

²³ See G. E. F. Chilver, *JRS* 47 (1957) 29–35 for the close relations between the Syrian legions and local peoples, as well as doubts about the existence of similar relations elsewhere. For some possible effects of local sympathy, however, see Ash (above n. 11) 49 on the possibility that familiarity with the region and with native officers would make it easier for Roman legions to accept the Gallic Empire.

tent. Minicius Justus, camp prefect of the seventh legion, had to be rescued from his own troops when his standard of discipline exceeded what was feasible in the midst of a civil war (Tac. *hist.* 3,7). If Tacitus really means that all the troops in the legion were intent on murder, one is forced to ask how any rescue was possible. However incensed the troops may have been, the attack on Minicius Justus was surely the work of a small minority, easily dissuaded, and perhaps not dreadfully murderous to begin with. Again, when the Vitellian general, Valens, was attacked, the troops first stoned him and then chased him as he fled from them (Tac. *hist.* 2,29). A man who was seriously stoned by even a fraction of the troops under Valens' command should have died,²⁴ and yet Valens apparently escaped from all of his pursuers, and, when things calmed down, emerged unharmed from his hiding place. It is difficult to believe that a determined attack by a large body of professional soldiers could lead to such feeble results. It might be more accurate to say that a few soldiers drove Valens off with stones, perhaps without even intending serious harm. If nothing else, such incidents suggest that statements apparently referring to large bodies of troops cannot always be taken at face value.

Given the range of motives demonstrated by mutinous troops, it would be unwise to assume that all mutineers, in a given situation, were necessarily acting in consort. The most rational of people can disagree with each other, even violently, when motives they consider evidently correct are resisted. Such a disagreement probably lies behind the mutinous outbreak that followed Otho's suicide. The motive supplied by Tacitus is simply emotional: the troops were stricken by grief and could not make up their minds about their demands. At one moment they wanted to make an emperor of Verginius Rufus; the next moment they wanted him to negotiate for them with the Vitellian generals Valens and Caecina (Tac. *hist.* 2,51). It sounds like extreme indecisiveness or even panic, in impossible circumstances. However, Dio adds the curious detail that many soldiers were killed when they took to fighting with each other (Dio 64,15,2b). If Tacitus' estimate of the troops' motives is accepted, this can only be an extreme reaction to grief and panic. However, rather than see a single mass of indecisive soldiers unable to decide between surrender and the acclamation of a new emperor, it might be better to think in terms of two opposing groups whose differing views led first to verbal argument and then to violence. In the end, Verginius Rufus ended the hopes of those who

²⁴ See Plut. *Sull.* 9 for the stoning to death of some military tribunes. A modern stoning (still legal in some parts of the world) can attract a large crowd, but a handful of active participants suffices to carry out the sentence even when the condemned person is not first buried up to the neck.

wished to follow a new emperor by leaving (Tac. *hist.* 2,51). His departure left his supporters with no realistic candidate and agreement on surrender followed.

For better or worse, the incident demonstrates the level of enthusiasm that might arise among the soldiers of the civil wars. Military enthusiasm sometimes led troops to demand action in the face of their commanders' less aggressive approach. Otho's praetorians grew restive at Placentia in March 69, and threatened to kill their general, Vestricius Spurinna because they thought they were wasting time that would be better spent in battle.²⁵ In a similar outbreak, Vitellian troops under Caecina mutinied because many of them remained unused in the indecisive battle of Ad Castores (Tac. *hist.* 2,26). In both cases, the actions taken by the soldiers suggest that they acted out of enthusiasm, albeit an enthusiasm little affected by appreciation of the military situation.²⁶ It was strongly affected, however, by the soldiers' inability fully to trust their leaders.

Distrust and suspicion

In addition to the seemingly diverse views entertained by individual soldiers and groups of soldiers, another element must be considered: the inability of those involved always to trust each other. Sometimes suspicion was justified, sometimes not; in the circumstances of civil war, it was likely to be particularly difficult to know. Justified or otherwise, suspicion and distrust were likely to provide some of the premises on which the rational conclusions of the soldiery were based and, in the midst of civil war, with its inevitable doubts about loyalty, it should not cause surprise that some distrust existed between the troops and their leaders. That problem was common among the forces directly involved in the struggles between the emperors and would-be emperors, though it was Otho's praetorians who displayed it most convincingly, by murdering a tribune and offering to complete their work by murdering senators. The praetorian tribune Varius Crispinus unfortunately decided to move some weapons at night from the praetorian barracks, seeing which some vigilant (or drunk) Praetorians decided that he was

²⁵ Tac. *hist.* 2,18–19. In spite of their elite status, the guard cohorts had little acquaintance with warfare and the mutiny was easily quelled by introducing them to some practical soldiering: a long march followed by the unfamiliar work of constructing a camp.

²⁶ See G. Morgan, *69 A.D. The Year of Four Emperors*, Oxford 2006, 121. Morgan excuses Caecina because he was attempting to withdraw from battle rather than to continue it. Enthusiastic soldiers, watching what must have seemed a worryingly slow movement of reinforcements, evidently understood the situation differently.

arming men for an attack on Otho and proceeded to kill him, together with two centurions who supported him.²⁷ From the very beginning of Otho's reign, the soldiers who helped him to seize power had been anxious to keep him away from his officers.²⁸ Distrust of officers and other sources of authority provided the premises for the conclusions and actions that followed. Convinced now that treason was afoot, they attacked the palace, where they threatened officers and senators alternately and finally demanded a free hand to deal with all of them (*Tac. hist.* 1,82). The distrust felt by the Praetorians had become a significant danger, from which only Otho's personal intervention could rescue the intended victims. The following morning, Otho confirmed the banishment of discipline by thanking the soldiers for their loyalty; only two men were punished. The distrust underlying the outbreak remained.

Rational action does not cease to be rational because it is based upon false premises, which the period abundantly offered. The selection of senators as victims reflected an understandable, though mistaken, belief that the Senate represented a real source of authority and a genuine threat to the emperor. Senators were similarly threatened after Otho's defeat at Bedriacum, when they were again in danger from soldiers who suspected them of hostility to Otho and wanted only an excuse to massacre them (*Tac. hist.* 2,52). In reality, they could neither support nor oppose and were too frightened either to change sides openly or to seem unduly loyal. It was only when they were assured of Otho's preparations for suicide that they felt ready to declare their unanimous support for Vitellius (*Tac. hist.* 2,53). Given that they saw cause to suspect the senators, the troops were not being irrational; they were, however, led astray by a false premise about the power of their intended victims. The Senate suffered from a split between reality and perceptions. In reality, it was powerless, in the face of military events, to do much more than joyously proclaim each new emperor that the warring armies thrust upon it. Its reputation, however, had not sunk, in all quarters, to the level of its true influence. At a suitable distance, it could still look "grander to outward view" than it really was.²⁹ Ordinary soldiers could be excused for believing in senatorial power when their most senior officers came from the senatorial class and when the letters SPQR on their standards continued to proclaim the empire of the Sen-

²⁷ *Plut. Otho* 3,3–4. That the soldiers were drunk is suggested by Tacitus, who thought that the prospect of looting also appealed to the worst among them (*hist.* 1,80).

²⁸ *Tac. hist.* 1,36. The soldiers may have valid reasons for acting so; Sempronius Densus, who died trying to protect the outgoing emperor, Galba, from his killers, was one of their centurions.

²⁹ Brunt (above n. 22) 424.

ate and People of Rome even as they fought for the empire of Otho, Vitellius, or Vespasian.

The troops' exaggerated opinion of senatorial power could be useful as well as dangerous. When the German legions mutinied against Galba, they exchanged their oath to the emperor for one to the Senate and People. It was a short-lived solution, and no doubt intended as such, at least by those officers who supported the mutiny (Tac. *hist.* 1,55), but that need not imply that the troops did not see it as a serious commitment. Galba had declared himself the General of the Senate and People of Rome,³⁰ and Verginius Rufus, after defeating the Gallic rebel, Vindex, had also made use of the rights of the Senate when his troops tried, against his will, to push him into the competition for imperial power (Plut. *Galb.* 10,2). With such encouragement, it was perhaps natural that the ordinary soldier should treat the Senate as a powerful body, to be taken seriously both as ally and as potential enemy.

Once the struggle for Nero's legacy had begun, the soldiery were bound to become the objects of persuasion on all sides, while the divided loyalties inevitable in civil war repeatedly gave them reason – justified or otherwise – to doubt the loyalty and trustworthiness of supposed friends. Though it was evident among the Vitellians prior to their defeat by Vespasian, distrust ran particularly deep among the Othonians in the approach to their own earlier defeat. This may have been due at least in part to the circumstance that Otho owed his position to a handful of well-bribed ordinary soldiers rather than to the ambitious commanders who were the usual culprits behind the elevation of a new emperor. Tacitus is indulging in exaggeration when he claims that the transfer of power was handled by a pair of ordinary soldiers (Tac. *hist.* 1,25), but the exaggeration is not excessive. The conspirators could have achieved little by force alone. That they succeeded was due in part to Otho's careful gifts to soldiers, deserving or otherwise,³¹ but Galba himself had helped the cause with his stinginess and severity.³²

³⁰ Plut. *Galb.* 5,2. Appeals to the Senate and People of Rome were fairly frequent; in difficult times, it could be useful to fall back on "the interim government of the senate and people" (D. C. A. Shotter, *CQ* 17 [1967] 370–81: 372, n. 8.).

³¹ Plut. *Galb.* 20,4; Tac. *hist.* 1,23; 1,24; Suet. *Otho* 4,2. Morgan (above n. 26) 58 doubts whether Otho's generosity began as part of a plan to replace Galba, believing that it might have been merely preparation for his expected succession to the older man's position. In the event, however, deliberately or otherwise, the gifts proved to be valuable investments in advance of Otho's seizure of power.

³² Tac. *hist.* 1,31; 1,87; Dio 64,3,1–2; Plut. *Galb.* 15,3–4; Suet. *Galb.* 16.

However, one effect of this revolution from below was to make Othonian officers suspect in the eyes of the ordinary soldiers, who found it difficult to believe in their loyalty to an emperor who owed so much to the rank and file. It was for this reason that they anxiously kept Otho separated from the tribunes and centurions while he threw kisses at the growing mass of his supporters (Tac. *hist.* 1,36). It was not a promising start to a reign that would shortly descend into civil war, especially when Otho agreed with the troops' estimate of their generals and thus undermined their authority and that of their officers (Tac. *hist.* 2,33). The generals repaid his distrust with generalship so poor that Suetonius Paulinus and Licinius Proculus could later claim before Vitellius that they had deliberately wrecked the Othonian campaign (Tac. *hist.* 2,60), incidentally validating the doubts of so many Othonian soldiers. On the Vitellian side, only Valens among the senior officers continued to serve his emperor when sense and self-interest would have suggested a change of allegiance, and he paid for his stubborn loyalty with his life (Tac. *hist.* 3,62). His erstwhile partner and rival, Caecina, was more fortunate and survived until his taste for conspiracy led to his being killed on Titus' orders in AD 79.³³

Though the troops might sometimes be mistaken, as they were in the case of Crispinus, their suspicions were not always unfounded; nor were their subsequent actions always thoughtless or inappropriate. At times, their actions, while technically mutinous, could also be rational and justifiable – even admirable. This aspect of civil war mutiny was evident, for instance, in October 69, when the Vitellian general Aulus Caecina conspired to hand over his soldiers to the Flavians. The Vitellian troops initially agreed to desert, but soon changed their minds. They attacked Caecina and, having been persuaded by the tribunes that they should not kill him, arrested him instead.³⁴ Tacitus does not mention the interference of the tribunes, but the subsequent actions that he describes suggest that officers accepted the justice of the mutiny and may even have been directly involved. Having mutinied against their general, the troops proceeded to select Fabius Fabullus, legate of the fifth legion, and the camp prefect Cassius Longus, as their leaders (Tac. *hist.* 3,14). This was not the action of an irresponsible rabble, nor even a general mutiny of soldiers against their officers. In fact, the troops

³³ Suet. *Tit.* 6,2; Dio 66,16,3–4.

³⁴ Joseph. *BJ.* 4,639–641. Josephus thought the motive for their change of heart was the suspicion that Vitellius might win the civil war after all. The Flavian supporter Josephus, though, had no reason to think well of men who had first deserted to Vespasian and then reverted to Vitellius.

immediately began a long march to Cremona, covering, according to Wellesley's calculation, some thirty miles on the last day.³⁵ Tacitus believed that the soldiers' main motive was pride: they were not prepared to suffer the shame of giving up the emperor without a fight (Tac. *hist.* 3,13). Tacitus was no habitual admirer of the common soldier and this acceptance of a laudable motive for their actions is not to be lightly dismissed.

The safety of the Gallic Empire

The final stage and immediate aftermath of civil strife demonstrated how rational soldiers, regardless of other peoples' perceptions of their conduct, could find it reasonable to give up their existing allegiance to Rome and adapt themselves instead to the service of Rome's enemies. In part, this action stemmed from the difficulty, at such a time, of identifying friends and enemies with any certainty. While civil conflict moved towards Flavian victory in Italy, Julius Civilis, a Batavian with royal blood in his veins and long experience as a commander of Roman auxiliary forces, began an uprising, which he claimed was intended to hold down Vitellian troops and thus help the Flavian cause.³⁶ By the end of the year, Vitellius was dead, and Civilis dropped all pretence of supporting Vespasian (Tac. *hist.* 4,54). The Batavians were joined in revolt by Gallic forces led by Julius Clasicus, Julius Tutor and Julius Sabinus, Romanized Gauls who wished to create a Gallic empire on what appeared to be the ruins of Roman power. By the time the forces of Quintus Petillius Cerialis arrived, a Roman garrison had been destroyed, two Roman generals had been murdered, and Roman legions had allowed mutiny to slide into treason by swearing to serve the Gallic Empire.

Since the soldiers of the Rhine army were Vitellians, their principle enemies, for the time, were the Flavians, serving what they could only see as a false emperor in Vespasian. It was unfortunate that senior officers chose, rather too early, to demonstrate their shift of allegiance to the forthcoming winner of the struggle. Soldiers whose allegiance had not changed could rationally identify those officers as enemies. One result of this was that some of his own troops hauled Flaccus from his bed and murdered him (Tac. *hist.* 4,36). Hordeonius Flaccus had

³⁵ K. Wellesley, *The Year of the Four Emperors*, London 2000, 141.

³⁶ The Flavian general, Antonius Primus, went along with Civilis so far as to send him a letter encouraging his work, and encouragement came also from Hordeonius Flaccus, legate of Upper Germany (Tac. *hist.* 4,13).

early seen the advantage of switching his support from Vitellius to Vespasian, but when he and his officers had their troops swear loyalty to Vespasian, the event was less impressive than intended. A few men no doubt, spoke the name clearly enough, but their voices were drowned under the mumbles of the majority (Tac. *hist.* 4,31). Discontent was allowed to slumber for a while, but then the men heard that Vitellius had sent money for a donative, which they demanded. A commander with more understanding of his troops might have given them the money without further comment; but Hordeonius Flaccus insisted on following his changed allegiance by handing it over in the name of Vespasian (Tac. *hist.* 4,36). Since Vitellius was still living, the troops were not being entirely unreasonable if they saw this as treason. The tribunes had saved Caecina from a similar fate when he tried to deliver his forces to Vespasian (Joseph. *BJ* 4,639–641), but Caecina could be an effective and sometimes even a popular general. Flaccus was neither, and in this case, the tribunes were probably wise to be quiet. The memory of that reluctant oath to Vespasian was fresh enough to be troublesome and discretion would recommend the safer course.

There was less excuse for the murder of Vocula; by the time of his murder, Vitellius was dead and there could be no treason in his serving Vespasian. But he stood in the way of what could easily seem the rational way out for men who had lost the object of their loyalty and needed a viable replacement. According to Tacitus, the troops hated Vespasian so much that they would rather serve outsiders (Tac. *hist.* 4,54). The removal of Vocula would make that easier, though he might have survived had he not made himself unpopular by his severity.³⁷ Despite their dislike for him, Vocula's soldiers took no direct part in his murder (Tac. *hist.* 4,59), but even the least disaffected were apparently willing to look the wrong way when the murderer appeared. With the deed done, Classicus could enter the camp, in the garb of a Roman general, and receive the oath of allegiance to the Gallic Empire.

For men who wished to survive, for whom loyalty to Vitellius was no longer realistic, and for whom the prospect of serving Vespasian was still distasteful, Classicus offered a rational and acceptable way out of their problems. Roman commanders were supposed to prefer death to dishonour, and Dilius Vocula had both refused to escape before he was murdered and been prevented from suicide only by the entreaties of his freedmen and slaves (Tac. *hist.* 4,59). But the com-

³⁷ Tac. *hist.* 4,27. Vocula first put to death a soldier whom Flaccus had merely imprisoned; after which the troops still wanted Vocula to lead them – though the desire may have been less universal than Tacitus claims (Tac. *hist.* 4,25). Later, however, Vocula executed several more men in what by then was a hopeless effort to restore discipline (Tac. *hist.* 4,27).

manders of Roman legions were men with family reputations to think of. The ordinary soldier had less need to fear the disgrace of survival. Indeed, the Roman camp, rebuilt, if necessary, day after day in the course of a campaign, openly offered troops "a place to run away to, when the order was given that running away had suddenly become the Roman thing to do."³⁸ In normal circumstances, peer pressure might have operated to keep the less enthusiastic soldiers in place, but circumstances were far from normal. The large-scale movement of troops from the Rhine into Italy had left those who remained vulnerable to attack from enemies who found, in the burning of the temple of Jupiter Best and Greatest during a struggle between Vitellians and Flavians, the final vindication for their belief in the imminent collapse of Rome (Tac. *hist.* 4,54). There was little hope of aid from the South; Vespasian was too unpopular to inspire loyalty; and mutiny soon progressed to murder. The enthusiasts now were those who wanted to join the Gallic Empire.

It might have been otherwise. Very different, and even opposite behaviours, could result from equally rational considerations, and this was demonstrated by other Vitellian soldiers still stationed on the Rhine. In the north, Vetera still held out, but only just. A camp originally designed to hold two legions was now occupied only by those remnants of V Alaudae and XV Primigenia that had not followed Vitellius to Italy. Civilis had suggested that the garrison might join him and his Batavians in swearing an oath to support Vespasian, but was met with the answer that they already had an emperor in Vitellius, whom they intended to serve to the death (Tac. *hist.* 4,21). They may also have found the Batavian Civilis a more difficult ally to accept than the Gallic leaders. Besieged, relieved, and besieged again, the troops at Vetera held out for several months, surviving in the end on roots, shrubs, and grass, before they finally surrendered. Promised safety, they left the fort, but were allowed to march only a few miles before they were attacked and slaughtered. At this point Tacitus complains that they had finally ruined their reputations by agreeing to give their allegiance to the Gallic Empire (Tac. *hist.* 4,60). It seems a harsh judgement on men who had held on for so long, in such circumstances; but it was intended, perhaps, to suggest a comparison with other Roman soldiers, watching events from outside the walls of Vetera: representatives of the legions that had already sworn allegiance to the Gallic Empire in easier circumstances. In practice, the men at Vetera, who had rationally chosen to support their officers in resistance as long as resistance was feasible, now chose, on equally rational grounds, to support the decision to surrender, even on what

³⁸ W. J. Tatum, *Always I Am Caesar*, Malden – Oxford 2008, 49.

Tacitus and others might consider disgraceful terms. That their surrender led to the wrong result was due to perfidy on the part of their enemies, rather than any lack of rationality on the part of the garrison at Vetera.

Attitudes of the mutineers

Rationality alone leads nowhere. Hume claimed that reason "is, and ought only to be the slave of the passions, and can never pretend to any other office than to serve and obey them."³⁹ In a period of civil war, it was natural that the passions should sometimes run hot, but occasional bouts of seemingly uncontrolled behaviour could mask the purpose as well as the application of rationality. The troops who mutinied through and beyond the Year of Four Emperors were acting out of wishes and attitudes that, while not always admirable, were nonetheless usually understandable and not exceptionally marked by foolishness.

Most troops apparently thought it right and proper that a general should enrich himself, but not at the expense of his troops, whose loyalty would quickly vanish if they thought he was keeping too much to himself.⁴⁰ It was suspicion of this kind of unfairness that sent soldiers prodding the ground in search of hidden gold after driving off the notoriously greedy Valens (*Tac. hist.* 2,29). The failure of the search, by demonstrating his innocence, no doubt helped to make his safe return welcome.

Though the acquisition of plunder was ubiquitous and readily accepted, civil war in Italy raised, at least in theory, the question of whether Roman cities could be plundered. However, perhaps relatively few soldiers believed strongly that they could not; the rest acted in accordance with a natural desire to improve their financial position. According to Dio, its defeated Vitellian defenders joined the victorious Flavians in burning and plundering Cremona (*Dio* 65,15). Despite the convention that Romans could not be enslaved, soldiers at Cremona took prisoners all the same and, when ordered to release them, butchered a few instead, which encouraged the families of the survivors to find ransom money (*Tac. hist.* 3,34). The rational, though hardly admirable, application of force achieved its desired end. When the Flavians reached Rome, Antonius Primus tried to delay entry into the city because he feared that his troops, after recent fighting, would not trouble to show respect to civilians or senators and might even attack shrines

³⁹ D. Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, vol. 2, London 1739–40, 248.

⁴⁰ J. Elmore, *CJ* 20 (1925) 430–2.

and temples.⁴¹ He was right. After the spoils of Cremona, they would not refuse the spoils of Rome.

Most soldiers seem to have believed firmly in loyalty and considered it a sound basis for their actions. Throughout the civil wars, soldiers tended to be more reliably loyal than their officers were,⁴² and reacted strongly when they suspected those officers of disloyalty or treason. Loyalty to Otho went to extremes when soldiers chose to join him in suicide (Tac. *hist.* 2,49), but even Vitellius, in spite of his faults, managed to achieve a similarly devoted following. This was no doubt helped by memories of his friendly and generous behaviour during his short period as legate of Lower Germany (Suet. *Vit.* 7–8), which absence preserved undimmed; but loyalty to Vitellius evidently persisted in soldiers whose personal knowledge of the emperor was slight at best. Indeed, the persistent devotion of Vitellian troops in the face of the defeat and death of "their" emperor suggests loyalty to an image or idea, little affected by the reality of plentiful human failings.

The fate of Galba, however, suggests that loyalty was at least partly based upon the expectation of reciprocity. Galba had done everything possible to ensure the failure of his side of the bargain. On approaching Rome, he butchered a gathering of sailors who wished to be confirmed in the legionary status that Nero had promised them; then he increased the butchery by decimating the survivors.⁴³ He followed this pointless massacre by refusing to pay the donative promised on his behalf by the murdered praetorian prefect Nymphidius Sabinus, stating bluntly that it was his habit to levy soldiers rather than buy them.⁴⁴ Galba could hardly be accused of determined loyalty to his soldiers, and few could have felt that they owed much loyalty in return. His own legion, VII Galbiana, might have supported him, but it had been sent to Pannonia. Sempronius Densus, who died to protect him, did more for his own posthumous reputation than for the doomed emperor. There were exceptions to his failure, but Galba had only a limited ability to inspire loyalty; and since they could not feel loyal to him, his troops had reason on their side when they chose to abandon him.

⁴¹ Tac. *hist.* 3,82. Tacitus claims that the troops' anger was due to a suspicion that postponing the entry into Rome delayed their victory, but their idea of victory could easily include the kind of behaviour that Antonius Primus feared.

⁴² See, e.g., Morgan (above n. 26) 6.

⁴³ Dio 64,3,1–2. Tacitus (*hist.* 1,6) claims that the initial massacre shocked even those who carried it out.

⁴⁴ Tac. *hist.* 1,5; Suet. *Galba* 16,1.

Closely allied to the question of loyalty was that of oaths and their supposedly binding nature. Soldiers took oaths seriously; otherwise, they need not have muttered the name of Vespasian, as they had earlier muttered that of Galba (Tac. *hist.* 1,55). They could have spoken the detested name aloud and then quietly forgotten that they had promised anything. Admittedly, oaths did not always last. When discontent with Galba passed into mutiny, the legions in Germany swore allegiance to the Senate and People of Rome, but that oath was soon replaced with one to Vitellius. For Tacitus, the speedy adoption of an oath to Vitellius meant that the initial oath was meaningless,⁴⁵ but that need not necessarily follow. The oath to Senate and People allowed the troops to feel that they were loyal to something, even if it was not the current emperor. That temporary oath, even if not entirely realistic, was nonetheless rational; it served a useful purpose for those who gave it, even if it had little value for those to whom it was given.

The later oath to serve the Gallic Empire was also replaced, this time with a fresh oath to Rome, as soon as the affected legions were united with the forces of Petilius Cerialis. It was clearly expedient, at times, to combine belief in the validity of oaths with a sensible, rational acceptance of their possible impermanence. The oath to the Gallic Empire may not have been immensely popular, but survival demanded it and some of the troops involved might even have agreed with their Gallic masters that the burning of the temple of Jupiter Best and Greatest signalled the end of Roman dominion.⁴⁶ Living to fight for a possibly viable Gallic Empire could seem a reasonable alternative to dying for a Roman Empire approaching its ruin. The final test – fighting for the Gallic Empire against Roman enemies who had after all survived their promised destruction – never came about, and perhaps few ever believed that it would. It was significant that, in spite of their oaths to the Gallic Empire, they were sent south to Augusta Trevirorum, where they remained, unused, until the army of Petilius Cerialis arrived, when it was time for another, less reluctant oath to Vespasian.

Most soldiers took pride in their professional skills and expected those skills to be used effectively; it was the impression that they were not being used to good effect that caused the mutiny against Caecina at Ad Castores. Until decisively defeated in battle or forced to surrender, as the defenders of Vetera were,

⁴⁵ Tac. *hist.* 1,57. It may have meant little to many or most of the officers, but that would not necessarily prevent ordinary soldiers from taking it seriously. Also, an oath given to an emperor might be seen as extending rather than replacing an oath to Senate and People.

⁴⁶ Tacitus writes of Gallic claims that Roman power was coming to an end as a result of superstitious Druidism (Tac. *hist.* 4,54) but superstition was hardly alien to Roman soldiers (e.g. Tac. *ann.* 1,28 on the effects of a lunar eclipse).

by impossible circumstances, ordinary soldiers in the civil wars tended to favour action over inaction and battle over submission (Tac. *hist.* 2,18; 2,26). Sometimes those preferences were troublesome to their officers, as when the praetorians of Vestricius Spurinna insisted on action rather than remaining at Placentia (Tac. *hist.* 2,18–19), or when some of Otho's supporters refused to give in even after his death (Tac. *hist.* 2,51). Nonetheless, enthusiasm was more likely to be a virtue than a defect, and occasional mutiny was perhaps not an impossible price for its value in better circumstances. Professional pride and enthusiasm need not imply a blind love of battle; eagerness to put their skills to use could exist alongside a distaste for the horrors of civil war and the inglorious business of slaughtering fellow Romans (Tac. *hist.* 3,25). Ordinary soldiers were perhaps less troubled than their officers by thoughts of military glory. Even Cicero, at his most bellicose hardly a thoughtless warmonger, recommended that young men should try to win glory through military service (Cic. *off.* 2,45), but these were men who could expect to convert military glory into status and influence. For the ordinary soldier, military glory was perhaps a minority interest, a fine thing for those with ambitions to carry a centurion's vine-rod but less attractive than survival to those whose ambitions were centred on their retirement prospects.

Conclusions

The soldiers of the Year of Four Emperors were not always remarkable for the strength of their moral principles, but even their worst behaviour, for all its seeming senselessness, could derive from the rational pursuit of their aims and rational insistence on matters that they considered important. They did not always agree among themselves, but some common sources of action may be discerned, not wholly foolish in spite of their sometimes unfortunate results.

In long years devoted to military service, soldiers developed strong views about how that service should be handled. Some of their attitudes they may have learned from their officers; but it was not the officers who taught them to insist on loyalty to a doomed emperor long after the officers themselves had seen the sense of changing sides. Nor is it likely that officers taught them to distinguish between oaths that must be kept and oaths that could be discarded or modified. That choice was not intended for the ordinary soldier, who insisted on making it nonetheless, usually in pursuit of his own aims.

Mutiny gave the ordinary soldier the means of pressing other claims, reflecting attitudes and motives that he considered important. He accepted the or-

dinary risks of his profession, but he preferred not to have his life or his skills wasted by a thoughtless or inconsiderate commander; nor would he accept the diminution of his rewards by a greedy one. If he was expected to demonstrate loyalty, then so should his commanders and officers; and mutiny was the common means of demonstrating the soldier's disgust with a commander, like Caecina, who failed to live up to the proper standards.

Mutiny, however, was also the means by which soldiers argued and fought out their own disagreements. There were no doubt as many shades of opinion in any group of mutinous soldiers as among striking workers of modern times, and those disagreements, at their worst, could lead to ferocious acts of violence. Even when soldiers appear to act in consort it is advisable to question their apparent agreement, often a product of the ancient – and modern – tendency to diminish individual and group differences or reduce them to simple dichotomies: better and worse; loyal and disloyal, wise and witless. Any fair-sized gathering of mutineers, each rationally, if not always wisely, following his personal interests, could be all those things at once, and more besides.

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HARMONIA MUNDI – EINE INDIGENE GOTTHEIT, GRIECHISCHE MYTHOLOGIE UND RÖMISCHE ÜBERNAHME

ULRIKE EHMIG – RUDOLF HAENSCH

Im Zuge des Lissos-Projektes des Albanischen und des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts und des damit verbundenen "Albanienkurses" des DAI im Frühjahr 2009 wurde der Autor beim Besuch des Museums in Shkodër auf einen kleinen Altar aufmerksam. Daß dieser bislang unpubliziert ist, ergab sich bei der Arbeit an dem im Oktober 2012 erschienenen Corpus "Die Lateinischen Inschriften aus Albanien" (*LIA*).¹ Dank der freundlichen Vermittlung von Ghezim Hoxha (Albanisches Archäologisches Institut) und der Erlaubnis von Shpresa Gjongecaj, Direktorin des Instituts, wurde den Bearbeitern des Corpus gestattet, auch dieses Stück erstmals vorzulegen (*LIA* 12). Da die in der Inschrift zu fassende Göttin, Harmonia, einen bisher nicht bezeugten Kultur- und Kulturaustausch zwischen indigener, griechischer und römischer Welt belegt, ist es sinnvoll, sie separat vorzustellen.

Im Historischen Museum von Shkodër ist das Bruchstück eines Weihealtars von etwa 27 cm Höhe und 23 cm Breite ausgestellt. Der Stein ist in der Höhe nicht vollständig erhalten. Die Buchstabenhöhe liegt bei 2,7 cm (Abb. 1). Die Fundumstände des Altars in der sonst inschriftenarmen römischen Kolonie Scodra² oder ihrer Umgebung sind nicht mehr zu ermitteln.

Die Inschrift ist in der Breite nahezu vollständig; die Zeilen reichen links und rechts bis an den Rand des Steins und lassen nur geringfügige Ab- bzw. Überarbeitungen erkennen. Über den Schriftzeilen befindet sich ein vorspringendes, weitgehend vollständig erhaltenes Gesims. Die Zone darüber scheint abgearbeitet oder stark bestoßen. Weder die formal-dekorative Gestaltung des Steins

¹ U. Ehlig – R. Haensch, *Die Lateinischen Inschriften aus Albanien (LIA)*, Bonn 2012.

² So *CIL* III 12695 = *ILS* 7159 [p]on[t.] in co[l.] Sc[o]dr.; vgl. *Plin. nat.* 3,144. Die Erwähnung eines Dekurionenbeschlusses in *LIA* 13 (= *CILA* 7) führt nicht weiter. Darüber hinaus sind aus Scodra bisher nur noch vier lateinische Inschriften bekannt geworden: *LIA* 14–17.

noch die Schrift erlauben eine präzisere zeitliche Einordnung als die in die "Hohe Kaiserzeit" (ca. 50–240 n. Chr.). Der Altar trägt folgende Inschrift:

Harmo|niae sac(rum) | [. (?)]nais | -----

Geht man nach der Epigraphik-Datenbank³ von Manfred Clauss und Wolfgang Slaby (EDCS), ist "Harmonia" in lateinischen Inschriften bisher lediglich als Frauenname in Italien, Spanien, Nordafrika und der Dalmatia bezeugt.⁴ Das in der Inschrift folgende "sac(rum)" aber macht einen solchen unwahrscheinlich. Es läßt vielmehr an eine Weihung an eine Gottheit denken und zwar die aus der griechischen Welt stammende Ἄρμονία. Bei ihr handelte es sich nach unterschiedlichen Mythologien um eine Tochter des Ares und der Aphrodite oder des Zeus und der Pleiade Elektra. Sie galt als Vertreterin der in der bürgerlichen Welt waltenden Ordnung und Schönheit beziehungsweise als Mutter der Chariten oder Musen.⁵ Bekannt war vor allem ihre Hochzeit mit Kadmos, dem Herrscher von Theben, an der die olympischen Götter teilgenommen hatten. Das Thema fand vielfach Eingang in die antike Literatur und Kunst.⁶

Aber selbst in der griechischen Welt war die Gottheit anscheinend eher von untergeordneter Bedeutung.⁷ Ihr Kult stammte wohl aus Böotien und gewann später eine gewisse Rolle im Rahmen der Verehrung der Kabiren auf Samothrake. In griechischsprachigen Inschriften erscheint – zumindest nach der PHI Datenbank "Searchable Greek Inscriptions" zu urteilen –, Ἄρμονία wiederum vor allem als nicht besonders häufiger, aber überall im betreffenden Sprachraum verbreiteter Frauenname.⁸ Auf die Göttin zu beziehen sind nur Vermerke in den nach 166 v. Chr. zu datierenden Inventarlisten von Delos – es wird darin auf ein Standbild verwiesen –, in den *tabulae Iliacae* und in einer Lobrede auf die Kulte

³ Alle genannten Datenbanken wurden im Mai und Juni 2012 konsultiert.

⁴ *CIL* II² 14, 1, 261; *CIL* VI 22258; *CIL* VI 35044; *CIL* VIII 13223; *CIL* X 2496; *CIL* X 6187; *EE* VIII 1, 451 = *AE* 1999, 454; *AE* 1973, 199; *AE* 1982, 180; *AE* 1993, 232; *BCAR* 1923, 93; *HEp* 4, 1994, 914; *ILJug* III 1849 = *AE* 1986, 553; vielleicht *CIL* V 332 = *IItal.* X 2, 9.

⁵ Vgl. Sittig, *RE* I 7,2 (1912) 2379–88 s. v. Harmonia; W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* I 2, Leipzig 1886–90, 1830–32 s. v. Harmonia.

⁶ Vgl. – auch zum folgenden – Roscher (Anm. 5) II 1, 824–893 s. v. Kadmos und zuletzt D. Fernández-Galiano Ruiz, "Cadmó y Harmonía: imágen, mito y arqueología", *JRA* 5 (1992) 162–77, ferner die in Anm. 10 genannte Literatur.

⁷ S. E. Paribeni, *LIMC* IV 1, 412–4; IV 2, 238–40.

⁸ Belege in allen Bänden von *LGPN*.

von Samothrake.⁹ Ein griechischsprachiger Altar oder gar die Bauinschrift eines Tempels für Ἀρμονία sind allem Anschein nach nicht bekannt.

Wie kann vor diesem Hintergrund der Fund eines entsprechenden, zudem lateinischen Altars an der südlichen Grenze der römischen Provinz Dalmatia interpretiert werden? In der griechischen Literatur findet sich neben den Darstellungen der Herkunft und "Aufgaben" der Harmonia sowie den Beschreibungen ihrer Hochzeit mit Kadmos noch ein weiterer Komplex von Erzählungen. Es handelt sich um die verschiedenen Darstellungen des letztendlichen Schicksals des Paares Kadmos und Harmonia. Jenseits aller Unterschiede ist diesen gemein, daß beide aus Theben vertrieben wurden, nach Illyrien flohen und dort entweder verstarben oder in Schlangen verwandelt wurden. Ein erheblicher Teil dieser Erzählungen nimmt dabei mehr oder weniger konkret Bezug auf unmittelbar bei oder südlich von Scodra gelegene Örtlichkeiten im Gebiete des antiken Epirus, also der Grenzregion der beiden römischen Provinzen Dalmatia und Macedonia beziehungsweise des heutigen nördlichen Albaniens.¹⁰ Gerade die älteste dieser Nachrichten ist recht präzise: Nach § 24 des wohl um 340 v. Chr. zu datierenden Periplus des Pseudo-Skylax befanden sich bei dem zwar nicht identifizierten, aber sicher zwischen Naron und Epidamnum gelegenen Fluß Arion (?) zwei Steine/Felsen, die Kadmos und Harmonia versinnbildlichten, und ein Heiligtum: καὶ Κάδμου καὶ Ἀρμονίας οἱ λίθοι εἰσὶν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἱερόν ἄποθεν τοῦ Ἀρίωνος

⁹ *IDelos* 1442, 43; 1452 C 16 f., vgl. 1434, 8; *IG XIV* 1285 II und *SEG* 35, 1044; *IPriene* 69, 7.

¹⁰ Für die gesamte Überlieferung vgl. Roscher (Anm. 5) II 1, 849–53, 863 und Sittig (Anm. 5) 2386 sowie vor allem M. Šašel Kos, "Cadmus and Harmonia in Illyria", *AAV* 44 (1993) 113–36; jetzt auch dies., "Mythological Stories concerning Illyria and its name", in: P. Cabanes – J.-L. Lambolley (ed.), *L'Illyrie méridionale et l'Épire dans l'antiquité* IV, Paris 2004, 493–504. Neben dem im Text besprochenen Ps.-Skylax sind zu erwähnen: Erat. bei Steph. Byz. s. v. Dyrrachium: das Grab der beiden bei den Flüssen Drilon und Aaos (?; diese Emendation wird akzeptiert von Šašel Kos; dagegen aber N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus*, Oxford 1967, 467 Anm. 3) – vgl. Apoll. *Rhod.* 4,516 f., Nik. Ther. 607–9; Phylarchos bei Athen. *deipn.* 11,462 B: ein Mnemeion für das Paar bei einem ansonsten unbekanntem, aber wegen Prok. *aed.* 4,4 sehr wahrscheinlich in Epirus Nova gelegenen Ort namens Kylikes; Dion. *Per.* 390 f. und Eust. *ad Dion. Per.* 391 (*GGM* II 127. 289), vgl. Kall. frg. 11 (Pfeiffer I 20 f.): bei einer Meeresbucht an den Keraunischen Bergen das Grab des Paares; Nonn. 44,116 f.: das Paar sei zu steinernen Schlangen bei einer Mündung in die Adria geworden. Vgl. auch Šašel Kos passim zu den Enchelei, über die das Paar angeblich geherrscht hatte; zu diesen weiterhin insbesondere R. Katičić, "Die Encheleer", *God. Cen. Balk. Isp.* 15 (1977) 5–82 und jetzt auch S. Palazzo, "Ethne e poleis lungo il primo tratto della Via Egnatia: La prospettiva di una fonte", in: C. Antonetti (ed.), *Lo spazio ionico e le comunità della Grecia nord-occidentale. Territorio, società, istituzioni*, Pisa 2010, 273–90.



Abb. 1

ποταμοῦ.¹¹ Allem Anschein nach war ein indigener (Schlangen¹²-)Kult gegebenfalls nicht nur an einem, sondern mehreren Orten in einer interpretatio Graeca mit einem griechischen Mythos verbunden worden und der so gewandelte Kult existierte auch noch in der römischen Kaiserzeit.

¹¹ Ps.-Skyl. *Periplus* 24 (GGM I 30 f. wird jetzt ersetzt durch G. Shipley, *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplus. The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World*, Bristol 2011), zur handschriftlichen Überlieferung und zu den Identifikationsversuchen neben Shipley, a. O. 109 insbesondere auch Šašel Kos (Anm. 10) 122 f. mit Anm. 75, deren Textrekonstruktion hier wie auch bei P. Counillion, "Le Périphe du Pseudo-Scylax et l'Adriatique, § 17-24", in: S. Čače, A. Kurilić, F. Tassaux (ed.), *Les routes de l'adriatique antique*, Bordeaux – Zadar 2006, 19–29 gefolgt wird.

¹² Zu solchen, für die Region typischen Kulturen z. B. S. Düll, *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens in römischer Zeit*, München 1977, 137–41 und jetzt insbesondere Šašel Kos (Anm. 10) 125. Šašel Kos verweist auch (mit älterer Literatur) auf zwei Bronzebleche aus hellenistischer Zeit, die in Selcë Poshtme auf der albanischen Seite des Ochridsees und bei Gostilj in Crna Gora in Montenegro gefunden wurden, und auf denen eine Schlange dargestellt ist, die "griechisch" gerüstete Krieger gegen Barbaren unterstützt.

Man möchte gerne wissen, welche Inhalte den Kult in dieser Zeit für einen römischen Bürger attraktiv machten. Dachte man tatsächlich noch immer an die in eine Schlange verwandelte Frau eines Königs von Theben, oder hatten die generellen Bedeutungen von Harmonia im Griechischen wie im Lateinischen – also der gute harmonische Zusammenklang, insbesondere auch im Bereich der Musik – an Bedeutung gewonnen? Bedauerlicherweise weist der Altar keine Darstellung auf, die in dieser Hinsicht Anhaltspunkte liefern könnte.

Keine klare Antwort läßt sich auch auf die Frage nach der genaueren ethnischen Herkunft des Dedikanten geben. Zunächst ist sein Name nur partiell erhalten. Die in Zeile 2 erkennbare Buchstabenfolge NAIVS, der eventuell ein weiteres Zeichen vorausging, läßt unterschiedliche Ergänzungen in Betracht ziehen. Zunächst möchte man an ein ausgeschriebenes *praenomen Cnaius* denken, dem in weiteren, verlorenen Zeilen die übrigen Namensbestandteile folgen müßten. Mehrere Überlegungen aber machen dies unwahrscheinlich: Ausgeschriebene *praenomina* waren in den Provinzen bei in Stein gemeißelten Inschriften nicht üblich. Auch eine abusive Verwendung als *nomen gentile* durch einen Provinzialen, von der Endung *-ius* verführt, ist eher unwahrscheinlich. Zwar ist eine solche Praxis für andere *praenomina* vergleichsweise häufig belegt, speziell für *Cnaius* aber bisher nur einmal in einer lateinischen Inschrift zu fassen.¹³ Zudem ist in dieser Zeit die Schreibweise *Cnaeus* und nicht *Cnaius* die wesentlich üblichere.¹⁴

Allerdings weist Olli Salomies in seiner Studie zu den römischen Vornamen auf folgendes, seiner Ansicht nach letztlich nicht zu erklärendes Phänomen hin: "Die Form Ναῖος scheint im späten 1. Jh. v. Chr. und im frühen 1. Jh. n. Chr. fast "offiziellen" Charakter [als Wiedergabe von Cnaeus] gehabt zu haben".¹⁵ Es ist zu erwägen, ob in der hier vorgestellten Inschrift ein entsprechendes Zeugnis vorliegt – gleich ob *Naius* dabei als ausgeschriebenes *praenomen* oder *nomen gentile* fungierte.¹⁶ Schließlich ergäbe sich selbst bei der Annahme, vor dem N

¹³ *CIL* XI 2149, cf. p. 1278 (Clusium).

¹⁴ Vgl. zur relativen Häufigkeit die Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss/Slaby. Für die ausgeschriebene Form finden sich dort überwiegend Zeugnisse aus dem Bereich des sogenannten *instrumentum domesticum*. Ausgeschrieben erscheint *Cnaei* nur zweimal im Rahmen einer Filiation: *ICUR* VII 18576; *ILTG* 159 = *AE* 1960, 291. *CIL* III 3258, cf. p. 1041 ist nicht einschlägig, da in der zugrunde liegenden Handschrift nur der Inhalt der Inschrift referiert wurde.

¹⁵ O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen*, Helsinki 1987, 29 f.

¹⁶ *Naius* als *cognomen* in *AE* 1984, 355 (Cluviae, Prov. Chieti); als Individualname vielleicht auch in *AE* 1969/70, 521 = *RIU* VI 1481 nach der Lesung bei G. Alföldy, *Specimina nova* 18 (2004) 38 (cf. *AE* 2004, 1133).

fehle ein Buchstabe, nur noch die Möglichkeit des äußerst seltenen *Anaius*.¹⁷ Für einen längeren Namen bietet der Stein keinen Platz. Möglicherweise liefert also nicht nur die Gottheit, sondern auch der Name des Stifters des Monumentes einen Hinweis auf eher ungewöhnliche Beispiele von Kulturaustausch zwischen indigener, griechischer und römischer Welt.

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¹⁷ S. H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1994, 223. *Anaius*: *CIL* IX 3827 = *CIL* I² 1772 (p. 1034. 1036), Supinum Vicus; *ICUR* VIII 22169a, Rom; vgl. auch *Tit Aq.* II 517.

***wa-no* (KN Ch 5724)**

ΜΙΚΑ ΚΑΪΑΒΑ

In my recent discussion of the series of Mycenaean ox names from Knossos (*Arctos* 45 [2011] 59–70), I suggested that]-*pa-ko* (KN Ch 5728) could be interpreted as *re]-pa-ko*, "White-coated", "White-flanked" (\approx Λέπαργος, which is attested as an ox name in post-Homeric poetry). I also mentioned in passing another mysterious name from the same set of tablets, i.e., Ch 5724+6005+fr]*qe wa-no-qe* BOS^m ZE 1[(for a good photograph, see *CoMIK* III, p. 121). After the ox dossier was already in print, a hypothesis regarding this case occurred to me. Given that almost all the ox names in the Knossos series somehow indicate the physical appearance of the animals, their colouring in particular, it is a plausible guess that *wa-no* served to identify an ox in a similar fashion.¹

If *wa-no* is not completely unrelated to what is known from other ancient sources, I wonder if this enigmatic ox name could have a connection with the rare Homeric adjective ἦνοψ, which is found three times as the epithet ("shining, gleaming") of χαλκός in the phrase ἦνοπι χαλκῶ.² This word, a formation in

* My thanks go to an anonymous referee for a useful observation.

¹ J.-P. Olivier, in L. R. Palmer – J. Chadwick (eds.), *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (1966), 82, tentatively proposed associating *wa-no(-qe)* with the Pylian toponym PY Cn 40.1–4, 599.1.6 *wa-no-jo wo-wo*, "(at) the boundary of *wa-no*", the first element of which may disclose the genitive of a male name (and not the gen. φάρνοιο, "lamb", as is sometimes suggested). Cf. L. Godart – Y. Tzedakis, *CRAI* 1993, 240, commenting on the possibility of a connection between the Knossos case and "lamb": "on ne peut s'empêcher de souligner que l'ensemble de la série suggère plutôt des correspondants grecs évoquant des noms de couleur". — On *wa-no-qe* (*DiccMic* II 406), cf. further Y. Duhoux, in *Les zoonymes. Actes du colloque international tenu à Nice les 23, 24 et 25 janvier 1997* (Publ. Fac. Lettr. Nice n.s. 38), 178: "hapax d'interprétation ambiguë"; I. Hajnal – E. Risch(†), *Grammatik des mykenischen Griechisch* (publication in preparation: <http://www.uibk.ac.at/sprachen-literaturen/sprawi/mykgr.html#10>), 175 n. 333: "rätselhaft".

² It must be duly noted that, because of the unlikely connection between *wa-no* and ἀρήν, ἀρνός (cf. n. 1), a reference to Hom. ἦνοψ was tentatively suggested long ago by Anna Morpurgo

-οψ, is evidently based on the element **φην-* of unknown origin (for the obvious influence of the digamma,³ see Hom. *Il.* 16,408: καὶ ἦνοπι χαλκῶ; *Il.* 18,349 = *Od.* 10,360: ἐνὶ ἦνοπι χαλκῶ). Notwithstanding the problem that one cannot show conclusively that η (in ἦνοψ) represents *ā*, and not an original *ē*,⁴ there is a good possibility that *wa-no* could be understood as /*uānos*/ (≈ **φην-ος*) with initial *wa* > (ϕ)η.⁵ Semantic and contextual analysis of the use of both ἦνοψ and the Mycenaean ox names, in particular, might point in this direction. Although the following discussion does not solve the etymology of these words, it may cast some light on their meaning, thus hopefully providing further information about how the Mycenaean palace administration labelled the oxen in its possession.⁶

While ἦνοψ characterized the shine of metal objects, be they bronze fish-hooks (Hom. *Il.* 16,408) or copper vessels for boiling (*Il.* 18,349 = *Od.* 10,360), it also suggested the metals' golden-brown colouring.⁷ In this sense, it may be compared with two further Homeric -οψ adjectives, i.e., *vōroψ* (of obscure derivation, but suggesting "brightness" in some way)⁸ and αἶθοψ, both appearing in

Davies in her discussion of the treatment of the syllabic /*r*/ in Mycenaean: *Atti e Memorie I° Congr. intern. micenologia* (1968), 811: "Would a connection with Homeric ἦνοψ be possible?" (not objected to by Hugo Mühlestein in the subsequent discussion: p. 814). However, as she did not pursue the issue further, the idea seems to have been forgotten (noticed in square brackets by L. Baumbach, *Glotta* 49 [1971] 158, s.v. ἀρήν).

³ Observed by P. Chantraine, *Grammaire homérique* I (1948), 152. Further, Frisk, *Gr. etym. Wörterb.* I (1960), 638: "sonst unklar"; Chantraine, *Dict. etym. gr.* (1968), 414: "l'élément radical est inexplicable"; Beekes, *Etym. Dict. of Greek* I (2010), 521: "further unclear".

⁴ Note, interestingly, J. Charpentier, *ZVS* 40 = n. F. 20 (1907) 452 n. 2: "oder eher is vielleicht ion. ἦνοψ ein urgr. **ānoψ*" (with untenable further reconstruction).

⁵ Cf., e.g., PN *wa-do-me-no* in PY Vn 130.5: /*uādomenos*/ ≈ Ἡδόμενος, and Corinna, *PMG* 654, col. IV, 7: *ῥάδο[μη]*. 23: *ῥάδομή*, with M. L. West, *ZPE* 113 (1996) 23.

⁶ For the notion that the oxen of the KN Ch series were beasts of burden (and not animals destined for sacrifice), see the literature cited in *Arctos* 45 (2011) 60 n. 4 (esp. J. T. Killen, *Minos* n. s. 27–28 [1992–93] 102–3; add Id., *Aevum* 72 [1998] 21; J. Weilhartner, *Minos* n. s. 37–38 [2002–03] 257–62).

⁷ It was typical of the various Greek terms denoting brightness and gleam to add associations of appropriate colours. For ἀργής / ἀργός, and the derivatives, see *Arctos* 45 (2011) 65–6. – Commentators usually glossed ἦνοψ as λαμπρός; for some fantastic explanations, cf. Apoll. Soph. *Lex. Hom.* 84,18 (Bekker): ἦνοπα τὸν δυσαντοφθάλητον διὰ λαμπρότητα οἶον ἄνοπα, and Eusth. *ad Hom. Od.* 10,360 (vol. I, p. 385): ἦνοψ δὲ καὶ νῦν χαλκός ἢ ὁ ἔμφωνος ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ καλῶς ἐγράφη ἢ ὁ διαυγής, δι' οὗ ἔστιν ἐνοπτρίζεσθαι.

⁸ Scholiasts referred to brightness and to the blinding effect it caused, e.g., Eusth. *ad Hom. Il.* 2,578 (I, p. 451, 28–30): Νώροπα δὲ χαλκὸν λέγει τὸν λαμπρὸν καὶ στερίσκοντα τοῦ ὀράν,

the dative (and the former also in the accusative) as epithets of χαλκός in similar contexts, and thus presumably semantically close to, or coinciding with, ἥνοπι χαλκῶ. Of these, αἶθωψ, perhaps originally associated with the bright and yellow/yellow-red fire (Hom. αἶθομαι, "burn, blaze"), is not only the most common (also used for wine, smoke, etc.), but also has the variants αἶθων and αἶθός.⁹ The former is used in Homer for oxen, horses, lions and eagles (and for a fox in Pind. *Ol.* 11,20), in probable reference to the animals' shining and tawny colouring, and the latter occurs in later poetry denoting, e.g., "red-brown" spiders (Bacch. fr. 4,70) and the "dusky" hide of the Calydonian wild boar (Bacch. 5,124). Moreover, both Αἶθων and Αἶθη (Agamemnon's mare) are names of (probably) "bright bay" (and "sleek-coated") horses in Homer. Not surprisingly, Αἶθων, "Shiny", is a horse name on early Corinthian pottery.¹⁰

ἥνοψ also occurs in post-Homeric poetry. While used for the "bright" sky by Callimachus in his *Hecale* fr. 18.2 (Hollis = 238 Pf.; οὐρανὸς ἥνοψ), the word appears as a term for colour in fr. 102 (Hollis = 277 Pf.), which tells about "elderly cows eating poppy flowers and golden wheat" (βόες ἥχι γέγειαι / ἄνθεα μήκωνός τε καὶ ἥνοπα πυρρὸν ἔδουσι, perhaps of a sacred herd of cattle).¹¹ Here ἥνοψ seems to bring out the "bright golden" colour of the wheat which, together with the red poppies, creates an impressive combination of colour tones. Suda η 399, s.v. ἥνοψ, duly glossed the epithet with τουτέστι πυρρὸν σῆτον.¹²

Although the evidence is hypothetical, perhaps wa-no (≈ *Fην-ος) then was used in the palace records of Knossos to identify a draft ox with "golden-brown" or "red-brown" coat. The possibility exists, moreover, that wa-no was

οἶα δυσωπουμένης τῆς ὄψεως πρὸς τὴν λαμπρότητα· ἔστι γὰρ στερητικὸν μὲν τὸ νο, ὀρᾶν δὲ τὸ βλέπειν, ἐξ οὗ ὁ νῶροψ. Cf. Nonn. *Dion.* 32,14: νόροπι πέπλω. The phrase νόροπι χαλκῶ in Christodorus' ekphrasis, *A.P.* 2,1,78 (late 5th/early 6th century), obviously draws on Homer and Nonnus.

⁹ Detailed discussion in H. Dürbeck, *Zur Charakteristik der griechischen Farbenbezeichnungen* (1977), 177–86. Meaning of αἶθ-: R. Beekes, *Glotta* 73 (1995–96) 12–34 (passim): "bright", "burning" (but not "burnt").

¹⁰ R. Wachter, *Non-Attic Greek Vase Inscriptions* (2001), 44 (COR 16), 70–1 (COR 57 inscr. Αἶθων).

¹¹ A. Rengakos, *ZPE* 94 (1992) 40 (on Hom. words in Callimachus). See also, writing in Homeric tone, Nonn. *Dion.* 2,595 = 18,91 (ἥνοπι κόσμω, "dazzling decoration"); 8,195 (ἥνοπι δίφρω, "gleaming seat").

¹² The image was perceptively captured in words by R. Reitzenstein, in *Index lectionum in Academia Rostochiensis sem. hib. a. 1890/91... publice privatimque habendarum* (1891), p. 13: "lepide autem descripsit flavam segetem rubris papaveris floribus distinctam".

also a man's name, perhaps identifiable in the Pylian toponym *wa-no-jo wo-wo* (cf. above n. 1). Adjectives of colour were also used by the Mycenaean Greeks as personal human names,¹³ and they sometimes occur as names of both men and oxen. Thus *ko-so-u-to* ≈ $\Xi\omicron\upsilon\theta\omicron\varsigma$, an ox name ("Tawny" [prop. yellowish-grey or ash yellow]) in Knossos (KN Ch 900), appears as the name of a smith in Pylos (PY Jn 389.13), perhaps referring to his hair colour. Similarly, the Mycenaean personal names *ka-sa-to* ≈ $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ ("Blond, Fair" [yellow, brownish, auburn]) and *pu-wo* ≈ $\Pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$ ("Tawny" [red, yellowish-red/brown]), describing, in some sense, either hair or skin or both, are given as denominations for oxen and other animals in alphabetic Greek.¹⁴ They may have been used to mark the colouring of Mycenaean oxen as well.

Whether an early form corresponding to Hom. $\hat{\eta}\nu\omicron\psi$ was ever used in Mycenaean Greek is unknown, but surely it could have been. However, as there is no etymology for $*\phi\eta\nu$ nor for *wa-no* either, such a hypothetical word remains beyond reach. But if there is the sort of semantic connection between $\hat{\eta}\nu\omicron\psi$ (< $*\phi\hat{\eta}\nu\text{-}\omicron\psi$) and *wa-no* suggested here, then one might think of a possessive compound in $/\text{-}\acute{\omicron}k^u\text{-}s/$ comparable to PN *po-ki-ro- $\acute{\omicron}qo$* /*Poikil\acute{\omicron}k^u*s/ PY Anm 654.12, Aq 64.8, Jo 438.22, "having coloured eyes/face", "Freckle-faced (?)" (cf., e.g., with a nominal first member, the ox name *wo-no- $\acute{\omicron}qo$ - $\acute{\omicron}so$* /*\mu\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}k^u*s/ KN Ch 897 and 1015, "Wine-dark" [prop. "(with) wine(-coloured) eyes/face", "looking (like) wine"; cf. $\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\psi$]).¹⁵ Could it be that $*\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}k^u\text{-}s/$ (or, as an *o*-stem, $*\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}k^u\text{-}\omicron\text{-}s/$)¹⁶ denoted someone having a "tawny face", or "dark and gleaming eyes", whatever the exact meaning and origin of the "colour item" $*\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu/$ may have been? The problem is,

¹³ E.g., *e-ru-to-ro* ≈ $\epsilon\rho\upsilon\theta\rho\omicron\varsigma$, *ka-ra-u-ko* ≈ $\Gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, *ka-sa-to* ≈ $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$, *pu-wo* [also f. *pu-wa*] ≈ $\Pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$, *re-u-ko* ≈ $\Lambda\epsilon\upsilon\delta\kappa\omicron\varsigma$; see J. Chadwick, *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*² (1973), 96 (references in the glossary).

¹⁴ $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$, $\Pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\Lambda\epsilon\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$ and $\Gamma\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (cf. previous note), for instance, are all documented as names of horses on early Corinthian pottery or pinakes. Of these, $\Xi\acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma$ was rather popular, being also found on Chalcidian vases (a general survey is in Wachter [cit. n. 10], 261–2).

¹⁵ Homer frequently calls the sea "wine-dark", but the epithet is also applied to a pair of ploughing oxen, $\beta\omicron\epsilon\ \omicron\iota\nu\omicron\psi\epsilon$ (*Il.* 13,703; *Od.* 13,32), and is found as a man's name in *Od.* 21,144 (Leiodes, the sacrificial priest for the suitors of Penelope, and the first to attempt to string the bow, was the son of Oinops). Although the interpretation is often accepted (cf. *DiccMic* II 444), *wo-no- $\acute{\omicron}qo$ - $\acute{\omicron}so$* hardly means "with wine-dark croup" ($*\mu\omicron\iota\nu\acute{\omicron}k^u\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\acute{\omicron}so$).

¹⁶ For Mycenaean compound names with either $/\text{-}\acute{\omicron}k^u\text{-}/$ or $/\text{-}\acute{\omicron}k^u\text{-}\omicron\text{-}/$ as the second element, see M. Buzalkovska-Aleksova, in S. Deger-Jalkotzy – S. Hiller – O. Panagl (eds.), *Florentina Studia Mycenaea. Akten X. Myk. Coll. Salzburg 1995* (1999), I, 182–3; J. L. García Ramón, *Faventia* 30 (2008) 38 (with a discussion of *e-ro- $\acute{\omicron}qo$* PY Ea 29, 325, 813, probably to be interpreted as a possessive compound: $*\epsilon\text{-}\acute{\omicron}k^u\text{-}\omicron\text{-}s$, "que tiene gran ojo").

however, that, in the case of ῆνοψ, not only the etymology of * $\text{F}\eta\nu$, but also the derivation of the element -οψ remains opaque with no necessary relation to * $\text{-}\bar{o}k^u$, "eye", "face". Given such uncertainty, one might do well to opt for a compound personal name formed (somewhat freely, like the "abbreviated" compounds) with the onomastic suffix /-os/.¹⁷ This is all speculation, though, with little relevance to the above semantic analysis of the Mycenaean *wa-no*.

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¹⁷ "Abbreviated" forms of compounds: J. L. García Ramón, in Y. Duhoux – A. Morpurgo Davies (eds.), *A Companion to Linear B. Mycenaean Greek Texts and their World II* (2011), 222. – On Myc. compounds in general, see F. M. J. Waanders, *An Analytic Study of Mycenaean Compounds: Structure, Types* (2008).

ON HUMAN-ANIMAL SEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS IN AELIAN'S *DE NATURA ANIMALIUM*

TUA KORHONEN

In the course of history, the phenomenon of humans having sexual intercourse with animals has been called, for example, bestiality, buggery, sodomy, zooerasty, zoosexuality and zoophilia. At the beginning of the modern era, this kind of intercourse was considered to be a felony and a crime against nature, which, according to the Mosaic Law (*Le* 20:15–16), meant a death penalty for both the human and the animal.¹ In contrast, it has been argued that Greek and Roman literature and art provide numerous references to human-animal sexual relations seemingly devoid of moral judgment.² The categories of erotic experience and sexuality in the Graeco-Roman world were, of course, somewhat different from ours,³ but is

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¹ See also *Ex* 22:19, *De* 27:21. On these passages in the Mosaic Law, see P. Beirne, "On the Sexual assault of Animals: A Sociological View", in A. N. H. Creager – W. C. Jordan (eds.) *The Animal/Human Boundary: Historical Perspectives*, Rochester (NY) 2007, 197–9. On the criminalization of bestiality in the early modern period, see John M. Murrin, "Things Fearful to Name: Bestiality in Early America", in Creager – Jordan (op. cit.), 115–57; P. G. Maxwell-Stuart, "*Wild, filthy, execrable, detestable, and unnatural sin*": *Bestiality in early modern Scotland*, Manchester 2002; E. Fudge, "Monstrous Acts: Bestiality in Early Modern England", *History Today* 8 (2000) 20–5.

² Beirne (above n. 1), 199; Fudge (above n. 1), 21.

³ M. B. Skinner, *Sexuality in Greek and Roman Culture*, Oxford 2005, 3–10; D. M. Halperin – J. J. Winkler, – F. I. Zeitlin, *Before Sexuality: The Construction of Erotic Experience in the Ancient Greek World*, Princeton (NJ) 1990. See also J. Davidson, *The Greeks and Greek Love*, London 2007, 101–21.

it plausible that the ancients were more tolerant of this kind of sexual behaviour – or should we say, animal abuse?

In the following, I will discuss this question from the point of view of Aelian or Claudius Aelianus (c. 175–235), who in his popular natural history reports about twenty cases of ardent human-animal affectionate relationships,⁴ thus referring to this phenomenon more often than any other ancient writer known to us.⁵ Aelian mentions some cases only in passing, some more elaborately.⁶ Although we can interpret some of them as instances of imprinting (geese in love with humans), there remain other cases to puzzle over. In the following, I will discuss whether Aelian distinguishes the erotic "love affairs" from mere devotion and what can be said about his attitude to the human-animal sexual relationships.⁷ I will start with the sexual terminology in antiquity.

Philia, erôs and zoophilia

Judith C. Adams and her colleagues, who have studied human-animal sexual relations as a present-day phenomenon, have suggested that one should distinguish between bestiality, zoosexuality, and zoophilia. According to these scholars, we may define *bestiality* as an activity or practice performed by individuals whose sexual orientation is usually towards other humans, while *zoosexuality* denotes a

⁴ The animals include dogs, a seal, geese and other birds, and especially snakes and dolphins. A dog (or a ram or a goose – Aelian mentions the different versions) fell in love with Glauce the harpist (1,6; 5,29; 8,11), a dog fell in love with a boy named Xenophon (1,6), a female snake with an Egyptian boy (4,56), a male snake with an Arcadian boy and with a boy named Aleuas (6,63 and 8,10), a male snake with a Jewish girl and with the daughter of Sybaris (6,17; 12,36), a seal with a diver (4,58), a goose with a boy named Amphilochus (5,29), a cockerel named Centaurus with a royal cup-bearer (12,34), a jackdaw with a boy (1,6; 12,34), an elephant with a flower-seller (7,39), and various dolphins with various humans (2,6; 6,15; 8,10; 12,45 [a hymn attributed to Arion]). In addition to these passages, there are the tales of the groom desiring the mare (4,9) and the goatherd the she-goat (6,42), and the cases that report animals assaulting women (dogs 7,19; baboons or apes 7,19 and 15,14). In addition, Aelian refers to Pindar (see below n. 10) concerning the case of a goat having intercourse with a woman. About the numbering of the new edition of *NA* I have used, see below n. 17.

⁵ For lists of the best-known cases in Graeco-Roman literature and iconography, see J. G. Younger, *Sex in the ancient world from A to Z*, London – New York 2005 ("bestiality") and G. Vorberg, *Glossarium Eroticum*, Stuttgart 1932 (*coitus cum brutis animalibus* and *sodomia*).

⁶ The more elaborate tales are 2,6; 6,15; 6,42; 6,63 and 7,39.

⁷ For example, of dogs' devotion to their masters (6,25).

precise sexual orientation of a person towards animals. The same scholars suggest that *zoophilia*, which nowadays is in clinical use to refer both to the practice and to the orientation, should be restricted to mean mainly the non-sexual love of animals. However, they argue that zoophilia also includes those occurrences where an individual experiences a transition from a loving attachment to sexual attraction, for example, to his companion animal.⁸

It goes without saying that most of the cases of human-animal sexual acts happen without the consent of the non-human part, so that sexual intercourse with animals can be more often understood as an *interspecies sexual assault*, as Piers Beirne has put it.⁹ Therefore it can be compared to paedophilia, the attraction to and exploitation of children as sexual objects by adults. The Greek social custom of pederasty accepted the exploitation of young boys as sexual objects within certain norms and restraints and a vocabulary was created around it.

By contrast, for human-animal sexual relations there were no exact words, which suggests that the cases were either very rare or were not discussed because (for example) of embarrassment or of indifference. Herodotus, who is the first to clearly describe such an act, reports on the intercourse between a goat and a woman that occurred in a public space, "openly" (ἀναφανδόν), in Mendes, Egypt (2,46,4). He uses the common verb denoting sexual intercourse, "mixing" (μίγνυμι). Herodotus expresses his astonishment by calling the act strange or monstrously strange (τοῦτο τὸ τέρας), although he can contextualize the incident as belonging to the sphere of exotic religious practice, to the cult of the god that the Greeks identified as Pan, the hybrid god of shepherds and herdsmen.¹⁰

In Theocritus' *Idylls* (1,87–88), a goatherd is described as envying his billy goat that he sees mounting a she-goat and cursing that he himself is "not born a goat". This is, however, rather an expression of acknowledging the all-pervasive character of sexual passion and of the boundaries between the species. In real life, young boys were usually responsible for herding farm animals, which involved

⁸ J. C. Adams – E. A. McBride – K. Carnelley – A. Carr, "Human animal sexual interactions: a predictive model to differentiate between zoophilia, zoosexuality and bestiality", *Proceedings of the International Society of Anthrozoology Congress in Tokyo 2007 "The Power of Animals"* (not published, see poster number 40 http://www.jaha.or.jp/iahaio2007/pdf/abstract_4.pdf). Bestiality seems to be a specifically politically incorrect term for an act in which the agency is usually not on the part of the *beast*.

⁹ Beirne (above n. 1), 193–227.

¹⁰ See also Strabo 17,1,19 and Ael. *NA* 7,19, who both refer to Pindar (fr. 201 *incert.*, ed. Maehler). Sexual intercourse could be combined with cultic practices in antiquity; on temple prostitution, see, e.g., Younger (above n. 5), 109–10.

close relations with them and also offered knowledge of sexual relations between animals.¹¹ The epigram from the first century BCE attributed to Meleager (*AP* 12,41) suggests that sexual encounters between young goatherds and she-goats were supposed to be adolescent sexual experimentation, as if a passing phase in their sexuality. However, the language of this epigram was obviously meant to be shocking or, at least, crude.

Although all living beings were thought to share the sexual drive – a cause for both joy and anxiety – the physical part of any kind of sexual intercourse was usually described with neutral terms like "associating", "being close", "being with" and "mixing with",¹² as is the case in the incident related by Herodotus, but also much later on, in Aelian's tales of human-animal intercourse. Therefore, although the lecherous scenes in Graeco-Roman erotic art or in some epigrams may give a picture of sexual unrestrainedness, moderation and euphemisms without clear obscenities were the norm of the genres of higher literature (except, of course, for Aristophanes' comedy).¹³

The restrained sexual register pertains especially to the descriptions of pederasty, which was combined with uplifting ideas. In Plato's *Phaedrus* and *Symposium*, a beautiful adolescent boy exemplifies universal beauty, which conducts the lover, the adult male, to the Idea of Beauty. The pederastic relationship was formulated as edification both for the lover (*erastês*) and the beloved one (*erômenos*) and valued as the noblest form of *erôs*. Although Socrates specifically states in the *Phaedrus* that this relationship is not *philia*, but *erôs* (255c–e), many scholars have commented about the ambiguity of these terms in Greek erotic discussion in general.¹⁴ While *philia* usually meant mainly friendship and other non-erotic forms of love, it also stood for strong affection, a fond intimacy. But then again, while *erôs*, as the more specific form of erotic affection, could mean obsessive forms of affection, it was sometimes used quite neutrally, as a

¹¹ L. Calder, *Cruelty and Sentimentality*, Oxford 2011, 30. Beirne (above n. 1), 214–5. Cf. also *Daphnis and Chloe* 3,15,7.

¹² Vorberg (above n. 5), s.v.; Davidson (above n. 3), 119.

¹³ Skinner (above n. 3), 196 and S. Halliwell, *Greek Laughter*, Cambridge 2008, 219–25. According to G. Sissa, the Greeks understood *erôs* not as "a repertoire of possible acts", but as "the body's insistent desire", see Sissa, *Sex and Sensuality in the Ancient World*, New Haven – London 2008, 6.

¹⁴ On the interchangeability of the words *philia* and *erôs* in Greek thought, see Halperin *et al.* (above n. 3), 268–270; Davidson (above n. 3), 32–4. On the vocabulary of sexual passion (*himeros*, *pothos*, and others), see Davidson (above n. 3), 11–67.

synonym for *philia*.¹⁵ This is reflected in the very class of words of pederasty (παιδεραστία). While the substantive *paidophilia* is lacking, the compound adjectives παιδοφίλης and παιδεραστής were sometimes used as synonyms (cf. Thgn. 1357).¹⁶

Thus, there was a scale of intensity of the words *philia* and *erôs*, but also a kind of convertibility of them. Aelian uses both ἵπεραστής and φίλιππος in the same tale as synonyms referring to the lover of horses, but in this case quite clearly referring to non-erotic love (NA 2,28).¹⁷ Therefore, if Aelian employs the verb ἔρασθαι as such more often than φιλεῖν in his tales about human-animal love – and he certainly does – the verb is not evidence of an erotic relationship between human and non-human.

Aelian, the storyteller

Aelian's *De Natura Animalium* is a mixture of information collected from more or less sober natural histories and entertaining paradoxographies.¹⁸ Sometimes Aelian mentions his source; sometimes he speaks only of a story or stories he had heard. Telling these stories of human-animal affectionate relationships, Aelian can refer, for example, to Theophrastus (5,29) and to Eudemus the natural his-

¹⁵ Davidson (above n. 3), 32–4.

¹⁶ If we compare this with the words used to describe the love for animals, we note that the substantives *zoophilia* and *zoerastia* are absent as well as the corresponding adjectives, but there are the rare adjectival compound ἵπεραστής and the compounds with the prefix *phil-*, like φίλορνις, φιλοκύων, and φίλιππος. The word φίλόζωος ("loving animals") existed, although it was extremely rare. In the most notable occurrences, it is a feature of the gods (Xen. *Mem.* 1,4,7; see also Philo 2,305). The adjective φίλόζωον "loving life" could also be pejorative. Furthermore, λυκοφιλία means "wolf's friendship" (that is, a false friendship), and φιλόθηριον "loving predators" because they are good to hunt. *LSJ*, s.v.

¹⁷ I am using the recent Teubner edition of *NA* (2009), and utilize the English translation by A. F. Scholfield in the Loeb series (1958), sometimes a bit modified. There are some differences in the numbering between Teubner 2009 and Loeb 1958, see *Tabula comparationis* in the new Teubner edition, pp. 436–8.

¹⁸ Such as Eudemos, Pliny the Elder, and Plutarch. To some extent, all were using more or less the same cluster of tales from lost natural histories. On Aelian's sources, see, J. F. Kindstrand, "Claudius Aelianus und sein Werk", in *ANRW* 34, 4 (1998) 2973–5 and R. French, *Ancient Natural History*, London 1994, 262–3. See also M. García Valdés "Ciencia y Moral: Eliano desde Aristóteles y a la luz del estoicismo y la 'zoofilia' moderna", *Emerita* 71 (2003) 42. García Valdés uses the word "zoofilia" for non-erotic love of animals.

torian (4,56), but it is obvious that these tales owe more of their style to paradoxography than to the natural histories. The place and the name of the human, sometimes even of the animal are mostly mentioned, but the date is referred to only vaguely (for example, in 5,29). One obvious purpose of these tales of affairs with non-humans is thus to startle the reader, but also to make him or her believe these stories.

One source for these tales was philosophical, especially Peripatetic writings on love and sexuality. This becomes evident from the 13th book of the *Deipnosophistae*, where Athenaeus refers to Theophrastus' and Clearchus' lost essays on love, mentioning seven cases of affection between animals and humans (13, 606b–f). It is noteworthy that Athenaeus reports only cases of animals falling in love with humans. Aelian has the same stories except the one about the female elephant and a boy, which, however, tells of parental love, the elephant behaving like a surrogate mother.

It may be argued that, although Aelian represents animals in a humanized and sentimental way, he nevertheless reflects a genuine consideration for them. This is curious in view of his being some kind of Stoic, because the Stoics were famous for their ostensibly dismissive statements on non-human animals.¹⁹ However, Aelian declares in his prologue that his topic is the characteristics of different animals, which, according to him, possess some virtues and some outstanding human (ἀνθρώπινος) qualities by nature. Aelian's point of view is anthropocentric, but it refers to the tendency to see animals and animal life as models for humans – as a life of natural, inherent morality.²⁰ Animal issues in a more modern sense had been discussed more extensively already a century earlier by Plutarch, one possible source for Aelian.²¹

Although Aelian's style also owes something to the Milesian erotic tales in some few cases, his vocabulary seems usually to refer to an ardent admiration and attachment, which he sometimes describes as clearly mutual. Once Aelian even stresses the "pure" form of the passion using the phrase ὑπέρσεμνος ἀντέρως ("super-reverent mutual love") between a dolphin and a boy (2,6,67). However,

¹⁹ García Valdés (above n. 18), especially 46. Kindstrand (above n. 18), 2965. Concerning Aelian's Stoic attitude to animals, see NA 7,10.

²⁰ French (above n. 18), 264, Kindstrand (above n. 18), 2965. The initial source for the interest in animal issues could have been the Neo-Pythagorean movement, as Ingvild Sælid Gilhus has suggested; see Gilhus, *Animals, Gods, and Humans*, Oxford 2006, 41, 272 n. 1. See also García Valdés 2003 (above n. 18), 13.

²¹ On Plutarch's influence on Aelian, see Scholfield (above n. 17), xx–xxi.

the word ἀντίερος ("return-love, love-for-love, reciprocal love") was the affection usually attributed to the beloved one in pederastic relationships (cf. Plato's *Phaedrus* 255d). Being anthropomorphizing, Aelian's tales can be put in the context of the ancient sexual, especially pederastic, vocabulary: the non-human animal is acting as the *erastês* or as the *erômenos* (*erômenê*).²²

An animal as *erastês*

As mentioned earlier, Athenaeus reports only the cases of individual animals falling in love with specific humans. Nearly all cases in Aelian's *De Natura Animalium* are also of this sort. However, the beloved humans in Aelian's cases are mostly young – a young boy or girl with the animal being of the opposite sex, but sometimes of the same sex – and the relationship is often described as being mutual.²³ The reason for the preference of an animal *erastês* (animal showing fondness to human) has been explained as a reflection of the strong anthropocentrism and the cult of the man of Graeco-Roman antiquity.²⁴ However, the popular natural histories of this era usually propound the foolishness and selfishness of man, which are contrasted with the untaught virtues – for example, gratitude – of animals.²⁵ Furthermore, Aelian himself gives significance to the fact that he knows more tales about animals falling in love with humans than the other way round. According to him, it is one of the characteristics of many animals to fall in love with humans who have been blessed by extreme beauty (8,10). So the pulchritude of the young human being – which plays such an important part in Socratic-Platonic pederasty – allures not only humans but also non-humans as well.²⁶

²² Of course, pederasty was usually not thought to include the relationship between an adult male and a girl. The tale about an elephant falling in love with a flower-seller is non-erotic at first, but Aelian tells us that after the death of the girl the elephant was like a "lover (*erastês*) who had lost his loved one (*erômenê*)" (7,39).

²³ The gender of the animal is not always obvious.

²⁴ Gilhus (above n. 20), 72.

²⁵ This superiority of animals in moral issues was a constant theme of ancient cultural criticism – it is sometimes called theriophily or animalitarianism by modern scholars; see, e.g., S. Lilja, "Theriophily in Homer", *Arctos* 8 (1974) 71–8.

²⁶ Aelian explains the tale of the seal that fell in love with an exceptionally ugly diver (4,58) as a result of the fact that for the seal the diver appeared to be most beautiful.

Human-animal bonds can be long lasting. Aelian describes how the "super-reverent mutual love" between a dolphin and a boy mentioned above (2,6) has grown gradually because the human and the animal were brought together; they were foster-brothers (σύντροφοι). Aelian uses the same word in the tale of a snake (δράκων) that fell in love with an Arcadian boy. Their mutual affection (ἀλλήλους φιλεῖν) is based on a shared childhood (6,63,25).

The development of affection from childhood friendship to love is, of course, most famously delineated by Aelian's probable contemporary, the author of *Daphnis and Chloe*. This romantic novel also includes close encounters between humans and non-humans that seem to obscure the boundaries of humanity. Both children are foundlings and have been suckled by animals: Daphnis by a she-goat (1,3,2)²⁷ and Chloe by a sheep that is also depicted as washing her face by licking it with her tongue (1,5,2). Aelian describes the same kind of caressing between human and non-human: the snake licks the face of the cowherd Aleuas (8,11).²⁸ The settings of Aelian's human-animal tales are often pastoral too.²⁹

Aelian's stories of human-animal affectionate bonds can thus be put not only in the niche of sublimated pederastic relationships, but also seen as reflecting the subgenre of pastoral *erotica à la Daphnis and Chloe* that flourished during the 2nd and 3rd century Second Sophistic.³⁰ However, Aelian uses mainly the language of suggestion and allusion when the animal is the active participant. The most explicit sexual vocabulary of these cases is used in the story of the girl and an enormous snake (6,17). This relationship also begins from mere companionship: the snake used to visit the girl's home, but then "slept with her like an ardent lover" (συνεκάθευδε σφόδρα ἐρωτικῶς, l. 19). With euphemistic but nevertheless quite explicit terms – a snake is the obvious phallic animal – the story continues until the girl begins to fear her "lover" and moves away. It is noteworthy that Aelian gives an account of the girl's reaction, the fear the beloved one felt. Furthermore, he tones down the drastic aspect of the intercourse not only by stressing the continuity and constant nature of the serpent's affection but also the power of passion: that "the god upon even Zeus" (that is, Eros) is first and foremost guilty for this animal's behaviour.

²⁷ The goat even remains Daphnis' nanny after he gets human foster-parents, and, later, Daphnis and Chloe in turn give their own children to a goat and a sheep to care for.

²⁸ Aleuas was a mythical figure, a prince of Thessaly and a seer. See also 7,39 (an elephant and a flower-girl).

²⁹ See 4,56; 6,63; 8,10; 12,36.

³⁰ On the mixture of genres in *Daphnis and Chloe* (romance, pastoral, comedy), see F. I. Zeitlin, in Halperin *et al.* (above n. 3), 422–8.

In Greek mythology, the gods were thought to be sexual beings who had affairs with humans in both human and animal form. The metamorphosis happened mostly in the role of *erastês*, as in the case of Zeus seducing Leda.³¹ In this context, the animal form was not seen as something negatively "bestial" but the mark of Zeus' potency and his cunning in love affairs. Graeco-Roman myths could describe affectionate affairs between humans and animals too, such as Cy-parissus falling in love with the holy stag.³² If there is a correspondence between mythology and sexual fantasies, the imagination of the Greeks could thus be more imbued with the pictures of interspecies sexual relations than the imagination of the people of some other cultures because of their myths of gods taking animal form in their relationships with humans.³³ The beloved human was usually depicted as exceptionally beautiful, an aspect that was also noted during antiquity.³⁴ Although humans were often seen as helpless victims of the gods' erotic passion, the sexual relationship between a theriomorphic god and a human was not viewed with stronger moral judgment or disgust than being beloved (or raped) by a god in human form.³⁵ The power of beauty was supposed to be so strong that the *erastês* (whether an animal or a god) could be seen as a "helpless" victim of his own passion. However, a sexual encounter with the gods was seldom told from the point of view of the desired one, the human.³⁶ Instead, Aelian could also take note of the reactions of the passive partner, as in the above-mentioned tale about the huge snake and the girl with its Milesian innuendos (6,17).

Aelian also mentions briefly the possibility that dogs and apes or baboons have assaulted women (7,19). However, here his vocabulary is disapproving (καὶ κύνες δὲ γυναιξὶν ἐπιτολμῶν ἐλέχθησαν, 7,19,21–22) and in the case of baboons he even speaks of them as using force or violence (βιάζομαι).

³¹ The goddess Thetis, in the role of the beloved one, changed her shape into various animals in order to escape the erotic pursuit of a mortal man, Peleus.

³² Ovid. *met.* 10,106–42.

³³ At the beginning of the modern era, to have intercourse with a theriomorphic devil, that is, with the devil in animal form, was thought to be the ultimate degradation. Murrin (above note 1), 116. See Il. 20, 221–9 (Boreas as a stallion with mares).

³⁴ "[...] one cannot find any humans who have been thought worthy to associate with the gods except for those who have had beauty" says Charidemus in the dialogue *On Beauty* (7), which was attributed to Lucian (trans. by M. D. Macleod in the Loeb series of Lucian, vol. VIII, 1967).

³⁵ About gods disguised as animals, see, however, J. E. Robson, "Bestiality and bestial rape in Greek Myth", in S. Deacy – K. F. Pierce (eds.) *Rape in Antiquity*, 75.

³⁶ There are some exceptions; the most notable one is Creusa, who gives the most elaborate female point of view in Euripides' *Ion* (859–920).

A human as an active participant

There are only two tales in Aelian's collections of interspecies love affairs where a human clearly takes the initiative and is the active partner. The beloved ones, animals, are also described in these cases as exceptionally beautiful.

Aelian's story of a young goatherd named Crathis falling in love with a she-goat fits well the pattern of pastoral *erotica* of the Second Sophistic. In this tale, Aelian uses the explicit vocabulary of sexual passion: ἐς ὄρμην ἀφροδίσιον ἐμπεσὼν τῇ τῶν αἰγῶν ἰδεῖν ὠραισιότατη μίγνυται, καὶ τῇ ὀμιλίᾳ ἤσθη, καὶ εἴ ποτε ἐδεῖτο ἀφροδίτης ὡς αὐτὴν ἐφοίτα, καὶ εἶχεν ἐρωμένην αὐτήν (6,42,11–14).³⁷ There is, however, no account of the reactions of the beloved one: the emotions of the "prettiest of the goats" seem to be a side issue. However, the goatherd gives to his significant other various gifts as a token of his affection, which makes this relationship mirror love affairs between humans.³⁸ Crathis even prepares a "bridal" bed made of leaves for his she-goat, which detail adds to the pastoral flavour of this story. We may assume that this is also supposed to be comical too, but it is notable that Aelian emphasizes the age of the goatherd by calling him a mere boy (τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀντίπαις) already at the beginning. Thus, this story can be considered to represent the pattern of passing adolescent sexual experimentation.

The tone is quite different when Aelian tells us the tale of an adult groom having sexual intercourse with "the most beautiful" of the horses, the mare he has been employed to care for (4,9). The groom tries to restrain his passion, but at last submits to it. Aelian calls this intercourse a "strange union" and a morally wrong action: ἐπιτολμῆσαι τῷ λέχει τῷ ξένῳ καὶ ὀμιλεῖν αὐτῇ (4,9,9–10). The tale gets its Freudian flavour because the mare's foal has seen the event – and the reader sees the event from the foal's point of view as well: ὡσπερ οὖν τυραννουμένης τῆς μητρὸς ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότητος (ll. 11–12). In this case, Aelian is thus clearly condemning sexual intercourse with animals, although he did not fail to – sort of – acknowledge the physical temptation the groom is experiencing.

As mentioned earlier, Plutarch's animal essays were probably one of the sources for *De Natura Animalium*. Plutarch for his part is highly judgmental on this phenomenon in one of his essays and permissive in the other. In his *Animals are rational* (also known as *Gryllus*), Plutarch states that animals never try to have sexual intercourse with humans. Instead, many animals have been "victims

³⁷ Aelian says that the event happened in Sybaris – the city famous for its association with sensuous pleasure.

³⁸ Cf. the tales in 8,10 and 5,29, where the animal is the *erastês*.

of the violent lusts of man" (*Mor.* 990f–991a). Thus, Plutarch clearly notes that an animal never takes the active part and that there is no consent on the part of the animal as the passive partner. He views human sexual intercourse with non-humans as equivalent to abuse, to using violence (βιάζομαι) for the sake of the human's own pleasure (*Mor.* 991a). However, in his imaginative account of the dinner of the semi-mythical wise men, Plutarch reflects a more permissive mood. The Thales character in the *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* sees this practice as adolescent experimentation in the lack of a proper partner (*Mor.* 149c–d).³⁹

In both these dialogues, especially in *Gryllus* (991a), Plutarch refers to the possible offspring of the union between different species, although long before his time the existence of human-animal hybrids was largely denied by philosophers and other intellectuals on the grounds that they did not follow nature or that they belong to the same category as children born with deformities.⁴⁰ However, the conclusion reached in the *Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* is that it is more sober to think that strange hybrids *were* the outcome of interspecies sex rather than that they are portents representing some future evil (*Mor.* 149d). Travesties of natural processes of reproduction were thus better to be counted in the same class as the factual offspring of two subspecies, like mules. Of course, *lusus naturae* provoked not only fright but also curiosity and fascination,⁴¹ and both Plutarch and Aelian were authors aiming at a large audience.⁴² However, Aelian reports only one occurrence of a strange offspring of a human and non-human union. The love affair between the young goatherd Crathis and a she-goat produced a child (παίδιον) "with the legs of a goat and the face of a man" (6,42). The hybrid was then deified and worshipped as a forest god. The whole incident was thus put into the sphere of religion.⁴³

³⁹ The same kind of attitude is depicted in one of the fables of Phaedrus where there is a case involving a shepherd and a sheep (*fab.* 3,3). See also Calder (above n. 11), 27–8.

⁴⁰ French (above n. 18), 154–6.

⁴¹ On attitudes to the *lusus naturae*, see R. Kearney, *Strangers, Gods, and Monsters*, London – New York 2004, 115–7.

⁴² Later on, in early modern Europe, children born with deformities were usually interpreted as the result of intercourse between humans and non-humans and could then induce a prosecution for forbidden sexual practices and in many cases also the death penalty. See, e.g., Beirne (above n. 1), 199–200. It is noteworthy that the speaker in the *Gryllus* (as the former member of Odysseus' crew that Circe had changed into a swine) represents a less educated class. *The Dinner of the Seven Wise Men* is for its part set in the mythico-historical past.

⁴³ In *NA* 12,36, the union of Sybaris' daughter and a snake produces the "Snake-borns". This tale has, however, a mythical setting. See also *NA* 11,40 about *animals* born with deformities.

There was one well-known contemporary story of a human-animal sexual relationship that Aelian does not mention, probably because it was not a story, a tale, but a fictional creation by certain writers. The hazards of Lucius, transformed into a donkey, were told both in Greek (*Lucius or the Ass*) and in Latin (*Golden Ass*), but the original work is dated to the century prior to Aelian.⁴⁴ While Apuleius' novel is a humorous satire, a *Bildungsroman*, also giving a seemingly sympathetic account of the life of a beast of burden, *Lucius or the Ass* is an abbreviated version where the erotic aspects are more openly described. As an animal biography, the story reflects the constant threat of violence in the life of an animal, including the threat of sexual abuse through the agency of the priest of the Syrian goddess and the upper-class foreign lady. Lucius is the speaker and thus the explicit sex scene with the lady who fancied him is described exceptionally from the point of view of the desired one. In his asinine form, he is acting mostly the passive role, but is also expressing his consent. However, he definitely abhors and declines to perform the same act in the arena in public display with a female criminal who was condemned *ad bestias*. Roman gladiatorial games apparently included a few cases of this kind of humiliation put into a mythological setting.⁴⁵ They were, of course, crimes against the integrity of animals, too, but it is perhaps too much to expect that the creator of Lucius' story felt any sympathy for the animal victims in the arena as such. However, it is noteworthy that Lucius (in both versions) also fears the arena not only because he is afraid of being eaten by predators, but also because he is terrified by the humiliation of conducting the act in public. Not even his asinine form shelters him from the shame.

Conclusions

Do Aelian's tales show a non-judgmental attitude to human-animal sexual relations? Yes and no. He clearly condemns the sexual assault of the mare by the adult groom (4,9) as an act of violence, but describes the affair between Crathis the young goatherd and the she-goat (6,42) with romantic flair. While he seems to

⁴⁴ Both borrowed the story from the same source, probably Lucian. See, for example, S. J. Harrison, *Apuleius. A Latin Sophist*, Oxford 2008, 218–9.

⁴⁵ All known cases depict intercourse with a victim performing the role of Queen Pasiphae. As K. M. Coleman has argued, these brutal public displays provided an opportunity not only to exact punishment, but also for humiliation and mockery of the condemned. K. M. Coleman, "Fatal charades: Roman executions staged as mythological enactments", *JRS* 80 (1990) 44–73, especially 67ff. quoting passages from Martial and Suetonius.

show tolerance of the obvious sexual assault in the story of the girl and the huge snake (6,17), he feels, however, the need to explain the conduct of the animal. Much depends on who acts with whom and how.

Therefore, Aelian seems to make a distinction between bestiality and zoophilia (according to the terminology by Adams *et al.*), between abuse (or interspecies sexual assault), which is to be condemned especially if the agent is an adult male, and long-term affection between humans and non-humans. The affairs between the boy and a dolphin (2,6) and between the boy and a snake (6,63) tell us a long-term attachment, which Aelian describes as a great source of joy, leaving the rest of the affairs in the shadows of privacy. Aelian's modest vocabulary and the inherent ambiguity of the words *philia* and *erôs* contribute to this. However, although ancient readers probably classified Aelian's tales separately from myths, it can nevertheless be said that the myths accustomed the Graeco-Roman audience to believe that beautiful humans can sexually attract not only other humans but also gods and animals alike. Yet, imagination is a safer place for transgression than real life. The mythical interspecies sex acts got their nightmarish representations in the Roman arena.

When Herodotus mentions that the act between a goat and a woman was strange, he might have meant that the strangeness consisted of three aspects besides the act itself. Firstly, of its public nature (*ἀναφανδόν*), secondly, that the human partner was a woman and not a goatherd or a young boy, and thirdly, that the goat was – or had been forced to be – the active partner in the intercourse.

When Aelian depicts the affairs in which the animal is the romantically active participant, he is not only stressing the lovability of the human. He is incidentally also stressing the agency of the animal, not reducing it to a mere object in the human world. Furthermore, most of these tales of the affairs between human and animals can be seen as expressing the idea of the general goodwill of certain animals towards humans and, therefore, as belonging to Aelian's moral stories about animals.

NOTE INTORNO ALLA TRADIZIONE MANOSCRITTA DI CHRONICA VENETIARUM DI BENINTENDI DE' RAVAGNANI¹

MIIKA KUHA

In questo saggio presento alcune osservazioni riguardo alle testimonianze manoscritte di una delle numerose opere storiche scritte a Venezia nel Trecento.² La cronaca, intitolata *Chronica Venetiarum*, è attribuita a Benintendi de' Ravagnani, che fu una figura di spicco ed ebbe un ruolo importante nel preumanesimo veneziano, nonché nell'amministrazione della repubblica. Della *Chronica Venetiarum* di Ravagnani, finora inedita, fece uso per esempio Marcantonio Sabellico.³

¹ L'idea di indagare la cronachistica veneziana mi fu proposta dalla prof. Outi Merisalo la guida e l'incoraggiamento della quale hanno reso possibile questo lavoro. Ringrazio lei e il prof. Giuseppe La Grassa per la revisione linguistica del presente saggio. Voglio ringraziare inoltre prof. Raija Vainio per l'appoggio e consigli e prof. Anne Helttula per i suoi lavori nell'insegnarmi la filologia latina. La mia gratitudine va anche alla Fondazione Reinhold Ekholm per sussidi finanziari. Questo saggio riprende, ampliandole, due presentazioni tenute ai seminari di ricerca della Sezione di lingue romanze e classiche dell'Università di Jyväskylä nel 2011–2012.

² Il costante riscrivere delle cronache e degli annali su Venezia, soprattutto dal Trecento in avanti, dà luogo a problemi difficili nell'identificare ed attribuire opere storiche. Inoltre, i codici che trasmettono cronache sono numerosissimi e dispersi in varie biblioteche. Per questi problemi, v. A. Carile, *La cronachistica veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204*, Firenze 1969, dove il vasto materiale, per la maggior parte inedito, viene raggruppato in "famiglie" (A–E), oltre le quali Carile identifica varie rielaborazioni e recensioni mettendo in evidenza i rapporti fra le famiglie e testi attribuibili. Recentemente sono uscite le edizioni della cronaca di Enrico Dandolo, cioè la famiglia B di Carile – in realtà un testo anonimo – (*Cronica di Venexia detta di Enrico Dandolo, Origini – 1362*, a c. di R. Pesce, presentazione di A. Caracciolo Aricò, Venezia 2010) e della A latina (*Cronaca «A Latina». Cronaca veneziana del 1343*, a c. di C. Negri di Montenegro, Spoleto 2004).

³ La ricezione della cronaca di Ravagnani non ha suscitato molto interesse. Oltre le poche pagine sulle citazioni nella cronaca di Marcantonio Sabellico (R. Bersi, "Le fonti della Prima decade delle "Historiae rerum Venetarum" di Marcantonio Sabellico", *Nuovo archivio veneto*

Le prime testimonianze di Ravagnani a servizio della cancelleria risalgono al 1336. Ascese rapidamente nella gerarchia e fu eletto notaio veneto nel 1342 prima di compiere i richiesti 25 anni.⁴ Nel 1352 Ravagnani fu nominato gran cancelliere dopo la morte del predecessore Nicolo Pistorino, che Ravagnani aveva assistito tre anni da vicecancelliere. Nell'amministrazione della repubblica, caratterizzata dalla breve rotazione delle cariche, la curia Maggiore e il Gran cancelliere, che la dirigeva, rappresentavano la stabilità insieme al doge. Inoltre, a Venezia come a Milano, la carica del Gran cancelliere era la massima per i cittadini non nobili, detti cittadini originari. L'importanza di Ravagnani è dimostrata dalla sua presenza in varie ambascerie decisive: Nel 1355 partecipò alle trattative per chiudere la terza guerra veneto-genovese (1350–1355) e firmò il trattato nell'anno successivo. Negli anni 1357, 1358 e 1364 fu inviato tre volte a negoziare con Ludovico I, re d'Ungheria e i suoi rappresentanti. Ravagnani morì nel 1365.

È verosimile che Ravagnani incontrasse per la prima volta Petrarca durante le trattative fra Milano e Venezia. All'epoca il poeta laureato era al servizio dell'arcivescovo Giovanni Visconti.⁵ All'inizio del 1354 Petrarca si recò a Venezia con una delegazione di ambasciatori, mentre nella primavera del 1355 le trattative portarono Ravagnani a Milano, dove ebbe occasioni di incontrare il poeta. Le due epistole⁶ di Ravagnani a Petrarca conservate ai nostri giorni illustrano i momenti

19/2 [1910] 422–60) disponiamo degli elenchi che risalgono al Settecento. Apostolo Zèno (*Degli storici delle cose veneziane, i quali hanno scritto per pubblico decreto...*, t. I, Venezia 1718) menzionò due autori (*prefazione*, 7): "Esso Benintendi è citato più volte dal *Sabellico* (le italiche di Zèno) nelle *Deche* e nell'opuscolo *de Venetis magistratibus*; da *Pier Giustiniano* nel libro IV.". G. degli Agostini fornì un'elenco più ampio (*Notizie storico-critiche intorno la vita e le opere degli scrittori viniziani...*, Venezia 1752–1754, rist. anastatica, Bologna 1975): "Di quest'Opera se ne sono serviti il *Sabellico* nelle *Deche*, e nel suo opuscolo *de Venetiis Magistratibus*; *Pier Giustiniano* nel Libro IV della sua *Storia*, il *Sansovino* nella descrizione della Città di *Venezia* in più luoghi, e *Girolamo Bardi*, dove ragiona della venuta in *Venezia* del Sommo Pontefice *Alessandro III*" (t. II, pars II, 327). In terzo luogo, si ricordi la nota di M. Foscarini (*Della letteratura veneziana libri otto...* Padova 1752): "Della Cronaca di lui fecero uso Marin Sanudo, il *Sabellico*, *Pier Giustiniano*, ed altri, fra' quali *Bernardo Trivigiano* nella *Laguna*." (vol. I, lib. I, 132–3, n. 75).

⁴ Per cenni biografici v. V. Bellemo, "La vita e i tempi di Benintendi de' Ravagnani, cancelliere grande della veneta Repubblica", *Archivio veneto* 23 (1912) 237–84 e 24 (1912) 54–95.

⁵ Cf. la biografia classica di Petrarca, E. H. Wilkins, *The Life of Petrarch*, Chicago 1961. Per il periodo in questione, si veda inoltre Wilkins, *Petrarch's eight year in Milan*, Cambridge, Mass. 1958, 50–77.

⁶ Si tratta delle epistole *Reverende domine mi, si plus debito* e *Nerius noster*. Oltre i testimoni manoscritti, disponiamo della versione stampata nella seconda edizione delle opere di Petrarca, pubblicata a Venezia nel 1501 (*I. Librorum Francisci Petrarche...impensa domini Andree*

iniziali del rapporto tra i due, rapporto che durò fino alla morte di Ravagnani e che ebbe un'influenza decisiva sul preumanesimo veneziano.⁷ Nella prima epistola, scritta probabilmente al mese di maggio 1355, Ravagnani esorta Petrarca a mantenere la promessa di inviargli una copia della propria epistola a Seneca (*Fam.* 24,5) allo scopo di farla trascrivere come già ne aveva trascritte due indirizzate a Cicerone (*Fam.* 24,3 e 4). Per quanto riguarda le convenzioni linguistiche, Ravagnani si serve nella prima epistola a Petrarca dell'apostrofe dell'esordio, nonché della seconda persona plurale,⁸ mentre la sua seconda lettera al poeta, datata del

Torresani de Asula. 17. Junij. 1501) che contiene anche una lettera di Ravagnani indirizzata ai notai della Curia Maggiore (inc. *Si conceptum sermonem*). Sono state tradite anche due lettere a Moggio da Parma, un filologo stimato da Petrarca (*Rem non novam* e *Non potest mi Modi*). L'edizione critica delle epistole a Petrarca in E. Rausa, "Le lettere di Andrea Dandolo, Benintendi de' Ravagnani e Paolo de Bernardo a Francesco Petrarca", *Studi Petrarqueschi* 13 (2000) 151–242.

⁷ Dall'ampia bibliografia sui rapporti di Petrarca con veneziani si ricordino P. O. Kristeller, "Petrarch's 'Averroists'", *A Note on the History of Aristotelianism in Venice, Padua and Bologna*, *Mélanges Augustin Renaudet, Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 14 (1952) 59–65; P. O. Kristeller, "Il Petrarca, l'umanesimo e scolastica a Venezia" in *La Civiltà Veneziana del Trecento*, Firenze 1956, 147–78; L. Lazzarini, *Paolo de Bernardo e i primordi dell'umanesimo in Venezia*, Genève 1930; L. Lazzarini, "'Dux ille Danduleus'. Andrea Dandolo e la cultura veneziana a metà del Trecento", in G. Padoan (ed.), *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, Firenze 1976, 123–56; L. Gargan, "Il preumanesimo a Vicenza, Treviso e Venezia", in G. Arnaldi – M. Pastore Stocchi (cur.), *Storia della cultura Veneta II. Il Trecento*, Vicenza 1976, 143–70; G. Arnaldi, "Andrea Dandolo Doge-Cronista", in A. Pertusi (cur.), *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI, aspetti e problemi*, Firenze 1970, 127–269. L'epistolario di Petrarca fa presente il rapporto amichevole e la grande stima fra il poeta e Ravagnani, ambedue devoti a *studia humanitatis*. Il loro rapporto è messo in evidenza in una epistola di Petrarca indirizzata a Boccaccio (*Sen.* 3,1,7 settembre 1363) dove il poeta ricorda con affetto gli incontri con Ravagnani: *Beneintendius praeclarissimae huius urbis cancellarius, ..., cuius vespertinis congressus dum diurnis relaxatus curis, laeta fronte, pio animo, instructo navigio ad nos venit, et navigationes confabulationesque sub noctem, quam suaves sint, ..., nuper expertus tenes* (il brano tratto dal N. Mann, "Petrarca e la cancelleria veneziana", in G. Arnaldi – M. Pastore Stocchi (cur.), *Storia della cultura Veneta II. Il Trecento*, Vicenza 1976, 517–35). Nicholas Mann scoprì anche un testimone inedito della corrispondenza fra Petrarca e Ravagnani ("O Deus qualis epistola!". *A new Petrarch letter*", *Italia medievale e umanistica*, 17 [1974] 207–43), alla Bodleian Library. Si ricava dall'epistola che alcune aggiunte alla fine della decima ecloga del *Bucolicum Carmen* di Petrarca risalgono probabilmente alle discussioni con Ravagnani. Sull'epistola in questione, v. inoltre N. Mann, "Benintendi Ravagnani, il Petrarca, l'umanesimo veneziano", in G. Padoan (ed.), *Petrarca, Venezia e il Veneto*, Firenze 1976, 109–22.

⁸ Rausa (sopra n. 6) 197–201, *Reverende domine mi, si plus debito: Epistola missa domino Francisco Petrarce per dominum Benintendi cancellarium Venetorum, Reverende domine mi, si plus debito importunus infertusque sum, ascribite, quaeso, ferventi in vos devotioni mee que,*

26 gennaio 1356, fa vedere che aveva già adottato alcune delle formule promosse da Petrarca, cioè comincia *in medias res* ed usa la datazione classica.⁹

Ravagnani ebbe anche un ruolo chiave nel preparare la donazione della biblioteca di Petrarca alla Serenissima, l'episodio più famoso dei rapporti fra Petrarca e la Serenissima. Il progetto di trasformare la propria biblioteca in una biblioteca pubblica veneziana è discusso nell'epistola a Ravagnani del 28 Agosto 1362; ivi l'importanza della donazione a Venezia è pienamente messa in rilievo dal poeta. La donazione venne approvata dal Maggior consiglio al mese di settembre 1362, probabilmente su proposta dello stesso Ravagnani. In cambio, Petrarca ottenne il Palazzo Molin in Riva degli Schiavoni dove visse dal 1363 al 1368. La sua biblioteca invece non giunse mai a Venezia ma rimase a Padova dei Carraresi. Nel 1388, alla sconfitta dei Carraresi de parte di Giangaleazzo Visconti, una buona parte della raccolta sarebbe asportato dai milanesi; sarebbe finita alla biblioteca reale di Francia in seguito alla conquista francese di Milano nel 1494.¹⁰

Nelle proprie epistole indirizzate al Gran cancelliere¹¹ Petrarca non fa riferimento alle ricerche storiche di Ravagnani né alle sue idee in questo campo, che, s'immagina, dovettero fornire materiale per le loro discussioni. Petrarca non fa allusione neanche alla cronaca veneziana più importante in quel periodo, cioè la *Chronaca per extensum scripta*¹² pubblicata sotto il nome del doge Andrea Dandolo.¹³ Questa cronaca fu l'opera fondamentale della storiografia veneziana

omnem a pavorem simul et roborem avertens, nimirum deviare facit a tramite rationis. Scio quidem nunquam erga vos ulla ex me merita precessisse unde tantum virum sic audaci fronte, tam crebris pulsare tediis ausus sim...

⁹ Rausa (sopra n. 6) 201–18, *Nerius noster: Epistola quedam missa per dominum Benintendi, cancellarium Venetorum, domino suo reverendo Francisco Petrarce. Nerius noster michi pridem apparuit, ad cuius primo complexum magna me subiit veneratio eius, dum eum esse memini qui se probitatibus suis fecerit amicitia tua dignum..Excute te ipsum et libera, festina, propera. Et virum illum velut divinum quoddam oraculum supplex adora* [Petrarca *Fam.* 7,7 a Cola di Rienzo; *excute acriter te ipsum*]...**Tuus Benintendi, Venetorum cancellarius, licet indignus. VII kalendas Februarii.**

¹⁰ Sulla donazione si veda M. Zorzi, *La libreria di San Marco, Libri, lettori, società nella Venezia dei Dogi*, Milano 1987, 9–22.

¹¹ Rausa (sopra n. 6), 165–6. Queste sono *Fam.* 19,2; *Var.* 10 e 48; lettera d'Orville (cf. Mann 1974 e 1976, sopra n. 7).

¹² D'ora in avanti l'*Extensa*.

¹³ Andrea Dandolo (1306–1354) fu eletto doge nel 1343. Sotto il suo dogato scoppiò la terza guerra fra Venezia e Genova. La repubblica fu anche gravemente colpita dalla peste nera negli anni 1347–48. Dandolo, un giurista, si interessò alla conservazione e riorganizzazione dei documenti (sulla codificazione dei documenti relativi ai rapporti esterni cf. p. 87). Contribuì

fino ai tempi di Marcantonio Sabellico (c. 1476–1506), apprezzata per la completezza e per i numerosi documenti inseriti nel testo, che ne fecero un repertorio importante per i compilatori delle cronache familiari, diffusissime a Venezia negli ultimi decenni del Trecento. L'*Extensa* portava anche il titolo *mare magnum*, che mette in evidenza il carattere enciclopedico dovuto in gran parte all'ampio uso che vi è fatto della *Historia Satyrica*, una cronaca universale scritta da Paolino Minorita (c. 1274–1344).¹⁴ Nello schema cronologico fornito dalla *Historia Satyrica* venne inserita una storia di Venezia tratta dalle cronache locali insieme a molti documenti relativi alla storia di Venezia. L'*Extensa* inserisce dunque fatti locali in un quadro storico generale.

Ho fatto posto alla *Extensa* del doge Andrea Dandolo anche perché risulta quasi l'unica fonte della *Chronica Venetiarum*. Infatti, quest'ultimo testo è giustamente ritenuto un compendio dell'*Extensa*. È evidente che la dipendenza rende l'opera di Ravagnani pressapoco inutile dal punto di vista storico, il che spiega il poco interesse degli storici moderni nonostante l'importanza politica dell'autore e l'uso della *Chronica Venetiarum* da parte degli storici veneziani successivi.¹⁵ Tenendo pur conto dell'esiguo valore storico dell'opera di Ravagnani, occorre notare alcuni aspetti dell'esperienza storiografica del Gran cancelliere.¹⁶

anche all'introduzione della cultura umanistica a Venezia. Prima del 1343 scrisse un'altra cronaca, *Chronica brevis*, che copre la storia di Venezia dagli inizi al 1342. Oltre i saggi segnalati nella nota 7, v. E. Pastorello, "Introduzione", *Andreae Danduli Ducis Venetiarum Chronica per extensum descripta R.I.S.*, 12, 1, Bologna 1939, iii–lxxxii; M. Zabbia, *I notai e la cronachistica cittadina italiana nel Trecento*, Roma 1999, 229–45; H. Simonsfeld, *Andrea Dandolo und seine Geschichtswerke*, München 1876. Una bibliografia esauriente di fonti e studi in G. Ravagnani, "Dandolo Andrea", *Diz. Biogr. Italiani*, vol. 32, 1986.

¹⁴ Paolino Minorita, vescovo di Pozzuoli dal 1324, scrisse trattati su vari temi (per esempio *De regimine rectoris*) e compilò tre cronache universali, *l'Epithoma*, *Compendium* e *Satirica ystoria*, le due ultime da ritenersi riscritture dell'*Epithoma*. I. Heullant-Donat, "Entrer dans l'histoire Paolino da Venezia et les prologues de ses chroniques universelles", *MEFRM* 105 (1993) 381–442.

¹⁵ Va segnalata la mancanza dell'opera in G. Zorban, *Repertorio di storiografia veneziana testi e studi*, Padova 1998, e nel repertorio della cronachistica veneziana, annesso alla recente edizione della cronaca di Antonio Morosini da A. Nanetti (*Il Codice Morosini, il mondo visto da Venezia* [1094–1433] II, Spoleto 2010, 1759–813).

¹⁶ Le note proposte in seguito elaborano e completano le osservazioni di Marino Zabbia che nel proprio saggio sulla cronachistica trecentesca italiana fece un confronto accurato ma da sviluppare fra la *Chronica Venetiarum* e l'*Extensa*. Zabbia (sopra n. 13) 245–51. Zabbia, che non conosceva il codice più antico, usò l'uno dei due moderni, quello marciano (il codice marciano sarà discusso alle pagine 90).

In primo luogo, vorrei esaminare le modifiche al testo dell'*Extensa* operate da Ravagnani. Dai riscontri fra le cronache deriva che molte delle aggiunte di Ravagnani – alle quali Zabbia rinvia in modo generale¹⁷ – risultano stilistiche e esplicative. Per esemplificare l'ampiezza ed il modo di rielaborazione conviene analizzare un brano tratto dall'episodio che descrive l'assedio di Aquileia da parte degli Unni nel 452. Le aggiunte di Ravagnani sono segnalate in grassetto.

Chronica Venetiarum, Garrett 156, 2v

*Aquilegiam potenter obsedit. Cuius adventum multi ex christicolis loci ipsius antea formidantes cum sanctorum reliquijs paruulis mulieribus et thesauris ad gradense castrum confugiunt. Interim urbem ipsam diutina obsidione fatigans fatigatus et ipse et pene de ipsius acquisitione desperans dum ciconias conspexisset extra urbem pullos rostris ferentes uno impetu uolitare illo fretus auspicio menia ciuitatis acrius expugnare contendit tandemque post cruentum bellum in quo ex hunnis ultra viiiij ciuium uero ultra ij ceciderunt non ualentes intrinseci multitudinem hostium tollerare statuis **in similitudinem hominum** ad muros ciuitatis **ne deserta uideretur** appositis **clam** rege nonaduertente Gradum commigrant. **Qui cum diebus aliquot in statuarum aspectu fuisset delusus. cum sicut eius erat moris spaciandi causa falconem dimisisset ad predam auisque super unam ex statuis diucius resedisset postque eam intuetur immobilem** circumuentum se astucijs incolarum indignans **uacuum urbem ingreditur** eamque solo sterni et demoliri funditus imperauit.*

Chronica per extensum descripta, p. 58¹⁸

et cum veniret Aquileiam, illi, reliquias sanctorum, cum parvulis, ac mulieribus, et thesauris in castro Gradensi tutauerunt: Athila autem longa obsidione fatigatus, cum cichonie uno impetu ex urbe volarent, et pulos rostris forinsecus exportarent, hoc augurio fultus, urbem acrius impugnavit: mortuisque ex parte Athile VIII^m, Aquileiensium vero II^m, eidem non valentes resistere multitudini, Aquileienses muros ciuitatis statuis muniverunt; et sic, non advertente Athila, Gradum quasi omnes fugierunt; interim ille falcone dimisso cum super unam ex sta-

¹⁷ Zabbia (sopra n. 13) 248: "tali passi vengono riproposti col medesimo ordine con cui compaiono nell'Estesa in una versione lievemente elaborata sul piano linguistico."

¹⁸ Ed. Pastorello (sopra n. 13).

tuis resedisset advertens Athila dolum, indignans sic eos manus suas efugisse, civitatem destruxit.

Si vedano per esempio *in similitudinem hominum e ne deserta videretur*, che chiariscono l'intrigo degli aquileiani per fuggire dalla città assediata a Grado. L'autore sottolinea così la piuttosto ovvia somiglianza fra le statue ed i soldati come l'effetto altrettanto manifesto del gioco di prestigio.

La rielaborazione suggerisce un'ambizione di comporre una versione più elegante, coerente e leggibile dell'*Extensa*. Su questa base si spiega anche il netto contrasto fra lo schema narrativo dell'*Extensa* ed il racconto della *Chronica Venetiarum*, fatto già segnalato da Zabbia.¹⁹ L'*Extensa* è ordinata in libri, capitoli e *partes*, queste ultime di varia dimensione che va da una frase a periodi di decine di frasi. Ne facilitano l'uso gli indici posti all'inizio di ogni libro. L'*Extensa* costituisce, dunque, un testo di consultazione.²⁰ La *Chronica Venetiarum* invece è divisa in capitoli, segnalati nel codice più antico, il Garrett 156,²¹ con iniziali colorate nei due codici moderni con uno spazio bianco fra i capitoli. Il testo del Garrett 156 è anche articolato in paragrafi tramite piè di mosca (¶) a partire dalla carta 8v, che descrive l'introduzione dell'istituzione del dogado. La necessità di sottodivisioni si può spiegare con l'estensione dei singoli capitoli che coprono ciascuno un intero dogado ai ff. 9r (il dogado di Ursus), 10r (Mauricius) e 10v (Johannes).²²

¹⁹ Zabbia (sopra n. 13) 247.

²⁰ Arnaldi (sopra n. 7) 209. È noto il processo di compilazione attraverso il codice di lavoro dell'*Extensa*, il Marc. lat. Z. 400 (= 2028). Secondo Pastorello (sopra n. 13, xl) Dandolo stesso avrebbe partecipato al lavoro dell'amanuense trascrivendo il testo degli atti della sinodo di Grado (cf. p. 87) nel libro sesto. Le altre mani presenti nel codice non sono invece state collegate con individui della Curia Maggiore. Evidentemente, un risultato fondamentale sarebbe l'identificazione della scrittura del Gran cancelliere fra di queste. Il Bellemo (sopra n. 4) 240 accenna a due firme autografe, la prima del 1336. Questa firma incomincia *Ego fran beneintendi notarius*, da dove risulta che la cancellazione fu probabilmente registrato da un'altro amanuense, evidentemente con il nome Francesco. L'altra firma segnalata da Bellemo si trova in un atto del 1356, purtroppo da me non ancora visto. C'è anche una nota di pugno di Ravagnani nel registro del Senato (*A.S.V. Senato, Deliberazioni, Misti*, reg. 17, 1141).

²¹ V. pagine 87–90.

²² A proposito della ristrutturazione da parte di Ravagnani va osservato lo scarso apprezzamento di Petrarca nei riguardi di raccolte di sentenze e compilazioni in generale, la tradizione nella quale l'*Extensa* sembra integrarsi (osservazioni sull'atteggiamento di Petrarca in R. Fubini, *L'umanesimo italiano e i suoi storici, origini rinascimentali – critica moderna*, Milano 2001, 37–8). Il modello degli storici antichi e del livianeggiante Albertino Mussato

In secondo luogo, è interessante la scelta del materiale. Sotto questo aspetto Ravagnani si allontanò dall'*Extensa* abbandonando la maggior parte del materiale riguardo alla storia fuori la laguna e concentrandosi sulle vicende locali. Gli episodi della storia universale scelte da Ravagnani illustrano miracoli e vicende di reliquie, ad esempio i presagi della peste che avrebbe devastato l'Italia e la Grecia (Gallia, 552; Garrett 156, 3v); la peste romana del 590, sconfitta grazie alle cerimonie ordinate da Gregorio Magno, con la comparsa dell'arcangelo Michele in segno della fine dell'epidemia (7r); l'invasione di Gerusalemme ad opera dei persiani e l'asportazione della Vera Croce nel 614 (7v); la vendita delle reliquie di Agostino nel 722 a Liutprando, che le fece collocare nella chiesa di S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro a Pavia (8v).

I motivi religiosi sono presenti anche nel prologo²³ che è la parte più originale di *Chronica Venetiarum*, siccome l'*Extensa* comincia *in medias res* con la rivelazione di San Marco. Il prologo prosegue da una concezione provvidenziale dove Venezia è protetta e aiutata da Cristo e la repubblica ha il ruolo di propugnatrice della cristianità e della giustizia, *clipeus christianitatis, infidelium malleus, libertatis mater, refugium miserorum, summaque conservatrix iustitiae*. Le fondamenta di Venezia sono gli apostoli, i profeti e i martiri.²⁴ Riflettono tal orien-

è assente nell'*Extensa* nonostante l'interesse recente per le opere di Livio; basterà ricordare che Paolo de Bernardo, notaio della Curia Maggiore ed un membro importante del circolo preumanista a Venezia, redasse una collazione della prima deca di Livio (Parigi, BNF. Lat. 5727; Lazzarini, *Paolo de Bernardo...sopra n. 7, 134–7*). La differenza fra la prospettiva dell'*Extensa* e le idee estetiche e letterarie correnti nell'ambiente veneto del periodo è stata messa in rilievo da Girolamo Arnaldi (sopra n. 7, 230) che spiega la scelta del modulo con l'ampia documentazione dell'*Extensa* dovuta a motivi politici. La preferenza sarebbe dunque data agli argomenti giuridici.

²³ Garrett 156, 1r. Una trascrizione del prologo tratta dal codice marciano (la descrizione, v. p. 90) in G. Voigt, *Die Briefsammlungen Petrarca's und der Venetianische Staatskanzler Benintendi*, München 1882 (rist. anastatica da Kessinger Legacy Reprints), 65.

²⁴ Garrett 1r, *super fundamentum apostolorum et prophetarum ac martirum edificata noscatur, ipso angulari lapide Christo Jhesu, nimirum, si eo, qui plantavit irrigante, incrementumque dante, in magnos honorum titulos excelsaque fame preconium breui tempore sit erecta*. Un approccio tutt'altro si trova nella lettera di presentazione dell'*Extensa*, scritta da Ravagnani in data 5 dicembre 1352. In quella sede Ravagnani insistette sulla mancanza di storici per fare rivivere la memoria dei fatti ammirevoli dei veneziani, giustificando così i lavori in corso per la redazione della cronaca pubblica. Uno spazio cospicuo occupa un elogio del doge Dandolo al quale fa seguito un saggio di materiale presente nella futura cronaca: *ut ex ipsius vestri ducis laboribus in presentiarum aliquam odoris fragrantiam sentientes*. Si tratta del patto del 1149 fra il doge Domenico Morosini e il patriarca Enrico Dandolo che posero fine alla lotta per l'investitura dei prelati veneziani. Per illustrare il contenuto e l'utilità dell'opera, Ravagnani

tamento pure alcune aggiunte, per esempio la lunga lista di eventi – soprattutto casi di martiri – che dovrebbero aver coinciso con il giorno della fondazione di Venezia, 25 maggio.²⁵

La terza notevole differenza fra la *Chronica Venetiarum* e l'*Extensa* si manifesta nell'uso dei documenti che furono inseriti nel testo della seconda in gran copia e che le dettero un aspetto nettamente distinto dalla cronachistica veneziana precedente. La documentazione di una cronaca cittadina si inquadra nel progetto di riordino della documentazione pubblica dal quale uscirono due raccolte sotto il dogado di Andrea Dandolo, cioè il *Liber Albus*, che conteneva documenti relativi ai rapporti politici e commerciali con gli stati d'Oriente, e il *Liber Blancus* per i documenti relativi ai rapporti italiani.

Benchè Ravagnani, come i suoi subalterni nella Curia Maggiore, partecipasse molto probabilmente alla redazione dell'*Extensa*, la sua cronaca contiene soltanto quattro documenti, cioè la lettera di Cassiodoro ai tribuni marittimi di Venezia nel 537; l'atto del sinodo di Grado nel 579 riguardo alla concessione di metropoli a Venezia e in Istria a Elia, patriarca di Grado; la lettera del papa Pelagio II che conferma tale atto; ed in quarto luogo, la lettera di Gregorio III al doge e al patriarca.²⁶ La lettera di Cassiodoro (*Var.* 12,24) fu usata da Dandolo e Ravagnani per respingere l'idea secondo la quale Venezia non fosse stata fondata prima dell'avvento dei longobardi. Tale lettera contiene, infatti, la prima descrizione del primitivo regime lagunare, proponendo l'immagine idealizzata di una società priva d'invidia che vive nell'uguaglianza perfetta, circondata e protetta dall'acqua: *Paupertas ibi cum diuitibus sub aequalitate conuiuit. Unus cibus omnes reficit, habitatio similis uniuersa concludit. Nesciunt de penatibus inuidere et sub hac mensura degentes euadunt uitium, cui mundum esse constat obnoxium.*²⁷

si servì, dunque, di un documento che metteva in evidenza il carattere ufficiale dell'opera (Arnaldi, sopra n. 7, 211–219).

²⁵ *Chronica per extensum descripta*, p. 53...*et circa ostia fluminis Prealti insulam sive tumbam ad opus mediatum satis abilem eligentes, anno Domini nostri Iesu Christi CC^oCCXXI^o die XXV marcii felicis urbis Rivoalti nova fundamenta iactarunt; decretumque est...*

Chronica Venetiarum, Garrett 156, 2r *anno domini. ccccxj. die. xxv. marcij, ipsa die, qua incarnatus est christus. qua passus est. qua parens noster formatus est Adam. qua decimas Melchisedech obtulit. qua passi sunt Johannes baptista. petrus. paulus et Jacobus, vt facile intelligatur, ex tanti celebratione diei quam grata deo nostro hec sancta edificatio uisa est Insulam seu tumbam satis abilem eligentes noue Venetie fundamenta strauerunt. prouidentes...*

²⁶ Zabbia (sopra n. 13) 250–1. Nonostante la grande importanza dell'*Extensa*, l'inserzione dei documenti in una opera storica fu estranea alla cronachistica veneziana posteriore. Zabbia osserva che i documenti vengono meno già negli ultimi libri dell'*Extensa*.

²⁷ *Cassiodori Senatoris Variarum*, ed. T. Mommsen, in *M.G.H., A.A.*, T. XII, Berlino 1894, 379–

La *Chronica Venetiarum* è tradita da tre codici. Il più antico, il trecentesco Garrett 156, si conserva alla Firestone Library dell'Università di Princeton, alla quale fu donato da un collezionista americano, Robert Garrett (1875–1961), nel 1942. Prima di Garrett il codice appartenne a William Harris Arnold (1854–1923) il cui ex libris si vede sul foglio di guardia. Arnold acquistò il futuro Garrett 156 nel 1903 in una vendita all'asta della collezione di Walter Sneyd (1809–1888) che aveva comprato il codice da Giovanni Perissinotti, nipote di Matteo Luigi Canonici (1727–1805), famoso bibliofilo veneziano.²⁸ Non è escluso che l'epistolario di Canonici possa presentare ulteriori indicazioni, visto che contiene numerosi riferimenti alle raccolte del collezionista.²⁹

Il Garrett 156 è un codice membranaceo di lusso, con una legatura antica in piatti di legno, coperti con marocchino rossastro dove si vedono fori per i fermagli su tutti i lati esterni.³⁰ Le coperte sono decorate da linee incise che forma-

80. Sulla lettera si veda anche A. Carile e G. Fedalto, *Le origini di Venezia*, Bologna 1978, 157–8 e 174–82.

²⁸ Una breve descrizione con l'elenco dei possessori in S. De Ricci e W. J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts in the United States and Canada, vol. I, The Library of Robert Garrett, Garrett building*, Baltimore 1935–1940, 897. Sulla collezione di Canonici si ricordi l'accurato studio di I. Merolle, *L'abate Matteo Luigi Canonici e la sua biblioteca*, Firenze – Roma 1958. A proposito della storia del codice prima dell'Ottocento, si nota anche l'accenno di Apostolo Zèno al codice sanudiano che secondo lo studioso fu il testimone più antico della *Chronica Venetiarum* (Zèno, sopra n. 3): "il suo titolo e principio, giusta il codice antiqua di carta pecorina, che se ne conserva nella libreria di Casa Contarini alla Carità, e che anticamente era di quella di Marino Sanuto, figliulo di Leonardo, segnato *num. 1772...*". Se sarà o no possibile riconoscere questo codice nel Garrett 156, resta incerto. Manca tuttavia ogni pezza d'appoggio per tale identificazione essendo il codice privo d'una nota di possesso del diarista o, evidentemente, di qualsiasi traccia dell'indicazione "*num. 1772.*". Si aggiunga che anche un possessore o lettore del Garrett era d'opinione contraria come si legge nell'etichetta incollata sul verso del secundo foglio di guardia: "La cronaca di Benintendi de' Ravignani anche in altro codice de' Contarini alla Carità comincia e finisce come in questo. Ved. Foscarini della Letteratura Veneziana. p. 132." Riferi all'opera di Marco Foscarini (sopra n. 3) che offrì la stessa informazione che lo Zèno. L'etichetta non sembra essere scritta da Canonici (l'esemplare della scrittura dell'abate in J. B. Mitchell, "Trevisan and Soranzo: Some Canonici Manuscripts from two eighteenth-century Venetian Collections", *Bodleian Library Record* 8 [1969] 125–35). Nei cataloghi manoscritti della biblioteca dei Contarini alla Carità non si trovano tracce della cronaca di Ravagnani [questi sono Marc. It. X, 220 (= 6409), It. X, 219 (= 10055), It. XI, 324 (= 7135) e It. XI, 328 (= 7330)].

²⁹ La maggior parte dell'epistolario si conserva alla Biblioteca estense a Modena; v. N. Vianello, "Canonici, Matteo Luigi", *Diz. Biogr. Italiani*, vol. 18, 1975 (consultato su http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/matteo-luigi-canonici_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/). Alcune osservazioni sulla storia del Garrett 156 anche alla pagina 90 (n. 40).

³⁰ I fogli si misurano 264 x 186 (cc. 4 e 13), lo specchio di scrittura 174 x 118 (cc. 4r e 16r). Il

no ornamenti vegetali e figure geometriche. Le ultime richiamano il motivo del nodo di Salomone. Ricco di ornamentazione è inoltre il lato retto del primo foglio dove si trova una fantasiosa ghirlanda policromatica che fiancheggia lo specchio di scrittura e si avvolge intorno ad una miniatura ed un blasone.³¹ La miniatura rappresenta un santo barbato ai capelli lunghi, vestito in un mantello rosso e una camicia verde. Il santo benedice tenendo in mano un libro, con ogni probabilità il proprio Vangelo. Non presenta, nondimeno, il leone di San Marco. Al centro del margine spicca uno stemma parzialmente cancellato; sussiste invece integro il fondo rosso sul quale si distingue un profilo, forse di un'aquila.³²

Il codice consta di due quaternioni ed un binione preceduti e seguiti da due fogli di guardia. Contiene la sola cronaca, che finisce tronca al f. 18v. Il testo copre la storia di Venezia dagli inizi marciali fino al dogado di Pietro I Urseolo.³³ Il cambio di struttura indicherebbe quindi che non si tratti di un autografo, se non si assuma che fosse la intenzione di Ravagnani di finire proprio a questo punto o un

codice presenta una doppia numerazione antica in alto a destra. I numeri più moderni si vedono su tutte le carte tranne i fogli 10 e 12 dopo i quali la numerazione risulta erronea. Venne dato il numero 10 alla carta undicesima, ed il numero 11 alla tredicesima. Dal foglio tredicesimo in avanti si continuò a numerare tutti i fogli in ordine senza correggere l'errore. Tutte le ultime carte portano dunque un numero sbagliato. Le tracce di una numerazione più antica nell'angolo superiore a destra (sui fogli 8r, 12r, 14r, 15r, 16r, 18r) indicano che le carte furono tagliate. Gli interventi possono forse essere attribuiti al lettore quattrocentesco che aggiunse nel margine esterno del f. 8v "Paulucius dux" in *italica*. Le altre aggiunte marginali come pure il testo, su una colonna, sono scritte in una rotonda libreria di modulo oblungo.

³¹ Somiglia al Ravenna, Bibl. Class. 11, datato del 1344 novembre, che contiene un breviario dei cistercensi (*I Manoscritti datati della classense e delle altre biblioteche della provincia di Ravenna*, a.c. di M. G. Baldini, Firenze 2004, 22).

³² Secondo De Ricci e Wilson (sopra n. 28, 897) potrebbe essere l'aquila della famiglia Baldovino. È opportuno paragonare a questo anche lo stemma dei Giustinian, sempre con l'aquila, segno della loro leggendaria origine imperiale (sulla storia della famiglia si veda P. H. Labalme, *Bernardo Giustiniani, A Venetian of the Quattrocento*, Roma 1969, 5–10). L'ipotesi è suggerita dalla similitudine con lo stemma che figura nel catalogo della *Proles Nobilium Venetorum* [Marc. Lat. X. 35. Ho consultato la riproduzione in R. Cessi (ed.) e F. Bennato (ed.), *Venetiarum historia vulgo Petro Iustiniano filio adiudicata*, Venezia 1964], l'elemento significativo risultando essere la banda azzurra che circonda il fondo rosso. Il Garrett 156, nello stesso modo, presenta un cerchio blu intorno allo stemma. Si conoscono vari Giustinian che vissero nei tempi di Ravagnani. Occorre notare Giustiniano Giustinian, conte di Zara nel 1351, podestà di Chioggia (1345 e 1354) e forse il padre del cronista Pier Giustinian (Cessi e Bennato, 21–2).

³³ Tutti e tre i testimoni presentano *incipit* ed *explicit* identici. Garrett 156: *Inc. Ihesus dominus deus noster quaque in re pro fundamento suscipitur, expl. Hic habuit coniugem Feliciam nomine, que unicum.*

po' più avanti. Sembra inverosimile che avrebbe voluto cominciare a trascrivere un binione dopo due quaternioni. L'esistenza di un archetipo sembra suggerita anche da alcuni errori evidenti tra i quali è da segnalare uno sbaglio banale in un riferimento biblico del prologo. L'autore si riferisce alla prima lettera ai corinzi (2,9): *Oculus enim non uidit. nec audiuit. nec in cor hominis ascendit, quanta praeparauit deus diligentibus se*. Per eliminare l'occhio fornito dall'udito venne poi aggiunto nel margine *auris* da inserire fra *nec et audivit*.

Il codice Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana XIV. 177 (= 4607) risale al Cinque o al Seicento. Fece parte della collezione di Apostolo Zèno (1668–1750) sotto il numero 225.³⁴ Il codice di Zèno è cartaceo, evidentemente, e eterogeneo, composto di fascicoli di vario formato e varia età, che furono messi insieme probabilmente da Zèno stesso. Si tratta di una raccolta di opere storiche, alcune delle quali trascritte da Zèno, ad esempio *Chronicon Patriarcharum Aquileiensium* e *De modernis gestis* di Marzagaia, un umanista veronese del primo Quattrocento.

I fogli che contengono la *Chronica Venetiarum* furono invece redatti da un'altra mano che trascrisse pure i documenti che precedono la cronaca. Questi sono: un rapporto di Andrea Dandolo dove si difende la giurisdizione del doge nei confronti dei capellani di S. Marco; la già menzionata lettera di Ravagnani per presentare l'*Extensa*³⁵; la formula di investitura dei cappellani; ed in fine, l'epitaffio di Andrea Dandolo.³⁶ Gli stessi documenti figurano nello stesso ordine

³⁴ La descrizione del codice in P. Zorzanello, *Catalogo dei codici latini della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia non compresi nel catalogo di G. Valentinelli, vol. III*, Trezzano sul Naviglio 1985, 235–7. Figura anche sul foglio 259r del antico catalogo manoscritto dei codici zenoniani compilato da Marco Forcellini, *Catalogo dei codici di Apostolo Zeno*, [Marc. It. XI. 285 (= 7165)]. Il codice è legato con piatti di cartone, il dorso e gli angoli dei piatti in pelle. Sul dorso si vede l'etichetta con la collocazione attuale "Manoscritti 4607 Marciani". Il foglio attaccato al piatto superiore ospita un'altra etichetta "MSS. LATINI/ CL. 14 NO. 177/ PROVENIENZA:/ Zeno Apostolo/ 255/ COLLOCAZIONE/4607", e l'ex libris della marciana. Sul recto del foglio di guardia troviamo due note a mano, "Benintendi chronica, et alia/ XLIX. 6." e sopra di questa da altra mano "Class. XIV./ Cod. CLXXVII.". Al centro del foglio si trova l'ex libris di Zèno. Apostolo Zèno fu un poeta, drammaturgo e storico. L'ampio epistolario di Zèno riveste valore di fonte per la storia culturale veneziano (<http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/apostolo-zeno/>).

³⁵ Cf. p. 86, n. 24.

³⁶ Il corpo che contiene la cronaca di Ravagnani ed i documenti (delle misure 161 x 227) ospita anche l'indice del codice, scritta da altra mano rispetto alla cronaca. È composto di tre fascicoli il primo delle quali presenta varie irregolarità: consta di foglio di guardia incollata al tallone (ovvero al prolungamento) del sesto foglio (6r, la formula della investitura; 6v, l'epitaffio). Allo stesso tempo il bifoglio 4–5 (4r–5v la lettera di Ravagnani) fu attaccato al tallone del f. 1, cioè del foglio dell'indice. Fra di questi si trova un bifoglio regolare, ff. 2–3, il primo

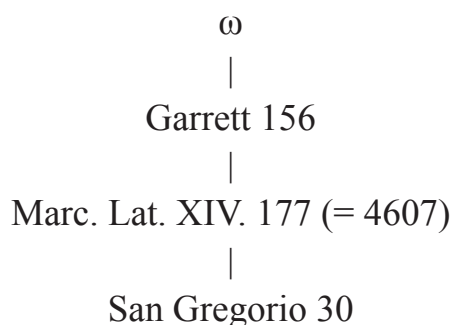
all'inizio del terzo codice, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Roma, San Gregorio 30, che molto probabilmente fu copiato dal codice marciano nel Sei o Settecento. Oggi si conserva dunque nella Biblioteca Nazionale di Roma dove giunse nel 1874 dal monastero camaldolese di San Gregorio al Celio in seguito alla confisca delle collezioni delle corporazioni religiose romane. Il codice appartenne originariamente al monastero dello stesso ordine a Venezia, situato all'isola di Murano, da dove fu portato a Roma in conseguenza della soppressione del monastero sotto il dominio francese nel 1810.³⁷

bianco, il secondo con il rapporto del doge (3r–3v). Si notano inoltre i tre tipi di carta, quello della foglia di guardia, quello dell'indice e quello della carta prevalente sulla quale furono scritti i documenti e la cronaca. La composizione suggerisce, quindi, la mancanza di un foglio che originariamente avrebbe formato un bifoglio con l'attuale f. 6. Va aggiunto che i due altri fascicoli portano la cronaca (7r–25r, 25v–29v bianchi), il primo quinione, il secondo un senione più una carta dello stesso tipo aggiunta al foglio iniziale. Questa anomalia di formato non interessa però l'ambito testuale.

³⁷ P. Veneziani, "Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II", *I fondi, le procedure, le storie, Raccolta di studi della Biblioteca*, Roma 1993. V. Carini Dainoti, *La Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele al Collegio Romano*, Firenze 1956, 50–1. L. Merolla offre una descrizione dettagliata nella sua *La biblioteca di San Michele di Murano all'epoca dell'abate Giovanni Benedetto Mittarelli, i codici ritrovati*, Manziana 2010, 366. Il codice, cartaceo, si misura 287 x 203 e consta di otto binioni regolari. Sulla provenienza attestano lo stemma camaldolese nel timbro a secco sui fogli iniziali nonché la legatura tipica dei libri manoscritti del convento con piatti in cartone grigio, sul dorso in carta marrone. Sul dorso è apposta un'etichetta verde dove si legge "Danduli Chronic. Ven.". A proposito della descrizione dei contenuti sembra legittimo rilevare che Merolla segnalò "Chronicon" il titolo della parte che contiene proprio la cronaca di Ravagnani, benchè nel codice si legga, in accordo con il codice marciano, "Chronica Venetiarum secundum Benintendi Cancellarium ejus". Il titolo ridotto appare strano visto che tutti gli altri titoli vengono riprodotti nello stesso modo tra virgolette senza però delle modificazioni. Allo stesso tempo la studiosa aggiunge una nota alla cronaca nella quale non fa menzione di Ravagnani: "il testo del ms. risulta essere un estratto rispetto all'edizione confrontata: Andreae Danduli Venetorum ducis Chronicon Venetum a pontificatu sancti Marci ad annum usque MCCCXXXIX". Il San Gregorio 30 figura anche nell'antico catalogo della libreria di S. Michele del 1779, composto da J.-H. Mittarelli, che offre una descrizione più fedele (*Biblioteca Codicum Manuscriptorum Monasterii S. Michaelis Venetiarum prope Murianum*, 1779, 123–4): "Epistola in commendationem Chronicorum editorum per Andream Dandulum Ducem Venetiarum, data Consiliariis civitatis Venetiarum In cod. chartac. in fol. num. 778. Incipit Si non minus ille dies illos, quibus conservamus etc. Vide Dandulus Andreas. Epistola data est: anno 1352. secundo nonas decembris, una cum rescripto circa Investituram, quam a Duce Venetiarum debent recipere Praelati. Sequitur deinde opus, cui titulus: Chronica Venetiarum secundum Benintendi Cancellarium ejus usque ad annum 976 ... Benintendi Chronicon incipit: Jesus Dominus Deus noster. Finit. Hic, nempe Petrus Urseolus, uxorem habuit Feliciam nomine, quae unicum etc."

Dalla collazione dei tre testimoni presentati risulta numerosi elementi di congiunzione fra il Garrett (P) ed il marciano (M) in confronto con il San Gregorio (V). Allo stesso tempo ci sono molte varianti comuni fra il M e il V che permettono di separare quest'ultimo codice dal P.³⁸ Le poche lezioni comuni del V con il P risultano invece correzioni o occasionali varianti grafiche.³⁹

La collazione delle tre versioni suggerisce quindi uno stemma semplicissimo, un tronco senza rami:



³⁸ In questa sede un elenco esauriente sarebbe eccessivo. Basterà invece fare vedere alcuni esempi:

| | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| P celebratione | M V celebritate |
| P fuerant | M V fugerant |
| P providentia | M V prudentia |
| P dixerim | M V dicam |
| P M dum | V duas |
| P M uxorem | V uxores |
| P M aeris | V aer |
| P M deferentes | V differentes |

| | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| ³⁹ P V consequentur | M consequetur |
| P V aquis | M acquis |
| P V Gradense | M Grandense |
| P V interrogaretur | M iterrogaretur |
| P V litteram | M literam |
| P V Venetiam | M Vetiam |
| P V omnes | M omes |
| P V quoddam | M quodam |
| P V Sicque | M Sique |
| P V sepulcro | M sepulchro |
| P V remanentes | M remantes |
| P V excludendam | M excludendam |

Si noti la prima lezione *consequentur* che presenta la variante *consequetur* nel marciano incompatibile con il soggetto plurale (*devoti et fideles*). La lezione scorretta si ripeté nel San Gregorio ma venne corretta in un secondo momento con un segno abbreviativo, un caso eccezionale in questo ultimo codice.

A sostegno dello stemma proposto si aggiunga una omissione, *saut du même au même*, che risale probabilmente ad un errore nel Garrett. Fra i sottoscrittori dell'atto del sinodo di Grado (cf. sopra p. 87) si raffigura due volte un *Albinus presbyter*, le occorrenze su righe consecutivi, la prima delle quali fu espunta. Al copista del Marciano sfuggì il raddoppiamento. Dalla prima firma passò direttamente al *Marcianus*, che segue la seconda occorrenza di *Albinus*, omettendo le tre firme interposte, *Sercius*, *Dorotheus* e *Laurencius*. Si trova la stessa omissione nel San Gregorio.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Il legame fra il Garrett 156 ed il Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607) dà luogo a un'ipotesi sul possessore del primo. I quattro documenti del codice marciano sono traditi anche da due codici antichi dell'*Extensa*, dal quattrocentesco Vat. Lat. 5842 e dal suo apografo Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) [la pubblicazione più recente dei documenti in Pastorello (sopra n. 13, civ–cvi) che riproducesse il testo del Vat. Lat. 5842 ad eccezione del rapporto di Dandolo che trasse dal documento, collocato in A.S.V. Commemorativi 5, c. 9r]. Dal confronto delle lezioni della lettera di Dandolo (secondo la trascrizione di Pastorello, l'originale alla BAV non ho ancora visto) risulta che il Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607) non discende dal Vat. Lat. 5842 ma fu molto probabilmente copiato dal Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584).

Ad esempio:

Vat. Lat. 5842 Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) – Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607)

memoria sita est – memoria est

haereditas relinquitur filiis – relinquitur haereditas filiis

Nec tamen, opus tantum – Nec sane tantum opus

Vat. Lat. 5842 – Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) – Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607)

in vobis debuit – debuit in vobis – debuit in nobis

si non alia – et si non alia – etsi non alia

quin immo – Quinimmò – quinimò

utique – utque – uti erat

in presentiarum – impraesentiarum – in presentiam

Vat. Lat. 5842 – Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) Marc. Lat. XIV. 177 (= 4607)

praerogativam habuisse – praerogativam plurimam habuisse

Va segnalato inoltre la contaminazione del codice marciano, presente nella lettera di Cassiodoro (cf. p. 97). La consultazione di un'altra fonte si spiega forse sulla base degli sbagli e lacune che si trovano nel Garrett. Più che alla corruzione del testo modello, questi sarebbero da attribuire all'incompetenza del copista dell'ultimo (cf. pp. 89–90). Due delle tre lezioni introdotte dal *M* figurano nel Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584):

P uob(is) more auium domus est *M* Uobis more Auium domus est, *marg.* aliquantulum aquatiliu(m) *V* more auium domus est, *interl.* aquatiliu(m) *super* auium, Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) aquatiliu(m) aviu(m) more

P pro p[*lacuna*] uellor(um) utunt(ur), *M* pro [*lacuna*] utuntur, *marg.* pauore fauore uellorum, *V* pro pauore uellorum, utuntur, Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) pro pauore velor(um)

Problematico, quindi, il *favore vellorum* che è assente nella tradizione manoscritta dell'*Extensa*. Troviamo la lezione altrove in vari luoghi, per esempio nella *Cronaca di Venezia* di Lorenzo de'

A questo punto delle mie indagini è ancora troppo presto identificare Ravagnani come l'autore della *Chronica Venetiarum* o emettere un'altra ipotesi – semmai sia possibile arrivare ad una proposta solida in questo campo.⁴¹ Essendomi limitato all'esame dei codici della cronaca ed al confronto fra questa e la *Chronica per extensum descripta* di Andrea Dandolo, resta ovviamente da studiare una parte cospicua del materiale fondamentale relativo al rapporto della *Chronica Venetiarum* ed il suo supposto autore.⁴²

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Monaci, scritta all'inizio del Quattrocento e nell'edizione muratoriana dell'*Extensa*. Si aggiunga che *pavore velorum* è la lezione di tutti i codici delle *Variae*.

Prima della Marciana il Marc. Lat. X. 10 (= 3584) faceva parte della libreria del monastero di SS. Giovanni e Paolo. Alla fine del Settecento la collezione soffrì dai furti che causò l'acquisto dei libri più preziosi da parte della biblioteca Marciana nel 1789. Un furto si rivelò nel 1778 e le indagini indicarono che il ministero di Russia e Canonici stesso furono in possesso dei libri rubati. Identificati i libri del monastero ambedue furono costretti di restituire i volumi la maggior parte dei quali ritornarono ai monaci (Zorzi, sopra n. 10, 299). Fra i libri spariti, s'immagina, figurava forse il futuro Garrett 156.

⁴¹ Sarà interessante fare un confronto fra *Chronica Venetiarum* e *Chronica Jadratina*, una cronaca sulla guerra di Zara (1345–1346), che è stata attribuita a Ravagnani (Voigt, sopra n. 23, 62–3; Bellemo, sopra n. 4, 148–50) e Careisini (Arnaldi, sopra n. 7, 151). Ce ne sono due testimoni, una versione in latino in un codice quattrocentesco [(Marc. Lat. X. 300 (= 3801)], ed un volgarizzamento trecentesco pubblicato da Iacobo Morelli sotto il titolo *Istoria dell'assedio e della ricupera di Zara fatta da Veneziani nell'anno MCCCXLVI. Scritta da autore contemporaneo* (Venezia 1796). La discussione più ampia e critica si trova sulle pagine di Zabbia (sopra n. 13, 259–64) secondo il quale sembrerebbe improbabile una attribuzione a Careisini, insufficienti d'altro canto le prove per identificare l'autore in Ravagnani. Osserva comunque il rilievo dato alla guerra di Zara in una continuazione della cronaca breve di Dandolo, un'altra opera storica attribuita a Ravagnani che resta inedita nonchè poco studiata. Un volgarizzamento di codesta cronaca si conserva a Modena nella Biblioteca Estense [It. 106 (alpha T.VI.32)].

⁴² Importante sarà l'esame dei codici più antichi dell'*Extensa*. Vanno segnalate le lezioni comuni fra la *Chronica Venetiarum* ed il codice torinese dell'*Extensa* (Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino I. IV 7), una copia di lusso, che fu redatto prima del 1370 dal notaio Giovanni da Pola (Pastorello, sopra n. 13, l–li):

Marc. Lat. Z. 400 (= 2028) (il codice di lavoro, cf. n. 20) – Biblioteca Nazionale di Torino I. IV 7 – *Chronica Venetiarum*

Archichiron nomine et cognomine Entinopi – architector ||| nominatione – Architecti Euripo

gencium multitudo copiosa...habitaret – conflueret et habitaret – multitudo gentium copiosa conflueret

perniciose rei exitum – exemplum – perniciosum in hoc exemplum

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS AND THE LIFE COURSE. REGIO III (BRUTTIUM AND LUCANIA) AS A TEST CASE

CHRISTIAN LAES

1. Introduction

The present contribution sets Regio III, Bruttium and Lucania, in a long-standing research tradition. Long before the information age, the Hungarian scholar J. Szilagyi initiated the project of listing all known epitaphs with age indication from the Latin West.¹ Though at present no single scholar shares Szilagyi's demographical aspirations, his thorough collection – not easy to trace down – remains a fundamental starting point for studies on the epigraphic habit and the representation of ages in various regions of the Roman Empire.² Some twenty years ago, P. Gallivan and P. Wilkins started a project on familial structures as encountered in inscriptions throughout Roman Italy. Although the announced database was never published, the results of their regional approach appeared in a contribution which also deals with the evidence from the South of Italy.³ At the present moment, the scholarly world is eagerly awaiting the fully informatised database by F. Trifilò and R. Laurence which will cover a large sample of Latin non-Christian age inscriptions for the West of the Roman Empire. Their dataset, constituting a body of 23,277 inscriptions with a legible indication of age, con-

(*) I owe many thanks to Ray Laurence and Francesco Trifilò (University of Kent) whose inspiring research on epigraphy has been the incentive for this article. I am also very grateful to Attilio Mastrocinque (Università degli Studi di Verona) for inviting me to the conference *I Romani e la Lucania: nuove prospettive di ricerca* (11th of May 2012). Alfredo Buonopane (Università degli Studi di Verona) has introduced me into the field of epigraphy of Regio III, especially Grumentum. It was a pleasure to present this paper at the Summerschool *Epigraphy in an Empire of Cities. Possibilities and Challenges* (Grumento Nova) on the 27th of July 2012.

¹ For the present article, Szilagyi (1963) is the most relevant.

² MacMullen (1982) and Meyer (1990) are essential introductions on the epigraphic habit.

³ Gallivan – Wilkins (1997).

tains epitaphs from Africa Pronconsularis, the Mauretaniae, Hispania Tarraconensis, Gallia Narbonensis, Lusitania, Aquitania, Dacia, Moesia and all of Italia with the exception of Rome.⁴

Several other scholars have set themselves to compiling databases of specific regions. Their strenuous efforts again and again lead to the conclusion that these data sets reveal cultural biases, and not demographical patterns. Young people are usually more strongly commemorated than adults, more men than women are represented, age rounding to V and X is responsible for the peaks in the number of tombstones at certain ages.⁵

Given the present stage of research, the additional value of a regional study on life course in the inscriptional evidence of Regio III may be questioned. In my view, such regional approach can add to our knowledge for several reasons. As this article will be the first to take this approach, it may become the starting point of other studies which will undoubtedly appear when research facilities become easier by accessible informatised databases. Comparison of results from detailed regional studies will then yield interesting results which may further increase our knowledge on local commemorative patterns. Also, the regional approach enables the scholar to systematically scrutinise *all* epigraphical editions concerning 'his' region, an exhaustive approach which is for practical reasons beyond reach for the composers of comprehensive databases. As such, I will include both the Christian epitaphs of Regio III and the latest additions up to *L'année épigraphique* 2008. Thirdly, the focus on one particular region will offer the opportunity for the so-called anecdotal approach, by which inscriptions become now and then like vignettes of daily life, anecdotal but valuable source material for our knowledge of Roman family life.⁶

Though previous published research has not paid attention to the factor of age in the inscriptions of Lucania and Bruttium, the full scale study of family inscriptions of Roman Italy by Gallivan and Wilkins has revealed a whole set of patterns. For the present study, the following observations might be relevant. The familial structure of parents with one child is more commonly represented in the inscriptions from the South (79 %) than in the regions which were more in the North (67 % in the North). Families tend to become larger as we move to

⁴ See Laurence – Trifilò (2012) for a first sample of most promising research. The evidence for the City of Rome is treated by Shaw (1991); (1996) and Laes (2007).

⁵ Pioneer studies include Kajanto (1968); Duncan-Jones (1977); Lasserre (1977); Hopkins (1987). Scheidel (1996) is fundamental for the subject of age rounding and digit preference.

⁶ Pleas for the study of inscriptions as anecdotal evidence by Martin (2003) and Corbier (2005).

the North. Throughout Italy, the overall sex ratio of family inscriptions is 233 in favour of boys. The South of Italy is no exception to the tendency of male over-representation, though the sex imbalance favouring sons over daughters is most extreme in the North, while in families with children of both sexes, the imbalance is more pronounced in the South.⁷

2. Indication of age, age awareness, age rounding

2.1. Inscriptions with age indication

Epigraphy has been said to occupy a middle ground between the intimacy of the household and the objectivity of the census.⁸ Epitaphs are statements that shift from the personal world of knowledge to the public world of commemorative norms, because the inscription was a public object.⁹ But what was it exactly that compelled people in antiquity to mention age (their own or that of the deceased) on an inscription, almost always an epitaph – a particular type of tombstone emphasising the obligations owed to the dead by the heir or at least by those living in close (affective) proximity?¹⁰ As is the case for many other motivations concerning the 'epigraphic habit', we simply do not know.¹¹ One could reckon the amount of inscriptions with age indication in relation to those without one. This is feasible for a well-studied region as the City of Rome. Here we have about 29,250 epitaphs; some 9600 (33 %) of which reveal an indication of age.¹² For regions with far less epigraphic material, such numbers are perhaps less significant.¹³ For Regio III, I have collected 320 inscriptions with age indication. A conservative count reveals about 500 epitaphs in total for the region; the percentage of 64 points to a strong popularity for this genre of inscriptions.¹⁴ In any case, it

⁷ Gallivan – Wilkins (1997) 241–2 (size of families); 242–3 (sex imbalance).

⁸ Huebner (2011).

⁹ Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 23.

¹⁰ Meyer (1990) 95–6.

¹¹ Bodet (2001) 1–56.

¹² Laes (2007) 27.

¹³ New excavations as the discovery of one new necropolis might change the percentages fundamentally. For our region, a whole necropolis of Grumentum still needs to be excavated. See Capano (2009) for a first enquiry.

¹⁴ Regio III has a total of about 840 inscriptions. It should be stressed that the dataset of

is possible to treat the age inscriptions as a separate category, to be distinguished from those epitaphs which do not record age.

2.2. Young and old

Table 1 lists the age distribution as it appears in the inscriptions from Regio III. Both scholars of Latin literature as epigraphists have traditionally set the division line between young and old at age 25.¹⁵ This is of course a crude and simplifying categorisation, which might be substituted by a division into children (0–15), young adults (16–30), older adults (31–60), old (61–80) and very old (80+) (see table 3).¹⁶ But for several reasons, the evidence from Regio III also allows for a division between age span 0–25 and 25+.

Above the age of 25, the tendency for age rounding is outspoken, the multiples of five being strongly emphasised. The inscriptions for those in the age span 0–25 do not reveal any such tendency. The latter category consists of 124 instances up to twenty and 155 up to age 25. Out of a total of 320 inscriptions, this equals to 39 % or even 48 % if we take 25 as the liminal age. Our evidence thus confirms the well-known fact that as an age group, young people are well represented in the inscriptions with age indication.¹⁷ Also, the inscriptions for those up to age 25 have a marked tendency towards accuracy: 55 % of the instances of age indication up to days (46 out of 84) are commemorations to young people. Laurence and Trifilò have rightly suggested that this greater degree of accuracy is an indication of the presence of parents or other relatives who were in the possibility of mourning the young deceased and who remembered very well the birthday of the person involved.¹⁸

Regio III is rather small. The ancient city of Thugga in modern Tunisia (the African provinces are very rich in epigraphical evidence) produces 1617 tombstones with indication of age. See Harlow – Laurence (2011) 14–5.

¹⁵ Eyben (1977) 152; Laes – Strubbe (2008) 37–43 on the legal differentiation between *minores* and *maiores* set at age 25; Pikhhaus (1978) 47–8 on age 25 as 'psychological border' between young and old.

¹⁶ Harlow – Laurence (2011) 20–1 apply this division to the evidence from Thugga; Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 35–7 for their sample of the Latin West.

¹⁷ Laes (2007) 28–9 for the City of Rome as well as other scholarly literature. For the City of Rome, the percentage even amounts to 61.1 % for those up to age 25.

¹⁸ Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 38. Saller (1994) 53–64 has made demographical calculations on the numbers of relatives still alive at certain age. Also in regions which are known for their

Table 1: Age distribution of the inscriptions of Regio III*

| Age | Years | Months | Days | References |
|-----|-------|--------|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 0 | | | | |
| 1 | 1 | 2 | | <i>CIL</i> X 163; 498; <i>AE</i> 1985, 315 |
| 2 | 1 | 2 | 3 | <i>CIL</i> X 120; 8099; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 257; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 217; <i>Paestum</i> 181; <i>AE</i> 1969/70, 179 |
| 3 | 5 | 2 | 6 | <i>CIL</i> X 100; 151; 299; 329; 455 (?); 8118; 8339c; <i>ICI</i> V 37; <i>SupplIt</i> (L) III 17; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 97; III 1, 237; <i>Paestum</i> 190; <i>AE</i> 1984, 269 |
| 4 | 2 | 2 | 4 | <i>CIL</i> X 33; 48**; 90; 258; 301; 8094; <i>AE</i> 1998, 399; <i>AE</i> 1995, 378 |
| 5 | 1 | 1 | 5 | <i>CIL</i> X 147; 192; 252; 324; <i>ICI</i> V 19; <i>SupplIt</i> (RI) V 26; <i>Paestum</i> 189 |
| 6 | 3 | 3 | 3 | <i>CIL</i> X 419; <i>EE</i> VIII 1,279; VIII 1, 841; VIII 1, 842; <i>ICI</i> V 49; <i>SupplIt</i> (L) III 15; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 89; III 1, 97; <i>AE</i> 1969/70, 179 |
| 7 | 2 | | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 76; 402; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 248; VIII 1, 843 |
| 8 | 5 | | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 116; 328; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 262; <i>ICI</i> V 35; <i>SupplIt</i> (RI) V 27; <i>AE</i> 1993, 545; <i>AE</i> 2008, 442 |
| 9 | | 1 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 419; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 284 |
| 10 | 2 | | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 24; 426; <i>SupplIt</i> (C) III 8; (L)III 10 |
| 11 | 1 | 1 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 62; 185; <i>Paestum</i> 188 |
| 12 | 1 | 1 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 121; 428; <i>AE</i> 1978, 258 |
| 13 | 4 | 1 | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 248; 360; 384; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 266; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 100; III 1, 248; <i>AE</i> 1933, 103 |
| 14 | 1 | | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 72; 83 |
| 15 | 3 | 1 | 3 | <i>CIL</i> X 86; 152; 257; 345; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 226; <i>AE</i> 1974, 294; <i>AE</i> 1999, 544 |
| 16 | 4 | | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 32; 127; 171; 318; 390; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 252 |
| 17 | 5 | 1 | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 12; 80; 118; 126; 170; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 265; ; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 226; <i>AE</i> 1998, 390 |
| 18 | 10 | | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 81; 143; 184; 262; 263; 294; 361; 369; 8103; <i>AE</i> 1978, 259; <i>AE</i> 1984, 264; <i>AE</i> 1984, 266 |
| 19 | 4 | 1 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 495; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 846; <i>SupplIt</i> (RI) V 18; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 106; III 1, 267; <i>AE</i> 1985, 308 |

C= Cosilinum

L = Locri

RI= Regium Iulium

* For obvious reasons, no Greek inscriptions have been included. For the sake of clarity only one reference is given for each single inscription: in the case of multiple references in *L'Année épigraphique* only the most recent is given.

** This inscription, considered as a fake by Mommsen has been convincingly 'rehabilitated' by Buonopane (2006–2007) 317–22.

| Age | Years | Months | Days | References |
|-----|-------|--------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 20 | 6 | 1 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 157; 174; 309; 479; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 226; III 1, 228 (?); <i>AE</i> 1985, 309; <i>AE</i> 1982, 221 |
| 21 | 3 | 3 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 26; 125; 391; 395; 456; 490; <i>AE</i> 1972, 146 |
| 22 | 5 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 60; 84; 313; 440; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 277 |
| 23 | 2 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 8083; <i>SupplIt</i> (L) III 12 |
| 24 | 4 | | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 55; 60; 410; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 264; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 286; <i>AE</i> 1985, 314 |
| 25 | 9 | 2 | | <i>CIL</i> X 67; 136; 247; 274; 427; 461; <i>SupplIt</i> (L) V 9; (RI) V 26; V 31 (gr.); V 32; <i>AE</i> 1998, 391 |
| 26 | 4 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 224; 8086; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 263; <i>AE</i> 1984, 272 |
| 27 | 5 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 29; 82; 256; <i>Paestum</i> 180; <i>AE</i> 2000, 374 |
| 28 | 2 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 374; 429 |
| 29 | | | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 10; 500 |
| 30 | 11 | 1 | 4 | <i>CIL</i> X 20; 63; 156; 178; 188; 251; 265; 267; 362; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 252; <i>Paestum</i> 184; <i>ICI</i> V 24; V 29; <i>AE</i> 1984, 268; <i>AE</i> 1984, 270; <i>AE</i> 1995, 373 |
| 31 | 2 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 268 (?); <i>Paestum</i> 184 |
| 32 | 1 | | 1 | <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 253; <i>AE</i> 1998, 399 |
| 33 | 2 | | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 117; 418; 489 |
| 34 | | | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 317 |
| 35 | 7 | 3 | | <i>CIL</i> X 30; 66; 71; 78; 193; 438; 8339d; <i>ICI</i> V 8; V 21; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 119 (?) |
| 36 | 4 | 1 | | <i>CIL</i> X 119; 254; 422; 8340c; <i>SupplIt</i> (C) III 5 |
| 37 | 2 | | | <i>SupplIt</i> (RI) V 21; V 24 |
| 38 | 1 | 1 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 155; 433; <i>AE</i> 1998, 387 |
| 39 | 2 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 87; <i>SupplIt</i> (L) III 14 |
| 40 | 9 | 4 | 7 | <i>CIL</i> X 37; 238; 260; 277; 347; 383; 440; 466; 8077; 8079; 8081; 8092; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 277; <i>SupplIt</i> (RI) V 23; V 27; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 177; <i>Paestum</i> 176; <i>AE</i> 1975, 280; <i>AE</i> 1984, 271; <i>AE</i> 1999, 541 |
| 41 | | 2 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 138; 181; 182 |
| 42 | 2 | | | <i>SupplIt</i> (L) III 18; <i>AE</i> 1966, 108 |
| 43 | | | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 372 |
| 44 | | | | |
| 45 | 2 | 1 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 375; 401; <i>ICI</i> V 25; <i>SupplIt</i> (L) III 5 |
| 46 | | 1 | | <i>CIL</i> X 37 |
| 47 | 2 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 13; 47 |
| 48 | | | | |
| 49 | | | | |

C= Cosilinum

L = Locri

RI= Regium Iulium

| Age | Years | Months | Days | References |
|-----|-------|--------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 50 | 10 | 2 | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 101; 270; 458; 462; 493; 8082; 8090; 8092; <i>ICI</i> V 23; V 26; <i>SupplIt</i> (L) III 3; <i>AE</i> 1975, 283; <i>AE</i> 1984, 267; <i>AE</i> 1985, 313 |
| 51 | | | 1 | <i>Paestum</i> 179 |
| 52 | 1 | 1 | | <i>ICI</i> V 30; <i>AE</i> 1913, 210 |
| 53 | 2 | | | <i>SupplIt</i> (RI) V 25; <i>AE</i> 1953, 545 |
| 54 | 1 | 1 | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 200; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 280; <i>ICI</i> V 30 |
| 55 | 4 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 79; 496; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 278; <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 114a |
| 56 | | | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 414 |
| 57 | 1 | | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 35; 70 |
| 58 | 2 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 85; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 849 |
| 59 | 1 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 282 |
| 60 | 6 | | 6 | <i>CIL</i> X 102; 128; 470; 499; 8078; 8080; <i>SupplIt</i> (L) III 7; (RI) V 33; <i>ICI</i> V 33; V 36; <i>AE</i> 1985, 310; <i>AE</i> 2003, 554 |
| 61 | 1 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 196 |
| 62 | 1 | | | <i>InscrIt</i> III 1, 113*** |
| 63 | 2 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 67; <i>AE</i> 1999, 541 |
| 64 | | 1 | | <i>AE</i> 1987, 316a |
| 65 | 3 | | 2 | <i>CIL</i> X 99; 8076; <i>EE</i> VIII 1, 251; <i>AE</i> 1975, 281; <i>AE</i> 1975, 282 |
| 66 | | | | |
| 67 | | | | |
| 68 | | | | |
| 69 | | | | |
| 70 | 4 | 1 | 3 | <i>CIL</i> X 9; 195; 244; 396; <i>ICI</i> V 15; V 28; <i>AE</i> 1985, 312; <i>AE</i> 1995, 376 |
| 71 | | | | |
| 72 | 2 | | | <i>CIL</i> X 397; 8091 |
| 73 | | | | |
| 74 | | | | |
| 75 | 4 | | 1 | <i>CIL</i> X 77; 397; 441; 469; <i>AE</i> 1995, 375 |
| 76 | | | | |
| 77 | | | | |
| 78 | | | | |
| 79 | | | | |
| 80 | 3 | 1 | | <i>CIL</i> X 21; 8339b; <i>SupplIt</i> (RI) V 23; <i>ICI</i> V 32 |

C= Cosilinum

L = Locri

RI= Regium Iulium

*** Age is only indirectly given: Insteia Pulla was taken from her home at age seven, and was her husband's wife for 55 years. See p. 108 on this remarkable inscription.

2.3. Key ages for the young

First and foremost, it should be stated that the life stage of childhood (0–15) is very well represented in our sample: with a total of 26 % it is far above the average for the Latin West (16 %) as well as for the regional study concerning Thugga (11–12 %).¹⁹

In their study, Laurence and Trifilò distinguish what they call key ages as they are encountered in the literary sources: three (earliest age at burial), five (starting point for labour and small tasks), seven (boys become *pueri* and girls *virgines*, minimum age of betrothal); twelve or fourteen (minimum age for marriage for girls and boys); fourteen to sixteen (*toga virilis* and dangerous period of puberty for boys); fifteen to nineteen (estimated age of first marriage for girls); eighteen-nineteen (start of military service and military tribunate), twenty (expectation of marriage for girls according to the Augustan marriage laws), twenty-five (boys are liberated from the *tutela* and expected to be married according to the Augustan marriage laws; they may start their political senatorial career).²⁰ Does the evidence of Regio III display emphasis on these key-ages?

Among the group of young people, ages three, seventeen/eighteen/nineteen and 25 are particularly well represented. A fragment from the third-century jurist Ulpian preserves the rule that a child younger than three years does not receive formal mourning but a marginal form, and Plutarch ascribes a law denying formal mourning for children younger than three to the second king Numa Pompilius.²¹ There is also some evidence in the alimentary schemes pointing to the age of three as a minimum age for receiving the *alimenta*.²² Also for numerical reasons, this age was considered important.²³ The rather equal sex ratio for this age testifies to the fact that young girls were valued as highly as young boys (see table 2).²⁴

strong emphasis on old age (above sixty), age indications upto the day someone lived are rare. See Harlow – Laurence (2011).

¹⁹ Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 36 (Latin West); Harlow – Laurence (2011) 20–1 (Thugga; differentiated between boys and girls, respectively 11 and 12 %).

²⁰ Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 28, drawing on research on life course by Harlow – Laurence (2002); Parkin (2010) and (2011); Laes (2011) 77–100.

²¹ *FIRA* 2, 536 (*non lugetur, sed sublugetur*); Plut. *Numa* 12.

²² *CIL* VIII 1641 (age 3–15 for boys and 3–13 for girls). See also *CJ* 8,46,9 (from the age of three, one cannot deny the fatherhood of an infant).

²³ Laes (2011) 81–3.

²⁴ This is also attested for the inscriptions of Rome (Laes (2007) 32–3) and for the large sample

The sudden increase of epitaphs for the ages of seventeen/eighteen may be connected with the fact that legislation on taking on political responsibilities in the *municipia* points to age eighteen. Also at this age men of physical soundness and mental fitness should be put on the roll of knights.²⁵ Tellingly, the sex ratio for ages seventeen/eighteen is 300 in favour of males: this is all the more significant since other rounded ages have a fairly equal sex ratio (see table 2). This is compelling evidence to state that the ages of seventeen/eighteen were sensed as important ages for the starting of a young male's adult life and political career and were therefore reflected in the epigraphic habit. Obviously, the coming of age for taking on political responsibilities in the *municipia* was considered more important than the enrolment as a knight, since not a single boy of this age in our data-set can be proved to be a member of the equestrian class. In the same way, I believe that the emphasis on age 25 is to be understood as an effect of age rounding, and not as the beginning of political career in the senate, which obviously was only related with a very tiny percentage of the populace.

Table 2: Sex ratio

| | Boys | Girls | Sex ratio |
|-------|------|-------|-----------|
| 3 y. | 8 | 5 | 160 |
| 13 y. | 5 | 3 | 160 |
| 17 y. | 6 | 2 | 300 |
| 18 y. | 9 | 3 | 300 |
| 25 y. | 4 | 7 | 57 |
| 30 y. | 8 | 8 | 100 |
| 35 y. | 7 | 3 | 233 |
| 40 y. | 12 | 7 | 171 |
| 50 y. | 10 | 3 | 333 |
| 60 y. | 6 | 6 | 100 |

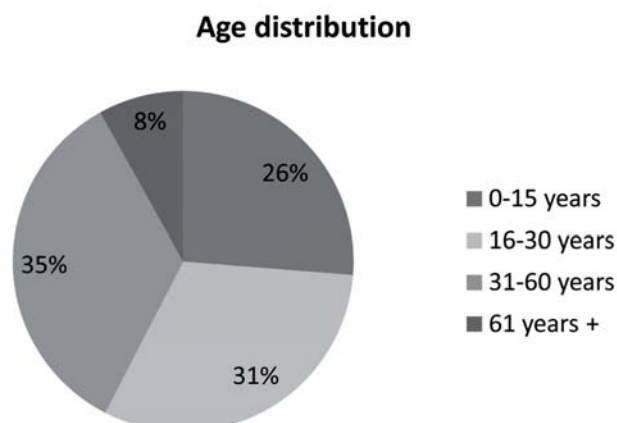
2.4. Key ages and age rounding for the elderly

According to Laurence and Trifilò, it is the middle age group (31–60) which is best represented in the inscriptions from the Latin West, both for man and women, with a percentage of about 30 %.²⁶ Table 3 confirms this percentage for the evidence of Regio III. A striking difference with the total sample by Laurence and Trifilò is the underrepresentation of the elderly in our sample: those aged 61–80 only represent 8 % (about 17 % in the sample by Laurence and Trifilò), and there is not a single instance of an epitaph for a person aged over eighty (about 10 % in

of the Latin West (Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 38).

²⁵ Harlow – Laurence (2002) 139–40; Laes (2004).

²⁶ Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 35–7.

Table 3: age distribution/ age categories

the sample by Laurence and Trifilò).²⁷ Even if one would include age sixty in the category of the elder, the percentage of 13 % would not reach the percentage of the total sample for the Latin West. This again points to the fact that the inscriptions from Regio III tend to stress young ages.

The inscriptions for those above age 25 are revealing for the discussion on age rounding and age awareness in the Roman Empire. In table 1, the multiples of ten are particularly well attested.

Age thirty does occur with literary authors as the end of youthful vigour, age forty might be symbolic for the attaining of full adult age, while age sixty is the traditional marker for the beginning of old age or *senectus*.²⁸ Also, the ages of sixty, seventy, and in some circumstances seventy-five appear as ages from which the members of the elite should be excused the expenses of public gifts or *munera*.²⁹

Scholars have pointed to the fact that it often depended on the medium as to whether people were inclined or used to indicate their exact ages.³⁰ The undeniable fact that people resorted to age rounding in epitaphs does not necessarily mean that they could not do better; it only indicates that it was part of custom to rather round the number of years someone lived (though it was not obligatory

²⁷ For African Thugga, the percentage of age category 61–80 is 31 % and 27 % (men and women); while the very old 80 + occupy 17 % and 15 %. See Harlow – Laurence (2011) 20–1. But the African epigraphical preference for the old has been known for a long time. See Szilagyí (1965) and (1966).

²⁸ Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 30–2. For old age, see Parkin (2003).

²⁹ *Dig.* 50,5,4. For a detailed account, see Parkin (2003) 129–37.

³⁰ Scheidel (1996).

either, since several inscriptions testify to quite the opposite). Also, age rounding does not imply that one is unaware of one's birthday: people may perfectly remember the day they were born (x days before or after market day, the proximity of a festival), while with time passing by, the exact age may have been forgotten. Table 1 indeed reveals a remarkable number of age indications including days for the inscriptions with multiples of fives (especially for ages thirty, forty, sixty and seventy): an unambiguous confirmation of the trend to combine age rounding with a full awareness of the day of birth.

In the category of the *senes* starting from age sixty, age rounding becomes increasingly important. With the exception of age 72, only multiples of five are attested from age 65 on. Moreover, 12 out of 41 inscriptions (29 %) are in all likelihood Christian.³¹ Since the collection of instances of age indication in table 1 contains 36 Christian cases in total, the emphasis of the Christian epitaphs on old age is marked: not less than 30 % of the Christian inscriptions in Regio III is dedicated to the elderly of sixty years or older.

Unfortunately, the sample from Regio III does not contain enough evidence of inscriptions precisising the time of death up to the hours one lived.³² There are fourteen instances of the *plus minus* formula. The strong presence of Christian evidence for the latter category (86 %) suggests that also in this region the formula was part of the Christian epigraphic habit.³³ Only three *plus minus* inscription do not refer to a rounded age: a confirmation of the link between this formula and the attainment of key ages.³⁴ The tendency for age rounding is even more outspoken in the Christian epitaphs, where not less than 68 % (28 out of 41) of the inscriptions mentions ages which are multiples of five.

3. Funerary inscriptions as gendered information

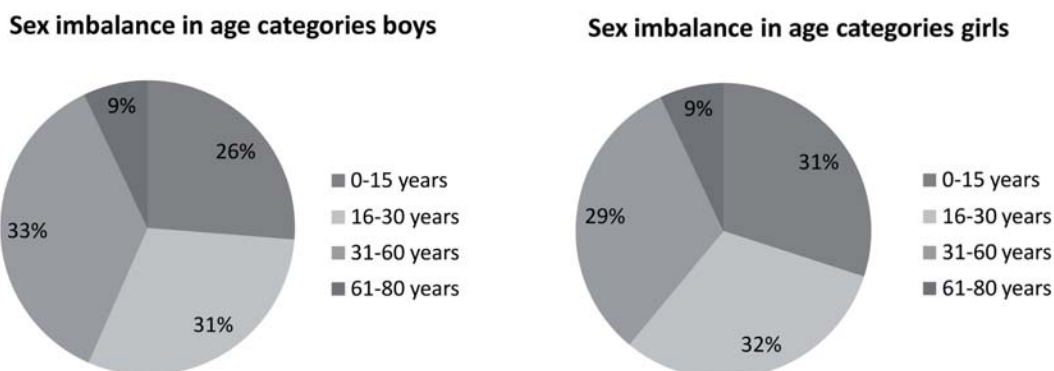
This paragraph studies the so-called sex ratio, which highlights the proportion of inscriptions for males versus inscriptions for females. Similar research has

³¹ Chronologically starting from age sixty, these include *CIL* X 470; 8078 and 8080; *ICI* V 33 and 36; *CIL* X 99; 8076; *ICI* V, 14; 15; 28 and 32.

³² Hours are only indicated in *CIL* X 101; 328; *Paestum* 188; 189.

³³ *Plus minus*: *CIL* X 37; 99; 101; 156; 178 and 8078; *ICI* V, 15; 19; 21; 23; 28; and 30; *AE* 1984, 264; *AE* 1999, 541. Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 24–5 on the late ancient and Christian use of the *plus minus* formula. Only *CIL* X 101 and 156 are not Christian.

³⁴ *CIL* X 37 (46 years); *ICI* V 30 (54 years); *AE* 1999, 541 (63 years). Laurence – Trifilò (2012) on *plus minus* and key ages.

Table 4: Sex imbalance in age categories

been set up earlier. Out of a sample of 20,578 epitaphs, K. Hopkins calculated an average sex ratio of 135 for Roman inscriptions.³⁵ Laurence and Trifilò mention a sex ratio of 147 for their sample of the Latin West.³⁶ A sample for Roman Italy revealed an overall preponderance of males, with average sex ratio of 180, though marked regional variations occur.³⁷ As mentioned above, the study of family inscriptions showed a stronger sex imbalance in favour of men (cf. note 7). Thirteen seems to be a crucial age for the whole of Italy. The sex ratio drops to 88: an indication of the importance of this age for girls who were by then considered as marriageable.

For my sample of Regio III, the average sex ration is 173, a number which comes very near the average for Roman Italy. As appears from table 4, there are no significant variations when we compare age categories for men and women.³⁸ The relatively small numbers per age do not allow for a more nuanced analysis, but if we only include these ages with significant attestations, some interesting patterns appear (see table 2). In fact, the sex imbalance seems to have been less outspoken for rounded ages as thirty and sixty; the balance is even turning in favour of women at age 25. For their sample of the Latin West, Laurence and Trifilò have pointed out that women are indeed more strongly represented at the age of 25 and thirty.³⁹ Also for young infants the imbalance does not seem to be that

³⁵ Hopkins (1966–1967) 261.

³⁶ Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 26.

³⁷ McWilliam (2001) 79 (average sex ratio); 83 (numbers by region). The sample of McWilliam does not include Regio III.

³⁸ As there appear no significant differences for Thugga. See Harlow – Laurence (2011) 20–1.

³⁹ Laurence – Trifilò (2012) 30–1. However, the gender peak in favour of men at age sixty is not confirmed in our source material.

strong as it is for older ages – again a fact which is confirmed by the much larger collection of epitaphs of Rome.⁴⁰

4. Individual instances and case stories

4.1. Age terminology

The inscriptions of Regio III do not offer sufficient material to study terminology of age.⁴¹ There is however one epitaph from Velia in which the use of *adulescens* is strange when compared to the literary sources:

EE VIII 1, 284

*M() E() / Lucretius / adulesce(n)s / amantissimus / vixit ann(os) VIII
/ m(ensem) I Spufius / Campanus alum/no b(ene) m(erenti).*

Adulescens usually refers to ages fifteen to thirty, though the term was never used that strictly. In practice, it could be applied to anyone living in the vigour of his youth, and the distinction with *iuvenis* was not always that sharp.⁴² However, the use of the term for a nine-years-old child is remarkable; there are only two other attestations pointing to ages under fifteen, one of which is a late ancient Christian example. The example from Velia thus turns out to be the youngest child known as an *adulescens* in the pagan material.⁴³

⁴⁰ Laes (2007) 32–3.

⁴¹ Age terminology is not treated in Laurence – Trifilò (2012) or Harlow – Laurence (2011). For the inscriptions of Rome, see Laes (2007) 33–6.

⁴² On *adulescens* and *iuvenis*, see Eyben (1977) 37–40 and Laes – Strubbe (2008) 36–7; 47. Caesar is called *adulescens* by Suetonius at the age of 34: Suet. *Caes.* 9,3.

⁴³ *CIL XII 2406; ILCV 1747; RICG XV 278* (Vicus Augusti, Gallia Narbonensis): *Hic requiescit in pace / bon(a)e memoriae adolescens / i(n)tegre carnis nomine Leu/domari qui vixit annus (sic) / numero IIII et dies VIII / obiit in Chr(ist)o // XV K(alendas) Ma(r)tias(?) // sex/sies post con(sulatum) Basili vv(iri) / c(larissimi) CSS cons(ulis)*. For the other pagan example, see *ILAlg I 2616* (Madaurus, Africa Proconsularis): *[Dis Mani]b(us) sac(rum) / [Mattius] Matti Ho/[nora]tiani fili/[us Ho]noratus / [a prima] adules/[centi]a eximius / [since]rus pius / [vix(it) an(nis)] XIII dieb(us) XXX / [h(ic) s(itus) e(st) o(ssa)] t(ibi) b(ene) q(uiescant)*.

4.2. Marriage at (very) early age

Age at first marriage and duration of marriage as represented on tombstones have been the subject of databases and separate studies, both before and after the information era. The evidence suggests an average age of first marriage in the late teens for women and somewhat over 25 for men.⁴⁴ Both in the case of marriages at early age and exceptionally long marriages, Lucania and Bruttium have some interesting cases to offer.

A first instance is an inscription from Forum Popillii, dating from the reign of Emperor Claudius (41–54) or perhaps somewhat earlier, on a monument which is described by the enthusiastic editor as one of the most important of the Roman Empire:⁴⁵

InscrIt 3, 1, 113; *ILS* 9390; *AE* 1910, 191
C(aio) Utiano C(ai) f(ilio) Pom(ptina) Rufo / Latiniano IIIvir(o) i(ure) d(icundo) iter(um) / Insteia M(arci) f(ilia) Polla sacerdos Iuliae / Augustae Volceis et Atinae / optimo et indulgentissimo viro, qui / eam pupillam annorum VII in domum (sic) / receptam per annos LV cum summo / honore uxorem habuit. / hunc decuriones Volceiani inpensa (sic) / publica funerandum et statua eque/stri honorandum censuerunt. / Latiniae M(arci) f(iliae) Posillae [sor]ori Latiniani.

This is an intriguing instance of early betrothal.⁴⁶ At age seven, merely a little girl (*pupilla*) Insteia Polla was brought into the house of C. Utianus Rufus Latinianus, a member of the *gens Latiniana* who had been adopted into the *gens Utiana*. She later became a priest of Iulia Augusta, the deified Livia, wife of Augustus. The great prestige of the family is apparent from the fact that her husband, who is honoured for having treated his wife with all due respects in a marriage which lasted for 55 years, is granted a funeral on public expenses as well as an equestrian statue on the costs of the *decuriones* of Volci. Also his sister is commemorated with due honours.

⁴⁴ Harkness (1896); Shaw (2002) for data sets. The detail of the discussion on age at first marriage is aptly summarised by Scheidel (2007).

⁴⁵ "Titulum propter et varia quae enuntiat et ornatus elegantiam et mirum monumenti decus inter sepulcrales praecipuos Romanarum civitatum plane habeo".

⁴⁶ For ages of betrothal, see Harlow – Laurence (2002) 60–1; Harlow – Laurence (2011) 60 note 29 (also referring to previous scholarship).

Marriage at prepuberal age has been the subject of considerable scholarly attention and debate, but it has to be pointed out that this inscription only refers to bringing the seven-year-old girl into the house of her future husband. She may have been kept there and educated for several years before the marriage was actually contracted or sexually consummated. A famous instance of another seven-year old is the freedwoman Aurelia Philemation from Rome, who lived for forty years with her husband and *collibertus* Philemation. At age seven, he is said to have taken her in his arms (*septem me naatam / annorum gremio / ipse recepit*), the same scenario as the taking into the house which is mentioned in the inscription from Forum Popilii.⁴⁷ In both cases, nothing is said about the age of the husband.

An inscription from Potentia unambiguously refers to actual marriage at age nine:

EE VIII 1, 263

D(is) M(anibus) // Flabi(a)e Bervi/aneni(?) co(n)iugi qui (sic) / vixit [an]nis XXVI / P(ublius) Oc[ci]us Iu[li]a[nu]s CV[...]OV/T an(n)is XVII / b(ene) m(erenti).

In an epitaph from the same town, marriage with a ten-year-old girl is attested. When she died at age 28, she is commemorated by her husband and her daughter:

CIL X 155:

D(is) M(anibus) / Cisiae Pollae quae bixit ann(os) / XXXVIII me(n) s(es) VIII Figelius / Atimetus co(n)iugi cum quo vixit / a(nnos) XXVII m(enses) XI et Figellia / Procula filia matri b(ene) m(erenti).

And yet another instance from Tegianum testifies to marriage at age thirteen (though the bride was nearly fourteen when marrying). Here, the minimum legal age for marriage of twelve for girls is respected:

CIL X 317; InscrIt III 1, 255

D(is) M(anibus) / Tegeanensi Pri/mae quae vixit / ann(os) XXXVIII m(enses) VII d(ies) / XII M(arcus) Teg(eanensis) Cresce/ns con(iugi) dulcissi/mae cum qua vix(it) / ann(os) XX men(ses) VIII / b(ene) m(erenti) fec(it).

⁴⁷ *CIL I 1221.*

Unfortunately, not a single inscription from Regio III informs us on questions as age difference between men and wife or the first age of becoming a mother. In two joint epitaphs for a husband and his wife, who died respectively at the age of sixty and forty, we cannot possibly know that the age gap between the two actually was twenty years. One could have died long before the other; the stones could have been erected after the second had died.⁴⁸

When people recorded the duration of their marriage, they preferred to mention long duration, and they did certainly not always resort to rounding. Hence, the evidence from Regio III contains six instances of marriages lasting for more than 35 years.⁴⁹ A quite remarkable instance is a commemoration of marriage from Forum Popillii where the duration is detailed upto the hour.

InscrIt III 1, 117

*D(is) M(anibus) / D(ecimo) Dinnio Arisco/ni Insteia Lante/nusa co(n)
iugi b(ene) / m(erenti) f(ecit) qui sene (sic) ullo d/olo meo [exanima]
tus est / in aeo loco viribus u/mnis eximeretur con (sic) q(uo) v(ixit)
a(nnos) XVIII m(enses) V d(ies) XVII / h(oras) XII.*

Here, an emendation by H. Solin has taken away the suggestion that Insteia Lantenus's husband would have died by an accident or a murder for which she in one way or another would have to be blamed. In fact, the epigraphical hapax *[exanima]tus* should be read as *[huma]tus*, while *sene ullo dolo meo* has to be understood as *sine dolo malo*, a very usual formula.⁵⁰

5. Conclusions

The data set of age inscriptions from Lucania and Bruttium has confirmed some well-known patterns which were discovered in the large sample for the corpus of inscriptions from the Latin West: sex imbalance in favour of males, strong representation of young people, high valuation of female infants, preference for age rounding at more advanced age, a particular stress on key ages both for the young

⁴⁸ See *CIL* X 8079 and 8080. For other examples, see *SupplIt* (RI) V 23 (son dies at age forty, mother at age eighty); V 26 (daughter dies at age five, mother at age twenty-five); V 27 (son dies at age eight, mother at age forty).

⁴⁹ *CIL* X 365 (35 years); 300 (forty years); 304 (42 years); 452 (53 years); *InscrIt* III 1, 199 (*contubernium* lasting for 52 years); *SupplIt* (C) III 5 (65 years).

⁵⁰ Solin (1981) 37. For *sine dolo malo*, see *ThLL* V, 1, c. 1863, l. 42–62.

and the elderly. Future studies may scrutinise other regions to see in how far they conformed to or differed from this pattern; the public world of commemorative norms might be revealing about the way certain regions fit into the Romanised pattern, or stick to specific local fashion.

Also, this study has revealed significant differences which elicit further research questions. The particular attention to young male adults aged seventeen to nineteen points to an emphasis on the municipal elite and the beginning of a political career. Also, the overall importance of children might indicate a typical pattern of stressing grief in the cases of untimely death. The taking into account of the Christian epitaphs has provoked new questions on the use of the *plus minus* formula, as well as on the typically Christian stress on advanced age.⁵¹

Lastly, the exhaustive approach for one particular region has revealed at least a remarkable instance of the used of the age term *adulescens*, a parallel for the well-known Philemation inscription from Rome, as well as some case stories on early marriage or exceptionally long lasting marriage. "Approaching the study of age commemoration (...) allows us to gain a precious insight into the world of the living, as well as the dead".⁵² It is a path well worth continuing; in fact, research on inscriptions and the human life course is in the new beginning of a most promising phase.

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⁵¹ For such studies, Nordberg (1963) will be a valuable starting point.

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THE *HIRPI SORANI* AND THE WOLF CULTS OF CENTRAL ITALY

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The impressive ridge of Mt. Soracte, the only mountain in the lower Tiber valley, is situated 45 kilometres north of Rome, its highest peak being 691 metres above sea level (about 500 metres higher than its surroundings). It was known as the site of the cult practised by priests called Hirpi Sorani. The region around about was inhabited by the Faliscans, a tribe who spoke a language related to Latin. Politically and culturally the Faliscans were closely connected with the Etruscans until the 5th century BCE, when the expanding city-state of Rome occupied their territory. In this paper I discuss the cult of the Hirpi Sorani, comparing it with other wolf cults of central Italy, analysing the common elements of these cults, and suggesting that the cults have a common origin.

The earliest literary source which mentions the cult of the Hirpi Sorani is Virgil's *Aeneid*.¹ Strabo gives a more detailed description in his *Geographia* (written between 7 BCE and 23 CE).² Other valuable sources are Pliny the El-

¹ Verg. *Aen.* 11,784–788: (- -) *superos Arruns sic voce precatur: / "summe deum, sancti custos Soractis Apollo, / quem primi colimus, cui pineus ardor acervo / pascitur, et medium freti pietate per ignem / cultores multa premimus vestigia pruna"* "Arruns (- -) prayed aloud, like this, to heaven: 'Highest of gods, Apollo, guardian of holy Soracte, whose chief followers are we for whom the blaze of the pine-wood fire is fed, and who as worshippers, confident in our faith, plant our steps on deep embers among the flames.'" (translated by A. S. Kline)

² Strabo 5,226: ἥς τέμενός ἐστιν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ θαυμαστὴν ἱεροποιίαν ἔχον· γυμνοῖς γὰρ ποσὶ διεξίασιν ἀνθρακίαν καὶ σποδιὰν μεγάλην οἱ κατεχόμενοι ὑπὸ τῆς δαίμονος ταύτης ἀπαθεῖς· καὶ συνέρχεται πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων ἅμα τῆς τε πανηγύρεως χάριν, ἢ συντελεῖται κατ' ἔτος, καὶ τῆς λεχθείσης θεάς. "Her sacred precinct is in the place; and it has remarkable ceremonies, for those who are possessed by this goddess walk with bare feet through a great heap of embers and ashes without suffering; as a multitude of people come together at the same time, for the sake not only of attending the festal assembly, which is held here every year, but also of seeing the aforesaid sight." (translated by H. L. Jones)

der (about 70 CE),³ Silius Italicus (late 1st century),⁴ Solinus (3rd or 4th century, strongly leaning on Pliny)⁵ and Servius (5th century).⁶ The oldest epigraphical sources date back to the 1st century BCE.

The cult was practised once a year, but no author mentions the exact date of the ritual.⁷ Pliny and Solinus write that it was practised by certain families which were exempt from military service because of their religious responsibilities. Ac-

³ Plin. nat. 7,19: *Haud procul urbe Roma in Faliscorum agro familiae sunt paucae quae vocantur Hirpi. Hae sacrificio annuo, quod fit ad montem Soractem Apollini, super ambustam ligni struem ambulantes non aduruntur et ob id perpetuo senatus consulto militiae omniumque aliorum munerum vacationem habent.* "There are a few families in the Faliscan territory, not far from the city of Rome, named the Hirpi, which at the yearly sacrifice to Apollo performed on Mount Soracte walk over a charred pile of logs without being scorched, and who consequently enjoy under a perpetual decree of the senate exemption from military service and all other burdens." (translated by H. Rackham)

⁴ Sil. 5,175–183: *Tum Soracte satum, praestantem corpore et armis, / Aequanum noscens, patrio cui ritus in arvo, / cum pius Arcitenens accensis gaudet acervis, / exta ter innocuos laetum portare per ignes, / "Sic in Apollinea semper vestigia pruna / inviolata teras victorque vaporis ad aras / dona serenato referas sollemnia Phoebo: / concipe" ait "dignum factis, Aequane, furorem / vulneribusque tuis. (- -)* "Next he recognized Aequanus, a son of Mount Soracte, a splendid figure in splendid armour: in his native land it was his task to carry the offerings thrice in triumph over harmless fires, at the time when Archer, the loving son, takes pleasure in the blazing piles. 'Aequanus,' cried the general, 'fill your heart with wrath that suits your prowess and your wounds; and then may you ever tread unhurt over Apollo's fire, and conquer the flame, and carry the customary offerings to the altar, while Phoebus smiles.' " (translated by J. D. Duff)

⁵ Sol 2,26: *Memorabilibus inclutum et insigniter per omnium vulgatum ora, quod perpaucae familiae sunt in agro Faliscorum quos Hirpos vocant. Hi sacrificium annuum ad Soractis montem Apollini faciunt; ad operantes gesticulationibus religiosis impune exultant ardentibus lignorum struibus, in honorem divinae rei flammis parentibus. Cuius devotionis mysterium munificentia senatus honorata Hirpis perpetuo consulto omnium munerum vacationem dedit.* "It is worth remembering and is known by everyone, that there are a few families in the Faliscan territory that are called *Hirpi*. They perform a yearly sacrifice to Apollo on Mount Soracte. While performing their religious acts they jump unscathed on flaming piles of wood in honor of the divinity that controls the flames. Because of their devotion to the mystery, the senate has generously honored the *Hirpi* with perpetual exemption from all official duties." (translated by the author)

⁶ Serv. Aen. 11,785. See the text below in the note 33.

⁷ Plin. nat. 7,19; Sol. 2,26; Strabo 5,226. E. Marbach ("Soranus", *RE* III A.1 [1929] 1131) believes that the cult was probably practiced in the winter to create the contrast between the cold environment and the purifying fire.

ording to Solinus, this exemption was an honour.⁸ However, this opinion is not accepted by G. Piccaluga, who regards the exemption as a precaution, because the Romans found priesthoods with a direct connection to the divinities too suspicious and strange.⁹

Identification of the families of the Hirpi Sorani is not uncontroversial. Pliny and Solinus refer to certain families that live in the Faliscan region, but they do not explicitly say that they were Faliscans. Instead, this definition is made by Strabo, Porphyrio and Vibius Sequester.¹⁰ Servius, on the other hand, writes that Mt. Soracte was located in the territory of the Hirpini, who also practised the ritual.¹¹ His view is probably mistaken and he may have been misled by the similarity of the names, as will be shown below. Even though the priesthood consisted of members of only certain families, the whole community joined in the ritual. Strabo describes a multitude of people gathering to attend the ritual.¹²

The descriptions of the ritual given by Pliny the Elder, Solinus and Strabo are very similar. First, a pile of wood had to be burned down to glowing embers. Virgil is the only author who describes the wood more explicitly as pine,¹³ which however can be due to poetic or metric reasons.

Then the priests walked barefoot across the embers without feeling any pain. Silius Italicus writes that the priests performed their walk three times, carrying offerings to the god. Servius too speaks in the plural about the walks.¹⁴ While all the other sources write about "taking steps" or "walking", Solinus describes the priests' motion as "leaping" (*exultant*).¹⁵ The word *exultare* often includes a connotation of rejoicing.¹⁶ The atmosphere of the ritual seems in fact to have been joyful rather than frightening. Silius Italicus describes Apollo being happy about the blazing piles of wood and the offerings.¹⁷

⁸ For further examples of an exemption as a reward, see e.g. Liv. 23,20; 27,38.

⁹ G. Piccaluga, "I Marsi e gli Hirpi", in P. Xella (ed.), *Magia. Studi di Storia delle Religioni in Memoria di Raffaella Garosi*, Roma 1976, 211–6 and 228. Livy (27,10) relates an example where the exclusion from official duties was used as a communal punishment by the Romans.

¹⁰ Strabo 5,226; Porph. *Hor. carm.* 1,9; Vib.Seq. *geogr.* 367.

¹¹ Serv. *Aen.* 11,785; 11,787.

¹² Strabo 5,226. Cf. Sil. 5,175–176.

¹³ Verg. *Aen.* 11,786.

¹⁴ Sil. 5,178; Serv. *Aen.* 11,785.

¹⁵ Sol. 2,26.

¹⁶ C. T. Lewis – C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1879, s.v. *exulto*.

¹⁷ Sil. 5,178; 5,182. Also the word *pascitur* used by Virgil (*Aen.* 11,787) has a connotation of

All these authors point out that the priests were able to perform the ritual without burning their feet.¹⁸ The explanation given by Varro, transmitted by Servius, is that the priests used medicated ointment to moisturize their soles,¹⁹ while Silius Italicus refers to some kind of trance that protected the priests.²⁰ Virgil too says that the priests piously put their trust in the god while walking across the embers.²¹

On the basis of their name, the Hirpi Sorani were "the wolves of Soranus", *hirpus* being the Faliscan (or Sabellic, as G. Bakkum suggests)²² equivalent for Latin *lupus*²³ and *Soranus* the name of the god worshipped in the area.²⁴ It is less plausible to see *Soranus* as an adjective derived either from the Etruscan family name *Sora* or the homonymous Volscan town. Both Pliny and Solinus speak about priest families in the plural, which seems to rule out a connection with one particular family. Nor does the Volscan town of Sora, situated 100 kilometres eastwards, seem to have anything to do with the cult. There doubtless is a connection between the names of *Soracte* and *Soranus*. However, the derivation of *Soranus* directly from the name of the mountain (**Sorāct-nus*), as suggested by W. Deecke,²⁵ is linguistically unacceptable.²⁶

Two inscriptions have been found in the region of Mt. Soracte which contain the name of the god, one at the northern foot of the mountain, near the city of Falerii (now Civit  Castellana),²⁷ the other on the peak.²⁸ In both cases the dedi-

enjoyment.

¹⁸ Plin. *nat.* 7,19; Sil. 5,179–181; Sol. 2,26; Strabo 5,226.

¹⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 11,787.

²⁰ Sil. 5,182–183.

²¹ Verg. *Aen.* 11,787–788.

²² G. C. L. M. Bakkum, *The Latin Dialect of the Ager Faliscus*, Amsterdam 2009, 98.

²³ Fest. *p.* 106M; Strabo 5,226; Serv. *Aen.* 11,785. This is accepted also by e.g. A. Walde – J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches W rterbuch*, I–II, Heidelberg 1938, 650, s.v. *hircus*.

²⁴ Cf. W. F. Otto, "Hirpi Sorani", *RE* VIII.2 (1913) 1935.

²⁵ W. Deecke, *Die Falisker. Eine Geschichtlich-Sprachliche Untersuchung*, Strassburg 1888, 97.

²⁶ Otto (above n. 24) 1935; M. Fluss, "Soracte", *RE* III A.1 (1929) 1112.

²⁷ *CIL* XI 7485 = *ILS* 4034: *C. Varius Hermes | Sancto Sorano | Apollini pro sal(ute) sua* "Gaius Varius Hermes to the sacred Apollo Soranus for his own health (- -)" (translated by the author)

²⁸ I. Di Stefano Manzella, "Nuova dedica a Soranus Apollo e altre iscrizioni dal Soratte

cation is made to *Apollo Soranus*. In the literary texts the god is usually called Apollo without any epithet.²⁹ On the other hand, Servius identifies Soranus with Dis, the Roman god of the Underworld and death;³⁰ this is the only literary reference to a god called Soranus in Italy. In addition to the dedications mentioned above, the only epigraphical source on Soranus has been found in Alburnus Maior in Dacia.³¹ Ultimately, the name of the god (and thus the name of the mountain) is probably to be connected with *Śuri*, the Etruscan god of purification and prophecies (which will be discussed in detail below), as suggested by G. Colonna.³²

Servius is the best source regarding the origin of the cult and the reason why the priests were considered wolves. He says: "Mount Soracte is located in the territory of the Hirpini next to Via Flaminia. It was on this mountain that a sacrifice to *Dis Pater* was once performed – because it is devoted to chthonic deities – as wolves suddenly appeared and plundered the entrails from the fire. The shepherds chased the wolves for a long time, until they arrived at a cave emanating pestilential gases that killed people standing nearby. The reason for the emergence of this plague was that they had chased the wolves. They received a message that they could calm it down by imitating wolves; that means, living by plundering. They did so, and since then these people have been called *Hirpi Sorani*."³³

(AE 1992, 594)", *MEFRA* 104 (1992) 159: *Sorano | Apollini | d(onum) d(edit) | Ti. Caei(us) Atim[etus]* "To Apollo Soranus dedicated by Ti(berius) Caei(us) Atim[etus]". (translated by the author)

²⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 11,785–788; Plin. *nat.* 7,19; Sil. 5,175–181; Sol. 2,26.

³⁰ Serv. *Aen.* 11,785. Strabo (5,226) calls the god *Feronia*. This is probably a misunderstanding due to a nearby town called *Lucus Feroniae*, as suggested by Marbach (above n. 7) 1133. Feronia was known as a goddess of harvest and waters, of Sabine origin. Compared with the other known cult places of Feronia, the barren ridge of Mt. Soracte does not seem to fit in the picture. Cf. Plin. *nat.* 3,51; Liv. 26,11; Sil. 13,84 speaking about *lucus Feroniae*, "a grove of Feronia"; M. Di Fazio, "Feronia. The Role of an Italic Goddess in the Process of Integration of Cultures in Republican Italy", in S. T. Roselaar (ed.), *Processes of Integration and Identity Formation in the Roman Republic*, Leiden 2012, 337–42.

³¹ AE 1990, 832 = *ILD* 364: *Soran[o] / posui[t k(astellum)] / An/si[s] / v(otum) l(ibens) [m(erito)]*. Cf. S. Nemeti, "Bindus-Neptus and Ianus Geminus at Alburnus Maior (Dacia)", *SHHA* 22 (2004) 98.

³² In Faliscan, as in Latin, the suffix *-nus* was commonly used in the derivation of the names of divinities (cf. *silva* → *Silvanus*, *summa* → *Summanus*). According to G. Colonna ("Novità sui culti di Pyrgi", *RPAA* 57 [1985] 76 n. 58) the Faliscan *Soranus* was derived from the Etruscan *Śuri* (→ **Suranus* → *Soranus*). Cf. A. Cherici, "Suri", *LIMC* VII.1, Zürich 1994, 823–4.

³³ Serv. *Aen.* 11,785: *Soractis mons est Hirpinorum in Flaminia conlocatus. In hoc autem*



Figs. 1, 2: Etruscan late black-figure neck-amphora, c. 500 BCE, height 20,6 cm. Private collection, Basel. (From Bloesch [ed.] [below n. 39])

The legend might indicate that the wolf was considered to be a sacred animal and its harassment some kind of taboo in the archaic religion of the Faliscans.³⁴ The wolf could have been regarded as a messenger from the divinities, as it was among the Romans.³⁵ In Rome the wolf was mostly associated with Mars, whereas in Greece wolves carried annunciations of Apollo.³⁶

monte cum aliquando Diti patri sacrum persolveretur – nam diis manibus consecratus est – subito venientes lupi ex ta de igni rapuerunt, quos cum diu pastores sequerentur, delati sunt ad quandam speluncam, halitum ex se pestiferum emittentem, adeo ut iuxta stantes necaret: et exinde est orta pestilentia, quia fuerant lupos secuti. De qua responsum est, posse eam sedari, si lupos imitarentur, id est rapto viverent. Quod postquam factum est, dicti sunt ipsi populi Hirpi Sorani. (translated by the author)

³⁴ A. Mastrocinque, "Influenze delfiche su Soranus Apollo, dio dei Falisci", in A. Naso (ed.), *Stranieri e non cittadini nei santuari greci*, Firenze 2006, 90.

³⁵ E.g. Liv. 3,29,9; 33,26,9; Cass. Dio 39,20,2; 40,17,1. Cf. J. Trinquier, "Les loups sont entrés dans la ville: de la peur du loup à la hantise de la cite ensauvagée", in M.-C. Charpentier (ed.), *Les espaces du sauvage dans la monde antique. Colloque Besançon, 4-5 mai 2000, organisé par l'ISTA*, Besançon 2004, 85–118.

³⁶ Paus. 2,19,4; 10,6,2; 10,14,7; Ael. nat. 12,40.

As to the priests living like wolves, E. Marbach suggests that "living by plundering" (*id est rapto viverent*) is an explanation added by Servius, not an element of the original cult.³⁷ The priests were most probably considered to be wolves spiritually or symbolically, because there is no evidence of any masks or articles of clothing that would have made them look like wolves. Virgil uses the wolf connotation in the *Aeneid* when he describes Arruns (who was mentioned as being from Soracte) fleeing out of sight to pathless mountains like a wolf after killing a shepherd or an ox.³⁸

On a small Etruscan neck-amphora dating from about 500 BCE (Figs. 1, 2) there are similar elements to those in the birth legend of Hirpi Sorani narrated by Servius. On the amphora there are two priests performing a sacrifice on an altar. On one side there are canines running back and forth on inclined shelves of another altar. The scene is interpreted as representing a plundering of sacrificial flesh.³⁹ However, as the time span between the amphora and Servius is almost a millennium, there must be some doubt about any connection of the painting with the story.

The exact location of the cult site on Mt. Soracte is unknown. There are good reasons to believe that the ritual was performed on the highest peak (S. Silvestro) of the mountain. One of the dedications to *Apollo Soranus* was found right there during maintenance work on the church of S. Silvestro in 1980.⁴⁰ In Christian legends the mountain is associated with St. Sylvester, who hid in the caves of Mt. Soracte during the persecutions of the early 4th century. The emperor Constantine, after his conversion to Christianity, ordered a church dedicated to Sylvester to be built on the top of the mountain.⁴¹ This place could be one of many examples in which a Christian church is a continuation of ancient religious practices.

For Christians, caves did not have the same sort of chthonic associations as they did for other Romans, who regarded them as passages to the Underworld. The appearance of caves in both the pagan and the Christian legend may be pure

³⁷ Marbach (above n. 7) 1131. Cf. above n. 33.

³⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 11,806–811.

³⁹ H. Bloesch (ed.), *Das Tier in der Antike*, Zürich 1974, 54 n. 325; S. Bruni, "Nugae de Etruscorum fabulis", *Ostraka* 11 (2002) 12–24.

⁴⁰ Di Stefano Manzella (above n. 28) 159.

⁴¹ M. Andreussi, "Soratte", *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* IV (1988) 947. According to the legend, the emperor Constantine recovered from leprosy after having met Sylvester (later Pope Sylvester I, 314–335).

coincidence. Mt. Soracte is a limestone ridge where there are dozens of caves. However, no indication of caves (or ponds) exhaling mephitic, lethal gases, as described by Pliny, Vitruvius and Servius,⁴² can be found. There is, however, a spring with water rich in iron, called *Acqua Forte*, about five kilometres north of Mt. Soracte. This is often considered to be the origin of the stories about Soracte's lethal gases.⁴³

Silius Italicus is the only one who mentions that the Hirpi Sorani carried offerings,⁴⁴ possibly because a sacrifice was so self-evident in ancient rituals that any mention of it would have been unnecessary. The sacrifice seems not to have been the most important part of the ritual on Mt. Soracte. Instead, the climax of the cult was the walk across the glowing embers.

Fire was widely recognized as a purifying element in the ancient world.⁴⁵ However, the fire in the ritual of the Hirpi Sorani cannot be considered as the primal force of purification, only its visible symbol. The deeper significance of the walk can be found in the nature of the god that was worshipped: Soranus, god of the Underworld and death.

The name of the priesthood and the epigraphical dedications indicate that the ritual was originally devoted to Soranus. However, as Colonna points out, the identification of Soranus with Greek Apollo was made by the Faliscans as early as the 5th century BCE.⁴⁶ According to A. Mastrocinque, the Faliscan cult was probably seen as parallel to the cult of Apollo in Delphi in the early 4th century, during the siege of Veii, already.⁴⁷ There certainly are many parallels between Mt.

⁴² Plin. *nat.* 2,207; Vitruv. 8,3,17; Serv. *Aen.* 11,785. Cf. Plin. *nat.* 31,27 on a mephitic pond at Mt. Soracte.

⁴³ E.g. A. Nibby, *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta de' Dintorni di Roma III*, Roma 1837, 112; G. Dennis, *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, London 1837,188; Mastrocinque (above n. 34) 88.

⁴⁴ Sil. 5,181.

⁴⁵ E.g. Strabo (12,537) gives us a description about the cult of Artemis Perasia in Cappadocia, where the priests walk through fire in order to purify their community. See J. J. Preston, "Purification", *The Encyclopedia of Religion XII*, New York 1987, 95–6.

⁴⁶ G. Colonna, "Apollon, les Étrusques et Lipara", *MEFRA* 96 (1984) 572; G. Colonna, "Noti preliminari sui culti del santuario di Portonaccio a Veio", *Scienze dell'antichità* 1 (1987) 433. Cf. D. F. Maras, "Note in margine al *CIE* II, 1, 5", *SE* 73 (2007) 246–7.

⁴⁷ Mastrocinque (above n. 34) 85–97.

Soracte and Delphi (references to mephitic caves,⁴⁸ myths about guiding wolves⁴⁹ and the connection of Apollo with wolves) and it is undeniable that Apollo was held in great respect by the Faliscans.⁵⁰ However, Greek influences should not be overestimated at the expense of Italic roots, especially as some of the parallels mentioned above (wolves, caves) can be found in other cults of central Italy, too.

We should therefore rather compare the role of Soranus with Etruscan Śuri. Colonna's identification of Śuri with Soranus seems plausible.⁵¹ Even though no illustrations of Śuri exist, epigraphical evidence gives a good idea of the nature of the god. Śuri was an Underworld god who had both purifying and oracular powers.⁵² Through Roman and Hellenic influences Śuri was assimilated with Apollo in the 4th century BCE and was called *Aplu*.⁵³ Besides the Apollonic nature, Śuri had its original chthonic side, which became emphasized in the Faliscan counterpart Soranus.⁵⁴ This chthonic aspect of Soranus–Śuri explains Servius' reference to Dis as the god worshipped in the ritual of Mt. Soracte.

As Servius mentions in the birth legend of the Hirpi Sorani,⁵⁵ the cult was a purification ritual. The purification was symbolized by the glowing embers – and the priests' miraculous walk across them, unscathed – and it was provided by the forces of the Underworld. The Hirpi Sorani priests, symbolically representing wolves, walked through the fire to the world of death and back, thus performing a purifying ritual for the whole community.⁵⁶

The Hirpi Sorani and the inhabitants of the region of Mt. Soracte were mistaken for the Hirpini by Servius, as mentioned above. The Hirpini, whose name is also derived from the word *hirpus* were a Samnite tribe, living in the Apennine

⁴⁸ Serv. *Aen.* 11,785. E.g. Strabo 9,419; Cic. *div.* 1,79; Plin. *nat.* 2,208.

⁴⁹ Serv. *Aen.* 11,785. Paus. 10,6,2; 10,14,7; Ael. *nat.* 12, 40. Cf. the guiding wolf among the Hirpini, Strabo 5,250; Fest. *p.* 106M.

⁵⁰ G. Colonna, *Santuari d'Etruria*, Milano 1985, 86–8; Mastrocinque (above n. 34) 87.

⁵¹ Accepted also by e.g. A. Comella ("Apollo Soranus? Il programma figurativo del tempio dello Scasato di Falerii", *Ostraka* 1 [1993] 313–5) and Mastrocinque (above n. 34) 86–7.

⁵² Colonna (above n. 32) 74–8; Mastrocinque (above n. 34); G. Colonna, "L'Apollo di Pyrgi, Śur / Śuri ("il Nero") e l'Apollo *Sourios*", *SE* 73 (2007) 109–13.

⁵³ Colonna (above n. 32) 77, n. 69; Colonna (1987, above n. 46) 433.

⁵⁴ Colonna (above n. 32) 76–7; Colonna (2007, above n. 52) 113–4.

⁵⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 11,785. See above n. 33.

⁵⁶ Modern scholars agree with the interpretation of the Hirpi Sorani cult as a purificatory cult, see, e.g., G. Wissowa, "Hirpi Sorani", *Ausführliches Lexicon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie* I, Leipzig 1886, 2694; Marbach (above n. 7) 1131; Andreussi (above n. 41) 946–7.

mountains, more than 200 kilometres south-east of Mt. Soracte. Strabo and Festus tells us how the people were led to their dwelling-place by a guiding wolf.⁵⁷ A. Alföldi supposes that the Faliscans and the Samnite Hirpini shared a common origin but were separated at an early stage.⁵⁸

In addition, the Faliscans and the Hirpini share stories about pestilential caves with chthonic associations. Virgil tells us about a cave called *Ampsanctus*, the main religious cult site of the Hirpini, which led to the Underworld and exhaled pestilential gases.⁵⁹ However, the connection between the Hirpi Sorani and the fairly distant Hirpini is very uncertain. The cult of Mt. Soracte should rather be compared with certain cults practised in the adjacent region around Rome and in Southern Etruria.

* * *

In central Italy the best known religious ritual associated with wolves was the Roman festival of the Lupercalia, celebrated annually on February 15th until 494 CE, when Pope Gelasius I succeeded in suppressing it.⁶⁰ The cult of the Hirpi Sorani and the Lupercalia have often been discussed together, mostly concentrating on the latter.⁶¹ There are several points of resemblance between these two rituals, the most obvious one being that regarding priesthoods. The name of the priest *lupercus* is derived from *lupus* "wolf", either with a suffix⁶² or through a rhotacism

⁵⁷ Strabo 5,250; Fest. p. 106M.

⁵⁸ A. Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates*, Heidelberg 1974, 77. Also Piccaluga (above n. 9) 224.

⁵⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 7,563–571. Also Cic. *div.* 1,36,79; Plin. *nat.* 2,207–208; Serv. *Aen.* 7,563.

⁶⁰ For studies of the Lupercalia see, e.g., A. Kirsopp Michels, "The Topography and Interpretation of the Lupercalia", *TAPhA* 84 (1953) 35–59; A. W. J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius I and the Lupercalia*, Amsterdam 1974; C. Ulf, *Das römische Lupercalienfest*, Darmstadt 1982; W. Pötscher, "Die Lupercalia – eine Strukturanalyse", *GB* 11 (1984) 221–49; U. Bianchi, "Luperci", *DE IV*, parte III, 1985, 2204–12; T. P. Wiseman, "The god of the Lupercal", *JRS* 85 (1995) 1–22; A. Ziolkowski, "Ritual cleaning-up of the city: from the Lupercalia to the Argei", *AncSoc* 29 (1999) 191–218; P. Carafa, "Appendice III. I Lupercali", in A. Carandini (ed.), *La leggenda di Roma*, Roma 2006, 477–93.

⁶¹ E.g. Kirsopp Michels (above n. 60) 55; G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes. Kyros und Romulus* (Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie 10), Meisenheim an Glan 1964, 92–3; A. Peruzzi, *Civiltà greca nel Lazio preromano*, Firenze 1978, 33. On the other hand, Piccaluga (above n. 9, 222 n. 58) is not convinced of the analogous nature of the cults.

⁶² Suggested by H. Jordan, *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache*, Berlin

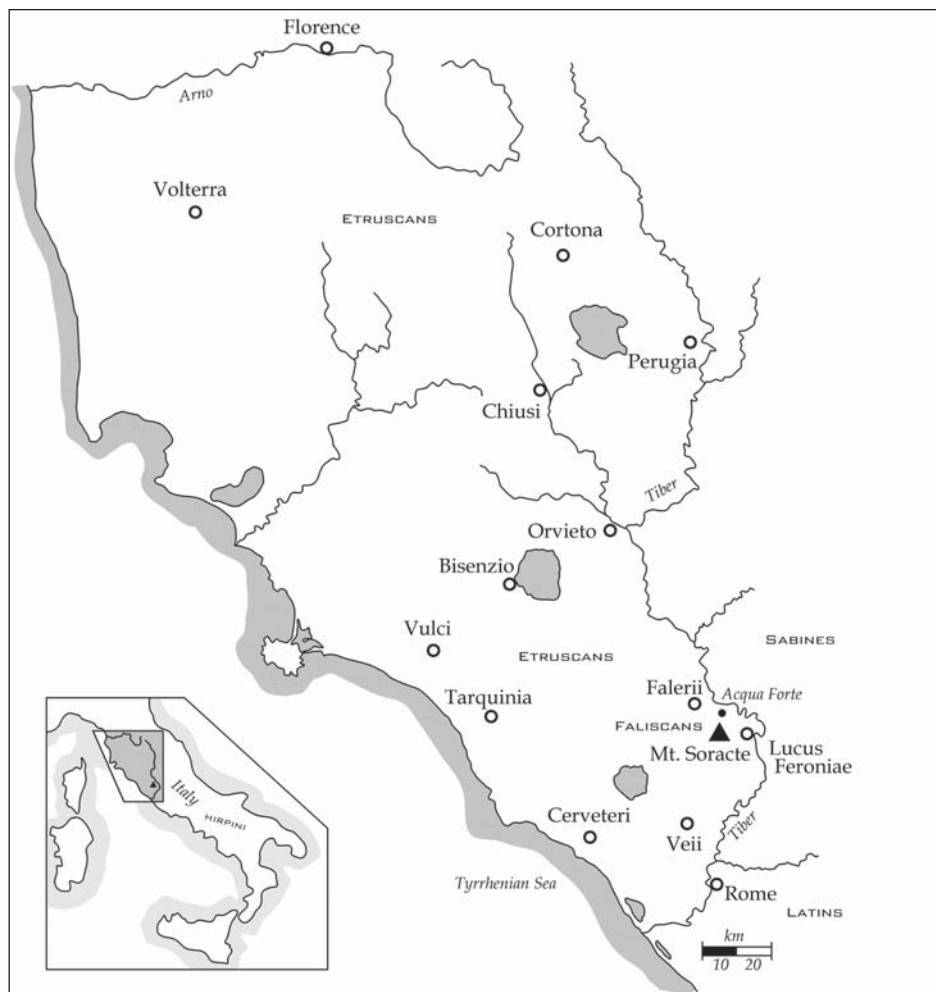


Fig. 3: Map of Tiber valley and Etruria. (Author's drawing)

from *lupo-sequos*, "wolf follower"⁶³ (compare the birth myth of the Hirpi Sorani cited above). Whichever the etymology is, it seems obvious that the Luperci were considered to be wolves,⁶⁴ like the priests of the Faliscan cult.

Like the Hirpi Sorani, the priests of the Lupercalia also belonged to certain families. They were divided into two collegia, the *Fabiani* and the *Quinctiliani*, named after the old Patrician families of *Fabii* and *Quintilii*.⁶⁵ In 46 BCE Julius

1879, 164.

⁶³ J. Gruber, "Zur Etymologie von lat. *lupercus*", *Glotta* 39 (1960/61) 273–6. Gruber, like Walde – Hofmann (above n. 23, 835, s.v. *lupercus*), rejects the theory of *lupercus* being a combination of *lupus* and *arcere* "ward off" and meaning "the protector from the wolves".

⁶⁴ Cf. Aug. *civ.* 18,17.

⁶⁵ *CIL* VI 1933; XI 3205; Ov. *fast.* 2,377–378; Prop. 4,1,26; Fest. *p.* 87M.

Caesar initiated a third collegium, the *Iulii*, which however was discontinued after his death in 43 BCE.⁶⁶

In the Lupercalia, the *Lupercal* cave acted as a passage to the Underworld. The Luperci came out of the cave at the beginning of their run and returned there at the end of it. Symbolically, the Luperci arrived from the Underworld and went back to their ancestors when the purification ritual was finished. It is worth noticing that a cave also appears in the birth legend of the Hirpi Sorani. In addition, on some Etruscan urns there is a wolf-like demon emerging from a well, which might also signify a passage to the world of the dead (see below, Figs. 5, 6).⁶⁷

Caves play an essential role in chthonic cults. While augurs and priests were able to be in touch with celestial gods through observation of auspices and sacrifices, a passage to the Underworld was needed in order to communicate with infernal powers. The priest could pass to the world of the dead either through a cave or a well – or, symbolically, through fire, as the Hirpi Sorani did.

A minor similarity in the birth myths of the Lupercalia and the Hirpi Sorani is the plundering of sacrificial flesh. At Mt. Soracte this was done by wolves. In Rome, Remus and his companions of the Fabius family had once eaten hissing entrails after a chase before Romulus and the Quintiliani arrived. Ovid relates the tale when describing the origins of the run of the Luperci.⁶⁸

* * *

Ancient suggestions of the Lupercalia being a continuation of the Arcadian cult of *Zeus Lykaios*⁶⁹ have been rejected nowadays.⁷⁰ The Lupercalia has been per-

⁶⁶ Cic. *Phil.* 13,5,31; Cass. Dio 44,6,2; Suet. *Iul.* 76, 1; Suet. *Aug.* 31.

⁶⁷ J. Heurgon, "Sur le culte de *Veltha*, le démon à tête de loup", *ArchClass* 43 (1991) 1255–6.

⁶⁸ Ov. *fast.* 2,372–376. The similarities between the plundering raids are discussed in more detail by L. Cerchiai, "Eracle, il lupo mannaro e una camicia rossa", *Ostraka* 7 (1998) 42.

⁶⁹ E.g. Dion. Hal. 1,32,3; Verg. *Aen.* 8,343; Liv. 1,5; Justin. 43,1. On the cult of *Zeus Lykaios* see W. Immerwahr, *Die Kulte und Mythen Arkadiens* I, Leipzig 1891, 1–24; R. P. Eckels, *Greek Wolf-lore*, Diss. Philadelphia 1937, 49–60.

⁷⁰ E.g. B. Riposati, "I 'Lupercali' in Varrone", in J. Collart (ed.), *Varron, grammaire antique et stylistique latine*, Paris 1978, 62–5.

ceived by modern scholars as a ritual of pastoral culture,⁷¹ initiation,⁷² fertility⁷³ or purification.⁷⁴ These different interpretations need not be mutually exclusive, because during the centuries the Lupercalia had changed and developed different connotations.

Among the literary sources there is little evidence to support the interpretation of the Lupercalia as a pastoral ritual.⁷⁵ There is some support for the initiation ritual, based mostly on comparative research of parallels found among other peoples and at different times, but many aspects of the Lupercalia are in fact contradictory to this interpretation.

In the first place, the Luperci were not teenagers but *iuvenes*, young men aged between 20 and 40. For example, Mark Antony was a Lupercus in 44 BCE at the age of 39 years.⁷⁶ Secondly, repeated participation in the ritual speaks against the interpretation as initiation.⁷⁷ Thirdly, the Lupercalia was held in the middle of the Parentalia, the festival celebrated in February in honour of the ancestors, not in March in connection with the Liberalia, when the coming of age of young men was celebrated.

During the Empire, the Lupercalia was widely recognized by the Romans as a fertility ritual.⁷⁸ According to Livy,⁷⁹ the fertility aspect was not dominant – if it existed at all – in the first phase of the cult but was an emphasis introduced by the senate in 276 BCE.⁸⁰ The Lupercalia seems always to have had a joyful

⁷¹ E.g. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* II, München 1909, 210; Kirsopp Michels (above n. 60) 50–51.

⁷² E.g. Ulf (above n. 60); J. N. Bremmer, "Romulus, Remus and the Foundation of Rome", *Roman Myth and Mythography*, London 1987, 25–48; A. Frascchetti, *Romolo il fondatore*, Roma 2002.

⁷³ E.g. E. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, Straßburg 1884; G. Radke, "'Wolfsabwehrer' oder 'Wachstumsbitter'", *WJA* 15 (1989) 125–38; T. Köves-Zulauf, *Römische Geburtsriten* (Zetemata 87), München 1990, 224–45.

⁷⁴ E.g. Binder (above n. 61); A. W. J. Holleman, "Cicero on the Luperci", *AC* 44 (1975) 198–203; A. Mastrocinque, *Romolo (la fondazione di Roma tra storia e leggenda)*, Este 1993.

⁷⁵ Serv. *Aen.* 8,343 and, with an ambiguous interpretation, Cic. *Cael.* 26 and Val. Max. 2,2,9.

⁷⁶ Plut. *Caes.* 61; Cic. *Phil.* 13,15; Cass. Dio 44,6,2.

⁷⁷ E.g. *CIL* VI 495: *Caecilius ter Lupercus*.

⁷⁸ Plut. *Rom.* 21,7; *Caes.* 61,3; Ov. *fast.* 2,425; Gel. *adv. Andr.* 12.

⁷⁹ Liv. *fragm.* 14W–M; Gel. *adv. Andr.* 12. Cf. Oros. *hist.* 4,2,2; Aug. *civ.* 3,18.

⁸⁰ A. W. J. Holleman "Ovid and the Lupercalia", *Historia* 22 (1973) 262–4; Holleman (above n. 74) 202; U. W. Scholz, "Zur Erforschung der Römischen Opfer (Beispiel: die Lupercalia)",

nature,⁸¹ which was emphasized in the early Empire. The ritual developed more significantly into a light-hearted and amusing carnival, during which people, women especially,⁸² wanted to be struck with a goatskin strip by the Luperci in order to secure their fertility. However it must be noted that the Luperci struck bystanders of both sexes,⁸³ not only women, which casts doubt on the theory that this was explicitly a fertility ritual.

The theory that the Lupercalia was originally a purification ritual gets strong support from Varro⁸⁴ and Ovid.⁸⁵ In Roman mythology the world of the dead was associated not only with destructive but also with protective and purifying powers.⁸⁶ Faunus, the god to whom the celebration was most commonly dedicated, had chthonic connotations,⁸⁷ which agrees with the connection between the Lupercalia and the Parentalia. In the Lupercalia, the wolf-priests representing ancestors brought purification to the community from the Underworld.

* * *

in J.-P. Vernant (ed.), *Le sacrifice dans l'Antiquité* (Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique 27), Genève 1980, 320. On the contrary, Köves-Zulauf (above n. 73) and J. A. North ("Caesar at the Lupercalia", *JRS* 98 [2008] 151–3) suggest that fertility was an important aspect of the Lupercalia from its origins.

⁸¹ Holleman (1973, above n. 80), 261; North (above n. 80) 152 and 160.

⁸² *Ov. fast.* 2,427; 2,445–446; *Iuv.* 2,142; *Serv. Aen.* 8,343; *Fest. p.* 57M; 85 M; *Gel. adv. Andr.* 16.

⁸³ *Plut. Caes.* 61; *Plut. Rom.* 21; *Plut. quest. Rom.* 280b; *Val. Max.* 2,2,9; *Ps. Vict. Aur. or.* 22,1.

⁸⁴ E.g. *Varro ling.* 6,34: *Posterior, ut idem dicunt scriptores, ab diis inferis Februarius appellatus, quod tum his parenteretur; ego magis arbitror Februarium a die februato, quod tum februatur populus, id est Lupercis nudis lustratur antiquum oppidum Palatium gregibus humanis cinctum.* "(- -) The latter, as the same writers say, was called *Februarius* 'February' from the *di inferi* 'gods of the Lower World', because at that time expiatory sacrifices are made to them; but I think that it was called February rather from the *dies februatus* 'Purification day', because then the people *februatur* 'is purified', that is, the old Palatine town girt with flocks of people is passed around by the naked Luperci." (translated by R. G. Kent).

The purifying aspect of the Lupercalia, which gives its name (*februa*) to the whole month, is mentioned by many authors of late Antiquity, too: *Fest. p.* 85M; *Cens.* 22,14; *Serv. georg.* 1,43; *Macr. Sat.* 1,13,3; *Lyd.* 4,25; *Isid.* 5,33,4.

⁸⁵ *Ov. fast.* 2,19–34; 5,101–102.

⁸⁶ See e.g. F. Pfister, "Katharsis", *RE* S VI (1935) 153.

⁸⁷ The Romans connected several gods with the Lupercalia, but most commonly the celebration was dedicated to Faunus, e.g. *Ov. fast.* 2,99–102, 267–268, 303–304, 423–424; *Ps. Vict. Aur. or.* 4,6; *Prob. Verg. georg.* 1,10. About the chthonic aspects of Faunus, see *Porf. Hor. carm.* 3,18; *Serv. Aen.* 7,91; W. F. Otto, "Faunus", *RE* VI, 2 (1909) 2064–66.

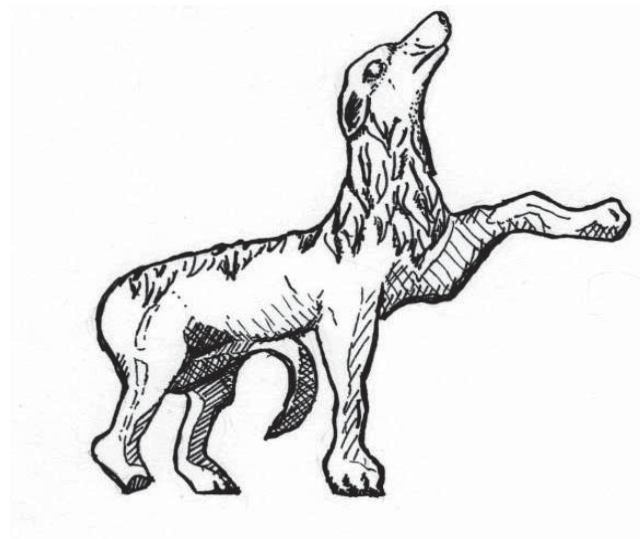


Fig. 4: Bronze statuette of the canine Etruscan god Calu with the inscription Š:CALUŠTLA, from Cortona. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. (Author's drawing)

In the last decades a connection between the Hirpi Sorani and the Etruscan pantheon, especially with the aforementioned Šuri, has also been suggested.⁸⁸

The connection of wolves and the dead is obvious in the Etruscan pantheon. The Etruscan god of the Underworld, *Aita*, has often been depicted wearing a hood like a wolf's head, as can be seen in many paintings and sculptures and on coins.⁸⁹ The anthropomorphic *Aita* (or *Eita*) was a god of Greek origin (*Hades*) who in the 4th century BCE replaced the indigenous Etruscan Underworld god *Calu*.⁹⁰ The wolf-headed appearance of *Aita* might derive from the zoomorphic *Calu*, who appeared in the form of a canine (Fig. 4) – probably, because of its mane, to be interpreted as a wolf.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Colonna (above n. 32) 72–7; (above n. 50) 572; (1987, above n. 46) 433; Di Stefano Manzella (above n. 28) 159–67; Comella (above n. 51) 301–316; Colonna (2007, above n. 52) 106 and 113.

⁸⁹ See e.g. G. Q. Giglioli, *L'arte Etrusca*. Milano 1935, 65, tav. 348; G. Dennis (above n. 43) 58–9; M. P. Baglione, "Su alcune serie parallele di bronzo coniato", *Contributi introduttivi allo studio della monetazione etrusca. Atti del 5° Convegno CISN (Napoli, 1975)* (Annali [Istituto Italiano di Numismatica], Suppl. 22), Roma 1976, 153–4; I. Krauskopf, *Todesdämonen und Totengötter im vorhellenistischen Etrurien. Kontinuität und Wandel* (Studi Etruschi 16), Firenze 1987, 61–7; I. Krauskopf, "Hades / Aita, Calu", in *LIMC IV*, Zürich 1988, 394–9.

⁹⁰ P. Defosse, "Génie funéraire ravisseur (Calu) sur quelques urnes Étrusques", *AC* 41 (1972) 498–9.

⁹¹ Defosse (above n. 90) identifies the canine of the statuette as a wolf. W. L. Rupp Jr. (*Shape of the Beast: The Theriomorphic and Therianthropic Deities and Demons of Ancient Italy*, Diss. Tallahassee 2007, 50 and 129) proposes either wolf or wolf-hound. On the contrary, E.

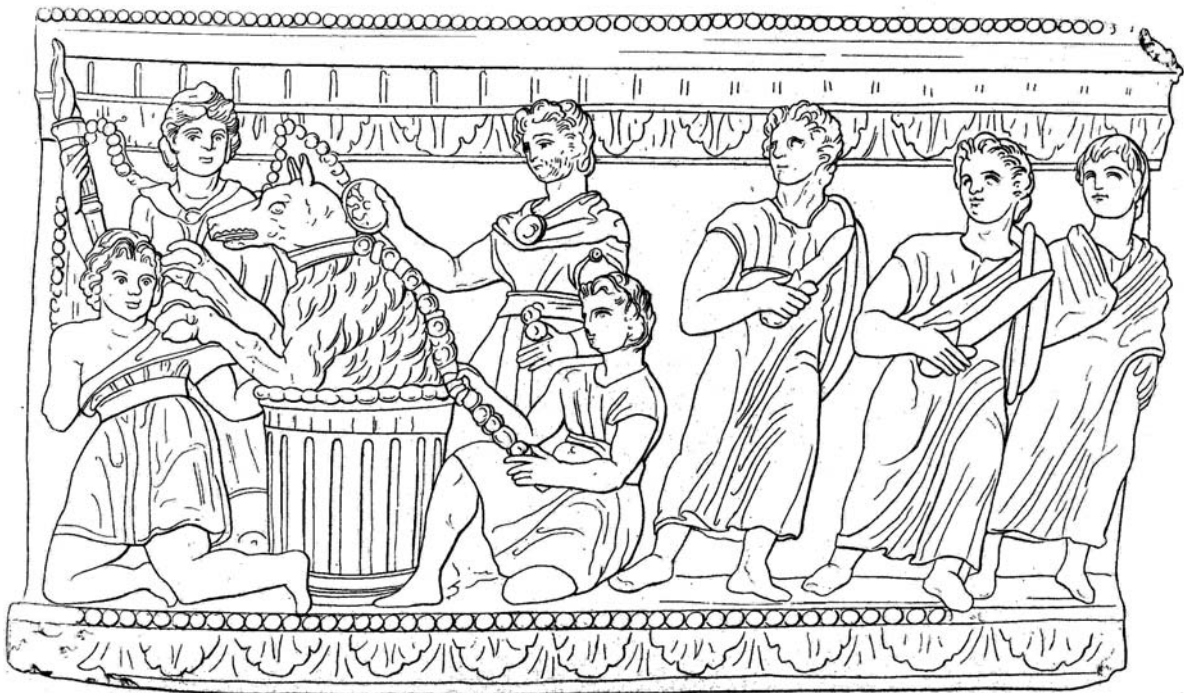


Fig. 5: Alabaster urn of Chiusian origin, width 67 cm. Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. n. 5781. (From Körte [below n. 95])

Some interrelation between Etruscan and Roman religious practices can be expected. It has in fact been suggested by some scholars that the phonetically un-Latin *p* in the word *lupus* is due to Etruscan influence (Etr. *lupu*, "death").⁹²

Among Etruscan artifacts, seven urns⁹³ dating from the 3rd or 2nd century BCE are decorated with reliefs representing a chained wolf emerging from a

Richardson ("The Wolf in the West", *The Journal of Walters Art Gallery* 35 [1977] 95) regards the animal more as a hound than a wolf, and Krauskopf (1988, above n. 89, 394) as a hound.

⁹² C. Marchetti Longhi, "Il Lupercale nel suo significato religioso e topografico", *Capitolium* 9 (1933) 370; A. Alföldi, *The Etruscans*, 1978, 218–9; A. W. J. Holleman, "Lupus, Lupercalia, lupa", *Latomus* 45 (1985) 609–14. However, generally the un-Latinity of the word *lupus* is explained by Sabine influence, cf. Walde – Hofmann (above n. 23) 836–7, s.v. *lupus*.

⁹³ Urns of Volterranean origin, made of alabaster: 1) Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. n. 350; 2) Volterra, Museo Guarnacci, inv. n. 351; 3) Camposanto di Pisa (fragmented). An urn of Chiusian origin, made of alabaster: 4) Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. n. 5781. Urns of Perugian origin, made of travertine: 5) Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. 341; 6) Museo Civico di Chiusi, inv. n. 955 (disappeared); made of terracotta: 7) Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. 323. Besides, the same scene is represented in a terracotta plaque (Museo Comunale di Gubbio, inv. n. 309) which however is probably a modern copy of the terracotta urn of Perugia (number 7). Cf. M. Matteini Chiari (ed.), *Museo Comunale di Gubbio. Materiali archeologici*, Gubbio 1995, 417–8, n. 623; M. Sclafani, *Urne fittili chiusine e perugine di età medio e tardo ellenistica*, Roma 2010, 105–6.



Fig. 6: Travertine urn of Perugian origin, width 58 cm. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale dell'Umbria, inv. 341. (From Körte [below n. 95])

well. In addition to the wolf, most of the urn scenes also depict *Vanth*, a winged female demon from the Underworld carrying a torch, and a man with a *patera*, a plate for liquid offerings, as well as some armed men. The chthonic nature of the scene is obvious. In Etruscan art, *Vanth* is commonly depicted as a psychopomp, a guide to the Underworld.⁹⁴ The chthonic nature is confirmed by the well, which symbolizes a passage to the Underworld, and the wolf, an animal connected with death. Furthermore, the man with a *patera* indicates that the scene includes a sacrifice.

It is uncertain, however, whether the reliefs represent a mythological scene or a ritual. G. Körte's hypothesis connects the scene with a story told by Pliny the Elder about a monster called *Olta* or *Volta*, against whom a thunderbolt was invoked by sacred rites.⁹⁵ The name of the monster is associated with the Etruscan

⁹⁴ See e.g. C. Weber-Lehmann, "Vanth", *LIMC VIII*, Zürich 1986, 173–83.

⁹⁵ G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urne etrusche III*, Berlin 1916, 16–23. Plin. *nat.* 2,140: *Exstat annalium memoria sacris quibusdam et precationibus vel cogi fulmina vel impetrari. Vetus fama Etruriae est, impetratum Volsinios urbem depopulatis agris subeunte monstro, quod vocavere oltam, evocatum a Porsina suo rege.* "It is related in our Annals, that by certain sacred rites and imprecations, lightnings may be compelled or invoked. There is an old report in Etruria, that a lightning was invoked when the city of Volsinium had its territory laid waste by a monster named *Olta*. A lightning was also invoked by King Porsenna." (transl. H. Rackham).



Fig. 7: Lid of bronze vase (730–700 BCE), from Bisenzio. Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. n. 57066. (Author's photograph)

word *veltha*, meaning both "earth" and a demon with chthonic powers.⁹⁶ Even though Körte himself was not fully convinced of the connection, his theory has been widely quoted.⁹⁷ In my opinion, the connection between Pliny's story and the urns described above is very unlikely. Pliny mentions a monster, *monstrum*, not a wolf, and a thunderbolt, which does not appear on any of the urns.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ D. Anziani, "Démonologique Étrusque", *MEFRA* 30 (1910) 267. In *Liber Linteus*, an Etruscan text found in mummy wrappings, the word *veltha* appears five times, always referring rather to demons than the earth. S. P. Cortsen, "Literaturbericht 1928–1934: Etruskisch", *Glotta* 23 (1935) 145–87. A. Pfiffig (*Religio Etrusca*, Graz 1975, 314–5) remarks that, similarly, the Greek word γαῖα means both "earth" and the Earth goddess *Gaia*.

⁹⁷ Pfiffig (above n. 96); J. Heurgon (above n. 67) 1253–9; J. Elliott, "The Etruscan Wolfman in Myth and Ritual", *EtrStud* 2 (1995) 17–33.

⁹⁸ The connection of the urns and Pliny's story is strongly rejected by P. Defosse ("À propos du monster à tête de loup représenté sur quelques urnes étrusques", *Latomus* 53 [1994] 410) and



Fig. 8: Amphora from Cerveteri (6th century BCE). Paris, Musée du Louvre, Neg.E72.3. (From Elliott 1995 [above n. 97])

Fig. 9: Plate from Vulci, Necropoli dell'Osteria, Tomba 177 (540–510 BCE). Rome, Museo Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. n. 844. (Author's photograph)

It has also been suggested that the urn reliefs represent scenes from Greek mythology,⁹⁹ the wolf-shaped Etruscan god Calu,¹⁰⁰ or the Roman king Numa chaining the god Faunus, a scene connected with a story told by Ovid.¹⁰¹

Among the Greeks, no parallels for the wolf figure can be found, which suggests an Italic origin for the scene. As for the Roman literary sources, Pliny and Ovid, should we even try to find an interpretation for the 3rd and 2nd century BCE urn scenes from stories that were written down centuries later? The stories about Olta or Numa could rather be seen as literary reminiscences of rituals or myths represented in the ash urns.

N. T. de Grummond (*Etruscan Myth, Sacred History and Legend*, Philadelphia 2006, 14), too.

⁹⁹ E.g. necromancy performed by Odysseus, suggested by P. Ducati ("Esegesi di Alcune Urne Etrusche", *RAL* 19 [1910] 166–8) or *Thanatos* chained by Sisyphus, suggested by E. Simon ("Sentiment religieux et vision de la mort chez les Étrusques dans les derniers siècles de leur histoire", in F. Gaultier – D. Briquel [eds.], *Les Étrusques, Les plus religieux des hommes: état de la recherche sur la religion étrusque. Actes du colloque international Grand Palais 17-19.II.1992*, Paris 1997, 454).

¹⁰⁰ Defosse (above n. 90) 487–99.

¹⁰¹ Rupp (above n. 91) 67–76. *Ov. fast.* 3,291–326.

On the urns from Volterra and Chiusi (Fig. 5), the figure emerging from the well is depicted realistically as a wolf. On the urns of Perugian provenance (Fig. 6), the figure is rather a man disguised as a wolf. P. Defosse explains this distinction with the different dating of the urns: those from Perugia, being later, could have had an anthropomorphic wolf influenced by the Hellenization of Etruscan mythology.¹⁰² However, we do not know the exact dating of any of these reliefs.

The lid of an 8th century BCE Villanovan bronze vase (Fig. 7) presents an interesting parallel to the urns with wolf figures. The ritual scene represented on the lid has some similarities with later urns (a chained beast, armed men and possibly a well under the beast), even though the chained monster is an imaginary beast rather than a wolf.

In addition to the urn reliefs, other examples of a therianthrope wolf figure or a man wearing a wolf skin can be found among Etruscan artifacts. On a 6th-century BCE amphora (Fig. 8) and a 6th-century BCE plate (Fig. 9) a wolf-headed and fur-covered figure is depicted whose body is human-shaped. In both of the paintings the figure is in motion, either dancing or running. It could be interpreted either as a wolf demon or a man disguised as a wolf.¹⁰³ However, as the wolf figure is the only common element in these paintings and the ash urns, we cannot be sure whether they belong to the same cultural tradition.

On the basis of the archeological evidence discussed above, we can conclude that the Etruscans shared a cultural phenomenon characterized by wolves that emerged from the Underworld. It is not sure whether the reliefs depict a ritual, as suggested by J. Elliott,¹⁰⁴ or a mythological scene.

* * *

When the Hirpi Sorani went across the glowing embers and ashes, they symbolically passed to the world of the dead. As the wolf was considered a sacred animal devoted to the powers of death, the priests representing wolves (as well as ancestors) had access to the Underworld while performing the ritual.

¹⁰² Defosse (above n. 90) 493 and 499. F. Messerschmidt ("Das Grab der Volumnier bei Perugia", *MDAIR* 57 [1942] 204–5), on the other hand, suggests that the Volterran urns are later than the others.

¹⁰³ J.-R. Jannot, "Phersu, Phersuna, Persona", in *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique: actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Équipe de recherches étrusco-italiques de l'UMR 126 (CNRS, Paris) et l'École française de Rome, Rome, 3–4 mai 1991* (Coll. EFR 172), Rome 1993, 284–6.

¹⁰⁴ Elliott (above n. 97) 31.

I believe that the cult of the Hirpi Sorani had common origins with the Roman Lupercalia. In these cults the observance of the ritual was different, but the basic idea was identical: the wolf-priests purified their people by means of chthonic powers.

The interpretation of the Etruscan artifacts discussed above is far more ambiguous, but it is clear to me that the pictorial motif of a wolf figure (a god or a demon) emerging from a well (seen as a passage to the world of the dead) is not an isolated phenomenon but should be examined in the same context as the wolf cults of the Faliscans and the Romans.

Even though in some Greek cities, such as Delphi, the wolf was an honoured animal associated with the gods¹⁰⁵ and its chthonic nature was acknowledged all over the ancient world, nowhere else were these aspects as prominent as in central Italy. It seems plausible that the wolf was a sacred animal for the peoples of this region in the prehistoric era. From this background, possibly dating back to the 6th century BCE cultural *koine* of the Tiber valley, the different manifestations of the special religious position of the wolf have emerged, the cult of the Hirpi Sorani being one of its manifestations.¹⁰⁶

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¹⁰⁵ See, e.g., Eckels (above n. 69); C. Mainoldi, *L'image du loup et du chien dans la Grèce ancienne, d'Homère à Platon*, Paris 1984.

¹⁰⁶ I would like to thank Anne Helttula and Raija Vainio for their valuable comments and Eleanor Underwood for revising and correcting my English.

THE NOMINA OF THE SAMNITES. A CHECKLIST

OLLI SALOMIES

There have been scholars who have expressed the opinion that it might be a good idea to establish a catalogue of all family names (referred to as "nomina" in the title of this article and in the following) attested for Samnites.¹ It is true that there is the book *L'anthroponymie osque* (1976) by M. Lejeune and the long article by V. Slunečko, "Beiträge zur altitalischen Onomastik. 1. Das osko-umbrische Personennamen-material", *LF* 115 (1992) 36–109. However, Lejeune's book is a bit difficult to use, and the paper of Slunečko considers only names attested epigraphically (it ends with the observation "Fortsetzung folgt", but there does not seem to be a sequel). Moreover, new finds and especially the publication in 2011 of the monumental volumes of the *Imagines Italicae* (but note also F. Murano, *Le tabellae defixionum osche*, Rome: Serra 2012, referred to as "forthcoming" by F. Murano, *AJPh* 133 [2012] 654) seem in any case to make a new treatment of the subject desirable, and this in fact is the aim of this article, which is essentially a checklist of all Oscan family names which appear in epigraphical and literary sources. Various observations based on the checklist will appear in a later article.

I must already point out at this stage that I am interested not only in the Oscan names themselves but also in their Latin equivalents and in general in their survival and fortunes in the Roman period; this is why Latin inscriptions will be quoted almost as often as Oscan ones. The use of the term "Samnites" in the title of the article means that I am dealing with the names of those peoples who spoke Oscan, "Oscan" here referring (as in Lejeune's work) to "central" and "southern" Oscan, that is, to the language written in the north (in Samnium, Campania, etc.) with the Oscan alphabet, and normally with the Greek alphabet in Lucania, Brutium and Messana. It follows that Umbrians, the "Sabellian" peoples (Paeligni,

¹ T. Sironen, in H. Rix (ed.), *Oskisch-Umbrisch. Texte und Grammatik. Arbeitstagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft und der Società Italiana di Glottologia ... in Freiburg* (1993) 282; cf. Untermann 9.

etc.) and some other "Italic" peoples that have left us some traces of their existence (Marsi, Hernici, etc.) will be excluded here. "Sabellian", especially Paelignian, names will, however, be mentioned now and then in order to illustrate a particular phenomenon.

In compiling the checklist, I have considered the following nomina as "Oscan":

- (a) nomina of Samnites, Campanians, etc. appearing in inscriptions using the Oscan language (as defined above);²
- (b) nomina assigned to Samnites, Campanians, etc. in literary sources dealing with the period when Oscan was still spoken (e.g., Pacula Cluvia from Capua in 210 BC);
- (c) nomina attested in combination with Oscan praenomina in Latin and Greek inscriptions – normally dating to the Republican period – from the Oscan-speaking area (e.g., M. Aesquilli(us) Paq(ui) f. Ruf(us) in *CIL* I² 1685 from Tegianum; Πάκιος Καλόνιος in *SEG* IV 76 from the *ager Teuranus*). It will be assumed here that the use of an Oscan praenomen in an inscription from the Oscan area indicates that we are dealing with a person with an Oscan (or Samnite) background, if his/her nomen is not patently non-Oscan.³ As for the praenomina seen here as "Oscan", I have considered all non-Roman praenomina attested in Oscan inscriptions and which seem typical of the Oscan area as defined above. I have thus considered, e.g., *Ep(pius)*, *Paquius* and *Trebius* but not *Salvius* or *Stattius* which are mainly found in, and are typical of, regions outside the Oscan area, the country of the Marsi, Umbria, etc. The praenomen *Vibius* is also often found outside the Oscan lands, but can be considered an Oscan praenomen indicating an Oscan background if attested in an inscription from the Oscan country. As for *Numerius*, this is a praenomen which is indeed typical of the Oscan area and which in my view can, if attested in inscriptions from the same area combined with a suitable nomen (cf. n. 3),

² However, *Romans* appearing in Oscan inscriptions – cf. now the inscription of the consul L. Mummius, *Imag.* 615f. Pompei 1 – obviously do not qualify.

³ I say this because an Oscan praenomen in an inscription from the Oscan area is not always a certain indication of Oscan origins; note, e.g., the *duovir* N. Antonius C. f. in Saepinum (*AE* 1927, 118), whose nomen does not suggest an Oscan background, or (if the reading is correct) a certain N. Cassius in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 1482). One concludes that immigrants to the Oscan world – e.g., an Antonius perhaps coming from Rome itself – might take over onomastic habits that obtained in their new environment (cf. also the Claudii in the checklist).

be seen as definitely pointing to an Oscan origin. However, *Numerius* is problematic inasmuch as it is a fairly common praenomen also attested in inscriptions of imperial date and outside the Oscan territory. This is why I have decided to consider the nomina of Numerii attested only in Latin inscriptions in the Oscan area, but to present them in a separate Appendix attached to the checklist (Numerii in Latin inscriptions with nomina also attested in Oscan inscriptions – e.g., N. Audii in Capua – will, of course, be adduced in the checklist); this Appendix also contains a number of nomina which are attested exclusively or almost exclusively in Oscan cities (e.g., *Digitius* in Paestum, *Holconius* in Pompeii) and which one could thus suspect as being of Oscan origin.

- (d) finally, I have included some further nomina, e.g., those of persons with a nomenclature of the Italic type (with at least a praenomen and a nomen) appearing in Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, to whom an origin in the Oscan-speaking area is assigned (e.g., Νόυιος Λατίν<ι>ος Ούίου Μάμερτίνος).

The checklist includes only names which I think that one can assume with some confidence that we are dealing with nomina;⁴ at the end, there is a section with "uncertain cases" in which I list a few names which do seem to be nomina but which are of uncertain interpretation.⁵

⁴ Thus I have omitted **anus(i)eís** ("Ansii") Sa16 = *Imag.* 1159f. Terventum 9 (c. 125), **avusas** *Imag.* 576f. Trebula Balliensis 1 (150–100?), †**diufaris** Cp40 = *Imag.* 470 Capua 48 (350–300) ("*Diufaris*", "a theophoric nomen (?"), **lavs** ("Lavius") Cm38/9 = *Imag.* 608ff. Herculaneum 2 (c. 100), **mamerttieís** tCp1 = *Imag.* 475 Capua 52 Stamp (c. 300–200) and **mamertiúí** tCm7 = *Imag.* 592 Acerrae 1 Stamp (n. d.) (cf. n. 55), **muttnium** Ps19 = *Imag.* 375 Campania (?) 1 (500–450), **νιυ]ν{π}ψηδ[ις** *Imag.* p. 1406 Potentia 26 ("[Nu]mpsid[ius]"), **venileis** Cm30 = *Imag.* 376 Campania 2, **φερεκο(-) tLu9** = *Imag.* 1497 Vibo 3 (taken for a nomen by Lejeune 26 no. 288, cf. p. 42). I have also omitted the names in the striking inscription *CIL* I² 400 = *Imag.* 529 Falernus ager 1 [Francolise] (c. 300), which, although found in the *ager Falernus*, seems to record persons alien to this area (note that each of them seems to have a nomen not found anywhere else, and that the nomina – *Racectius*, etc. – do not at all seem Oscan).

⁵ For nomina the reading of which appears in a corrected form in *Imagines Italicae*, note **akkiis** (Lejeune 14 no. 61; but the reading is **makkiis** in Vetter, *ST* and *Imag.* 380 Campania Coinage 1); **asillii(s)** (Ve 37), now interpreted as **sillii(s)** (tPo4; *Imag.* 821 Pompei 131 (where, however, the reading **g. asillii(s)** is apparently not altogether ruled out); **καλαιος** (P. Poccetti, in *Miscellanea epigrafica in onore di L. Gasperini* [2000] 762ff.), now read as **καλλιος** (*Imag.* 1350f. Laos 4); **kavkdis** Cm14,11 corrected to **kavkeis** and interpreted as a praenomen in *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8; **φαδις** Lu63, now corrected to **αδις** (*Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3); **lare(-)** tPo6, now read as **rar(iis)** (*Imag.* 819 Pompei 130); **σταφις** Lu63 (now read as **[σ]τατις**, *Imag.* 1348f.

In citing Oscan inscriptions, I refer to both Rix' *Sabellische Texte* of 2002 (but normally not to older publications) and to *Imagines Italicae* (abbreviated *Imag.*). Texts in Rix are cited as (e.g.) "Cm2" (without "Rix" or "ST"). In references to *Imag.*, I have added the page numbers (e.g., "*Imag.* 426f. Capua 25"), as it can take some time to locate inscriptions referred to simply as "Capua 25" or the like. Vetter's collection is referred to as "Ve", but that of Poccetti as "Poccetti" (not as "Po", as "Po" is attached to inscriptions from Pompeii in Rix). For Latin inscriptions, I normally follow the abbreviations used in the *Année épigraphique* (sometimes with some modifications).

In the case of most nomina, there follows some information on their attestations in Latin inscriptions, mainly in Latin inscriptions from the Oscan area in order to illustrate the survival of nomina from the Oscan to the Roman period. It must thus be noted that if I say that the nomen *Afinius* is attested in Saepinum, Aesernia, Beneventum, Aeclanum and Abellinum (cf. below), this does not mean that *Afinius* might not be also attested elsewhere; but in this context, attestations from (say) Rome, Etruria or Spain are of lesser interest. In order to save space, I normally only mention the city in which a particular nomen is found (e.g., "attested in Capua and Pompeii" or simply just "(Capua, Pompeii)"), an exact reference (e.g., *NSA* 1894, 67 n. 40) being given only if the references are not easily found in the epigraphic database Clauss-Slaaby (<http://www.manfredclauss.de/>). Those wishing to find out (e.g.) the attestations of *Asellius* in Latin inscriptions only have search for "Aselli" in the said database which will produce the attestations in an instant.

Checklist of Oscan Nomina

- + attested also in "Sabellian" (as contrasted to Oscan) inscriptions (Pa-eligni, etc.)
- * attested in Latin inscriptions in the Oscan-speaking region (Samnium, Lucania, etc.)
- attested in Latin (or Greek) inscriptions only outside the Oscan-speaking region
- † not attested in Latin (or Greek) inscriptions

Laos 3). For words or names interpreted as nomina in previous editions of Oscan inscriptions but now interpreted as something else, note **nive(lleís)** Cp34, for which the reading now offered (but not explained) is **minive** (*Imag.* 423ff. Capua 24), **pask(iís)** tPo26, now analysed as **pa(kis) sk(-)** (*Imag.* 808 Pompeii 123), **púpe!iis** Sa2 (a completely different interpretation in *Imag.* 1208f. Terentium 36). For nomina the reading of which seems debatable cf., e.g., below s. v. **auríl(iis)**, **βοφοv[ν]**, **puinik(iis)**.

- ***abutis** *Imag.* 972 Aeclanum 14 (n. d.): *Abuttius*, attested in Nola (*AE* 1994, 414) and Abellinum (*CIL* X 1141 cf. H. Solin, *Arctos* 19 [1985] 204f.).
- ***aboliies** (Latin alphabet) = **αβολιιε[σ]** *Imag.* 1362f. Numistro 2 (200–100): *Abullius*, attested in Aesernia (*CIL* IX 2653ff., 2690f. etc.).⁶
- ***aadiieís** gen. Sa31 = *Imag.* 1132f. Saepinum 2 (c. 150–90), αδις Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (with corrected reading; c. 300): *Adius* (attested at least in Pompeii and in Larinum)⁷ *Addius*.
- †**aadirans** Po3 = *Imag.* 656ff. Pompei 24 ("after 123"), cf. K. McDonald, *JRS* 102 (2012) 40–55. This is clearly a nomen with the ending *-anus*, and a comparison with **aadíriis** = *Atrius* indicates that the Latin form of this name would be **Atranus*.⁸ The presence of this name, possibly with an Etruscan background (see n. 8), in Pompeii is notable inasmuch as nomina ending in *-anus* concentrate in, and thus seem typical of, the Sabine area, Umbria and Picenum,⁹ whereas they seem to largely absent from Oscan territory. (For a nomen ending in *-ianus* cf. below **Pettianus*.)
- ***aadíriis** Po34 = *Imag.* 617f. Pompei 2 (91–89), **aadiríis** Po35 = *Imag.* 619f. Pompei 3 (91–89); cf. *Átria V. f.*, *CIL* X 1288 (Nola)¹⁰ (cf. also **adaries** gen. Ps5 = *Imag.* 861f. Surrentum 2 [575–500?]): *Átrius*¹¹ (Aequum Tuticum, Pompeii, Nola, Salernum, Potentia); **Adrius* is not attested.

⁶ Note also Abullia N. f. Nigella in Corduba (*CIL* II² 7, 397).

⁷ N. Stelluti, *Epigrafi di Larino* (1997) no. 103, 213.

⁸ In *CIL* I² 508 = XV 6909 ("in ventre lucernae ... rep. in necropoli Esquilina"), the reading may possibly be *Atran.*; Etruscan names such as *atrane* (for instances, see H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte* I [1991] 76, in the index) are adduced as possible parallels by the Italian scholar E. Lattes quoted in the commentary.

⁹ Cf., e.g. the attestations (outside Rome) of nomina like *Cardanus Furfanus Rantifanus Refanus Tebanus Tebedanus Tifanus Tuticanus*.

¹⁰ The inscription still exists; in contrast to the reproduction of the text in the *CIL*, the <a> (as reported by H. Solin) does have an apex, thus confirming that the [a] is long.

¹¹ Lejeune 145 thinks that the identification of **aadíriis** with *Atrius* is "douteuse", saying that "[u]n passage (sporadique) de *-tr-* à *-dr-* entre voyelles en osque n'est pas établi par des exemples relevant du lexique"; he adds that the existence of the name **aadirans** does not favour the view that the <í> in **aadíriis** is due to anaptyxis. However, the fact that **Adrius* is not attested whereas *Atrius* (with long *a*) is found in Pompeii (the city where **aadíriis** is attested) and in other Oscan cities, combined with the fact that **sadiríis** (attested in Pompeii) must be identical with *Satrius* (also attested in Pompeii and in many other Oscan cities; **sadri(is)** and Paelignian *sadries*, continued by Latin *Sadrius*, may reflect both the original form and the form with anaptyxis and the accompanying development [tr] > [dr]), makes it, in my opinion, clear that **aadíriis** must be identical with *Atrius*.

- *M. *Aesquilli(us)* Paq. f. Ruf(us) *CIL* I² 1685 (Tegianum); cf. Aesquillia C. f. Polla *AE* 1911, 71 (Pompeii).
- ***afillis** Po43 = *Imag.* 704 Pompei 47 (c. 150–100); cf. **af(-)** tHi5 = *Imag.* 952 Abellinum 6 (n. d.):¹² *Afilius* (Puteoli) *Afillius* (Pompeii).
- ***aphinis** (a nomen?) Po40 = *Imag.* 676ff. Pompei 34 ("between the Social War and Sulla");¹³ cf. **af(-)** (above); N. Afinii in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1567. 1638. 1689; *EE* VIII 96): *Afinius* (Saepinum, Aesernia, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Abellinum).
- ***ahiis** tCm1 = *Imag.* 844 Stabiae 3 (n. d.), tSi1 = *Imag.* 982f. Venafrum 5 (c. 300), **ah[iis]** tPo40 = *Imag.* 782 Pompei 107 (c. 150–100); *C. V. Ahies* *CIL* X 8042, 103; M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana* (2006) 138 no. 4 (on brick stamps from Pompeii and Stabiae; for the reading – not "*C. Vahies*" – cf. Vetter p. 62);¹⁴ N. Ahius Successus, *Augustalis Nuceriae* *CIL* X 452 (Eburum): *Ahius* (attested also in Aesernia, Venafrum, Abellinum) *Aius* (attested at least in Nuceria [*CIL* X 1087] and Puteoli [*AE* 2005, 346]; Lejeune 141).
- ***aallasis** tPo2 = *Imag.* 812 Pompei 126 (c. 150–100): surely this must be identical with *Alsius* (attested in Herculaneum [L. Alsius Verecundus, *CIL* X 1403, d, 11] and possibly in Pompeii [*CIL* IV 1738]; thus Slunečko) rather than with **Alasius* (*Imag.*), not attested.
- +***αλαφιομ** acc. Lu43 = *Imag.* 1478 Teuranus ager 1 (presumably before c. 200), *αλαφιομ* nom. fem. (?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300), Marius Alfius (?), *meddix tuticus* in Capua in 215 BC (Liv. 23, 35, 13. 19; at § 13 the *nomen* appears – as reported by Walters–Conway, but not by Dorey and Jal – as *Alpius*, at § 19 as *Alfio*); Alfia N. f. Servilla, *EE* VIII 320 (Pompeii); cf. *alafis* Pg2 = *Imag.* 246 Superaequum 4 (c. 125–100): *Alfius* (attested at least in Terventum, Aesernia, Venafrum, Caiatia, Trebula Balliensis, Capua, Nola, Pompeii; cf. Lejeune 141); **Alafius* is not attested.
- +***Alpius**: cf. *Alfius*; and *alpis* Pg5 = *Imag.* 301f. Sulmo 2 (c. 200–125): *Alpius* (attested in Aeclanum, *CIL* IX 1227).

¹² This might, however, also be *Afinius* (cf. below) or even *Afarius*, a nomen attested as *afaries* in Lu48 = *Imag.* Italia 5 (cf. Crawford 2010) and in Latin inscriptions from Potentia and apparently from somewhere in Lucania, *CIL* X 146, 504.

¹³ For the orthography <ph> cf. Lejeune 144f., T. Sironen, *Arctos* 21 (1987) 112, Stuart-Smith 2004, 136 (but surely *Afinius* cannot be regarded as a name of Greek origin, although the person who painted this inscription may have thought that he was reproducing Greek Ἀφίνιος rather than Oscan ***afiniis**).

¹⁴ M. Steinby, in F. Zevi (ed.), in *Pompei 79. Raccolta di studi per il decimonono centenario dell'eruzione vesuviana* (1979) 269, speaks of this stamp as one of the "più antichi".

- †**Andripius** Cm15 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50).
- +***anniieí(s)** gen. Cp28 = *Imag.* 430f. Capua 27 (c. 300–250? [cf. p. 29]); ?**an(-)** tSa46 = *Imag.* 1078 Bovianum 82 (c. 125–100); Paculla Annia from Capua, Liv. 39, 13, 9; L. Anni(us) V. f. *CIL* I² 3163c (Copia Thurii); cf. *ania* Pg 15 = *Imag.* 305f. Sulmo 4 (c. 200–150), Pg33 = *Imag.* 279 Corfinium 16, *anies* Pg40 = *Imag.* 297 Corfinium 34: *Annius* (Saepinum, Aeclanum, Venafrum, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nola, Salernum, Volcei, Potentia, Grumentum; cf. Lejeune 141).
- (*?) C. **Aplonius** Mi. f. *AE* 1995, 391 = *Suppl. It.* 22 (2004) Aufidena 17. *Aplonia* is also the reading in *CIL* IV 2197 cf. p. 215 (Pompeii), but the correct reading may in fact be *Apronia* (H. Solin).
- appúllis** Cm2 = *Imag.* 849f. Surrentum 1 (200–100): *Apulius* *CIL* I² 2683 (Minturnae), etc.?
- akviiai** (nomen?) dat. fem. Cp37 = *Imag.* 443ff. Capua 34 (200–150), line 10: *Aquius*, attested in Italy in Amiternum (*Epigraphica* 72 [2010] 375), in the country of the Marsi (*Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi* 113 = *AE* 1975, 326) and in Tarentum (*NSA* 1894, 67 n. 40).
- ***αρριεσ** Lu4 = *Imag.* 1360f. Numistro 1 (300–275); [Πό]κκιος Ἄρριος Νοοῦίου *IG* XIV 886 = *Imag.* 462f. Capua 44 (c. 250?); C. Arri(us) V. f. *CIL* I² 2949 (Capua); N. Arrii or Arrii *N. f./l.* attested in Allifae (*CIL* IX 2374), Aeclanum (*CIL* IX 1091. 1148. 1222) and Capua (*CIL* I² 675, 2947):¹⁵ *Arrius* (Aeclanum [many inscriptions], Beneventum, Abellinum, Capua, Atella, Volturnum, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Muro Lucano, Volcei, Potentia, Atina, Grumentum).
- ***arruntiis** Po58 = *Imag.* 688 Pompei 40 (c. 225–200), *αρροντιες* tLu1 = *Imag.* 1431f. Potentia 44: *Arruntius* (Bovianum, Capua, Atella, Pompeii, Surrentum; cf. Lejeune 141).
- [***[α]ρτορ[ιμ]** (?) acc. Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300) (but we are more probably dealing with *Hortorius*, *q.v.*).
- ***Ἀσέλλιος** *Imag.* 1350f. Laos 4 (c. 300); N. Asellii in Telesia (*CIL* IX 2246): *Asellius* (attested also at least in Allifae, Puteoli and Pompeii).
- +***asinis** Po86 = *Imag.* 760f. Pompei 95 (n. d.), Sa20 = *Imag.* 1036 Bovianum 40 (n. d.); cf. Herius Asinius, *praetor Marrucinorum* in the Social War (*RE* Asinius 5): *Asinius* (Beneventum, Puteoli, Pompeii, Salernum).
- ***atiniis** Po4 = *Imag.* 650f. Pompei 21 (150–100), Po16 = *Imag.* 642f. Pompei 16 (225–200): *Atinius* (Telesia, Nola, Cales, Herculaneum, Pompeii; Lejeune 141).

¹⁵ N. Arrii are also attested in Luceria (*CIL* IX 835) and Rome (*CIL* VI 30936).

- αυδαισ**, αυδαῖϛο (?) (corrected from αυδαδο) nom. fem. (?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300): probably *Audaeus* (thus *Imag.*), otherwise attested only in Regium Lepidum (*NSA* 1940, 288); αυδαῖϛο, if this is the correct emendation, it recalls Paelignian forms of the type *Annavus Annava* which seem to be variants of *Annaeus Annaea*.
- ***αφδειςσ** Lu8 = *Imag.* 1367f. Potentia 3 (200–100): *Audeius*, attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1752f.).
- ***avdiis** Po8 = *Imag.* 647 Pompei 19 (150–100), **ahvdiú** fem. Po51 = *Imag.* 558f. Teanum Sidicinum 24 (c. 200?), **ahvdiis** *Imag.* 379 Campania (?) 5 (300–200), [**ah**]vud(iis) (?) tSa34 = *Imag.* 992 Bovianum 4 (c. 200–100); N. Audii in Capua (H. Solin, *Oebalus* 5 [2010] 252): *Audius* (attested also at least in Pompeii [add Audia Cn. f., *NSA* 1961, 191 no. 1] and Herculaneum; Lejeune 141).
- +***Aufidia** St. f. Maxima *CIL* X 1273 (Nola);¹⁶ cf. *aufidis* Pg44 = *Imag.* 266 Corfinium 5: *Aufidius* (Capua, Liternum, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nuceria, Petelia).
- ***avrijs** (?) Po70 = *Imag.* 720 Pompei 59 (c. 150–100): probably *Aurius*, attested in Larinum (*Cic. Clu.*).
- †**avksii(s)** Ineditum from Cumae (communicated by G. Camodeca). In Latin, this would surely be **Auxius* (cf. **avdiis** = *Audius*), cf. *Auxilius* (*CIL* V 5788; *ILNovae* 1 = *AE* 1994, 1520), the relation of **Auxius* to *Auxilius* being the same as that of (e.g.) *Maecius* to *Maecilius*. There is, however, the problem that *Auxilius* may be a nomen of late origin derived from *auxilium*.¹⁷
- ***auríl(iis)** (?) Po39 = *Imag.* 626f. Pompei 7 (91–89), suggesting **auríl**. ("*Aurelius*") instead of the earlier reading (Vetter [Ve 28], Rix) **puríl**. which, however, still seems preferable.
- ***αφελιοςσ** *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300): *Avelius*, attested in Terventum (*AE* 1991, 537) and several times in Corfinium.
- ***avia(-)** (?) tPo15 = *Imag.* 814 Pompei 127 (c. 150–100): if the reading is correct, this will surely be *Avianius*, attested in Abellinum, Atella, Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii and Paestum.

¹⁶ N. Aufidii are attested in Teate Marrucinatorum (*CIL* IX 3029) and in Histonium (*AE* 2004, 464).

¹⁷ I suggest this possibility because the man in *CIL* V 5788 (Mediolanum), L. Auxilius Mercator, makes a dedication to the *Matronae*, which in addition to his cognomen *Mercator*, points to Gaul or Germany. The inscription from Novae is not of any use in this context.

- ***b^ra^rbbiis** (in the 19th-century copy, the *A* was mistakenly interpreted as *N*) Hi2 = *Imag.* 968f. Aeclanum 10 (n. d.): *Babbius*, attested in Aeclanum (*AE* 1997, 394 = 1998, 378), Cumae and Puteoli (Lejeune 141).
- ***bak(-)** (?) Po88 (reading **bad.**) = *Imag.* 749 Pompei 86 (n. d.): possibly *Bacculeius* (thus *Imag.*), attested in Pompeii, *CIL* IV 9256?
- ***bad(iis)** (?) Po88 = *Imag.* 749 Pompei 86 (reading **bak.**; n. d.); *Badius Campanus* in 212 BC (Liv. 25, 18, 4 etc.): *Badius* (Saepinum, Ligures Baebiani, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Telesia, Allifae, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii).
- ***baibiis** *Imag.* 480 Calatia 2 (before c. 300) (cf. **bai^rbⁱ(is)** – for transmitted **bairi**. Fr3 = *Imag.* 1282f. Larinum 2 [c. 100]?);¹⁸ N. Baebii and Baebii N. f. attested in Saepinum and Allifae (*CIL* IX 2466; 6304), P. Baebius N. l. in Capua (*CIL* I² 2947): *Baebius*, also attested in other inscriptions from Capua, and in Larinum, Saepinum, Allifae, Abellinum (*AE* 1981, 231), Puteoli, Pompeii (*TPSulp.* 5), Volcei, Grumentum, Petelia.
- Νόυτιος Βάωντιος *SEG* 29, 1026 cf. *Imag.* 1528 Lucania or Brettii or Sicilia no. (1); c. 330); [β]αντις (?) Lu45 = *Imag.* 1333ff. Buxentum 3 (n. d.): surely **Bannius* (cf. *Banius* *CIL* XIV 3951 [?], *CIL* III 5076).¹⁹
- ***βαραβιες** *Imag.* 1498 Vibo 4 (presumably before c. 200): probably *Barbius* (thus *Imag.*), attested in Puteoli (*CIL* X 2162, an earlyish inscription) and a few times in Misenum.
- ***bassiis** Cm47 = *Imag.* 868f. Nola 5 (c. 150–100?), Herenn{i}us Bass<i>us from Nola, 215 BC (Liv. 23, 43, 9; 44, 1):²⁰ *Bassius*, attested in Nola also later (P. Bassius (mulieris) l(i)bertus) Barn(aeus?), *NSA* 1900, 103]).²¹
- ***bení(ieís)**, **ben(iieís)** gen. tSa27, 28 = *Imag.* 1125ff. Bovianum 119 (c. 150–100); μι(νιος) βε(νιος?), N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 2295 cf. *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1 (but this might some other nomen beginning with *Be-*); N. Benius M. f. Rufio in Aeclanum (*AE* 1997, 395): *Benius* (attested also at least in Capua, *CIL* X 4042), *Bennius* (Aesernia, Cumae [cf. Camodeca 2008, 19f.], Puteoli [Camodeca 2008, 20 n. 67], Herculaneum, Pompeii, Paestum).

¹⁸ Cf. perhaps also *kri(-) ba[---]*, *Imag.* 1286 Larinum 5.

¹⁹ For the suggestion of G. Colonna that we should be dealing with a Fannius (rather than with a Bannius), cf. *Imag.*

²⁰ It seems obvious to me that we cannot deal with a Herennius with the cognomen *Bassus* in 215 BC. – **basías** Hi7 = *Imag.* 1143f. Saepinum 10 is considered a feminine genitive singular of this nomen by Rix p. 138, but as nominative singular of a term indicating "*parentela* or similar statuses" in *Imag.* p. 1623.

²¹ There is also a Bassius in Misenum (*CIL* X 3549), but this is a veteran.

- beriiis** Si21 and 4 = *Imag.* 567f. Teanum Sidicinum 29f. (c. 300), **beriiis** gen. Si5 = *Imag.* 563f. Teanum Sidicinum 26 (c. 300), **berium** gen. pl. Si6 and 20 = *Imag.* 565f. Teanum Sidicinum 27f. (c. 300), 21: *Berius Berrius* (attested in Ostia, Aquileia, etc.).
- ***betitis** Sa25 = *Imag.* 1095 Bovianum 97 (c. 200–100?), Sa36 = *Imag.* 1097f. Bovianum 98 (300–200), **bet(-)** tSa18 = *Imag.* 994 Bovianum 6 (c. 200–100); *Betitia Pontina N. liberta* in Aeclanum (*CIL* IX 1235): *Betitius Betutius* (attested in Beneventum, Aeclanum [many instances], Cales, Capua, Pompeii; Lejeune 141).
- ***bivellis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200): *Bivellius* (Capua, Abellinum [cf. *Camodeca* 2008, 36, 51f.]; Lejeune 141).
- †**βιφιδισ** Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300), [βι?]φιδισ Lu45 = *Imag.* 1333ff. Buxentum 3 (n. d.); ?βι(-) *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1 (on bronze coinage of 350–300 BC). The name must surely be understood as representing **Bividius*; cf. *Bivius Biveius Bivellius* (attested also in Oscan) *Bivonius*.
- ***blaisiis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 40; N. Blaesii attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1850), Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1403, d, 2, 15 and in *tabellae Herculanenses*: *AE* 1993, 462b; 2002, 344; 2006, 305; cf. G. *Camodeca*, *CronErc* 36 [2006] 205) and Pompeii (Castrén no. 74, 1): *Blaesius*, attested also in Puteoli (cf. Lejeune 141).
- blan(iis?)** tPo16 = *Imag.* 796 Pompei 115 (c. 150–100) (cf. **bla(-)** tPo17 = *Imag.* 793ff. Pompei 114 [c. 150–100]?): possibly *Blannius*, attested in *CIL* IX 5611 (Picenum).
- ***blússii(eís)** gen. Cp24 = *Imag.* 400f. Capua 11 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]); Marius Blossius, *praetor Campanus* in 216 BC (Liv. 23, 7, 8); C. Blossius, the philosopher from Cumae (*RE* Blossius 1; *Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques* II 116f. B 40): *Blossius*, attested also later in Cumae (*CIL* I² 3129; *AE* 1980, 242), in Capua (*CIL* I² 682, 688; *CIL* X 4045; *AE* 2008, 1743), Puteoli (*CIL* I² 698 of 105 BC), Herculaneum (cf. Lejeune 141).
- †**βοφονι[v]** (?) acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320). In Lu46, the reading is **βοθροvi(ov)** (see below), but the name has also been read as βοφ{+}ovi[v], a reading now reintroduced in *Imag.* and interpreted as **Bufonius*, which would be plausible alongside *Bufilius* (cf. *Pomponius* : *Pompilius*). However, the reading βοθροvi(ov) seems preferable to me (thus also McDonald 2012, 50), especially as the letter interpreted as a φ does not seem to bear much resemblance to the letter φ in other Oscan inscriptions using Greek letters; instead, it does seem a relatively clear rendering of a θ.

- βοθρονη(ον)** (?) acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320); the name has also been read as **βορονη[v]**, but the reading **βοθρονη** seems preferable (cf. above), especially as we may well be dealing with a rendering of the nomen which in its Latin form is attested as *Butronius* in Tarracina (*CIL* X 8397).
- O. Bracio(s)** V. f. *CIL* I² 3151 = *I. Paestum* 140: *Brac(c)ius*, attested in Fundi (*CIL* X 6233–35 = I² 1557a–c) and in Athens (*IG* II/III² 1754, 7803).
- ***briṭ(iis)** (a nomen?) Cm21 = *Imag.* 513f. Cumae 12 (200–100, with the interpretation "a Brettian"), **bri(tiis)** (?) *Imag.* 1229ff. Fagifulae 7, (3) (n. d.) (cf. **bruties** gen. Ps4 = *Imag.* 909f. Nuceria Alfaterna 3 [550–525?]): *Brittius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Cubulteria, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii) *Brutius* *Bruttius* (Beneventum, Teanum Sidicinum, Abellinum, Cumae, Pompeii, Eburum, Volcei, Potentia, Tegianum, Grumentum; for the identification of *Bruttius* with *Brittius* cf. below **siuttiis**, with n. 96).
- ***buk(iis)** *Imag.* 917 Nuceria Alfaterna 9 (n. d.): *Bucius* *Buccius* (attested in Pompeii).
- ***burris** Si10 = *Imag.* 557 Teanum Sidicinum 23 (c. 200?): *Burius* *Burrius* (Herculaneum, Pompeii [Camodeca 2008, 213]).
- ***buttis** Cm4 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 35: *Buttius* (Larinum, Beneventum), cf. *Bottius* (Allifae).
- *+**καιδικισ**, **καιδικ(ι)ω** (?) and **και̣δ̣ι̣κ̣ι̣(ι)ω**²² nom. fem. (?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300), *Caedicius* Cm15 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50) (cf. **kai(-)** tPo18, 32, 33, 34 = *Imag.* 815ff. Pompei 128, 134 [c. 150–100]; **ḳạị(-)** tHi1 = *Imag.* 970 Aeclanum 12 [n. d.]?); cf. *caedcies* Lu56 = *Imag.* 75f. Italia 2 (cf. Crawford 2010): *Caedicius*, attested in Cumae (*ILS* 9511a), ?Neapolis (Camodeca 2008, 366) and Petelia (*CIL* I² 3164; *EE* VIII 261).
- kaísillieís** gen. Cp25 = *Imag.* 415f. Capua 20 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]): *Caesilius*, attested in Ostia, Tibur, Oriculum, Aquileia, etc.
- ***L. Cai(us)** Tr. f. *CIL* I² 1685 (Tegianum): *Caius* *Caius*, attested in Beneventum (*RIGI* 8 [1924] 148 no. 11), Telesia (*CIL* IX 2232), Abellinum (see A. Simonelli, *Arch. Class.* 47 [1995] 154 no. 14).
- ***καλιος** *Imag.* 1350f. Laos 4 (c. 300) (**kai(liús?)**) nom. pl. tPo32–34 = *Imag.* 815ff. Pompei 128 [c. 150–100?]: *Caelius* (Cumae, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Abella, Paestum).

²² The reading in fact seems to be **καιαιδω**, but in view of the presence of a **καιδικισ** and a **καιδικ(ι)ω** in the same *defixio*, the correction to **και̣δ̣ι̣κ̣ι̣(ι)ω** seems acceptable. However, if **καιαιδω** (= **καιαιδιω**) were the correct form, this nomen could perhaps be compared with *Caedia* in Pg17 = *Imag.* 307 Sulmo 5 (c. 125) and *Caedius* in *CIL* I² 1774 = IX 3087 (Sulmo).

- ***kalaviis** Sa22 = *Imag.* 985f. Bovianum or Saepinum 1 (c. 300), **kala[v]iis** Cm48 = *Imag.* 866f. Nola 4 (n. d.), **kalauiiúm** acc. Cm13 = *Imag.* 507f. Cumae 9 (125–50); **[kala]vii(úm)** (?) gen. pl. Cp34 = *Imag.* 423ff. Capua 24 (B); cf. **kal(-)** tPo21 = *Imag.* 803 Pompei 119 (c. 150–100); Calavii from Capua in literary sources (Lejeune 155); N. Calavius Eusebes in Puteoli (*CIL* X 2202); N. Calvius Rufus in Locri (*CIL* X 19):²³ *Calavius* (Beneventum, Nuceria, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii; Lejeune 141) *Calvius* (Cales, Puteoli, Locri).
- ***καλινισ** Me1 cf. Me2 = *Imag.* 1515ff. Messana 4, 5 (c. 250): *Calinius* (*CIL* X 2204, Puteoli).
- Πόκιος **Καλόνιος** *SEG* IV 76 cf. *Imag.* 1530 Teuranus ager no. (1): this must be **Calonius* or possibly **Calunius* (cf. *Calusius*, etc.).²⁴
- ***kaluvis** Cp39 = *Imag.* 471 Capua 49 (before c. 300), **kalúvis** *Imag.* 497 Cumae 4bis (c. 100), **kalúvieis** Cp30 = *Imag.* 426f. Capua 25 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), Cp29 = *Imag.* 430f. Capua 27 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]): *Calovius*: L. Calovii, freedmen of a Lucius, are now attested in Cumae (G. Camodeca, in L. Chioffi [ed.], *Il Mediterraneo e la storia* [2010] 60).
- ***kamp[aniis]** Po14 = *Imag.* 653ff. Pompei 23 (c. 140), **kam[paniis]** Po62 = *Imag.* 721 Pompei 60 (c. 125–100) (**kam(-)** tSa2 = *Imag.* 987f. Bovianum 1 [c. 200–100], *Imag.* 1026 Bovianum 30 [c. 200–100]?): *Campanius*, attested in Capua.
- (*)**Cantilia** St. I. Argyris *CIL* X 4116 (Capua); *Cantilius* is otherwise attested only in Aquileia and in Spain.
- ***kanuties** gen. (a nomen?) Cm24 = *Imag.* 597f. Saticula 4 (325–300); N. Canutius Auctus in Capua (*AE* 1982, 175): *Canutius Cannutius*, attested also in Salernum (*CIL* X 570; cf. also below s.v. **utiis**).
- kar(iis)** (?) tSa3 = *Imag.* 989f. Bovianum 2 (c. 200–100); **καρ(ιες?)** tLu10 = *Imag.* 1428f. Potentia 42: this could be *Carius* (attested in Rome, Fanum, Ariminum, etc.).
- *Πάπελος **Κασίν(ν)ιος** *JdI* 118 (2003) 211f. no. 2, 217–20 no. 5 etc. (Paternò in E. Sicily), cf. *Imag.* 1532 Paternò (1): *Casinius*, attested in Volcei (*CIL* X 407 [*fundus Casinianus*]. 422. 8108. 8114).
- ***kastrikiíeis** gen. Po36 = *Imag.* 621f. Pompei 4 (91–89); N. Castricius Agathopus in Puteoli (*TPSulp.* 64): *Castricius* (Beneventum, Caiatia, Cales, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii; Lejeune 141).

²³ For a Severan *vigil* N. Calab(ius) Trophim(us), see *CIL* VI 1058, II, 113.

²⁴ Cf. perhaps *Q. Calo(nius?)*, VIII *MGR* [1982] 572f. no. 141 (Minturnae, brick stamp) and *CIL* XI 6705,4 (Caere).

- +***kattiis** Si11 = *Imag.* 555f. Teanum Sidicinum 22 (c. 200); Catia Vibi f. *CIL* I² 1727 (Beneventum); cf. *catis* MV11, 12 = *Imag.* 221 Incerulae 2: *Catius* (Pompeii) *Cattius* (Puteoli).
- *N. **Cei**us Per. f. *CIL* IX 2610 (Terventum); *Cei*us *quidam Samnis* Cic. *Clu.* 162: *Cei*us (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Herculaneum, Pompeii).
- ***keliis** (?) Cm36 = *Imag.* 911 Nuceria Alfaterna 4 (c. 150): if the reading is correct, we are probably dealing with *Cellius*, attested in Pompeii and Atina Lucana.
- *?**kepiis** ?Cm36 ("vel **keliis**") = *Imag.* 911 Nuceria Alfaterna 4 (c. 150), reading **keliis**, κε[πιεσ (?)] Lu2 = *Imag.* 1353f. Atina Lucana 1 (c. 150): if the reading **kepiis** is correct, the nomen must be identical to *Cepius Ceppius* (*I. Paestum* 111 [framm. E]. 196. 202, *EE* VIII 288 cf. *I. Paestum* no. 196, note 3).
- *Minius and Herennus **Cerrinius** from Capua in 186 BC (Liv. 39, 13, 9 etc.): *Cerrinius* (Saepinum, Larinum, Bovianum, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Abellinum, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Messana).
- kid(iis?)** (?) (or **kud(iis?)**) Sa56 = *Imag.* 1225ff. Fagifulae 5, (1) (n. d.): *Cidius* (*CIL* X 6026, Minturnae)? Or perhaps rather *Codius*, also attested in Minturnae (*CIL* I² 2702),²⁵ *Cudius* (*BACTH* 1909, 235 no. 1 from Thysdrus)?
- ***kiipiis** Po42 = *Imag.* 706 Pompei 49 (c. 150): *Cīpius* (Beneventum, Capua, Pompeii).
- ***κλαφδισ** Me4 = *Imag.* 1519f. Messana 6 (c. 275); L. Claudio(s) Tr. f. *CIL* I² 3152 (Paestum, dated to the 3rd century in *I. Paestum* 139, but placed among the inscriptions "bello Hannibalico recentiores" by A. Degrassi in *CIL* I²); A. Claudius C. (f.) *Imag.* 575 Cales 1 (n. d.): *Claudius*.
- ***klí(piis)** tSa10 = *Imag.* 998f. Bovianum 10 (c. 200–100; a new instance in Soricelli 2011, 56 no. 1); Κλέππιος (Κλεπίτιος the ms.), a Lucanian commander in the Social War (Diod. 36, 8, 1; 37, 2, 11; cf. T. Sironen, *Arctos* 25 [1991] 136f.): in view of the nomen of the Lucanian commander, **klí(-)** must surely be understood as representing *Clep(p)ius* (thus Slunečko no. 111; Poccetti no. 40, commentary; Campanile 2008, 985), attested at least in Bantia and Aequum Tuticum, and cf. *CIL* X 8059, 119, a *signaculum* observed in Naples with *N. Cle()* *Felicitis*; and *Cleppiana* *CIL* IX 1792 from Beneventum (*Imag.* suggests "*Clippius*"; this nomen does not seem to be attested).
- ***kluvatiis**, **kluvatiium** acc., **kluvatiui** dat. Cp37 = *Imag.* 443ff. Capua 34 (200–150), lines 2. 9. 10, **kluvatiium** gen. pl. Cp11 = *Imag.* 388f. Capua 4 (c.

²⁵ *Codius* is also attested in Rome, *CIL* VI 729. 1018. 15946.

- 325–300? [p. 29]), cf. Cp10 = *Imag.* 396f. Capua 9, Cp12 = *Imag.* 390f. Capua 5; cf. **klú[-]** tCm6 = *Imag.* 896 Abella 4 (n. d.): *Clovatius* (Allifae, Pompeii; Lejeune 141) *Cloatius* (Saticula, Puteoli) *Cluatius*.²⁶
- *L. **Cluentius**, a commander of the Italians in the Social War (*RE* Cluentius 1, cf. Suppl. III 254), perhaps from Campania (Salmon 1967, 366) or Samnium (Keaveney 1982, 217); N. Cluentius, *eques Romanus*, from Larinum (Cic. *Clu.* 165): *Cluentius*, attested especially in Larinum (Cic. *Clu.*; *AE* 1997, 335; *RIB* 1545); cf. *Cloventius*.
- +*Pacula **Cluvia** from Capua in 210 BC (Liv. 26, 33, 8; 34, 1; Val. Max. 5, 2, 1); N. Cluvii in Puteoli (*CIL* I² 1619f.; X 2511); cf. perhaps *statis cloiis* ("Cluvius") on a bone tessera of uncertain origin, *Imag.* 209 Vestini, Marrucini, Paeligni, Marsi (?) 1: *Cluvius* (Allifae, Caudium, Caiatia, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nola), *Cluius*.
- kud(iis?)** (?) (or **kid(iis?)**): cf. above s.v. **kid(iis)**.
- ***kúrel(iéis)** gen. Sa33 = *Imag.* 1111f. Bovianum 107 (c. 125–100): *Corelius* (Pompeii) *Corellius* (Nola).
- βαντινω **κωσσανω** nom. fem. *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2: the nomen may well be identical with *Cosanus*, a nomen found in Pinna Vestinorum (*CIL* IX 3359 = I² 3270) and (as a result of early Italian immigration) in Spain.
- ***kvíntieís** gen. *Imag.* 1259 Pallanum 5 (c. 200): *Quintius*.
- *Μίνατος **Κόρουιος** Μαμερτίνος *SEG* 30, 1121, 27–8 cf. *Imag.* 1531 Messana (3) (3rd c.): *Corvius* (cf. *k(asa)* *Corviana* in Volcei, *CIL* X 407, 4, 9), *Curvius* (Pompeii, Salerno).
- ***κοττειηισ** gen. tLu3, 4, 5 = *Imag.* 1499f. Vibo 5 (presumably before c. 200): probably *Cotius* *Cottius*, attested in Teanum Sidicinum, Linternum, Capua, Abellinum, Vibo (Lejeune 141); cf. M. Cottius N. f. on Delos, *CIL* I² 2504 = *ID* 1753.
- *[Μί]νατος **Κρίπτιος** Μινά[του Μ]ατίλας, Μᾶρκος Κρίτ[τιος] Μινάτου *IG* XIV 637 (Petelia) cf. *SEG* 57, 941 (*Imag.* 1529 Petelia no. (1)) (cf. **kr(-)** tSa3 = *Imag.* 989f. Bovianum 2 [c. 200–100]; N. *Cri(-)* *Her(-)* on a *signaculum* in Naples [*CIL* X 8059, 131?]: *Critius* (*CIL* IX 1064 from Frigento) *Crittius* (Aequum Tuticum, Aeclanum, Teanum Sidicinum, Puteoli).²⁷
- ***kurt(iis)** *Imag.* 749 Pompei 87 (n. d.); N. Curtii in Pompeii (Castrén no. 143, 2. 3): *Curtius* (Cales, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nuceria, Volcei).

²⁶ Cf. Camodeca 2008, 313 n. 83.

²⁷ Cf. Camodeca 2008, 349.

- +*Numerius **Decirius** (codd.; *Decimius* edd.), a Samnite from Bovianum, 217 BC (Liv. 22, 24, 11); cf. *decies* Pg34 = *Imag.* 321f. Sulmo 15 (c. 200–125): *Decrius* (Aesernia, Neapolis [AE 1905, 190; 1913, 215]), *Decirius* (attested several times in Capua).
- ***dekitis** Sa24 = *Imag.* 1179f. Terventum 20 (200–100), **dekitiúd** abl. Sa2 = *Imag.* 1208f. Terventum 36 ("late second century"); *Cn. Decitius* (thus the *cod. Laurentianus* saec. XI; *Decidius* or *Decius* later mss.), *Samnis*, Cic. *Clu.* 161, cf. Tac. *dial.* 21, 6; N. Decitii in Terventum (AE 1997, 437) and Capua (H. Solin, *Oebalus* 6 [2011] 122f. no. 4): *Decitius*, also attested in Aesernia and often in Terventum (CIL X 2596. 2611. 2612 in addition to AE 1997, 437); note also N. Decitius N. l. Sabellio *mimus* in CIL VI 10108.
- +***dekkiis** Sa59 = *Imag.* 1136f. Saepinum 4 (n. d.), **dek.** tSa2 = *Imag.* 995 Bovianum 7 (c. 200–100), **de.** Sa18 = *Imag.* 1237f. Aufidena 2 (c. 125–100), [δ]εκκιο[σ] *Imag.* 1410 Potentia 29 (300–200); cf. *decies* Lu54 = *Imag.* 81 Italia 7 (cf. Crawford 2010):²⁸ *Decius* (Puteoli, Pompeii) *Deccius* (Cumae, Puteoli, Capua, Pompeii).
- ***díidiis** ZO2 = *Imag.* 366f. Campania or Samnium 2 (after c. 300); N. Didi around Beneventum (CIL IX 1470, 1524):²⁹ *Didius* (Larinum, Beneventum, Venafrum, Pompeii).
- *Mar. **Deinius** C. f. CIL I² 3162 (ager Volceianus): *Dinius* *Dinnius*, both attested in Lucania (CIL X 185; *Inscr. It.* III 1, 117).
- ***διριοσ** (nom. pl. or sing.?) Lu2 = *Imag.* 1353f. Atina Lucana 1 (c. 150): *Dirius*, attested in Neapolis (CIL X 1502f.).
- ***duiíeís** gen. Hi7 = *Imag.* 1143f. Saepinum 10 (c. 150–90); N. Doius N. f. Clemens in Bovianum (AE 1996, 490): *Doius*, also attested in Teanum Sidicinum (CIL X 4796).
- eburis** Cm15 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50): *Eburius*, apparently attested in Italy only in the north (but note the presence of a certain *Eburiolus* in Pompeii, CIL IV 8227).
- ***ega(natiis?)** tSa12 = *Imag.* 996 Bovianum 8 (c. 125–100); Gellius Egnatius, *Samnitium dux* in 296 BC (RE Egnatius 9); Marius Egnatius, a *dux* of the Samnites during the Social War (RE Egnatius 10); N. Egnati(us) C. l. Anavos in Herculaneum (CIL X 1407, surely a Republican inscription): *Egnatius* (Beneventum, Allifae, Capua, Pompeii, Nuceria, Abellinum, Vibo, etc.).

²⁸ Note also a N. Decius in Rome, CIL VI 16782.

²⁹ Cf. N. Didi(us) N. f. Ar. Vatia, *mil(es) in prae(torio) spec(ulator)*, CIL VI 2777.

- ***epidiis** Po15 = *Imag.* 640 Pompei 14 (225–200), **epid[-]** Po30 = *Imag.* 661 Pompei 26 ("perhaps c. 200–100"), **epid.** Si18 = *Imag.* 539 Teanum Sidicinum 8 (c. 300 suggested, but probably a bit later), **epi[-]** tCm3 = *Imag.* 845 Stabiae 4 (n. d.); N. Epidii in Capua (*CIL* X 4124):³⁰ *Epidius* (Terventum, Bovianum Vetus, Beneventum, Telesia, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii).³¹
- ***ερουκ** ι η <ι> σ (?) (ερουκτης on the stone) gen. Lu23 = *Imag.* 1468f. Crimisa 1 (300–200): *Erucius*, attested at least in Puteoli.
- †**ev(iis)** (?) tPo30 = *Imag.* 797 Pompei 116 (c. 150–100); the abbreviated nomen **ev(-)** is interpreted as Latin **Evius* by Slunečko 146 and in *Imag.*; this nomen does not seem to exist,³² but would be plausible alongside *Eveius*, *Evatius*, *Evilius*, etc.
- †**fassii[s]** (?) ZO1 = F. Poli, *SE* 72 (2006) 290–2 = *Imag.* 372f. Campania or Samnium 6 (c. 300): this must be the equivalent of **Fassius* (Rix, Poli) which is not attested but plausible in view of the existence of *Fas(s)idius*³³ (cf. *Allius* : *Allidius*, etc.). However, some scholars prefer the reading **frssii[s]** (thus Vetter, *Ve* 177, interpreting this as "Frensius";³⁴ *Imag.*, with the interpretation "*Frusius* (?)").³⁵
- ***φεστιεσ** Lu19 = *Imag.* 1317 Lucania 1 (c. 350); N. Festius Ampliatus in Pompeii (Castrén no. 166, 1): *Festius*, attested also in Herculaneum (cf. *Fistius* [*CIL* X 8351f. in Pompeii, 3978 as the cognomen of a freedwoman in Capua?]).
- †**fisanis** Po37 = *Imag.* 623 Pompei 5 (91–89) (**fis[aniium]** (?) gen. pl. Cp15 = *Imag.* 395 Capua 8? But see below). In Latin, this would be **Fisanius* (thus Slunečko no. 149, *Imag.*; cf. *Fisius Fisidius Fisevius*) or possibly, if the <ι> goes back to a long [ē], **Fesanius* (cf. **Fesius*³⁶ *Fesedius Fesinius Fesonius*³⁷).

³⁰ An [E]pidia N. f. [--] is attested in Iuvanum (*CIL* IX 2959).

³¹ Cf. Lejeune 141; Camodeca 2008, 344.

³² In *CIL* VI 838 the correct reading is not *Evia* but *[N]aevia Helpis*, see *AE* 1999, 195.

³³ *AE* 1911, 187 (brick stamp from Rome); *CIL* XI 2679 (Suana), 2765 (Volsinii).

³⁴ Not attested, but cf. *Frensedius Frensidius*. Lejeune (23 no. 240; 109) also has **frssiis**.

³⁵ For the omission of the vowel of an accented first syllable cf., e.g., **g(a)v(is)** (Hi1 = *Imag.* 961 Aeclanum 4), **p(e)rk(ens)** (Cm47 = *Imag.* 868f. Nola 5), etc.; but these names are praenomina and are thus, of course, not suitable parallels as praenomina tend to be abbreviated.

³⁶ This nomen can be reconstructed on the basis of the cognomen of *Maria Q. f. Fesiana* (S. Panciera, *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti* [2006] 301).

³⁷ P. Kovács, *Tituli Romani in Hungaria reperti. Supplementum* [2005] no. 53 (Salla); *RIB* 563.

- ***fis[iium** (?)] gen. pl. Cp15 = *Imag.* 395 Capua 8 [c. 325–300, cf. p. 29]?). Rix (in the text and in the index, p. 139) suggests that one should understand **fis[aniium]** and that we would be dealing with the nomen **Fisanius*/**Fesanius* (cf. above), but in *Imag.*, the name is translated "Of the Fisii (or Fisidii)". *Fisius* (*Fīsius*, cf. Schulze 475) seems plausible, as this nomen is attested not only in Saepinum, Aeclanum, Nola and Puteoli, but also in Capua itself in inscriptions of Republican date (*CIL* I² 678, 685) and also later (*CIL* X 4244, 4343).³⁸
- C. **Fladius** Ban. f. *CIL* I² 1758 (Bovianum vetus; the only other attestation is *CIL* XV 8218).
- **flaviies* gen. Ps14 = *Imag.* 880f. Nola 11 (c. 450–400 "or later"): *Flavius*.
- ***fuvfdis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 34, **fufid[iis]** tSa30 = *Imag.* 1083 Bovianum 83 (n. d.); N. Fufidii in Puteoli (*CIL* I² 698, 105 BC) and in Pompeii (Castrén no. 174, 3. 4): *Fufidius*, attested also in Terventum, Saepinum, Teanum Sidicinum; Lejeune 142.
- †**γαυκιεσ** Lu13 = *Imag.* 1424ff. Potentia 40 (250–200). This nomen was interpreted in 1966 by M. Lejeune as corresponding to **Gaucius* (M. Lejeune, *REL* 44 [1966] 177; thus also Del Tutto Palma 154; *Imag.*); however, in 1970, Lejeune suggested **Gavicius* (M. Lejeune, *REA* 72 [1970] 286; accepted by Slunečko no. 157), apparently assuming that we have here another instance of the syncope of the type **pupdiis** for **pupidiis** and that <αυ> is here written instead of <αϜ> (cf. *αυδαισ* "*Audaeus*" ~ *αϜδειεσ* "*Audeius*").
- ***gaaviis** Cm6 = *Imag.* 864f. Nola 3 (150–90), **gaaviis** Cm2 = *Imag.* 849f. Surrentum 1 (200–100), **gaviis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33, Sa44 = *Imag.* 1220f. Fagifulae 2: *Gavius* (Aesernia, Beneventum, Caiatia, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Salernum; Lejeune 142).
- *Staius **Gellius**, *imperator Samnitium* 305 BC (Liv. 9, 44, 13): *Gellius* (Aeclanum, Puteoli, Nuceria, Surrentum, Atina Lucana, Cosentia).
- ***gnaivii(s)** *Imag.* 576f. Trebula Balliensis 1 (150–100?), *cnaiviies* gen. Ps13 = *Imag.* 870f. Nola 6 (c. 450); N. Naevii or Naevii *N. f.* in Saepinum (*CIL* IX 6308) and Puteoli (*CIL* X 1807 from Puteoli);³⁹ cf. the poet Cn. Naevius, who wrote an epigram *plenum superbiae Campanae* (Gell. 1, 24, 1): *Naevius* (Terventum, Saepinum, Telesia, Teanum Sidicinum, Cales, Capua, Atella, Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nola, Muro Lucano, Petelia).

³⁸ *Fisidius* seems less plausible, as this nomen is attested only in Luna in northern Etruria (*CIL* XI 1355).

³⁹ N. Naevii are also attested in Teate Marrucinatorum (*EE* VIII 124) and Rome (*CIL* VI 22819).

- gusies** (?) Fr10 = *Imag.* 1287 Larinum 6 (c. 200–100): this could perhaps be *Gussius* (*CIL* III 2839).
- †**Harines** (Latin alphabet) Cm15 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50). This is surely the nomen of an immigrant, possibly from somewhere in Etruria.
- ***hegi(is?)** tPo5 = *Imag.* 762 Pompei 96 (n. d.): *Hegius*, attested in Pompeii. *Hegius* must be in the same relation to *Heius* (also attested in Pompeii) as *magis* is to *maius* (**mag-yos*), *Magius* to *Maius*, and **ieñis** to *Iegius*; cf. Leumann 126; Lejeune 80f.⁴⁰
- ***heñis** Cm5 = *Imag.* 493f. Cumae 3 (presumably before 180), **heñi(s)** Cm4 = *Imag.* 491f. Cumae 2 (presumably before 180), Cm20 = *Imag.* 512 Cumae 11 (c. 200?), **eiúm** gen. pl. tCm2 = *Imag.* 524 Cumae 20 (c. 200?); Δέκμος Ἐίος Πακίου *IG* XIV 861 (Cumae);⁴¹ Heia Papi f. *NSA* 1961, 200 (Pompeii): *Heius* (Saepinum, Cumae [*CIL* I² 3129; *Camodeca* 2008, 18]).
- +***heleviis** Sa36 = *Imag.* 1097f. Bovianum 98 (300–200), ZO2 = *Imag.* 366f. Campania or Samnium 2 (after c. 300), **helevi(is)** Cp27 = *Imag.* 432f. Capua 28 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **heleviieís** gen. Cp28 = *Imag.* 430f. Capua 27 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **helleviis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200), **helvi[-]** ZO3 = *Imag.* 364f. Campania or Samnium 1 (before c. 300), ἐπὶ ... Νούϊου Ἐλε(φίου?) *Poccetti* 201 = *Imag.* 1529 Petelia no. 2; *Helvii N. f.* in Capua (*CIL* I² 2944f.). Cf. *helevis* Pg37 = *Imag.* 281 Corfinium 18, Pg41 = *Imag.* 282 Corfinium 19: *Helvius* (Aesernia, Saepinum, Bovianum, Compsa, Beneventum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria, Potentia, Atina Lucana, Grumentum, Vibo).

⁴⁰ Lejeune, however, only speaks of *Magius/Maius* (and mentions the possibility that **ieñis** might have something to do with *Iegius*; no mention of a possible connection of **hegi(is)** with **heñis**), but explains the difference between *Magius* and *Maius* by observing that *Magius* is a nomen and *Maius* a praenomen (thus ignoring the existence of the nomen *Maius*), and saying that, in the instance of the nomen with the suffix *-iyo-*, the "radical", being followed by a vowel, stayed "inaltéré", whereas in the case of the praenomen there followed, "devant yod, altération" (**magyo-* > **mayyo*). In the following, he explains the possible identity (problematic, according to his view) of **ieñis** with *Iegius* by saying that one would have to postulate that the nomen had been "secondairement refait à partir du pronom [understand prénom] correspondant". However, this theory seems a bit too complicated and ignores the existence of the nomen *Maius* and of the nomina *Hegius* and *Heius*. For further nomina in *-gius* which must – or at least may – be closely related to nomina in *-ius* cf. *Caius Cagius*, *Raius Ragius* (*CIL* X 5915), *Reius Regius* (*CIL* VI 21199 etc.), *Roius Rogius* (*CIL* IX 6083 etc.), *Seius Segius* (*CIL* X 5523), *Staius Stagius* (*CIL* VI 38929), *Veius Vegius* (*CIL* XI 380).

⁴¹ One wonders how one should interpret the fact that in Greek inscriptions from Greece and Asia, this nomen is regularly written Ἡίος (*IG* II/III² 2098. 7624; *IG* V 1, 659; *ID* 1754. 2612, etc.).

†N. *Heracleidius* Pac. f. *CIL* I² 3598a (Volcei).

–**hereiis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 39, a man from Saepinum: this could be *Hereius* (attested in Ostia: *CIL* XIV 1029, 1104); but this may be an error for **heriis** (cf. line 42).

***herenni(is)** Po41 = *Imag.* 671f. Pompei 31 ("between the Social War and Sulla"), **heirennis** Cm6 = *Imag.* 864f. Nola 3 (150–90);⁴² T. Herennius, a commander of the Italians in the Social War (*RE* Herennius 15), perhaps from Campania (Salmon 1967, 356), but assigned to Picenum by Keaveney 1987, 217, to the Paeligni by M. Buonocore, in A.M. Dolciotti & al. (eds.), *L'ombilico d'Italia* (2007) 71; N. Herennii in Teanum Sidicinum (*CIL* X 4792) and Pompeii (Castrén no. 191, 4. 6ff. 12f. 15f.): *Hērennius* (Beneventum, Caudium, Compsa, Caiatia, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Abellinum, Paestum, Volcei, Grumentum, Tegianum).

***heri(is)** tSa13+36 = *Imag.* 997 Bovianum 9 (c. 200–100), **heriieis** gen. Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 42 (cf. line 39 and above **hereiis**), ερηιτω (probably for *heriητω*)⁴³ gen. Lu24 = *Imag.* 1470f. Crimisa 2; N. Herius Deuterus in Larinum (*CIL* IX 2831 = I² 1760): *Hērius Herrius* (attested in Aesernia, Venafrum, Allifae, Capua, Puteoli, Petelia).

–**οριουμ** acc. Lu44 = *Imag.* 1472f. Crimisa 3 (c. 300–250; "<h>οριουμ"⁴⁴); ἐπὶ Λευκίου Ὀρ(ίου?) Poccetti 201 = *Imag.* 1529 Petelia no. 2: this could be *Horius* (Slunečko 183, *Imag.*; cf. *CIL* III 2356 [Salona] *Horia M. l. Prima*).

⁴² For <ei> cf. also the praenomen **heirens** ("Herennus") ZO1 = *Imag.* 372f. Campania or Samnium 6, Fr8 = *Imag.* 1278 Histonium 10 (gen. **heirene(is)**), ηηρενσ Lu5 = *Imag.* 1364f. Potentia 1; but note also the Greek rendering of its feminine form as Ἡρέννη (*IGI Napoli* II 124; this inscription is not normally cited in the discussions of *Herennius*). Now the first *e* in *Herennius* is short (Schulze 82), and because of <ei> in **heirennis** and **heirens**, these names are normally regarded as not deriving from the same root as *Hērennius* (Schulze 82; Untermann 323). The form Ἡρέννη seems to indicate that there was also a name **Hērennus* **Hērennius*; but <ei> is normally used to reproduce the diphthong [ei] which in later Latin usually appears as <i> ([ī]; cf. **deikum** "dicere", **diúveí** "Iovi", etc.), and there is certainly no trace of a name **Hīrennius*. Taking into account the fact that G. Meiser (in F. Heidermanns & al. [eds.], *Sprachen und Schriften des antiken Mittelmeerraums. Festschrift für J. Untermann* [1993] 257) has produced an explanation for <ei> (this could be a reproduction of the "palatale Qualität" of [r'] based on original -ry-, that is from the root **herye/o*), it seems permissible to see **heirennis** as identical to Oscan **herenni(is)** and Latin *Hērennius*. As for as Ἡρέννη, perhaps one could assume that the <η> is an error of some sort.

⁴³ For the orthography without <h>, cf. Stuart-Smith 2004, 95.

⁴⁴ Cf. n. 43.

- ***húrtiis** Sa23 = *Imag.* 1211f. Terventum 38 (n. d.), ορτηις⁴⁵ gen. tLu6 = *Imag.* 1503 Vibo 8 ("presumably before c. 200"): this must be *Hortius*, attested in Aquileia (*CIL* V 916 = *I. Aquileiae* 2859) and in Tarraco (*CIL* II² 14, 1300 = *RIT* 397).
- ***húsdiiis** Sa43 = *Imag.* 1038 Bovianum 42 (300–275), **húsdiiis** Fr1 = *Imag.* 1265f. Histonium 1 (c. 200–100): *Hosidius*, attested at least in Puteoli (Lejeune 142)⁴⁶ and often in Histonium.
- †**husinies** gen. Ps11 = *Imag.* 874f. Nola 8 (c. 450): surely this must be **Hosinius*, not otherwise attested (but cf. *Hosidius*).
- +**ieíis** nPg8 = N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 406 (a *dux* of the Italians during the Social War, *RE* IX 920; assigned to the Pentri by Salmon 1967, 337 n. 1, cf. 369), **?iegies** gen. Ps5 = *Imag.* 851f. Surrentum 2 (575–500?); cf. *iegie[s]* Pg11 = *Imag.* 318f. Sulmo 13 (c. 200–125): *Iegius*, attested in Cliternia in the country of the Aequi and in Amiternum.⁴⁷
- ***illippii[s]** Si14 = *Imag.* 540 Teanum Sidicinum 9 (n. d.), **illip[-]** Si13 = *Imag.* 552 Teanum Sidicinum 20 (c. 200): *Ilippius*, attested in Rufrae, a *vicus* probably of Teanum (*CIL* X 4837; for Rufrae see n. 92).
- †**ιμεσ** = ιμ<ι>εσ? Lu44 = *Imag.* 1472f. Crimisa 3 (c. 300–250); "we can think of no plausible conjecture for ιμεσ" (*Imag.*), but this word appears in a *defixio* between a praenomen in the nominative (μοις) and a praenomen and a nomen in the accusative (μοιομ ποπεδ[ιομ]) and must thus be a nomen in the nominative (i.e., that of the person who is the author of a curse); assuming that the <ι> has been left out by mistake seems to me an acceptable solution;⁴⁸ ιμ<ι>εσ could be interpreted as **Imius* **Immius*, although this nomen does not seem to be attested.⁴⁹
- †**iseí(is)** (?) *SE* 59 (1993) 320f. = *Arch. Class.* 46 (1994) 364 (Pompeii; on a bronze statuette from Torre Annunziata); but note that the inscription is

⁴⁵ For the omission of <h> see n. 43.

⁴⁶ The *Hosidius* in *CIL* X 1401 (Lejeune 142) is the consul Cn. *Hosidius* Geta appearing in the consular date, not a *Hosidius* from Herculaneum.

⁴⁷ For the identity of **ieíis** and *Iegius* see n. 40. "*Ieius*" in *CIL* III 3952 is in fact *Heius*, see *AIJug.* 532.

⁴⁸ Thus Poccetti no. 189, Rix, Tikkanen 2011, 50. However, it must be noted that there does not seem to be a parallel for a nominative appearing as –εσ instead of –ιεσ.

⁴⁹ In *CIL* XII 5210 (Narbo), with *[-]immius (mulieris) l. Rufio*, the beginning of the nomen must be missing.

- called a "nonsense text" in *Imag.* 59 no. 12, a "forgery" *ibid.* 1584. If genuine, the nomen could be interpreted as **Iseius*, which could be compared to *Isedius* and *Isellius* (*AE* 1996, 570 from near Nursia; cf., e.g., *Vibeius* : *Vibedius* : *Vibellius*). For the ending –**είς** cf. **heίς** **ieίς**.
- ***íst(akidiis)** tPo22 = *Imag.* 785 Pompei 109 (c. 150–100); N. Istacidii in Pompeii (Castrén no. 204, 7f. 10. 12ff.): *Istacidius*, a nomen attested only in Pompeii.
- laί(niis)** (?) (thus Slunečko 195) tSa5 = *Imag.* 1000f. Bovianum 11 (c. 200–100): if the interpretation **laί(niis)**⁵⁰ were correct, then we would be dealing with *Laenius* (a nomen typical of Brundisium), but of course one could also think of other nomina (*Laelius Laevius*, etc.).
- *M. *Lamponius*, commander of the Lucanians in the Social War (*RE* XII 582f.):⁵¹ *Lamponius*, attested in Muro Lucano (*AE* 2009, 260).
- λανφιησ** gen. (a nomen?) Cm31 = *Imag.* 927 (Picentia) 3: this could represent *Lanivius Lanuvius* (attested in Rome and Hispellum [*CIL* XI 5321, *Lani-*, 5322 *Lanu-*], cf. *Lanuius* *CIL* VI 21086f. and *AE* 1988, 488 from Plestia).
- ***lap(iis)** (?) tSa42 = *Imag.* 1124 Bovianum 118 (n. d.): probably *Lappius*, attested in Larinum and Puteoli.
- ***lass(iús)** nom. pl. tPo12 = *Imag.* 827f. Pompei (?) 137 (c. 150–100): *Lassius* (attested in Pompeii and Surrentum).
- *Νόυιος **Λατί<ι>ος** Ούίου Μαμερτίνοϋ *SEG* 53, 546 (decree from Larisa) = B. Helly, *Topoi* 15, 1 (2007) 229–35 cf. *Imag.* 1531 Messana (5, reading **Λατίνοϋ**): *Latinius*, attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1856f.), Atina Lucana (*Inscr. It.* III 1, 126, 177) and Volcei (*Inscr. It.* III 1, 113).⁵²
- ***lev(iis)** (?) *Imag.* 1296f. Teanum Apulum 3: perhaps *Levius* (attested in Puteoli and Pompeii).
- +***lík(-)** tPo24 = *Imag.* 804 Pompei 120 (c. 150–100), **lí(-)** tPo25 = *Imag.* 805 Pompei 121 (c. 150–100); cf. *licina* (for *licinia*?) MV7 = *Imag.* 234 Teate Marrucinum 3?: perhaps one could think of *Licinius* (but *Imag.* offers only the interpretation "Lic.(?)" and – in the case of Pompei 121 – "Li(?) or Le(?)").
- +**Loesius* (*Lusius Lysius*). Seppius Loesius, *Liv.* 26, 6, 13 (*meddix* in Capua 211 BC); N. Lusii in Herculaneum (*AE* 1978, 119a; 2006, 301); cf. *loisies*

⁵⁰ *Imag.* opts for *Laius*, but this nomen does not seem to be attested.

⁵¹ There seems to be no need to emend the nomen (thus T. Sironen, *Arctos* 25 [1991] 134–7), especially as the nomen "αλαπονιεσ" now turns out to be non-existent (see below **σκαλαπονιες**).

⁵² Cf. also N. Latinius Anteros in Rome, *CIL* VI 21159.

- MV8, 9 = *Imag.* 237ff. Teate Marrucinarum 6, 7 (c. 150): *Loesius* (*RE* Loesius 2, a man with the praenomen *Tr(ebius)*) *Lusius* (Bovianum Vetus, Aeclanum [*CIL* IX 6279], Venafrum, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria) *Lysius*.⁵³
- ***Λόλιός** τις ἀνὴρ Σαυνίτης in 269 BC, Zonar. 8, 7, 1 (from Dio); N. Lollius N. f. in Frigento (*CIL* X 1060): *Lollius* (Beneventum [common], Aeclanum, Venafrum, Cales, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria, Paestum, Croto, etc.).
- +***λύνκι(ι)s** nPg7 = N. K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 410 (a commander of the Italians in the Social War, thought to have been a Lucilius by some scholars for no valid reason; cf. *RE* Lucilius 14, Salmon 1967, 359), **λύνκιίύι** dat. Cm1 = *Imag.* 887ff. Abella 1 (c. 100), A4, **λύνκι-ιύ** nom. fem. Si8 = *Imag.* 549 Teanum Sidicinum 18 (c. 200); N. Lucius Cyricius in Cumae in AD 251 (*CIL* X 3699).⁵⁴ Cf. *loucies* Pg21 = *Imag.* 325f. Sulmo 18 (c. 150), Pg46 = *Imag.* 327f. Sulmo 19 (c. 125), *loucia* Pg29 = *Imag.* 330 Sulmo 22 (before c. 100 ?): *Lucius*, attested in Saepinum (*CIL* IX 2439), Aesernia (*CIL* IX 2728), Bovianum (*CIL* IX 2574), Allifae (*I. Allifae* 175), Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Abellinum, Paestum, Atina Lucana, Vibo.
- ***makkiis** *Imag.* 380 Campania Coinage 1 (265–240), **ἠ[α]κίίς** tPo38 = *Imag.* 765 Pompei 98 (n. d.), **m(a)k(kiis)** (?) *Imag.* 974 Aeclanum 16 (n. d.), *Imag.* 1231 Fagifulae 9 (c. 100), **m(a)k(kiús)** (?) nom. pl. tPo27+37 = *Imag.* 807 Pompei 122 (c. 150–100); L. Maccius Papi f. NSA 1898, 422 (Pompeii): *Maccius*, attested at least in Aeclanum (*CIL* IX 1288) and in Pompeii also in later inscriptions.
- ***[m]aiinis** (?) Sa47 = *Imag.* 1114 Bovianum 109 (c. 100?): perhaps *Maenius*, attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1868f.) and Volturnum (*CIL* X 3727 = I² 1608).
- ***magiis** Hi1 = *Imag.* 961f. Aeclanum 4 (c. 150–90), **magiú** nom. fem. Hi4 = *Imag.* 959f. Aeclanum 3 (c. 150?), **magiium** gen. Cp8 = *Imag.* 406f. Capua 15 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]), **mageis** (?) gen. (a nomen?) Cm23 = *Imag.* 599 Saticula (?) 5 (350–300); Decius Magius, *princeps Campanorum* in 216 (Liv. 23, 7, 4, Vell. 2, 16, 2, etc.); Cn. Magius, *Atellanus, meddix tuticus* in 214 (Liv. 24, 19, 2); Minatus Magius *Aeculanensis* Vell. 2, 16, 2, cf. *CIL* I²

⁵³ For *Lysius* (*CIL* X 1512, 2683 etc.) representing original **Loisius Loesius* (and not **Lousius*) cf. Schulze 184. For *Lusii* in Campania, cf. Camodeca 2008, 211f.

⁵⁴ For N. Lucii in Rome, see *CIL* VI 283, 21614; *AE* 1980, 54.

1722 (Aeclanum) M. Magi(us) Min. f. Surus (for the Magii cf. also Campanile 2008, 982): *Magius*, also attested in other inscriptions from Aeclanum and in Terventum, Saepinum, Bovianum Vetus, Beneventum, Venafrum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Atina Lucana, Grumentum, Thurii. For the relation of *Magius* to *Ma(h)ius*, cf. n. 40.

***mahii[s]** Sa14+37+40 = *Imag.* 935ff. Atina 1 (200–100), μαυεσ nLu4 = *Imag.* 381 Campania Coinage 2 (c. 275–240), μαηισ gen. *Imag.* 1501 Vibo 6 (presumably before c. 200); C. Maius N. f. *CIL* I² 674 (Capua, 110 BC): *Mahius* (*I. Allifae* 84), *Maius* (Bovianum [*AE* 1996, 486], Frigento [*CIL* IX 1027 = I² 1719], Volturnum [*AE* 2002, 393], Puteoli [*CIL* X 1983]; cf. Lejeune 142)].

***μαισιμ** acc. Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300): *Maesius*, attested at least in Potentia (*CIL* X 136) and in Suessa Aurunca west of Teanum Sidicinum (*CIL* X 4760).

***μαμερεκιεσ** Lu18 = *Imag.* 1312 Lucania etc. 3 (c. 375–350):⁵⁵ *Mamercius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Abellinum [cf. Camodeca 2008, 38], Vibo; Lejeune 142).⁵⁶

***maamiis** Cm47 = *Imag.* 868f. Nola 5 (c. 150–100?), **maamiieis** (originally probably **-iieis**) gen. Po55 = *Imag.* 685f. Pompei 38 (150–100); C. Mamius Mar. f. *CIL* I² 3207 (ager Terentinus); cf. also Tr. Mami(us) Mai f. attested in Praeneste (*CIL* I² 193): *Mamius* (Aesernia, Beneventum, Caiatia, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Potentia, Grumentum), *Maamius* (*CIL* I² 1549, Aquinum).

+†**marahii(s)** *Imag.* 576f. Trebula Balliensis 1 (150–100?), **maraiieis** gen. Sa4 = *Imag.* 1156ff. Terventum 8 (c. 125) (**mar[aiis]** [?]) Po2 = *Imag.* 635f. Pompei 12 [c. 200–100?]); cf. *maraiies* Lu49 = *Imag.* 78 Italia 4. This is surely **Maraeus* (cf. **melissai[s]** = *Melissaeus*), attested (as far as I can see) only as Greek Μαραῖος as a rendering of the praenomen **marahis**.

⁵⁵ **mame(-)** Cp43 = *Imag.* 436 Capua 10, thought by Rix to be an abbreviation of the nomen, is better understood as **mame(rteí)** "Marti" (*Imag.*). **mamertieis** gen. tCP1-3 = *Imag.* 465ff. Capua 52 and **mamertiui** dat. tCm 7 = *Imag.* 592 Acerrae 1 seem to be praenomina (thus *Imag.* in the index p. 1610) rather than nomina (**mamertiui pettiannui** would thus be a combination of a praenomen and a nomen); in Latin, this praenomen would be **Mamertius* (note that a nomen **Mamertius* is not attested).

⁵⁶ Oscan *Mamers* being the equivalent of Latin *Mars*, one wonders whether some Mamercii might not have started to call themselves *Marcii* in a Latin-speaking environment; there are *Marcii* with the praenomen *Numerius* in Abella (*CIL* X 1202) and in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 7425 = *AE* 2009, 219).

- ***mari[is]** (?) Si15 = *Imag.* 537 Teanum Sidicinum 6 (regarding this as a praenomen) (cf. **mar(-)** *Imag.* 846 Stabiae 5 [n. d.]?); C. Marius No. f. *CIL* I² 3201 (Aesernia); N. Marii in Trebula Balliensis and Salernum (*CIL* I² 3119; *Inscr. It.* I 1, 70): *Marius* (Bovianum Vetus, Aufidena, Aesernia, Venafrum, Allifae, Bovianum, Aequeum Tuticum, Aeclanum, Beneventum, Caiatia, Cales, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Petelia, Locri).
- ***matj[is]** (?) Po2 = *Imag.* 635f. Pompei 12 (c. 200–100?); if this is the correct reading, we would be dealing with *Matius* (apparently attested in Pompeii by *CIL* X 8059, 187), *Mattius*. However, one wonders whether the reading might not be **matej[i(i)s]** (there is in fact not much to be seen in the photo after the *t*), for *Mateius* is attested at least three times in Pompeii (*CIL* X 4916; *TPSulp.* 67; 91⁵⁷) and (as *Matteius*) once (perhaps) in Herculaneum (*CIL* X 2722).⁵⁸
- ***melíssai[s]** Po56 = *Imag.* 707f. Pompei 50 (c. 150–100), with the reading **[kl]emens melíssai`e`[ís]** ("Clemens (the slave) of Melissaeus"):⁵⁹ *Melissaeus*, attested only in Pompeii; Lejeune 142.
- +***metiis** Sa32 = *Imag.* 370f. Campania or Samnium 5 (before c. 300), **me(tiis?)** tSa19 = *Imag.* 1013 Bovianum 20, ?**meziis** Po15 = *Imag.* 640 Pompei 14 (taking this to be equivalent to *Messius*; 225–200);⁶⁰ Sthennius (= *Stenius*) Mettius, the *princeps* of Samnium during (apparently) the First Punic War (Festus p. 150 L.); Staius Mettius,⁶¹ a Campanian in 214 BC (Liv. 24, 19, 2); N. Mettius {S}Treb. f. Men. *AE* 1964, 221bis (Pompeii). Cf. *Vibea Metia T. anacetha Ceria*, M. Buonocore, in A. Donati & G. Poma

⁵⁷ J. G. Wolf, *Neue Rechtsurkunden aus Pompeji* (2010) TPN 58; 74.

⁵⁸ The inscription (now in Gorizia) has been placed by Mommsen under Puteoli, but its origin is given either as the Regnum Neapolitanum (which could mean anything) or Herculaneum.

⁵⁹ However, the nominative **melíssai[s]** seems quite all right, cf. the Latin type *Apollonius Laelius Q(uinti) s(ervus)* (type "II" in A. Mau, "Zur älteren Nomenklatur der römischen Sklaven", *RhM* 59 [1904] 108–40).

⁶⁰ One wonders, though, whether it would not be preferable to assume (with Poccetti 1979 no. 108; Campanile 2008, 986 with n. 32) that **meziis** is a palatalisation of *Met(t)ius*, although it must be admitted that a palatalization of this type seems to be attested only in southern Oscan and in a much later period, namely in the *tabula Bantina* (Lu1 = *Imag.* 1437ff. Bantia 1), with *bansae* (for **bantiae*); cf. M. Lejeune, *REA* 72 (1970) 311f. (but cf. also, e.g., *Martses* [from **Martieis*] in *CIL* I² 5 = Ve 228 a from the country of the Marsi).

⁶¹ Thus in the edition of Dorey with no indication of variant readings; *Metius* Walters & Conway.

- (ed.), *L'officina epigrafica romana* (2012) 211f. (Sulmo):⁶² *Metius* (Capua, Potentia) *Mettius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum [CIL IX 1412. 1416], Puteoli, Nola, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Volcei, Potentia, Vibo; cf. Lejeune 142).
- +***Mevia** Pac. f. NSA 1949, 172 (Neapolis); cf. *mevies* Fr16 = *Imag.* 1265f. Histonium 12 (n. d.): *Mevius* (Terwentum, Saepinum, Cumae, Neapolis [also in CIL X 1480], Pompeii, Stabiae).
- ***minatis** (2x) Cm47 = *Imag.* 868f. Nola 5 (c. 150–100?) (the reading of the nomen does not seem absolutely certain), **miínatúi** (for **-tiiúí** and a nomen?) Si2 = *Imag.* 977f. Venafrum 1 (c. 200); Staius Minatius, a Samnite in 296 BC (Liv. 10, 20, 13; but we may in fact be dealing with a Minatus Staius, cf. Salomies 1987, 79 and below **staíis**); Arte(mo?) Min(atius?) Tr. 1. CIL I² 3163 (Casilinum): *Mīnatius* (Aufidena, Allifae, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii, Muro Lucano, Atina Lucana, Tegianum, Grumentum; Lejeune 142).
- †**minatlais** Si12 = *Imag.* 553 Teanum Sidicinum 21 (125–100). In Latin, this could be **Minatulaeus* (thus *Imag.*, comparing *Petruculaeus*). The relation of **Minatulaeus* to *Minatius* would be the same as that of *Petruculaeus* to *Petrucius*.
- ***μινηις** (a nomen?) gen. *Imag.* 1323 Paestum 2 (c. 300): *Mīnius*, attested at least in Beneventum (CIL IX 2102), Herculaneum (CIL X 1403, d, 2, 17) and Nola (AE 1971, 84).⁶³
- ***minutihes** gen. *Imag.* 925 (Picentia) 1 (c. 500–475): this may well be *Minutius* (attested almost exclusively in Cales).⁶⁴
- múlúkiis** Cm7 = *Imag.* 862f. Nola 2 (200–100): surely *Mulcius* known from CIL IX 4072 = CIL I² 1826 (Carsoli).
- ***ἠ[ut]ῥιλλίς, mut[ti]lli[s], mutillieis** gen. Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), lines 3, 33, 41: *Mutilius Mutillius* (attested in Stabiae).
- ***νανονις** Lu 6, 7 = *Imag.* 1375ff. Potentia 9, 10 (200–175): *Nanonius* (Atina Lucana, Tegianum [Lejeune 142], Sinuessa [AE 1991, 497]).
- ***naseni(eis)** gen. Cp19 = *Imag.* 386f. Capua 3 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]); N. Nasennii in Pompeii (Castrén no. 266, 1. 2): *Nasennius* (Beneventum, Capua, Herculaneum; Lejeune 142).

⁶² A C. Metti(us) N. f. Qui. is attested in Rome (CIL VI 22475 = I² 1338).

⁶³ A. Giannetti, *Notiziario archeologico. Ciociaria e zone limitrofe* II (1988) 537f. suggests that CIL X *169 from Abella (mentioning a certain Minius Proculus) might be genuine. Note also N. Minius Hylas from Thessalonica (CIL XVI 1).

⁶⁴ CIL X 4683; EE VIII 544, 554; AE 1973, 135.

- ***neriis** *Imag.* 1217 Terventum 43 (n. d.); M. Nerius Ov. f. *CIL* I² 2949 (Capua); N. Nerius Hyginus in Pompeii (Castrén no. 267, 2): *Nerius* (Venafrum, Trebula Balliensis, Beneventum, Capua, Pompeii).
- nim(miis)** Sa49 = *Imag.* 1227ff. Fagifulae 5, (21) (n. d.), tSa8 = *Imag.* 1002f. Bovianum 12 (c. 125–100); *CIL* I² 2238 = *I. Délos* 1750 N. Nimmius No. f. This nomen is otherwise unknown; one wonders, however, whether it is possible that *Nimmius* might be in some relation to *Nummius*, a nomen widely attested in the Oscan lands.⁶⁵
- ***ninium** gen. pl. Cp26 = *Imag.* 404f. Capua 14 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]); Ninnii in Capua in 216 BC (Liv. 23, 8, 1): *Ninnius* (Saepinum, Puteoli, Pompeii; Lejeune 142).
- ***niume^rd^riis** Sa27 = *Imag.* 1121f. Bovianum 116 (c. 325); the inscription is known from a copy made in 1777, in which the reading of the nomen is in fact **niumeriis**; this has been corrected plausibly (as Oscan <d> can easily be taken for <r>) by M. Lejeune and R. Antonini, a reading supported in *Imag.*; **niume^rd^riis** is probably identical with *Numīdius* (attested in Capua).⁶⁶
- ***νομψις** Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300), νοψις acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320) (cf. νοψ(-) (?) Lu61 = *Imag.* 1457f. Heraclea 2, but with the reading v. οψ(ιες); before c. 275?); this is the nomen corresponding to the popular praenomen **niumsis**, the Oscan form of the nomen being ***niumsiis**; the epenthetic <p> in νομψις and in the Latin forms below is also attested in Greek renderings of the praenomen, cf. Salomies 1987, 41; 2008, 28f.: *Numsius* (*CIL* X 4605 from Caiatia), *Numpsius* (*CIL* X 4251 = I² 1595 from Capua), *Nympsius* (*N. Nympsius N. f. Fronto*, unpublished inscription in the Museum of Naples);⁶⁷ cf. *Numisius*, *Numerius*.

⁶⁵ The variation between <i> and <u> would then be comparable to that which we can observe in *Bruttius* = *Brittius*, *Suttius* = (probably) *Sittius*. For a *Nummius N. f.* in Bovianum Vetus, cf. below in the Appendix.

⁶⁶ The variation between <e> and <i> (representing [ě] and [ī]) would then be the same as in *Camedius Camidius*, *Titedius Titidius*, etc. The original reading **niumeriis** (which would be a rendering of the Latin form *Numerius*, not of the expected Oscan version ***niumsiis**) and the corrected version of Slunečko no. 255, **nium^rsd^riis** (said to be the equivalent of **Numisidius* [this may be an error for **Numisidius*]), are not plausible.

⁶⁷ For *Nympsius* cf. Νύμψιος, a common rendering of the praenomen **niumsis** in Greek inscriptions (Salomies 1987, 41), this reflecting an evolution [u] > [ü] for which see M. Lejeune, *REA* 72 (1970) 396–9.

- ***núvellum** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200, a curse tablet), probably (thus *Imag.*) to be interpreted as gen. pl. of the nomen ***núvelliis**: *Novellius* (Capua [*domus Novelliana*, *CIL* X 3799], Pompeii, Nuceria).
- ***núv(iis)** tPo14 = *Imag.* 825 Pompei 135 (c. 150–100), **nú(viis)** Po29 = *Imag.* 689f. Pompei 41 (after c. 300), **nu[viis]** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 2 (**nuís** [?] tSa38 = *Imag.* 1081 Bovianum 85 [n. d.]?): *Novius* (Venafrum, Compsa, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Salernum).
- ufiis** Cm33 = *Imag.* 518f. Cumae 15 (320–300): this must be *Ofius*, attested only in *CIL* X 5416 from Aquinum.
- ***úhtavis** and **uhtavis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200), **úhtavis** Fr1 = *Imag.* 1265f. Histonium 1 (c. 200–100); cf. **úht(-)** Si2 = *Imag.* 977f. Venafrum 1 (but this is more probably a praenomen), **úh(-)** tPo31 = *Imag.* 759 Pompei 94 (n. d.); Cn. Octavi(us) N. l. in Capua (*CIL* I² 677): *Octavius*⁶⁸ (Venafrum, Allifae, Telesia, Beneventum, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Surrentum, Salernum, Muro Lucano, Atina Lucana, Petelia, Locri, etc.).
- ***úpfalliu** nom. fem. *Imag.* 1090 Bovianum 93 (c. 300); ?Οφάλλ[(λ)ιος ---?] (ἐμ Πετελίας), *SEG* 22, 455 (Delphi, list of θεωροδόκοι; M. Nocita, *Italiotai e Italikoi* [2012] p. 246) cf. *Imag.* 1530 Petelia no. (4) (220–210; but we might also be dealing with a praenomen used as a single name); cf. *uφλλιis* gen. Ve. 138a (Etruscan inscription on an oil-flask found nr. Salernum): *Ofalius* (*CIL* I² 2440 from Rome, *No. Ofalius No. f.*; *AE* 2008, 1206 from Samothrace), representing **Offalius*, the cluster [pf] having evolved into [ff]; *Ofalius* again must be identical with *Ofelius Offelius Ofellius Ofellius*⁶⁹ (Aesernia, Beneventum, Capua, Herculaneum), for which forms Schulze 452 compares *fallo fefelli*. For the praenomen **úpfalls** see Weiss 2010, 367–71.
- ***úfniú** (?) fem. Po49 = *Imag.* 714f. Pompei 54 (c. 150–100): this is surely *Ofinius* (*CIL* IX 2824, from Quadri/Trebula south of Iuvanum in the country in the Carricini).

⁶⁸ For <ht> representing [kt] cf. Stuart-Smith 2004, 95f.

⁶⁹ That these are all different renderings of the same name appears, e.g., from the fact that we find both *Offellii* and *Ofellii* in Beneventum (in the same inscription: *CIL* IX 1914 = I² 1736). There are, of course, also *Ofillii* (and *Ofilii*, etc.), who have a nomen which must be in some relation to *Ofellius* (in *CIL* III 12263 = R. A. Kearsley, *Greeks and Romans in Imperial Asia* (2001) no. 66 from Kos, a [P.] *Ofillius* appears in the Greek text as Πόπλιος Ὀφέλλ[λιος]).

- [o]πιλίε[σ] (?) *Imag.* 1415 Potentia 32 (300–200). If this is the correct reading and the correct interpretation, one might think of *Opilius Opillius* (cf. the existence of the praenomen **úpils**: Salomies 2008, 29), although these nomina do not seem to be found in Latin inscriptions of the Oscan area (cf. also *Upellius*, below).⁷⁰
- ***upii[s]** (a nomen?) Po92 = *Imag.* 745 Pompei 82 (on an amphora, not datable); Vestia Oppia from Atella (but living in Capua) in 210 BC (Liv. 26, 33, 8; 34, 1; Val. Max. 5, 2, 1); N. Op(p)ii in Larinum (*CIL* IX 6247), Saticula (*CIL* IX 2150), Capua (*CIL* I² 2949), Pompeii (Castrén no. 290, 4); Oppia N. libert(a) Restituta in Potentia (*CIL* X 134); cf. perhaps οπιεσ Lu40 = *Imag.* 1356f. Cosilinum 2:⁷¹ *Opius Oppius* (Aufidena, Aesernia, Saepinum, Compsa, Aeclanum, Aequum Tuticum, Beneventum, Saticula, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Stabiae, Paestum, Volcei, Tegianum).
- ***upsiis** nSi3g = *Imag.* 586ff. Phistelia 1, 11 (325–275), **úpsiúí** dat. Si2 = *Imag.* 977f. Venafrum 1 (c. 200), ?**úpsim** acc. Cm41 = *Imag.* 500f. Cumae 6 (c. 200?) (interpreted as "I am present" rather than as a name), οπιον acc. (2x) Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320); οπι(ος) (or οπι(ου)) N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 2305–7 cf. *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1; οπι(εσ) (?) Lu61 = *Imag.* 1457f. Heraclea 2 (before c. 275): *Opsius* (Cales, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Grumentum).
- urugieis** (?) gen. *Imag.* 853 Surrentum 3 (using alphabet of Nocera; 525–500).⁷² This name – one hopes that this is indeed the correct reading (cf. n. 77) – is regarded as a nomen in the index (p. 1621) and said to be the equivalent of *Orc(h)ius*, a nomen attested once in Puteoli (*AE* 2007, 407) and a few times elsewhere;⁷³ however, one wonders whether it would not be preferable to consider *Urgius*, a nomen which seems to be attested in *CIL* XI 6689, 265,⁷⁴ and which may possibly be postulated on the basis of *Urgulanius*

⁷⁰ Note that the reading "**úpil[iú]m**" (acc.) of Po45 has been disposed of by the new reading in *Imag.* 669 Pompei 30, where the reading is **úvii<s>**.

⁷¹ The interpretation of οπιεσ (preceded by a lacuna) here is not clear; *Imag.* understands it as a cognomen.

⁷² Note that Triantafillis PI 10 (and in *SE* 73 (2007 [2009]) 452 no. 1) read **urufieis** (*pafieis*) (**urufis** = *Orfius*).

⁷³ *CIL* VI 23573ff., 23696, 37643; *AE* 1988, 884 (surely from Rome); *CIL* XIV 4569, XV, a, 7; *CIL* I² 430 (?) (Praeneste), 2675a (in the Sabine country).

⁷⁴ Cf. perhaps also the cognomen *Urcianus* in *AE* 1972, 515, which might in fact represent

(cf. *Canius* ~ *Canulanius*, etc.).⁷⁵

***urufiis** Cp38 = *Imag.* 468f. Capua 47 (before c. 300), [**uru**]fiis Sa60 = *Imag.* 1037 Bovianum 41 ("perhaps before 300"), **uru**[fiis] (?) Sa14+37+40 = *Imag.* 935ff. Atina 1 (200–100), ?úr(-) tCm5 = *Imag.* 897f. Abella 5 (n. d.); and cf. also n. 72: *Orofius* (Cales, Capua), *Orfius* (Telesia, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Abella; Lejeune 142).

***ορτοριεσ** Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300), [ο]ρτορ[ιομ] (?) acc. Lu47 = *Imag.* 1461f. Thurii Copia 1 (350–300): *Ortorius* (Larinum, Terventum, Regium [K. Ὀρτώριος/Ορτώριος K. υ. Βάλβιλλος, *IG XIV 617 = IGI Reggio 8*]; cf. *Hortorius*).

Numerius *Otacilius* from Maleventum around 300 BC (*Lib. praen.* 6; Festus p. 174 L.; *RE* 6): *Otacilius* (attested in Puteoli, Pompeii and several times in Lucania, but apparently not in Samnium).

***úviis** Po46 = *Imag.* 676ff. Pompei 34 ("between the Social War and Sulla"), tPo3 = *Imag.* 826 Pompei 136 (c. 150–100), **úviú**⁷⁶ nom. fem. *Imag.* 1239f. Aufidena 3 (c. 100), **úvii(s)** Po45 = *Imag.* 669f. Pompei 30 ("between the Social War and Sulla"), **úvi(is)** Sa2 = *Imag.* 1208f. Terventum 36 ("late second century"), **úvis** Fr6 = *Imag.* 1250 Frentani 1 (c. 125–100), **úvies** Cm38–39 = *Imag.* 608ff. Herculaneum 2 (c. 100): *Ovius* (Bovianum Vetus, Aesernia, Saepinum, Allifae, Beneventum, Capua, Nola, Cumae, Pompeii, Surrentum, Salerno; cf. Lejeune 142).

***πακιδιεσ** Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300): *Pacidius*, attested at Larinum (*Epigr. Larino I* [1997] 78 = *AE* 1966, 78); *ibid.* p. 344 no. 24, IV).

+***pakíu** (a nomen?) nom. fem. Po87 = *Imag.* 756 Pompei 91 (n. d.), *pacieis* Ps6 = *Imag.* 843 Stabiae (?) 2 (c. 500–475); M. Paccius Ep. f. Cilo (unpublished inscription from Pompeii); N. Paccius N. f. Chilo in Pompeii (*CIL X 885f.*); C. Paccius Ovi f. Bantius, *Ter(v)entinus* (*CIL XI 5758*); cf. *pacia* Pg4 = *Imag.* 303f. Sulmo 3 (c. 150): *Pacius*, *Paccius* (attested often in Samnium and Campania, but apparently not in Lucania/Bruttium).

–**pakulliis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8, 5 (200–150), **p(a)k(u)l(iis)** (?) *Imag.* 752f. Pompei 88 (125–100): *Pacullius* (attested only in *CIL XII 699*).

Urgianus.

⁷⁵ There is also the nomen *Orgius*, but this name seems to be attested only in Gaul (*CIL XIII 2608/9 = ILS 4631/2* [the same man appears in *CIL XIII 1462 = ILS 7037*, where he describes himself as *Aeduus*]; cf. (*centuria*) *Orgi*, *AE* 1996, 1124 from Vindonissa, and perhaps also *CIL XIII 1992*), and may well be of local origin.

⁷⁶ Not **uviú**, as in *Imag.* (cf. the photo). For this inscription, cf. also P. Poccetti, *REL* 88 (2010) 41–52.

- ***pakkvíis** Si19 = *Imag.* 571 Teanum Sidicinum 33 (c. 200–100), $\pi\alpha\kappa\upsilon\omega$ nom. fem. (?) (nomen?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300): *Pacvius* (*CIL* X 883, Pompeii) *Paquius* (Allifae, Pompeii, Nuceria, Copia, Vibo) *Pacuvius* (Ligures Baebiani, Pompeii; Lejeune 143).
- pagieis** (?) gen. *Imag.* 853 Surrentum 3 (using alphabet of Nocera; 525–500).⁷⁷ In the index (p. 1613), this name appears among instances of *pakis pacis*, etc. as a praenomen, but I wonder whether it would not be preferable to consider it as a nomen and equivalent to *Pagius*, a nomen found in an early inscription from Supinum in the country of the Marsi (*CIL* IX 3847 = I² 389 = *ILS* 3817 = *Epigrafia dei Marsi* 134), and in any case plausible because the existence of *Pagidius* (*CIL* VI 4496) and *Pagisius* (*CIL* VIII 27105 = *Mourir à Dougga* [2002] 927).
- +***paapii(s)** Sa2 = *Imag.* 1208f. Terventum 36 ("late second century"), N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 424 cf. *Imag.* Italia 1 p. 73, **paapií(s)** *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 425 cf. *Imag.* Italia 1 p. 73,⁷⁸ **paapi(is)** *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 426, 427, 428 cf. *Imag.* Italia 1 p. 73f., Soricelli 2011, 58 no. 3 (stamp), **papiis** Ps15 = *Imag.* 913f. Nuceria Alfaterna 6 (c. 500), **papi.** tSa24 + 4 = *Imag.* 1021f. Bovianum 27 (c. 200–100), $\pi\alpha\alpha\pi[-]$ (?) tMe2 = *Imag.* 1523 Messana 8, **paap.** tSa1 = *Imag.* 991 Bovianum 3 (c. 200–100), *Imag.* 1025 Bovianum 29 (c. 200–100), **pap.** tSa23 + 25 = *Imag.* 1020 Bovianum 26 (c. 200–100; a new instance Soricelli 2011, 61 no. 5), *Imag.* 1039 Bovianum 43 (n. d.), **pap[-]** Si16 = *Imag.* 539 Teanum Sidicinum 10 (n. d.), **p(a)p(iis)** tPo29+41 = *Imag.* 786 Pompei 110 (c. 150–100); Brutulus Papius, a Samnite in 322 BC (*Liv.* 8, 39, 12: *vir nobilis potensque*); C. Papius Mutilus, the Samnite general in the Social War, apparently from Bovianum, mentioned in several sources (*RE* Papius 12); N. Papii in Bovianum Vetus and Venafrum (*CIL* I² 1757; X 4908);⁷⁹ cf. *papia* Pg28 = *Imag.* 320 Sulmo 14 (c. 150): *Pāpius* (Larinum, Terventum, Bovianum Vetus, Aufidena, Aesernia, Saepinum,

⁷⁷ Note that Triantafyllis PI 10 (and in *SE* 73 [2007 (2009)] 452 no. 1) read (*urufieis*) *pafieis*.

⁷⁸ In *Imag.*, the name is assumed to be in the genitive. The genitive **kastrikiíeís** in Po36 = *Imag.* 621f. Pompei 4 is adduced as a parallel, but this is a (painted) inscription and thus not necessarily a very good parallel; and the names we find on Oscan coins normally seem to be in the nominative. For nominatives ending in **-iís**, cf. **aadiriís atiniís kiípiís sehsímbríís [s]puriís viínikiís**.

⁷⁹ Cf. N. Papius M. f. Hor. and his son L. Papius N. f. Bass(us) in Venusia (*Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 175).

Venafrum, Cales, Capua, Nola⁸⁰).

- †**paaristís** (?) Po57 = *Imag.* 709f. Pompei 51 (the name has also been read as **paarktís**). If this were **Paristius* (*Imag.*), one could perhaps compare *Par-ius* (*CIL* IX 2553 [Fagifulae] and elsewhere) and, e.g., *Antius* : *Antistius*.
- ***perk{e}en[iis]** acc. Po40 = *Imag.* 676ff. Pompei 34 ("between the Social War and Sulla"); Minius Percennius from Nola (Cato *agr.* 151, 1); Τρέβιος Περκέννιος *IG* XIV 2402,3, etc., cf. *Imag.* 1530 Teuranus ager no. (2): *Percennius* (Terventum, Aesernia, Venafrum, Bovianum, Allifae, Aquilonia, Capua; cf. *fundus Percennianus* in Caposele in N. Lucania, *CIL* X 444 = *ILS* 3546 = *Inscr. It.* III 1, 7).
- †**perkiium** (?) gen. pl. Cp41 = *Imag.* 464ff. Capua 45 (c. 275). The reading is a bit uncertain, but **Percius* would, alongside *Percennius* (cf. *Vibius* : *Vibennius*), be plausible.
- ***πετιδις** Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300): *Petidius Pettidius*, attested in Capua (*CIL* VI 32526, a III, 32 C. *Petidius C. f. Fal. Felicissimus Cap(ua)*).
- †**pettiannuí** (a nomen?) dat. tCm 7 = *Imag.* 592 Acerrae 1 (n. d.). This brick stamp has the text **mamertiuí pettiannuí**; as **mamertiuí** seems to be a praenomen (above n. 55), it seems best to take **pettiannuí** as a nomen (thus apparently *Imag.* in the index p. 1614; but Rix suggests this might be a cognomen, *ST* p. 144) which in Latin would surely be **Pettianus* (although one wonders about the double <n> in **pettiannuí**). For an Oscan nomen ending *-anus*, cf. **aadirans**; for nomina in *-ianus* attested in Latin inscriptions cf. *Arctos* 18 (1984) 97–104.
- ***pettieis** gen. Cp30 = *Imag.* 426f. Capua 25 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **pettiē[iis]** gen. Cp29 = *Imag.* 428f. Capua 26 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]); Herius Pettius from Nola in 215 BC (*Liv.* 23, 43, 9); N. Pettii in Abella (*CIL* X 1208 [AD 155]; 1216): *Pettius* (Aesernia, Teanum Sidicinum, Abella, Grumentum; Lejeune 143).
- ***pinni[is]** (?) Po61 = *Imag.* 723 Pompei 62 (c. 100?): *Pinnius*, attested in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 2807, cf. X 8047, 9) and Nola (*NSA* 1929, 205; 1932, 314).
- ***pítakiis** Cm2 = *Imag.* 849f. Surrentum 1 (200–100): *Petacius* (attested exclusively in Pompeii).
- †**planilies** gen. *Imag.* 876f. Nola (?) 9 (c. 450). This could be **Planilius* (cf. *Planius* and, e.g., *Campilius Pupilius* : *Campius Pupius*).
- †**ποκιδ(ιες)** Lu5 = *Imag.* 1364f. Potentia 1 (125–100). This is surely **Pocidius* or **Pucidius* which could be compared to *Poccius* (*CIL* V 420) and

⁸⁰ In addition to *NSA* 1900, 101 also in *NSA* 1932, 313.

Puccius (L. García Iglesias, *Epigrafía Romana de Augusta Emerita* [1973] 358), although one would like to see these nomina attested in Central Italy.

†φοινι[κι(ε)σ] (?) (with <φ> for <π>?) Lu45 = *Imag.* 1333ff. Buxentum 3 (n. d.); being preceded by the praenomen [γ]αφισ, φοινι[---] seems to be a nomen (thus in *Imag.* with the interpretation "Phoenicius"; cf. the index p. 1622),⁸¹ and could be identical with **puinik(iis)** (but the reading may in fact be **pumik(iis)**, cf. *Imag.*) Cp1 = *Imag.* 460f. Capua 43 (c. 250?). φοινι[κι(ε)σ] could perhaps correspond to **Poinicius* **Poenicus*⁸² (cf. *Poinisius*, *CIL* I² 2115 from Asisium).

+*πολλιεσ Lu44 = *Imag.* 1472f. Crimisa 3 (c. 300–250), Lu45 = *Imag.* 1333ff. Buxentum 3 (n. d.); N. Pollii in Cumae in AD 251 (*CIL* X 3699);⁸³ cf. *polies* Triantafillis SG 12 = *Imag.* 78 Italia 4 (cf. Crawford 2010): *Pollius* (Beneventum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nola).

+*[p]úmpunis tLu15 = *Imag.* 1327 Velia 1 (c. 200–100), πωμπονισ Lu5 = *Imag.* 1364f. Potentia 1 (125–100); *Pomponius* (a nomen?) Cm7 = *Imag.* 509ff. Cumae (?) 10 (c. 100–50); N. Pomponius N. f. Scaeva *CIL* IX 1621 (Beneventum); C. Pomponius V. f. *CIL* I² 3201 (Aesernia); cf. perhaps *peumpuni(es)* Pg 26 = *Imag.* 250 Superaequum 6 (c. 150): *Pomponius* (Terventum, Aufidena, Aesernia, Bovianum, Saepinum, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Venafrum, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Cumae, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria, Stabiae, Salernum, Paestum, Atina Lucana, Tegianum).

†πομπιεσ Me1 = *Imag.* 1515f. Messana 5; Πακία Πομπτία, *SEG* 44, 773 cf. *Imag.* 1531 Messana (1) (c. 300); cf. below **púmt(iis)**. This must, of course, be **Pomptius*⁸⁴ (cf. *Pomptin(i)us*).

⁸¹ Of course, however, there are also scholars who see this man as a Phoenician (E. Campanile, *SE* 58 [1992] 369–71 = Campanile 2008, 975–7). See also McDonald 2012, 53.

⁸² *Punicus* in *CIL* XIII 8727 (from Noviomagus = Nijmegen) is probably a recent formation (from *Punicus*) of the type common in Gaul and Germany.

⁸³ Cf. [.] Pollius N. l. Stabilio in Rome (*CIL* VI 24407).

⁸⁴ **Pompt-ios* is normally seen as identical with **Pont-ios*, **Pompt-ios* (from the ordinal **pompto-*) representing the original form, **Pont-ios* (with <nt> for <mpt> as in *lanterna* for **lampterna*; cf. Leumann 150, and note intermediate stage as represented by **púmt(iis)**) its later evolution (thus Leumann 151, Untermann 604; Lejeune, on the other hand, seems to assume that **Pontio-* is the original form derived from **ponto-* "cinquième", "éventuellement remanié en *pompto-* à l'analogie du cardinal **pompe*", this resulting in **Pomtio-*). Schulze 212 questions the "traditionelle Identificierung" of *Pontius* and **Pomptius*.

- +***púntiis** Po1 = *Imag.* 637ff. Pompei 13 (c. 200–100?), **pun(tiis)** Sa46 = *Imag.* 1040 Bovianum 44 ("probably before 300"), **puntieis** (?) gen. Cm28 = *Imag.* 602f. Saticula 7 (c. 300; reading **puntr^rieis^r**), **púmt(iis)** tSa9 = *Imag.* 1007 Bovianum 15 (c. 125–100) and **púm(tiis)** tSa11 = *Imag.* 1006 Bovianum 14 (c. 125–100; for **púmt-** cf. n. 84); Herennus Pontius, the Samnite philosopher (*RE* Pontius 4; P. S. Horky, *Class. Ant.* 30 [2011] 119–147); C. Pontius Herenni filius, the Samnite general in 321 BC (also *RE* Pontius 4; cf. D. Briquel, in G. Van Heems [ed.], *La variation linguistique dans les langues de l'Italie préromaine* [2011] 31–8); Pontius Telesinus, *dux* of the Italians in the Social War (*RE* Pontius 21); C. Pontius Mari f. *CIL* I² 1716 (ager Compsinus); freedmen of a N. Pontius in Bovianum Vetus (*CIL* IX 2790; cf. on the Samnite Pontii, also Campanile 2008, 984f.); cf. *ponties* Pg5 = *Imag.* 301f. Sulmo 2 (c. 200–125): *Pontius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Frigento, Venafrum, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii, Nuceria, Stabiae, Surrentum).
- †**puntr^rieis^r** (?)⁸⁵ gen. Cm28 (reading **puntieis**) = *Imag.* 602f. Saticula 7 (c. 300). If this reading is correct, the name should probably be interpreted as **Pontirius* (*Imag.*) which could be in the same relation to *Pontius* as *Decirius* to *Decius*.
- +***púpidiis** Po5 = *Imag.* 631f. Pompei 9 (150–100), Po6 = *Imag.* 628ff. Pompei 8 (200–150), Po12 = *Imag.* 691f. Pompei 42 ("before c. 130–120"), **púpid.** Po39 = *Imag.* 626f. Pompei 7 (91–89), Po91 = *Imag.* 633 Pompei 10 (n. d.), $\pi\pi\epsilon\delta[\iota\omicron\mu]$ acc. Lu44 = *Imag.* 1472f. Crimisa 3 (c. 300–250), **pupdiis** Cm34 = *Imag.* 943 Caudium (?) 3 (c. 320–300); V. Popidius Ep. f. *CIL* I² 1627 (Pompeii); a number of N. Popidii in Pompeii (Castrén 1975, 207f.); cf. *popdis* Pg1 = *Imag.* 261 Corfinium 1 (200–150): *Popidius* (Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii [Castrén no. 318; add *CIL* IV 6719]; Lejeune 143), *Pupidius* (*CIL* X 8370 from Puteoli).
- †**pupiedis** (Latin alphabet) Po64 = *Imag.* 836 Pompei 144 (c. 90–80?), **púpie.** tPo7 and 9 = *Imag.* 770ff. Pompei 101 (c. 125–100) (2), (3), (4), (6), (7), (10), (11), (13), (14), (15), **pupie.** tPo8 = *Imag.* 770ff. Pompei 101 (c. 125–100) (1), (5), (8), (9), (12), (16). This could be **Popiedius* **Poppiedius*, which, again, could be compared to *Popius Poppius*, cf. *Allius* : *Alliedius* *Staius* : *Staiadius* *Vibius* : *Vibiedius* etc.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ The last four letters as corrected represent "little better than random scratches". The fifth letter can hardly be anything other than an <r>.

⁸⁶ Note the suffix *-iedius*, typical of the "Sabellian" regions (Marsi, Paeligni, etc.) and of

- †**Ποππαλαῖος** *Imag.* 1350f. Laos 4 (c. 300): **Poppalaeus*; cf. *Poppalenus*.
- ***ρύστη(ιis)** (?) Po48 (with the reading **ρύγιη**) = *Imag.* 711 Pompei 52 (c. 150–100): *Postumius*? (cf. a N. Postumius in Pompeii, Castrén no. 322, 2; for Postumii in Campania in general, cf. Camodeca 2008, 288).
- †**ρῦμικ(ιis)** (?) Cp1 (with the reading **puinik(ιis)**) = *Imag.* 460f. Capua 43 (c. 250?). This could correspond to **Pumicius* which, again, could be compared to *Pumidius* (attested, e.g., in Capua and Pompeii), cf. *Fuficius* : *Fufidius*, *Murricius* : *Murridius*, etc.
- ***[πο]ῦπιεσ** (?) *Imag.* 1393 Potentia 18 (200–100): *Pupius*? (Beneventum, Telesia, Atella, Capua, Pompeii).
- ***puríl(ιis)** (?) Po39 = *Imag.* 626f. Pompei 7 (91–89; reading **auríl.**): this may well be the equivalent of *Purellius* (*CIL* IX 2368 from Allifae).
- †**Ποτίλιος** (?) Zonar. 8, 11, 8 (a Samnite, 215 BC): **Potilius* **Putilius*?
- ***kuiírinis** Po60 = *Imag.* 722 Pompei 61 (c. 150–100): *Quirinius* (attested at least in Salernum, *CIL* X 628).
- ***rahiis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150) (several times), **rahiieis** gen. *ibid.* line 41, **Ραίου** *Imag.* 1454 Orlandoi 1 Coinage (215–204); C. Raius N. f. Vol. Perulla in Saepinum (*CIL* IX 2532): *Raius Raius* (Larinum, Terwentum, Aeclanum, Aesernia, Caiatia, Capua, Herculaneum, Vibo; Lejeune 143).
- rar(ιis?)** (?) tPo23 + 6 = *Imag.* 819f. Pompei 130 (c. 150–100), **ra(riis?)** (?) tFr1 = *Imag.* 1300 Teanum Apulum 5 (n. d.): cf. perhaps *Rarius*, attested in Spain (*CIL* II 2472)?
- +***rufriis** Cm14 = *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 40; cf. *rufries* Pg47 = *Imag.* 288 Corfinium 25; M. Rufrius N. f. Cimber in Trebula Balliensis (*CIL* I² 3119): *Rufrius* (also attested in Beneventum and Caiatia; Lejeune 143).
- +***σαβιδιον** and **σαβιδι(ον)** acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320); cf. *sabdia* Pg53 = *Imag.* 272 Corfinium 10: *Sabidius* (Terwentum, Aequum Tuticum, Beneventum, Pompeii, Nola, Stabiae, Capua, Grumentum).
- +***sadiriis** Po11 = *Imag.* 645f. Pompei 18 (n. d.), **sadri(is)** tSa7 = *Imag.* 1008 Bovianum 16 (c. 200–100), N. Satrii in Aesernia, Teanum Sidicinum and Tegianum (*CIL* IX 2744; *AE* 1908, 218; *CIL* I² 1685);⁸⁷ cf. *sadries* Pg1 =

Umbria, but which is also attested, in the case of *Oviedius* and *Vibiedius*, in Campania and Lucania (see A. Schulten, *Klio* 2 [1902] 461ff.).

⁸⁷ For N. Satrii outside the Oscan area, cf. *CIL* X 5047 (Atina in Latium), 5521 (Aquinum); *CIL* VI 25877; 25882.

- Imag.* 261 Corfinium 1: *Sadrius* (*CIL* X 388 = I² 1684 from Atina in Lucania), *Satrius* (Aesernia, Saepinum, Beneventum, Telesia, Cales, Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Vibo), ?*Satirius* (*FIRA* II² p. 662, AD 225).⁸⁸
- saidiieis** gen. Cp9 = *Imag.* 408f. Capua 16 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]): *Saediis*.⁸⁹
- +***salaviis** Cp3 = *Imag.* 456f. Capua 40 (c. 300); cf. *Salvius Paelignus* in 168 BC, Frontin. *strat.* 2, 8, 5 (although the praenomen rather than the nomen may be meant): *Salavius*,⁹⁰ *Salvius* (Beneventum, Aeclanum, Capua, Pompeii, Nola, Potentia, Locri; Lejeune 143).⁹¹
- ***sattiieis** gen. Sa35 = *Imag.* 1186f. Terentum 25 (c. 100); Οὔλιος Σάττιος *Imag.* 1529 Genusia no. (1): *Satius* (attested in Venafrum [*CIL* X 4989a] and Cales [*EE* VIII 529]) *Sattius* (with attestations concentrating in the Oscan area: Beneventum, Venafrum, Rufrae,⁹² Volturnum, Capua, Puteoli, Nola).
- †**σκαφιριω** nom. fem. (?) *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300). The Latin equivalent could be **Scafirius* or **Scafrius* (possibly to be compared with *Scafius*),⁹³ cf. *Decius* : *Decirius Decrius*.
- ***σκαλαπονιες** Lu41 = *Imag.* 1358f. Tegianum 1 (100–90), [σκ]αλαπονις Lu40 = *Imag.* 1356f. Cosilinum 2 (c. 100); *A. Scalponi(us) Paq. l. CIL* I² 1683 (Paestum) (**sk(-)** tPo26 = *Imag.* 808 Pompei 123 [c. 150–100]?): *Scalponius*, otherwise attested only in *CIL* VI 5143 and *AE* 1977, 675 (Cappadocia).
- †**sehsímbríis** Po36 = *Imag.* 621f. Pompei 4 (91–89). **Sexembrius* according to Vetter (Ve 25) and Slunečko no. 382, **Sextembrius* in *Imag.*⁹⁴ This is one of the Oscan nomina which apparently cannot be illustrated by any nomina attested in Latin inscriptions.
- +***seís** (a nomen?) Po40 = *Imag.* 676ff. Pompei 34 ("between the Social War and Sulla"); N. Seius N. 1. Aesci[nus] in Capua (*CIL* X 4335); cf. *seio(s)* Pg6, 7 = *Imag.* 244 Superaequum 3: *Seius* (Larinum, Bovianum, Venafrum, Capua, Cumae, Pompeii, etc.).

⁸⁸ For the forms **sadiriis**, **sadri(is)**, *sadries* and *Sadrius* (with <d> for <t>), cf. above n. 11. *Satirius* (if the reading is accepted) may reflect the anaptyctic form but with the retention of the original <t>.

⁸⁹ Attested in Rome (*CIL* VI 19305), Gaul, Africa and Athens (*IG* II/III² 1817, 35; 2228, 42).

⁹⁰ Attested in Corfinium and Sulmo (*CIL* IX 3119, *Suppl. It.* 3 Corfinium 75, *ibid.* 4 Sulmo 63).

⁹¹ Cf. N. Salvius Pistus in Rome (*CIL* VI 34458).

⁹² Probably belonging to the territory of Teanum (Camodeca 2008, 352 n. 105).

⁹³ M. Rostowzew, *Tesserarum urbis Romae et suburbi plumbeorum sylloge* (1903) 1313.

⁹⁴ However, "Sextembrius" is perhaps an error. Cf. on **sehsímbríis**, also P. Poccetti, "Nomi personali, numeri e computo calendariale nell'Italia antica", in *AION ling* 17, (1995) 246f.

- ***seppiis** Po8 = *Imag.* 647 Pompei 19 (150–100), **sep(iis)** Po59 = *Imag.* 724 Pompei 63 (c. 100); N. Seppius A. f. Secun(dus?) in Frigento (*CIL* IX 1064): *Sepius* (*CIL* IX 2535 from Saepinum) *Seppius* (Terventum, Aesernia, Venafrum, Telesia, Aequum Tuticum, Beneventum, Teanum Sidicinum, Capua, Pompeii; Lejeune 143).⁹⁵
- ***sillii(s)** tPo4 = *Imag.* 821 Pompei 131 (c. 150–100), **silli(is)** Cm19 = *Imag.* 517 Cumae 14 (c. 200?), **silie** voc. Cm18 = *Imag.* 515f. Cumae 13 ("surely earlier ... than Poccetti's 200–100"); N. *Sillius* N. (f.) on Campanian brick stamps (*CIL* X 8042, 96, 97a–n): *Sillius* (apparently not otherwise attested in the Oscan area); *Sīlius* is probably a separate name.
- ***siuttiis** Po1 = *Imag.* 637ff. Pompei 13 (c. 200–100?): this must be *Sutius Suttius* (cf. Osc. **tiurrí** for *turrim*, etc.); however, one wonders (with Castrén no. 381) whether *Sut(t)ius* could not be identical with *Sittius* which is a common nomen in Campania and attested at least in Nuceria (P. Sittius from Nuceria, *RE* 3), Cales (Appian *BC* 4,47), Capua, Puteoli, Neapolis, Herculaneum, Pompeii and Salernum (*EE* VIII 304 = *Inscr. It.* I 1, 76, a *Nymerius* [sic] *Sittius*); the variation between <i> and <u> in an accented first syllable would then be the same as the one we can observe in *Bruttius Bruttii* names which are often rendered as *Brittius Brittii* (cf. Greek Βρέττιος, etc.) especially in the later period:⁹⁶ *Sutius* (*CIL* IV 10189, Pompeii) *Suttius* (attested in the Oscan area only in *CIL* X 3372, but this is a marine *natione Cilix*; but cf. n. 98) *Sittius* (?).
- ***siviiú** (a nomen?) nom. fem. Hi4 = *Imag.* 959f. Aeclanum 3 (c. 150?): *Sēvius*⁹⁷ (Capua, Herculaneum, Pompeii).
- ***?slabiis** Cm10 = *Imag.* 605ff. Herculaneum 1 (c. 150–90), **σλαβιεσ** Lu57 = *Imag.* 1411f. Potentia 30 (300–200), **sl(abiis)** (?) *Imag.* 754 Pompei (?) 89 (150–100): *Stlabius* (*CIL* X 3633, from Misenum, but this is a marine) *Slavius* ?*Labius* ?*Lavius*.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ Cf. N. Seppius Polus in Rome (*CIL* VI 26219).

⁹⁶ *Bruttius* is already rendered as *Brittius* in Pompeii, Q. Bruttius Balbus, aedile in 56/7, appearing both as *Bruttius* (*CIL* X 826 = *ILS* 6383, *CIL* IV 935g. 3159, etc.) and as *Brittius* (*CIL* IV 3340, 56. 74; 5783 = 6581). By the 4th century, the region Bruttii in S. Italy was constantly referred to as *Brittii* (*CIL* VI 1699 [= *ILS* 2946], 41332; *CIL* X 4, 212f., 519, etc.), the senatorial family of the Bruttii Praesentes as *Brittii Praesentes* (*CIL* VI 2153, *CIL* X 468, *AE* 1978, 262). For the variation <i>/<u> in this position. cf. also Leumann 89f. and perhaps *Nimmius* which could be in some relation to *Nummius* (see above).

⁹⁷ Schulze 223 adduces documents showing that the *e* is long.

⁹⁸ **slabiis** must be identical with *Slavius* (the diploma *CIL* XVI 9 of AD 68 mentioning among

- smintiis** Cp4, Cp5 = *Imag.* 450ff. Capua 36, 37 (c. 330). This is surely *Smintius* which is so far attested only as a cognomen in inscriptions from Etruria (*CIL* XI 1616 = *ILS* 7683 [Florentia]; *AE* 1987, 366 [Clusium]).⁹⁹ This nomen must be of Etruscan origin, but may well ultimately derive, in one way or another, from the surname of Ἀπόλλων Σμινθεύς (Schulze 473, cf. Lejeune 1976, 122, although the author seems to go too far when he ascribes "origine grecque" to this name).¹⁰⁰
- *Μαράϊου **Σοντίου** *Imag.* 1531 Vibo Valentia (3): *Sontius*, attested in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1540), Allifae (*CIL* IX 2358), Teanum Sidicinum (*AE* 1993, 493); also in Teate Marrucinorum (*CIL* IX 3032).
- *N. **Spedius** Vib. f. Cor. Dexsanicus *CIL* IX 1310 (Aeclanum); cf. *Q. Spedius* *Q. CIL* IV 595 = *Imag.* 837 Pompei 145 (c. 190–80?; "not fully Latin"): *Spedius* (Terwentum, Beneventum, Abellinum, Capua, Pompeii, Eburum, Cosilinum; Lejeune 143).
- ***σπελιν**, σπελ(ι)αν acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320); σπελ(-) N.K. Rutter & al. (eds.), *Historia Numorum Italy* (2001) no. 2289 cf. *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1 (on bronze coinage of 350–300 BC); Spellia Ovi f. *NSA* 1898, 422 (Pompeii; this seems to be the only attestation of this nomen – otherwise found, e.g., in Atina and Casinum in Latium – in Latin inscriptions in the Oscan area): *Spelius Spellius*.

the witnesses a certain *M. Slavus Putiolanus Caralitanus*, surely a former marine from the naval base at Misenum) and *Stlabius* (also attested in Africa [*CIL* VIII 27216] and in Ephesus in the Greek inscription *AE* 1999, 1537), the relation of *Stlabius* to **Slabius Slavus* being that of *stlis* to *slis* (*CIL* I² 15 [*Xvir sl(itibus) iudik(andis)*], *CIL* I² 583, 8 [*slitisque aestumatio*]; cf. Leumann 189). Furthermore, as *stlis* later appears as *lis*, one could consider *Labius* (e.g., *CIL* IX 1425, Aequum Tuticum) and possibly also *Lavus* (e.g., N. Stelluti, *Epigrafi di Larino* I [1997] 146quater) as later developments of *Stlabius* (for *Labius* cf. Lejeune 128). As for both *Stlabius* and *Slavus* being attested for marines from Misenum, there are some reasons to believe that some marines chose as their nomina names in use among the local population in the area (see O. Salomies, *Arctos* 30 [1996] 184f.), which would mean that *Stlabius* and *Slavus* could be considered Campanian names only by chance not attested for persons of local origin in Latin inscriptions from the Imperial period.

⁹⁹ *Q. Vibius* L. f. Sca. Maximus *Smintius*; *Larcia* L. l. *Hilara Tutili Smint(i)* (the husband was thus called *Tutilius Smint(ius)*). For these name types, with a nomen being used as a cognomen, cf., e.g., *L. Calventius Vetus Carminius*, *P. Sulpicius Quirinius*.

¹⁰⁰ By the way, one wonders whether *Mintius*, attested only in Etruria (*CIL* XI 7264 = *ILS* 9194 from Saturnia; *Suppl. It.* 16 *Rusellae* 44; note also *Minthius*, attested for a *vigil* in Rome under Severus, *CIL* VI 1056, 2, 35) might not be a further development of this nomen (for **sm-* > *m-* see Leumann 190).

- *[s]puriís Po9 = *Imag.* 648f. Pompei 20 (c. 200–100?), **spuriíeís** gen. Po36 = *Imag.* 621f. Pompei 4 (91–89), *spuriieis* gen. Cm27 = *Imag.* 600f. Saticula 6 (350–300); Cn. Spurius Ov. f. *CIL* I² 3130 (Cumae); N. Spurius D. f. *CIL* I² 2947 (Capua): *Spurius* (Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nola, Velia; Lejeune 143); cf. *vicus Spurianus* in Atella (*CIL* X 3750 = *ILS* 8351).
- ***staiís** Cm48 = *Imag.* 866f. Nola 4 (n. d.), Hi7 = *Imag.* 1143f. Saepinum 10 (c. 150–90), Sa10 = *Imag.* 1171f. Terventum 16 (c. 100?), Sa11 = *Imag.* 1170 Terventum 15 (c. 100?), Sa12 = *Imag.* 1173 Terventum 17 (c. 100?), Sa24 = *Imag.* 1179f. Terventum 20 (200–100), **staiís** Sa21 = *Imag.* 1152f. Terventum 5 (c. 175), **stai(ís)** tSa 16, 21, 32 = *Imag.* 1015ff. Bovianum 22, 23, 24 (a new instance of tSa21 = Bovianum 24 in Soricelli 2011, 58 no. 2), **staiíiús** (*sic*) nom. pl. Sa26 = *Imag.* 1207 Terventum 35 (c. 200–125), **staiis** Sa3 = *Imag.* 1150f. Terventum 4 (c. 175), **stai(is)** tSa26 = *Imag.* 1023f. Bovianum 28 (c. 200–100), **sta(iis)** tSa2 = *Imag.* 987f. Bovianum 1 (c. 200–100), tSa 14, 17, 20, 31, 32 = *Imag.* 1009ff. Bovianum 17ff., 21f.; ?"Staius Minatius", a Samnite, 296 BC (Liv. 10, 20, 13), who might in fact be a Minatus Staius (cf. above *Minatius* and Min. Staius Ov. f. *CIL* I² 2239 [Delos], Γάιος Στάιος Ούίου *I. Délos* 1734); N. Staii in Aeclanum and Capua (*CIL* IX 1311; X 4353; and cf. on the Staii, also Campanile 2008, 982–4): *Staius* (Minturnae), *Staius* (attested also in Larinum, Terventum, Beneventum, Teanum Sidicinum [Camodeca 2008, 351 with n. 104], Pompeii, Nola, Atina Lucana, Tegianum; Lejeune 143).
- ***σταλλιεσ** Lu16 = *Imag.* 1384f. Potentia 13 (325–275), [στ]αλλιεσ Lu22 = *Imag.* 1408f. Potentia 28 (300–200); Stenius Stallius, a Lucanian in 285 BC (Plin. *nat.* 34, 32): *Staius* (*CIL* IV 3340, 138) *Stallius* (Puteoli, Pompeii).
- *Staius **Statilius**, *dux* of the Bruttians and Lucanians in 282 BC (*RE* Statilius 9); Marius Statilius, a Lucanian commander at Cannae in 216 BC (Liv. 22, 42, 4 and elsewhere; *RE* Statilius 7): *Stātīlius* (Abellinum, Capua, Puteoli, Pompeii; and according to many scholars, the senatorial Statilii Tauri were also from Lucania, possibly from Volcei; cf. G. Camodeca, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II [1982] 155f.).
- +***staatiis** Sa13 = *Imag.* 1165ff. Terventum 12 (c. 100), **staiis** Cm48 = *Imag.* 866f. Nola 4 (n. d.), ZO2 = *Imag.* 366f. Campania or Samnium 2 (after c. 300), **staattieís** gen. Cm3 = *Imag.* 894f. Abella 3 (c. 100?), **staa.** tSa1 = *Imag.* 991 Bovianum 3 (c. 200–100), **sta[tiis]** Sa15 = *Imag.* 1219 Fagifulae 1 (n. d.), στατιν acc. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320), στατιο and στατιω nom. fem. (?), στατιεσ *Imag.* 1475ff. Petelia 2 (c. 300); Στάτιος ...

- ὁ Σαυνίτης who became a senator after the Social War, Appian, *civ.* 4, 25, 102 (*RE* 1; T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate* [1971] 263 no. 414); cf. *staties* Lu55 = *Imag.* Italia 2 (cf. Crawford 2010): *Stātius* (common in the Oscan area, cf. Lejeune 143) *Staatius* (*CIL* I² 1824f.).
- *Treb. *Statorius* Tr. 1. Terminalis *CIL* X 1403, g3, 43 (Herculaneum): *Stātōrius*, also attested in Telesia (*CIL* I² 3200a).
- *M'. *Statuleius* Mar. f. F. Miele, in *Italica Ars. Studi in onore di G. Colonna* (2005) 542ff. no. 9 cf. G. Camodeca, EDR112897 (Teano Sidicinum); cf. *fundus [S]tatuleianus* in Caposele in N. Lucania, *CIL* X 444 = *ILS* 3546 = *Inscr. It.* III 1, 7: *Statuleius*.¹⁰¹
- *συριεσ (2x) Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300): *Surius* (attested in the Oscan area apparently only as the name of the *fundus Surianus* in Ligures Baebiani, *CIL* IX 3814, 2, 30), cf. *Syrius* (*CIL* VI 1601, 27078; *ICVR* 4466).
- †tantrnnaiúm gen. pl. Cp31, 32 = *Imag.* 417ff. Capua 22, 21 (c. 300–250). **Tanterna* according to Slunečko no. 427, but the suggestion **Tanternaeus* (thus *Imag.*; **Tanterneus* Vetter, Ve 87) seems more plausible; the name has an Etruscan ring but the suffix (if correctly identified) seems to point to the Sabellian lands and to Umbria.
- [t]arút(iis) (?) Po47 = *Imag.* 712f. Pompei 53 (c. 150–100). The reading **arút(-)** has been interpreted as representing as such an (abbreviated) nomen, and identified with *Arruntius* (thus Lejeune 108),¹⁰² but it seems that a letter or two must (in addition to the praenomen of the man) be missing in the beginning. *Imag.* suggests the reading [t]arút(iis), this nomen being identified with *Tarutius* (a nomen found in the area of *CIL* IX–X only in Barium [*CIL* IX 301]). However, one could perhaps also consider other nomina ending in *-ar(r)utius*.¹⁰³
- *tedis (nomen?) nSa4 = *Imag.* 383 Campania Coinage 4 (265–240): *Tēdius* (Puteoli, *AE* 1999, 453), *Tēdius* (Beneventum and the *ager Beneventanus* [*CIL* IX 2103]).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ A certain N. Statuleius Paulus from Scupi, but perhaps with a Samnite background, is attested in Rome (*CIL* VI 26831).

¹⁰² *Arruntius* is in fact attested in Pompeii (cf. above). Vetter (in the index p. 385) also takes this name (which is followed by the filiation **ni.**) to be a nomen; but Rix (in the index p. 138) defines it as a praenomen.

¹⁰³ E.g., *Barrutius Marrutius Sarutius* (*CIL* VI 19165) *Varrutius*.

¹⁰⁴ For [ē] in *Tedius* cf., e.g., *I. Creticae* IV 214; *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 116. That *Tedius* is identical with *Teidius* (*Tēdius*, cf. *Τηίδιος*, *I. Kyme* 16) emerges, e.g., from the fact that the consul (suffectus) of AD 31, Sex. Te(i)dus Valerius Catullus, is called both *Teidius* (the *Fasti*

- *Μίνωτος Μινάτου **Τήιος** ἐκ Κύμης *I. Délos* 442, B, l. 147; 443, Bb, l. 64f. (179–178 BC): *Teius*, attested in Venafrum (*CIL* X 4917 and 4997), Allifae (*CIL* IX 2385) and Puteoli (*CIL* X 2467). However, note that it is suggested in *Imag.* 1526 Cumae no. (2) that *Heius* may be meant; and that there are also scholars who assume that Τήιος is an error for Στάιος (e.g., Salomies 1987, 79; Campanile 2008, 983; M. Nocita, *Italiotai e Italikoi* [2012] 241).
- †M. **Teroni(us)** Ov. f. *CIL* I² 2949 (Capua).
- ***tirentium** gen. pl. Cp8 = *Imag.* 406f. Capua 15 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]): *Tērentius* (Larinum, Aesernia, Venafrum, Trebula Balliensis, Beneventum, Aeclanum, Capua, Atella, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nola, Velia; Lejeune 143).
- †**tetineis** gen. (a nomen?) Cm29 = *Imag.* 604 Saticula 8 (c. 300). In Latin, this would surely be **Tet(t)inius* (Vetter [Ve 129], *Imag.*), no doubt in some relation to *Tet(t)ius Tet(t)idius*, etc. (cf. *Alfius* : *Alfidius* : *Alfidius*, *Ovius* : *Ovidius* : *Ovinus* etc.).
- ***tintiriis** Fr7 = *Imag.* 1247 [Vestini, Marrucini, Paeligni 1] (c. 250?); *M. Tintrius* (sic) *N. f. Graicanicus Nucrinus* (clearly a visitor from Nuceria), *CIL* I² 2937b (Philae); *N. Tintirius Rufus* in Pompeii (Castrén no. 411, 2): *Tintirius*, attested in Ligures Baebiani (*CIL* IX 1480) and Pompeii,¹⁰⁵ *Tintrius*; and surely *Titirius* (*CIL* X 3947 from Capua; 83 from Vibo) is another rendering of the same name.¹⁰⁶
- †**titaies** gen. *Imag.* 878f. Nola 10 (325–300). This could be **Titaeus*, the relationship of which to *Titius* would be the same as that of *Annaeus Bassaeus*, etc. to *Annius Bassius*, etc.
- ***τιτιδιεσ** Lu15 = *Imag.* 1391f. Potentia 17 (300–275 according to Lejeune, but "probably later in the century", *Imag.*), Lu27 = *Imag.* 1382f. Potentia 12 (300–200): *Titidius* (attested in Paestum, *I. Paestum* p. 329).
- ***titti(is)** tPo13 = *Imag.* 809 Pompei 124 (c. 150–100); cf. *titis* Pg45 = *Imag.* 328 Sulmo 20 (c. 150), *titieis* gen. He3 = *Imag.* 357 Anagnia 14: *Tītius* (Beneventum, Telesia, Pompeii, etc.) *Tittius* (Capua, Puteoli); cf. Lejeune 143.

Nolani, Inscr. It. XIII 1, 261; the *Fasti Arvalium*, *ibid.* 299) and *Tedius* (*CIL* XIV 2466; the *Fasti Ostienses*, ed. Vidman², 42). Similarly, *Vēdius* is identical with *Veidius* (the equestrian friend of Augustus, P. Ve(i)dus Pollio, is referred to as both *Vedius* [*I. Ephesos* 19a; *AE* 1996, 1727a] and *Veidius* [*CIL* IX 1556 = *ILS*, 109, etc.]), and *Heidius* (*CIL* I² 686 from Capua, etc.) is surely identical with *Hēdius* (Herculaneum, etc.).

¹⁰⁵ To those listed by Castrén no. 411 for Pompeii, add *CIL* X 1071 and an ineditum.

¹⁰⁶ For the suppression of the nasal cf., e.g., Buck § 108.

- ***τρεβάτιος** Lu43 = *Imag.* 1478 Teuranus ager 1 (presumably before c. 200); Τρεβάτιος, στρατηγός of the Samnites in the Social War (*App. civ.* 1,228; *RE* Trebatius 1): *Trēbātius*, attested in Aeclanum (common), Abellinum, Capua; cf. Lejeune 143.
- ***trebiis** Po7 = *Imag.* 634 Pompei 11 (200–100?), **tre.** tPo19 = *Imag.* 766f. Pompei 99 (c. 150–100), tPo20 (= tCm4) = *Imag.* 810f. Pompei 125 (c. 150–100), **tr.** (?) Sa52 = *Imag.* 1041 Bovianum 45 (n. d.): *Trēbius* (Frigento, Aeclanum, Capua, Nola, Pompeii, Nuceria; Lejeune 143).
- ***τουρειειος** gen. tLu7 = *Imag.* 1502 Vibo 7 (c. 300–275): *Tureius* (Slunečko 446), attested in *CIL* X 4261, an inscription which is not from Capua but from near Catanzaro, i.e., a bit to the north of Vibo.¹⁰⁷
- ***L. Upellius** Mami f. Men. *NSA* 1961, 199 no. 1, cf. L. Upellius L. f. Men. *ibid.* no. 2 (Pompeii). *Upellius* (otherwise attested only in *CIL* III 1921) is probably identical with *Opellius*, a rare nomen apparently not found in the area of *CIL* IX–X, Oscan <ú> (cf. the praenomen **úpils** [Salomies 2008, 29]) here being represented by <u>.
- ***utiis** (or perhaps [-]utiis?) *Imag.* 504ff. Cumae 8 (200–150), line 12: *Utius*, attested at least in Aesernia (*CIL* IX 2655, 2691) and Venafrum (S. Capini, *Molise. Repertorio delle iscrizioni latine. Venafrum* [1999] 210).¹⁰⁸
- ***valavennis** Sa15 = *Imag.* 1219 Fagifulae 1 (n. d. [but with <ú> in l. 2]): *Valvennius*, attested in Allifae and Luceria (*CIL* IX 2420, 896) and for a centurion of the 22nd legion in Egypt.
- ***variis** tSa45 = *Imag.* 1244f. Aufidena 7 (n. d.), φαριεσ (but interpreted as φαριε(ι)σ and as a gen. of *Varus* in *Imag.*), φαριαν acc. fem. Lu46 = *Imag.* 1344ff. Laos 2 (c. 330–320), φαριος *Imag.* 1350 Laos 4 (c. 300): *Varius* (Terventum, Saepinum, Allifae, Beneventum, Aeclanum [cf. Lejeune 144], Capua, Nola, Liternum, Cumae, Puteoli, Pompeii, Vibo).
- vaaviis** tPo1 = *Imag.* 783 Pompei 108 cf. 108bis (c. 150–100): *Vavius* (attested only in *ICUR* 9400 (?); cf. *Vavidius Vavilius*).
- veat[iis]** (?) Po44 = *Imag.* 705 Pompei 48 (c. 150–90). Vetter (Ve 30c) suggests *Viatorius*,¹⁰⁹ *Imag.* (with a reference to *CIL* XII 4423) *Veiatius*.

¹⁰⁷ Information from M. H. Crawford (via H. Solin).

¹⁰⁸ Note also Mefitis *Utiana* in Potentia (*CIL* X 131ff., etc.) and the nomen *Utianus* attested in Lucania (*CIL* X 332; *Inscr. It.* III 1, 113).

¹⁰⁹ But this is a nomen attested only in the northern provinces (*CIL* III 4859; *CIL* XIII 11709a; *AE* 1993, 1245 [Virunum]).

- ***veela(siiis?)** tPo10, 11 = *Imag.* 798ff. Pompei 117 (c. 150–100). This is surely *Velasius Velassius* which is attested at least three times in Latin inscriptions from Pompeii (note especially N. Velasius Gratus in *CIL* X 1041) and perhaps nowhere else.¹¹⁰ *Imag.* suggests "Vela(eus) (?)".
- ***vele[iis]** Hi3 = *Imag.* 945 Abellinum 1 (c. 200–100); N. Velleii in Herculaneum (Camodeca 2008, 205f.): *Veleius* (attested in Aquinum¹¹¹ and Aquileia), *Velleius* (Abellinum, Capua – including the family of Velleius Paternulus –,¹¹² Puteoli, Pompeii).
- ***veliieis** gen. Cm22 = *Imag.* 593f. Saticula 1 (350–300): *Velius* (attested in Neapolis, *NSA* 1892, 55: *Velia Rufina*).
- vesideis** gen. (a nomen?) Si17 = *Imag.* 542 Teanum Sidicinum 11 (300–275). If this is a nomen, it should probably be identified with *Vesidius* (apparently not attested in the Oscan area; for an attestation from Aquinum, see *Rend. Linc.* 29 [1974] 45f.).
- vestirikiis** Cm3 = *Imag.* 894f. Abella 3 (c. 100?), **vest[irikiis]** (?) Cm8 = *Imag.* 893 Abella 2 (c. 100?), **vestirikiíúí** dat. Cm1 = *Imag.* 887ff. Abella 1 (c. 100), A1: *Vestricius* (apparently not attested in the area of *CIL* IX–X).
- *N. **Vesvi(us)** N. f. *CIL* I² 2949 (Capua): *Vesvius Vesbuis Vesuvius* (these forms being attested in Pompeii) *Vesubius* (*CIL* VI 24364).¹¹³
- †**vesulliaís** Sa7 = *Imag.* 1174ff. Terventum 18 (c. 150–100). This nomen must apparently be interpreted as **Vesulliaeus* (Vetter, *Ve* 150; Slunečko no. 463; *Imag.*). Its relation to *Vesullius* (attested, e.g., in Beneventum and Histonium, *CIL* IX 2023, 2910) would be the same as that of *Anniaeus* (*AE* 1975, 328 [Supinum], *Imag.* 277f. Corfinium 14. 15) and *Septimi(a)eus* (*Suppl. It.* 3 Corfinium 36) to *Annius* and *Septimius*.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ For an uncertain instance in Genusia, see *CIL* IX 6172.

¹¹¹ *Rend. Linc.* 25 (1970) 424 no. 6.

¹¹² M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II (1982) 83f.

¹¹³ Mount Vesuvius is also known as *Vesvius* (Colum. 10, 133 and other poets) and as Βέσβιον ὄρος (Strabo, Appian, Dio; cf. G. Radke, *RE* VIIIA 2434f.).

¹¹⁴ *Anniaeus* is attested among the Marsi (*Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi* 122) and the Paeligni (*Imag.* 277f. Corfinium 14. 15), *Septimi(a)eus* (but *Septimieus* could in theory also stand for **Septimieus*) also in Corfinium (*Suppl. It.* III Corfinium 36; and cf. also [–]iaeus in *CIL* IX 3345 from Angulus in the country of the Vestini); **Vesulliaeus* has thus a "Sabellian" ring, which makes one wonder whether it might not be of "Sabellian" origin. It might be derived from the Umbrian theonym *vesune* (dat.), cf. Lejeune 68; 82; Untermann 852. Note that nomina ending in *-iaeus* should be kept separate from nomina ending in *-aeus* of the type

- +*L. **Vettius** Min. f. Vol. Ursulus *CIL* IX 2809 (Aufidena);¹¹⁵ cf. *vetis* MV11 = *Imag.* 254 Interpromium 3 (200–150), *ibid.* 255f. Interpromium 4, *vetio*. MV5 = *Imag.* 224 Incerulae 4; P. Vettius Scato, commander of the Marsi in the Social War (and surely of Marsic origin, cf. M. Buonocore, in A. M. Dolciotti & al. [eds.], *L'ombilico d'Italia* [2007] 71), although said (in Macrob. *sat.* 1,11,24) to have been a Paelignian (*RE* Vettius 16; cf. Vettius 17); Q. Vettius Vettianus *e Marsis*, Cic. *Brut.* 169: *Vetius Vettius* (Bovianum Vetus, Saepinum, Allifae, Beneventum, Abellinum, Capua, Atella, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Nuceria, Grumentum).
- *Decius **Vibellius**, *praefectus* of a *legio Campana* in 280 (Liv. *per.* 12); Cerrinus *Vibellius*, *cognomine Taurea* from Capua, 215 BC (Liv. 23,46,12): *Vibellius* (attested in Puteoli, *CIL* X 3100).¹¹⁶
- +***vibiiai** (nomen rather than praenomen?) dat. fem. Cp37 = *Imag.* 443ff. Capua 34 (200–150), lines 3 & 8; N. Vibius Nov. f. Pom. Flaccus *CIL* I² 1691 (Potentia); L. Veibius Of. l. Trypho *CIL* X 5118 (Atina);¹¹⁷ N. Vibii in Capua (*CIL* X 4327), Abellinum (*CIL* X 1174), Cumae (*CIL* X 3699 of AD 251) and Herculaneum (*AE* 1978, 119b);¹¹⁸ cf. *vibies* MV12 = *Imag.* 221 Incerulae 2: *Vībius* (common in *CIL* IX–X).
- *L. **Villius** V. f. *CIL* I² 1695 = *Imag.* 83 Italia 9 (cf. Crawford 2010, 277) (cf. Οὐίλ(λίον) on coins from Neapolis, *Imag.* 1526 Neapolis no. (19)?): *Villius* (Pompeii, Volceii).
- ***viinikiís** Po3 = *Imag.* 656ff. Pompei 24 ("after 123"): *Vīnicius* (Aeclanum, Nola, Cales [Tac. *ann.* 6, 15, 1, the senatorial Vinicii], Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Paestum) *Vīnucius* (Telesia, Beneventum); and cf. *Vincius* (*CIL* VI 28961 = *ILMN* 402, mentioning also a *Vinicius*; *CIL* XIV 258, etc.).
- ***viniies** gen. *Imag.* 941 Caudium 1 (c. 450–350): *Vīnius*, attested at least in Saepinum (*CIL* IX 2544) and Pompeii.
- †**ϕυνλενιο** Lu64 = *Imag.* 1401f. Potentia 23 (125–100). We are surely dealing with **Vinilenius* **Vinulenius* (*Venulenius* is suggested in *Imag.*), cf. *Vinilei-*

αυδαιος "Audaeus" **maraei(s)** "Maraeus" **meliíssaiis** "Melissaeus" etc.

¹¹⁵ Note also Q. Vettius N. l. [---]s in Rome (*CIL* VI 33968).

¹¹⁶ Otherwise there are attestations only from Rome (*CIL* VI 3491; cf. *ICVR* IV 10141a), Venusia (*CIL* IX 490) and Pisae (*CIL* XI 1500 = *Inscr. It.* VII 1, 67).

¹¹⁷ This is Atina in Latium, not Atina in Lucania as some sources would have it, but the patron of this freedman must have been of Oscan origin, as the abbreviation *Of.* must represent a rendering of the Oscan praenomen **úpfals**.

¹¹⁸ Note also the Tiberian senator N. Vibius Serenus (*RE* VIIIA 1983f. no. 54; for the praenomen cf. the *senatus consultum de Cn. Pisone* [*AE* 1996, 885, etc.]).

us Vinuleius and, e.g., *Vibuleius* : *Vibulenus* (*AE* 2006, 1766) *Vibulenus*. The orthography <υ> indicates that the [i] is long, as it is known to be in *Vīnius* (see Schulze 380).

***Φιρινεῖος** gen. (a nomen?) Cm16 = *Imag.* 854ff. Surrentum 4 (325–300): this seems to correspond to *Virnius*, a nomen apparently attested in Pompeii (*CIL* IV 5712, 10194b); but there is also *Vīrīnius*.¹¹⁹

***vírriis** and **vírriiis** Cp36 = *Imag.* 441f. Capua 33 (300–200), **vírriieís** Cp24 = *Imag.* 434f. Capua 29 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **virriieís** Cp27 = *Imag.* 432f. Capua 28 (c. 300–250? [p. 29]), **virriium** gen. pl. Cp20 = *Imag.* 403 Capua 13 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]), Cp21 = *Imag.* 400f. Capua 11 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]), Cp22 = *Imag.* 402 Capua 12 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]), Cp23 = *Imag.* 398f. Capua 10 (c. 325–300? [p. 29]); Vibius Virrius from Capua, attested in 216 and 211 BC (*RE* Virrius 1); Virria Ov. (?) [f. ---] *AE* 1993, 557 (Aesernia): *Virrius* (attested in Larinum, *AE* 1997, 359); *Vīrius* is probably better kept separate.

N. **Vitellius** Pac. f. *CIL* I² 1692 (Potentia): *Vitellius*, attested in Aeclanum, Venafrum, Teanum, Capua, Puteoli, Herculaneum, Pompeii.

***vuliieis** gen. Ps12 = *Imag.* 872f. Nola 7 (c. 450): *Vulius*, attested once in Pompeii, Castrén no. 427.

Uncertain names:

– **aiē(-)** Po89 = *Imag.* 668 Pompei 29 (n. d.) (cf. *Aiedius Aienius Aienus Aietius Aiezius?*).

– **aim(-)** tSa15 = *Imag.* 993 Bovianum 5 (c. 200–100) (*Aemilius?*).

– **κφτ.** (?) *Imag.* 1453 Metapontum 2 (c. 300 BC; "*Cafat(ius)* (?)").

– **δα(-)** *Imag.* 1314 Lucania etc. 4 (75 BC; "*δα(τεσ)*").

– **ha(-)** *Imag.* 544 Teanum Sidicinum 13 (c. 300).

– **μο(-)** *Imag.* 1343 Laos 1 (on bronze coinage of 350–300 BC).

– **ppa.** tSa6 = *Imag.* 1004 Bovianum 13 (c. 200–100), suggesting "**p(ú)pa(íis)**".

– **pu(-)** (?) tPo36 = *Imag.* 818 Pompei 129 (c. 150–100).

– **trbl.** *Imag.* 1319 Lucania 2 (c. 200 (?); "*Trebellius*").

– **veinav.** *Imag.* 382 Campania Coinage 3 (265–240).

¹¹⁹ *AE* 1967, 444 = *ILGR* 250 (Samothrace); *IG* X 2, 1, 127 (Thessalonica: Ου̅ειρινίου); *ILAlg* II 4580.

– [2–3]αλανισ Lu63 = *Imag.* 1348f. Laos 3 (c. 300); this could be [–]alanius,¹²⁰ unless one assumes that one of the two αs (the first rather than the second) is an anaptyctic vowel which might indicate a nomen of the type **Sclanius* (not attested, but cf. perhaps *Sclavius* [*CIL* VI 26012]).

– [–]illiunīs Cm42 = *Imag.* 611 Herculaneum 3 (c. 150–100?), suggesting that this could be "[Op]illionius"; but one could perhaps also think of *Milionius* (attested in Rome, Spolegium, Hasta and on two Cycladic islands)¹²¹ or *Filionius* (attested in Tuder, *CIL* XI 4693).

Appendix

Nomina of Numerii (or sons or freedmen of Numerii) attested in Latin inscriptions from the Oscan area, and some nomina attested exclusively or almost exclusively in Oscan cities (cf. above at n. 3).

M. *Acca*[–] N. I. Sidonius *AE* 1978, 119c (Herculaneum)

N. *Accius* N. I. Philonicus *CIL* IX 2559 (Fagifulae)

N. *Acerro*[n]ius Puteo[I]anus *Coll(ina)* *CIL* X 142 (Potentia)

N. *Aeserius* Rufus *Inscr. It.* III 1, 91 (Atina)

N. *Agrestinus* Equitius Pulcher Castrén no. 16 (Pompeii; a nomen not found elsewhere)

Aletia N. f. *CIL* IX 2694 (Aesernia)

L. *Amio*(s) N. f. *CIL* IX 1636 = I2 1731 (Beneventum)

N. *Arcaeus* N. f. Arellian(us) Caledus *CIL* X 793 (Pompeii)

N. *Arellius* N. I. Primogenes *CIL* X 2098 (Puteoli)

N. *Avillius* *AE* 1981, 213 (Abellinum)

N. *Blasius* (the brother of C.M.P.Q Blas(s)ii), *CIL* IX 1016 = I² 1717 (Frigento)

N. *Bovius* N. et M. I. Hilaru[s] *CIL* IX 1048 (Frigento)

N. *Cadius* N. [I.] Stepanus H. Solin, *Oebalus* 6 (2011) 120f. no. 2 (Capua?)

Calatorius: found exclusively in Pompeii, Salernum and Herculaneum (with quite a few attestations; cf. Camodeca 2008, 175f.)

¹²⁰ For nomina ending with *-alanius*, note *Calanius* (*CIL* XV 8137), *Palanius* (*CIL* III 12065), *Salanius* (*CIL* XIV 3504; IX 3261, etc.), *Talanius* (*CIL* IX 848, etc.). But it seems that more than just letter is missing before [–]αλανισ.

¹²¹ *CIL* VI 34; *Inscr. It.* XIII 1, p. 285f.; *CIL* XI 4892; *Suppl. It.* 10 Hasta 8; *IG* XII 5, 143 (Paros), 660 (Syros).

C. Carponius N. (filius) *CIL* X 3787 (Capua)

Casineius: attested almost exclusively in Beneventum and environs (*CIL* IX 1714. 1780. 2094; G. Camodeca, in M. L. Caldelli & al. [eds.], *Epigrafia 2006: atti della XIVe Rencontre sur l'épigraphie in onore di Silvio Panciera* [2008] 948)

N. *Celerius Rufus* *CIL* X 1403, d, 1, 7 (Herculaneum)

N. *Charapaeus* N. f. Men. Secundus *AE* 1978, 119a (Herculaneum)

Crassius: attested only in Pompeii and Herculaneum (cf. Camodeca 2008, 200)

L. *Decumius* N. f. Stab(ilio) *CIL* X 3783 = I² 686 (Capua)

[*Del*]lia N. l. [The]ophila, N. *Dellius* N. l. Menocrates *CIL* X 4108 (Capua)¹²²

Dentatius: attested only in Pompeii and once in Rome

Digitius: very common in Paestum and already attested there in the 2nd century BC, only very rarely found elsewhere

Egnius: known only from two inscriptions from Paestum

N. *Eprius* Nicia *CIL* IV 3340, 45 = *AE* 1993, 454¹²³

Faecius: attested only in Pompeii, Puteoli and Syracuse

N. *Fafini(us)* N. f. *CIL* X 1589 = I² 1618 (Puteoli)

N. *Firvius* N. f. Fal., N. *Firvius* N. f. Flaccus *CIL* IX 2182 = I² 1746 (Caudium);

N. *Firvius* N. f. Gal. Maximus *CIL* IX 1018 (Frigento)

Flurius: attested only in Beneventum (*CIL* IX 1823) and Caiatia (*AE* 2008, 384) and once in Rome

C. Freganio(s) N. f. *CIL* IX 1636 = I² 1731 (Beneventum)

N. *Fufius* Modestus *CIL* IX 1895 (Beneventum)

N. *Granii* (or *Granii* N. l.) attested in Capua (*CIL* I² 3121) and Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1403, b, 5; *AE* 1978, 119c)¹²⁴

Holconius: attested only in Pompeii

Limbricius: attested, in addition to Rome, only in Capua and Pompeii and in Ha-laesa in Sicily (combined with the Campanian tribe *Falerna*: *CIL* X 7460)

N. *Magnius* (freedman of Magnia Ironia) *CIL* X 2694 (Puteoli)

[. *M*]agullius N. f. Cor. Fl(accus?) *AE* 1997, 391 (Aeclanum)

Megonius: typical of Petelia, but also found in an early inscription from Paestum (*I. Paestum* 140)

N. *Modius* N. f. Primus, N. *Modius* N. f. Paulus *CIL* IX 1412 (Aeclanum)

¹²² Note also N. *Dellius* N. l. Cerdo in Rome (*CIL* VI 16799) and N. Δέλλιος Ἐπίγονος in Leukopetra (Macedonia) in AD 171/2 (*I. Leukopetra* 7).

¹²³ For this rare nomen, note the consul Eprius Marcellus from Capua (*PIR*² E 84).

¹²⁴ For a N. *Granius* N. l. in Herdoniae, see *AE* 1982, 211.

Q. *Monnius* N. f. *CIL* X 3778 = I² 678 (Capua); N. *Munnius* N. l. Antiochus *CIL* X 3772 = I² 682 (ibid.)

L. *Naevius* N. f. Pansa *CIL* IX 6308 (Saepinum); N. *Naevius* N. f. Palat. Vitulus, N. *Naevius* Moschus *CIL* X 1807 (Puteoli)¹²⁵

Neratius: the attestations show a heavy concentration on Saepinum and on some other cities in the neighbouring area¹²⁶

N. *Nigidius* (?) *CIL* IV 3785

N. *Numestius* Callistratus I. *Paestum* 80¹²⁷

Numisia N. fil. Marcella *CIL* IX 2614 (Terventum); cf. N. Numisius N. f. Vol. Labeo in Rome (*CIL* VI 23116a, with a tribe common in Samnium)

Numistrius: attested only in Pompeii

[.] *Nummius* N. f. Sucrinus *CIL* IX 2787 (Bovianum Vetus)

N. *Obulcius* (mulieris) l. Pharnaces *EE* VIII 536 (Cales)

Orfellius: found only in Aeclanum and Pompeii

Ovilonius: found only in Tegianum (*CIL* X 307. 308)

N. *Pedius* N. l. Onesimus *CIL* IX 1923 = *EE* VIII 93 (Beneventum)

Petronia N. f. *CIL* IX 2522 (Saepinum)

Piricatus/Pericatus: attested only in Pompeii

N. *Pisurius* Ianuarius *CIL* X 1321 (Nola)

N. *Pontilius* [---]mus *CIL* X 363 = *Inscr. It.* III 1, 159 (Atina Lucana); N. *Pontili[us]* Campanus *Inscr. It.* III 1, 158 (ibid.)

Pullia N. l. Epicaris, N. *Pullius* N. l. Faustus *CIL* X 4309 (Capua); cf. Q. Pulli(us) V. f. *CIL* IX 726 = I² 1711 (Larinum)

N. *Pumidius* Q. f. *CIL* C 3776 (and 3777) = I² 675 (Capua)

N. *Rubrius* M. f. *CIL* X 3780 = I² 679 (Capua)

P. *Servius* N. l. *CIL* I² 2947 (Capua)

Socil[i]a N. f. Prisca *CIL* X 1137 (Abellinum)

N. *Stenius* [--] Saturnin[us] *CIL* IX 1926 (Beneventum; cf. perhaps N. Stenius M. f. on Delos, *CIL* I² 2504 = *ID* 1753)

¹²⁵ N. Naevii are also attested in Teate Marrucinorum (*EE* VIII 124) and Rome (*CIL* VI 22819).

¹²⁶ Saepinum: *CIL* IX 2440. 2447. 2450ff., 2484f., 2511ff., 2531; *AE* 1927, 117. 118. 120; 1968, 145; 1978, 287; 1990, 217. 218. 220; 1997, 423. Aesernia: M. Buonocore, *Molise. Repertorio delle iscrizioni latine. Le iscrizioni. Aesernia* (2003) 160; Beneventum: *CIL* IX 1901. It may also be of interest to note that **gaavieís ne[raatieís]** (one should perhaps rather expect **ne[raatieís]**) was the reading originally proposed by A. La Regina (in E. Mattiocco [ed.], *Frammenti del passato. Archeologia e archivistica tra Castel di Sangro e Sulmona* [2010] 49; *SE* 84 [2008 (2011)] 439) for the inscription *Imag.* 1239f. Aufidena 3.

¹²⁷ A N. Numestius also in *Cic. Att.* 2,22,7.

Stlaborius attested only in Pompeii and Herculaneum

Stronnius: attested only in Pompeii

Vagellius: attested outside Rome almost exclusively in Bruttium in Locri, Vibo and Regium

N. *Veius* Barcha in Pompeii (Castrén 1975, no. 434, 6, cf. 7, 13)

N. *Veratius* Atictus (sic) *CIL* IV 3340, 26 (Pompeii)

Vistuleia N. f. *Lupula* *CIL* IX 2423 (Allifae; note also N. *Vistuleii* in Rome, *CIL* VI 5139, 29057)

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SULLANUS AND SULLANI

FEDERICO SANTANGELO

In modern scholarship – especially in English – it is not infrequent to find references to individual supporters of Sulla as "a *Sullanus*", and to the cohort of Sulla's supporters as "*Sullani*".¹ It is worth asking whether this is borne out by the ancient attestations of these words.

Sullanus is mainly attested as an adjective or as a substantivised adjective, as one would expect. Priscian acknowledged and discussed an aspect of its meaning: *in "nus" quoque terminantium formae et significationes diuersae inueniuntur, quibus Latini frequenter utuntur in significatione possessiua, ut "Pompeianus", "Caesarianus", "Sullanus"*. This is just a part of the picture. The application of the adjective is vast: it may be associated to *coloniae, agri, adsignationes, partes,*

* I am grateful to Alexander Thein and an anonymous referee for their comments on early drafts of this note.

¹ See, e.g., E. Badian, "Waiting for Sulla", *JRS* 52 (1962) 47–61, at 54 (= *Studies in Greek and Roman History*, Oxford 1964, 206–34, at 220); Id., *Lucius Sulla. The Deadly Reformer*, Sydney 1970, 30; W. C. McDermott, "Curio pater and Cicero", *AJP* 93 (1972) 381–411, at 382, 389; P. B. Harvey, "Socer Valgus, Valgii and C. Quinctius Valgus", in E. N. Borza – R. W. Carruba (eds.), *Classics and the Classical Tradition. Essays Presented to Robert E. Dengler on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, University Park 1973, 79–94, at p. 90; M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974, 388; A. Keaveney, "Who were the Sullani?", *Klio* 66 (1984) 114–50; R. Seager, *Pompey. A Political Biography*, Oxford 2002², 29 ("for what the label is worth"); A. Keaveney, *Sulla. The Last Republican*, London 2005², 172; M. Tröster, *Themes, Character, and Politics in Plutarch's Life of Lucullus: The Construction of a Roman Aristocrat*, Stuttgart 2008, 84 (with an important qualification). W. K. Lacey, *Boni atque improbi*, *G&R* 17 (1970) 3–16, at 7 argues that the supporters of Sulla called themselves *nobiles*; the claim rests mainly on Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 135–138, where Cicero speaks of a *causa nobilitatis*, and the Sullan connection is far from clear. J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le vocabulaire politique des relations et des partis politiques sous la République*, Paris 1963, 437 n. 2 argues that in the *Pro Roscio Amerino* the word *nobilitas* actually refers to "le "parti" des Mételli", in opposition to Chrysogonus and his minions.

tempus, dominatio, arma, regnum, exemplum, dies, crudelitas, uiolentia – and the list could continue.² Such a wide-ranging use is matched, although not on the same scale, by other comparable adjectives: *Marianus, Cinnanus, Sertorianus*.³

The attestations of *Sullanus* as a noun are few; most of them are in Cicero, and usually in politically charged and historically instructive contexts. In the second *Verrine* Cicero takes on the whole record of the defendant, and reads out the account that Verres gave in 81 BC, three years after the end of his quaestorship, which he had held under Cn. Carbo.⁴ He points out that the account is unacceptably vague and intrinsically fraudulent; Verres' claim that he had left 600,000 sesterces at Ariminum was made in the full knowledge that the city was sacked during the Civil War, just around the time when the account was submitted. Cicero notes that the reason which led Verres to become a *Sullanus* was his wish to be allowed to present such a wildly inaccurate account – not the desire to support the cause of the *nobilitas*. That is identified as a motive of many of those who joined Sulla; Cicero is referring to the early stages of the Civil War, when Sulla arrived on Italian soil and received the loyalty of a number of members of the political elite; Cicero later points out that Sulla never wanted to have much to do with Verres.⁵

The more conspicuous cluster of uses of *Sullanus* as a noun is in the third speech on Rullus' agrarian law, delivered to the people in early 63 BC. Here Cice-

² *Coloniae*: Sall. *Cat.* 28,4, Plin. *nat.* 14,62; *agri*: Cic. *agr.* 2,68 and 3,3; *adsignationes*: Cic. *agr.* 3,3; *praedia*: Cic. *agr.* 3,10; *partes*: Nep. *Att.* 2,2; *tempus*: Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,43, *Mur.* 49, *dom.* 43, 79, *har.* 18, *fam.* 13,4,1; 13,5,2; Plin. *Nat.* 9,123; *dominatio*: Cic. *agr.* 1,21, 2,70; *arma*: Cic. *Vat.* 23; *regnum*: Cic. *Att.* 8,11,2; 9,7,3; *dies*: *Att.* 10,8,7; *crudelitas*: Val. Max. 6,8,2, Sen. *ira* 2,34,3; *uiolentia*: Val. Max. 9,15,5. Cf. also τὸν Σύλλειον τρόπον in Dio 46,33,2 and Xiphil. p. 43,21 Dindorf-Stephanus (in a discussion of the triumviral proscriptions).

³ *Marianus*: *tribunus plebis* (*agr.* 3,7), *partes* (Vell. 2,24 and 29; Eutr. 5,8,1; 5,9,1), *monumenta* (Val. Max. 2,5,6; 4,4,8), *gloria* (Val. Max. 9,12,4), *colonia* (Mela 2,122). *Cinnanus*: *tempus* (Cic. *dom.* 83, *har.* 18, *red. sen.* 9), *dies* (Cic. *Sest.* 77), *partes* (Vell. 2,24), *proscriptio* (Val. Max. 5,3,3). *Sertorianus*: *milites* (Cic. *agr.* 2,5,72, 146; Val. Max. 5,5,3), *tempora* (Cic. *agr.* 2,83), *bellum* (Cic. *Phil.* 11,18; Vell. 2,30,5; Flor. 2,134), *duces* (Cic. *Manil.* 20), *arma* (Sen. *ep.* 94,64), *exemplum* (Plin. *nat.* 3,9,11). *Pompeianus* and *Caesarianus* have a much larger number of attestations, especially thanks to Caesar's *De bello ciuili*, and pertain to a different generation: they will be excluded from the present discussion.

⁴ Cic. *Verr.* 2,1,36–37.

⁵ Cf. the digression on Sulla in *Verr.* 3,81–82, which is intended to imply that Verres is even worse than Sulla; see C. Steel, "The Rhetoric of the *De frumento*", in J. R. W. Prag (ed.), *Sicilia nutrix plebis Romanae. Rhetoric, Law, and Taxation in Cicero's Verrines*, London 2007, 37–48, at 40–2.

ro scrutinises another text, that of the bill itself, and comments on the reference to two consuls who were committed enemies of Sulla (C. Marius and Cn. Papirius, *co. ss.* 82 BC). In Cicero's view, this was just a cheap ploy on Rullus' part to avoid referring to the year of Sulla's dictatorship and to conceal the fact that the bill actually confirmed the rights of the Sullan *possessores*. Cicero's rhetorical strategy in this speech is remarkably complex, and A. Drummond has shown that identifying who the Sullan *possessores* may be in this context is no straightforward undertaking.⁶ Again, the word *Sullanus* is used with a sarcastic touch: a Marian tribune like Rullus is trying to cast "us Sullans" (*nos Sullanos*) into disrepute. In an earlier speech Rullus had accused his opponents of being defenders of Sulla's policies (*rationes Sullae*); Cicero – who is, significantly, addressing a *contio* – retorts the accusation against Rullus himself. His proposal to ratify the Sullan land assignments is sufficient to place him among the *Sullani*; he should frankly admit to being one. The rest of his agrarian bill, with all the new envisaged land assignments, seems to bring back to life Sulla himself and his arbitrary use of power.

There is another important factor that links Rullus to the legacy of Sulla: his father-in-law is the infamous Quinctius Valgus, one of the great profiteers of the Sullan period, who would have greatly benefited had Rullus' bill been passed. Unlike Rullus, though, Valgus does not conceal his Sullan connection: *neque se Sullanum esse dissimulat*. The beneficiaries of the Sullan land assignments are referred to in similar ways. In a letter he wrote to Atticus on 15 March 60, Cicero summarises his work of lobbying on an agrarian bill presented by C. Flavius, in which – among other things – he confirmed *Sullanorum hominum possessiones*. In this case, the reference must be to the veterans of Sulla who had received some land assignments.⁷ The reference to Valgus as *Sullanus* must be interpreted in the same sense.

The neatest reference to the Sullani as a *group* in a late Republican source is in a fragment of Sallust's *Historiae* (1,42 Maurenbrecher = 1,34 McGushin): *ut Sullani fugam in noctem componerent* ("so that the *Sullani* were planning their escape for the night-time"). This fragment has been read as a reference to a phase of the Colline Gate battle in which Sulla's army was in a difficult position, and its commanders considered the possibility of an escape.⁸ In this case *Sullani* does

⁶ A. Drummond, "Rullus and the Sullan *possessores*", *Klio* 82 (2000) 126–53: see esp. 139–41 for an overview of the categories of landholders that may fall under this definition.

⁷ Cf. Drummond, "Rullus", *cit.*, 130 for a different reading: "Sullan partisans, who, by definition, were men of some consequence, in Italy as well as in Rome".

⁸ P. McGushin, *Sallust. The Histories. Volume I. Books I–II*, Oxford 1992, 103.

not refer to a political group, but to an army that is fighting under Sulla's leadership, much in the same way in which we find frequent references to *Caesariani* and *Pompeiani* in Caesar's *De bello ciuili*. The same meaning may be found in Pliny the Elder, again in connection to the Civil War, and notably in a reference to Pompey (7,96): *igitur Sicilia recuperata, unde primum Sullanus in rei publicae causa exoriens auspicatus est*. Far from pointing to a long-term political allegiance to Sulla, Pliny is merely drawing attention to the fact that at the time of his Sicilian campaign Pompey was fighting under Sulla's standards.⁹

The only occurrence of *Sullani* as a *political* group – of a kind – is an enigmatic source of uncertain dating and unclear purpose, the *De uiris illustribus*.¹⁰ In the biography of Cicero the *Pro Roscio Amerino* earns pride of place as the moment in which the young orator showed his qualities: the *Sullani* were on the receiving end of his attacks (*adolescens Rosciano iudicio eloquentiam et libertatem suam aduersus Sullanos ostendit*). With the same independence of spirit (*qua quondam Sullanos libertate perstrinxerat*) he later attacked Pompey and Caesar, whom he suspected of coveting *dominatio* (a term with clear Sullan associations), paying the hefty price of exile. Chrysogonus and his minions, however, may be easily assimilated to the veterans who had been the beneficiaries of Sulla's generosity – the *homines Sullani*; it is not so much question of their political loyalty, much as it is of their personal connection with, and debt to, the Dictator. The targets of the *Pro Roscio* are not the senatorial followers of Sulla, or indeed the Dictator himself (at least not directly); the polemic is carefully directed at some individuals who are made vulnerable by their relatively low status.

Perhaps surprisingly, it is in a Greek source that we find the clearest illustration that there may be question of "Sullans" as a political group. According to Appian, after Sulla's death there is a dispute between Catulus and Lepidus on the funeral: Catulus and οἱ Σύλλεῖοι won the argument.¹¹ This can only be understood as a group of people who had been on Sulla's side and were loyal to his memory. The same word is used two chapters later, with reference to Lepidus' oath

⁹ Cf. the reference to veteran colonisation in Siculus Flaccus, *De condicionibus agrorum* 132.19 Campbell ([*scil. lapides*] *quos Gracchani aut Syllani posuerunt*).

¹⁰ Cf. the suggestion of L. Braccisi (*Introduzione al "De uiris illustribus"*, Bologna 1973), who argued that the *DVI* is work of the Elder Pliny, not intended for publication.

¹¹ App. *BC* 1,105. On the year 78 and the wide-ranging implications of the clash between Lepidus and Catulus see V. Arena, "The Consulship of 78 BC. Catulus versus Lepidus: an *optimates* versus *populares* Affair", in H. Beck – A. Duplá – M. Jehne – F. Pina Polo (eds.), *Consuls and res publica. Holding High Office in the Roman Republic*, Cambridge 2011, 298–318, esp. 300–6.

not to wage war on the Σύλλειοι – and, by extension, on the *res publica* itself.¹² Interestingly, Appian refers to Sulla's supporters with the collective Σύλλειοι only when the legacy of Sulla begins to be put into question. It is tempting to see the direct influence of a Latin text; behind Appian's Σύλλειοι there is conceivably the *Sullani* of a source to which the historian from Alexandria had access.¹³

Surely, then, it is not entirely illegitimate to speak of *Sullanus* and *Sullani* in discussions of political history. The scarcity of the evidence and the fluidity in the use of those terms should however invite to caution. The individuals who receive the label of *Sullanus* fought under Sulla in the Civil War, and there appears to be mention of *Sullani* only in the immediate aftermath of Sulla's death. This fact in itself may provide an interesting insight on the quality of Sulla's legacy in internal politics and on the nature of the political ties that he built around himself and his cause.

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¹² App. *BC* 1,107. Σύλλεια is used in the sense of "faction of Sulla" in *BC* 1,85. Cf. also the civic games called Σύλλεια that were established at Athens shortly after the First Mithridatic War (*IG* II² 1039, with *SEG* XXII 110; *SEG* XIII 279). Cf. Flor. 1.84 (*denique in se ipse [scil. populus Romanus] conuersus Marianis atque Sullanis*) and 2.132 (*cum tam ferox in Sullanos Marius fuisset*).

¹³ É. Famerie, *Le latin et le grec d'Appien. Contribution à l'étude du lexique d'un historien grec de Rome*, Geneva 1998, has nothing on this specific point; cf. however *ibid.* 24–7 for some sobering remarks on Appian's sources.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

Silvio Panciera
octogenario ad 21.3.2013

CCLXXII. IMMER NEUE COGNOMINA

Abonianus: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *IL Afr* 304 (prov. proc.) *Consius [A]bonianus* (Vater *Abonius*).¹

Ἀκουτᾶς: *IG Bulg* 2347 (Nicopolis ad Nestum) Dat. Ἀκουτᾶ (Sexus bleibt unbestimmt, so dass auch der Frauennamen *Acuta* vorliegen könnte, wobei man jedoch eher Ἀκούτη erwarten würde). In ägyptischen Papyri siebenmal belegt, zwischen 12 n. Chr. und 6. Jh. (überliefert sind Nom. Ἀκουτᾶς, Gen. Ἀκουτᾶ und Dat. Ἀκουτᾶ oder Ἀκουτᾶτι). Es kann sich aber auch um einheimisches Namentgut handeln (vgl. auch Ἀκωτᾶς *P. Kar. Goodsp.* 50 von 158/9 n. Chr.), doch war das lateinischen Namenstämmen angehängte hypokoristische Suffix -ᾶς üblich in der Kaiserzeit, worauf ich öfters in den *Analecta* hingewiesen habe.

Acutianus: Kajanto 139 = 249 mit sieben Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 163. 42 (2008) 215. Dazu *ICUR* 11328; *AE* 2009, 1004 (Dalmatien, Anfang 3. Jh.); *IMS* I 120; *BCTH* 1909, 109 (Thamugadi); *AE* 1917/18, 57 (Lambaesis); *ILAlg* II 4402 *[A]cutianu[s]* (die Ergänzung ist sicher); (Alexandria oder Arsinoites, 142 n. Chr.) Ἀκουτιανός.

¹ Helmut Diekmann hat meinen Text einer sprachlichen Durchsicht unterzogen, wofür ihm herzlich gedankt sei. Mein Dank geht auch an Olli Salomies und Mika Kajava, die ebenfalls den Text durchgesehen haben; der letztere hat mich außerdem auf die in CCLXXIX behandelte Inschrift aufmerksam gemacht. Mit Jaime Curbera konnte ich über einige griechische Inschriften sprechen. – Zu den hier gebrauchten Zeichen vgl. H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* (1994²) 475. Kajanto bedeutet Kajantos *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965.

Acutio: Kajanto 163 = 249 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 131 Auxiliarsoldat. Dazu *I. Aquileia* 322 Sklave; *BGU* XI 2032 (Arsinoites, 11 n. Chr.) Ἀκουτίων.

Aebutianus: Kajanto 139 mit vier Belegen. *Rep.*² 497. Dazu *CIL* IX 2974 besser *AE* 1009, 279ter; *ILJug* 2830 (Asseria in Dalmatien) vgl. *PIR*² A 1294 *P. Atilius Aebutianus praef. praet., c. v.* (zweite Hälfte des 2. Jh.); *RIU* Suppl. 126 (Brigetio).

Aeterna: Kajanto 274 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 215. Dazu *ICUR* 4794 vgl. *AE* 2009, 137a.

Afinianus: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg, der aber das Agnomen eines öffentlichen Sklaven ist. Dazu *ICUR* 13987 *Afinian[us]* (die Ergänzung hat viel für sich).

Agilianus: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *HEp* 14, 24 (Hispanien cit.).

Alfianus: Kajanto 140 mit sechs Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *ICUR* 23785; *AE* 1989, 342i (Syracusae) *Dexippus Alfianus v. [e.]*; *ILAlg* II 5581 (Thibilis) *Q. Lutatius Q. f. Quir. Alfianus*.

Alpinianus: Kajanto 140 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus dem 6. Jh. Dazu *RIB* II 7, 2501, 45.

Amniana: *ICUR* 22991 *Amnianeti* Dativ. Der Männernamen *Amnianus* in *CIL* VI 2665.

Ampiana: Kajanto 140 mit einem Beleg aus Umbrien. Dazu *Bull. com.* 88 (1982–83) 130 (Rom, hadrianisch) *Aelia Ampiana*. Der Männernamen *Ampianus* ist bisher nicht belegt.

Antiana: *AE* 2003, 951 = *HEp* 11, 313 (Lucus Augusti, 3. Jh.) *Rutil[ia] Antiana*. Wenn die Lesung stimmt (das Cognomen ist mit mehreren Nexus gelesen worden: *Āntiana*), hätten wir einen neuen Namen, versehen mit dem für die spätere Kaiserzeit charakteristischen Suffix *-ius -ia*.

Anucella: Kajanto 301 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 14067 *Valeria Calliope que et Anucella*.

Anula: *Arctos* 32 (1998) 236, als Nebenform von *Anulla* (Kajanto 301) erklärt. Dazu *AE* 1982, 487 (Turgalium in Lusitanien) *Caesilia T. f. Anula*; *I. Caceres* 416 (Turgalium in Lusitanien) *Iulia – f. Anula*; *AE* 1993, 972 (Norba in Lusitanien) *Anula Talavi f.* (einheimisch?).

Anulla: Kajanto 301 mit vier Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *CIL* II² 5, 608 *Petronia c. f. Anulla*. 1043 *Amerina C. f. Anulla*; *I. Caceres* 417 (Turgalium in Lusitanien) *Norban(a) Anulla*; *ILAlg* II 3871 (Castellum Tidditanorum) *Iunia Anulla*; *IAM* 2, 476 (Volubilis) *Gabinia Anulla*.

Anullina: *CIL* VI 12087 *Anulina*. Kajanto 301 kennt nur den Männernamen *Anul(l)inus*.

Apriliana: *ICUR* 17705 *Apriliane mortua*.

Aprilianus: Kajanto 140 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 10249 *C. Val(erius) Aprilian[us]*.

Apuleianus: Kajanto 140 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* IX 2704 [---] *Judius L. f. Apuleia[nus sev[ir]]*. – **Appuleianus:** *Rep.*² 497. Dazu *NSc* 1923, 360 (Rom) *L. Baebius L. f. Pub. Appuleianus*; *SEG* XLII 1187 (Aezani in Phrygien) Ἀπουλειωνός (vgl. 1188 und *Rep.*² 497).

Arrenianus: Kajanto 140 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 9 Amiternum 34 (325 n. Chr.) *Atrius Arrenianus*.

Arruntianus: 141 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg* II 2723 (Celtianis) *M. Iulius Ti. fil. Arruntianus*; 4875 (Thibilis) *L. Arruntius Arruntia[nus]*; *ILTun* 577d (Zama Regia) *L. Novius Exoratus Arruntianus*; *AthAgora* XVIII 221f Nr. H 405 (1./2. Jh.) Τιβ. Κλ. Ἀρουντιανός Πολλιανός (gebürtig wohl aus Nikopolis); *Altertümer von Hierapolis* 40.

Ateriana: *CIL* VIII 26028.

Aterianus: Kajanto 141 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 13344 *Cn. Numisius Aterianus*; XIV 37. 912. 4569 *Q. Domitius Aterianus*; VIII 3875 Vater *Aterius*.

Atinianus: Kajanto 141 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 133. Dazu *CIL* III 6010, 21 (Vasenstempel).

Attilianus: Kajanto 141 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *Carte archéologique de la Gaule* 63, 2, 160 und sonst.

Aulus: Kajanto 172 mit sieben Belegen aus *CIL*. Öfters als Einzelname (oder ggf Cognomen) im griechischen Bereich, z.B. in Athen (26 Belege in *LGPN* II, von denen der älteste aus 106/5 v. Chr.; vgl. auch Ἀύλος Ἀύλου Ῥωμαῖος *IG* II² 1011 aus demselben Jahr (ein Homonym in *ID* 2595) oder Ἀύλος Γαίου *SEG* XXVIII 95 aus ca. 30 v. Chr.). Sonst etwa *I. Rheneia* (EAD 30) 449; *SEG* IX 388 (Ptolemais in der Kyrenaika). Die Liste ließe sich beliebig verlängern. In einem guten Teil der Fälle dürfte das lat. Praenomen vorliegen, auch in älteren (z. B. außer in dem oben angeführten Ἀύλος Γαίου in Γάιος Ἀύλου Ῥωμαῖος *ID* 1923 von 126/5 v. Chr.), ohne die Möglichkeit auszuschließen, dass hinter der Namensgebung ein rein gr. Name Ἀύλος oder eher Ἀύλός steckt, ein Kurzname neben Ἀύλιων und anderen (vgl. Bechtel *HPN* 89); freilich spricht die Chronologie nicht gerade dafür, denn von Ἀύλος lassen sich keine Belege vor der Zeit des römischen Einflusses nachweisen. Es sei noch hinzugefügt, dass möglicherweise in thrakischen Gebieten der Name als eine Art einheimischer Kurzname im Umlauf sein konnte.

Aureola Auriola: Kajanto 340 mit drei Belegen aus CIL und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *Aureola* oder *Auriola*: *ILAlg* I 1019 *Sextia Aur[-]ola*; *Auriola*: *ZPE* 184 (2013) 238 vgl. unten S. 237 (Apulum in Dakien); *AE* 1997, 1596 (prov. proc.) *Licina Auriola*; *ILAlg* II 4939 (Thibilis).

Aureolus Auriolus: Kajanto 340 mit zwei Belegen aus CIL (in Wirklichkeit zählt man in CIL vier Belege) und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *Auriolus*: *AE* 1974, 135 (Lavinium oder ager Laurens, Sklave); *Pizzarras visigodas*, ed. Velásquez Soriano 104 (wohl 7. Jh.). 117 (7. Jh.).

Auricomus: *AE* 1995, 225 (Rom) Gladiator. Kajanto 223 verzeichnet nur den Frauennamen *Auricome* in der Form *Auricome*. Besser *Auricoma* festlegen: der Name steht in der Inschrift im Dativ, wobei auch *sue sanctissime* geschrieben wird.

Avianus: Kajanto 141 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 43 (2009) 163. Dazu *AE* 1993, 1043 (Hispanien) *Valerius Avianus*. *CIL* XII 4121 *T. Fl. Avianus*; *ILAfr* 388 (Carthago) *L. Octavius L. f. Pol. Honoratus Avianus Flaccianus*; *IG* X 2, 1, 685 (1./2. Jh.) Γ. Ἰγνώτιος Ἀβιανός; *BCH* 20 (1896) 355, 15 (Amathus auf Kypros, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) Ἀβιανὲ Δημόρχου, χρηρηστὲ χαῖρε. Ich habe nur die Belege aufgenommen, die deutlich cognominale Charakter haben (*Avianus* war auch Gentilname).

Axianus: Kajanto 141 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 10528 *P. Verrius Axianus*.

Baca m. (?): *AE* 2005, 465. Siehe unten S. 229.

Baiana: Kajanto 142 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 21694 *Baia[n]a* (die Ergänzung ist sicher).

Baianus: Kajanto 142 mit vier Belegen aus CIL. Dazu *ILAlg* II 4947 (Thibilis) [---]us *M. f. [Quir.] Baian[us]*; *SB* 9843 (Iudaea) Βαϊανοῦ (hierher gehörig?). – Auch als Pferdename: *Audollent*, *DT* 241.

Barbatianus -a: Kajanto 142 mit zwei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu fragmentarisch unbestimmten Sexus *ICUR* 20029 *Barbatia[---]*.

Barianus: Kajanto 142 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 45 (2011) mit östlichen Belegen. Dazu *IG* II² 2065 vgl. *AE* 2009, 1336 Νούμμιος Βαριανὸς Μελιτεύς.

Bellicianus: Kajanto 142 mit acht Belegen aus CIL. Dazu *I. Albanie* 133 (Dyrrachium) *L. Antistius Bellicianus*; *AIJ* 491 *L. M(---) Bellicianus*; *AE* 1969/70, 504 (Virunum) *Ael(ius) Bellicianus*; *AE* 1917/8, 72 (Lambaesis, Ende 2. Jh.) *Aecilius Bellicia[n]us*.

Blaesianus: Kajanto 142 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*² 497. Dazu *AE* 1984, 202 (Puteoli); *BCTH* 1934–1935, 379 (prov. proc.) *Sex. Iulius Blaesianus*.

Burriana: AE 1906, 188 (Berytus) *Iu(lia) Burriana*.

Burrianus: Kajanto 142 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 174 aus Athen. Dazu *CIL* VI 36018a *L. Otacilius Burrianus*.

Caecianus: Kajanto 142 mit einem Beleg aus Dalmatien. *Arctos* 45 (2011) 146. Dazu *L. Cassius Caecian(us)*, Münzmeister 102 v. Chr., vgl. Crawford, *RRC* 325 Nr. 321. Kajanto 142 aber stellt den Namen des Münzmeisters zu *Caecicius* (belegt in *CIL* I² 2270), was auch möglich ist.

Caedianus: Kajanto 142 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XIII 833 (Burdigala) *L. Samonic(ius) Caed[i]an(us)*.

! *Caenianus:* Kajanto 142 aus *CIL* VI 24601 *Q. Pomponius Caenianus*. Da aber die Mutter *Pomponia Caenis* hieß, ist das Cognomen des Sohnes durch eine kleine Entgleisung (sein Cognomen hätte *Caenidianus* lauten sollen) aus *Caenis* abgeleitet.

Caerellianus: Kajanto 142 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 20228 (*Cerell-*). 38027; *EE* VIII605 (Aquinum).

! *Caerula:* Kajanto 227 mit einem Beleg aus Celeia in Noricum: *CIL* III 5142 *Cerula Tutori* in einem etwas dunklen Kontext (und der Sexus bleibt unbestimmt). Die Erklärung des Belegs als *Caerula* bleibt also ganz in der Luft hängen. Auch sonst ist es mir nicht gelungen, Belege auf *Caer-* zu finden. *Cerula* aber ist einigermaßen belegt: *Inscr. It.* X 4, 363 *Voluminia L. f. Cerula* (Tergeste, 1. Jh. n. Chr.); *ILAfr* 38, 22 (3. Jh. n. Chr. oder etwas später) *Cerula Ursacia*; und dann in christlichen Inschriften *ICUR* 5925m; *I.Chr. Napoli* 25. – Wie soll man aber *Cerula* deuten? Wegen der bestehenden Schreibung *Cer-* wird man nicht an erster Stelle an *caerulus* als Namenwort denken, auch weil Namenbelege auf *Caerul-* fehlen. Und *cerula* "Wachsstück" ist kaum ein passendes Namenwort. Steckt dahinter möglicherweise eine nicht-lateinisch-griechische Bildung (notiere, dass der Sohn den einheimischen Namen *Solitus* führt)?² Oder könnte eine feminine Motion von *Cerylus* vorliegen (dafür spricht aber nicht gerade der Beleg aus Tergeste, da in dem Fall eine Freigeborene ein griechisches Cognomen führen würde, an sich möglich, aber nicht üblich)? So könnte auch *ICUR* 18544 *Brittia Cerullia* als eine Ableitung aus *Ceryllus* mit dem späten Suffix *-ius -ia* aufgefasst werden.³

! *Caerulus:* Kajanto 227 mit einem Beleg aus *CIL* IV 9132 mit der Lesung *Cirulus*, die ganz unsicher bleibt (aus dem Apographon des Editors Della Corte

² In afrikanischen Quellen begegnen Namen wie *Ceras* (*CIL* VIII 11994) und *Ceraus* (Coripp. *Ioh.* 6, 732); vgl. K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994, 33.

³ Fehlt in meinem Namenbuch.

zu schließen, kann in dem heute verschollenen Graffito was auch immer gestanden haben). So steht die ganze Existenz eines Namens *C(a)erulus* auf dem Spiel. Nicht hierher gehörig scheint der Name des von Sueton *Vesp.* 23, 1 erwähnten Freigelassenen, der in den Hss. *caerulus* oder *cerulus* wiedergegeben wird, dahinter steckt aber eher gr. Κηρύλος,⁴ wie auch das Vespasian in den Mund gelegte Menanderzitat nahelegt.⁵ Problematisch bleibt *AE* 2009, 979 (Virunum) *Cerule*, wo Dativ eines Männernamens vorzuliegen scheint; wenn das kein Schreibfehler ist (der Editor will *C(a)erul^o* emendieren), könnte man einen griechischen Namen Κηρυλάς erwägen, der aus griechischen Quellen freilich nicht bekannt ist, doch eine plausible Bildung neben Κήρυλλος *Cerylus* usw. darstellt.

Caesaria: *Arctos* 39 (2005) 161. Dazu *ICUR* 15280. 16087. 18559. *IRC* III 187 (christl.); *Vita Caes. Arel.* 1, 35 Schwester des Bischofs von Arelate Caesarius; *Greg. Tur. Franc.* 4, 13.

Caesarina: *CIL* VI 6039 *Victoria Caesarina*.

Caesario: *Kajanto* 178 mit einem Beleg (Sohn von Caesar und Kleopatra). *Arctos* 43 (2009) 163. Dazu *O. Douch* II 58 (4. Jh.); *P.Alex.* inv. n. 581 (kaiserz.).

Caesarius: *Kajanto* 178 mit einem heidnischen und sieben christlichen Belegen. Dazu öfters bei spätantiken Beamten (*PLRE* I 168–172 Nr. 1–3, 6 im Osten, 5 und 7 im Westen; II 249f Nr. 1, 2, 4, 5 im Osten, 3 im Westen; III 258f Nr. 1, 3 im Osten, 2 im Westen). Ferner *RendLincei* 1978, 51 (Rom, 3. Jh.) [*V]al(erius) Caesarius*; *ICUR* 10878. 17264. 17455; *CIL* V 4330 (*Caeserio*, scheint Dativ zu sein); *RE* III 1302 Bischof von Arelate † 542; andere gallische Bischöfe in *ThLL* *Onom.* II 44, 65–75; *HEp* 7, 1076; *TitAquinc* 679 *Pet(ronio) Caeserio* (Bruder *Caesianus*); *Hier. vir. ill.* 117 Bruder von Gregorios von Nazianz; *SB* 6311 (Ägypten) κόμετος Καισαρίου τοῦ υἱοῦ Κανδιδιανοῦ; *P.Oxy* XII 1429 (300 n. Chr.) γραμματεὺς; XIV 1686 (165/6 n. Chr., Supernomen); LXXI 4824 (geschr. Κεσζάριος; 67 n. Chr.); *PSI* VII 791 (*Oxyrhynchos*, 6. Jh.); *BGU* 752 (*Arsinoites* (7./ 8. Jh.)).

Caesennianus: *Kajanto* 142 mit fünf Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *ILTun* 728 *Q. Geminius Q. f. Felix B(a)ebenianus Caesennianus*. 729 *Q. Geminius Saturninus*

⁴ Fr. Reisch, *ThLL Onom.* II 351 legt für den Namen die Form *Cerulus* fest, aber die meisten Editionen schreiben, und zwar richtig, *Cerylus*.

⁵ *Cerylus*: *Mart.* 1, 67; *CIL* XI 1493. *Ceryllus* (geschr. auch *Cerullus*): s. mein Namenbuch² 1130; *Ceryllianus* ebd.; *Hist. Aug. Car.* 4, 3 (vgl. *RE* VI 1763 Nr. 63). Im griechischen Bereich ist mir Κηρύλος nicht bekannt, aber Κήρυλλος ist ein (natürlich fiktiver) Name eines Reisegefährten der Hauptperson in Antonius Diogenes' Liebes- und Reiseroman. Inschriftlich belegt sind ἅγιος Κήρυλλος *IGrChrEgypte* 735 und Κηρυλλιανός in Magnesia am Mäander (*I. Magnesia* 185, 12 Tt. Κλ. Σάμιος K., Antoninus Pius).

Caesennianus (beide aus dem Munizipaladel); *I. Beroia* 105 (2. Jh.) Τ. Φλόουιος Καίσηννιανὸς Εὐλαῖος.

Caeserianus: *Rep.*² 498. Dazu *CIL* II² 14 A 1 *Annosius C(a)eserianus* (möglicherweise aus Aquitanien). Kajanto hat nur *Caeseriana*.

Καίσιτιλλος: *AJA* 71 (1967) 243 Nr. 4 (Aphrodisias). Ableitung aus dem (seltenen) Gentilnamen *Caestius*.

Calatia(?): *AE* 1993, 321 (Rom) *Aemiliae Calatiae*. Zum Namen der campanischen Stadt gebildet, oder eher, wie der Erstherausgeber H. Solin meint, gr. *Galatia*. Ferner *ICUR* 22475. Beide Belege werden in meinem Namenbuch² 429 als griechisch eingestuft und stehen unter *Galatia*.

Calatianus: *ILTun* 1611, 18 (Sicca Veneria) *Clodius Calatianus*. Zum Ortsnamen *Calatia* und Ethnikon *Calatinus*. Wenn nicht = *Galatianus*, Ableitung aus dem populären griechischen Namen *Galatia*.

Caralitanus: Kajanto 193 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 162. Dazu *AE* 2009, 452 (Valentia in Sardinien, um Christi Geburt).

Cariana: *AE* 2009, 1168 (severisch) *Aurelia C.* Kajanto 143 verzeichnet den entsprechenden Männernamen viermal. *Carianus -a* war auch Gentilname, und in keltischen Gebieten kann er teilweise epichorisches Namengut vertreten.

Casinas: Kajanto 181 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1964, 14 (Albanum, 3. Jh.) [---] *Casinas d(omo) Casino* Soldat der II legio Parthica.

Cassinus: Kajanto 161 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 23861 *alumnus*.

Catella: Kajanto 326 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 194. Dazu *JWE* I 68 (Venusia). *CILA* II 428 (Italica). *CIL* VIII 27448. *AE* 2009, 1741 (Ammaedara) *Clodia C.*

Ciceronianus: Kajanto 144 = 335 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1955, 53 (prov. proc.) *C. Modius Silvanus Ciceronianus*. Kajanto leitet den Namen wechselweise aus dem Gentilnamen *Ciceronius* oder aus *Cicero* ab, doch ist er zweifellos zum Namen Ciceros zu stellen; daran ändert nichts, dass die zwei Belege der okkasionellen Gentilnamenbildung *Ciceronius -ia* aus Afrika kommen (*CIL* VIII 14860. 24372), wie auch die beiden Belege für das Cognomen. Zu dem von Kajanto aus Cirta verzeichneten *C. Bombius Ciceronianus* vgl. den bombastischen Namen *M. Bombius M. f. Q(uirina) Cicero* aus Celtianis (*CIL* VIII 19721).⁶ Die zwei können auf irgendeine Weise zusammengehören; wenn so, hat der Cirtenser sein Cognomen sicher von Cicero. In *AE* 1955, 53 wird im nachfolgenden metrischen Teil *Modius Silvanus Ciceronianus* als *Cicero* angeredet. Zweifellos wurde *Ciceronianus* in diesen Fällen von den Namengebern wie von den Sprachteilhabern unmittelbar mit dem großen Redner in Verbindung gebracht.

⁶ R. Syme, in *L'onomastique latine* (1977) meint, er "évoque l'éloquence classique".

Cominianus: Kajanto 144 mit neun Belegen. Dazu der spätantike Grammatiker (1. Hälfte des 4. Jh.) *RE* IV 606.

Cosconianus: Kajanto 145 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 163. Dazu *CIL* II 5342.

Crispianus: Kajanto 223 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 195. 39 (2005) 163. 42 (2008) 218. Dazu *HEp* 4, 114. Zu den messenischen Crispiani s. noch *AE* 2009, 1313 = *SEG* LVII 374.

Crispinianus: Kajanto 223 mit einem *clarissimus iuuenis* (*PIR*² P 919) und zehn Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *ICUR* 23413 (372 n. Chr.) Grammatiker; *Inscr. It.* X 5, 453 *C. Mefanas C.*; Pais 1263 (Verona) IIIIvir; *ILJug* 306 (Emona) Legionär; *RIU* 304 Veteran. 943 Veteran. Suppl. 24; *IDR* III 5, 592; *ILAlg* II 7527 *Q. Iulius C.*; *ILTun* 574 *e.v., curator r. p.* von Zama; *AE* 1993, 1591 (Apamea Syr., 252 n. Chr.) Auxiliarsoldat; *RMD* 320 (245 n. Chr., Prätorianer unbekannter Herkunft).

Cupitianus: Kajanto 296 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *Bull. com.* 70 (1942) 98 = *AE* 1987, 157 (Rom) *M. Ulp(ius) Pusinnio Cupitianus* (der Vater heißt *M. Ulp(ius) Pusinnio*, so dass dem Sohn *Cupitianus* aus uns verborgenen Motiven zugelegt wurde, um ihn vom Vater zu unterscheiden). Ferner *RIU* 582 (Brigetio) *L. Septimius Cupitianus* Legionär.

Damianus: Kajanto 145 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *CIL* III 6601 Beneficiarius. Im östlichen Reichsteil vertritt der Name eher griechische Onymie.

Danuvius: Kajanto 205 mit sechs Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *Cod. Iust.* 6, 59, 10 (294 n. Chr.); *ICUR* 14170 *Danubius*. Als Pferdename *CIL* XV 6126; Audolent, *Def. tab.* 275–282. In den europäischen Provinzen vertritt der Name teilweise einheimisches Namengut, zumal als orthographische Nebenform in einer epichorischen Namenformel und mit einem epichorischen Vaters- bzw. Tochternamen verbunden: *RIU* 1221 *Danuius Diassumari f.* oder 1262 (beide aus *Inter-cisa*) *Veringa Danui f.*⁷

Dasianus: Kajanto 145 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* III 3540 (Aquincum) *M. Ulp(ius) Dasianus* Veteran der legio II adiutrix.

⁷ Dagegen diene als Quelle des Cognomens des *C. Retonius Danuvius*, Augustalis in Aquincum (*CIL* III 3581) wohl der Flussname. Zum Namen vgl. H. Solin, *Danuvius*, in *„Eine ganz normale Inschrift“ ... und ähnliches zum Geburtstag von Ekkehard Weber. Festschrift zum 30. April 2005*. Herausgegeben von F. Beutler und W. Hameter unter Mitarbeit von R. Beutler, M. Gerhold, V. Scheibelreiter und I. Weber-Hiden (Althistorisch-epigraphische Studien 5), Wien 2005, 125–32.

Deciana: *ICUR* 9947 *Aur(elia) Deciana*; *CIL* IX 2458 (Saepinum) *Naevia Deciana*; *Inscr. It.* X 2, 72 (Parentium, chr.). Der Männername *Decianus* ist üblich.

Decidianus: Kajanto 145 mit zwei Belegen, von denen einer aus Pompeji (ein M. Lucretius) stammt; aus Pompeji noch *CIL* IV 3340, 46. 67 L. *Ceius Decidianus*.

Decimiana: Kajanto 145 mit einem (synkopierten) Beleg. Dazu ein weiterer synkopierter Beleg aus Perinthos-Herakleia in Thrakien in Dumont – Homolle, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* (1892) 385 Nr. 721 (geschr. ΔΕΚΝΙΑΝΗ, christl.).

Decimianus: Kajanto 145 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *IGBulg* 489 Δεκμιανός Ταρουλου; *MAMA* I 45 (Laodices Combusta in Lykaonien) Δεκμιανός Κάρβων Λαφρηνός (doch wohl eher Gentilicium).

Decrianus: Kajanto 145 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 195. 37 (2003) 176. Dazu *SEG* XVIII 716 (Ägypten) Δέκριος Δεκριανός; *P. Flor.* III 368r vgl. *BL* VIII 131 (Hermopolis, 96 n. Chr.) Πετρώνιος Δεκριανός στρα(τηγός) Ἑρμοπο(λείτου); *SB* VIII 10068 Δεκριανός.

Didianus: Kajanto 145 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 32561, 18 *Didian(us)* Prätorianer; *AE* 1987, 224 (Tibur) *M. Ulp(ius) Didianus*; *AE* 1973, 586 (prov. proc.) *Iusti[ni]us Didianus*; *P. Abinn.* 63 (Alexandria, 350 n. Chr.) Διδιανῶ.

Domitiana: Kajanto 145 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1997, 196 (Rom) *[D]omitia Domitian[a]*. Der Männername *Domitianus* ist üblich (64 Belege bei Kajanto).

Eburianus: Kajanto 145 mit einem Beleg (Hispanien). Dazu *IGRR* III 162 (Ankyra, 102 n. Chr.) Ἐβουριανός Ἀκύλου.

Exsuperans: Kajanto 277 mit drei afrikanischen Belegen. *Arctos* 43 (2009) 166. Dazu *AE* 2009, 1729e (Ammaedara) *Aurelius Aug. lib.*

Exsuperata: Kajanto 352 mit vier Belegen (der Männername *Exsuperatus* ist üblicher). Dazu *ICUR* 15540. *AE* 2009, 1073 (Pann. sup.). Vorbeck, *Zivilinschr. Carnuntum*.

Fabricianus: Kajanto 146 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.*² 328. 499. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 197. Dazu *ILAfr* 32 Q. *Licinius Honoratus Fabricianus*; *SEG* XLVII 910 (Lyke in Makedonien) Λ. Φλάουιος Φαβρικιανός [Ἀντ]ίπατρος διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου πατρὸς Λευκίου [Φλ]αουίου Φαβρικιανοῦ.

Flaccianus: Kajanto 146 = 240 mit acht Belegen. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 177. 42 (2008) 220. Dazu noch *SEG* LVIII 1429 (Bithynion/Klaudiopolis, 2./3. Jh.) [---] Φλακκιανός Παῦλος (oder Gentilicium?).

Φλαουιανής; *SEG* LVII 1392 (Phrygien) Φλαβιανής. Zu dieser Art von Namen vgl. z. B. Robert, *Bull. épigr.* 1959, 411 und *Hellenica* 11/12, 291. 393.

Fortunatio: *Rep.* 334 aus Athen. Dazu *SEG* LVIII 1028 (Akrillai in Sizilien, 3./ 4. Jh.); *AE* 1997, 1627b. 1637c (Ammaedara) *Allius Fortunatio*.

! *Fufianus*: Kajanto 146, der den Namen zweimal aus *CIL* VI belegt (dazu aus *ICUR* 5328). In Wirklichkeit fehlt der Name aber gänzlich in *CIL*. Dagegen füge hinzu *ILAlg* I 2414 (Madauros; zweimal).

Gaio: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 200f. Dazu öfters in Ägypten: 1. Jh. n. Chr.: *P. Mil. Congr.* XVII (Arsinoites); *P. Soter* 12. 15. 16; *StudPal.* IV pg 58–78. – 2. Jh. Chr.: *O. Claud.* 423 (Mons Claudianus, 136 n. Chr.) Γαίωνα Καισαριανῶ; *BGU* 1621. 1716. 1891. 1896. 1899; *O. Bodl.* 1428; *O. Claud.* 417; *O. Trim.* I 34; *P. Col.* II 1; *P. Fam. Tebt.* 10; *P. Mil. Vogl.* IV 212; *P. Oxy* 727; *P. Petaus* 59. 62; *SB* 7354. 9457. 15313. 15472. 16061. – 3. Jh.: *P. Hamb.* I 13, usw.

Gentinus: *Rep.* 338 aus der Narbonensis. Dazu *AE* 2008, 70 aus Carnuntum.

Gentio: *Rep.*² 499 aus dem Jahre 598 n. Chr., Sizilien. Dazu *CIL* XIV 2310 = XV 7836.

Germania: Kajanto 203 mit einem unsicheren Beleg. Dazu *P. Gen.* II 116 (Oxyrhynchos, 247 n. Chr.) Αὐρηλία Γερμανία; *P. Oxy* X 1349 (4. Jh.); *LVI* 3857 (4. Jh.) τὴν θυγατέρα ἡμῶν Γερμανίαν; *PSI* XIV 1418 (3. Jh.). Die ägyptischen Belege brauchen nicht zum Völkernamen gestellt zu werden, eher stellen sie eine Bildung mit dem späten Suffix *-ius -ia* aus dem Cognomen *Germanus -a* dar.

Germanianus: Kajanto 418 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 178. Dazu S. Orlandi, *EAOR* VI (2004) 214 Nr. 16, 10d [= *CIL* VI 32104. *PLRE* I 392 Nr. 2] vgl. 263 Nr. 30 (4. Jh.) *Art(emius) Germanianus c. v.*; *PLRE* I 391 Nr. 1 Beamter im Westen 365–367; 392 Nr. 4 = *CIL* II² 7, 265 und sonst (2. Hälfte des 4. Jh.) *Decimius Germanianus vir clarissimus consularis provinciae Baeticae*; *CIL* II² 5, 968 *M. Naevius M. f. Quirina Germanianus [Os]tipp(onensis)*; *ILAlg* I 2108. 2110 (Madauros) *Cl(audius) Sisenna Germanianus*.

Germanicus: Kajanto 201 mit vier Belegen aus dem Senatorenstand und fünf sonstigen. Dazu *PLRE* II 504 *vir spectabilis* in Gallien, Mitte 5. Jh.; 803 Nr. 9 *Olympius Germanicus Rhetor(?)* im Osten.

Germanio: Kajanto 203 mit drei heidnischen und drei christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 170. Dazu *ICUR* 18860; *P. Berl. Bibl.* 18 (Memphis, erste Hälfte des 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Γερμανίων.

Germanius: Kajanto 201 mit einem späten Beleg. *Rep.* 339 (der dort angeführte Beleg kann auch *Germanio* vertreten). Dazu *P. Fouad* 32 (Oxyrhynchos, 174 n. Chr.). Diese späten Belege mögen ein echtes Cognomen vertreten; dagegen

ist *Q. Salvius Germanius* in *Suppl. It.* 25 Aquae Statiellae 3 aus der ersten Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. besser als Gentilname in cognominaler Funktion zu nehmen.

Gloriosus: Kajanto 279 mit vier heidnischen und vier christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 240. Dazu *I. Altava* 134 (419 n. Chr.) *Celius Gloriosus*.

Γνοῖος: *Arctos* 36 (2002) 110–112. 40 (2006) 135. Dazu *SEG LVIII* 1434 (Bithynion/Klaudiopolis, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Γνοῖς (oder fem. Γνοίς? vgl. *Arctos* 35 [2001] 201).

Granianus: Kajanto 147 mit fünf Belegen aus dem Senatorenstand und elf Belegen aus CIL. Dazu *AE* 1980, 85 (Rom); 1983 (Herculaneum); 1997, 1689 (Uchi Maius). Öfters im griechischen Osten; *Corinth VIII* 3, 302; Bosnakis, *Anekd. epigr. tes Ko* (2008) 211; *I. Didyma* 81 und sonst Πό. Αἴλιος Γρανιανὸς Φανίας Ἀρτεμίδωρος Prophet in Didyma 202 n. Chr.; *Milet I* 3, 176 (und öfters) Μ. Αὐρ. Γρανιανὸς Ποσειδώνιος und Μ. Αὐρ. Γρανιανὸς Διόδωρος (Mutter eine Grania); *I. Didyma* 182 (und öfters) (ca. 230 n. Chr.) Πο. Αἴλ(ιος) Γρανιανὸς Ἀμβείβιος Μάκερ ... ἔκγονος Π. Αἰλίου Γρανιανοῦ Φανίου ... προκιθαριστής; *I. Smyrna* 736 (121/122 n. Chr.); *IGRR IV* 790 (Apamea Phryg.) Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Πείσωνος Μιθριδατιανοῦ υἱὸς Κυρεῖνα Γρανιανός ... ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Κλαυδίου Γρανιανοῦ; *MAMA X* 312 (Kotiaion Phryg., 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.); *SEG IX* 458 (Arsione in der Kyrenaika) Λ. Ὀκτάβιος Γρανιανός;

Gratiola: *Arctos* 32 (1998) 242 mit einem griechischen Beleg aus Siscia. Dazu *AE* 2009, 961 (Mogontiacum (um 200 n. Chr.)).

Herculaneus: Kajanto 191 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 4 Sulmo 46 *Octavius Herculaneus*; *HEp* 6, 464 (Gades) *L. Herennius Herculaneus*.

Histrionus: *NSc* 1965, 45 (Verona) [*Q. Se?*]rtorius *Q. f. Pob. [H]istrionus* Quattuorvir.⁸

!*Histrionica*: Kajanto 321 mit einem Beleg aus *CIL IV* 5233, vom Editor Mau gelesen *Histrionica Actic[a]*. Kajanto folgt Mau und nimmt *Histrionica* als Cognomen. Viel eher haben wir es aber mit einem Appellativ zu tun, das sich entweder auf die *ars histrionica*, die Schauspielkunst, bezieht oder auf eine Frau, die irgendwie mit der schauspielerischen Welt in Verbindung steht. Ich würde für die zweite Alternative plädieren,⁹ lese außerdem (aufgrund von guten Fotos des verschollenen Graffito) *Actia[na]* und sehe hier eine anonyme Schwärmerin für

⁸ Aufgrund eines Fotos, in dem sich der heutige Zustand widerspiegelt, bleibt das erste I unsicher; man sieht rechts unten nur einen winzigen Rest (wohl Serife) eines Buchstaben. Wenn dem so ist, dann könnten auch A (*Mastrianus*) oder E (*Mestrianus*) möglich sein. Ich danke Alfredo Buonopane für die Beschaffung des Fotos.

⁹ So auch J. H. Starks, in *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*, edited by E. Hall and R. Wyles, Oxford 2008, 130–2.

die Kunst eines der zwei in Pompeji hochbeliebten Actii, Anicetus oder Castrensis; um eine weibliche Schauspielerin, *histrion* wird es sich wohl kaum handeln.¹⁰

Hostilianus: Kajanto 148 mit zwei Belegen aus dem Senatorenstand und sieben Belegen aus CIL. Dazu AE 1977, 160 (Ostia) C. *Herennius Hostilianus*; *ILAfr* 52 (Leptis Minor) Q. *Valerius Q. f. Gal. Hostilianus Lun(a) mil. coh. I urb.* – S. auch unten unter *Statilianus*.

Infans: Kajanto 299 mit zwei (teilweise unsicheren) Belegen. Dazu CIL IV 7374 (Wahlempfehlung) *Infan(n)s nec sine Hinnulo* (scheint als Eigenname zu deuten zu sein); *ICUR* 21103 *depo(sitio) Infantis* (die Deutung als Eigenname hat viel für sich). – Fragmentarisch *Inscr. It.* X 2, 57 *Infan[---] et Innoc[---]* (beide sind Erwachsene).

Infantius: Kajanto 299 mit einem Beleg. Dazu S. Orlandi, *EAOR* VI (2004) 251 Nr. 16, 57 vgl. 269 Nr. 34 (4. Jh.) *[---]mius Infantius c. v.*

Instanianus: Kajanto 148 mit einem Beleg. Dazu CIL VI 35497 *Instan[ianus]* (die Ergänzung hat viel für sich).

Instantius: Kajanto 116 (fehlt in den Namenlisten). *Rep.* 345. Dazu Sulp. Sev. *chron.* 2, 46–51 Priscillianischer Bischof in Hispanien (2. Hälfte des 4. Jh.). Die späten Belege vertreten kaum den Gentilnamen *Instantius*, zu welchem s. *Rep.* 97).

Invidiosa: *BCTH* 1951–1952, 209 (Aradi in prov. proc., christl.) *moribus inbentum fuerat mihi nomen Matris mera Damula qui et Invidiosa*. Die Erklärung dieser Nomenklatur ist nicht unmittelbar. Die Bedeutung des metrischen Textes dürfte ungefähr die folgende sein: "wegen meiner Gewohnheiten wurde mir der Name *Mater* zugelegt, sonst wurde ich allein *Damula* alias *Invidiosa* genannt"; so versteht die Stelle auch Kajanto.¹¹ Wenn dem so ist, wurde der neunjährigen Tochter der Name *Mater* im Laufe ihres Lebens wegen ihrer Eigenschaften als altklug gegeben; es handelt sich also um eine Art Spitzname (*Mater* ist als Eigenname belegt, wenn auch nur selten: s. unten zu *Mater*). Auch *Invidiosa* ist ein Zuname; Kajanto meint, er wurde bei Geburt verliehen, was nicht auszuschließen ist, trotz der vorzugsweise pejorativen Bedeutung von *invidiosus* (Kajanto reiht ihn in die Beispiele pejorativer Supernomina ein, es ist aber nicht leicht einzusehen, warum einer Tochter bei Geburt ein pejoratives Supernomen gegeben worden wäre, die dann im Laufe ihres Lebens so hervorragende Eigenschaften an den Tag gelegt hat, dass sie den neuen Zunamen "Mutter" erhielt).¹² Nun wurde

¹⁰ Mehr darüber im demnächst erscheinenden Supplement zu CIL IV.

¹¹ I. Kajanto, *Supernomina* (1966) 21, ganz anders als der Erstherausgeber.

¹² Kajanto zufolge würde *Invidiosa* zu solchen pejorativen Namen gehören, die in der späten,

invidiosus auch in dem guten Sinn "beneidenswert" gebraucht, und eine solche Bedeutung im Sinn, haben die Eltern *Invidiosa* als extra Zunamen *Damula* hinzufügen können, als die Tochter ihren Namen erhielt. Andererseits scheint es mir angemessener anzunehmen, dass auch *Invidiosa* nicht bei Geburt, sondern später verliehen worden wäre. *Mater* und *Invidiosa* in der Bedeutung "beneidenswert" würden sich gegenseitig ergänzen, als die Eltern dem Gedanken Ausdruck verleihen wollten, was für eine teure Kreatur ihre Tochter war.

Ἰουλιδιανός: *AE* 2009, 1435 = *SEG* LVII 1363 (Hierapolis, 102–114 n. Chr.) M. Οὔλπ(ιος) Μένιππος Ἰουλιδιανός. Aus dem unbelegten Gentilnamen *Iulidius*. Oder aus dem Namen der Stadt auf der Insel Keos?

Iuncina: Kajanto 334 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *IG* II² 11718 vgl. *SEG* LVIII 235 (3. Jh.) [--- Ἰο]υνκεῖνα.

Iuncinus: Kajanto 334 mit drei Belegen (von ihnen gehört *CIL* X 7580 dem Präfekten von Ägypten L. Baebius Aurelius Iuncinus *PIR*² B 13). Dazu *PIR*² F 298 (höherer Beamter in Ägypten zwischen 121 und 138 n. Chr.); Leber, *I. Kärnten* 76 (Virunum).

Iustilla: Kajanto 252 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 175 mit zwei Belegen aus Phrygien. Dazu *SEG* XXVI 1564 (Zeugma in Kommagene) [Ἰ]ούστιλλα (die Ergänzung mutet einleuchtend an).

Iuvenca: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 204 aus Philippi. Dazu *AE* 1993, 651 (Perusia) *Pedania Iuvenca*.

Iuventus: Kajanto 300 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *CIL* II² 14, 2, 1107 (kaiserl. Freigelassener); *Corinth* VIII 3, 154 *T. Manlius T. f. Col. Iuventus* Duovir.

Iuvenilis: Kajanto 300 mit fünf Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 5 Forum Novum 32 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Iulii Fortunati et Iuvenili et Gemelli* (der Sexus geht nicht mit Sicherheit hervor; notiere auch den Kasuswechsel zwischen Genetiv und Dativ).

Iuvenio: Kajanto 300 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *CIL* XI 4393 [---] *s Iuvenio* (im Cognominaindex wird für *Iuvenius* plädiert, doch scheint die Inschrift aus der frühen Kaiserzeit zu stammen, während das für die Spätantike charakteristische Suffix *-ius* eine Datierung frühestens ans Ende des 2. Jh. festlegen würde).

Lactearius: Kajanto 340 aus *AE* 1936, 120, jetzt *ICUR* 14583. Soll entfernt werden, ist eher Appellativ, vgl. P. Liverani, *RAC* 75 (1999) 534.

christlichen Nomenklatur modisch wurden und Feindseligkeit gegenüber der Gesellschaft signalisierten. Ich würde dem nicht zustimmen.

Latronianus: Kajanto 148 mit zwei Belegen (von denen *PIR*¹ L 85 dem Senator *Haterius Latronianus PIR*² H 28 gehört). Dazu zwei weitere Belege aus dem Senatorenstand: *PIR*² F 297 (severisch); G 141. Ferner Sulp. Sev. *chron.* 2, 51, 3 Gnostiker in Hispanien (derselbe Hier. *vir. ill.* 122, 2. Hälfte des 4. Jh.).

Lauricia: Kajanto 334 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICI* VII 45 (Dertona).

Lauricius: Kajanto 334 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 204. 39 (2005) 170. Dazu *CIL* VI 3548 (3. Jh. n. Chr., Praeses einer militärischen Petitionseinheit);¹³ *ICUR* 17893; *CIL* II² 7, 531 (Corduba) *Sempronio Donato cui et Lauricio*; *IGLS* XXI 4, 138 (ca. 4. Jh., vgl. *SEG* LVII 1906).

Laurina: Kajanto 334 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 12527.

Laurinus: Kajanto 334 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *P. Giss.* (Thebais, 4./5. Jh.); *P. Strasb.* 5 (Arsinoites, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.).

Lavinia: Kajanto 182 mit einem Beleg aus Burdigala. Der Name ist aber mehrmals belegt: *CIL* IV 10684; *HEp* 7, 372 = 12, 303; *CIL* VIII 5035. 27890; *IAM Suppl.* 891. Chr. *Labinia* aus *ICUR* 5370. 23010; *SEG* LII 921 Λαβιν(ί)α (Amulett gef. in Leontinoi, 5. Jh. n. Chr.) kann hierher gehören. Es existiert auch ein Gentilname *Lavinus -ia*, es liegt aber kein Grund vor, in den obigen Belegen ein Gentilicium in der Funktion des Cognomens zu sehen; vielmehr haben die Namengeber direkt Bezug auf Aeneas' Frau genommen. Nebenbei sei bemerkt, dass *Lavinia* im Mittelalter in Italien nicht ganz selten auftritt,¹⁴ und es scheint schwierig, für diese Namenbelege eine andere Herkunft zu finden.¹⁵

Lupiana: *Arctos* 39 (2005) 171 mit zwei Belegen aus Hispanien. Dazu Milne, *Greek Inscr.* (Catal. Mus. du Caire) 55, 9226 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) Λουπιανή.

Lupianus: Kajanto 327 mit fünf Belegen aus *CIL* und vier christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 177. 39 (2005) 171. Dazu *O. Krok.* I 89 (118 n. Chr.) ὑπὸ Λουπιανῶ; *P. Oxy.* XII 1513 ὑπὸ Λουπιανόν.

Lupicina: *Arctos* 39 (2005) 171 Λοπικίνα (scheint hierher zu gehören) (Tomis, spät). Dazu Vict. Tonn. *chron.* II p. 196, 518, 2 *cuius (Iustini) coniux Lupicina nomine dicebatur, quam Constantinopolitani Euphiam (i. Euphemiam) postea vocaverunt* (soll ursprünglich Sklavin gewesen sein; Augusta 518/527);

¹³ Fehlt in Vidmans Cognominaindex.

¹⁴ Siehe G. Savio, *Monumenta onomastica Romana medii aevi (X–XII sec.)* III, Roma 1999, 662–4, wo 71 Belege aufgezählt sind. *Lavinia* lebt noch heute in Italien als Vorname weiter: E. De Felice, *I nomi degli italiani*, Venezia 1982, 202. 246; *Nomi e cultura*, Venezia 1987, 257; *Dizionario dei nomi italiani*, Milano 1992, 224. Nach De Felice beruht die Popularität des Namens auf seiner Wiederaufnahme in der Renaissance dank der Übersetzung der Aeneis durch Annibal Caro, doch wurde er schon im Mittelalter neu "entdeckt".

¹⁵ Derselben Ansicht ist Maria Giulia Arcamone, der gedankt sei.

ILJug 3028 (Sirmium, christl.) [*Lu*]*picina* (die Ergänzung ist praktisch sicher).

Lupicinus: Kajanto 328 mit zwei heidnischen (der eine Beleg, von Kajanto aus *CIL* III 3767 = 10681 herausgeholt, bezieht sich aber auf den *comes rei militaris* in Thrakien um 377 n. Chr.; s. *PLRE* I 519 Nr. 3) und sechs christlichen Belegen. Des Öfteren bei spätantiken Beamten und kirchlichen Würdeträgern belegt, sowohl im Westen als auch im Osten: *PLRE* I 519–521 Nr. 1–6; II 693f Nr. 2–3; *PCBE* 3, 628 Bischof von Limyra in Lykien, erwähnt 381 n. Chr.; Gallien: Abt, gest. 480 (*Vitae patr. Iurens.*); Afrika: ein *servus Dei* (Anfang 5. Jh.) und ein Bischof (Mitte 5. Jh.): *PCBE* 1, 654f. Ferner *I. Aquileia* 3070; Lettich, *Inscr. septardoant. Concordia* 71; *ICI* XII 28 (Mediolanum); *Inscr. It.* X 2, 58. 62. *AM* 22 (1897) 352 (Dorylaion, christl.); *Studies in History and Art in the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Aberdeen 1906, 175 Nr. 67 (Laodikeia Combusta, christl.) Λουπικῆνος; *ChLA* XVIII 659 (unbek. Herkunft) *Lopicinus*. Man sieht, *Lupicinus -a* wird populär in der Spätantike und in christlichen Kreisen, warum, ist mir nicht klar.

Lupina: Kajanto 328 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *HEp* 5, 928 (Hispan. cit.). 11, 652 (Lusitania); *I. Beroia* 256 Λοπεινω. *O. BjuNjem* 140 (prov. proc.).

Lupinus: Kajanto 328 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* II² 14, 1, 734. *AE* 2009, 999 (Dalmatien).

Matidianus: Kajanto mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 208 aus Syedra. Dazu *AE* 1988, 665 (321–323 n. Chr.) *Postumius Matidianus Lepidus*, Praeses von Sardinien; *ACO* I 1, 2 p. 6 Bischof von Korakesion in Pamphylien (erwähnt zu 431 n. Chr.).

Mauricianus: Kajanto 206 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 172. Dazu *IG* XII 5, 712, 82 besser *SEG* LVIII 921 (Syros) Μα[υ]ρικιανός.

Mercuris: *ICUR* 21912 *Mercuridi* Dat., Frauennamen. Das griechische Suffix *-is* wurde nicht selten lateinischen Namen angehängt; Beispiele bei Kajanto 120 (hinzugefügt werden könnten *Firmis*, *Lauris*).

Minuciana: *AE* 1990, 354 (Regium Lepidum, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Maenia L. f. Minuciana*.

Minucianus: Kajanto 150 mit acht Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 2007, 382 (Puteoli) *Minucius Minucianus*. Öfters in Athen (*LGPN* II315 zählt sechs Namensträger aus dem 2. und 3. Jh.). Dazu *Hellenika* 29 (1976) 274 (Pydna in Makedonien, 3. Jh.); *SEG* LVIII 1564 (Sagalassos in Pisidien, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Π. Αἴλιος Μινουκιανὸς Λᾶγος.

Miserinus: *AE* 2009, 227a (Bleibarren gef. in Ischia, hergestellt aber in der Baetica, ca. 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr.) *Cn. Atelli Cn. f. Miserini*. Der historische und archäologische Kontext lässt nur die Deutung von *Miserinus* als Eigenna-

me zu.¹⁶ Aus dem Adjektiv *miserinus* gebildet, noch nie früher als Eigenname bezeugt (ein *Miserinus* wird von Vidman dem Cognominaindex von *CIL* VI als Eigenname aus 26704 zugeordnet, aber zu Unrecht). Als Name ist *Miserinus* freilich überraschend, aber eine andere Erklärung scheint ausgeschlossen. Unerforschlich sind die Wege der Namengebung.

Mummianus: Kajanto 151 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 209, wo besonders der Verbreitung des Namens im östlichen Reichsteil nachgegangen wird. Dazu noch *AE* 2009, 1363 = *SEG* LVIII 1428 (Bithynion/Claudiopolis in Bithynien) Μουμμιανός.

Musonianus: Kajanto 151 mit einem Beleg (jetzt *PLRE* I 611 *Strategius Musonianus*, praef. praet. im Osten, der in *SEG* LVII 1366 Κλ. Μουσσωνιανός heißt). *Arctos* 35 (2001) 210 aus Prusias ad Hypium (dort Erklärungsversuch für das Auftauchen des Namens im Osten). Aus dem Osten noch *Alt. von Hierapolis* 9 Κλ. Μουσσωνιανός (identisch mit dem praef. praet.?).

! *Narbullia*: *Rep.* 367. Der dort aus *AE* 1978, 257 angeführte Beleg wird in der *AE* aufgrund der Erstpublikation als *Narbulia* registriert (im Kommentar wird auf *Narbullia* hingewiesen), doch muss *Narbullia* gelesen werden, vgl. *Arctos* 32 (1998) 253f.

Nardulla: Kajanto 336 mit einem Beleg. Dazu A. Negroni, in *Il chiostrò di San Paolo fuori le mura*, a cura di G. Filippi, Città del Vaticano 2010, 154 *Quintilia Nardulla* (1. Jh. n. Chr.). Aber aufgrund des Fotos kann auch *Narbullia* (dazu oben) gelesen werden.

Nerviana: Kajanto 247 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VI 2139 vgl. *PIR*² C 1252 *Celia Nerviana* Schwester einer virgo Vestalis.

Nortianus: *AE* 2009, 1729b (Ammaedara, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Vedius Noertianus*. Vgl. *Nortinus* Kajanto 215.

! *Numa*: Kajanto 179 mit drei Belegen als Männername. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 225. Dazu *CIL* VI 13934 (s. unten S. 220). Interessant ist *Suppl. It.* 25 Brixia 118 *Ti. Claudio Quir. Numai* (claudische Zeit, aus der Orthographie zu schließen). Der Mann scheint peregriner Geburt zu sein, daraus zu schließen, dass in seiner Nomenklatur zwar die Tribus angegeben wird, nicht aber die Filiation. So erhebt sich die Frage, ob *Numa* ein *epichorischer* Name sein könnte. Dieselbe Frage kann man bei dem hispanischen und germanischen Beleg stellen. – Gr. Νουμᾶς ist Kurzname von Νουμήνιος (vgl. Bechtel *HPN* 522 und aus dem Leben *SEG* XLII 975 [Emporion in Hisp. cit., um 50 v. Chr.] Νουμᾶς [Νουμη]νίου

¹⁶ Vgl. die Erstpublikation von M. Stefanile, "Il lingotto di piombo di Cn. Atellius Cn. f. Miserinus e gli Atellii di Carthago Nova", *Ostraka* 18 (2009) 559–65.

Ἀλε[ξων]δρεύς, [*Numas N]umeni f. [Alexandri]nus*). – Kajanto verzeichnet zu *Numa* auch einen Frauennamenbeleg aus *CIL I² 337*, dessen Erklärung aber kontrovers ist. Während früher normalerweise *P. Vebidia Q. f. Numa* gelesen oder *VEBIDI* oder *VEBIDIO* konjiziert wurde (so als erster Mommsen), wird heute *P. Vebidia Q. f. Nu. Ma[golni]* vorgezogen.¹⁷ [Könnte man erwägen, als Praenomen *M'*. (= *Manius*) statt *Nu.* zu verstehen?]

Numerianus: Kajanto 151 mit sieben Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 179. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 1 Ferentinum 5 *Q. Lucretius N.* (Bürgermeister). *IMS* VI 135 (Scupi). *RIB* I 1064 Soldat. *AE* 2009, 1721 (Ammaedara) *Sex. Aemilius N.*; *AE* 1906, 173 (Faijum in Ägypten, 170 n. Chr.) *L. I[---] N.*; *TAM* II 1165 (Olympos) Θεοδώρα Νουμεριανοῦ Συέδρισσα. *IGLS* XXI 134. 136 Νουμερ-.

Optatula: Kajanto 297 mit sieben Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *AE* 2009, 1776 (Numidien). *IL Afr* 588, 17 (Thugga). *IL Alg* I 3331. 3757. II 10226.

Paconianus: Kajanto 152 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu *IGRR* IV 1075 (Kos) Λεύκιος Πακωνιανὸς Ἀσιάρχης (wohl eher Gentilicium); *TAM* II 438 (Tamara in Lykien, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Πακωνιανὸς Μόσχος (Vater Πόπλιος Πακώνιος Μόσχος ὁ καὶ Ἡ[θ]ικὸς Ῥόδιος καὶ Παταρ[ε]ύς); *IG* XIV 2412, 35 (Stempel auf einem Ring, unbekannter Herkunft) Π. Πακωνιανοῦ (wenn nicht Gentilicium).

Pagilla: *Arctos* 35 (2001) 213 mit einem Beleg aus Dion in Makedonien mit einem Erklärungsversuch. Dazu *SEG* LVII 1205 (Maionia in Lydien).

Pater(?): *CIL* VI 10557. Es ist nicht leicht zu entscheiden, ob *PATER* in der Inschrift Appellativ oder Cognomen ist. Bang im Gentilnamenindex S. 2 denkt, freilich mit Vorbehalt, an ein Cognomen; dagegen hat Vidman es in seinen Cognominaindex nicht aufgenommen; von sonstigen Stellungnahmen habe ich keine Kenntnis. Um das Problem zu veranschaulichen, gebe ich zuerst den Wortlaut der Inschrift an: *d. m. / Q. Acutio Forti / fecerunt / Q. Acutius PATER / et Acutia Primigenia / filio k(arissimo) f(ecerunt); v(ixit) an. III, m. V.* Der Wortlaut der Inschrift ließe an erster Stelle *Pater* als Eigennamen deuten: in einem Epitaph des 2. Jh. n. Chr. (so scheint die Inschrift zu datieren zu sein) müsste an dieser Stelle das Cognomen stehen, ganz wie im Namen des verstorbenen Sohnes und der Mutter. Nun lässt sich aber wie gesagt ein Cognomen *Pater* sonst nirgends belegen (wie auch nicht Πατήρ im Griechischen),¹⁸ weswegen sich der Verdacht

¹⁷ So M. Kajava, *Roman Female Praenomina* (1994) 63, wo weitere Literatur verzeichnet ist. – Nichts über das Problem bei A. De Franchi Bellis, *I cippi prenestini*, Urbino 1997, 212 Nr. 142.

¹⁸ Auch im Münchener Thesaurus fehlt am Ende des Wortartikels *pater* der Hinweis "cf.

aufdrängt, der Steinmetz oder sein Vorgesetzter habe irrtümlich anstelle des Cognomens das Wort *pater* gesetzt. Andererseits wird dem Namen der Mutter *mater* nicht hinzugefügt, warum also wäre nur der Vater als *pater* angegeben? Unklar bleibt auch, warum das Cognomen des Vaters fehlt, denn im 2. Jh. war das Cognomen ein obligatorisches Element in der Nomenklatur einer freien Person. Und die Inschrift ist im Ganzen sorgfältig hergestellt, mit Ausnahme eines kleinen Schönheitsfehlers, der Wiederholung von *fecerunt* in Zeile 6, wenn so zu verstehen. An sich lassen sich solche Unregelmäßigkeiten in epigraphischen Texten finden (ein Beispiel *Suppl. It.* 5 Feltria 4 L. *Hostilio L. f. Men. Statuto IIIvir(o) i. d. Hostilius et Caerulea parent(es)* aus dem Munizipaladel. Uns bleiben natürlich die Namengebungsmotive in der Familie verborgen, aber angesichts des Vorhandenseins von Namen wie *Genitor, Mamma, Mater, Paterculus* wäre es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in der römischen Namengebung *Pater* okkasionell in Gebrauch gewesen wäre.

Pisinio: Kajanto 299 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 19197 (starb im Alter von 33 Jahren); *I. Aquileia* 3162 *Pisinio* (chr.). Vgl. *Pusinnio*.

Pisinnus: Kajanto 299 mit fünf heidnischen (*Pus-* mitgerechnet) und drei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 21233 *Pisinus*; *AE* 2000, 570 (Forum Cassii in Etrurien, chr.); *I. Aquileia* 108 L. *Aur. Pisinnus* (kaiserl. Freigelassener); *ILGN* 88. 89 (Tiberius) *Sex. Aelanius Pisinus*. Vgl. *Pusinnus*.

Plautilla: Kajanto 169 = 242 mit vier Belegen (von denen zwei aus dem Senatorenstand). Dazu *ICUR* 23245a; *I. Stratonikeia* 309 Οὐλ(πία) Αἰλ(ία) Πλαύτιλλα θυγάτηρ Πλα[υτίλλ]ου ἀρχιερέως ναῶν τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.

Plautillus: Kajanto 169 = 242 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *I. Stratonikeia* 309 (s. gleich oben unter *Plautilla*).

Plotilla: Kajanto 169 = 242 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *EE* IX 793 (Praeneste) *Plotia L. f. Plotilla*; *AE* 1981, 218 (Atina Lat.).

Pollentina: Kajanto 197 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 11 Parma 10 *Gausiae Pollentine*.

Pollentinus: Kajanto 197 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *I. Aquileia* 139 *Q. Calvent(ius) Pollentin(us)*.

Polliana: Kajanto 153 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 38 (2004)180 aus Smyrna. Dazu *AE* 2009, 1407 (Metropolis, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Πωλλιανή.

Potentia: Kajanto 247 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* II 4313 = *RIT* 442 *Cl(audia) Iuliane Potentia* (wohl eher zweites Cognomen als Herkunftsbezeichnung; so auch Alföldy in *RIT*).

Potentiana: *CIL* X 5995 (Signia) *Virguniae(?) Iae Potentianae* (eher zweites Cognomen als Herkunftsbezeichnung).

Potentianus: Kajanto 247 mit drei Belegen. Dazu 17. *BRGK* 163 (Germ. sup., 325 n. Chr.).

!**Potentinianus:** Kajanto 247 mit einem Beleg, *CIL* VI 32683, der ergänzt wird: *Potent[iniano]*; der Name findet sich im rechten Teil des Inschriftenfeldes, und aus den Namen in den anderen Zeilen zu schließen, würden etwa vier Buchstaben fehlen (in der vorigen Zeile *Bar[bara]* und davor *Super[i et]*). Deswegen möchte man eher die Ergänzung *Potent[iano]* vorziehen. So steht die ganze Existenz von *Potentinianus* auf dem Spiel.

Praepositus: Kajanto 317 mit einem Beleg aus Hispanien. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 225 (Ägypten, chr.). Dazu *BGU* II 672 vgl. *BL* VIII 32 (Hermonthis, 6. Jh.) Πραιπόσιτος ὄσ[τιάριος]; *P. Lond.* V 1846 (Elephantine, 2. Hälfte des 6. Jh.; scheint Eigenname zu sein); 1850 (Syene, 6. Jh.) Πραιπόσιτος ἀναγνώστης; *P.Münch.* I 11 (Syene, 586 n. Chr.) Πραιπόσιτος στρα(τιώτης) ἀριθμοῦ Σρήνης.

Proiecta: Kajanto 287 mit 22 christlichen Belegen. Heidnisch *AE* 2009, 279 (Iuvanum, 1. Jh. n. Chr.); *IGLS* 2901 (Heliopolis) [*Pr*]oiecta (die Ergänzung ist praktisch sicher).

Proiecticia: Kajanto 287 mit vier christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 17990b [*Proi*]ecticia (die Ergänzung ist praktisch sicher). Die Form *Praeiecticia* in *ICUR* 23016.

Proiecticius: Kajanto 287 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 248. Dazu *PCBE* 2, 1852–1854 s.v. Proiecticius/Proiectitius Nr. 1–4 Bischöfe und Presbyteren in Rom und Mittelitalien zwischen 465 und 502. Ferner *AE* 2008, 524 (Tarquinii, 503/504 n. Chr.) ein *clarissimus*; *CIL* XV 8421; *ICUR* 20149b [*Proi*]ectici (die Ergänzung ist praktisch sicher). Die Form *Praeiecticius* in *ICUR* 20198.

Prosper: Kajanto 273 mit acht Belegen (zwei davon aus dem Senatorenstand, zwei christlich). *Arctos* 44 (2010) 249 (chr.). Dazu mehrere Personen der Spätantike: *PLRE* I 751 *comes rei militaris* 354–358 n. Chr.; *Ambr. exc. Sat.* 1, 24 ein Afrikaner (vgl. *RE* XXIII 898 Nr. 3); *RE* XXIII 898 Nr. 4 Bischof in Numidien im 4. Jh. (fehlt in *PCBE* 1); *RE* XXIII 880 Nr. 1 = *PLRE* II 926 der christliche Schriftsteller Propser Tiro aus Aquitanien aus der 1. Hälfte des 5. Jh. Unsicherer Zuweisung *AE* 2009, 318 (Sentinum, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Prosper[---]* unbestimmten Sexus.

Pullentia: *ICUR* 18671 [---]ia *Pullentia*. Kajanto 299 verzeichnet den entsprechenden Männernamen *Pullentius* zweimal.

Pullinus: Kajanto 300 mit einem Beleg aus Baetica. Dazu *EE VIII Hisp.* 199 Legionär.

Pullio: Kajanto 300 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg II*9612 *Pulio*; *SB I* 5124 (Tebtynis, 193 n. Chr.) Πεσουας Πουλίουνος (ob als lateinisch empfunden?).

Pupiana: Kajanto 300 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Mourir à Dougga* 643 *Iulia Pupiana*.

Pupulus: Kajanto 300 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CatInscrLatMusCarthage* 282a *N. Gallius Pupulus*.

Pusillio: Kajanto 300 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *CIL VI* 11701; *AE* 1995, 622 (Comum) *Pusia Pusillioni(s) f(ilia)*; *AM* 27 (1902) 132 Nr. 159 (Pergamon) [Κ]λ(αύδιος) Ποσιλλίω[v].

Pusillus: Kajanto 300 mit einem heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *CIL VI* 9221 *Pusillu(s)*.

Pusinnio: Kajanto 299 mit sieben heidnischen und zwei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *Bull. com.* 70 (1942) 98 = *AE* 1987, 157 (Rom) *M. Ulp(i) Pusinnionis Cupitiani M. Ulp(ius) Pusinnio pater* (der Vater auch in *AE* 1987, 158); *AE* 1993, 302 Prätorianer; *LSO App.* 1; *Inscr. It.* X 5, 363 (Brixia) *Tib. Claudius Pusinio*; *RIU* 727 (Savaria) *Camurius Pusinnio*.

Pusinnus: Kajanto 299 (s. oben zu *Pisinnus*). Weitere Belege: *I. Baliares* 20 *Q. Favonius Pusinnus*; *RIB I* 612. – In den Provinzen können die Namen dieser Sippe auch einheimisches Namengut vertreten.

Pusio: Kajanto 300 mit zwei Belegen aus dem Senatorenstand, vier aus republikanischer Zeit, sechs aus CIL. Dazu *AE* 1971, 175 (Gades) *M. Cornelius L. f. Pusio*, Sohn von L. Cornelius Pusio *PIR*² C 1425, Suffektkonsul unter Vespasian; 17. *BRGK* 236 (Germ. sup.); Leber, *I. Kärnten* 31. 230 (Sklave); *IRT* 713 (Leptis Magna) *L. Caecilius Pusio Caecilianus*; *ILAlg II* 6781 (Thibilis) [---]cius *L. f. Quirina Pusio*; *SB XVIII* 13164 (Arsinoites, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) [Κορν]ηλίω Πουσίωνι.

Quintinianus: Kajanto 174 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1953, 160 (Forum Livi). 2009, 419 (Sibrium in der regio XI, 3. Jh. n. Chr.); *AE* 1968, 31 *Fl(avius) Quintinianus*, ein Eques singularis unbekannter Herkunft (so gelesen von M. P. Speidel, *Die Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter. Equites singulares Augusti* [1994] 624, richtig wie es scheint).

Ravonianus: *AE* 2009, 1803 (107 n. Chr.) *L. Rutilius Ravonianus*, Praefectus der cohors I Tyrriorum sagittariorum.

Robustianus: Kajanto 247 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1993, 1590 (Apamea Syr.) *Aurel(ius) Robustianus dupl(iciarius)* wohl der *ala Contar(iorum)*.

Robustus: Kajanto 247 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *HEp* 8, 272 (Segobriga) *Annius*.

Rufas: Kajanto 229 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 185f. 39 (2005) 177 (die letztgenannten kommen aus griechischen Quellen). Dazu ein Beleg aus Allifae, wozu s. unten S. 232; *SEG* XLVII 1288 (Kos); *TAM* III 674 (Termessos, 3. Jh.) ΡΟΥΦΑ (Dativ oder Genetiv?).

Rufillus: Kajanto 229 mit zwei heidnischen und zwei christlichen Belegen (dagegen ist der Frauenname *Rufilla* üblich). Dazu *AE* 1993, 545 (Lukanien, Dat. *[R]ufilo*, bleibt etwas unsicher). *ILAlg* II 7680; *O. Wilcken* 657 (Elephantine, 165 n. Chr.) Ρούφιλλος; *P. Paris*. 17 (Syene, 153 n. Chr.) ἐπὶ Ρουφίλλου.

Rutilianus: Kajanto 154 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 183. 41 (2007) 102. 44 (2010) 250. Dazu noch *CIL*² 5, 1346 *Lucius R.* und gleichnamiger Sohn; 7, 752 (Baetica) *Q. Iulius Rutilianus*.

Rutilus: Kajanto 230 mit acht Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *AE* 1996, 423 (Puteoli, 7 n. Chr.) *C. Mar[cius] Rutilus* (als Namensvorbild haben die senatorischen Marcii Rutili gedient); *AE* 2001, 1139 (Lusitanien); 1994, 1210 (Aquitaniien).

Saenianus: Kajanto 154 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XXXVI 1150 (Krateia in Bithynien) Ἀπολλώνιος Σαινιανός. Vgl. unten unter *Senianus*.

Scribonianus: Kajanto 155 mit einem Beleg außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *AE* 1993, 435 (Aquinum). *ILAlg* II 7813 (Cuicul) *Scribonius Scribonianus*; *P.Bub.* 11 (Bubastos, 224 n. Chr.).

Senecilla: Kajanto 301 mit einem Beleg aus Aquileia. Dazu *CIL* XV 7384 *Annia Senecilla*.

Senecius: Kajanto 301 mit einem Beleg aus Noricum. Dazu *CIL* XIII 1482 besser *RICG* VIII 27 (Augustonemetum, christl., 591 oder 606 n. Chr.) *Senecius*. Wegen der späten Zeit wird es sich um ein echtes Cognomen und nicht um einen Gentilnamen in cognominaler Funktion handeln.

Senianus: *Arctos* 43 (2009) 172. Dazu *AE* 2009, 1357 (Tieum in Bithynien) Σενιανός. Vgl. oben unter *Saenianus*.

!*Sica*: Kajanto 342 mit einem Beleg unbestimmten Sexus aus Lusitanien. Dazu *AE* 2009, 241 (Venusia, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Sicae* Dativ. Der erste Beleg heißt auch *Sicae*, vertritt aber den Nominativ. Es erhebt sich die Frage, ob überhaupt *Sica* vorliegt. Könnte dahinter der nicht ganz unpopuläre Frauenname *Sige* stecken (zwölfmal in meinem Namenbuch² 1342 verzeichnet), hier mit C geschrieben (oder gelesen)? Wenn in dem lusitanischen Beleg Nominativ festgelegt werden soll, dann könnte *Sicae* eine vulgäre Graphie mit *ae* für *ē* vertreten. Genetiv- und Dativendungen auf *-ae* von griechischen Namen der ersten Deklination auf *-e*

lassen sich einigermaßen belegen. – *Sica* als Pferdenamen: *CIL* VI 10053 c 6 cf. 33937 und 37834 III, 9.

Sisenninus: *AE* 2009, 560 (Onuba in der Baetica, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *P. Porcius Quir. Sisenninus aedilis Ilvir*. Der Erstherausgeber denkt an einen epichorischen Namen, doch kann er zwanglos zu *Sisenna* gestellt werden, ganz wie *Sisennianus* (Kajanto 156).

Sisinio: *ICUR* 27169. Die Textform basiert allein auf Lupi, der 2–3 folgendermaßen überliefert: SISINIO NI·M... *bene* / MERENTI FECit Der Editor von 27169 Carletti schlägt, freilich mit Vorbehalt, vor, *Sisinioni* zu verstehen (ohne den Namen zu erklären). Dem kann man zustimmen. *Sisinio* steht zum Gentilnamen *Sisin(n)ius* wie *Sisininus* (*Rep.* 404).

Sorex: Kajanto 329 mit acht Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 1988, 758 *Clu(niensis)*, 1990, 603 (Hispanien) Freigelassener. Öfters belegt in Afrika: *AE* 1989, 826; 2009, 1776; *InscrFunChrCarthage* 273.

Sorica: Kajanto 329 mit vier Belegen, alle aus Afrika. *ICUR* 18745 *Sorices* (Gen.); 20171 *Sorice filiae*; *IL Afr* 169, 2; *IL Alg* II 2543. 6687; *ILTun* 201, 121; *AE* 1997, 1720 (Uchi Maius, christl.). Kajanto deutet *Soricus -ca* aus **Soricicus*, was möglich ist; bei christlichen Belegen könnte man auch an die in der spätantiken Namensgebung übliche Kürzung des späten Suffixes *-ius* denken.

Soricina: Kajanto 2329 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1975, 411p (Aquileia).

Soricinus: *ICUR* 23944; *BCTH* 1954, 73 (Pomaria in Maur. Caes., 509 n. Chr.) *Valerius Soricinus*.

Sorcio: Kajanto 329 mit 12 Belegen (davon 10 aus Afrika). Dazu *BCTH* 1925, 179 (Caesarea Maur.); *IL Alg* II 2346. 5419.

Spoletina: Kajanto 189 mit einem Beleg aus Hispellum. Dazu *AE* 1932, 70 vgl. *PIR*² S 377 *Sempronia [Sp]oletina* aus dem Ritterstand, Teilnehmerin an den Ludi saeculares im Jahre 204 n. Chr.

Spoletinus: *AE* 2009, 1245 (Apollonia Illyr., 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *L. Cossinius Spoletinus*.

Statilianus: Kajanto 156 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 186. 44 (2010) 251. Dazu noch *IG* XII 5, 641 vgl. *SEG* LVIII 920 (Iulis auf Keos) Σέργιος Στατειλιανός.¹⁹

Statullus: Kajanto 171 mit einem Beleg (und einem Beleg für *Statulla*). Dazu *IRomConvPacensis* 124 C. *Atilius Statullus*.

Sublucanus: *CIL* IX 2469 (Saepinum) vgl. M. Buonocore, *Epigraphica* 71 (2009) 347 C. *Licinius C. f. Ter. Sublucanus Ilvir*. Okkasionelle Bildung zu

¹⁹ So lesen den Namen L. G. Mendoni und S. B. Zoumbaki in *SEG*. In *IG* wurde als überliefert CEPIOCETAON/TEIΛIANOC gegeben und als Alternative Ὀστειλιανός präsentiert.

sublucanus, entstanden vielleicht dadurch, dass ein Sohn in den Dämmerstunden geboren wurde.

Tiberius: Kajanto 175 mit fünf heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg. *Rep.*² 504 mit fünf spätantiken Beamten. Dazu noch *RE VI A*, 804 Nr. 2 Rhetor, nicht datierbar; 808 Nr. 4 Person im Osten; Nr. 6 = *PCBE* 3, 928 Bischof von Ilistra in Isaurien in 325 n. Chr.; Nr. 7 Bischof von Thmuis (325 n. Chr.); Nr. 8 palästinensischer Diakon und Mönch 431 n. Chr.; Nr. 9 = *PCBE* 2, 2198 Bischof von Cures Sabini 465 n. Chr.

Tranquillinus: Kajanto 262 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *PLRE II* 1124 *vir clarissimus*(?) in 512 n. Chr. *PCBE* 3, 938–940 Bischof von Antiochia in Pisidien 403/4(?) – 431 n. Chr.

! *Tribonianus*: Kajanto 157 mit zwei Belegen, von denen der erste (aus *Cod. Iust.* zitiert) sich auf den berühmten Juristen aus Pamphylien unter Justinian (*PLRE III* 1335–1339 *Tribonianus* Nr. 1) bezieht, der zweite auf den Bischof von Aspendos in Pamphylien 431 n. Chr. (*PCBE* 3, 940–942). Nun wird der Name von den beiden Namensträgern in griechischen Urkunden oft Τριβουνιανός geschrieben;²⁰ der des Juristen in den lateinischen dagegen regelmäßig *Tribonianus* (öfters in den *Digesten* und *Institutiones* erwähnt). Hinzu kommt ein anderer Jurist und Schriftsteller aus Side in Pamphylien, verwandt mit dem großen Juristen, kaum aber mit ihm identisch, wie früher oft gedacht, vgl. *PLRE III* 1340f *Tribonianus* Nr. 2 (mit ihm scheint Nr. 3 identisch zu sein). Sein Name ist bei *Just. edict.* 9 und *Suda A* 112 Τριβουνιανός geschrieben, in *Suda T* 957 dagegen Τριβωνιανός. Es entsteht die Frage, ob für die drei Namensträger die Form *Tribonianus* oder *Tribunianus* vorzuziehen sei. Normalerweise wird sie in Handbüchern und Enzyklopädien als *Tribonianus* festgelegt.²¹ Da *Tribonius* ein selten belegter Gentilname ist²² und andererseits *Tribunus* mit Sippe öfters in spätan-

²⁰ Der Name des Juristen lautet -βων- z.B. in *Novell. Iust.* 22, 48; *Proc. anecd.* 13, 12. 20, 17; *Hesych. frg.* 7; *AG App.* 191, 2; *Suda T* 956; -βουν- z.B. in *Just. edict.* 22 epil.; *Proc. Pers.* 1, 24, 11. 16. 25, 1; *Lyd. mag. Rom.* 3, 20; *Cyrill. vita Sabae* 73; *Suda T* 951. – Der Bischof heißt -βων- z.B. in *ACO I* 1, 2 p. 6, 96. p. 58, 76 (Schwartz setzt mit der Mehrheit der Zeugen Τριβων in den Text; Τριβουν- P aus dem 16. Jh. und A aus dem 12. Jh.). 7 p. 87, 96; -βουν- z.B. in *ACO I* 1, 2 p. 35, 20. Ich sehe von den Erwähnungen seitens byzantinischer Schriftsteller ab.

²¹ B. Kübler, *RE VI A*, 2419 schwankt zwischen *Tribonianus* und *Tribunianus*. So auch T. Honoré, *Tribonian*, London 1978, 40. Beide scheinen aber der Form *Tribon-* den Vorzug zu geben.

²² *CIL III* 2418. VI 27612. XIV 5066. *ILAlg II* 5074; *I. Leukopetra* 105 Λουκίας Τριβωνίας (muss aber wahrscheinlich Τρεβ- verstanter werden) Κελερίνας; *SEG XXXIX* 1299 (Lydien) Μάνιος Τριβώνιος Διονύσιος; *SB XII* 11249 (2. Jh. n. Chr.) Τριβώνιος Πατασιος (Einzelname).

tiken Urkunden auftaucht (von den einzelnen Namen der Sippe lebt Τριβουνῶς im byzantinischen Mittelalter weiter),²³ würde man der Form *Tribunianus* den Vorzug geben. – Am Rande sei erwähnt *ILJug* 802 *Tribon(---)* in cognominaler Stellung, von den Editoren ungenau als *Tribon(ius)* aufgelöst.

Τριβουνῶς: *Rep.*² 413. 504. Dazu noch *P. Lond.* V 1757 vgl. *BL* VIII 192 (Hermopolis, 586/7 n. Chr.).

Τριβουνιανός: s. gleich oben.

Trita: Kajanto 356 mit drei Belegen. Dazu aus keltischen Gebieten *AE* 1986, 412 = *HEp* 14; *ILAstorga* 52; aus gallischen Provinzen *AE* 2009, 895 (Augustodunum in der Lugdunensis, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); aus Cisalpina *Inscr. It.* XI, 665 (Nesactium). Wie auch Kajanto einräumt, ist *Tritus* aber auch ein illyrischer Name, doch die Belege in keltischen Gebieten sind als keltisch zu bewerten.²⁴

Triumphus: Kajanto 278 mit vier Belegen. *Rep.*² 504. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 252. Dazu noch *O. Claud.* IV 752 (Mons Claudianus, trajanisch); *SB* XVIII 13357 (Mons Claudianus, 1./2. Jh.).

Tuscinilla: *BCTH* 1943–1945, 126 (Thelepte in der prov. proc.) *Licina Saturnina Tuscinilla.*

Tuscinus: Kajanto 188 mit einem Beleg aus der Baetica. Dazu *CIL* II² 5, 333 *M. Perpernas M. f. Tuscinus Igabr(ensis)*; *AE* 2009, 524 (Emerita) *Fulcini Tus[ci]ni.* Aus *Tuscus*, das auch oft in den hispanischen Provinzen belegt ist.

Urbicius: *Rep.*² 416. 504. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 252. Dazu Basilius *epist.* 262 (vgl. *PCBE* 3, 745f) Mönch in Lykien(?) in 377 n. Chr.; *P. Cair. Goodsp.* 30 (Karanis, 192 n. Chr.).

Ursinianus: Kajanto 330 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *I. Aquileia* 2978 (christl.) *Aurelius Ursinianus*; *HEp* 14, 21 *Sempronius Ursinianus*; *AE* 2009, 1096 (Iovia in Pann. inf., 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Cl(audii) Ursio et Ursus et Ursinianus*; *SEG* VI 187 (Sebaste in Phrygien, 4. Jh. n. Chr.) Ὀρσινιανός; *MAMA* XI 72 (Sebaste, 390 n. Chr.) *Ursinianus ex trib(un)o.*

Valentiana: *ICUR* 12036.

Valentianus: Kajanto 247 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *Bull. com.* 43 (1915) 174 Nr. 6 (2. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Iul. Valentianus spec(ulator) coh. VII pr.*; *JlWE* II 120 Βαλεντιανῶ (Gen.); *ICUR* 17153; *I. Aquileia* 3232 (chr.); *AE* 1975, 675 (Epetium in Dalmatien) *Crispin(ius) Valentianus*; 37/38. *BRGK* 18 (Raetien) *Iulifus) Valentianus*; *CIL* III 9587 (Salona) *Val. Crescentius qui et Valentianus*;

²³ *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit.* Erste Abt. V (2001) 57f Nr. 8512–8520, von denen 8512–8519 aus dem 7. Jh. sind und 8520 aus dem 9. Jh.

²⁴ Zum Element *Tri-* im Gallischen vgl. K. H. Schmidt, "Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen", *ZCPH* 26 (1957) 280–2.

TitAquinc 520 *Aelius Valentianus*; *RIU* 1236 (Intercisa) *Ael. Valentianus* Veteran der cohors milliaria Hemesenorum; *ILD* 681 (Porolissum) *Titus Flavius Valentianus* Beneficiarius; *ILBulg* 17 (Oescus) *C. Valerius C. f. Pap. Valentianus* ritterlicher Offizier; *I. Miletupolis* (IK 26) 121 [Οὐα]λεντιανός (die Ergänzung ist praktisch sichergestellt); *I. Prusias ad Hypium* (IK 27) 98 Γ. Λαβέριος Οὐαλεντιανός Μερούλα Ἡρακλεώτου; *I. Parion* (IK 25) 50 [---]ος Βαλεντιανός; *I. Anazarbos* (IK 56) 639 Γάιος Ἀτίννιος Μοντᾶνος Οὐαλεντιανός. Es sei noch hinzugefügt, dass der Kaisername *Valentinianus* in griechischen Papyri gelegentlich Οὐαλεντιανός geschrieben wird: *P. Grenf.* I 54; *P. Haun.* III 58; *P. Lips.* I 50 (vgl. auch *Valentinus* in *CIL* VIII 10416).

Valentilla: Kajanto 247 mit einem Belege aus dem Senatorenstand und sieben Belegen aus *CIL*. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 223. 38 (2004) 188. 41 (2007) 104 104. Dazu *NSc* 1914, 397 Nr. 17 (Rom); 1919, 42 (Rom) *Cornelia Valentilla*; *AE* 1991, 255 (Rom, chr.); *Suppl. It.* 24 Pausulae 18 *Terentia*; *ILJug* 721 (Salona); 845 (Burnum) *Valeria*; 2729 (Salona).

Vegetina: Kajanto 248 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XIV 1910 (Ostia, christl.) *Iulia Begethina* (gehört sehr wahrscheinlich hierher; im Index von *CIL* verkannt); *AE* 1997, 1015 (Alpes Poeninae) *V[ine]li[a] Veg[e]tin[a]* (Sohn *Vegetinus*).

Vegetinus: Kajanto 248 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 43 (2009) 175. Dazu öfters in Lusitanien: *AE* 1946, 15 (Capera) *L. Valerius Vegetinus*; ein Homonym in *HEp* 15, 93 (Capera). Interessant die Namensequenz in einer Familie in Civitas Igaeditanorum: *HEp* 13, 908 *Vegetus Vegetini f. Intera(m)niensis*; 15, 478 *Vegetinus Vegeti f.*; vgl. *EpigrRomBeira* 112 *Vegetinus* (vielleicht einer der vorigen).

Οὐηρανιανή: *I. Salamis* 111a = *Salamine de Chypre* XIII 118 (neronisch) Κλαυδία Οὐηρανιανή (verwandt mit den nachfolgenden).

Veranianus: Kajanto 158 mit drei Belegen. *Rep.*² 505. Dazu Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Παγκλῆς Οὐηρανιανός und Σέρουιος Σουλπίκιος Παγκλῆς Οὐηρανιανός in Salamis auf Kypros aus neronischer Zeit (s. *Salamine de Chypre* XIII index S. 107).

Verinianus: Kajanto 254 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *PLRE* I 950 *domesticus protector* 355–359 n. Chr.; *PCBE* 3, 957–959 Bischof von Perge in Pamphylien 426–431 n. Chr.

Verulus: Kajanto 254 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2009, 430 (regio XI) *Vero Veruli filio*; *RIB* III3217 *Aurel(ius) Verulus*; *InscrFunChrCarthage* 566 *Verulus Sidoniensis*.

!Veterius: Kajanto 302 mit zwei Belegen, von denen aber der zweite, *IRT* 666 entfernt werden muss, denn dort liegt zweifellos *Vetus* vor: *Arctos* 34 (2000) 159.

Vetuleianus: Kajanto 158 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *Epigraphica* 27 (1965) 153 Nr. 56e (3. Jh. n. Chr., vielleicht Soldat).

Vetulus: Kajanto 302 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 13 Nursia 94 C. *Vettidienus C. [f.] Vetulus*; *CILA* III 393 (Baetica) C. *Sempronius Vetulus*.

Vetusta: Kajanto 302 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* II² 14, 1, 660 (Saguntum) *Herennia Vetusta*; *HEp* 13, 964 *Decia Vetusta Igae[ditana?]*.

Vetustina: Kajanto 302 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* II² 5, 966 (Ostippo) *Aelia Vetustina*; *AE* 1993, 1184 (Aquitanien) (Vater *Venustus*; *VENVSIVS* der Stein).

Vetustus: Kajanto 302 mit drei Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *NSc* 1914, 389 (Rom); *ICUR* 8327a *[Ve]tusti* (die Ergänzung ist praktisch sicher); *I. Valladolid* 24 *Vetustus Trinti f.*; *ILTG* 18 *Vetustus Venusti f.*; *AE* 1977, 580 (Bonna in Germ. inf.) *[Ve]tusti ffilius*.

Vibilla: *RIU* 1549b (Gorsium, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh.) *Vibille* (Dat.). Ein neues Beispiel für das produktive, an Gentilnamen angehängte Suffix *-illa*.

Virginia: *Rep.*² 505 aus Rom, chr. Dazu *EE* IX *Hisp.* 212b = *HEsp* 4, 759 *Fabia Virginia*.

Virginus: *Rep.* 424 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. Dazu noch *ICUR* 19525 *Birginus parum istetit ap(ud) n(os)*, vielleicht als Eigenname aufzufassen. Ferner *RIB* II 5, 2491, 81 (Ziegelgraffito) *Birginus*, was aber vielleicht eher eine Metathese zu *Briginus* darstellt, wie der Editor meint.

Vitaliana: Kajanto 274 mit zwei Belegen (1 heidn., 1 chr.). Dazu *ICUR* 4756 *Bitalianes locus*. Der Männernamen *Vitalianus* ist üblich.

Vitalica: Kajanto 274 mit sieben Belegen aus *CIL* (meistens aus Afrika). Dazu *ILAlg* II 2456. 3314. 7337a. 8133 (alle aus Afrika).

Vitalicus: Kajanto 274 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg* II 2845 C. *Iulius V[ita]licus* (die Ergänzung ist ansprechend).

Vitor: *Rep.*² 505 aus Asisium. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 18 Ameria 26 (ca. 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Vitor* (die Editorin denkt an *vitor*); *AE* 2009, 344 (Parma) C. *Metellus M. [f.] Arn. Vitor*. [Dagegen wird in *ICUR* 25628 *Urses et Vitoris* eher *Victor* stecken, wohl auch in *IGrNapoli* 247 Ούίτωρ.]

CCLXXIII. FALSCHER NAMEN

**Hammonilia*. In der neuen Edition der Grabinschriften der Isola sacra Nr. 105 will R. Valjus das in der Inschrift zweimal angeführte Cognomen von Claudia

als *Hammonilia* festlegen,²⁵ während der frühere Editor Thylander *Hammonilla* gelesen hatte. Valjus besteht auf *-ia*, und in der Tat scheint an der zweiten Stelle auf Zeile 9 HAMMONILIA zu lesen zu sein, doch erkennt man anhand des Fotos an der ersten Stelle (Zeile 2–3) eher HAMMONILLAE. Vor allem wäre aber eine Bildung (*H*)*ammonilia* in hadrianischer Zeit (der die Inschrift zuzuweisen ist) mit seinem für die spätantike Namengebung charakteristischen Suffix *-ia* recht überraschend. Und freilich ist ein solcher Namen nirgends überliefert, weder in lateinischen noch in griechischen Inschriften, während sich von (*H*)*ammonilla*, die eine einwandfreie Bildung darstellt, zerstreute Belege nachweisen lassen: Ἀμμωνίλλη / -α IGUR 334. 1138 [= CIL VI 30631, 1 = ICUR 2710]; *Hamonilla* CIL X 2302; in der griechischen Welt OGIS 759 (Abydos); SEG XL 1568 (Leontopolis) zweimal; öfters in den Papyri zwischen dem 1. und 3. Jh.²⁶ Der Steinmetz hat in 9 den zweitletzten Buchstaben nachlässig eingehauen. – Es sei noch angemerkt, dass die Formen auf *Hammon-*, mit *h* geschrieben, in der epigraphischen Überlieferung nicht ganz selten sind.²⁷

**Laea*. Uns ist vor allem aus stadtrömischen Inschriften ein Name *Laea* überliefert: CIL VI 12070. 25275. ICUR 2301 = 18997. 14401. 15276 (= CIL VI 13197). 18998. 24017.²⁸ Vidman im Cognominaindex von CIL VI führt diesen Namen voller Zuversicht an (Bang im Nominaindex vermutet in 12070 den Namen *Lae[t]a*). Jedoch hat *Laea* keine Existenzberechtigung. Diese Form ist nichts anderes als eine Nebenform des verbreiteten Cognomens *Lea*, dessen Beliebtheit in der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit zunimmt; und in christlichen Inschriften wird er besonders beliebt.²⁹ Und alle Belege für die Schreibweise *Laea* gehören ebenfalls in die Zeit vom 2. Jh. an, in eine Zeit, in der sich die ursprünglichen Quantitäten der Vokale zu verwischen begannen und sich Längen und Kürzen schließlich bloß noch durch die Klangfarbe unterschieden, wodurch *ae* mit *ē* zusammenfiel (was zum ersten Mal in den pompejanischen Graffiti um-

²⁵ *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine nell'Isola Sacra*, edite sotto la direzione di A. Helttula (Acta IRF 30), Roma 2007, 121f.

²⁶ 27 Treffer in der Datenbank "Papyri.info".

²⁷ Die Datenbank von Clauss – Slaby verzeichnet von *Ammon-* 74 Belege, von *Hammon-* 25.

²⁸ Vgl. auch *Laeander* in CIL IX 130.

²⁹ Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 327 hat für *Lea* sieben heidnische Belege aus CIL gerechnet, doch ist die Zahl etwas höher, und die Gesamtzahl aller heidnischen Belege beläuft sich zurzeit auf etwa 25. Für christliche Inschriften gibt Kajanto die Zahl 41 an. Auch in christlichen Inschriften ist der Zuwachs an Belegen beträchtlich: anstelle der von Kajanto angegebenen Zahl können wir heute rund 90 Belege zusammenstellen.

fassend in Erscheinung tritt).³⁰ Auch die griechische Form Λαία in der christlichen Inschrift *ICUR* 2571 Κανουσία Λαία ist als zu *Lea* gehörig zu verstehen.

CCLXXIV. VERKANNTEN NAMEN

Clemens. In *Bölcske. Römische Inschriften und Funde*, hrsg. von Á. Szabó und E. Tóth, Budapest 2003, 13b (Aquincum, 284 n. Chr.) lesen die Editoren den Namen *Aurel(ius) Cemesus*. Aber *Cemesus* ist kein Name. Wahrscheinlich ist zu lesen *Cleme(n)s*. Von einem L sieht man freilich auf dem Foto keine Spuren, auch nicht von einem eventuellen Nexus von L mit dem vorangehenden oder folgenden Buchstaben. Also Steinmetzfehler, verursacht vielleicht von dem geringen zur Verfügung stehenden Raum? Wenn dem so ist, konnte der Steinmetz umso leichter das N weglassen, wobei es sich aber nicht um eine Verschreibung seitens des Steinmetzen zu handeln braucht, denn *Clemes* stellt ja eine gut belegte Schreibweise dar, auch in der späteren Kaiserzeit. Ich habe auf diesen Fall schon in *Arctos* 38 (2004) 255 hingewiesen, da er aber in einer Buchanzeige vergraben war, wiederhole ich meine Beobachtung hier. [Nachträglich sehe ich, dass schon in *AE* 2003, 1420b *Cleme(n)s*, freilich mit Zögern, vorgeschlagen wurde.]

Numa. Die zwei ersten Zeilen des Fragments *CIL* VI 13934 sind in der Abschrift von Amati folgendermaßen überliefert: [---]NVMA M[---] / [---] L-CAESEN[---]. Es gibt praktisch gesehen keine andere Deutungsmöglichkeit als *Numa*. Andere Namen auf *-numa* stehen nicht zur Verfügung, auch nicht Frauennamen (vom populären Cognomen *Phronimus* sind seltene Nebenformen *P(h)ronumus* [*CIL* VI 6937. XII 5054] belegt, eine entsprechende feminine Nebenform würde aber eher *Phronume* lauten [freilich ist die Form *Phronima* bekannt: *CIL* VI 25587; *AE* 1955, 152]). Dieses *Numa* ist also dem Cognominaindex des *CIL* VI hinzuzufügen. Zur sonstigen Bezeugung des Namens s. oben 208.

CCLXXV. VERKANNTEN IDENTITÄTEN

CIL VIII 15690 und 15965 sind Exemplare ein und derselben Inschrift, die unter 15690 an richtiger Stelle steht. Sie wurde nahe den Resten der römischen Brücke (Pont Romain) im Gebiet des antiken Ucubi in der Proconsularis gesehen und von

³⁰ Vgl. H. Solin, "Le latiniste Veikko Väänänen", in *Veikko Väänänen, latiniste et romaniste: un bilan*, ed. J. Härmä (Publications romanes de l'Université de Helsinki 5), Helsinki 2012, 48.

guten Leuten abgeschrieben. Daraus Schmidt in 15690 mit einwandfreiem Textverlauf: *D. m. s. / C. Gemelli/us C. fil. Quir. / Latro pius / vixit an/nis LXXI. / h. s. e.* Dieselbe Inschrift wurde von einem Gewährsmann an dem nicht fern liegenden Ort el-Kef im Territorium von Sicca Veneria schlechter abgeschrieben; seine Kopie geriet in 15965. Sie beginnt *d. m. s. / C. Cenicili/us C. fil. QVR / PATRO.* Schon Schmidt zweifelte an der Richtigkeit des Textverlaufs, und jetzt können wir den nur hier belegten Gentilnamen *Cenicilius* aus den Onomasticis tilgen (an sich wäre *Cenicilius* = *Genicilius/Genucilius* eine plausible Bildung). *Gemellius* dagegen ist wohlbekannt überall im Reich, auch in Afrika, wie auch *Latro*, das Schmidt in 15965 glänzend restituierte, nicht ganz selten als Cognomen auftritt.

CCLXXVI. VARIA URBANA

1. *CIL* VI 129. In der nur durch den iucundianischen Magliabecchianus überlieferten Weihung wird in der Namenliste auf Zeile 11 das als IVNIVS überlieferte Cognomen in *Iuncus* geändert, was sowohl von Bang als auch von Vidman in ihren Indices akzeptiert wird. Kann sein, denn die Abschrift ist auch sonst fehlerhaft. Andererseits ist aber in Betracht zu ziehen, dass Gentilnamen oft in der Funktion von Cognomina gebraucht werden (von *Iunius* verzeichnet Vidman im Cognominaindex fünf Belege). M. E. besteht kein zwingender Grund, *Iunius* in der Inschrift wegzukonjizieren.

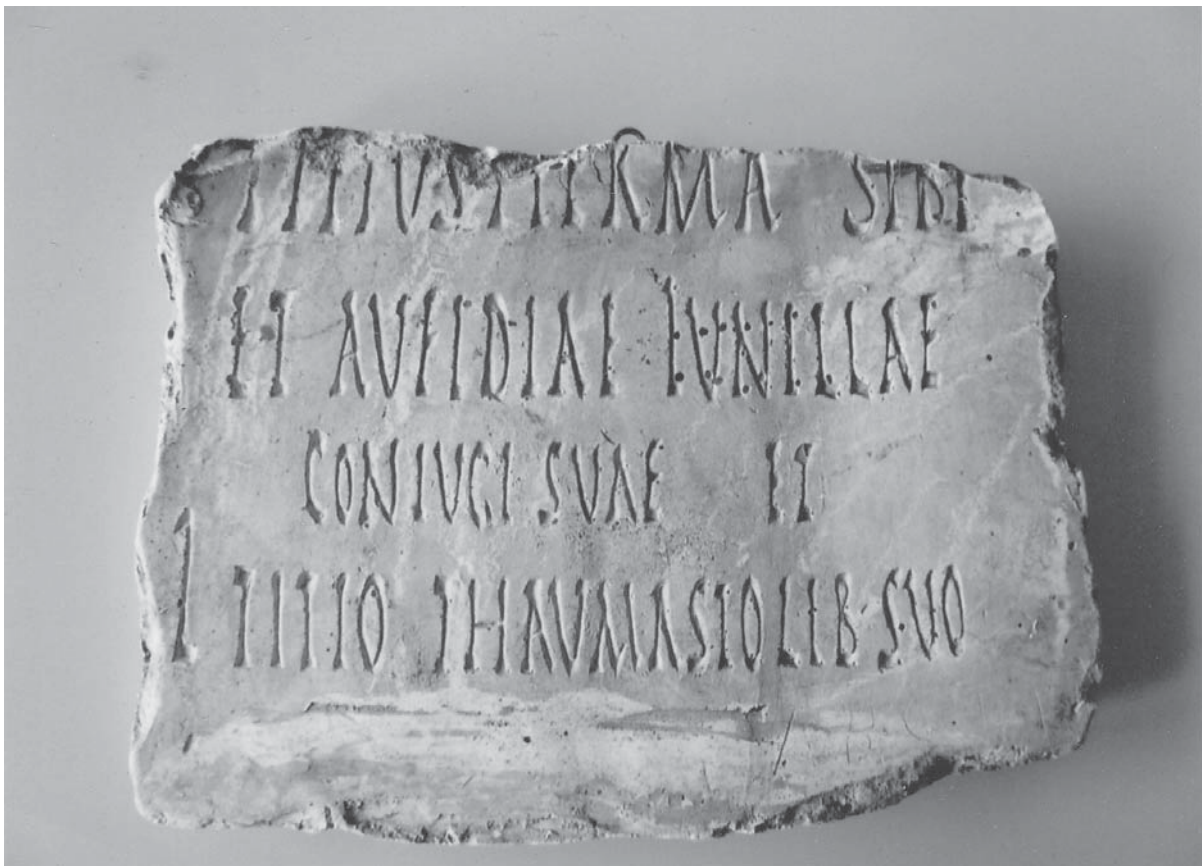
2. *CIL* 4186. In 2 steckt wohl *Sozusa*. Überliefert ist OZVSE (was ein Dativ wäre) und davor eine vertikale Haste, doch auf die Kopie von Ghezzi, der den Text allein gesehen hat, ist nicht viel Verlass. In 1 wäre man versucht, den Gentilnamen *Sisinnius* festzulegen; überliefert ist]SISINNIVP[, doch kann man leicht eine Verlesung seitens Ghezzi am beschädigten Rand der Zeile postulieren. Der Text hätte ungefähr folgenden Wortlaut: [-] *Sisinnius* [(cognomen)] / [S]ozuse co[niugi].

3. *CIL* VI 12005. Die erste Zeile der nur durch alte Gewährsleute des 18. Jh. überlieferten Inschrift lautet P·ANTONIO·M·L·PHILEMO. Bang im Index der Gentilnamen macht aus dem Mann einen P. Antonius M. l. Philemus. Vidman im Cognominaindex hat aber gesehen, dass hier eher das Cognomen *Philemo(n)* vorliegt. Und zwar zu Recht. Es ist also eindeutig *P. Antonio M. l. Philemo(ni)* zu verstehen. Die Inschrift ist recht alt, aus der frühesten Kaiserzeit, wie vor allem die Tatsache zeigt, dass der Freigelassene einen anderen Vornamen führt als sein Herr, was seit Anfang der Kaiserzeit immer seltener wird. Für die augusteische Zeit kann man noch getrost eine Abkürzung des Cognomens annehmen. Ein

Name *Φίλημος **Philemus* ist sonst nirgends aus der antiken Anthroponymie bekannt.

4. *CIL* 26704. Der Textverlauf muss folgendermaßen verstanden werden: *Spude pusinna / miserina v(ixit) ann(os), II m(enses) III, d(ies) XX*. Vgl. *Arctos* 25 (1991) 144 Nr. 7 und M. Manganaro, *La collezione epigrafica dell'Antiquarium di Celio*, Roma 2001, 348 Nr. 356. Ich nehme diesen Fall wieder auf, weil Vidman im Cognominaindex *Spude* (das SPVDII geschrieben worden ist) weggelassen hat, dagegen *Pusinna* und *Miserina* als Cognomina verzeichnet. *Pusinna* ist aber hier zweifellos Appellativ mit der Bedeutung "kleines Mädchen" (so jetzt auch H. Beikircher, *ThLL* X 2, 2740, 41), wie auch *miserina* (so auch H. Wieland, *ThLL* VIII 1131, 6f). *Miserinus* -a als Eigenname wäre recht überraschend, existiert aber okkasionell (s. oben S. 207f).

5. *CIL* VI 27494, datierbar etwa ins 2. Jh., befand sich einmal im Museo Capitolino in der Sammlung von Emiliano Sarti, wo sie von Eugen Bormann für das *CIL* abgeschrieben wurde. Heute ist sie nicht mehr auffindbar. Von ihr existiert aber ein Gipsabdruck, den ich dank der Freundlichkeit des Architekten Francesco Tetro habe einsehen können; ihm verdanke ich auch das hier publizierte Foto des Gipsabdruckes. Ferner verdanke ich ihm folgende Notizen zur Geschichte der Kopie. Sie wurde irgendwann in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts



in der Schule des Museo Artistico Industriale in Rom angefertigt, geriet dann in die Antikensammlung des bekannten Künstlers und Sammlers Duilio Cambellotti (1877–1960).³¹ Von ihm hat Tetro das Stück erworben, das sich heute im Museum von Maenza befindet. – Anhand des Gipsabdruckes lassen sich zwei Details am Text des CIL korrigieren. In 1 ist das Praenomen des Titius Herma nicht *C(aius)*, sondern *L(ucius)*, wie man auch erwartet, da sein Patron *L. Titius Thaumastus* hieß – und in der vorgerückten Kaiserzeit war es die Regel, dass Patron und Freigelassener denselben Vornamen führten. In 4 war das Cognomen des Patrons sehr wahrscheinlich *Thaumastus* und nicht *Thaumasius*, wie es Borrmann liest (der Unterschied zwischen I und T in dieser mit der *scriptura actuaria* ausgeführten Inschrift ist minimal; doch was die beiden Formen unterscheidet, ist die sehr markante Serifenlinie oben, womit der Steinmetz wohl den Querstrich von T andeutete). Der letztere Name ist in der römischen Anthroponymie ein später Name, versehen mit dem für die vorgerückte Kaiserzeit charakteristischen Suffix *-ius*,³² während die Geschichte von *Thaumastus* schon im Anfang der Kaiserzeit beginnt.³³

6. *CIL VI 37867 [= 17343]* findet sich heute in Perugia im Depot der Archäologischen Oberintendantur, deren Text ich anhand eines Fotos verglichen habe, das mir Enrico Zuddas freundlicherweise zur Verfügung gestellt hat, wofür ihm herzlich gedankt sei. Der mit halbkursiven Lettern geschriebene Text lautet folgendermaßen: *Euhodus Euplae L. Verati Carpi, concub(inae)* und in der zweiten Zeile *Athenesis de suo fecit*. Der einzige Zweifel betrifft das Cognomen des Herrn der Konkubine. Strenggenommen sollte *CRAPI* gelesen werden. In der Vorlage sahen die zwei Buchstaben möglicherweise einander so ähnlich aus,

³¹ Zur Person R. Bossaglia, *DBI* 17 (1974) 88–90. Zu den Sammlungen des Museums und zu ihrer weiteren Geschichte s. Fr. Tetro, *Duilio Cambellotti e il Monumento ai caduti di Piperno – Priverno (1919–1920)*, Roma 2011.

³² Es stehen im Westen kaum vorseverische Belege zu Gebote. Etwa der älteste stadtrömische Beleg gehört in das frühe 3. Jh. (ein Besucher der Schule Plotins in Rom: Porph. *vita Plot.* 13, 12). Daran ändert die Tatsache nichts, dass im Griechischen *Θαυμάσιος*, wie schon gesagt, seit klassischer Zeit belegt ist (Bechtel *HPN* 199 zitiert einen Beleg aus Telos, aber noch älter ist *IG XII 9, 56, 140* aus Styra auf Euböia aus dem 5. Jh.), denn in der römischen Namengebung wird *Thaumasius* erst im 3. Jh. in Gebrauch genommen. Ähnliche Namenpaare finden sich auch sonst. Etwa *Θεοδόσιος*, ein alter guter griechischer Name (Bechtel *HPN* 202), tritt im Westen erst in der Spätantike auf (mit einer einzigen Ausnahme, *CIL VI 21939* aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

³³ Ältere Belege für *Thaumastus* sind z. B. *CIL II 2656* aus claudischer Zeit; *IV 383* vor 79 n. Chr.; *XI 3860* trajanisch; *AE 2002, 806* (Hisp. cit.) etwa aus dem 1. Jh. n. Chr. Die stadtrömische Dokumentation in meinem Namenbuch² 970 (wo unser Mann fälschlich unter *Thaumasius* steht).

dass der Steinmetz, der vielleicht ein Analphabet war, sie nicht zu unterscheiden imstande war. Bang in *CIL* VI 37867 schwankt in der Erklärung zwischen *Carpus* und *Graptus*, doch ist *Graptus* besser auszuschließen: der erste Buchstabe ist eher C und nicht G, und von einem T sind keine Spuren vorhanden. Von den anderen Namen verdient derjenige der Konkubine Beachtung. Der Dativ EVPLAE, gehört er zum beliebten Namen *Euplia* (gr. Εϋπλοια) oder zu *Euple*, der als feminine Pendant zum verbreiteten *Euplus* ein paar Male der römischen Anthroponymie belegt ist? *Euplia* kann mitunter *Eupla* geschrieben werden, so in Pompeji: eine lokale Prostituierte namens *Euplia* (*CIL* IV 2310b. 5048) wird in 10004 mit *Eupla* angeredet. Und das feminine Pendant zu *Euplus* sollte regelrecht *Euple* und nicht *Eupla* heißen. An Formen, die sicher zu einem Namen *Eupla* gehören (es sei nebenbei angemerkt, dass sich in der griechischen Überlieferung weder Εϋπλα noch Εϋπλη bezeugen lassen), lassen sich zwei aus Rom nachweisen: *NSc* 1917, 295 Nr. 19 *Euples* (Genetiv) und *CIL* VI 15849 = *ICUR* 12590 *Clodiae Victorinae sive Eupleti* (Dativ), wobei *Eupleti* eine Art heteroklitische Deklination vertreten kann, nach dem Muster *Euplus* – Gen. *Euplutis* (*CIL* X 6144, vgl. *ZPE* 67 [1987] 200) oder *Eunus* – *Eunuti* (*CIL* VI 17359 vgl. *ZPE* 28 [1978] 78f). Aber die Form *Euplae*, die noch in *RAC* 62 (1986) 273 Nr. 46 belegt ist, kann auch zu *Euplia* gehören. – Die im unteren Teil des Denkmals eingeritzten Buchstaben D S M sind *d(e) s(e) m(eritae)* aufzulösen und nicht *m(eritis)*, wie im *CIL*.

7. In *Epigraphica* 74 (2012) 399 ist es I. Gabrielli in ihrer verdienstlichen topographisch-epigraphischen Analyse über die Funde der vigna Amendola gelungen, die zwei Fragmente *CIL* VI 7566 und 7571c wieder zusammenzufügen. In dem ersten steht in Zeile 1 PRIMI, im zweiten ist überliefert GEMVS. Die Editorin schafft daraus *Primigemus*, ihr zufolge ein verbreitetes römisches Cognomen. Das ist aber kein Name. Wahrscheinlich hatte der Stein PRIMIGENIVS; M für NI ist als ein flüchtiger und leicht verständlicher Lesefehler der Autoren, die sich im 18. Jh. mit dem Fragment befasst haben (van de Vivere und/oder Fea), anzusehen.

In der Inschrift 7546 + 10605 vgl. 33256 (S. 400–403) hat die Editorin in Zeile 12 *Sura* als Cognomen der *Aeficia M. l.* wiederhergestellt. Ihre Erklärung von *Sura* als lateinisch stimmt freilich nicht. Lateinisch ist nur der Männername *Sura*, während der Frauename *Sura* normalerweise als ein "illyrischer" Name eingestuft wird; teilweise kann griechisches Namengut in Form des beliebten Ethnikanamens *Syrus Syra* vorliegen. – Die Inschrift wird von der Autorin in augusteische Zeit angesetzt, ihr ist aber entgangen, dass 10605 in *CIL* I² 1230 steht und demnach eine Datierung in republikanische Zeit zu erwägen ist.

8. *ICUR* 5711 vom Jahre 348 beginnt *miri* (sic) *bonitatis atq(ue) sanctitati(s) Esubiae Ianuariae*. Die Verstorbene führt die duo nomina, ganz wie ihr Mann Aradius Melissus. In ihrer rezenten, mit gutem Foto versehenen Neuedition meint G. Di Giacomo, in *Il chiostro di San Paolo fuori le mura*, a cura di G. Filippi, Città del Vaticano 2010, 69f, die Frau führe ein doppeltes Cognomen *Eusebia Ianuaria*. Doch ist *Esubia* gleich *Esuvia*, ein guter römischer Gentilname. Das hat schon Diehl *ILCV* 4326 (worauf die Editorin hinweist) gesehen, wie auch Silvagni in *ICUR*.

9. Für *ICUR* 24011 ist der erste grundlegende Zeuge Bosio, *Roma sotterranea* (1632) S. 506 D (in der Ausgabe von 1650 S. 480), dessen Textform von Ferrua in *ICUR* übernommen wird. Der erste, der aus Bosio schöpft, ist Aringhi, *Roma subterranea novissima* (1671) S. 484; aus Aringhi wiederum Reinesius, *Syntagma* (1682) 971, 322 und Fabretti 323 Nr. 445. Der Text steht auch bei Diehl *ILCV* 4268 C (nachzutragen im Lemma von *ICUR* 24011), der aus Aringhi und Reinesius schöpft. Wahrscheinlich hat niemand die Inschrift nach Bosio gesehen. Textkritisch problematisch ist das erste Wort, das Bosio LARONI las, das Ferrua in *La<t>roni*, d. h. Dativ von *Latro* ändert. Nun hat aber Reinesius ILARIONI, das seine Konjektur sein muss, denn er hat die Inschrift nicht gesehen (*Ilarioni* übernommen von Diehl). Nun ist *Laroni* nichts (ein Genetiv vom Gentilnamen *Laronius* kommt nicht in Frage), weswegen eine Änderung notwendig ist. Ferruas *Latroni* könnte an sich gehen, aber *Latro* ist ein typisch früher Namen, belegt vor allem im 1. Jh. n. Chr., gelegentlich noch im 2. Jh. *Ilarioni* (= *Hilarioni*) ist ein glänzender Einfall von Reinesius und nicht auf den ersten Blick zu verwerfen. Die Namensippe *Hilarus*, darunter *Hilario*, bleibt noch in den christlichen Jahrhunderten modisch. Doch ist es besser, die Frage nach der richtigen Form des Namens offen zu lassen. In der letzten Zeile stand wohl *im pace* (*m* ist satzphonetisch bedingt); *in pace* von Reinesius (von Diehl übernommen) ist ein Lapsus oder ein Versuch der Normalisierung des Textes. Ein anderes Problem betrifft die Provenienz der Inschrift. Ferrua schreibt sie und andere von Bosio in derselben Stelle abgeschriebene Texte generell einer der Katakomben "inter s. Felicitatem et viam Anapo" zu. Da aber Bosio auf S. 503 die Provenienz der von ihm auf den nachfolgenden Seiten publizierten Texte als "secondo monumento arcuato del Cimitero di Priscilla, e d'altri martiri nella via Salaria nuova" betitelt, könnte man erwägen, diese Texte der Sektion solcher Texte einzugliedern, die von früheren Autoren, die sich vor De Rossi mit der Katakombenforschung befasst haben, dem Priscillacoemeterium generell, ohne nähere Angaben, zugeschrieben haben. Solche Texte finden sich im achten Band des altchristlichen Inschriftenwerkes,

wo Ferrua diesbezügliche Texte zusammengestellt hat (*ICUR* VIII S. 359); dort könnten die betreffenden Inschriften Zuflucht finden.

CCLXXVII. ZU INSCHRIFTEN AUS BASILICATA

Helga Di Giuseppe hat verdienstvoll alte und neue Inschriften aus dem nördlichen Basilicata herausgegeben, mit weiterführenden Erläuterungen versehen und durch gute Fotos begleitet, die eine Kontrolle der Lesungen erleichtern: "Le epigrafi e le sculture romane", in *Felicitas temporum. Dalla terra alle genti: la Basilicata settentrionale tra archeologia e storia*, a cura di A. Russo e H. Di Giuseppe, Lavello 2008, 223–263. Das untersuchte Gebiet gehört zum antiken Lukanien. Unten ein paar Bemerkungen eines dankbaren Lesers. [*AE* 2009, 256–272, von mir erst nachträglich konsultiert.]

Nr. 5 (S. 230f). Der Text soll *D(is) M(anibus) / [A]tto Firmo* beginnen (so auch *AE* 2009, 258); TT und F sind als unsicher angegeben. Vom Namen des Mannes sind zweifellos Gentile und Cognomen erhalten; *Attus* ist aber kein Gentilname. Aufgrund des Fotos wage ich keine völlig sichere Lesung, doch liegt es nahe, den Namen *Attius* festzulegen,³⁴ der auch in Lukanien belegt ist. Man lese also *[At]tio Firmo*.

Nr. 8 (S. 237f). Der Vorname in 1 und 5 ist *Gaius*, nicht *G(naeus)*. Die Editorin datiert die Inschrift ins 1. Jh. n. Chr., wohl zu Recht. Dafür spricht u.a., dass die zwei Söhne unterschiedliche Vornamen führen, während der wohl ältere Sohn voll homonym mit dem Vater ist und der jüngere einen anderen Vornamen und ein aufgrund des Cognomens der Mutter gewähltes Cognomen führt. Dass Söhne unterschiedliche Vornamen führen, wird mit dem vorgerückten Prinzipat eine immer seltenere Sitte; an ihre Stelle tritt die desselben Vornamens bei den Söhnen.

Nr. 10 (S. 241–243): *Cypare Lamponiae s(erva) Urbanaes f(ilia) Gemello con(servo)* versteht die Editorin. Über die Lesung herrscht kein Zweifel, doch die gegebene Erklärung hält nicht stand. Es muss zweifellos heißen *Cypare Lamponiaes Urbanaes f(ecit) Gemello con(servo)*. *Cypare* war Sklavin von *Lamponia Urbana* und errichtete den Grabstein ihrem Mitsklaven *Gemellus*. Eine Namenformel *illa illius serva, illius filia* wäre unerhört, wie auch die Nennung der Herrin mit dem bloßen Gentilnamen. *Lamponius* ist ein oskischer Gentilname, so

³⁴ An diesen Namen scheint auch die Editorin zu denken, wenn sie von dem "gentilizio del defunto *Attus*, estremamente diffuso in Italia meridionale" spricht. Der Name war aber *Attius*, nicht *Attus*.

hieß einer der 12 italischen Praetoren des Jahres 90 (*RE* XII 582f; vgl. Salomies, oben S. 157), sonst nur selten, und zwar in keltischen Gebieten belegt,³⁵ stellt aber eine regelrechte Bildung dar mit dem Gentilnamensuffix *-onius*.³⁶ Also hieß die Herrin *Lamponia Urbana* und kann somit nicht identisch mit *Ansia Urbana* von *CIL* X 294 sein.

Nr. 17 (S. 251f). [---]menei / coiugi b. m. [f.] / et sibi lautet der fragmentarische Text. Am Anfang will die Editorin den Frauennamen *Melpomene* erkennen (dem sie die Form *Melipomene* (*Melphomene*) gibt), was ausgeschlossen ist. Wenn die Lesung stimmt, dann liegt eher ein Männername wie *Idomeneus* vor (der Wechsel vom Genetiv zum Dativ bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten), oder aber ein Name auf *-menes* wie *Eumenes* mit gräzisiertem Dativ. Freilich scheint die Lesung, aus dem Foto zu schließen, nicht gesichert zu sein.

Nr. 20 (S. 255). Man soll *Restuto*, nicht *Res<ti>tuto* schreiben. *Restutus* ist eine bestehende Nebenform von *Restitutus*, eine u.a. durch das Metrum sicher gestellte haplogogische Form (*CLE* 2029. 2199; vgl. auch *CIL* IV 5251, wo zwar *Restitutus* geschrieben steht, vom Metrum aber *Restutus* verlangt wird).

Nr. 22 (S. 257f). *Gargilie Marcianne* liest die Editorin den Namen der Verstorbenen. Etwas überraschend ist die Form *Marcianne*. Obwohl die Buchstaben an der Schriftoberfläche recht abgenutzt sind, wage ich anhand des auch nicht sehr hilfreichen Fotos *Marcianae* zu lesen. Jetzt *AE* 2009, 270, wo der Gentilname GARGALLAE gelesen wird, das zweite A ist aber auf dem Foto nicht sicher; ich würde mich der Lesung der Editorin anschließen.

Nr. 23 (S. 258f). Warum soll in 3–4 *Quin/[t<a>]e* gelesen werden, als gebe es links nicht genügend Raum für TAE? Aus der Platzierung von D M sieht man, dass in 4 links vor dem Bruch doch Raum für zwei Buchstaben da ist; zu demselben Schluss kommt man hinsichtlich der Ergänzung der folgenden Zeile, die mit [Q]VE in derselben Linie begonnen haben muss, wenn in 4 [TA]E ergänzt wird. Und warum soll [G]abinus ergänzt werden, ein nur selten bezeugtes Cognomen (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 182 verbucht deren nur drei Belege, wozu noch *ICUR* 23960)? Die Ergänzung zu [S]abinus liegt auf der Hand.

Dieselbe hat S. 344–350 einige Inschriften aus Oppido Lucano zusammengestellt. Hier nur eine Kleinigkeit. Nr. 2 (S. 346f). In 1–2 ergänzt die

³⁵ *CIL* III 4150 (Savaria, 188 n. Chr.) IV, 10. 11; V 2116; XII 4537(?); vgl. *AE* 218a (Carnuntum, *Lamp*(---)) und *CIL* XV 4192–3 *Lamponianum*.

³⁶ Der Name hat nichts mit dem oskischen Vornamen *αλαπωνις* (Vetter 185) zu tun, wie P. Simelon, *La propriété en Lucanie depuis les Gracques jusqu'à l'avènement des Sévères* (Coll. Latomus 220), Bruxelles 1993, 119 vermutet; dieser müsste im Lateinischen **Alponius* heißen.

Editorin [---]o *Eutyce*/[no ma]rito (AE 2009, 275), es existiert aber kein Cognomen *Eutychenus*, es muss natürlich [---] *Eutyce*/[ti ma]rito heißen. Der Name war *Eutyches*; die heteroklitische *t*-Flexion in Namen auf *-es* war durchaus üblich (*Eutycheti(s)* kommt allein in Rom circa 100mal vor); dagegen war *Eutycheni(s)* nicht in Gebrauch, doch schon *Tycheni(s)* aus *Tyche* wurde allgemein üblich. Ferner *Eros Eronis* usw.

CCLXXVIII. ANAGNINA

Aus Gorga im Territorium des römischen Anagnina stammen einige Inschriften, die im *CIL X* aus Abschriften von Giuseppe Marocco, einem an sich verdienstlichen antiquarischen Forscher des 18. Jahrhunderts als arg interpoliert herausgegeben worden sind. Zwei von ihnen wurden 1886 in *Cronachetta mensuale di scienze naturali e d'archeologia* von M. Armellini (serie IV, anno 20, fasc. 9, settembre 1886, Seite 159) aufgrund besserer Abschriften publiziert: *CIL X* 5932 und 5940. Die erste lautet in der neuen Abschrift *d. m. /eri pientissimo / Esopus / Ilvir ... et Daphne / benemerenti fecerunt / AN. vixit ann. XXXV / ... m. VI*. Es wird sichergestellt, dass es sich um die Grabinschrift eines Bürgermeisters von Anagnina handelt, die möglicherweise von seinen Freigelassenen Aesopus und Daphne errichtet wurde. Neu ist der Name *Aesopus* (ob ohne A geschrieben, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis). – 5940 bringt in der neuen Abschrift keinen wesentlichen Fortschritt, aber statt CLEMENT von Marocco bietet sie *Clementi*, also ein obliquer Kasus von *Clemens* oder eine Ableitung wie *Clementi(a)nus* o.ä.

CCLXXIX. CARSULANUM

Die von P. Bruschetti, *Epigraphica* 67 (2005) 480–482 Nr. 6 Foto fig. 6 publizierte carsulanische Inschrift, die sich in Palazzo Cesi in Acquasparta befindet (AE 2005, 465), ist erneut von E. Roscini, *AIACNews* 2 (2011) 10f unter die Lupe genommen worden. Ich übergehe hier den interessanten Schlussteil, der von den beiden schon behandelt wurde, und mache ein paar Bemerkungen zu den hochinteressanten Namen.

Von den Gentilicia fällt *Flanus* auf, das ich nicht zu klären vermag. Das in Italien einigermaßen belegte *Aeflanus* hilft nicht weiter. Gleichermäßen unsicher bleibt, wenn man den ersten Buchstaben des Namens als E liest (doch lässt das in *Epigraphica* publizierte Foto keinen Zweifel: es ist ein F da), was zu *Elanus*

= *Aelanus* führen würde. *Aelan(i)us* war in Mittelitalien in Gebrauch (belegt zumindest in Rom,³⁷ Nursia, Ricina und Mutina), aber in einer alten, um Christi Geburt zu datierenden und sonst gut ausgeführten Inschrift würde man nicht gerne *ae* als *e* wiedergegeben sehen.

Auch die Cognomina sind interessant und verdienen Beachtung. 3 Roscini druckt *Varia*, als sei der Name heil (Bruschetti besser *Varia[---]*). Es ist freilich ein Männercognomen *Varia* bekannt (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 105. 230 mit einem Beleg [die Nachweise vollständig in Vidmans *Cognominaindex*]),³⁸ dessen Gebrauch aber ganz okkasionell geblieben ist. Ich würde ohne Zögern *Varia[nus]* schreiben. *Varianus* ist ein wenn auch nicht sehr populärer, doch gut bezeugter Name.³⁹ – 4 *Veitur[---]* vertritt sicher eine falsche Lesung (Bruschetti hatte *V[.]tu[...]* gelesen, was in *AE Veitu[---]* wurde). Ich sehe am Foto *VETTIVL[---]*; dort steckt entweder ein Gentilname *Vettulenus* oder *Vettuleius* in Funktion des Cognomens (wie *Lollius* in 8) oder aber ein "echtes" Cognomen wie *Vettuleianus* (bezeugt ist *Vetuleianus*: s. oben S. 217) oder *Vettulinus*, vielleicht belegt in *CIL* XIII 4740. – 5 *Vocula* erscheint zweimal im Senatorenstand, einmal bei einem mutmaßlichen Spanier, ein anderes Mal bei einem Senator unbestimmter Herkunft (vielleicht Stadtrömer?). Ob der Name etruskischer Herkunft ist, wie Schulze, *ZGLE* 381 meint, bleibt ungewiss, doch unsere neue Inschrift könnte auf mittelitalisch-etruskische Herkunft hinweisen. – 6 *Sapient[-]* ist schwer zu verstehen. *Sapiens* ist nur als Zuname des Scipiofreundes C. Laelius bekannt und dann bei einem Namensvetter aus Asculum Picenum (*EE* VIII 214) belegt; als Fraunname *AE* 1995, 1698 aus Theveste. Man muss einen neuen Namen in Kauf nehmen, etwa *Sapientinus*, eine an sich plausible Bildung aus *Sapiens*. – 7 *Baca* ist ein harter Brocken, ganz wie der Gentilname. Vielleicht aus altem italisch-etruskischem Vorrat, ohne plausible Etymologie. Die Endung *-a* könnte auf etruskischen Einfluss hinweisen. Oder der Name ist zu *baca* zu stellen; zu Namen von Pflanzen auf *-a* gebildete Männernamen gibt es einige: *Palma Caepula Cicercula Cicuta Lactuca Lappa Urtica Nucula Planta Spica Virgula*. Vielleicht könnte auch *Baca* dadurch seine Erklärung finden. – Ob *Bacca*, belegt in Gallia Belgica (*ILTG* 352 aus Durocortum, Grabinschrift; *CAG* 62, 2, 357 *Bacca fec(it)*), hierher gestellt werden kann, bleibt ungewiss.

³⁷ *CIL* VI 5280 *Aelanaes* Genetiv. Vidman im *Cognominaindex* 213 fasst es als *Aeliana* auf, doch hat Schulze, *ZGLE* 112 gut gesehen, dass wir es mit einem Gentilnamen zu tun haben.

³⁸ Eine andere Sache ist, ob Kajantos Erklärung richtig ist, der den Namen zu *varius* stellt. Wie dem aber auch sei, es handelt sich um eine okkasionelle Bildung.

³⁹ Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 158 zählt acht Belege für den Männernamen, sechs Belege für *Variana*. Mehr in *Arctos* 38 (2004) 189. 45 (2011) 161.

CCLXXX. ZU EINER FLUCHTAFEL AUS SILCHESTER

R. S. O. Tomlin, *Britannia* 40 (2009) 323f Nr. 16 (*AE* 2009, 690) publiziert eine Fluchtafel, deren Lesung äußerst problematisch bleibt. Tomlin gibt eine Zeichnung des Textes, durch die nicht alles klar wird. Auch seine eigene Lesung und Deutung laden zum Widerspruch ein. Alle Eigennamen bleiben in der Deutung unsicher: *Nimincillus* ist sonst unbelegt, kann man aber die Existenz eines solchen Namens aufgrund einer so unsicheren Lesung festlegen? Dann soll der Name *Quintinus*, als Anagramm geschrieben, folgen; dieser Versuch mutet recht künstlich an. Den dritten Namen liest Tomlin *Iu[n]ctinus*, da aber ein solcher Name nicht belegt ist, will er ihn in *Iuncinus* ändern. Lauter Vermutungen. Man könnte an sich eine Bildung *Iunctinus* postulieren; neben den belegten *Adiunctus* und *Coniunctus* wäre *Iunctus* möglich, und *Iunctinus* wäre daneben eine mit dem beliebten Suffix *-inus* versehene Ableitung. Auch *Iuncinus* ist nicht besonders üblich (s. oben unter *Iuncinus*). Die Deutung der folgenden Namen als *D(o)cillina* und *Longinus* (könnte einfach LONGINVS statt LONOINVS des Editors gelesen werden?) lässt sich verteidigen. Die Namensippe *Docilis* ist üblich in Britannien und *Docilinus -a* ist nur in Britannien belegt (*AE* 1982, 661. 1989, 487), hier mit Geminatio von *-l-* geschrieben (die Auslassung von O zählt nicht viel, harmlose Verschreibung). Auch im Schlussteil der Defixio bleibt manches in der Deutung hypothetisch.

CCLXXXI. NOCH WEITERE VERKANNT
CHRISTLICHE INSCRIFTEN

Als Fortsetzung zur Serie von Beobachtungen zu christlichen Inschriften, die in den zehn Bänden der *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* fehlen (zuletzt *Arctos* 37 [2003] 204f) seien noch einige weitere Fälle mitgeteilt.

Die von De Rossi, *Inscr. chr.* I 113 aus Marini und aus *Cod. Chis.* J. VI p. 147 publizierte Grabinschrift *Valeriai Rufinae coniugi carissime Superbus* cet. aus dem Jahre 352 (Diehl *ILCV* 2941) ist der Aufmerksamkeit der Editoren von ICUR entgangen. De Rossi schreibt die Inschrift generell einer Katakomba der via Salaria zu, aber in *ILCV* vol. IV 26 teilt Ferrua das Zeugnis von De Rossi mit, sie stamme aus der via Salaria nova. Demnach sollte sie im neunten Band der ICUR stehen.

De Rossi hat aus Manutius, *Cod. Lat. Vat.* 5241 p. 700 (dessen Abschrift teilweise unleserlich ist) eine interessante Inschrift herausgezogen und in *Inscr.*

chr. I 1359 publiziert (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 3858A). De Rossi zerlegt sie in zwei Teile: 1–3 aus dem 4. oder 5. Jh. und den Rest mit interessanten Fluchformeln aus dem 9. Jh. Der Stein befand sich in S. Maria in Domnica, dürfte aber aus einem christlichen Zömeterium stammen und hätte wegen Z. 1–3 im ersten Band der *ICUR* Zuflucht finden sollen. Aber wenigstens unter den in S. Maria in Domnica abbeschriebenen Texten (*ICUR* 494–503) findet sich das Fragment nicht.

De Rossi, *Inscr. chr.* II 273, 3 (daraus *CLE* 756 und Diehl *ILCV* 3463) hat aus *Cod. Paris.* 5315 II f. 2v (8. Jh.) eine sicher christliche metrische Grabinschrift *aspicite, venientes, hic mea membra sepulta* cet. unbekannter Herkunft ans Licht gezogen; davor stand das Epitaph der Monnica aus Ostia, von dem im Jahre 1946 ein Fragment gefunden wurde (s. *AE* 1948, 44), d. h. es hat einmal in Ostia existiert. Dadurch gewinnt auch die Überlieferung unserer Inschrift an Plausibilität. Warum Silvagni sie in den ersten Band der *ICUR* nicht aufgenommen hat, ist mir nicht klar; ob wegen seiner Bedenken an der Echtheit? Oder wegen der Stellung nach Monnicas Epitaph, das auch nicht ins *CIL* XIV aufgenommen wurde? Wie dem auch sei, beide Inschriften müssen jetzt ihren Sitz im Leben in den großen Corpora erhalten: die eine gehört ins *CIL* XIV, die andere in den ersten Band der *ICUR*.

Muratori 1959, 6 (daraus Diehl *ILCV* 4325) publiziert aus Marangoni eine Grabinschrift, die dieser in der Hermes-Katakombe abgeschrieben hat:⁴⁰ *Vitalissimus Rufine dulcissime* cet. Interessant ist die Kontraktion LABORV im letzten Wort, das wohl für *labor(a)v(it)* steht,⁴¹ soweit dahinter nicht die vulgäre Form *laboraut* steckt, die schon in pompejanischen Graffiti auftritt und Grundlage für romanische Formen wie it. *laborò* ist; zur Bedeutung von *bene laborare* vgl. z. B. *ICUR* 11805 (und *ThLL* VII 2, 807, 72–79).

CCLXXXII. ZU ALLIFANISCHEN GRAFFITI

D. Ferraiuolo, *Associazione storica del Medio Volturno. Annuario* 2010, 109–23 publiziert verdienstlich einige Graffiti aus dem Cryptoporticus von Allifae. Hier

⁴⁰ A. Ferrua, *Nuove correzioni alla silloge del Diehl, Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres*, Città del Vaticano 1981, 169 behauptet, Muratori schöpfe aus Lupi, *Severae epitaphium*, p. 135. Es ist wahr, dass Lupi die Inschrift hat, die er in der Katakombe "S. Basillae" (d. h. Hermes-Katakombe) aufgefunden habe. Doch sagt Muratori wörtlich "Romae, in Coemet. S. Hermetis. Ex Marangonio".

⁴¹ Aufgenommen von U. Hälvä-Nyberg, *Die Kontraktionen auf den lateinischen Inschriften Roms und Afrikas* (*AnnAcadScFenn. DissHumLitt* 49), Helsinki 1988, 253.

ein paar Bemerkungen. Für die Verifizierung der Lesungen sind mir die Fotos von großer Hilfe gewesen, die mir Marco Buonocore, der mich auf diese Publikation aufmerksam gemacht hat, zur Verfügung stellte; ihm sei dafür herzlich gedankt.

1. Der Autor gibt folgenden Text: *Larus Satius / Crisantus Ru/fas lib[e]nter / nu[n]c in aminio / cor [...] nsat*. Namenliste von Personen, die "si intrattengono con l'Amineo". Mit dem letzten Wort sei der berühmte aminäische Wein gemeint. Dies ist nun, mit Verlaub gesagt, abenteuerlich. Leider kann man aufgrund des Fotos eine gesicherte Lesung des Graffitos nicht erreichen. Schon die erste Zeile bringt unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten. Was LARVS angeht, sieht man am Foto nichts vom ersten Teil des Namens und auch der Schlussteil bleibt unsicher. *Satius* wiederum ist ein wenig verbreiteter zunächst provinzieller Gentilname, der in Süditalien nicht auftritt. Aber auch die Lesung bleibt unsicher. Anhand des Fotos lese ich, freilich mit Vorbehalt, SAIIVS = *-saeus* mit der aus Pompeji wohlbekanntem kursiven Form II für E (die sich in Nr. 2 wiederholt). Was links davor gestanden hätte, wage ich nicht zu erraten. Es gibt Namen wie *Bassaeus* (auch in der Regio IV und im benachbarten Beneventum belegt) oder Cognomina wie *Musaeus Isaeus Melissaesus*, doch ist es besser, sich eines Versuchs zu enthalten. In der zweiten Zeile hat der Autor überzeugend *Crisantus* gelesen. Das ist *Chrysanthus*, ein guter griechischer Name, in Rom und in Italien bestens bekannt (52 Belege in meinem Namenbuch² 174f). Auch den nächsten Namen hat F. überzeugend *Rufas* gelesen, eine interessante Bildung, ein Männername mit dem griechischen hypokoristischen Suffix *-ᾶς* versehen. Der Name war schon bekannt (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 229 aus *CIL* VI 10966. *Arctos* 37 [2003] 185f aus Athen und 39 [2005] 177 aus Pizos in Thrakien; ferner vgl. oben S. 212f. mit zwei weiteren Belegen aus Kos bzw. Termessos). Nach *Rufas* kommt *lib<e>nter*. Aber in der nächsten Zeile beginnen die Schwierigkeiten aufs Neue. Das erste Wort *nu(n)c* geht gut (in der Zeichnung gibt Ferraioli NUC, aber der zweite Buchstabe hat deutlich die klassische Form V), aber den Rest hat er nicht gut verstanden. Von einem aminäischen Wein ist da sicher nicht die Rede. Ich könnte so etwas, freilich mit großem Vorbehalt, vorschlagen: *nu(n)c, nu(n)c am(antes) hic*. Also eine typisch pompejanische Szene von Lebemännern. Die letzte Zeile ist nicht gut ersichtlich am Foto.

2. *[H]ele[n]a amatrix / libidinosa ora[t] / m[en]t[u]las nob[i]s*. So der Editor. Die erste Zeile ist unproblematisch. Nur fragt man sich, warum am Anfang H ergänzt werden müsse. II, d. h. kursives E findet sich an derselben Stelle wie die zwei nachfolgenden Zeilen, so dass H überflüssig wäre. Der populäre griechische Frauename *Helena -e* wird in lateinischen Urkunden oft ohne H geschrieben. In der zweiten Zeile ist *libidinosa* sicher, aber den Rest der Zeile vermag ich anhand

des Fotos nicht zu verifizieren; O kann da sein, aber RA kann ich aus dem Foto nicht herausholen. Die letzte Zeile lässt sich nicht entziffern, vor allem aber ist *orat mentulas nobis* kein Latein. Non liquet.

3. Der Autor druckt CONIUN[...], aber in Zeichnung und Foto steht nur CONIV. Und das kann viel anderes sein, wie etwa ein onomastisches Element wie *Conius*. Oder es kann etwas mit *coniurare* zu tun haben.

5. *Hic est Victomu*[---]. So der Editor. *Victomu-* ist aber nichts. Das Schlusswort scheint etwas mit Victor zu tun zu haben. Wenn Konjizieren erlaubt ist, schlage ich vor, *hic est Victor(i)a; v(ale)* zu lesen. Ferraiuolo datiert übrigens diesen Text (anders als die übrigen, die er, wenn ich ihn richtig verstanden habe, in die frühe Kaiserzeit ansetzt) aufgrund der Form von M ins Mittelalter, was durch nichts einleuchtet. In Wirklichkeit vertreten die Buchstabenformen eine rohe jüngere römische (d. h. spätantike) Kursive.

CCLXXXIII. ZU NAMEN VON PFERDEN UND MAULTIEREN

Eine umfassende Untersuchung über Tiernamen (d. h. Rufnamen von Tieren) in der Antike wäre ein großes Desiderat. Besonders über Pferdenamen sind wir einigermaßen unterrichtet. Ich nehme hier unten nur einen Einzelfall unter die Lupe, eine Mosaikinschrift aus der Mitte des 5. Jh. aus dem Ort Al Muknin in der provincia proconsularis, publiziert von M. Yacoub, in *Histoire et archéologie de l'Afrique du Nord. II^e colloque international (1983)*, Paris 1985, 333 (AE 2000, 1612a).⁴² Uns interessieren hier zunächst die Namen der vier abgebildeten Rennpferde, für den weiteren Kontext verweise ich auf die Überlegungen des Erstherausgebers und von Ennaïfer und Guérin-Beauvois. Die Pferde heißen *Gratulator*, *Votalis*, *Triumfator* und *Gloriosus*. Von ihnen ist nur *Gloriosus* sonst als Eigenname belegt, und zwar als Cognomen und, was bemerkenswert ist, besonders in Afrika;⁴³ ein populärer Name ist er aber nicht geworden. *Gloriosa* war schon auch als Stutename bekannt: *CIL VIII 12506* besser Audollent *DT 232* aus Karthago.⁴⁴ Und *Gloriosus* hieß ein Bär in der Mosaikinschrift *IL Afr 350*

⁴² Vgl. M. Ennaïfer, *MEFRA* 95 (1983) 839 und M. Guérin-Beauvois, in *Romanité et cité chrétienne. Mélanges en honneur d'Y. Duval*, Paris 2000, 112f.

⁴³ Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 279 verzeichnet für den Männernamen *Gloriosus* 4 heidnische und 4 christliche Belege, für den Frauennamen *Gloriosa* 4 christliche Belege. Weitere Belege in *Arctos* 44 (2010) 240 (6 Belege für *Gloriosus* und zwei Belege für *Gloriosa*) und oben S. 203. Ein gut Teil von allen kommt aus Afrika.

⁴⁴ Die Lesung steht nicht ganz sicher fest, die von Audollent gegebene ist aber plausibel

aus Maxula (Rades).⁴⁵ Aber keiner der drei restlichen Namen ist also bisher als Eigenname bezeugt, weder als Menschen- noch als Pferdenamen. *Gratulator* wäre als Männername wohl möglich, vgl. die Bedeutung "Glückwünscher" von *gratulator* in Mart. 10, 74, 1 und die spätere "glücklicher Mensch" in Aug. *in epist. Ioh.* 8, 9.⁴⁶ Als Pferdenamen im Spätlatein, ausgehend von der Bedeutung in der Augustinusstelle, ist *Gratulator* eine nicht auszuschließende Bildung. Das Wort *triumphator* (hier *Triumpf-* geschrieben, wie oft in Inschriften) ist in der Literatur seit Apuleius belegt. Der Bedeutung nach wäre es plausibel als Cognomen, aber auch als Rennpferdenamen. *Votalis* dagegen ist eigentümlich. Das Wort *votalis* "zu *votum* gehörig" erscheint nur einmal in der antiken Latinität, in dem probianischen Vergilkommentar wohl aus der späteren Kaiserzeit zu *georg.* 2, 16 *existimant in Dodonaei Iovis oraculo quercum votalem fuisse*. Wenn *votalis* in der späteren Latinität wirklich in allgemeinem Gebrauch gewesen wäre, könnte man vielleicht einen Eigennamen *Votalis* in Anspruch nehmen. Freilich blieb sein Gebrauch okkasionell. Im Ganzen können alle vier als Wunschnamen definiert werden, die ja bei Rennpferden ein natürliches Element bilden.

Die Mosaikinschrift *CIL* XIV 4754 aus Ostia enthält vier Maultiernamen: *Pudes*, *Podagrosus*, *Potiscus*, *Barosus*. Von ihnen ist *Pudens*, hier *Pudes* geschrieben (eine übliche Graphie), wohl bekannt als Männername, und auch *Barosus* ist nicht neu, gebildet zu *barosus* "dummstolz", das nur in Glossarien belegt ist (*Gloss.* III 372, 73. 440, 17, 334, 11). *Barosus* ist als Name eines Gladiators (*CIL* VI 631) und eines Soldaten (*CIL* VIII 2568, 53 *C. Marius Barosus Sim(ithu)*, also Einheimischer) belegt sowie noch einmal in Thagaste in der *prov. proc.* (*BCTH* 1936/7, 106, zusammen mit einheimischen Namen: *Varbas*, *Zabo*,⁴⁷ vielleicht auch *Arbule*).⁴⁸ Ob *Barosus* gänzlich zu *barosus* gehört, ist freilich ungewiss; dahinter könnten auch nichtlateinische Bildungen stecken, wie die semitische Wurzel *bar-*.⁴⁹ An sich wäre *barosus* ein nicht unpassendes Namenwort für

(Schmidt in *CIL* las [*Glo*]rios[us]). Er datiert die Tafel (S. 556) ins 1. Jh. n. Chr., woran ich sehr zweifle.

⁴⁵ Aus A. Merlin, *BACTH* 1912, CXCIII.

⁴⁶ Vgl. F. Blatt, *ThLL* VI 2, 2252, 9–15. In der antiken Latinität ist das Wort nur an diesen zwei Stellen bezeugt.

⁴⁷ Zu diesen Namen vgl. K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources* (CNWS Publications 21), Leiden 1994, 146. 152f.

⁴⁸ *Barosa Pizzarras visigodas*, ed. Velásquez Soriano 10 *Barosa* ist mittelalterlich, aus dem 7. Jh.

⁴⁹ Vgl. aus dem Westen etwa *CIL* XIII 39 *Barhosis*; *ibid.* 247 *Barosis* (Gen.). Eine Liste von

die Benennung eines Maultiers. Hinter *Potiscus* steckt wohl *Pothiscus*, in dieser Form nie in lateinischen Urkunden belegt. *Potiscus* als Männername: *Ti. Claudius Potiscus* Ziegelfabrikant, kaiserlicher Freigelassener (s. Bloch, *Roman Brick Stamps* 461); *CIL* VI 17225 L. *Antistius Potiscus*. Trotz der konstanten Schreibung *Poti-* dürfte es sich um gr. Ποθίσκος handeln, einen Namen, der sonst nur im Bereich des Bosphoranischen Reiches, in Gorgippia und Pantikapaion belegt ist (die Nachweise, alle aus der Kaiserzeit, in *LGPN* IV 281). Warum der Name anderswo nicht in Gebrauch war, ist nicht klar; jedenfalls handelt es sich um eine regelrechte Bildung, aus Πόθος (beliebter Personennamenname in der Kaiserzeit) mit dem üblichen onomastischen Suffix -ίσκος gebildet. Eigenartig ist *Podagrosus*, dem Tier möglicherweise wegen der Podagra an den Füßen zugelegt (vgl. Plaut. *Merc.* 595 *podagrosis pedibus esset Eutychus*).

CCLXXXIV. MEINE SCHULD

George Bounegru und György Németh publizieren *ZPE* 184 (2013) 238–242 eine im Jahre 2007 in Apulum gefundene Fluchtafel. Der letztere hat mir den Text des Aufsatzes mit der Bitte um Bemerkungen zur Textform geschickt. Meine Antwort kam aber zu spät, um berücksichtigt werden zu können, denn der Aufsatz war schon gesetzt. Auf eine Anregung von György Németh hin gebe ich hier meine Vorschläge zur Lesung der interessanten Tafel. Sie basieren auf den nicht schlechten Fotos, die er mir zur Verfügung gestellt hat; auch dafür sei ihm herzlich gedankt.

2 die Editoren sind nicht konsequent in der Wiedergabe des Namens, indem sie im Text *MARA* schreiben, im Kommentar aber *MRRA* = *Marra(e)(?)*.⁵⁰ Ich würde den Namen ohne Zögern *Mara* lesen, was gleich *Maria* sein dürfte. Nun schließen die Autoren *Maria* aus, da die Fundumstände eine christliche Zuweisung nicht erlauben. *Maria* braucht aber gar kein christlicher Name zu sein, es ist entweder das Gentilicium, hier als Einzelname gebraucht, oder aber der gemeinsemitische Name, sehr üblich auch im Westen seit der republikanischen Zeit belegt (als Sklavename in Rom: *CIL* VI 12907. 14025. 27948).⁵¹

Namen auf Βαρ- im griechischen Bereich bietet H. Wuthnow, *Die semitischen Menschnennamen in griechischen Inschriften und Papyri des vorderen Orients*, Leipzig 1930, 32–4.

⁵⁰ Das soll die weibliche Form von einem in der Narbonensis belegten Namen *Marrus* sein. In Gallien ist aber nur gerade fem. *Marra* belegt (*CIL* XII 2688), das hilft aber nicht weiter.

⁵¹ Sonst im Westen: Solin, *ANRW* II 29 (1983) 725. 727.

3 aufgrund der Fotos kann ich die Lesung nicht verifizieren, doch zweifle ich an CLIAN/NES: am Ende scheint eher *-nis* zu stehen. Da praktisch keine Namen auf *Clia-* bekannt sind (außer einigen sekundären Graphien für *Clea-* wie *Cliantus* in *CIL* VI 10403), habe ich an griechische Namen auf *Clea-* gedacht, die sehr zahlreich sind. Aber etwa *Cleanthes -us* oder *Cleander* kommen nicht in Frage. Non liquet.

7 *Fuscens* ist eine unwahrscheinliche Bildung. Mir ist *Fulgens* in den Sinn gekommen, ein solcher Name ist aber nicht belegt, dagegen kennt man die Ableitung *Fulgentius*, neben der *Fulgens* (aus *fulgens*) gut möglich wäre. Doch bereitet auch das Schwierigkeiten: kann der dritte Buchstabe ein L sein, wobei der Querstrich in dem Bruch verlorengegangen sein müsste?

8 *Sarmatio* ist möglich, aber nicht unbestreitbar, wie die Autoren meinen. Ebenso gut kann *[H]armatio* ergänzt werden. Dies ist ein guter griechischer Frauenname, in Rom mit der Endung *-ion* belegt (siehe mein Namenbuch² 1239; zu *Sarmatio* ebda. 650f). Das griechische Frauennamensuffix *-ιον*, das in hellenistischer und römischer Zeit an Boden gewinnt, konnte in lateinischer Transliteration beliebig als *-io*, *-ion*, *-ium* wiedergegeben werden.

9–10 es steht *nomen Filomini*, die Erklärung der Editoren ist aber schief. Es handelt sich zweifellos um den populären Namen *Philumenus*, hier *-lom-* und *-min-* geschrieben, wie es zuweilen passieren kann (derartige Formen kann man etwa in meinem Namenbuch² 965–968 finden). 10 die Autoren lesen CIRI[---] und schlagen, freilich mit Vorbehalt, *Ciriacus*, d. h. *Cyriacus* vor. Dieser Name kommt nicht in Frage, auch weil er so gut wie ausschließlich christlich ist. Außerdem ist die Lesung alles andere als sicher. Ich habe an *Clarus* o. ä. gedacht, verstehe den Schlussteil des Namens aber nicht (das Foto lässt keine sichere Lesung zu). Und VIANVI in 11 bleibt ganz in der Luft hängen (aus dem Foto zu schließen ist keiner der Buchstaben sicher).

12 CLINI scheint festzustehen, welcher Name dahinter stecken könnte, bleibt aber ungewiss. Namen wie *Clinias* sind wohlbekannt, aber nach CLINI, der einen Genetiv vertreten muss, folgt nichts (ein Name **Clinus* existiert nicht, das Griechische hat aber Κλειῖνος: Bechtel *HPN* 250). Vor CLINI gibt es aber reichlich Raum in der Lücke, so dass ein Name auf *-clinus* wohl möglich wäre. Etwa *Proclinus* ist neben *Proculinus* des Öfteren bezeugt. An weiteren Namen, von denen Formen auf *-clinus* bezeugt sind, kann man anführen *Masclinus*, *Paterclinus* und *Marclinus* (für *Marcellinus*), ferner *Heraclin-* (vgl. *CIL* V 5835 *Heraclini[anus]*) und im Griechischen Εὐκλ(ε)ῖνος Πάγκλινος.

14–15 die Autoren drucken AU/[RELI]ES. Das geht nicht. Ich lese aufgrund des Fotos ohne Zögern *Au/rioles*. Das Cognomen *Aureolus -a Auriolus -a* lässt sich einigermaßen belegen (s. oben unter *Aureolus*).

16–17 NAV/[I]NVI bleibt sehr unsicher, doch lässt das Foto keine Nachprüfung zu.

Die letzten Zeilen sind am Foto nicht verifizierbar.

CCLXXXV. BLATTFÜLLSEL

In *RivArch* 34 (2010) 63ff will R. Bertolazzi die Lesung einer Inschrift in S. Andrea di Conza (M. Kajava – K. Korhonen – H. Solin, *Epigraphica* 69 [1997] 352) verbessern, doch irrt er sich. Wir hatten das Cognomen der Frau *Cast[ae]* gelesen, während B. *Gal(lae)* haben will. Der Haken des vermeintlichen G ist aber nichts anderes als die Haste von T und der vermeintliche Nexusteil von L der Querstrich von T (und das S lässt er außer Acht). Und hätte der Steinmetz (oder der ordinator) dieselbe Sequenz GAL mit Nexus von A und L wirklich für zwei verschiedene Zwecke gebraucht?

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**BACCHYLIDES BEHIND HIS *METAMORPHOSES*:
THE POETIC IDENTITY OF A LYRIC NARRATOR
IN THE LATE 5TH CENTURY BC¹**

MARGARITA P. SOTIRIOU

Introduction

Since Homer and Hesiod's time comparing men with animals or birds is within the cultural and literary tradition of Greeks in general. Himerius' paraphrase about a song of Alcaeus shows clearly that the specific birds next to a poet like Alcaeus sing in a very special way (48,125 = Alc. 307,1c Voigt):

[...] ἄδουσι μὲν ἀηδόνες αὐτῷ ὅποιον εἰκὸς ἄσαι παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ τὰς ὄρνιθας· ἄδουσι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες καὶ τέττιγες, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τύχην τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγγέλλουσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ μέλη κατὰ θεοῦ φθεγγόμεναι· [...]

[...] Nightingales sing to the god, as birds are likely to sing in Alcaeus. Also swallows and cicadas sing, not reporting the fortune that was theirs among human beings, but making the god the subject of all their songs' [...]

(transl. by Penella, 2007)

¹ The following text is a revised version of the paper I firstly presented at the *Classical Association Annual Conference 2011* organized by the Department of Classics and Ancient History of Durham University, UK (15th–18th April 2011). Extreme gratitude goes to Prof. Lucia Athanassaki for her continuing guidance and moral support. I am indebted to Dr. Sophia Kapetanaki for the many important linguistic improvements she suggested for my text. Citations of Greek authors and their works follow the method of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford 1996³.

In 1998 René Nünlist ingeniously pointed out that the choice of a specific animal in Greek literary texts belongs to the cardinal stylistic elements of each creator and that it is mainly a "mask" for a specific human type.² Concerning Bacchylides' poetry, one could pay attention to four passages, out of his fourteen epinician Odes, where Bacchylides is hiding himself behind an image of a bird. The first three of these Odes had been composed to honor the great athletic triumphs of Hieron, King of Syracuse. In Ode 3 the poet refers to himself as a "Kean nightingale", in Ode 4 as "Urania's cock", in Ode 5 as "Zeus' eagle" and in Ode 10 as an "island bee". The majority of the interpreters and commentators, since R. Jebb 1905, A. P. Burnett 1985 and, more recently, H. Maehler 2004, have noticed the point, but none has ever tried to explain Bacchylides' choice of these specific birds or to clarify the main function of such self-referential similes in his epinician poetry.

Definitely, the above mentioned passages deserve closer scrutiny. Here I shall suggest that in every case the choice of a specific bird as "speaking subject" is intentional, in order to evoke to the listeners specific points of the performative context in which the image occurs. I shall also attempt to show that these self-references belong to a symbolic system, which provides us with information about Bacchylides' artistic identity, his professional role as a "primary narrator" and, eventually, the confidence he feels about the quality and superiority of his art against his "rivals".³ My aim is, then, to reveal the relationship between intention and expression, and particularly some aspects of Bacchylides' poetic art, concerning his style and language. The function of these images as an integral issue of the structure in each Ode is, finally, to be comprehended.

Bacchylides as a Kean Nightingale (*Ode 3*)

Bacchylides composed his *Third Epinician Ode* in order to praise Hieron's single chariot victory at Olympia (468 BC) one year before the tyrant's death. In the concluding triad of the poem (ll. 92–98) and after a series of general statements illustrating the light of Hieron's excellence which lasts forever, Bacchylides firstly

² Nünlist (1998) 39.

³ Pfeijffer (2004) 216–19.

ture of the nightingale that led Bacchylides to choosing especially this bird? Does the nightingale function as a special symbol in Greek literature in general? And if that happens, how does Bacchylides use or eventually reassess this tradition?

It is widely accepted that nightingales are famous among other birds for their nice, sweet, however, deeply sad singing. Well known from the myth of Tyreus and Pandion's daughters, Philomela and Procne, the nightingale expresses traditionally the lament and dirge.⁷ The bird also appears as a messenger of spring, while its song, especially at this time of the year, is louder and repetitive;⁸ the nightingale remains sleepless and sings day and night.⁹ From Hesiod to the later poetic tradition, nightingales are generally connected with the poets.¹⁰ Though Bacchylides might have been aware of the former literary production, his way of presenting the bird in such epinician context is no more conventional. It rather indicates something completely new, especially by using the compound μελίγλωσσος (l. 97) as an attribute of the bird.¹¹ The adjective means "with a voice sweet like honey" and varies definitely the homeric μελίγηρυς.¹² It is worth noticing that both, μελίγλωσσος and μελίγηρυς, are exclusively connected with hymnic songs.¹³

⁷ *Hymn. Hom. Pan.* 17–8, *Thgn.* 939–42, *Aesch. Supp.* 60–4, *Ag.* 1146, *Soph. El.* 149, 1075–7, *Trach.* 962, *OC* 672–6, *Eur. Hel.* 1108–12, *TGF* 773,23–6, *Ar. Av.* 228, 659–60, 1379–81, *Apollod.* 3,14,8. The myth of Philomela and Procne is alluded in *Od.* 19,516–22 (see below n. 9).

⁸ Cf. *Od.* 19,516–20: κείμαι ἐνὶ λέκτρῳ, πυκινὰ δέ μοι ἄμφ' ἀδινὸν κῆρ ὄξειαι μελεδῶναι ὀδυρομένην ἐρέθουσιν. ὡς δ' ὅτε Πανδάρου κούρη, χλωρηὶς ἀηδῶν, καλὸν ἀείδησιν ἔαρος νέον ἰσταμένοιο, δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκνιοῖσιν. Concerning the phrase χλωρηὶς ἀηδῶν, please notice the explanations offered by ancient lexicographers, as, e.g., *Apoll.*, *Lex. Hom.* 168,15: χρώματος, καθὸ μελάχρουν τινὰ λέγομεν, τὸν ἡσυχῆ. ἢ τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν χλωρῶν συναγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν μελισσῶν. Χλωρηὶς ἀηδῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος, ἢ διὰ τὸ ἐν χλωροῖς δένδροις διάγειν and *Etym. Magn.* 813,5: Χλωρὸν δέος: Χλωροποιόν. Σημαίνει δὲ καὶ τὸ νέον. Χλωρηὶς ἀηδῶν: ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος ἢ διότι ἐν ἔαρι φαίνεται ὅτε πάντα χλωρά· οἱ δὲ, τὴν χλωροῖς ἡδομένην. Cf. also *LSJ*, s.v. "pale green, brown green".

⁹ *Hes. fr.* 312 M–W, *Op.* 202–8, *Sapph.* 30,136 Voigt, *Simon. PMG* 586, *Ibyc. PMG* 303b,1, *Arist. Hist. an.* 632b.

¹⁰ *Hes. Op.* 202–8, *Alc. PMG* 10,6–7 et.al.

¹¹ With a clear conceptual link to the beginning of the Ode (l. 3: γλυκύδωρε Κλεοῖ = "Kleio, giver of sweetness").

¹² Used also by *Pind. Ol.* 11,4 and *Alcm. PMGF* 26,1.

¹³ *Hom. Hymn. Dem.* 519 (= *Hymn. Hom. Pan.* 18).

On the other hand, in the majority of literary sources the nightingale is determined as λιγεία, λιγύφθογγος or ὀξύφωνος.¹⁴ Such adjectives, though used in different ways,¹⁵ are inappropriate for the epinician context, mainly because they indicate a "clear", "sweet" but rather "shrill" and "piercing" sound.¹⁶ On the contrary, the use of μελίγλωσσος here connotes more precisely the nightingale's sweetness in singing emphasizing on a visualized aspect of its acoustic qualities (cf. the first part of the epithet μελι-). Therefore, μελίγλωσσος, as an attribute of the nightingale, demonstrates here a direct connection with the sweetness of the poetic mouth. Following the predetermined patterns of his predecessors, Bacchylides isolates creatively an aspect of the bird's way of singing, reassesses it by the use of μελίγλωσσος and embodies it in his epinician context in order to describe his art from another perspective.

The nightingale's continuous day and night song could only refer to Bacchylides and his poetry for one more reason: the repetition in bird singing symbolizes Bacchylides' song in the perspective of its repetition in the future. Through this self-referential simile, the poet provides his audience with the necessary associations between the repetitive song of the nightingale and a second (or a third) performance of the epinician hymnus.¹⁷ The repetitive, melodious singing of the nightingale visualizes once again the desire Bacchylides expresses concerning the reperformance of his song in the future. In such a context, repetition means

¹⁴ See, e.g., the texts above in n. 7.

¹⁵ In connection with Nestor (*Il.* 1,247–8), the wind (*Il.* 14,17), phorminx (*Od.* 8,67; 4,357) or with the path of the poetry (*Pind. Ol.* 9,47).

¹⁶ Notice especially the comments of Arist. [*De audib.*] 804a,23: καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν ὑγρότητα τοῦ σώματος, λιγυραὶ δ' εἰσὶ τῶν φωνῶν αἱ λεπταὶ καὶ πυκναί, καθάπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τεττίγων καὶ τῶν ἀκρίδων καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀηδόνων, καὶ ὅλως ὅσαις λεπταῖς οὐσαις μηθεῖς ἀλλότριος ἦχος παρακολουθεῖ. ὅλως γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτ' ἐν ὄγκῳ φωνῆς τὸ λιγυρόν, οὔτ' ἐν τόνοις ἀνιεμένοις καὶ βαρέσιν, οὔτ' ἐν ταῖς τῶν φθόγγων ἀφαίς, ἀλλὰ μάλλον ὀξύτητι καὶ λεπτότητι καὶ ἀκριβείᾳ. διὸ καὶ τῶν ὀργάνων τὰ λεπτὰ καὶ σύντονα καὶ μὴ ἔχοντα κέρας τὰς φωνὰς ἔχει λιγυρωτέρας and Eust. *Il.* Ξ 14: οὕτω γὰρ καὶ οἱ κήρυκες λιγαίνειν λέγονται καὶ λιγύφθογγοι καλοῦνται, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἀηδὼν. λέγεται δὲ καὶ μάλιστα λιγυρὰ καὶ ἡχὴ λιγύθροος καὶ ἄνεμοι λιγέες. ὀξυνομένου δὲ τοῦ λιγύς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀξέος τὸ Λίγυς κύριον καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐθνικὸν βαρύνεται πρὸς διαστολὴν τούτου. ἰστέον δὲ καὶ ὅτι, εἰ καὶ ἰσοδυναμεῖ τὸ λιγύς τῷ ὀξύς, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν λιγύς μόνης ἐστὶν ἐπίθετον φωνῆς, τὸ δὲ ὀξύς καὶ ἐπὶ βελῶν καὶ οἴνου καὶ ἐτέρων πολλῶν λέγεται.

¹⁷ About the reperformance of the victory Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides see the important analysis of Currie (2004) 49–69 (in favor of a local reperformance), and Hubbard (2004) 71–93 (in favor of a panhellenic reperformance); each of them reach the same conclusion from a different point of view.

not only length but also duration in time. The sweet like honey singing of the nightingale is, finally, "the poet's subjective qualification for bestowing praise".¹⁸

Bacchylides as Urania's Cock (*Ode 4*)

Another case of Bacchylides' poetic metamorphose occurs in his *Fourth Epinician Ode*. The poem praises Hieron's chariot victory at Delphi (470 BC).¹⁹ This short composition of twenty verses must have been performed at Delphi, immediately after the contest, unlike Pindar's longer *First Pythian*, which, although it celebrated the same victory, was performed during a public feast in the city of Aitna in Sicily.²⁰ After Apollo's devotion to Syracuse and to Hieron personally (ll. 1–3) and the reference to the present victory (ll. 4–6), Bacchylides refers to himself demonstrating by that his willingness to praise Hieron's athletic triumph (ll. 7–9):

[...] ἄδυεπῆς ἀ[να-
 ξιφόρ]μιγγοσ Οὐρ[αν]ίας ἀλέκτωρ
]εν· ἀλλ' ἐκ[όν]τι νόω
ο]υς ἐπέσεισεν ὕμνους.

[...] the sweet voiced cock of Urania, master of phorminx [...] with willing spirit showered the victor with victory hymns [...]

The mask of the cock presents us with some difficulties. Why does Bacchylides use this image to describe his epinician task? Why does he choose ἄδυεπῆς to characterize the cock? Is the "sweet song" of the domestic cock, perhaps, the most typical of all the features of the bird, which facilitates the poet to draw a parallel between him and that bird? And, perhaps the most important of all: why does the cock here "belong" especially to Urania?

In order to answer these questions let us briefly display some of the main points in the description of the cock in Greek literature. Though Theognis was

¹⁸ Hubbard (1985) 149.

¹⁹ Hieron's chariot victory of 470 BC was his third triumph at the Pythian Games. About the athletic victories of Hieron see Maehler (2004) 100–11.

²⁰ For different types of epinician Odes of Pindar and Bacchylides in general see Gelzer (1985).

the first to refer to the cock and its role as a herald of the dawn, the habit of the cock crowing just before the daybreak is also attested by other literary sources.²¹ Ἄδυεπής ἀλέκτωρ reminds a phrase from Simonides (*PMG* 583 = *Ath.* 9,374d: ἱμερόφων' ἀλέκτωρ); it is rather an odd characterization, mostly because the cock's crow is often identified as "cuckoo", a plain sound without any charm or sweetness.²² In the former epic poetry, the Hymns and Pindar, ἀδυεπής is often (although not exclusively) connected with the Muses,²³ while Urania is one of Bacchylides' most favorite Muse.²⁴ Her cardinal role in the epinician context is easy to be explained, if we trust the Lexicon of *Suda* (Λ 568. 2), where it is mentioned that Linos, the son of Apollo and Terpsichore, for others the son of Urania and Amphimarus, is "the first master of lyric poetry": Λίνος, Χαλκιδεύς, Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Τερψιχόρης, οἱ δὲ Ἀμφιμάρου καὶ Οὐρανίας, οἱ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Οὐρανίας. λέγεται δὲ πρῶτος οὗτος ἀπὸ Φοινίκης γράμματα εἰς Ἑλληνας ἀγαγεῖν, γενέσθαι δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλέους διδάσκαλος γραμμάτων καὶ τῆς λυρικῆς μούσης πρῶτος γενέσθαι ἡγεμών. Instead of a direct characterization of the Muse herself as "sweet voiced", Bacchylides transfers the adjective to the cock, thus indicating the strong bond between him and Urania.

Let us return to our first question about the cock's epinician role. Concerning the place of the Ode's performance, as noticed above, and keeping in mind Gelzer's comment that such short Odes at the place of the athletic Games serve primarily as documents of the victory, we are confronted with the following conclusion: here the mask of the cock offers Bacchylides an alternative way of describing, once again in visual terms, his role as a messenger throughout the epinician procedure. As the cock traditionally announces to the people the arrival of the new day,²⁵ so does Bacchylides: he sends to the whole world the message

²¹ Thgn. 864, *Batrach.* 191–2 and Pl. *Symp.* 223c. Aristophanes (*Av.* 485) referred to the cock it as "Persian Bird", apparently because the farmyard cock has come to Greece via Persia in the 7th c. BC. while Pindar (*Ol.* 12,14) and Aeschylus (*Ag.* 1671) mentioned cock's pugnacity. For more information about the description of the cock in further literary sources, cf. Arnott (2007) 10–1; Pollard (1977) 88.

²² Theoc. 7,123–4 and later Eustathius' argumentation in *Od.* δ 10–2.

²³ Hes. *Theog.* 965,1021, fr. 1,1 M–W, *Hymn. Hom. Lun.* 1–2 but also in connection with Nestor (*Il.* 1,248), the singers and their songs (Pind. *Nem.* 7,21; 1,4) and the lyre (Pind. *Ol.* 10,93–4).

²⁴ Bacchyl. *Ode* 5,13; 6,10–1, *Dith.* 2,2–4.

²⁵ See the etymological analysis of the word provided by ancient lexicographers (*Suda* H 201,4; Hsch. H 336,3, *Etym. Magn.* 425,36).

of Hieron's new victory. Thus, the cock serves to symbolize the function of the Ode as a "document of the victory" and the role of the poet as messenger of such a glorious athletic event.²⁶

Bacchylides as Zeus' Eagle (*Ode 5*)

Bacchylides wears the mask of the eagle in his *Fifth Epinician Ode*, honoring Hieron's victory with his racehorse Pherenicus in the Olympic Games of 476 BC, the same victory celebrated in Pindar's *Olympian One*.²⁷ The prooimion of the Ode includes the famous but rather ambiguous eagle simile. Although in 1994 Ilja Leonard Pfeijffer published a paper, where the issue "Eagle" in Pindar and Bacchylides had been thoroughly examined, the Dutch scholar devoted more than half of the article to Pindar's part, apparently because Pindar uses the image of the eagle more often than Bacchylides, where it occurs once. The description of the divine bird is inserted between two conventional themes of epinician poetry (ll. 9–16 "the willingness' theme" and ll. 30–33 "the facility theme"). In both passages Bacchylides describes his task to praise Hieron in every possible way:

ἦ σὺν Χαρίτεσσι βαθυζώνοις ὑφάνας
 ὕμνον ἀπὸ ζαθέας
 νάσου ξένος ὑμετέραν
 ἐς κλυτὰν πέμπει πόλιν,
 χρυσάμπυκος Οὐρανίας
 κλεινὸς θεράπων· ἐθέλει δὲ
 γάρυν ἐκ στηθέων χέων
 αἰνεῖν Ἰέρωνα. Βαθὺν
 δ' αἰθέρα ξουθαῖσι τάμνων
 ὑψοῦ πτερύγεσσι ταχεί-
 αις αἰετὸς εὐρυάνακτος ἄγγελος
 Ζηνὸς ἐρισφάραγος
 θαρσεῖ κρατερῶι πίσυνος
 ἰσχύϊ, πτάσσοντι δ' ὄρνι-
 χες λιγύφθογοι φόβωι·
 οὐ νιν κορυφαὶ μεγάλας ἴσχουσι γαίας,
 οὐδ' ἄλὸς ἀκαμάτας

²⁶ Gelzer (1985) 101.

²⁷ Maehler (2004) 79, 106–7.

δυσπαίπαλα κύματα· νο-
 μᾶ δ' ἐν ἀτρύτῳ χᾶει
 λεπτότριχα σὺν ζεφύρου πνοι-
 αῖσιν ἔθειραν ἀρίγνω-
 τος {μετ'} ἀνθρώποις ἰδεῖν·
 τῶς νῦν καὶ <ἐ>μοὶ μυρία πάντα κέλευθος
 ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν
 ὑμνεῖν,

[...] Having woven a song of praise with the help of the deep-girdled Graces, a guest-friend sends it from a holy island to your famous city, a renowned servant of Urania with her golden snood. He wishes to pour his voice from his breast and praise Hieron. Cutting through the deep sky with brown swift wings on high the eagle, messenger of wide-ruling, loud-roaring Zeus, is bold, trusting in his mighty strength, and shrill-voiced birds cower with terror. The peaks of the great earth do not hold him back, nor the hard-jolting waves of the untiring sea. He plies his fine-haired coat in the boundless chaos with the blasts of the West Wind, conspicuous for men to see. Even so I, too, have a myriad of paths in every direction to praise your prowess [...]

(transl. by Cairns / Howie, 2010)

The image of the bird is divided in two main parts (ll. 16–23, ll. 24–30). In both sections the poet provides us with information concerning the eagle's place of living, its physical appearance with reference about its "swift tawny wings" (ll. 16–29) and its role as a "messenger of wide-ruling, loud-thundering Zeus" (ll. 19–20). Bacchylides closes his eagle description mentioning the confidence the bird feels due to its mighty strength (ll. 21–22). Then, he exemplifies his thought in the way the small birds react: in view of the impressive bird, they crouch down in fear (ll. 22–23). The later part (ll. 24–30) follows the description of the former in a more specific way. Now we hear about the eagle's advantage to fly in every direction, from earth to sea and once again to the sky (ll. 24–26). We are also informed about its "fine haired coat" (ll. 28–29) and then about the reaction of all the people, who recognize immediately the divine bird by far (ll. 29–30).

Some key words of Bacchylides' description will help us give an answer concerning his poetic identity behind the *mask* of the bird. First comes the notion that the bird is the messenger of Zeus (ll. 19–20). Eagle is a reliable guide

about God's will, a good and favorable omen to the humans, as always in epic poetry.²⁸ Ἄγγελος is also Bacchylides, because he sends the glorious message of Hieron's triumph to the city of Syracuse. In that sense we are confronted with the conventional "aggelia motif".²⁹ As the eagle covers vast distances (in geographical space) flying with its golden swift wings, so does Bacchylides (in temporal space) with the wings of his poetry: through the digressions of the mythological narration he gives his object of praise further perspective. Last come the sweet voiced small birds (ll. 22–23), evidently the well-known domestic cocks.³⁰ Although the description of the eagle hunting small birds is proverbial,³¹ the attribute λιγύφθογγοι indicates intention. Λιγύφθογγοι in Homer are always the heralds.³² Because Bacchylides' rivals remain unidentified, the connection of the small birds with the Homeric heralds provides the audience the necessary associations between the rivals of the divine bird and the rivals of the poet underlying that both must have a common attitude against them.³³

The real meaning of the passage is that great deeds must be praised only by great poets. Visualizing his professional superiority³⁴ right from the beginning of the Ode is an accurate literal way of Bacchylides to declare in public the quality of his artistic achievement and to confirm in public his special relation with Zeus.³⁵

Bacchylides as an Island Bee (*Ode 10*)

Bacchylides' *Tenth Epinician Ode* is a poem composed in honor of Aglaos from the city of Athens, winner in a foot race at Isthmus. This time Bacchylides wears

²⁸ E.g. *Il.* 13,821–3; 12,218–21; 24,314–5.

²⁹ Bacchyl. 2,1–3: Ἄϊξον, ᾧ σεμνοδότειρα Φήμα, ἐς Κέον ἱερὰν, χαριτώνυμον φέρουσ' ἀγγελίαν [...].

³⁰ Arnott (above n. 22) s.v.

³¹ In the Homeric battle scenes the image is used metaphorically (*Il.* 15,688–92; 17,673–6).

³² *Il.* 2,50,442; 9,10, *Od.* 2,6 etc.

³³ Lefkowitz (1969) 54–5. A similar image occurs in Pindar twice (*Ol.* 2,86–8, *Nem.* 3,80–2). In favor of a conventional use of the epithet here see Kaimio (1977) 143.

³⁴ See also Hadjimichael (2011) 105.

³⁵ The iconography of this period always associates eagles with immortality. Cf. Wuilleumier (1930) 127.

the mask of a bee which passes everyone the message of the athlete's prowess (ll. 9–14).

Ἀγλάωι καὶ νῦν κασιγνήτας ἀκοίτας
 νασιῶτιν ἐκίνησεν λιγύφθογγον μέλισσαν,
 ἐ[γ]χειρὲς ἴν' ἀθάνατον Μουσᾶν ἄγαλμα
 ξυνὸν ἀνθρώποισιν εἴη
 χάρμα, τεὰν ἀρετὰν
 μανῶον ἐπιχθονίοισιν

[...] and now for Aglaos his sister's husband has prompted the clear voiced island bee, to create an immortal ornament of the Muses, a joy in common to (all) men, to inform mortals of your prowess [...]

Nünlist has already pointed out that the bee as producer (and not as collector) of honey belongs undeniably to the archaic as well as to the classical tradition of Greece.³⁶ Quite often bees are standing for the poets themselves. Like bees, which dart from one flower to another, collecting only the best part of it, so do the poets, who "jump" hastening from one theme to another, using only what is necessary or essential for their poems and move then to another.³⁷

Bacchylides' attitude is quite different. The geographical attribute νασιῶτιν is undoubtedly referred to Bacchylides' hometown, Keos. Furthermore, the adjective λιγύφθογγος is used to describe the qualities of his compositions, the clarity, the sweetness and the accuracy of his words.³⁸ But the question still exists! Is there any specific reason, which justifies the choice of the bee image in the context of this Ode?

Pfeijffer explains that "the concern of ποικιλία which the bee stands for [...] and which is indeed quintessential to Pindar's compositional principles, is strikingly absent from Bacchylides' Ode 10".³⁹ Bacchylides' main concern is, then, to praise the victor. But, if our poet is interested in the fame of his client rather than on emphasizing the poetic charm of his Odes, how does the island bee function here?

³⁶ Nünlist (1998) 60–3.

³⁷ Pind. *Pyth.* 6,52–4; 10,54–5, *mel. adesp.* 979 (= *SH* 1001).

³⁸ See above the double meaning of the word. Furthermore, cf. Kaimio (above n. 34) 141.

³⁹ Pfeijffer (1999) 58.

Aristaios, one of the most ambiguous figures of Greek folk religion, is also the main hero of Kean mythological tradition. Pindar narrates his myth in the *Nineth Pythian Ode* (ll. 59–65). Son of Apollo and the nymph Kyrene, Aristaios was born in Africa, at his mother's palace in Libya. Gaia and Hores made him immortal by nourishing him with nectar and ambrosia. From Africa, Aristaios came to Keos, where he taught the local population the art of apiculture.⁴⁰ That's why he is widely considered as the founder of that art. The figure of Aristaios and the bee became since then the official symbols of Kean coins. This mythological digression makes it clear that the bee is an everyday symbol for Bacchylides, since his hometown has a long tradition in thyme honey production. In other words, the image of the bee belongs to Bacchylides' cultural background. The point becomes clearer, if we keep in mind that also Aglaos, the addressee of the Ode, came from Athens, a region that in ancient times was renowned for the quality of its thyme honey. Wearing the bee mask Bacchylides stresses an aspect of the heritage he shares with his patron. He clearly aims to connect his patron with the local folklore, the tradition and the legends of his own hometown.⁴¹

Conclusion

Bacchylides is indeed "a less visible primary narrator" than Pindar, who prefers to speak about himself "in emphatic first person statements".⁴² His choice to wear masks is neither spontaneous nor accidental. The above mentioned "masks" create a visual frame of the epinician procedure, which demonstrates intimacy. They also presuppose his audience's knowledge and understanding, emphasizing the personal ties between poet and victor, "a poetic device for the equation of subject and object".⁴³ Each case of such poetic metamorphose is linked with the factual data of the epinician procedure. In that sense, poetic metamorphoses describe the communicative context in which every single Ode was performed. In each case Bacchylides emphasizes on a different aspect of the performance and on him personally as compositor and performer (e.g. the cock as victory announcer) accord-

⁴⁰ Ap. Rhod. 4,1132–33, Schol. in Ap. Rhod. 2,498a–c Wendel, Schol. in Pind. *Pyth.* 9,104,115a–b Dr., Schol. in Ar. *Eq.* 894a–c Koster, Athenagoras, *Leg.* 14,1,7, Phylarch. fr. 16,9, Nonnus, *Dion.* 19,242, Schol. in Arist. fr. 511 Rose.

⁴¹ On the treatment of the subject see the exhaustive analysis of Gentili (1988) 115–54.

⁴² Pfeijffer (2004) 217; Morrison (2007) 99 with further literature.

⁴³ Hubbard (1985) 149.

ing to the specific performative needs of each Ode or eventually the expectations of his patron.

In this way Bacchylides wants to present himself as professional. Undeniably, his artistic force builds the core of all the above mentioned poetic transformations. Bird masks are appropriate for such metamorphoses, because birds can easily be associated with the elements of flight and wings, metaphors so familiar in epinician poetry.⁴⁴ Bacchylides' poetry is like these creatures (except perhaps for the cock); it flies above the earth in the sky, providing a limitless praise of his addressee's deeds, which last forever. Moreover, bird wings and the wings of the poetry recall possibly the Homeric "winged words", which means "words that fly to those who can understand" (ἔπεα πτερόεντα in contrast to ἄπτερος μῦθος), a phrase that indicates the words as sound from the speaker's mouth to his addressee.⁴⁵

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⁴⁴ Pind. *Pyth.* 8,23, *Nem.* 7,22, *Isth.* 5,33, *Pae.* 7B,13.

⁴⁵ Concerning the same metaphors in Pindar, cf. Patten (2009) 198–9.

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FREDERICK E. BRENK: *With Unperfumed Voice. Studies in Plutarch, in Greek Literature, Religion and Philosophy, and in the New Testament Background*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 21. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2007. ISBN 978-3-515-08929-6. 544 pp. EUR 85.

Questo volume è il terzo della serie che raccoglie il considerevole contributo di Padre Brenk agli studi letterario-filosofico-religiosi antichi. Come nel caso dei due precedenti editi dalla stessa casa editrice (*Relighting the Souls*, 1998; *Clothed in Purple Light*, 1999), il titolo del presente volume richiama uno scrittore antico che questa volta è Plutarco (la voce della Sibilla è definita "senza profumi" negli *Oracoli della Pizia* 397a). Complessivamente i vari temi e discipline sono rappresentati come segue: Plutarco (12 articoli e 2 recensioni), filosofia (4 e 1: biblioteche; autosufficienza; escatologia), religione (5: Artemis; culti isiaci), magia (1), Nuovo Testamento e primo cristianesimo (5; il n. 30, sul procuratore della Giudea Felix e le sue mogli, è scritto insieme con Filippo Canali de Rossi), biografia (1: del compianto Padre Des Places). Alcuni dei testi sono nuovi, come il primo della sezione dedicata a Plutarco ("Speaking with Unperfumed Words, Reaches to a Thousand Years. Plutarch and His Age", pp. 17–51), dove Brenk considera Plutarco come un appassionato visionario dalle idee molteplici e originali (va notato, del resto, che Padre Brenk è cofondatore dell'*International Plutarch Society*).

Si tratta di un volume tematicamente alquanto eterogeneo e di ineguale qualità, nel quale comunque ogni lettore indubbiamente troverà molto di utile e numerose fonti di ispirazione. I refusi potevano essere evitati con una revisione editoriale più accurata.

Mika Kajava

ZACHARY P. BILES: *Aristophanes and the Poetics of Competition*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-76407-0. XI, 290 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

As in many other areas of ancient Greek culture, the quest for superiority was an undeniable element of the comic theatre in the age of Aristophanes. The comedies were written for, and performed at, the festivities dedicated to Dionysos. The theatrical competitions in these occasions were competitions indeed. Zachary P. Biles has previously written numerous articles on Aristotle and Greek comedy. In his first book, *Aristophanes and the Poetics of Competition*, Biles seeks to examine this essential and in the scholarly tradition relatively downplayed element of competition in the old Greek comedy.

The book is divided into six chapters. In the first chapter, B. analyses the agonistic nature of the comical parabasis. At the core of Biles's discussion is the argument that in considering competition, the predecessors and models for Aristophanes should not be seen as limited to comedy. Thus, Biles presents Aristophanes not as a comic poet, but rather as a competitive poet

working in comedy. Situating Aristophanes firmly in the wide context of competitive discourse in Greek poetry is critical for Biles's study.

In the second chapter Biles focuses on the relationship between Aristophanes as a competitive poet and Dikaiopolis, the protagonist of *Acharnians*. The overlapping experiences of the poet and his hero are scrutinised acutely. The merging of the motives of the author and the main character is a complex and problematic question, and historically views on the subject have varied remarkably. The merging of Aristophanes and Dikaiopolis has been discussed before (see p. 57, n. 6), but Biles manages to provide a fresh angle on the discussion with his examination of metatheatricity.

In the third and fourth chapters, Biles discusses the rivalry between Aristophanes and the famous old comic poet Cratinus. Firstly, the rivalry is examined through *Knights* – "the most agonistic of the surviving Aristophanic comedies" (p. 98). The custom of keeping victory lists and setting up commemorations for successful dramatists is examined in connection with the agonistic themes and forms of *Knights*. "Intertextual Biography in the Rivalry of Cratinus and Aristophanes", the fourth chapter, was originally published in *AJPh* 123 (2002), pp. 169–204, and is assuredly familiar to those interested in the subject. However, the decision to include the article in the book is a sensible one, as the article deals with matters of substantial importance to Biles's approach. The intertextual responses by both playwrights are scrutinised superbly, with the focus on *Knights* and *Wasps* by Aristophanes, and *Pytine* by Cratinus.

In the fifth chapter, Biles studies the surviving version of *Clouds*. The original version was performed in the City Dionysia of 423 BC, where it competed against Cratinus (unsuccessfully placed third). The exact date of the performance of the surviving version is unknown, but the play was nonetheless revised to suit the new competitive context of a few years later than the original performance. The obvious challenge to Biles's analysis on the revision of the play in relation to the competitive element of comedy is that we do not know much about the original performance, and thus our knowledge of what was actually revised is limited. Biles manages to avoid over-imaginative hypotheses on revision, and examines competing against new contestants with partially old material.

The topic of the final chapter is the theatre god Dionysos and the festival of Dionysia in *Frogs*. In discussing the poetics of competition in Aristophanes, it is not surprising that this particular play attracts attention with its poetical agon between Aeschylus and Euripides. However, Biles sets out to argue that the theme of agon is not limited only to the latter part of the play. In Biles's presentation, the agon between the tragic poets is "a natural, if surprising, elaboration of ideas established in the first half of the play" (p. 212). Biles engrossingly discusses especially the role of Dionysos in connection with poetical agon. The relationship between agon in *Frogs* and the Athenian theatre audience, and Aristophanes' personal investment in the dispute between Aeschylus and Euripides are also studied.

As the book includes numerous new suggestions for interpreting Aristophanes, it is inevitable that not all of them are going to find unanimous acceptance. The competition between Aristophanes and Cratinus is studied comprehensively, but Aristophanes' rivalry with Eupolis, the third of "the Big Three", is discussed to a markedly lesser extent. More attention to Eupolis could have added depth to the analysis of the competitive culture of Aristophanic comedy. Likewise, one could state that while Biles draws continuously from fragmentary material, an even bigger role could have been appointed to the fragments in order to further support the argumentation concerning Aristophanes, and old Greek comedy in general.

In short, *Aristophanes and the Poetics of Competition* is a valuable addition to the scholarly discussion on Aristophanes. Biles's argumentation is well researched and thought-provoking, and in general the book is highly recommended for any reader interested in Aristophanes and ancient comedy.

Kalle Knaapi

BABETTE PÜTZ: *The Symposium and Komos in Aristophanes*. Second edition. Aris & Phillips / Oxbow Books, Oxford 2007. ISBN 978-0-85668-772-3. XII, 243 pp. GBP 24.

Nella versione aggiornata della prima edizione del 2003 (pubblicata da Metzler, Stoccarda, nella serie "Drama. Beiträge zum antiken Drama und seiner Rezeption", vol. 22), Pütz studia le scene di simposio e il *komos* non solo nei drammi di Aristofane, ma anche in molti frammenti comici, per illustrare il processo di formazione della trama e la caratterizzazione delle figure introdotte nelle commedie (a beneficio del lettore, sono adesso o tradotti o parafrasati tutti i passi greci). Parallelamente, vengono discussi numerosi dati e dettagli concreti tratti dalle commedie per meglio capire alcuni aspetti pratici del simposio greco, dal quale erano di regola escluse le donne libere (cfr., da ultimo, S. Corner, "Did 'Respectable' Women Attend Symposia?", *G&R* 59 [2012] 34 sgg.). L'autrice fa osservare (cap. 1) che i momenti in cui si svolgono le scene di banchetto aristofanee sono di solito relativi ad almeno una delle seguenti circostanze: la pace (*Acarnesi*, *Lisistrata*, *Pace*), il successo (personale o di un gruppo; *Ecclesiastuse*, *Pluto*, *Rane*, *Uccelli*), l'invecchiamento e il maturare dell'uomo (*Nuvole*, *Vespe*). Nel secondo capitolo vengono analizzati i *komoi* in Aristofane, che spesso erano celebrativi e quindi tipicamente posti alla fine del dramma (in seguito ad una vittoria, un matrimonio, o sim.), ma potevano anche essere di carattere religioso (fallici) o del tutto violenti (come quelli in *Vespe* 1299 sgg. o in *Lisistrata* 370 sgg., 1216 sgg.).

Le varie manifestazioni della cultura simpotica con gli annessi *komoi* erano generalmente associate a concetti positivi quali la fortuna, la pace, la ricchezza, la vittoria e il senso di comunità (cap. 3). Tutti questi aspetti si riflettono, in un modo o un altro, in quelli che costituivano gli elementi concreti e indispensabili di un simposio tradizionale, cioè, il vino, il gioco di *kottabos*, gli enigmi e l'uso di profumi. Queste categorie sono presentate in quattro appendici (pp. 156–224) ricche di informazioni di grande interesse dal punto di vista della storia sociale e culturale. In confronto a tale abbondanza di lettura affascinante, a stento si capisce il motivo per cui gli indici alla fine del bel volume siano stati ridotti a poche pagine, in cui vengono ricordati solo i frammenti comici.

Mika Kajava

GERALD A. PRESS: *Plato: A Guide for the Perplexed*. Continuum, London 2007. ISBN 978-0-8264-9176-3. VIII, 240 pp. GBP 12.99.

Plato: A Guide for the Perplexed by Gerald Press belongs to the series of *Guides for the Perplexed* on western philosophers published by Continuum. The book contains four parts, the

first of which is a background chapter on Plato's life and work in addition to short introductions to historical contexts. It is, for example, useful to discuss the function of Plato's writings in his own time as they were probably circulated in the Academy and were not published under his name (pp. 16–20). The second part, "Sources of Perplexity: Change", deals with the literary aspects of Plato's writings, namely dialogue form, argumentation in dialogues, fables, myths, stories, irony, play, seriousness and paradox. The third part, "Plato's Philosophy: Permanence", poses questions about Platonic anonymity, the nature of Plato's philosophy and the Platonic path to wisdom. The fourth part, "Help in Reading and Understanding Plato's Dialogues and Philosophy", offers an explicit guide containing recommendations and notices, with a summary of each dialogue. In addition, the book provides readers with an extensive glossary of Greek terms and a number of suggestions for further reading after each chapter.

What makes Press's guidebook special is not only the high level of awareness of the problematic nature of different approaches to the dialogues, but also his respectful attitude towards the reader attempting to deal with such problems. This attitude is apparent from the structure of the guidebook arranged into short introductory sections on problematic issues followed by discussions of the various approaches. Press refuses to make things easy for the beginner, but he helps the reader navigate through the difficulties.

The book is guided throughout by three principles: contextualism, holism and organicism. Press successfully highlights the importance of the political situation of Athens and the contemporary sophistic movement, which not only constitute the historical background for Plato's writings, but are also reflected in the characters and dramatic settings of the dialogues. Another interesting contextualisation relates old myths to what Plato writes in some of his dialogues; in *Phaedon*, for example, the myth of Theseus saving fourteen youths may be compared to Socrates talking about the immortality of the soul to fourteen named listeners.

The other two principles, holism and organicism, are less successfully applied. Instead of deepening the argumentation, their use remains fragmentary and repetitive. This concerns the question of Plato's philosophy being written in dialogues. Press tries to overcome the division between arguments as philosophical content and dialogic form as a literary device, though not totally successfully. This assumed division appears explicitly in the titles and content of the second and third parts and also at the end where Press adumbrates the different reading modes: the "logical" reading and the "literary and dramatic" reading and, as a solution to the division he offers lastly, the "integrative" reading which would be to "look for connections, relationship, or resonances between the logical and literary-dramatic aspects" (p. 192). The reading that Press gives of *Meno* does not enlighten the integrative reading mode with which he tries to overcome the true perplexity created by the relation between content and form. In the end, both the novice reader and the scholar might be convinced that Press thinks drama-dialogic "form" to be an "imaginative" and "emotional engagement" that supports philosophical argumentation.

Did Press think that taking the question of dialogic form far enough was too difficult in a guidebook? Or, did he believe that arguing that dialogues are open-ended discussions where "no final conclusion is drawn about the subject discussed" (p. 87) provokes enough thoughts and questions in the reader's mind so that (s)he is moved to ask the next question, namely, "What is the concept of knowledge and philosophy when it is transmitted as open-ended dialogues?" Press writes that for Plato "philosophia is not a set of doctrines but an activity" (p. 150), and importantly from the perspective of modern philosophy, he continues that the "propositional conception of knowledge is linked to a doctrinal conception of philosophy" (p.

159). The idea of philosophy being an activity and the problem of propositional knowledge are the main themes in Wolfgang Wieland's *Platon und die Formen des Wissens* (1982), which, surprisingly, is not referred to. Also in the chapter on "Platonism and Platonic interpretation", the author dismisses the importance of Plato's revival in German philosophy in the early 19th century, represented by Schleiermacher and his contemporaries, who explicitly asserted in the introduction to his translations of Plato that dialogic form should not be separated from philosophical content. The dismissal of an important Platonic scholarly tradition where the question of the dialogue is taken to its very end seems unintentional, because Press does not consider dialogue to be the key issue in Plato's philosophy. In fact, with regard to Plato's philosophy, Press is offering old solutions with new terminology: he does not want to talk about doctrines but is more concerned with Plato's vision, which means that the traditional theory of ideas is replaced by the concept of "Plato's two level vision".

However, the doctrinal conception of philosophy is not overturned by stating that instead of dividing reality into two realms, ideas and sensory world, Plato "envisions the world existing simultaneously at two levels" and "the ideal is there to be seen with the eyes of the soul through the real" (p. 163). In fact, this statement sounds very unPlatonic if we recall the famous cave allegory in the *Republic*, where one could state exactly the opposite, namely that the real is to be seen through the ideal. Plato was not interested in the ideal as such but in reality. He was interested, for example, in education which is impossible without the idea of the ideal, and in which the relation between the ideal and the real is always under consideration. This raises the question of the nature and function of the ideal in Plato's philosophy.

A good guidebook can remind us that Plato is trying to make us pose apt questions which show things in a different light. A better guidebook also applies this principle to reading Plato by including such questions in the book so as to make Plato topical even today. This indivisibility of theoretical and practical knowledge is the real challenge of Plato's philosophy, and this interconnection can only be transmitted by writing in a sufficiently applied way.

Salla Raunio

DAVID M. LEIBOWITZ: *The Ironic Defense of Socrates. Plato's Apology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-19479-2. IX, 194 pp. GBP 50, USD 80.

Leibowitz's interpretation of Plato's *Apology of Socrates* pays special attention to Socrates' irony. Playful, humorous and ironical writing is naturally something that no reader of Plato can overlook. In addition, there is the question of specifically Socratic irony as a philosophical stance. Leibowitz discusses and criticises many earlier interpretations of irony in the *Apology*. For him the meaning of irony comes close to the pre-Aristotelian meaning of the Greek word *eirōneia*, namely "concealing by feigning" (see, e.g., Aristophanes, *Wasps* 174). Discussing the relation between the historical speech of Socrates and Plato's *Apology* Leibowitz argues that the dialogue contains clear hints that Plato had a desire to conceal some features of Socrates as a philosopher (p. 6).

Leibowitz's conception of irony is due to his openly Straussian framework. The numerous references to Strauss and his students enable an informed reader to contextualise the approach and the concept of irony. The Straussian approach might be called a branch of esoteri-

cism which emphasises that philosophers hide their criticism of popular beliefs behind irony, ambiguity and a multi-layered style of writing. In Strauss's view, irony is a political necessity for philosophers; they have to hide their superiority from the masses. Leibowitz's effort to disclose hidden or double meanings from the text leads to many interesting but also speculative interpretations. When the reader has to be alert for both Plato's Socrates and, perhaps, Leibowitz using irony to wilfully conceal or deceive (see pp. 16–37, particularly pp. 19–20 n. 21), the reading experience for a non-Straussian, like the present reviewer, is very demanding.

Leibowitz makes many interesting observations and discusses just about every possible instance of irony in the *Apology*. The problem in many cases is that the interpretation seems to be rather farfetched and when any references to Plato, Xenophon, or even Aristophanes can be used as evidence, questions of the correctness or truthfulness of the interpretation are very difficult to handle. The setting is, naturally, ironical, as the first issue Leibowitz takes up about Socrates's actual speech is truthfulness (pp. 8–21). The hints of Socrates lying are interesting in many cases, and Leibowitz is able to find some clear problems in some older interpretations of the *Apology*.

The book follows the text of the *Apology* from beginning to end, including seven chapters on different parts of the speech, like the prooemium, the defences to the accusers, the digressions, the penalty and the final speech. In addition there is a short introductory part, an analysis of Socrates's rhetorical strategy and a conclusion. The book contains a general index but no index locorum.

Leibowitz's speculative approach already becomes evident in the introductory analysis. He argues that the *Apology* is the key to the Platonic corpus and, based on the dramatic dates of the dialogues, he suggests that the *Apology* may be the missing fourth dialogue, *Philosopher*, from the tetralogy of the dialogues *Theaetetus*, *Sophist*, and *Statesman* (p. 3). The approach is similarly ultra-unitarian throughout. Platonic dialogues are not only a truthful report of one and the same Socrates and of one and the same philosophy but they are also all produced with a complete knowledge of each other. For example, in discussing Socrates' engagement with natural philosophy/science Leibowitz builds a history for Socrates, using Aristophanes' *Clouds* and Plato's dialogues the *Phaedo*, the *Parmenides*, and the *Symposium* as parallel historical sources (cf. pp. 41–2, 66–9).

The relation between on the one hand philosophy/science implying atheism and on the other hand pious worship of gods is one of the central contrasts in Leibowitz's interpretation of the *Apology*. Taking into account that the impiety charge was the gravest (see p. 130), this is not surprising. Leibowitz, however, bases a lot of his argumentation on the *Laws* and even on his own argument that science/philosophy is necessarily against an omnipotent god because a rational explanation of nature would demand necessity, and that is impossible in an ontology that incorporates an omnipotent god (p. 42). Leibowitz tries to tie this speculation, which does not sound Greek, to the *Apology* with the Delphic oracle story, because in Socrates' interpretation of the story his elenctic mission has a divine source. I do not find the complex of contrasts between religion and philosophy/science that ensue very convincing (see pp. 66–102, cf. 130–5, 177–8). Leibowitz also presents many interesting points concerning the Delphic oracle story. For example, combining Xenophon's testimony on the troubled relation between Chaerephon and his brother and Socrates statement in Plato's *Apology* that this brother is the only possible, albeit silent, witness for the story, he argues that Socrates actually points out to more informed listeners that the story is not meant to be taken as true (pp. 63–4).

Leibowitz agrees with the numerous interpreters who consider that even Plato's *Apology* implies that Socrates aimed for the death sentence with his defence. According to Leibowitz, it is evident, partly due to his old age, that Socrates was indifferent towards death. His plan was both to enrage the jurors and to present himself as god's gift to Athens. With this plan Socrates aims to get the jurors to sentence him to death – but to regret the decision later. This regret would then protect philosophy and Socrates' companions later (pp. 154–60). The textual evidence could be more direct and more robust, but there is a certain sting in Leibowitz's treatment of Plato's presentation of Socrates as a god-sent gadfly to Athens. Although many philosophers have been eager to follow suit and to see themselves as gadflies, Leibowitz points out that the gadfly is actually a parasite and horses would do better without them – sleepy or not (p. 146). "His [Socrates'] self-characterization as god's gift to Athens is not only provocative but amusing: in his great concern of the city, the god sent it ... a bug." (p. 155 n. 2).

Eero Salmenkivi

PROCLUS: *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*. Vol. III. *Book 3, Part 1: Proclus on the World's Body*. Edited and translated by DIRK BALTZLY. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-84595-3. (hb) XII, 205 pp. GBP 45.

This volume is part of Cambridge University Press's major project of making available to a scholarly audience a central work of the Neoplatonic philosopher Proclus. Proclus, while less known than classical or Hellenistic philosophers or even the founder of the Neoplatonic approach, Plotinus, and hard-going and at times almost impenetrable, has nevertheless had an immense aftermath. Indirectly, he influenced both the thinking of the Western and the Eastern Middle Ages, becoming known and studied directly in the Renaissance, and continuing to influence thinkers in the Early Modern period, all the way to the 18th century. Proclus is very much in vogue: there is a new introductory volume (also by CUP), a more detailed collection of articles on each major aspect of his style and thinking being planned for Oxford University Press, and a growing number of articles and other scholarly studies. Cambridge's high-quality translation of one of his most central works, the commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*, provides a crucial foundation for this development.

The volume at hand is one of the early ones – the fifth volume is still to appear – focused on Plato's view of the constitution and make-up of the world's body (*Timaeus* 31b–34b), and its Proclean interpretation (*In Tim.* III.1–102,4). Now, a reader with little acquaintance of Platonism might expect some relatively straightforward ancient physics. This, as anyone who has read the *Timaeus* knows, is far from what is offered. Already in the commented text, physics is entangled with mathematics, ethics and theology. Nature is both mathematical and divine. For Plato, elements of fire, water, air and earth, borrowed from Empedocles, consist of geometric bodies, thus rendering the whole material world geometrical. Furthermore, whatever is made of these elements is constituted of complicated proportions, resulting in an understanding of the cosmos that is deeply mathematical. As regards divinity and goodness, the *Timaeon* universe is a result of Demiurgic creation, meaning not only that the world has a maker, but that it was made for a reason, and as perfectly as possible. In this kind of universe, things have purposes, and the cosmos has a structure with both aesthetic and moral value. This means that

the commentator faces a text which opens up in a number of challenging directions, and a translator, in turn, faces a task that is far from simple.

The editor and translator of this volume, Dirk Baltzly, has done a meticulous job. The translation is trustworthy, and for the benefit of the reader, most of the technical terminology is given in Greek in parentheses. In line with this, there is a detailed English-Greek glossary and an index of Greek terms. The introduction is relatively long, 30 pages, and starts by situating the text within the overall *skopos* of Proclus' commentary, the ten gifts of the demiurge to the created "god", the visible cosmos. Although the gifts are already enumerated in an earlier book of the commentary (II.5, 17–31), Baltzly shows how they guide and sometimes govern the way Proclus proceeds in his exposition later in his work, and particularly in the section considered in this volume. Having done that, Baltzly tackles, head on, some of the most difficult aspects of the commentary. These include, importantly, the ways in which Proclus understands and develops Plato's view of proportions, and the question of how the world's body contributes to the divinity of the visible cosmos.

This is, on all accounts, a very useful and well-executed volume. But it must also be said that it is rather critical in tone. As he openly admits in the acknowledgements, Baltzly has no interest in the rich ontology of Proclus, and does not fancy "a pint at a celestial pub" with the author of the commentary. This approach is both sensible and possibly problematic. Baltzly does not work from inside a Neoplatonic framework, taking for granted – as you sometimes see done – the peculiarities of its framework. On the contrary, he is ready, and even eager, to question them. This gives the reader a truly distanced and philosophical way into the text. This distance, however, cannot but guide what the editor considers as valuable in the commentary. Balancing this view will be left for Proclus researchers to come, who now have at their disposal an admirably reliable and handy tool.

Pauliina Remes

Hellenistic Collection: Philitas. Alexander of Aetolia. Hermesianax. Euphorion. Parthenius. Edited and translated by J. L. LIGHTFOOT. Loeb Classical Library 508. Harvard University Press, Cambridge – London 2010. ISBN 978-0-674-99636-6. XIX, 662 pp. EUR 22.50, GBP 15.95, USD 24.

The last few decades have witnessed an astonishing growth in interest in the poetry of the Hellenistic period. Not a very long time ago, this age was not seldom characterized as an insipid transitional phase between the towering achievements of Classical Greek and Roman literature even in textbooks of considerable prestige. Today, an impressive amount of work is being published on Callimachus and other superstars of Hellenistic literature as well as on somewhat hazier yet not lesser figures like Euphorion (for example, Acosta-Hughes – Cusset, *Euphorion. Oeuvre poétique et autres fragments*, Paris 2012). Lightfoot's excellent collection provides a chronologically and geographically diverse "selection" (p. VII) of five authors not belonging to the heavyweights of Hellenistic literature. Many of the poems in this book appear translated into English for the first time. As this *Hellenistic Collection* is published in the series of the Loeb Classical Library, one assumes that the book is intended not only for scholars familiar with the quirks of Hellenistic poetry but also for a broader audience. This, of course, raises concerns because of the erudite

and difficult nature of the poems. First, who could read, for instance, Euphorion without an extensive commentary and, secondly, could the required explanatory notes be provided given the space restrictions of the Loeb series? A successful predecessor might be C. A. Trypanis's 1958 Loeb edition of the fragments of Callimachus, which is, although understandably outdated, a very useful tool.

In the brief Introduction, Lightfoot first informs the readers that she intended to produce readable translations and a reasonable amount of annotation (p. VIII). She has furthermore rearranged the fragments according to her own judgement: the sections on Philitas, Euphorion and Parthenius contain a helpful comparative numeration of other editions. Lightfoot also illustrates the contents of her book mainly in light of four important themes, namely, elegy, catalogue poetry, the sense of literary history and scholarship. The Introduction ends with a general bibliography, which is surprisingly short and therefore omits a few key contributions: A. W. Bulloch's 1985 article 'Hellenistic Poetry' is a particularly notable omission. However, each section is preceded by a short author-specific bibliography of "editions" and "criticism". Lightfoot also instructs the reader to consult the indispensable online Hellenistic Bibliography maintained by Martine Cuypers.

Hellenistic Collection starts with the original ποιητῆς ἄμα καὶ κριτικός, Philitas of Cos. Quintilian (*inst.* 10,1,58) famously ranked Philitas second only to Callimachus in elegiac poets but he is equally known for his scholarly work Ἄτακτοι γλῶσσαι, a glossary of arcane terms. He was also a tutor of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Therefore it is deeply regrettable that we possess only scattered fragments of his *oeuvre*: the longest continuous fragment is merely four lines long. However, from these verses we can at least partially infer the pre-Callimachean characteristics of Hellenistic poetry; the few fragments from the elegiac poem Δημήτηρ are particularly illuminating. Lightfoot acknowledges that in Callimachean and Aratean aesthetics there could be at least a partial allusion to Philitas' supposed thinness (λεπτός), which was either physical or metaphorical (p. 5).

Alexander of Aetolia, one of the tragic πλειάξ, was born in the backwaters of Pleuron but pursued a literary and scholarly career in Antagonid Pella and later in Ptolemaic Alexandria where he was employed by Ptolemy II Philadelphus to correct the texts of tragedy. Being a true *poeta doctus*, his output was rather varied: along with the scholarly works, he wrote tragedies, possibly satyr dramas and, in addition, all kinds of poetry ranging from hexameter to scurrilous verse similar to that of Sotades. Consequently, according to Lightfoot, generic diversity and literariness characterise the poetry of Alexander (p. 102). The longest and best preserved fragment of Alexander is included in its entirety only in the section on Parthenius' Ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα (ΙΔ'), which tells the story about the sad fate of Antheus.

Hermesianax of Colophon is the writer of Λεόντιον, which is the longest continuous fragment in the *Hellenistic Collection*, yet the section on him is the shortest in the book, only 41 pages. In the end, one wonders how essential the section on Hermesianax is, even though Lightfoot argues that Λεόντιον's "literary-historical interest is considerable" (p. 149). Λεόντιον, named after Hermesianax's lover, is a whimsical catalogue of more or less fictional love-affairs; for instance, Alcaeus and Anacreon are Sappho's rival suitors, and Homer travels to Ithaca because of his affair with Penelope. Lightfoot has included in the *dubie tributa* section a captivating curse poem where the speaker threatens to tattoo his victim with the images of famous punishments.

The real treat in this collection is, in my opinion, the section on Euphorion of Chalcis, whose legacy on the Latin *poetae novi* is famously portrayed in *Tusc.* 3,45, where Cicero defends Ennius from the scorn of the *cantores Euphorionis*. Euphorion's poetry possessess some qualities which many will undoubtedly find more or less excruciating: he is more often than not excessively obscure. *Nimis etiam obscurus Euphorio*, wrote Cicero (*div.* 2,133), perhaps not without good reason. Euphorion was a head librarian in Antioch, the capital of the Seleucid kingdom. Time has not been kind to his prose works and we know only the titles of some of his work. However, we possess a considerable amount of his verse: of the 662 pages of *Hellenistic Collection*, Euphorion governs as much as 277 pages. Lightfoot concludes that Euphorion is stylistically close to Lycophron or Nicander (pp. 195–6); Euphorion is subsequently the most opaque poet in this collection and poses a great challenge to the translator. Lightfoot manages to handle this tough task in a laudable manner. However, at times I felt I needed more guidance to navigate through Euphorion's cryptic fragments. For instance, Euphorion fr. 26, a long piece from the Θρᾶξ, is a bewildering experience even with Lightfoot's commentary.

The section on Parthenius owes much to Lightfoot's 1999 monograph *Parthenius of Nicaea*. Parthenius' Suda entry suggests that he was captured by some Cinna during the Mithridatic War and then brought to Rome, but eventually freed διὰ τὴν παιδείουσι. Temporally Parthenius belongs to the Roman era: he was apparently Virgil's *grammaticus* in Greek (Macrob. *Sat.* 5,17,18). Sadly, Parthenius' poetry is preserved in a very fragmentary state, yet one can still identify traces of refinement from his verse and understand his popularity in Antiquity. The section on Parthenius ends with Ἐρωτικὰ παθήματα, 36 short stories of a more or less lugubrious nature, dedicated to the Roman poet Cornelius Gallus. Many of these stories are a pleasure to read, especially after reading through the difficult fragments of *Hellenistic Collection*.

In conclusion, Lightfoot's *Hellenistic Collection* is the most valuable aid for a student of Hellenistic literature. I noticed only a few slips in Lightfoot's book. P. XVIII reads Martin instead of Martine. Alexander of Aetolia fr. 12 leaves καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Αἰτωλῶν ποιητής untranslated, the same passage is however translated fully in Euphorion fr. 80.

Iiro Laukola

PLUTARCHOS: *Djurens rätt och vegetarism. Fyra skrifter ur Moralia*. Översättning med introduktion och noter av SVEN-TAGE TEODORSSON. Klassiker 21. Paul Åströms förlag, Sävedalen 2007. ISBN 978-91-7081-236-1. 165 pp. USD 31.20.

Animal rights in ancient times, surely not? Is not the concept itself entirely modern? As the engagingly titled compilation of Plutarch's texts on animals ("Animal Rights and Vegetarianism") makes plain to Swedish readers, the topic of animal rights is indeed an ancient one – probably as ancient as our history of sharing our lives with other species.

The present volume is comprised of four animal related texts by Plutarch, together with their Swedish translations by Prof. Emer. Sven-Tage Teodorsson (according to their fixed Latin titles: *De sollertia animalium*, *Bruta ratione uti*, *De esu carniū I–II*, and *De amore proliis*; and in their Greek form, which I shall use hereafter: Πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα, τὰ χερσαῖα ἢ τὰ ἔνυδρα; Περὶ τοῦ τὰ ἄλογα λόγῳ χρῆσθαι οἱ Γρύλλος; Περὶ σαρκοφαγίας; and Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἔγγονα φιλοστοργίας). Contrary to what the translator suggests in his foreword,

one of the four texts presented here, the essay *Περὶ σαρκοφαγίας*, has already been published in the Swedish language once, in 2004 in Finland, translated by Tua Korhonen, Antti J. Niemi and Pia Åberg (Summa 2004). The other three texts included in the present compilation are now translated and published in Swedish for the first time.

Plutarch's prose, though once widely used for educational purposes, is not without stylistic and structural complexities. Moreover, there is a special challenge in translating his texts on animal related issues: they are full of anecdotes on animals and species with which Plutarch himself was not necessarily familiar, and of which he did not always have first hand knowledge. For Plutarch, scientific exactness seems to come second to ethics and story-telling, which of course puts the translator in a difficult position: how do we know what animal Plutarch is talking about? And further, how to translate the names of these species into languages and vocabularies developed in completely different kinds of environments and ecosystems?

Hence, reading and translating Plutarch certainly is, among other things, a lesson in the tight relationship between – and interdependence of – language and the ecological conditions its speakers live(d) in. Teodorsson seems to succeed very well in meeting both of these challenges: his translation reads altogether nicely, and you get the impression that he knows quite well what kinds of odd fish and birds and other creatures Plutarch and his characters are talking about.

Γρύλλος and *Περὶ σαρκοφαγίας* are among Plutarch's most poignant texts, concise and rhetorically intense. *Πότερα τῶν ζώων φρονιμώτερα, τὰ χερσαῖα ἢ τὰ ἔνυδρα* is longer and perhaps less focused, yet no doubt has its place in a compilation of texts focusing on the animal theme. *Περὶ τῆς εἰς τὰ ἔγγονα φιλοστοργίας*, however, is a text focused on specifically human aspects of familial love, and grouping it together with the three texts that extensively deal with animal intelligence, animal rights and our relationship with animals, might be questioned. Considering the poor state of the surviving original too, the first three texts would perhaps have made a more coherent whole without it. (As it is, credit must of course be given for translating and publishing *any* ancient Greek texts in the smaller languages of Northern Europe, for example.)

It is always praiseworthy to offer the original text alongside the translation, and readers of Greek will greet this decision with joy, even though they may find themselves asking for more textual explanations. In my opinion, there is a slight discrepancy between the academic-looking (not to say dull) cover art and the contents, namely, the sparing use of textual notes. The texts themselves, as well as Teodorsson's excellent introduction to Plutarch's thinking in general, would certainly deserve a wider audience than the one indicated by the modest size and design of the book. As one might also expect (and indeed hope for!) these texts to arouse interest outside academic circles, and among readers with no knowledge of Greek whatsoever, it is to be hoped that the humble appearance of the book will not deter the potential "popular" reader.

So, whether animal rights as we know them is a modern invention or not – the closing part of *Περὶ σαρκοφαγίας*, where Plutarch goes on to investigate our "legal" relationship with other species, is unfortunately lost. What does survive in these four texts, though, is still ample food for ancient as well as modern thought. In a world where meat consumption affects millions of animal and human lives each year, by way of accelerating climate change, hunger and severe health problems to name just a few, it is impossible to over-estimate the importance of translating these texts into modern languages. The publisher deserves credit for offering

ancient texts in a fairly small language, for an obviously limited market, and the translator all the more so for having succeeded in bringing Plutarch's important message and at times complicated expressions into clear, modern and very readable Swedish.

Liisa Kaski

Lucian. A Selection. Edited by NEIL HOPKINSON. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-84200-6 (hb), 978-0-521-60304-1 (pb). IX, 239 pp. GBP 50, USD 99 (hb), GBP 18.99, USD 34.99 (pb).

Le nouveau livre de Neil Hopkinson appartient à la célèbre collection "Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics", où l'auteur a déjà publié des commentaires des poèmes de l'époque hellénistique et de l'époque impériale (1988 et 1994, respectivement) ainsi que du XIII^e livre des *Métamorphoses* d'Ovide (2000). Pour son premier commentaire de texte en prose, Hopkinson a choisi sept opuscules de Lucien de Samosate, le satiriste du II^e siècle de notre ère, qui montrent "Lucian's attitude to writing, his place in contemporary culture, and his relationship with earlier literature" (p. VII). L'ouvrage commence par une courte Introduction (pp. 1–11) qui contient une présentation de Lucien (éducation, culture, langue, style, philosophie), de son attitude vis-à-vis de son époque et de la littérature classique, ainsi qu'une exposition du phénomène de la Seconde Sophistique. Suivent le texte grec (pp. 15–90) et le commentaire (pp. 93–222) des œuvres *Le songe ou la vie de Lucien*, *A celui qui a dit: "tu es un Prométhée en discours"*, *Contre un bibliomane ignorant*, *Eloge de la mouche*, *Jugement des voyelles*, *Timon ou le misanthrope* et *Dialogues marins*. Le livre se termine par une liste des œuvres de Lucien (titre anglais, grec et latin) en forme d'Appendice (pp. 223–9), avec une Bibliographie (pp. 230–4) – différente de la liste des Abréviations au début (pp. VIII–IX) – et trois Index (sujets, mots grec et passages cités) (pp. 235–9).

Le texte grec de Hopkinson est fondé sur l'édition de l'Oxford Classical Texts et accompagné par un laconique appareil critique. Le riche commentaire couvre plus de la moitié du livre: l'auteur propose d'abord une brève introduction de chaque opuscule (il en fait de même pour chacun des quinze *Dialogues marins*) où il montre non seulement la cohérence interne qui existe entre chacun d'eux mais traite aussi d'autres sujets, comme le commerce du livre, les écoles des rhéteurs à l'époque impériale ou la langue de Lucien et la façon avec laquelle il cite les textes et les mythes classiques. Ensuite Hopkinson offre une bibliographie de base pour chaque opuscule, qui comporte les éditions et les commentaires les plus importants. Enfin, il propose sa propre analyse du texte, qui contient des remarques sur la syntaxe et la grammaire, le style et la langue de Lucien, ainsi que sur ses allusions parodiques et humoristiques aux auteurs grecs et latins. L'auteur met en évidence la richesse du vocabulaire lucianesque et l'abondance de ses connaissances des auteurs et poètes du passé. Hopkinson ne traduit pas le texte grec, sauf dans quelques cas pour rendre les syllogismes plus clairs.

La présentation typographique du livre est très soignée. On trouve ici et là des coquilles, surtout des esprits et accents grecs erronés, erreurs qui n'altèrent pas la lecture. Plus gênantes sont les fautes de coupures des mots grecs à la fin de la ligne ainsi que l'inconséquence dans la traduction anglaise des titres des œuvres de Lucien par rapport à la liste finale (*Amber* p. 191, *Electrum* p. 223; *Praise on One's Native Land* p. 2, *Praise on One's Fatherland* p. 223; *Zeus*

Confuted p. 9, *Zeus Cross-questioned* p. 224; *The Fisherman* p. 152, *The Fisher* p. 225; *The Assembly of the Gods* pp. 152 et 194, *The Council of the Gods* p. 226; *A Slip of the Tongue* p. 6, *On a Slip on Greeting* p. 227). Enfin, à trois reprises on peut regretter l'oubli du numéro de page exact: p. 4, n. 19 (see p. 00), p. 94, au début du deuxième paragraphe (see p. 00) et p. 189, au milieu du § 43 (see p. 000).

Le livre de Hopkinson représente une contribution remarquable aux études lucian- esques et remplit parfaitement ses trois buts préliminaires: il nous présente l'attitude de Lucien vis-à-vis de l'écriture, les relations qu'il entretenait avec la littérature antérieure et la place qu'il occupe dans la culture contemporaine.

Orestis Karavas

ISMENE LADA-RICHARDS: *Silent Eloquence: Lucian and Pantomime Dancing*. Classical Literature and Society Series. Duckworth, London 2007. ISBN 978-07156-3491-2. 240 pp. GBP 16.99.

Over the last decade, an increase of scholarly interest in ancient dance and dancing has become apparent. The only monograph from antiquity that concentrates on dancing, Lucian's *Περὶ ὀρχήσεως* (*De saltatione; On the Dance/On Dancing*), deals for the most part with pantomime dancing, and this has, no doubt, directed the scholarly discussion to pantomime rather than to other dance genres. Pantomime is also the main subject in Ismene Lada-Richards' (from hereon L-R) *Silent Eloquence*, a most welcome book on Lucian's treatise. The author does not only examine the ancient text in depth but is able to direct the attention to many facets that are central to the understanding of the role of dance and dancing in Greco-Roman antiquity. The book testifies to the author's learning and scholarship, but also to her personal enthusiasm for the subject. The book is a delight to read.

The contents are divided into twelve main chapters, preceded by an introduction and followed by an epilogue and a postscript on the afterlife of ancient pantomime and of Lucian's text. The first five chapters focus on pantomime as a whole, the next two chapters (6–7) more on Lucian's essay, while the last chapters (8–12) mainly deal with the attitude of the educated élite to the highly popular, yet controversial pantomime dancing.

The book begins with an introduction on Lucian's essay and on pantomime dance. In a concise manner, L-R offers the reader the basic information in order to become familiar with the subject, describing the dance genre and going through its history. Pantomime was extremely popular in imperial Rome and thrived for centuries. Even though its development is not known in detail, there is a consensus over its roots in the Hellenistic culture. L-R explores the rare ancient testimonies that show the existence of dramatic dancing well before the Augustan period.

L-R explores in an interesting way the relation of pantomime with other performative forms of entertainment. She discusses "lowbrow" genres such as mime, dancing associated with femininity and "wonder-makers" whose acrobatic skills caught the attention and inspired awe in the audience. As L-R points out, even if pantomime dancers did not perform in a manner similar to, e.g., acrobats, they were surely influenced by the popular, physical shows of other kinds of performers. Tragedy is naturally taken up as well, since many of the stories performed

in pantomime were similar to the plots of Greek tragedy – a point Lucian emphasizes in order to show the educational value of pantomime and the close connection it had to Greek theatre, which was socially approved by the educated.

Although our knowledge of what a pantomime performance looked like, or "how they danced", is very limited, L-R traces the hints for the technique in pantomime performances in order to convey the story. She explores the different elements of a pantomime show, i.e. song, music, and especially dance, also raising the possibility of body memory and kinaesthetic learning as well as the codification of movement. Many of the details are speculative but we do learn quite a lot here.

A very important issue is the role pantomime played in society at large. This aspect is dealt with throughout the book, but some chapters focus on the theme from slightly different viewpoints. For example, Chapter 4 focuses on the relation of pantomime to politics and society, i.e., how the élite reacted to pantomime, the popularity of which was ever-growing, and Chapter 5 turns the attention to the ancient opinions about pantomime dancers whose morals and behaviour were often under scrutiny: the dancers were typically accused of immorality. They were seen as embodiments of loose morals and inappropriate sexual behaviour, as showcases of wrong gender models – especially for male citizens. L-R rightly observes that there is not one truth, so to speak, concerning pantomime. Rather, as she puts it, the essence of pantomime seems to have been its "intrinsic power to polarize opinion, to generate competing accounts of itself, almost alternative histories of what it was and what it represented" (p. 77). Of course, this has to do with the sources in our possession: there is no source that would have aimed at an "objective" picture of the phenomenon; at most, the "objective" remarks on pantomime, such as Artemidoros commenting on the importance of the hands of a dancer, are just something mentioned in passing.

Up to Chapter 5, the book studies pantomime from a more general perspective, after which Lucian's dialogue fully enters the scene. Chapters 6 and 7 explore the role of Lycinus in the dialogue, seen especially as a representative of the Second Sophistic. Central to the Second Sophistic, is the proper education, *paideia*, as well as what it meant to be included as one of the *pepaideumenoí*. In respect to pantomime, *paideia* plays an important role in the light of Lucian's essay. Very close to this issue is oratory. Viewing together activities that aim at expressing ideas and emotions as a public performance – one more verbally, the other more physically – is an extremely fruitful approach, as L-R is able to show.

A great part of the sources on pantomime consists of literary passages. They tell us in a very clear manner of the controversial stance that pantomime had as a public form of entertainment. Those in favour of the genre, such as Lucian's Lycinus, tried to emphasize its educational dimensions, seeing it as a method of enculturation. But here precisely was the danger. As pantomime affected the viewer very effectively, it could teach harmful and morally questionable habits. Lucian confronted a rather obvious difficulty: how to persuade the educated élite about the benefits of pantomime when the normal and accepted was the "verbal world", and Lucian tries to twist the nonverbal (i.e. pantomime) to the verbal (i.e. word, education, literature). This is closely linked to the fear that the sophists and the élite showed for pantomime, and it is also the essence of Lucian's text. He is a man of many masks – an outsider and an insider – and one of his roles is a representative of the sophists. The idea of the many masks of Lucian himself opens up an image of Lucian as a prime pantomime. The closeness of a professional public speaker with that of a dancer becomes evident. L-R concludes the chapter – and the book –

with the following, rather telling statement: "What it [Lucian's dialogue] really represents is a cultural contest whose top prize is the right to entertain, the right to control the politics of a multi-coloured performance culture" (p. 160).

Lada-Richards has done excellent work. The book shows how central dance was in antiquity and how it was, on the one hand, admired and esteemed, and, on the other, despised and criticized. The book is not only about pantomime, although its focus is on this dance form. It is also about the discourse of being and becoming a member of a society that emphasizes literary culture and the talent in performing one's education. The division of the text into chapters could have been different; especially the second part of the book would have benefited from a smaller number of chapters and a larger number of subchapters. The author's style seemed at points somewhat heavy to a non-native speaker of English, but it also gives the book a personal touch, a welcome feature in academic writing. Most importantly, though, *Silent Eloquence* makes a pivotal step towards dance being taken as a meaningful academic subject.

Manna Satama

Cicero: Catilinarians. Edited by ANDREW R. DYCK. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN: 978-0-521-83286-1 (hb), 978-0-521-54043-8 (pb). XVII, 282 pp. GBP 45, USD 85 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 34.99 (pb).

Many classical scholars belonging to the older generation may have had to face Cicero's *Catilinarians*, or at least *Catilinarian 1*, for the first time at school, this having been the first bit of Cicero they had to peruse. From the point of view of Cicero and/or the *Catilinarians* this is not necessarily a good thing, for one could describe Cicero's performance right from the beginning (with *Quo usque tandem abutere* and all the rest) as a bit on the heavy side, and I am quite sure the text as a whole will have left quite a number of teenagers with mixed feelings and perhaps even the wish never to return to this particular work again. It could, then, be argued that it would be preferable to have one's first taste of the *Catilinarians* at a more mature age. Reading the four *Catilinarians* with some attention is certainly worth the trouble, for both the subject itself, the fact that we have here speeches delivered both in the senate and before the people, and many other features (e.g., some of the material in *Cat. IV*) make this collection most interesting reading. It is thus with satisfaction that one observes the publication of this commentary, aimed at "advanced undergraduates and graduate students", by one of the most eminent Ciceronian scholars.

The format is pretty much what one would expect it to be. In the Introduction, we have notes on Catiline himself, his conspiracy, and on the speeches (publication, language and style, etc.). At the end, there are three Appendices dealing with the historical sources cited in the commentary, the date of *Cat. 1* (the "common view" that the speech was delivered on 8 November being maintained), and with prose rhythm. As for the text of the speeches, it seems to be based on that of Maslowski with some modifications listed on p. 21. To comment upon a detail or two, I am not sure that it was a good idea to dispense with <iure> in 4,13, for the advantages of this addition seem to me more than obvious (there seems to be no point in L. Caesar simply observing without comment that his maternal grandfather had been killed along with his son). In 1,20, *aliquas in dubitas ... abire in aliquas terras* seems to me most unat-

tractive (*aliquo* in § 17, adduced in the commentary, is in my view a bit different). In 2,24, the reading *urbes in urbes coloniarum ac municipiorum* (corresponding to *tumulis silvestribus*) seems to me practically meaningless, and perhaps something should have been done about this, especially as Dyck himself has an even better emendation than *arces*, which Garatoni offers, namely *muri* (relegated to the commentary). In the note on the text of 3,22, the phrase "*ieiecit Mommsen*" for what is normally formulated as *delevit* seems to have been inspired by *ieiecit ex urbe*, cited on the same page in the note on the text of § 24.

As for the commentary, I must say that I found it very impressive, especially considering that writing a good commentary on an ancient text is surely the most difficult task a philologist can face. Even if the author is in total command of the material, there is always the question of what to comment upon and what to leave out, and even in this case one might argue about a detail or two. One might, for instance, ask whether it was really necessary to say on p. 153 that *iis* (in 2,20 *Sulla sit iis ab inferis excitandus*) is "the dat. of agent", or (p. 190) that *norat* is contracted from *noverat*. On the other hand, one would have liked to have the author's opinion, e.g., on *nam* in 2,21 (*nam illud non intellego quam ob rem* etc.), where *nam* does not seem to have its most common meaning 'for' but perhaps rather that of something like 'moreover' (*OLD* 4).

But these are of course minor details which do not obscure the fact that in my opinion we are dealing with an excellent commentary which offers elucidation where elucidation is needed, and a nice balance between philological and historical matters. All the books have most informative separate introductions, but there are shorter introductions also to various sections within the books (e.g., p. 113 on *Cat.* 1,27–32, a most impressive passage). The author, too, has a gift with words; note, e.g., the comment on *mediocriter labefactantem* in 1,3 (this is said "not so much in extenuation of Gracchus as in contrast to Catiline's graver threat"). I also liked, e.g., the note on 1,28 ("the *maiores* were appealed to by C(icero) as an authority on a variety of topics"); or that on 2,18 ("*impudens* ... applies to those who pursue their individual interests at the expense of the norms of society"); or that on 3,10 ("*ne longum sit* ... assures the reader/listener that C(icero) is coming to the point"). In the commentary on 2,10, the dative *mihi* (in *qui mihi accubantes in conviviis* etc.) receives the splendid comment "**mihi** keeps C(icero) present as the (disapproving) observer but is not to be rendered in English" (authors of Latin grammars might wish to take note of this).

Of course there are also details one could argue about. On p. 86, it is said that *ipsi* in 1,10 (in *cum illi ipsi venissent, quos ego ... venturos esse praedixeram*) means "in person", but my feeling is that something like "exactly those persons" would come closer to what Cicero is saying. On p. 97, I find it hard to understand the comment "Here it becomes clear" etc. on 1,16 (*si hoc ... oppressus*). As for *etiam atque etiam* in 2,27, I have always thought that it means something like "again and again", but on p. 161 we are told that it means "earnestly" (which of course may amount to pretty much the same thing). In the commentary on 3,9, concerning the prophecy of the Sibylline books regarding the three Cornelii (a passage which in my opinion must prove that the Cornelii Cinnae were also patricians, though this is not explicitly attested anywhere), the author (p. 179) wonders "How did Lentulus find out about the prophecy?" He further observes "It does not sound like the kind of thing the *quindecimviri* would report publicly", this leading to the suggestion that Lentulus may have been a member of the board. But in the actual passage, not only the *fata Sibyllina* but also the *haruspicum responsa* are adduced as sources for this story, and in my view the formulation *se esse tertium illum Cornelium, ad*

quem regnum ... pervenire esset necesse (note especially *illum*) cannot be interpreted otherwise than as showing that *everybody* knew about the story.

Olli Salomies

The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius. Edited by STUART GILLESPIE – PHILIP HARDIE. Cambridge University Press, New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-84801-5 (hb), ISBN 978-0-521-61266-1 (pb). XIV, 365 pp. GBP 55, USD 95 (hb), GBP 19.99, USD 36.99 (pb).

The Cambridge Companion to Tacitus. Edited by A. J. WOODMAN. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-87460-1 (hb), 978-0-521-69748-4 (pb). XVI, 366 pp. GBP 60, USD 90 (hb), GBP 18.99, USD 32.99 (pb).

This is a review of two companion volumes from the *Cambridge Companion* series. Discussing these two in the same review can be justified on the grounds that 'companions' or 'handbooks' tend to present similar sets of qualities and problems, especially when they belong to the same series like these two. In such a volume, one expects the contributors to master their subject, and as it is not usual to offer new and original arguments, the most important thing to be expected from a chapter in a companion is easiness of consultation and clarity of exposition.

There is an inherent inconsistency in the established aim of the companion volumes (stated explicitly on p. xv in the *Companion to Tacitus*). First, the authors of chapters should manage to say something that is accessible and interesting to the non-specialist (ranging from the hypothetical general reader to scholars working on other aspects of antiquity). At the same time, however, the authors should cover their field adequately, report the views of previous scholars and preferably also make their personal voice heard. Reviewing recent scholarship and providing a useful account of the topic for the non-specialist are not necessarily goals easily compatible with each other. Recent scholarship in most cases makes sense only as a reaction to the views promoted by previous generations, and reporting the entire tradition together with modern viewpoints in an article of average length while holding on to the ideal of clarity may prove an impossible task.

The results of this can be seen in that too often the chapters fail to present their basic information lucidly enough to provide the non-specialist (say, a university teacher coming from some other area of ancient scholarship) with a quick and easy review of the central topics. They may serve as state-of-the-art reports for readers familiar with the subject, but if they are limited to this they fail to serve one of the two explicit aims of companions.

Given these doubts regarding the nature and goals of companions it is a pleasure to note that in both volumes there are many good chapters that do succeed in combining these two aspects.

In the second part of the Tacitus volume, dedicated to Tacitus' works and entitled "Texts", I would like to single out the chapters by Thomas (on the *Germania*), Goldberg (on the *Dialogus*), Malloch (on the Claudian *Annals*) and Keitel (on the Neronian *Annals*) as good expositions of their subjects. Griffin's chapter on Tacitus as a historian (in the third part entitled "Topics") is one of the most interesting in the whole volume. The chapter by Oakley on language and style is rewarding even to the not insignificant number of people for whom Tacitus'

language remains the most astonishing feature of his literary person. In the fourth and final section ("Transmission") the chapter by Martin (whose last scholarly contribution this is, cf. the "Introduction", p. XVI) on manuscript tradition and early printed editions is the most useful.

There is a considerable difference in the scope of material to be discussed in the two volumes: the whole oeuvre of Tacitus set against the sole surviving work of Lucretius, the *De rerum natura*. Perhaps partly because of this, less than half of the Lucretius volume is about Lucretius and his work. The rest are about various phases in the reception of the *De rerum natura*. It is of course only natural that a work with such a special place in the history of science and an intriguing reception history should have a companion where these aspects are adequately covered. But the volume as it stands now should have included the word 'reception' in its title.

The first chapter after the introduction, Warren's on Lucretius' relationship to Greek philosophy, is excellent. Farrell's chapter on the structure of the *De rerum natura* can be recommended for its clarity. Interesting but not as clear in their content or style are the chapters by Schiesaro (on Lucretius and Roman politics) and Gale (Lucretius and previous poetical traditions). The chapter by Obbink on the exiguous fragments of Lucretius from the Herculaneum library nicely expands the reader's perspective on Lucretius even if it is by necessity rather speculative.

Among the chapters on the afterlife of Lucretius, the chapter by Reeve on transmission in the Middle Ages is the most interesting to the average classicist, even if rather compact in its expression. An interesting and well-written chapter is the one by Johnson and Wilson on Lucretius and the history of science.

Kenney's chapter on language and style is good, but is more about style than language, and one would have hoped to see a chapter on language proper as well, where, for example, Lucretius' taste for archaism or other aspects of his language would have been discussed in more detail. The absence of such a chapter is probably a by-product of the volume's policy to be (to cite the back cover) "completely accessible to the reader who has read Lucretius only in translation". In such a volume, a more philologically oriented reader will find less useful material.

One thing that readers of companions will certainly be looking for are the bibliographical references of various chapters, among them the "Further reading" sections. The length and number of comments in these sections varies remarkably in both volumes. In part, this is a natural result of the varying range of materials covered by the individual chapters, but more editorial guidance might have rendered them more useful down the line.

The ambitious goal of these companions means that not all chapters will satisfy all potential users, but some of them do, and all will probably satisfy at least some of their potential users.

Hilla Halla-aho

The Cambridge Companion to Horace. Edited by STEPHEN HARRISON. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-83002-7. XIII, 381 pp. GBP 55.

Im zehnten Kapitel seines berühmten Romans *Der Graf von Monte Christo* erzählt Alexandre Dumas d. Ä. vom französischen König Ludwig XVIII. in der Zeit, als der aus Elba zurück-

kehrende Napoleon die Position des Königs bedroht. In dieser gefährlichen Situation ist der König weniger an den Angelegenheiten des Staates interessiert als an den Gedichten des Horaz, die er in der Ausgabe von Gryphius liest. Einige Verse der Oden werden im Roman vom König zitiert.

In seinem Essay "Vid brasan med Horatius" ('Am Herdfeuer mit Horaz') liest der finnlandschwedische Dichter und Übersetzer Emil Zilliacus in Karelien in der Winterszeit Gedichte des Horaz, die seine Gedanken zur antiken Welt und letzten Endes nach Griechenland führen. Für Zilliacus sind Horazens Gedichte ein "viaticum lyricum".

Im Lichte dieser zwei Beispiele können wir feststellen, dass Horaz ein Dichter gewesen ist, dessen Gedichte recht unterschiedlichen Schriftstellern und Lesern Inspirationen, Themen, ästhetische Erlebnisse und sogar Gemütsruhe gegeben haben. Die Artikel in dem von Stephen Harrison herausgegebenen Buch *The Cambridge Companion to Horace* zeigen unwiderlegbar, wie Horaz aus vielen verschiedenen Gesichtswinkeln betrachtet werden kann. Das Buch gliedert sich in vier Abteilungen, die jeweils 5–8 Beiträge (mit je 12–18 Seiten) enthalten, die von 16 Männern und drei Frauen verfasst worden sind. Stephen Harrison, der Herausgeber des Buches, hat neben der Einleitung vier von den 24 Beiträgen geschrieben. In der ersten, orientierenden Abteilung wird Horaz in seinen historischen und literarischen Kontext gestellt. Die zweite Abteilung befasst sich mit den literarischen Gattungen der Werke von Horaz. Die dritte Abteilung, die etwas länger ist als die anderen, ist den Themen des Dichters gewidmet: Philosophie und Ethik, Götter und Religion, Freundschaft, Wein, Erotik, Stadt und Land, Poetik, Literaturkritik und Stil (die *Ars poetica* wird auch in der zweiten Abteilung behandelt).

Von den einzelnen Beiträgen wollen wir hier die Darstellung von Peter White über die Freundschaft bei Horaz und Horazens Beziehungen zu seinen Freunden hervorheben. Natürlich sind Maecenas, Vergil und Varius in dieser Hinsicht wichtig; diejenigen griechischen Dichter und Intellektuellen jedoch, die sich zu Horazens Lebzeiten in Rom aufgehalten haben, spielen dagegen in seinen Werken kaum eine Rolle. Sehr wichtig ist auch der Artikel von Stephen Harrison über die Selbstdarstellungen (*self-representations*) von Horaz, wo der Gebrauch des Personalpronomens *ego*, die autobiographischen Elemente und der Ruhm des Dichters behandelt werden. Die horazischen Begriffe, welche das Maßvolle und den Mittelweg bezeichnen (vgl. *aurea mediocritas*) und die sich auf den aristotelischen Begriff *mesotēs* gründen, werden im Kapitel über Wein und Symposien betrachtet, leider aber nicht im Artikel von John Moyle über Philosophie und Ethik, der jedoch wiederum reichliches Material über das Verhältnis von Horaz zur griechischen Philosophie enthält.

Darstellungen der horazischen Versmaße kann der Leser in zwei Kapiteln finden, und zwar in den Beiträgen von Gregory Hutchinson und Alessandro Barchiesi. Obwohl die Mythen in manchen Artikeln erwähnt werden, ist es ein wenig erstaunlich, dass sie keinen eigenen Artikel erhalten haben und das Stichwort "*myth*" im Index nicht erwähnt wird.

In der vierten Abteilung wird die Rezeption der Werke Horazens diskutiert (in der Antike, im Mittelalter, in der Renaissance und in den letzten vier Jahrhunderten, 1600–1900). Die Rezeption, die Horaz im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert erfahren hat, beschränkt sich auf die englische Literatur, was verständlich ist, weil es in den übrigen europäischen Literaturen so viel Material gibt – vom bereits erwähnten Alexandre Dumas bis zu Bertolt Brecht. Wo David Money, der im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert Horaz untersucht hat, konstatiert, dass "most nations had their 'Horaces'", so kann man dasselbe auch von den späteren Jahrhunderten behaupten. Bezüglich der englischsprachigen Beispiele wollen wir einen Vorschlag machen: James Joyce

hat nicht nur Horazens Ode "O fons Bandusiae" übersetzt, sondern zitiert in seinen Werken oft auch horazische Phrasen. In seinem letzten Roman *Finnegans Wake* etwa finden sich manche horazische Ausdrücke in abgewandelter Form. So lautet zum Beispiel der bekannte Ausdruck "*Exegi monumentum aere perennius*" im Roman (FW 57,22) "an exegious monument, aerily perennious". Ein interessanter Zufall ist der, dass Ezra Pound, ein Freund von James Joyces, Horazens Ode 3,30 übersetzt hat (siehe den Beitrag von Harrison). Es sei auch noch erwähnt, dass Pound in der Zeitschrift *The Criterion* (1930) einen kleinen Essay über Horaz und seinen Übersetzer geschrieben hat.

Am Anfang seines Artikels über die lyrische Dichtung führt Alessandro Barchiesi einige interessante und überraschende Beispiele für die Rezeption des Horaz an: die Ode *Auf ein Geschütz* (1782) des bekannten Übersetzers Karl Wilhelm Ramler ("The Prussian Horace") und das Gedicht *Dulce et decorum est* von Wilfred Owen (1917), wo die horazische Phrase als Lüge bezeichnet wird.

Ein Verdienst des Buches besteht darin, dass auch die Kritik an Horaz berücksichtigt worden ist. Als berühmtestes Beispiel eines Horaz-Parodisten hat Stephen Harrison Rudyard Kipling aufgeführt, also den Autor, dessen Parodien schon Gilbert Highet in seinem großen Buch *The Classical Tradition* erwähnt hat.

The Cambridge Companion to Horace enthält ferner eine 30-seitige Bibliographie und Vorschläge für "further reading" nach jedem Kapitel. Die Bibliographie ist eine gute Auswahl der Artikel, Kommentare und Gesamtdarstellungen über Horaz im 20. Jahrhundert und in den ersten Jahren des neuen Jahrtausends. Dieses sorgfältig herausgegebene Buch wird all denen nützlich sein, die Horazens Werke studieren oder Horaz als ihren Lieblingsdichter lesen.

H. K. Riikonen

STUART LYONS: *Horace's Odes and the Mystery of Do-Re-Mi (with full verse translation of the Odes)*. Aris & Phillips, Exeter 2007. ISBN 978-0-85668-790-7. VIII, 244 pp. GBP 19.95.

As the title says, the most integral part of this book is Stuart Lyons' full verse English translation of Horace's *Odes*. In addition, the book contains brief chapters on Horace's life and the Augustan age, Horace as a songwriter and the hypothesis that Guido d'Arezzo exploited the melody of Horace's *Ode to Phyllis*, when he invented the solmization system also known as "Guido's hexachord".

This book begins with Horace's biography, which also throws some light on the background of the *Odes*. Lyons then turns his attention to the question of whether Horace was also a composer of songs. He highlights the hypothesis that Horace's *Odes* were originally songs, as is also suggested by the title "*Carmina*", and not just poems, as was the common belief in the twentieth century. Lyons also wants to point out that Horace was not musically illiterate, basing his statements mainly on the references to music and musical instruments that occur in the *Odes*. The author further gives a brief account about ancient Greek music theory, which unfortunately oversimplifies, for example, the use of modes in different genera. Lyons also commits a slight solecism when he erroneously describes *barbiton* as "a smaller instrument more like a lute" (p. 21), thus confusing it with a *pandoura* (also known as a *trichordon*), the only lute-like instrument known from ancient Greece. All in all, it seems that Horace had some kind of musi-

cal education – as did the Greek lyric poets – although this book does not prove it indisputably.

The chapter entitled "Guido d'Arezzo and the Do-re-mi Mystery" deals with the origin of the melody used in the hymn *Ut queant laxis*, which was the song where Guido d'Arezzo took the syllables Ut-Re-Mi-Fa-Sol-La to signify the notes of the basic diatonic scale. Lyons' premise is that Guido's source was Horace's the *Ode to Phyllis*, but he does not claim that the melody in question was composed by Horace himself. He bases his hypothesis on the manuscript known to scholars as M425, which includes the *Ode to Phyllis* with neume notation. It must be noted that Lyons is not the original discoverer of the fact that the ode in M425 and *Ut queant laxis* are sung with the same melody (as he also admits on p. 222), this having been noticed much earlier (Lyons refers to Gerard Abraham's *The Concise Oxford History of Music* [1985], p. 84, but omits, for example, J. A. Westrup's "Medieval Song" in *The New Oxford History of Music II. Early Medieval Music Up to 1300* [1954], pp. 220–1). The author is convinced that the melody of the *Ode to Phyllis* is the source that Guido used, when he invented the solmization system, because M425 is the only known early medieval manuscript containing the same melody as that used in *Ut queant laxis*. He also suggests that the reason why Guido does not mention that he employs the melody used in one of Horace's *Odes* is that, because of the pressures of religious politics, it would not have been proper to use such a profane melody in religious music. After this thought-provoking enigma, Lyons introduces his translation of the *Odes*.

The English verse translation is aimed at students without a developed understanding of Latin. Lyons mostly uses English metrical and rhyming schemes, but also "an anglicised version of Horace's Sapphics" on some occasions and reflects the original *Ionic a minore* metre in the *Ode to Neobule*. In general, he puts weight on the requirements of English rhyme and does not follow the original text slavishly. Lyons also consciously uses anachronisms, for example, when translating *cithara* as 'guitar' and *tibia* as 'flute', because of their convenience for English rhyming (p. 43). Similarly, he translates *barbiton* as 'lute', which might explain why he earlier (p. 21) falsely describes this lyre-like instrument as lute-like. Generally, Lyons takes a lot of liberties with Horace's original text, omitting also some proper names and place names as insignificant. His translation probably will not please those who prefer literal translations, but it makes Horace's *Odes* easier to approach for people without any previous knowledge of Roman history and literature.

In summary, the book functions best as a tool for beginners in Classics to become acquainted with Horace's *Odes* and his life. The chapter on the origin of the melody of *Ut queant laxis* is well written and grippingly told, but does not provide any firm evidence to support Lyons' claim that Guido d'Arezzo (or someone else who originally merged the verses written by Paul the Deacon with the melody in question) took the melody precisely from the *Ode to Phyllis*. Also his hypothesis that Guido kept the origin of the melody secret because of religious politics is unconvincing. Perhaps it would be more reasonable to ask if Guido did not mention the origin of the melody simply because in his time it was so commonly known and widely used. It is unlikely that these two songs were the only ones with this melody. However, even Lyons does not claim that Horace himself would have been the composer of the melody that is found in M425, and it is evident that there is no connection between the actual music that Horace could have written and Guido's invention of the solmization system.

OTTO ZWIERLEIN: *Petrus in Rom: die literarischen Zeugnisse. Mit einer kritischen Edition der Martyrien des Petrus und Paulus auf neuer handschriftlicher Grundlage*. Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte 96. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2009. ISBN 978-3-11-020808-5. XIII, 476 S. USD 137.

Es ist eine weitverbreitete Idee, dass Petrus in Rom den Märtyrertod starb und über seiner Grabstätte der Petersdom errichtet wurde. Dieser Glaube ist in der Antike bald traditionsbildend geworden und bildet noch heute den maßgeblichen Stützpfiler für die Idee des Papsttums. Diese Ansicht teilen viele Theologen, Kirchenhistoriker, Althistoriker, klassische Philologen und Archäologen, sowohl klassische als auch – natürlich – christliche, ohne Rücksicht auf ihren ideologischen Hintergrund. Zwierlein will in seinem Buch mit dieser Tradition brechen und den Nachweis erbringen, dass Petrus sich niemals in Rom aufgehalten hat. Seine Beweisführung hinterlässt jedoch einen zwiespältigen Eindruck, und das Buch hat schon heftige Reaktionen von vielen Seiten erfahren. Zum Thema erschien auch im Jahre 2011 ein stattlicher Band *Petrus und Paulus in Rom. Eine interdisziplinäre Debatte* (in ihm sind die Ergebnisse der Vorträge von zwei in Rom bzw. Freiburg gehaltenen Tagungen zusammengefasst), wo sich Forscher aus verschiedenen Richtungen des Themas annehmen. Zwierlein selbst ist zu der Frage zurückgekehrt in dem langen Aufsatz 'Kritisches zur römischen Petrustradition und zur Datierung des ersten Clemensbriefes' im Band 13 des *Göttinger Forums für Altertumswissenschaft*.

Das Buch enthält viele treffende Bemerkungen, aber auch manches, dem man unmöglich zustimmen kann. Um mit Lob zu beginnen: bleibenden Wert hat Zs kritische, mit ausführlichen Prolegomena versehene Edition der zwei Martyrien des Apostels Petrus und des Apostels Paulus am Ende des Buches. Auch manche treffende Einzelbeobachtungen sollen hervorgehoben werden; so muss man ihm zustimmen, wenn er meint, der erste Clemensbrief biete nicht den geringsten Hinweis auf ein Martyrium des Petrus *in Rom* (man kann sich nur wundern, mit welcher Selbstverständlichkeit aus *1 Clem.* 5–6 immer wieder auf ein Martyrium des Petrus in Rom geschlossen wird; dieser Gedanke geistert sogar in den besten Einführungen zum NT herum, wie Kümmel 333). Dagegen kann seine Datierung des ersten Clemensbriefes in hadrianische Zeit nicht stimmen; ich würde immer noch an der verbreiteten communis opinio der Datierung in die flavische Zeit festhalten. Dasselbe gilt für seinen Versuch der Spätdatierung der Apostelakten. Ferner sind seine Äußerungen zu den Ignatiusbriefen nicht stichhaltig. Viele andere Einzelheiten sind von verschiedenen Autoren des genannten Bandes *Petrus und Paulus in Rom* besprochen worden (um der Ehrlichkeit willen muss gesagt werden, dass es auch in diesem Band neben ausgezeichneten Beiträgen Äußerungen gibt, die einem ein Zähneknirschen verursachen), und ich will den Leser nicht noch einmal damit ermüden. Ich greife hier nur eine Frage auf, und zwar die von Z. 158ff besprochene früheste Bischofsliste Roms bei Irenäus. Dem Verf. zufolge ist die Liste des Irenäus eine apologetische Konstruktion ohne jedes konkrete Fundament (abgesehen von den letzten Namen). Irenäus stelle die Begründung des römischen Episkopats durch die beiden Apostel heraus und knüpfe daran eine Liste der ersten zwölf Bischöfe an, die – offensichtlich nach dem Vorbild der zwölf Apostel konzipiert – den Zeitraum von Petrus und Paulus bis zu dem zeitgenössischen Bischof Eleutheros überspanne. Der an erster Stelle stehende Linus sei aus *2 Tim.* 4,21 gewonnen worden; wie es mit Irenäus' Behauptung, der von Tim erwähnte Linus und der vermeintliche Bischof seien derselbe Mann, auch steht, so sei hier darauf hingewiesen, dass *Linus* gerade in julisch-claudischer Zeit in Rom

ein oft gebrauchter Personennamenname war (11mal in Rom belegt), der nach Nero in Rom nicht mehr vorkommt. So wäre man versucht, in diesem Linus doch möglicherweise stadtrömischen Amtsträger zu sehen, wenn auch andererseits seine Existenz etwas zweifelhaft bleibt. Der zweite in der Liste, Anencletus (in der lateinischen Übersetzung falsch als *Anacletus* wiedergegeben; in anderen Quellen erscheint an dessen Stelle Cletus), sei mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit aus *Tit.* 1,7 herausgesponnen, wo es heißt: δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἀνέγκλητον εἶναι ὡς θεοῦ οἰκονόμου. Anencletus war aber ein gut bekannter Personennamenname in claudischer Zeit in Rom (13 Belege in meinem Namenbuch), so dass Irenäus ebenso gut wahre Überlieferung bringen kann. Der dritte war Clemens, dessen traditionale Datierung Z. also verwirft, doch zu Unrecht. Ihm zufolge bleiben auch die sich unmittelbar daran anschließenden Namen der Bischofsliste (Euaristus, Xystus, Telesphorus, Hyginus, Pius) für uns schemenhaft. Doch all diese vertreten gut bekannte, teilweise sogar beliebte Personennamen in Rom (und warum hätte Irenäus sich so gut wie nur griechische Namen ausgedacht, als er dabei war, die Liste zu konstruieren? Die griechischen Namen trugen noch im 1. Jahrhundert ein Stigma serviler Abkunft, was sich gut mit der konkreten Lage in der christlichen Gemeinde Roms verträgt. Aber hätte Irenäus die servile Abkunft der römischen Bischöfe wirklich betonen wollen?). Ob also die Liste des Irenäus allein aus späteren Konstruktionen besteht, mit denen der Monespiskopat bereits auf die Frühphase der kirchlichen Gemeindestrukturen zurückprojiziert wurde, bleibt unsicher.

Auch wenn es dem Verf. nicht gelungen ist, seine These, Petrus sei nie in Rom gewesen, geschweige denn dort des Märtyrertods gestorben, überzeugend zu beweisen, hat er mit seinem kritischen Korrektiv ein wichtiges Buch produziert, mit dem man sich auseinandersetzen kann und muss. Vor allem muss – außer der Neuausgabe der Martyrien der zwei Apostelfürsten – ihm als Verdienst angerechnet werden, dass er mit ihm die Diskussion um diese Frage, die für die christliche römische Traditionsbildung von eminenter Bedeutung ist, aufs Neue in Gang gebracht hat.

Heikki Solin

PETER RIEDLBERGER: *Philologischer, historischer und liturgischer Kommentar zum 8. Buch der Johannis des Corippus nebst kritischer Edition und Übersetzung*. Egbert Forsten, Groningen 2010. ISBN 978-90-6980-157. 503 S. EUR 85.

Corippus war kein großer Dichter, ganz im Gegenteil. Mehrere Forscher haben jedoch in neuerer Zeit den Mut gehabt, sich der Johannis anzunehmen, sie zu edieren, zu kommentieren. Ein Zeichen des zunehmenden Interesses an der lateinischen Literatur der Spätantike. Das hier anzuzeigende Werk, aus einer Kieler Dissertation heraus erwachsen, ist ein vorzügliches Arbeitsinstrument mit seiner ausführlichen Einleitung zu verschiedenen Aspekten, die das Epos betreffen, und mit seinem grundlegenden fortlaufenden Kommentar. Auch der vom Verfasser gegebene Text und die Übersetzung sind von hoher Qualität. Das Buch hat auch schon lobende Rezensionen erhalten, denen man nur zustimmen kann, und gehört zu den besten Untersuchungen über das Werk, das das zunehmende Interesse an der spätantiken Literatur vortrefflich illustriert.

In einem Punkt kann ich dem Autor nicht zustimmen, und ich möchte hier die Frage kurz berühren, nämlich die der richtigen Form des zweiten Cognomens des Dichters. Bisher

ist er in der Form *Corippus* im Umlauf gewesen. Riedlberger will als die richtige Form *Gorippus* (die er in einigen hsl Kopien gefunden hat) festlegen und hat schon breite Zustimmung gefunden. Ich wäre da nicht so sicher. Sowohl *Corippus* als auch *Gorippus* entbehren einer klaren Etymologie; nichts in ihnen weist auf Afrika (weder punisch noch berberisch) hin (keine vergleichbaren Namen in Jongelinks Buch zu afrikanischen Namen in lateinischen Inschriften Afrikas). Riedlberger legt viel Wert auf einige Belege aus Dura-Europos aus dem Anfang des dritten Jahrhunderts, wo *Gorippus* als Cognomen eines Soldaten vorkommt (die Belege jetzt in der neuen Ausgabe *ChLA* VIII 355, 97, 11 und 40, 9; zur Erklärung vgl. auch *Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report*). Die Belege schrumpfen aber auf einen einzigen zusammen, denn an der zweiten Stelle (40, 9) ist der Name ergänzt, und einem Graffito im Mithräum von Dura erwähnt von E. D. Francis, in *Mithraic Studies. Proceedings of the First Int. Congress of Mithraic Studies* II, Manchester 1975, 435) kann man bislang nichts entnehmen; dass der Soldat aus Afrika stamme, was R. für möglich hält, leuchtet durch nichts ein. Ihm ist ferner entgangen, dass Γόριππος noch einmal in Kleinasien belegt ist, in Korykos in einer christlichen Grabinschrift (*MAMA* III 623). Die Zeugnisse aus Dura und Korykos können aber unmöglich zur Erklärung des Namens unseres Dichters herangezogen werden. Es ist vorzuziehen, die Frage nach der richtigen Form des Namens offen zu lassen.

Heikki Solin

PAUL STEPHENSON: *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-81530-7 (hb), 978-0-521-15883-1 (pb). XVII, 164 pp. GBP 40, USD 64 (hb), GBP 15.99, USD 26.99 (pb).

Despite its obvious origin within the sphere of Byzantine studies, Paul Stephenson's *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* should prove worthwhile not only to Byzantinists and students of the political history of the Balkans, but anyone interested in the ways history can be and has been manipulated for political and nationalist ends. Stephenson sets out to undermine the traditional image of the warrior emperor Basil II (reigned 976–1025) as a bloody, relentless butcher engaged for decades in a systematic attempt to eliminate utterly neighbouring Bulgaria, Byzantium's traditional rival for control of the Balkan area. Instead, it is argued that Basil's annexation of Bulgaria proceeded at a much more gradual, opportunistic and sometimes even peaceful rhythm and that the emperor's supremely glorious or bloodthirsty (depending on one's ideological point of view) reputation was largely a propagandistic creation of later times.

The book is divided into eight chapters, but it can be seen as consisting essentially of two main sections. Firstly, chapters 1–3 provide an introduction to the historical Basil II and his Bulgarian campaigns. Here Stephenson's main argument is that, instead of a protracted war of attrition aiming at and ending in the total political and administrative incorporation of Bulgaria into the Byzantine Empire, Basil fought smaller campaigns for reasons of prestige, seizing his chance to occupy the rival realm only when the opportunity presented itself, and even then leaving the local power structures largely intact as local magnates were simply incorporated into the Byzantine system of provincial government.

The rest of the study is devoted to charting the posthumous development of Basil's image. In chapters 4–5 it is shown that there is no evidence either for a special emphasis on Basil's Bulgarian victories or the use of the brutal epithet Βουλγαροκτόνος "Bulgar-Slayer" in the art and literature dating from Basil's reign or the immediately following period. In contrast, chapter 6 demonstrates that the epithet is most likely a propagandistic creation of the Comnenian period, when the Byzantines found themselves confronted with a second Bulgarian Empire after 1185–6. Finally, chapters 7–8 explore the ways in which an idealized Basil the Bulgar-Slayer was made part of the nationalist myth and wartime propaganda in Greece in the early 20th century, especially during the Balkan conflicts with the modern Bulgarian state.

The book is well written and the main arguments are generally convincing, though the reader sometimes has the frustrating impression that, no matter how seductive the evidence presented by Stephenson is, there is simply not enough surviving material from the period to establish his suggestions as fact. To take just one example, the author has to conclude that we cannot know whether the period 1005–1014 consisted of constant warfare (as the older accounts would have us believe), or a formal truce between Basil and the Tsar Samuel (Stephenson's suggestion), or simply a relatively calm period punctuated by raiding on a smaller scale (Shepard's theory). What is established for certain is that Skylitzes' chronicle cannot be read as decisive proof in favour of the older view. Similarly, the bulk of chapter 4 consists essentially of a refutation of the interpretation of two well-known works of art (the emperor's portrait as an illumination in the psalter bearing his name and the so-called Bamberger Gunthertuch) as depicting Basil's Bulgarian triumph, but this does nothing of course to rule out the theoretical possibility that such a depiction simply hasn't survived. In contrast, when tracing the origins of the epithet "Bulgar-Slayer" Stephenson treads on firmer ground, as the material presented in chapter 5 seems to leave little room for an origin contemporary to Basil himself.

Such limitations stem, of course, from the fragmentary nature of the material available and are not due to the author. Despite relying on many *argumenta e silentio* and presenting ideas which can well be challenged, overall the study should be considered a success as it manages to demonstrate exactly how thin is the ice that many traditional accounts of Basil's reign and reputation tread on, offering a revised view which, if not indisputable, at least seems much more credible than the previous one.

Apart from being a compact, enjoyable read as well as an updated and critical historical account of a controversial Byzantine emperor's most famous (or infamous) campaign and later reputation, *The Legend of Basil the Bulgar-Slayer* can also be recommended to a wider audience, now that the far right rears its head both in Greece and Europe in general, as a timely reminder of the perils of recreating history for political purposes. It is a tragic irony that the real Basil, later idolized as a champion of violent nationalism, seems to have actively promoted intermarriage among the Byzantine and Bulgarian aristocracies and incorporated the latter into the subjugated province's government, appearing not as a bloodthirsty conqueror but rather as a shrewd, pragmatically minded ruler with an interest in preserving the stability of his multicultural empire.

Nikolai Kälviäinen

The Origins of Theater in Ancient Greece and Beyond: From Ritual to Drama. Edited by ERIC CSAPO and MARGARET C. MILLER. Cambridge University Press, New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-83682-1. XIX, 440 pp. GBP 50, USD 90.

The origins of theatre and the relation of ritual and drama have been discussed in many research areas from the 19th century onwards. This volume is a thorough and many-sided contribution to the discussion. The first two parts are dedicated to the role of theatre in ancient Greek culture, while the third introduces comparative cases from other cultures. Each part begins with an introduction, and Parts I and III respectively end with a discussion of the themes dealt with. The 16 contributors present a wide range of subjects that bring together ritual and drama in the context of ancient theatre. The volume ends with Part IV, Richards Seaford's conclusion ("From ritual to drama: A concluding statement", pp. 379–401).

In the general introduction (pp. 1–38), the editors Csapo and Miller provide a handy and thorough overview of the scholarship of the origins of drama in Greece. They ask whether the central position of Greece is justified within the theories of the origin of drama and also remind us of the importance to revise studies that hold a central position in scholarship, a good example for the Greek theatre being the work of Pickard-Cambridge.

Part I, "Komasts and predramatic culture", contains three chapters on komasts and padded dancers, preceded by an introduction (pp. 41–7) and followed by a discussion (pp. 108–17), both by Thomas H. Carpenter. The central question is, as Carpenter puts it, "of what use, if any, is archeology for an understanding of the prehistory of Greek drama?" (p. 41). The following chapters aim at answering this question, each handling the archeological material from slightly different angles.

Tyler Jo Smith begins the discussion with the essay "The corpus of komast vases: from identity to exegesis" (pp. 48–76). She discusses the problems of identifying a figure as a komast and goes through the evidence for komasts in different regions and their relation to drama. Smith pays attention to cases where some context for the komasts can be detected, such as symposion, festival and ritual, Dionysos, pantomime and play. She rightly notices that "crediting the scenes with such importance [i.e. origins of Greek drama] involves a certain amount of imagination" (p. 62). The factual hints at drama (as we understand it) are indeed rather scattered, and, in line with that, Smith concludes the chapter with a cautious statement (p. 72): "The diverse nature of the evidence makes difficult a single, tidy explanation for the entire iconographic corpus."

Cornelia Isler-Kerényi continues from this to a detailed discussion on dancers in relation to ritual ("Komasts, mythic imaginary, and ritual", pp. 77–95). Isler-Kerényi is somewhat more optimistic than Smith in connecting komasts with ritual and especially with Dionysos but she, too, concludes that "here ends our certainty" (p. 92). The connection between komasts/padded dancers and drama cannot in fact be proven. What becomes clear already in the contribution of Smith is that there is some divergence in terminology. The dancing figures in archaic vases are called komasts, padded dancers or grotesque (or even burlesque) dancers (p. 82), all these terms referring more or less to those figures which Isler-Kerényi describes as fat, unproportioned and clothed men executing "inelegant but standardized movements", and which are mostly anonymous and appear in groups (pp. 84–85). Isler-Kerényi herself shows slight inconsistency when she speaks mostly of grotesque dancers in her text, although 'komast' is used in the title. Furthermore, it would have been good to elaborate briefly on the difficulty

of interpreting an image as a representation of dancing and not to have stated bluntly that "this performance is clearly a dance" (p. 84). A thorough discussion of this theme can be found in the fundamental book on ancient dancing by F. Naerebout, *Attractive Performances* from 1997.

In the third essay of Part I, J. Richard Green discusses padded dancers ("Let's hear it for the fat man: Padded dancers and the prehistory of drama", pp. 96–107). The author states that the identity and function of the padded dancers "continue to be elusive" as well as the reasons they were shown on vases, but he continues by observing that "these images seem to offer our major primary source of information about the early evolution of the Greek drama" (p. 96). While the previous chapters pointed out the regional representations of these dancers, Green explicitly reminds us that "the situation we see in Corinth, for example, need not tell us all that much about the role(s) of these figures in Athens or Samos, let alone Sparta or western Greece" (p. 97). Green is perhaps the most straightforward of these three authors in what he says about regional practices and how these may have been used by painters in other areas and how modern scholarship takes up examples of vases to form an idea about what is typical and what irregular – simple facts that tend to be overlooked or forgotten. Green observes that even though it is tempting to see dancers that are named on a vase as representatives of pre-dramatic performances, there remains "a confusion between whether we are looking at created figures or young men dressed up and performing in the roles of such figures" (p. 100).

Unlike in Parts I and III, in Part II, "Emergence of drama", introduction and discussion are combined in the contribution of Gregory Nagy (pp. 121–5). He states that the terms "drama" and "ritual" should be rethought especially if one is versed only in classics and not also in anthropology. One easily tends to think that "drama" is "basically a matter of literature whereas 'ritual' defaults to some kind of subliterature" (p. 121). Nagy calls for an approach influenced by anthropology, namely, that ritual activity be described as systematically as possible, set in its historical context and only then compared to the practices known from other locations in the ancient world. For example, evidence from Archaic Corinth should be examined in the historical context of that place, and only then compared with, for example, Athens.

The first essay of Part II is by David Depew with the title "From hymn to tragedy: Aristotle's genealogy of poetic kinds" (pp. 126–49). According to his *Poetics* 4, Aristotle regards comedy as evolving out of solos performed by the leaders of phallic processions and tragedy as rooted in dithyramb. As Depew notes, despite the fact that Aristotle considers himself to "be reporting historical facts" (p. 127) and is seemingly good at details, his account has "met a good deal of scepticism in modern classical scholarship" starting with Pickard-Cambridge. Contemporary scholars, however, are willing to look at Aristotle's claims in a more positive light (e.g., D.W. Lucas or R. Janko). Depew's essay is clear and well-structured on a theme that is central to ancient Greek drama and worth a thorough discussion.

Guy Hedreen's "Myths of Ritual in Athenian Vase-Paintings of Silens" is the second essay in Part II (pp. 150–95). Hedreen examines vase-paintings as representations of mythical performances constituting "prototypes of historical choral song and dance" rather than "documentary evidence of ritual practices of masquerading as a silen" (p. 151). He discusses different themes related to choroï of silens, for example, playing strings or shown at the wedding of Dionysus and Ariadne of which one of the most famous is the Pronomos Vase, "the fullest surviving visual statement about the nature of satyrplay" (p. 176). With regard to a passage of a choral song by Pratinas of Phleious, in which the silens claim their authority in Dionysiac song and dance, Hedreen states that the vase paintings contribute to this argument, that is, the choroï

of silens are not a literary innovation of the late 5th century but rather a much earlier concept (p. 184). When the author compares the wedding scenes on vases with the concluding passage in Xenophon's *Symposion* (9,3–5) about Dionysus and Ariadne, he states that although the text is of a much later date than the vases, the "comparison is useful because it helps us to see that the scene [on the vases] can be understood as a form of dance" (p. 175). This is, indeed, the recurring idea in the whole volume: it is about dance, and this is why the word "dance" should have been used in the title.

Matthias Steinhart discusses specific scenes with komasts in Corinthian vase-painting under the title "From ritual to narrative" (pp. 196–220). He views these scenes as presenting mimetic dance, and thus "the komasts form an essential link between cultic dance and dance narrating myths or mundane events" (p. 216). Steinhart especially focuses on the relation of komasts to dithyramb and comedy, discussing not only the vases but also literary passages ranging from Pindar to Suda. The huge temporal and cultural gap in the sources is somewhat problematic, but Steinhart copes with this problem, and his concluding remark is reasonably cautious when he states that the mimetic narrative dances can be seen as catalysts for dithyramb and drama (p. 217).

Part II ends with a well-organized essay by Barbara Kowalzig, "'And now all the world shall dance!' (Eur. *Bacch.* 114): Dionysus' choroi between drama and ritual" (pp. 221–51). The author examines the cultic environment in mid-6th century Sicyon in relation to the classical Athenian tragic choroi. In a more direct way than many other writers in this volume, she reminds the reader of the important dynamic between drama, ritual and their social context. The idea that there would be no initiation to Dionysus without dancing (esp. pp. 226–32) is inspiring for a dance historian; it underlines the aspect of dance as an effective medium of communication between humans and gods, between "us" and "the others". Along similar lines, in the concluding section, Kowalzig argues (p. 245) that the choros may be "understood as the medium that makes Greek theatre a ritual", that is, the communication with the god is in this specific gathering of people made possible through dance (choros).

Part III, "Comparing other cultures", begins with a short introduction by Kimberley C. Patton (pp. 255–8). The first case beyond the boundaries of ancient Greece is Egypt: Ronald J. Lephron writes about "Ritual drama in ancient Egypt" (pp. 259–92). This article provides an overview of some of the relevant texts. The article, however, lacks clarity when discussing the date and language of the texts; it is important to know whether a text is written in Egyptian (and in what form) or in Greek, and one can never be too lighthearted about the vast time span of the material from Egypt. Without the information that papyrologists or Egyptologists are familiar with, for example, which papyrus publications deal with texts only written in Egyptian or in Greek, the reader may be rather confused or even ignorant of the importance of the issue of language. One example is the discussion of a Ptolemaic document: the text dates to the Greek period but the reader is not given information about its language (p. 268–9). Further, it is a bit confusing to read chapter 4 ("Greek sources"), as one would expect something more than just brief discussions of two passages of Herodotos (pp. 273–4). As to the discussion about the masks (pp. 270–2), it would be good to consider the possibility of a pantomime performance, that is, the person who wears the mask does not need to speak himself but can "tell the story" without words, especially when the tradition of the history of the ancient Greco-Roman pantomime claims the origin of the genre to derive "from the East" (Alexandria and Cilicia). All

in all, the role of Egyptian sources and culture deserves to be discussed and studied in depth in respect to theatre, drama and religious public performances in the ancient world, and this paper is one step in that direction.

The second case is by Günter Zobel on "Ritual and performance, dance and drama in ancient Japan" (pp. 293–328). Since most probably the average reader of the volume has Greek and Roman antiquity as providing his/her background knowledge, this section is the most unfamiliar in terms of its context. Zobel has successfully presented the historical framework, giving enough facts and dates for the reader to be able to put the performances into their context. As I am in no way expert on Japanese culture or history, this was perhaps the most thought-provoking paper of the volume inasmuch as it gives fresh ideas of how to approach the ancient Greek and Roman sources on drama and/or religious performances. I especially enjoyed reading the sections on ecstasy and dance/performance (e.g. pp. 294–8) as well as on the element of entertainment within the discussed performance genres (pp. 304–6). This article serves also as a reminder of how cultural practices change over time: they can be incorporated in new, "outsider" practices or be influenced by other religions and cultures, for example, a living religious performance.

This point takes us finally to Nils Holger Petersen's article on "Representation in European devotional rituals: The question of the origin of medieval drama in medieval liturgy" (pp. 329–60). Petersen divides the paper into two main sections, first discussing the concept of "liturgy" and then the so-called *quem quaeritis* ("Whom do you seek?") ceremony. Petersen views the *quem quaeritis* ceremony as a liturgical drama, a ceremony included in the Easter morning church celebrations that has dramatic elements. What caught my attention was the brief mention of how "the relationship between words and music – in general – is not a topic that has been much discussed in 'liturgical drama' scholarship" (p. 347). In fact, this theme should be addressed even if our factual knowledge of the realization of music is limited. For me, this is a general problem in theatre studies: too often the focus is only on the text.

This brings us to Kimberley C. Patton's concluding discussion for Part III (pp. 361–375), which provides an excellent example of the need for such a chapter in a book by many authors. The author manages to bring all three cases of Part III together to form a coherent whole. As she puts it, in quoting Roy Rappaport on performers in rituals and comparing Rappaport's idea with drama: "But one may surely make the same claim [i.e. the ritual is dependent of its existence on the instances it is performed, on its performers] for dramatic works, no matter how enshrined they have become in the literary canons of their respective cultures: if it is not performed, a play is a literary artifact, a skeleton of a living and lived entity, capable of being studied but nevertheless half-dead" (p. 373). And even though we cannot go back in time to participate in the theatrical displays at the theatre of Dionysos in Athens in the 5th century BC, we should not ignore the performance as a whole if we are to study ancient plays or theatre as an institution.

A few minor comments for the whole volume. It is always a problem where to print figures and images in a book in which the images are referred to in more than one section; so also in this volume. The reader needs to leaf through pages in order to find the relevant picture, return to the text and then find the next picture referred to. It would have been more convenient to print the illustrations at the end of the book. In the index, there could be more detailed information for indexed words (e.g. *komast*, "definition of", etc.). The lack of the word "dance" in the title of the book is, however, the greatest shortcoming. But in general we can say that the

book is an extremely interesting, important and many-sided discussion of ritual, drama – and dance.

Manna Satama

RUTH SCODEL: *Introduction to Greek Tragedy*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-87974-3 (hb), 978-0-521-70560-8 (pb). VIII, 216 pp. GBP 53, USD 84 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 26 (pb).

These days, introductions to various areas of ancient culture are frequently being published, which probably mirrors a genuine general interest. Greek tragic theatre is not an exception. With the prime quality work by many scholars in the recent past, the new introduction to Greek tragedy by Ruth Scodel faces intense competition.

In essence, the book is divided into chapters of two types (excluding the final chapter). In the first four chapters, Scodel seeks to provide the necessary background for understanding Greek tragic drama. Definitions of Greek tragedy, ancient and modern approaches to tragedy and its origins, and festivals and competitions are discussed, as well as the historical and intellectual context in which Greek tragedy existed. The mission of equipping the reader with an ability to analyse tragic texts is laudably carried out. After each chapter, a list of further reading and sources is given in a very user-friendly fashion, as Scodel does not only catalogue the texts, but also comments on them briefly. The following eight chapters are dedicated to analyses of seven chosen plays and one trilogy (*Persians* and the *Oresteia* trilogy by Aeschylus, *Antigone* and *Oedipus the King* by Sophocles, and *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Helen*, and *Orestes* by Euripides). The selection of the plays is a successful one, as the plays are different enough from each other to enable Scodel to raise various points of view, possibilities, and thematic considerations. In my opinion, the analysis of *Helen* is the strongest. Examining the play, Scodel succeeds in finding a remarkable balance between making the play understandable and at the same time demonstrating the genuine difficulties in interpreting of the play.

The final chapter, "Tragic Moments", is divided into two parts (somewhat confusingly, as the sections do not form an entity). At first, Scodel offers a comparison of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides as tragic writers. In the latter part of the chapter, the afterlife of Greek tragedy is discussed. Scodel covers both topics properly, but the tragic tradition especially could have been discussed in more detail as it is such a central part in understanding Greek tragedy.

The shortcomings of the book are few and disagreements are largely a matter of taste. For one thing, a larger number of excerpts from the tragedies could have been explicitly laid out to aid the discussion (as opposed to giving just the numbers of verses). As the title of the book suggests "Greek tragedy" and not "Classical Greek tragedy", more discussion could have been accorded to the Hellenistic era. Occasionally, one might say that Scodel oversimplifies the subject matter. For example, she writes that the tragedians produced and directed their own plays (p. 45). Sometimes they did not, and often we cannot know whether they did. Moreover, it is not even self-evident what producing and directing actually meant in the various contexts of Greek tragedy. Admittedly, these simplifications are largely due to the introductory nature of the book. In any case, what Scodel presents as simple facts and what as more debatable and complex matters is of great interest to specialists and non-specialists alike.

The book has no illustrations. This editorial decision seems questionable, as a non-specialist reader could certainly have benefited from some visual aid and clarifications. A more important role for visual material would also have fitted well with Scodel's multi-faceted approach.

However, the positives easily outweigh the negatives. Scodel's general approach is to be commended, and especially praiseworthy is her readiness to present her views on many debatable issues. Scodel writes in a sharp and thoughtful style, and a reader with little previous acquaintance with the subject matter is supportively guided to comprehend the complexity of Greek tragedy, but the book does offer food for thought for advanced students as well.

Kalle Knaapi

DANA LACOURSE MUNTEANU: *Tragic pathos. Pity and Fear in Greek Philosophy and Tragedy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2012. ISBN 978-0-521-76510-7. XIII, 278 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

Dana Lacourse Munteanu (from now on DLM) states her aim in the Preface: "this book is an examination of how ancient Greeks described and understood the emotions stirred by tragedy" (p. ix). The subheading of the book refers, however, to the real players: not ancient Greeks in general, but some Greek philosophers and some tragedies: Gorgias (pp. 37–51), Plato (pp. 52–69), Aristotle (pp. 70–138), Aeschylus' *Persians* (pp. 151–63), *Prometheus Bound* (pp. 164–80), Sophocles' *Ajax* (pp. 181–207), and Euripides' *Orestes* (208–37). Aristotle's *Poetics* is not mentioned in the subheading, but naturally it is his short work and its depiction of tragic emotions – "pity" (*eleos*) and "fear" (*fobos*) – which dominates DLM's discussion in her book. It would not be complete without handling the peculiar affections Aristotle assimilated to tragedy: tragic pleasure and *catharsis*. Owing to its complicated nature, DLM deals with *catharsis* separately in the Appendix ("Catharsis and the emotions in the definition of tragedy in the *Poetics*").

To the interesting question of why Aristotle chose pity and fear as *the* very emotions arising from tragedy, DLM answers, of course, by adducing Gorgias' *Encomium to Helen*, mentioning also Plato's *Ion* 533d–e, though only in a footnote, p. 94 n. 65. Furthermore, the book begins with a brief survey of the Indian dramatic tradition (in which DLM does not claim any expertise) as an example of Indo-European dramatic art (pp. 29–36). DLM suggests that emphasizing "pity" as the emotional experience of tragic art seems to be unique to the Greeks – based perhaps on the influence of their great subtext, Homer's epics. DLM refers at various times to the concluding scene of pity in the *Iliad*. However, later on she speaks of the "pleasure of mourning", which is combined with an ancient "Indo-European technique of consolation", that is, that mourning functions not only as an outlet of emotions but also as a way to put one's own sorrows and sufferings in perspective (pp. 136–8). Instead of these vague suggestions, there could have been a more precise outline of the conceptions of pity and fear in the Greek context (pp. 14–20), accompanied by a survey of their lexical variety and modern equivalents (like sympathy, empathy, dread and anxiety).

DLM notes that the Greeks also distinguished between other emotions that tragedy or artworks in general were supposed to arouse. She points out the passage of Gorgias' *Encomium*, where the rhetorician speaks not only of pity (toward Helen) but also of hate (toward Paris),

which his speech is supposed to elicit. In addition, DLM handles Gorgias' fragment pertaining to tragedy as "deception" and connects it with the relevant passages of the contemporary treatise *Dissoi Logoi*. The fact that the emotions felt while experiencing a "deceptive" art work could, in fact, be genuine, did not constitute any problem for Gorgias.

For Plato, however, the "untruthful" nature of art works seems to correspond to the emotions they arouse in the audience: the tragic emotions as depicted by the interlocutors in Plato's dialogues are seen as morally degenerative at their worst. DLM's treatment of Plato is succinct, but includes the most relevant passages. Most interestingly, she notes that the "staging" of the *Apology* reminds one of the tragic plot (an innocent man is condemned) and that Phaedo in a way declares how one should react to the "tragedy" of Socrates: not feeling any pity (*eleos*), because Socrates did not fear death and did not make a show of his suffering (cf. *Phd.* 58e1–3) (p. 67). According to DLM, Plato's more or less deliberate "mistake" was to confuse the aesthetic emotions of the audience with real life ones (the emotions of the performer and the audience are, however, clearly kept apart in *Ion* 535d). Therefore, DLM suggests that Aristotle was the first "theorist" of aesthetic emotions.

In making this argument, DLM quotes not only the *Poetics* and the *Rhetoric* (III, 1385b11–86b7, where Aristotle presents two kinds of *eleos*: one caused by "real events", and another caused by "artistic representation", cf. p. 91), but also quite well-known passages of *De memoria* and *De anima* pertaining to the similarities and differences between imagination (*phantasia*), which includes anticipation and memory. The underlining supposition, to which the present reviewer agrees to a certain extent, is that for Aristotle tragedy was mostly something that happened for the eyes of the mind (pp. 84–9). Furthermore, DLM suggests that Aristotle thought that tragedy (or "fiction" or artwork) works like memory: remembering the absent object as a representation and watching an object of *mimesis* are similar kinds of mental processes (p. 102). DLM acknowledges her debt for these ideas to G. M. Sifakis, and surely these passages will help us understand the conception of tragic pity and fear – as detached emotions needing an imaginative involvement of the spectator/reader. Thus, DLM interprets Aristotelian tragic emotions as kinds of "intellectual" emotions, as recognitions: tragic fear is essentially our human anxiety in the face of future calamities (based on the remembrance or knowledge of past ones) and pity a realization that everyone is exposed to this fear in some way or another. However, tragic emotions as aesthetic emotions still remain quite obscure and tragic pleasure even more so.

DLM has successfully used the current blossoming of research on the *Poetics*. One of the scholars of the subject, Elizabeth Belfiore, also read an early version of this book. DLM differs in one important respect from Belfiore's view regarding the pleasure of tragedy. While Belfiore sees Aristotelian tragic pleasure ultimately as cognitive and thus also somewhat divorced from pity and fear (p. 107), DLM suggests that pity and fear are essential emotions for the *formation* of the pleasure of tragedy. The crucial passage for this idea is in the *Poetics* 14,1453b12.

DLM argues that Aristotle advocated a certain kind of tragic pleasure (*oikeia hêdonê*) which was not just pleasure derived from accurate *mimesis*. Tragic pleasure also needs the activating of memory and detachment from the tragic events (p. 128). Tragic pleasure can be compared to the potentially positive aspects of mourning ("the pleasure of mourning"), whereby case we not only process our sorrow, but also through memory create an image of the

deceased person as a form of consolation for us. When DLM sees Aristotelian tragic pleasure as the result of a complicated mental process of realizing and recognizing tragic pity and fear, the question arises how tragic pleasure is connected with *catharsis*. She does not deal with this problem in her Appendix, which essentially is a survey of the most notable views pertaining to *catharsis*.

If the first part of the book brings out quite familiar thematizations with new suggestions, Part II is an analysis of the occurrences of the descriptions of pity and fear in some tragedies, whose selection is based on the "diversity of styles" (p. 142). In addition to the above-mentioned tragedies, DLM briefly handles Sophocles' *Oedipus in Colonus* and *Philoctetes* and Euripides' *Medea* and *Helen*. Her main observation is that tragic characters not only reveal their sufferings for all to see or realize, but also direct others by their speech and actions to react to their situation. This guiding can, however, have a different effect on the internal audience (the characters of the play) and the external audience (the spectators/readers of the tragedy). The fear, for instance, which Odysseus feels while seeing Ajax's madness, is also the fear that Ajax's misfortune could befall on him, too – the idea of the contamination of misfortune. The spectators of this scene are not in imminent danger and this is also the reason why they can feel a more "abstract" kind of fear. Furthermore, DLM shows how both pity and fear have a rich variety of instances in these tragedies. In this way she makes her point clearer: the Aristotelian tragic emotions are certain kinds of complicated and detached emotions.

In all, this book is a commendable contribution to the interpretation of tragic emotions. The emphasis is on the philosophy of the mind and aesthetics instead of the ethico-political point of view, according to which modern scholarship until recently has tended to interpret Aristotelian tragic emotions. The exposition is clear and easily comprehensible. Sometimes, however, the reader wonders if DLM has given enough thought to her target audience – the experts or the novices or those in between? She does, for example, point (although only in a footnote) out the obvious fact that *Politics* VIII "has sometimes been held as a model for catharsis in the *Poetics*" (p. 239 n. 6). Regrettably, there is no *index locorum*.

Tua Korhonen

The Cambridge Companion to Greek and Roman Theatre. Edited by MARIANNE McDONALD and J. MICHAEL WALTON. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-54234-0. XVI, 365 pp. GBP 17.99.

The Cambridge Companion series has offered easily digestible, well-written and reliable essays on many research topics in classics since the 1980s. This volume presents a many-sided picture of theatre in Greece and Rome. It contains 16 essays divided in two parts (8 essays per part), each essay being followed by endnotes and suggestions for further reading. The volume begins with an introduction by the editors McDonald and Walton (pp. 1–9). As an opening statement they write that the book is about theatre, not plays and playwrights, and that it is about "the circumstances of presentation rather than the material that was presented". This is a most welcome approach since ancient theatre was about doing and seeing – the texts that we have are only a thin slice of the whole. The volume succeeds in presenting the central themes

of ancient theatre. It gives a general overview of the subject with some chapters diving deeper into thematic details. This is a good companion for teachers and students in classics, history, and theater and dance studies.

Part I, "Text in context", focuses on texts in their historical and social contexts. The first essay is by Mark Griffith, "'Telling the tale': a performing tradition from Homer to pantomime" (pp. 13–35). This contribution provides a historical background for the essays to follow and describes the various literary genres that are closely related with drama. Richard P. Martin's essay "Ancient theatre and performance culture" (pp. 36–54) introduces themes that are central to drama: person/individual, game, play, education, entertainment, religious ritual and the polis. The next essay continues from this, going a bit deeper into one of the themes introduced earlier. Fritz Graf ("Religion and drama", pp. 55–71) surveys some central themes, such as festivals that were the main venue for drama in religious public displays, ritual in general and on stage (i.e., ritual in the play itself), the gods on stage and some theological issues.

John Hesk concentrates on "The socio-political dimension of ancient tragedy" (pp. 72–91). His essay succeeds in showing the important role tragedy played in Athenian (and later, in Roman) society in reflecting the political atmosphere. When commenting on modern adaptations of the Brechtian approach, Hesk rightly reminds us that ancient tragedy did not offer pat solutions to political or social questions, but, rather, "its 'lessons' – if indeed they can be so simplistically described – took the form of open-ended social and ethical problems". David Wiles writes about "Aristotle's *Poetics* and ancient dramatic theory" (pp. 92–107). Aristotle's *Poetics* has a lot to carry, since it is the only theoretically orientated contemporary text on ancient drama. Wiles discusses Aristotle's reception in his own times in Athens, where he was an outsider, as well as the modern interpretations of *Poetics*.

Gonda van Steen handles old comedy in the essay "Politics and Aristophanes: watchword 'Caution!'" (pp. 108–23). Although Aristophanes is the best-known writer of Athenian 5th century comedy, one does well to remember that only a small part of his production is known to us. This also means that one must be cautious when defining Aristophanes' politics, as van Steen rightly notes. In the next essay, "Comedy and society from Menander to Terence" (pp. 124–38), Sander M. Goldberg introduces the genre of New Comedy with its most famous writers. The first image in the whole book is discussed in this essay, as if underlining the focus of Part I, the text. However, texts and images tend to work well together especially in discussions of action. It is another thing to discuss dramatic texts from a philological point of view.

Hugh Denard closes Part I with "Lost theatre and performance traditions in Greece and Italy" (pp. 139–60). The author continues from the introductory chapter by reminding the reader that there were numerous other theatrical activities in antiquity besides tragedy and comedy even though the latter two tend to overshadow other genres in modern scholarship. Of interest is Figure 2, showing perhaps "dance-drama" in a rarely discussed fresco from Pompei. The essay, along with Part I, ends with a chapter on "the death of theatre", for which the Christian church may be credited.

Part II, "The nature of performance", explores elements other than text, "the plot", that constituted a theatrical performance in antiquity. Richard Green writes on "Art and theatre in the ancient world" (pp. 163–83). The title is slightly misleading, "art" referring to images mainly on vases. The content of the essay is, however, a good introduction to the images representing performances related to theatre. Rush Rehm handles "Festivals and audiences

in Athens and Rome" (pp. 184–201), first discussing what a festival was and then moving on to festivals in Athens and Rome. The chapter describes the festivals as a whole, the audience popping up here and there. Richard Beacham examines the concrete locus of drama, "Playing places: the temporary and the permanent" (pp. 202–226). He begins with the two central, almost iconic, structures for ancient theatre, the Theatre of Dionysus in Athens and the great Theatre of Pompey in Rome. In this chapter, the audience occupies a rather central role, the author pondering on how space was used in the theatrical performances in order to create the scene for the audience ("a mental scenscape"), how the audience entered and moved in the theatron, and what they saw in the skênê and orchêstra, etc. Beacham refers to the role of architecture as a visual display of status especially in Rome.

With Yana Zarifi's essay "Chorus and dance in the ancient world" (pp. 227–46) the reader is guided to the essential feature of any drama in the ancient world. This chapter is basically about the Greek contexts of dance; only the last section is about pantomime, which flourished in the Roman Empire. This is a rather typical feature in discussions of "ancient dance", and mostly due to the wealth of material from the Greek side if compared to the Roman sources. Zarifi has aimed at too broad a discussion of dance: she writes on dance in different contexts, the meaning of dance, Plato's ideas about dance, etc. In such a limited space, it would have been better to concentrate on dance in drama and theatre. The author's choice reflects, I think, the notion of dance being somewhat marginal in the modern mind. Perhaps this is one of the reasons for our need, in discussing dance in antiquity, to cover every possible aspect as if otherwise the reader would not get the main point.

The last section of Zarifi's essay handles pantomime dancing where the mask played an important role, and thus it is nicely followed by Gregory McCart's text on "Masks in Greek and Roman theatre" (pp. 247–67). Graham Ley then discusses costume and other props in "A material world: costumes, properties and scenic effects", pp. 268–85). Together these two chapters form a coherent discussion of the appearance of the actors and of the visual experience of the audience. Of special interest is McCart's enlightening essay. He writes from a practical point of view based on concrete experiments of staging ancient drama with masks. He discusses, for example, the actor's movements or use of voice when wearing a mask, the power of silent masks, the use of gestures, the physicality of ancient drama, etc. The text underlines the fact that we should not think of ancient drama only through the text (script) – the power of drama lies not in the words alone but in its entirety.

In the next chapter, J. Michael Walton explores social and cultural settings of the theatre as an organization ("Commodity: asking the wrong questions", pp. 286–302). Here, too, the dramatic text is put aside; instead, the focus is set on very pragmatic issues. Theatre is examined as a commercial enterprise, which balances the discussion of theatre from the religious point of view. Marianne McDonald concludes the volume with "The dramatic legacy of myth: Oedipus in opera, radio, television and film" (pp. 303–26). At the end, there is a useful list of playwrights and plays (pp. 327–30) and an equally useful glossary of Greek and Latin words and terms (pp. 331–40). Even though each chapter has its own short bibliography, there is also a general select bibliography at the end, with both primary and secondary sources (pp. 341–53). The index (pp. 354–65) is detailed enough for this kind of general presentation of one subject.

Classical Literary Careers and their Reception. Edited by PHILIP HARDIE – HELEN MOORE. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-76297-7. XII, 330 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

The subject of this book are the "literary careers" of certain Roman (rather than 'Classical') authors. The individual contributions deal with the question how certain career patterns were transformed into models and how these models were reflected and reshaped by the authors themselves and in later times. The articles in this book can be described as belonging to a relatively new field of literary studies, namely the so called "career criticism" which originated in the 1980's. In the beginning, "career criticism" was mostly applied to English literary studies, but more recently ancient authors have also been discussed. This book consists of selected papers delivered at the Second Passmore Edwards Symposium on Literary Careers, held in September 2004 in Oxford, together with two articles commissioned for this volume.

In the introductory chapter, the editors of the book, P. Hardie and H. Moore, define the concept of a literary career as a conscious literary construction by the author himself. When an author intentionally comments upon his earlier texts and on himself as a writer, and shows or expresses that he has a certain mental relationship with earlier (or contemporary) literature, when he, in short, has ambitions to place himself somewhere on the literary map, he can be said to have a literary career. Furthermore, the sign of a decent literary career is the progression from one genre to another (preferably from humble topics via didactic writings towards grand epic) and in its ideal form it follows the patterns of the Roman *cursus honorum*. The poet to whose career everyone is compared is, of course, Virgil. His literary career, the so called *Rota Virgiliana*, is the most admired and aspired to model for a writer from antiquity through the Renaissance to the 18th century. As for the relationship between a literary career and an author's real historical biography, they do not need to be identical but an author usually adds components from his factual life to his literary life, thus creating a desired literary image of himself. In their introduction, Hardie and Moore do not, however, offer the reader a number of simple definitions but instead ask such questions as: who actually decides whether a writer has a career? Is it the writer himself or the reader, who is inclined to see patterns in an author's production?

As we can see, a "literary career" is a fascinating but not a simple concept, and one can ask whether there is a genuine need to separate "career studies" (even on a conceptual level) from other literary and historical studies. The given parameters of the definition (an ample enough preserved production, including different genres, etc.) limit the number of potential candidates among the ancient authors, and exclude many important ancient writers. In this collection, not a single Greek author is included although according to its title it deals with "classical", not just Roman careers. The case of Aristophanes is admittedly touched upon briefly in the introduction, but one wonders whether Plato's or Aristotle's literary careers would not be worth discussing. Callimachus certainly would be a suitable subject for career studies, if only more than the fragments that we now have had been preserved.

With slight reservations concerning the concept of "career criticism" itself, it must be said that the Roman writers included here are discussed in a most interesting way. Besides the discussions of Virgil (Michael C. J. Putnam), Horace (Stephen Harrison), Ovid (Alessandro Barchiesi and Philip Hardie), Propertius (Stephen Heyworth), Juvenal (Catherine Keane), Cicero and Pliny the Younger (Roy Gibson and Catherine Keane), there are allusions to many others. All the articles are indeed impressive specimens of "career criticism", as they tend to

discuss not just details regarding individual authors, but rather the authors as representatives of the phenomenon. Besides Virgil's vertical pattern there are also other possibilities. Horace's career pattern is said to be mixture of the vertical and the horizontal: starting from iambs and hexameters of low *sermo* style and ascending to lyric but then ending his career with the *sermo* style of his last epistles. Lucilius, on the other hand, could be said to have consciously chosen an anti-career and refused to follow a *cursus honorum*. Propertius' career is also somewhat limited by the poet's unwillingness to write about much else than Cynthia, and this was obviously a conscious choice. Ovid, who was extremely ambitious and self-conscious as a poet (all his poems seem to communicate with each other) explores all the genres that are expected from a career, but in a twisted sort of manner. As A. Barchiesi and P. Hardie (and N. Krevans in Chapter 10) point out in their article, Ovid can be seen as creating a parallel to the Virgilian career but also as making fun of it.

As mentioned above, all the chapters on the Roman authors are captivating and worth the reader's attention. I would especially like to point out Nita Krevan's (= K.) article with the flamboyant title "Bookburning and the Poetic Deathbed". In this chapter, K. opens an interesting side perspective on career studies by discussing the supposed events around Virgil's deathbed. Several sources state that the dying poet wanted to have the *Aeneid* burnt, but those guarding the manuscript (Tucca and Varius) refused to fulfil his request; Augustus himself took every action needed to save the jewel of Roman literature and thus contributed to the birth of the Virgilian career model. Whether Virgil's request was seriously meant or whether it was instead intended as a gesture of exaggerated modesty, remains unanswered. However, K. lucidly points out that this last wish of having one's literary work (or part of it) destroyed can be observed as a later much repeated pattern (the same can be said of other aspects of the *rota Virgiliana*). The author argues that the idea behind the scene might be to produce a *deus ex machina* who at the last moment stops the catastrophe, just as Jupiter saves Aeneas' fleet (5, 604–99), in Virgil's case the saviour being of course Augustus. K. shows two parallels to this pattern from the early 17th century, the poets George Herbert and Sir Philip Sidney, who both at their deathbed expressed their wish that part of their production be destroyed, if it did not meet the standards of those other works which were left behind, and in doing so were clearly conscious of the Virgilian model (K. also lists a number of other writers who have made the same request). K. cleverly adds an Ovidian twist to this motif of burning books by the dying poet. She suggests that Ovid's description of burning the *Metamorphoses* in the beginning of the *Tristia* can be seen as a variation of the scene at Virgil's deathbed: for Ovid, expulsion from Rome means death and his last poem was to be destroyed. This of course turns out to be not true, but Ovid manages to make the point. K. puts Virgil's alleged dramatic behaviour in a fascinating framework, but quite amusingly also points out that this was not the norm in early Imperial Rome: on the contrary, writers like Petronius, Seneca and Lucan were reported to have done the opposite, keeping writing until the last moment.

The reception of ancient literary careers is discussed in chapters which touch upon later poets: Dante, Petrarch, Shakespeare, Milton, Marvell, Dryden, Goethe, Wordsworth and Borges. Without going into details, all these articles can be described as offering professionally, yet also entertainingly formulated views on the discussed writer's careers and show how models from classical literature were interpreted and in many cases reinvented. In his article, "Did Shakespeare Have a Literary Career?", P. Cheney (= C.) surprises (at least this) reader by answering that, according to a strict interpretation of the definition "literary career", he did not

have one. What he had was a professional career serving the commercial needs of the stage: Shakespeare was more of an actor and a businessman in the world of theatre than a poet rising on the ladders of literary achievements. But, as C. argues, if the definition of "literary" is widened, Shakespeare can also be said to have given a new meaning to the concept of career, and is today considered one of the finest examples of those who have had a literary career.

All in all, this book covers many aspects concerning the relationship between a writer's actual life, his production and literary life in general and can be recommended to all those wishing to consider new perspectives on literary studies.

Tiina Purola

JAMES J. O'HARA: *Inconsistency in Roman Epic. Studies in Catullus, Lucretius, Vergil, Ovid and Lucan*. Roman Literature and Its Contexts. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-64139-5. XIV, 165 pp. GBP 45.

In this short but perceptive study, James J. O'Hara attempts to discuss and analyse the incongruities and inconsistencies that were typical of Latin epic. Cambridge's *Roman Literature and Its Contexts* is a series that aims at introducing new perspectives and encourages discussion about classical Latin literature. Therefore, O'Hara's approach is not strongly argumentative but rather essay-like and speculative. He scrutinises competing perspectives, conflicting attitudes and a plurality of voices in Roman epic from text-specific and theoretical viewpoints, guiding the reader towards a deeper understanding of the complexities within the poems.

Epic is a literary genre that has been burdened (more so than many others) by expectations concerning unity of content. It is a kind of poetics that has been considered to offer consistent messages and promote a coherent ideology. Roman epics – particularly those from the imperial era – have been studied as representing a single philosophy and value system and, for a long time, inconsistency within these poems was considered a problem that needed to be explained away on the grounds of bad transmission or an unfinished state of the works. The greatest merit of O'Hara's study is his unprejudiced approach towards the subject: he challenges the reader to consider the striking contradictions and incongruities in the Latin epic not as mistakes but as possibly deliberate and, at any rate, functional elements that can considerably add to one's understanding of the poems.

The author considers it important to discuss epic tradition utilising a broad time frame. Instead of focusing on a single author, he examines inconsistency in five Roman hexameter works: *Catullus 64*, Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura*, Vergil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Lucan's *Bellum Civile*. Due to the relatively short length of the book, none of these poems receives a very thorough handling; obviously this is not the aim of the author. Rather, he picks different examples from these very different works, introducing themes and questions that are common to epic inconsistencies. What should be thought about Roman poets' tendency to coincidentally utilise various, often contradictory versions of a myth? How are divine inspiration and human will conflicted in the epic worldview? Is it even possible to try to make sense of the poets' political attitudes on the grounds of their inconsistent ideas about chaos, order, and the use of power?

All in all, O'Hara's study is an intriguing discussion of multiple voices perceivable in the epic tradition. It draws attention to various ways in which the internal audience, as well as the external one, are sometimes deceived by the poet. Similarly, it seeks to liberate Roman epic poets from their canonical position as interpreters of their age, and allows them a right to hesitate, err, and have a change of heart. Rather than seeking to convince the reader, O'Hara's study encourages us to consider Roman epic from various viewpoints, and to continue discussion of its goals and ideals.

Elina Pyy

Colloquial and Literary Latin. Edited by ELEANOR DICKEY – ANNA CHAHOUD. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-51395-1. XVIII, 515 pp. GBP 65, USD 110.

What is colloquial Latin? This book, dedicated to the renowned Latinist J. N. Adams, discusses one of the most intricate questions of Latin linguistics and literary studies: how and to what extent did Roman authors exploit spoken language in constructing their literary works. The term 'colloquial' remains one of the concepts that seem to escape clear-cut definitions but that are vital to any student of Roman literature or of linguistic variation and change.

The book consists of 25 articles or chapters arranged in five parts, the first part outlining the theoretical framework. Here the primary task is, inevitably, to try to determine the notoriously ambiguous terms 'colloquial' and 'literary' as precisely as possible.

In chapter 1, Eleanor Dickey points out that the two concepts refer to registers and are dependent on the linguistic genre of the text, the distinction between them being connected to that between spoken and written language. According to Dickey, the latter holds true to some point but the dichotomy 'colloquial'/'literary' cannot be equated with the dichotomy speech/writing. The fact that Classical studies deal exclusively with written sources predestines the parameters of the examination, as all written texts, be they speeches or lines of a play, have a literary touch after all, whatever conversational features they may display. As Dickey notes, another serious problem is that the terms are used inconsistently among scholars. It is well known that 'colloquial', referring either to the conversational language of low-status people or to that of high-status people, may occur in both these senses even in a single study.

In chapter 2, James Clackson surveys how the term 'colloquial' has been used in the history of linguistics. He concludes that it has too wide a field of application to serve as a classificatory term. Therefore, most linguists tend to replace it with more specific terms that do not confuse diaphasic and diastratic variation. The concept of register appears a useful tool when assessing linguistic varieties determined by the context of their use. After all this, one would have expected some definition of 'colloquial', but the author, apparently being cautious, refrains from offering any.

The authors of chapter 3, Rolando Ferri and Philomen Probert, succeed well in their unrewarding task of analysing the inconsistent terminology used by Roman authors with formal and less formal varieties of Latin. Ferri and Probert try to reconstruct the attitudes to diverse varieties by examining the classifications and examples given, first, by the rhetorical theorists

and, secondly, by the grammarians and commentators. The analysis of the rhetoricians, heavily indebted to the 2001 book of Roman Müller as the authors admit, reveals that it may be possible to identify characteristics of 'ordinary language' on the basis of certain usages assigned to 'simple style'. It is, however, the grammarians who appear to be more aware of (or interested in) register variation in their discussions of the *vitia orationis*. The term *idiotismus* in particular often covers colloquial idioms. The appendix of the terms analysed in the article is useful to everyone who needs to check how Roman writers used a specific metalanguage term.

The core of the introductory part of the book is clearly chapter 4, in which Anna Chahoud tries to constitute a reasonable set of criteria to distinguish truly colloquial features from alleged ones, that is, from those that are explicable in other ways. Chahoud systematically scrutinises the possible opposites of 'colloquial' (dichotomies between colloquial vs. intellectual/stylised/poetic/vulgar/archaic) that are found in literary studies. Chahoud makes two important observations about the temporal dimension: first, as we deal with almost a millennium of Latin literature, what is colloquial at a specific date may not be such at another point of time; second, in many studies the unquestioned reference point for evaluating the colloquial is the Augustan age. Somewhat strangely, Chahoud herself, like many other authors of the book, contents herself with this Augustan point of reference. In conclusion, Chahoud presents a list of stylistic indicators of colloquialism based on the assessment of their context and distribution. Several questions remain, understandably, unanswered, for example, the one concerning the possibly colloquial nature of parataxis.

Chapter 5, written by Eleanor Dickey, is a much required but rather discouraging summary of the theoretical background illustrated in the previous chapters. In my opinion, the introductory chapters succeed very well in demonstrating the complexity of the problems around 'colloquial', even though the moral of the story seems to be, roughly put, that it is legitimate to look for colloquial Latin starting from any one of the premises described in the first four chapters on condition that these premises are not assumed to be automatically interconnected. As Dickey soundly sums up, if a text represents one characteristic symptom of colloquialism, it need not represent others.

The rest of the book consists of case studies divided chronologically into four parts: Early Latin, Classical Latin, Early Principate and Late Latin. Some articles are research reports answering specific research questions, while others seem to be more like commented lists of possibly colloquial features discovered in certain texts (e.g. chapter 12, Tobias Reinhardt on Syntactic colloquialism in Lucretius, or chapter 16, Stephen J. Harrison on conversational usages in the divine discourse of the *Aeneid*). I will deal here with the chapters that I find the most important.

In his thorough article on possessive pronouns in Plautus (chapter 6), Wolfgang David Cirilo de Melo draws attention to the fact that the 3rd person *suus* is used in post-modifier hyperbata more often than the other possessive pronouns. To my mind, this unexpected distribution could possibly be interpreted by applying the same semantic argument that de Melo uses when discussing the status of the phrase *suus sibi*: the difficult identificability of the 3rd person compared to the 1st and 2nd persons. De Melo, contrary to Stephen J. Harrison (chapter 16), does not consider structures of type *suus sibi* colloquial.

As regards Early Latin in general, it can be observed that, as Hilla Halla-aho and Peter Kruschwitz state in chapter 8, much allowed variation existed before the standardisation processes of Classical Latin and, therefore, several features that have been labelled colloquial

in earlier studies should not be considered as such. Jan Felix Gaertner (chapter 14) postpones the stabilisation of the standard of 'correct' literary Latin as late as in the early Principate. Halla-aho and Kruschwitz examine the language of early Roman tragedy and conclude that colloquial elements are part of the variation attested within the tragic register. After a meticulous discussion of a wide range of potential colloquialisms, the authors consider only *habet* (= *habitat*), *bene facis* and some frequentative verbs to be truly colloquial.

In chapter 10, J. G. F. Powell provides a detailed categorisation of discontinuous noun phrases in Cicero. Powell demonstrates that hyperbaton should not be treated as a rhetorical figure: it is a purely linguistic phenomenon used as a focusing device according to complex linguistic rules. Moreover, Powell is able to show that hyperbaton does not actually belong to either rhetorical or colloquial contexts, but may be rather a feature used in imitating oral discourse. This may seem surprising, but I do find Powell's reasoning convincing.

In her innovative article (chapter 21), Brigitte L. M. Bauer seeks the forerunners of the Romance type adverb 'adjective + *mente*'. A statistical analysis of selected prose writers, poets and playwrights indicates that the adverbial change may have originated in poetry where combinations of adjective + noun such as *pede*, *manu*, *pectore*, *lingua*, *corde* seem to have simultaneous instrumental and adverbial value from very early on. In prose, this development is properly attested only later. Albeit exceptional, this direction of change downwards from higher registers seems to be confirmed by Bauer's earlier studies on adjective + *mente*. I would, however, regard with reservation Bauer's suggestion that the origin of this shift was in the creative freedom of the poet. The motivation could be sought, instead, in the semantic potential of these noun phrases (perhaps cross-linguistically). In any case, further research on this interesting topic is required.

The final part of the book deals with Late Latin. The articles show that with the mainly unexplored Late Latin materials it is still possible to make remarkable discoveries.

In chapter 22, Giovanbattista Galdi examines the possible colloquialisms of Jordanes' epitomes *Getica* and *Romana*. The main outcome of the article is to show how cautious one must be when analysing the language of Late Latin compendia based on several sources. Galdi is able to prove, on the base of a comparison between the *Getica* and its sources, that many orthographic, phonetic and morphological errors are likely to be due to the transmission history, not to Jordanes himself. When combining material from several sources, Jordanes ended up with hypercorrections and mixed constructions that seem to reflect late colloquial trends. One remains, however, astonished by the claim that Jordanes' mother tongue had been Gothic instead of Latin.

In chapter 23, Danuta Shanzer revises the obscure case of an alleged correspondence between two Merovingian bishops, Frodebert and Importunus. The five letters are written in a seemingly simple style abounding with vulgar features but, in spite of this, employ various literary registers and many learned religious expressions. Opinions about the nature, purpose and even authenticity of these texts vary among scholars, and Shanzer rightly points out the difficulty of analysing linguistically text types elsewhere unattested (cf., e.g., *Hisperica famina* or Virgilius Maro Grammaticus). Through a profound philological analysis of the texts, Shanzer provides several plausible interpretations of complicated lexical issues of an ecclesiastical nature and is able to demonstrate quite convincingly that the letters are genuine. Her claim that this letter collection represents 'a parodic and consensual correspondence' between jolly clerics remains, however, a matter of opinion.

In chapter 24, Michael Lapidge sets out to examine the colloquial features of a minor Latin genre of scholastic *colloquia*, that is, model conversations for Latin students of Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. The genre seems potentially prolific, but Lapidge concentrates on finding out if the text known as *De aliquibus raris fabulis* was written in sub-Roman Britain or not. The manuscript dates to the 10th century. Lapidge concludes that because the text contains several common vulgar features and does not resemble Medieval Latin, it 'could arguably point' to it being composed in sub-Roman Britain. It is, however, difficult to understand why the text could not have been copied from a (possibly non-insular) Roman-era *colloquium* much later, for example, in the 10th century. In order to clarify this point, one could start by comparing the language of the text to other, dated texts of the same manuscript (if available).

Perhaps the most important result of this collection of articles is to have highlighted, through a systematic study, the intricacy of the often so vaguely utilised concepts 'colloquial' and 'literary'. It seems that colloquialism, whatever that may be, is best seen as a continuum – as so many phenomena nowadays. Now, once the field of study has been, so to say, charted, further research can be carried out with the focus on those points that the writers of this book found the most difficult.

As often happens in this kind of book consisting of several independent contributions, the quality of the articles varies. As a whole, the book is, however, a balanced ensemble of good scholarly work and in this respect an appropriate gift to its honorand.

Timo Korkeakangas

Inscriptiones Graecae. Vol. IX: *Inscriptiones Graeciae septentrionalis voluminibus VII et VIII non comprehensae consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editae*. Pars 1: *Inscriptiones Phocidis Locridis Aetoliae Acarnaniae insularum maris Ionii*. Fasc. 5: *Inscriptiones Locridis orientalis*. Schedis usa quas condidit GUENTHERUS KLAFENBACH edidit DANIELA SUMMA. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 2012. ISBN 978-3-11-026200-1. X, 147 pp., 20 tab. EUR 229.

Mit dieser Ostlokris gewidmeten Ausgabe wird die Neuauflage des ersten Teils von *IG IX* fortgesetzt. Sie macht im Ganzen einen vorzüglichen Eindruck. Der Zuwachs an Inschriften ist ansehnlich. In der ersten Auflage von 1897 hatte Dittenberger deren 84 zusammengestellt, während die neue Ausgabe die Zahl 263 Nummern beträgt. Darunter finden sich freilich keine wirklich sensationellen Inschriften (aber etwa die Texte von Opus enthalten einige interessante öffentliche Urkunden), doch ist man der Editorin dankbar, dass sie alle epigraphischen Urkunden der kleinen Landschaft der Forschung in einem handlichen Band zur Verfügung gestellt hat.

Der Edition sind umfangreiche Fasti vorausgeschickt, die bis zum 8. Jahrhundert n. Chr. reichen. Dann folgt die Edition selbst, danach die Indices, eine Karte (die anschaulicher sein könnte), photographische Abbildungen. Die Edition umfasst alle zurzeit verfügbaren Texte, darunter einige von lokalen Archäologen in diesem Band mit ihren Sigeln publizierte Stücke. Es wäre aber schön gewesen, wenn auch der unter 1780 erwähnte archaische Text in extenso hätte mit einbezogen werden können. Die Kommentare sind kurz gehalten und betreffen meistens onomastische Gegebenheiten (dazu einiges unten unter den Einzelbemerkungen). –

Auch diejenigen Ortschaften werden kurz beschrieben, die keine Inschriften geliefert haben. – Das Latein ist gut verständlich; ein paar Entstellungen (Praefatio, erster Absatz: *relinquorum*; in 1781 würde ich das Wort *alienus* vermeiden und in 1793 *ab* vor *eadem manu* tilgen; 1862 *vasibus* kommt erst in der Spätantike in Gebrauch, weswegen man ihn eher vermeiden sollte; 1955 *testatur*; *quoque* wird oft vor das Hauptwort gestellt, was sich auch in anderen *IG*- und *CIL*-Bänden ständig wiederholt) erschweren das Verständnis des Gedankenganges nicht.

Ein paar Einzelbemerkungen. 1783: überliefert ist ΚΛΕΙΤΙΛΙΑΣ, was Dittenberger in Κλειτί<δ>ας änderte. S. will die überlieferte Form beibehalten, mit Hinweis auf andere Namen auf -τίλας; ihre Beispiele können aber die tradierte Form nicht stützen, denn -τίλας ist kein Hinterglied von Vollnamen (Ἀντίλας und Ἀρτίλας teilen sich Ἀντι- / Ἀρτι- + -λα(ο)ς; und Κωτίλας gehört zu κωτίλος). Λ für Δ ist ein leicht verständlicher Fehler als harmlose Verschreibung oder Verlesung. Ich halte Dittenbergers Emendation für notwendig. – 1790: Ξενώ ist ein guter Frauenname, und S. hat Recht, wenn sie den Editoren des *LGPN* nicht folgt, die Ξένων konjizieren wollen. – 1829 und sonst: ich würde eher χρηστέ, χαίρει schreiben. – 1836: der Name Νεστόριος ist eine spätantike Bildung, kaum vor dem 3. Jh. möglich. – 1954: dass Φάντου keinen bekannten Namen vertrete, stimmt nicht; *CID* II 74 I 76 und sonst (337/6 v. Chr.) nennt einen Φάντος Τροζήνιος; und in Rom ist belegt *Phantes* (*CIL* VI 14241. 14243), dessen Genetiv im Griechischen Φάντου lauten würde. – Index S. 125 schreibe Εὐφρόσυνος Εὐφροσύνου. – Am Ende sei hervorgehoben, dass wir es mit einem vorzüglichen Arbeitsinstrument zu tun haben. Hoffentlich wird der letzte Faszikel von *IG* IX 1 bald das Tageslicht sehen und einen ähnlich hohen Standard aufweisen.

Heikki Solin

FILIPPO CANALI DE ROSSI: *Filius publicus. ΥΙΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ e titoli affini in iscrizioni greche di età imperiale*. Studi sul vocabolario dell'evergesia 1. Herder, Roma 2007. ISBN 978-88-89670-24-8. IX, 272 pp. EUR 40.

Questo libro, il cui tema è nato da una tesi di laurea discussa nel 1987 a Roma (sotto la supervisione di Luigi Moretti), è dedicato ai titoli onorifici portati, nel mondo ellenofono e soprattutto in età imperiale, da personaggi benemeriti, titoli che, da un lato, legavano l'onorato all'ambito familiare (υἱός, θυγάτηρ, πατήρ, μήτηρ), da un altro, a enti e referenti pubblici quali il *demos*, la *polis*, la provincia, la *boule*, ecc. I motivi per l'assegnazione di tali titoli erano molti e vari, ma tipicamente si trattava di riconoscimenti per personaggi (uomini e donne) resesi benemeriti nei confronti delle loro comunità o attraverso lo svolgimento di incarichi politici e civici o per via di donazioni di agoni, banchetti, grano e olio, ecc. In alcuni casi, i motivi erano ben diversi: tra i molti e insigni meriti del noto medico Gaio Stertino Senofonte di Cos, spicca quello di aver curato la salute degli imperatori romani ("primo medico degli Dei Augusti", n. 9b). La prima parte, suddivisa in 15 capitoli tematici, costituisce un'utilissima raccolta di più di 150 epigrafi accompagnate da commenti pertinenti e traduzioni agevoli. Nella seconda, vengono offerti ampi e diversi indici, una bibliografia e concordanze. I pochi problemi o di carattere tipografico o relativi alla qualità delle fotografie non diminuiscono la buona impressione generale avuta dalla consultazione del catalogo.

Un dettaglio: riguardo al n. 118 (Sparta), la mia ipotesi di intendere ΠΙΠΕΥΚΛΗΤΙΑ (tramandato da vecchi autori) come προευκλήτᾳ (*HSCP*h 102 [2004] 6–8) ovviamente funzionerebbe solo se questa parola fosse preceduta da un nome femminile. Se invece, nella riga 10, leggiamo con l'autore ἰέρεια πατρ(ίδος), cosa del tutto plausibile, allora l'unica possibilità è individuare il necessario nome femminile in ΠΙΠΕΥΚΛΗΤΙΑ. Tuttavia, se si tratti di "Preucle-tia" (peraltro un hapax) rimarrebbe il problema della mancanza del patronimico, e perciò nel suddetto articolo ho suggerito in alternativa "Aur(elia) Eucletia".

Mika Kajava

J. L. GÓMEZ-PANTOJA: *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano. VII. Baetica, Tarraconensis, Lusitania*. *Vetera* 17. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-7140-377-9. 318 pp., 40 tavv. b/n. EUR 47.

Here we have another volume in the series *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano*, vol. 7 in the series (and vol. 17 within the series *Vetera*). As vol. 1 (of 1988) and 6 dealt with Rome, vol. 2 with the Italian regions VI–XI, vol. 3 with the regions II–V, vol. 4 with *regio* I (Latium), vol. 5 with the north-western provinces from the *Alpes Maritimae* to Britain, and this volume is now on Spain, it appears that only Africa and the "occidental" provinces east of Raetia are left. Whether these volumes will materialize one day remains unknown; this volume certainly does not contain any indication as to the future plans of the series, now edited by G. L. Gregori.

To be quite honest, there have been moments when I have wondered whether the inscriptions pertaining to the amphitheatrical world are not receiving more attention than they should. Although it cannot be denied that the amphitheatre played an important role in the Roman world, there are after all many other institutions for which the source material is mainly epigraphical and many other categories of inscriptions of which one would like to have the material collected and illustrated on this lavish scale. However, at the same time it must be observed that the volumes on the *epigrafia anfiteatrale* are of interest not only to those dealing specifically with amphitheatres and with whatever is going on in them, for gladiatorial games etc. are often mentioned also in inscriptions not primarily devoted to amphitheatrical events. Even only a passing mention of something relevant to this particular series in (say) an inscription in honour of a local notable secures the inclusion of this inscription in the relevant volume, normally with photographs, bibliographical indications and so on. In fact, in the case of many Italian honorific inscriptions belonging to the municipal sphere (a category of inscriptions often mentioning various games, etc.), the *epigrafia anfiteatrale* volumes are the place to look for photos and bibliographical information.

In any case, what we have is the volume covering Spain. Of course, the texts, although found in Spain, do not all refer to Spanish matters. To say nothing of no. 3 (the well-known *s. c. de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis*), for instance no. 4 (*AE* 2003, 931 [not "93"]) refers to a procurator *ad familiam gladiatoriam* operating not in Spain but in N. Italy and in 'Pannoniae' and 'Dalmatiae', the man's presence in Spain being explained by the fact that he was later procurator of the *vicesima hereditatum* in Lusitania and Spain; and no. 5 (*CIL* II 1085 = *ILS* 1406) refers to a procurator of the *ludus magnus* in Rome, later promoted to the procuratorship of Baetica. On the other hand, the inscriptions of various gladiators found in Spain, especially in Corduba (no. 19ff.), obviously all pertain to Spain itself.

The book starts with a section called "Esclusioni" (p. 19ff.), devoted to inscriptions which have been seen as relevant by other scholars, but not judged as pertaining to the amphitheatre by the editor. In the beginning (p. 19f.), there are some "omissions" without numbers (mostly of archaeological nature but also a few inscriptions, e.g., that of a *dissignator* of Corduba, *CIL* II² 7, 345), this section being followed (on p. 20–34) by altogether 47 "excluded" inscriptions (many of them appearing in the book of A. Ceballos, *Los espectáculos en Hispania romana* of 2004) furnished with numbers. This section is of interest as many of the texts are important and as all of these inscriptions, too, have been equipped with a bibliography and many are illustrated by photos; note esp. no. 2 = *CIL* II 21 = *ILS* 6093; no. 7 = *CIL* II 1956 = *ILS* 5512 (in this and the following cases, the reference to *ILS* is not given); *CIL* II 3269abc = *ILS* 5513; no. 11 = *CIL* II 3408 = I² 2269 (a reference to B. Díaz Ariño, *Epigrafía latina republicana de Hispania* [2008], C, 15, might have been of use); no. 15 = *CIL* II 21 = *ILS* 5162; no. 37 = *AE* 1968, 229–31 (inscriptions of the procurator Iulius Silvanus Melanio). In no. 42, there is a reference to an unpublished inscription from the amphitheatre in Emerita mentioning an Ummidius, *Ilvir* and *flamen*.

This section is followed by the edition proper (p. 35ff.). The first chapter is on "L'amministrazione dei munera"; much of it is occupied by three texts, the chapters on *spectacula* in the *lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae* and in the *lex Irnitana* and by the *s. c. de pretiis gladiatorum minuendis*, already mentioned above. The commentaries, which are quite substantial, are important contributions to the subject. If I may comment on the text of no. 2 (the *lex Irnitana*), I am sure that the reading in A, line 2, must be *quantum* (non *quantam*); and in the *senatus consultum* on the gladiators, I would prefer *quae causa* instead of *quae, causa* in line 2f. and *sanct{a}e* in line 8. The rest of this chapter consists of inscriptions of procurators (nos. 4 and 5, for which see above) and of persons belonging to the category of "personale subalterno". In the next section II (this section, too, of interest also from the point of view of the average epigraphist), we have inscriptions referring to various games, e.g., no. 8 (*CIL* II 1305) mentioning *XX paria gladiatorum* (I think the stone should have been described as "marmor quadratum" rather than as "quadratus"). In no. 11 (*CIL* II² 7, 221), the commentary might have said something on *circiens(ibus)* (instead of *circens(ibus)*), a form which seems to be attested mainly in Spanish inscriptions. No. 16 is the most interesting inscription in honour of M. Valerius Proculus from Singili (*AE* 1989, 420 = *CIL* II² 5, 789) mentioning, apparently for the first time, *ludi privati*.

Section III (nos. 17ff.) collects the inscriptions of gladiators and of other persons involved in gladiatorial activities (e.g., a *doc(tor) ret(iariorum)* in no. 18). The inscriptions (many of them, as mentioned above, from Corduba) are followed by an Appendix which lists eight fragments of "vasi ceramici con scene gladiatorie" (but all of them also with inscriptions), some of them unpublished (no. 40 with the text *Cladus Mentonianus vicit. O(plomachus)*, no. 41 with *L. Cassi[us] ---] vicit*). The last section IV is devoted to inscriptions pertaining to the amphitheatres themselves. Here we have, e.g., the inscription of the amphitheatre of Emerita (no. 46 = *AE* 1959, 28, of 8/7 BC) and the 79 fragments of the inscription of the amphitheatre of Tarraco, as reconstructed by G. Alföldy (no. 49). There are also the inscriptions found on seats in some amphitheatres, in some cases with names (nos. 52–5). No. 54.7 = *CIL* II 5108 = 5365 (Italice; by the way, Hübner cannot have written "saeculo quarto ... tribuendo est") seems to preserve a name ending in *-tamius* (*[---]tamii Natalis*). Hübner thinks of *[Po]tamius* (attested as signum, I. Kajanto, *Supernomina* [1966] 87), but I wonder whether one could not think of the only nomen ending in *-tamius*, namely *Gutamius*, the only attestation of which is, it is true,

not from Itálica, but at least from Spain (*CIL* II 796 cf. p. 826; later "editions" of this text are to be ignored). This section also contains inscriptions mentioning works in amphitheatres (nos. 56, 57, both mentioning work on *loca spectaculorum*) and "luoghi di culto annessi agli anfiteatri" (nos. 58–74). These texts all seem to be votive inscriptions found within amphitheatres (e.g., no. 58 dedicated to *Caelestis Nemesis* found "nella parete destra dell'accesso settentrionale" of the amphitheatre at Emerita).

At the end of the book, the material is presented in "tabelle riepilogative" (e.g., gladiators with nomina and gladiators without nomina, tables 12 and 13 on p. 208f.) which are followed by "considerazioni generali" (p. 211ff.) which end with a list of all amphitheatres found in Spain, including those not attested in epigraphical sources.

In sum, this book contains a wealth of information of interest not only to those scholars who deal with amphitheatres and the amphitheatrical world but also to the general classical scholar.

Olli Salomies

Libro delle iscrizioni dei sepolcri antichi. Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio, Napoli vol 8. A cura di SILVIA ORLANDI. De Luca Editori d'Arte, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-8016-750-1. XV, 374 pp. EUR 150.

Procede la pubblicazione dell'Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio. Se nella recensione dei volumi precedenti ho pronunciato parole di lode, bisogna spendere anche per il presente volume tutto il nostro apprezzamento. Inoltre si tratta di uno dei più importanti libri della produzione ligoriana. L'ottavo volume della serie napoletana relativo al libro XXXIX delle *Antichità* è dedicato interamente alle iscrizioni; in esso va riconosciuto il "libro delli epitaffii" più volte ricordato nel codice precedente. Le iscrizioni in esso contenute sono funerarie, a differenza di altri libri di contenuto epigrafico in cui Ligorio ha collocato epigrafi votive, onorarie, ecc. Il valore della nuova edizione critica è accresciuto anche dal fatto che il libro 39, anche se a suo tempo spogliato dagli editori del *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, contiene molte nozioni ed anche iscrizioni stesse sfuggite all'attenzione degli editori del corpus berlinese. L'autrice Silvia Orlandi, curatrice anche del precedente volume, offre nella succinta introduzione nozioni sul carattere e contenuto del libro 39. Poi segue l'edizione, in cui i commenti di Ligorio vengono resi in caratteri moderni, ma i suoi disegni riprodotti fedelmente in copia; purtroppo la qualità dei disegni lascia piuttosto a desiderare (la casa editrice è stata costretta a risparmiare?); tuttavia, nell'accluso CD si possono leggere i disegni con più chiarezza. Concludono un'appendice di S. Crea, una nota al testo di A. Sereni, un'analisi codicologica di A. Ciaralli, una bibliografia, vari indici e una concordanza.

Si tratta di un volume di prim'ordine, composto con grande cura e acume filologico. Le mie critiche sono poche. Qualche volta l'a. lascia a becco asciutto con la mancata trascrizione di epigrafi inedite: al f. 139v (= p. 176 del volume moderno) è pubblicato il disegno di un'epigrafe inedita funeraria, il cui testo è illeggibile nella riproduzione (ma anche nel CD), per cui sarebbe stato auspicabile darne una trascrizione (se poi è possibile decifrare l'inizio del testo dove stava il gentilizio della defunta, del cui nome si può leggere soltanto il cognome *Dionysiadi*).

Per sottolineare l'importanza dei materiali contenuti nel libro 39, analizzerò alla fine brevemente un caso singolo che dimostra quante notizie importanti possa offrire un'analisi approfondita del codice napoletano. Sappiamo da molte fonti che Ligorio e il cardinale Rodolfo Pio di Carpi (il quale possedette a Roma una casa e un famoso giardino sul Quirinale, ambedue contenenti ricche collezioni di antichità, tra l'altro iscrizioni) si conoscevano bene ed mantenevano fitti rapporti. Pirro include nel codice parecchie iscrizioni delle raccolte carpensi (come si solevano chiamare le collezioni di Pio) che ha senza dubbio studiato di prima mano (non è neanche escluso che egli abbia mandato al cardinale iscrizioni riferentisi al personale della casa imperiale romana, inclusi numerosi falsi, poi esposti nel palazzo di Pio). Ai ff. 117r–119v si trova un numero rilevante di epigrafi, che sembra siano tutte appartenute alla collezione di Pio (tranne *CIL* VI 18005, certamente aliena) come un'attenta analisi sembra dimostrare. Anche se per un certo numero dei pezzi manca una *Nebenüberlieferung*, l'informazione data da Ligorio sembra cogliere nel segno. Se ciò è vero, allora dobbiamo tra l'altro ripensare le problematiche relative ad alcune iscrizioni ritenute false dagli editori del corpus berlinese contenute in questa sezione del codice; almeno saranno tutte esistite sulla pietra (e non soltanto sulla carta), proprio per il fatto che i fogli 117r–119v sembrano costituire una unità coerente; alcune delle iscrizioni ritenute comunemente false devono essere considerate piuttosto autentiche, anzi, soltanto una, *CIL* VI 371* (f. 118v) sembra con certezza un falso (sulla questione ho scritto nel libro sul collezionismo nel Cinquecento, di prossima pubblicazione).

In conclusione, un volume importante, cui speriamo seguano altri dell'edizione nazionale di Ligorio, realizzati con la stessa accuratezza.

Heikki Solin

The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology. Edited by ROGER S. BAGNALL. Oxford University Press, Oxford – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-19-517838-8. XXIV, 688 pp. GBP 95 (hb), GBP 32.50 (pb).

What is known as 'papyrology' is a wide field ranging from palaeography and linguistics to various ways of interpreting history for over a thousand years in Antiquity. The survival circumstances of papyrus and similar writing materials are better in Egypt than elsewhere, but as this *Handbook* illustrates, papyrologists nowadays deal with the whole of the ancient world from the Roman fortress at Vindolanda, Great Britain, to the Near East. Seeing that the topic is so vast, it is understandable that the volume comprises almost 700 pages.

Even though, as the editor Roger S. Bagnall states in the Introduction (p. XX), "handbooks tend to be consulted or read in part rather than continuously", this volume constitutes a coherent whole. Thus, I slightly disagree with Bagnall (still on p. XX): "Although some repetition has been excised, some remains, and some contention remains, too." In my opinion, there is surprisingly little repetition, and the contention is hardly recognisable.

"The divide between the methodological and substantive sides of the discipline will also be evident. Some chapters are more practical in character, aiming to help the reader to understand how papyrologists go about reading, editing, and making sense of the texts. Others give some of the results of that process." (Bagnall, p. XIX) The chapters are arranged accord-

ingly. The first nine chapters are concerned with the more practical issues, and from chapter 10 on, the two sides of the discipline go hand in hand. Even in the perhaps most theoretical chapter 21, Todd M. Hickey's "Writing Histories from the Papyri", the practical side of papyrology is both present and discussed.

As Bagnall notes in the introduction, one could have arranged the order of the chapters differently. Bagnall's own chapter 8, "Practical Help", could have preceded N. Gonis' chapter 7, "Abbreviations and Symbols", but this is a minor matter of opinion. All in all, both Bagnall's chapter 8 and P. Schubert's chapter 9, "Editing a Papyrus", are good examples of how lucidly and in a lively manner the present authors can write about potentially "boring" subjects. I especially enjoyed the illuminating examples from modern languages in Schubert's "Editing a Papyrus".

It is evident throughout the Handbook that the authors are the leading experts of their field. Raffaella Cribiore's chapter 14, "Education in the Papyri", and Dorothy Thompson's chapter 17, "The Multilingual Environment of Persian and Ptolemaic Egypt, Egyptian, Aramaic and Greek Documentation", are as good examples as any. Also the concluding chapter 27, "The Future of Papyrology" by Peter van Minnen is clearly something that the author has pondered on thoroughly on several occasions.

One both reads and consults this handbook with pleasure. To illustrate the range of the topics discussed in the handbook, the contents are: 1) Writing Materials in the Ancient World (Adam Bülow-Jacobsen); 2) The Finds of Papyri (Hélène Cuvigny); 3) The History of the Discipline (James G. Keenan); 4) Conservation of Ancient Papyrus Materials (Jaakko Frösén); 5) Greek and Latin Writing in the Papyri (Guglielmo Cavallo); 6) The Greek and Latin Languages in the Papyri (Eleanor Dickey); 7) Abbreviations and Symbols (Nikolaos Gonis); 8) Practical Help (Roger S. Bagnall); 9) Editing a Papyrus (Paul Schubert); 10) Archives and Dossiers (Katelijjn Vandorpe); 11) The Ancient Book (William A. Johnson); 12) Papyrology and Ancient Literature (Timothy T. Renner); 13) The Special Case of Herculaneum (David Sider); 14) Education in the Papyri (Raffaella Cribiore); 15) Mathematics, Science and Medicine in the Papyri (Alexander Jones); 16) The Range of Documentary Texts (Bernhard Palme); 17) The Multilingual Environment of Persian and Ptolemaic Egypt (Dorothy J. Thompson); 18) The Multilingual Environment of Late Antique Egypt (Jean-Luc Fournet); 19) Arabic Papyri and Islamic Egypt (Petra M. Sijpesteijn); 20) The Papyrology of the Near East (Jean Gascou); 21) Writing Histories from the Papyri (Todd M. Hickey); 22) Geography and Administration in Egypt (Maria Rosaria Falivene); 23) Law in Greco-Roman Egypt (Uri Yiftach-Firanko); 24) Egyptian Religion and Magic in the Papyri (Willy Clarysse); 25) Christianity in the Papyri (David G. Martinez); 26) Manichaeism and Gnosticism in the Papyri (Cornelia Römer); 27) The Future of Papyrology (Peter van Minnen).

Erja Salmenkivi

PETER FRANZ MITTAG: *Römische Medaillons. Caesar bis Hadrian*. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2010. ISBN 978-3-515-09699-7. 236 S., 8 s/w Abb. 69 Taf. mit 617 Münzabb. EUR 54.

Es handelt sich um ein wichtiges Buch. Medaillons waren ebenso wie reguläre Münzen wichtige Medien der Selbstdarstellung römischer Kaiser. So war es eine glückliche Idee, ein

Handbuch mit einem vollständigen Repertoire zu produzieren. Der Autor beginnt mit der Definition des Begriffs 'Medaillon', was alles andere als leicht ist. Den Löwenteil des Buches nimmt die Analyse der Kaisermedaillons ein (23–104), vor allem der des Hadrian, worauf auf den Seiten 104–10 eine Zusammenfassung des analytischen Teils folgt. Den Schlussteil bildet ein ausführlicher Katalog der Medaillons, der von Caesar bis Hadrian reicht; am Ende steht ein Verzeichnis der nicht in den Katalog aufgenommenen Exemplare. Konkordanzen, Indices und photographische Abbildungen beschließen den Band. Ein gelungenes Werk, sehr nützlich, mit klarer Präzision durchgeführt. Ich schließe mit dem Hinweis auf zwei Bleitesserae aus Antium (*CIL* X 6697 = XV 7926; wird X² 403) mit den Texten *Hadrianus Augustus* und *L. Coc(cei)*, die vielleicht – zumindest als Kuriosa – hätten erwähnt werden können; zuletzt behandelt von A. M. Hirt, *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World*, Oxford 2010, 428 n. 925. 926.

Heikki Solin

P. J. RHODES: *The Greek City States. A Source Book*. Second edition. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-61556-3 (pb). XIII, 339 pp. GBP 19.99.

La seconda edizione del libro *The Greek City States* offre un repertorio utilissimo non solo per gli studenti ma per chiunque si occupi della storia greca. Le 528 voci incluse sono divise in 11 capitoli che cronologicamente si estendono dallo stato omerico fino al periodo romano. La presentazione dei materiali è costantemente chiara e logica, e le fonti scelte sono accompagnate da commenti lodevolmente concisi e pertinenti. Rispetto all'edizione precedente (1986), risultano particolarmente benvenuti i tre nuovi capitoli di carattere tematico dedicati rispettivamente a "donne e bambini" (6), "vita economica" (7) e "religione" (8). Sono qua e là aggiornate e arricchite le sezioni su "stato arcaico", "Sparta", "Atene", ecc. (con, per esempio, l'aggiunta della legge sull'omicidio di Dracone n. 45). Nell'ultimo capitolo (11) concernente il periodo ellenistico e romano, purtroppo, data la vastità dei temi rilevanti, sembra a volte svanire il filo conduttore dell'opera, cioè, la città-stato greca.

In somma, un eccellente manuale in termini di qualità e contenuto, che doverosamente rende le fonti antiche più accessibili agli studenti e al grande pubblico. In questa prospettiva, Rhodes ha compiuto un lavoro esemplare: saranno sicuramente apprezzate dai lettori le traduzioni dei testi greci, in quanto chiare e leggibili e peraltro frequentemente corredate da precisazioni relative al testo.

Mika Kajava

POLLY LOW: *Interstate Relations in Classical Greece. Morality and Power*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-87206-5 (hb). X, 313 pp. GBP 59.

Il presente volume, che prende le mosse da una tesi di dottorato cantabrigiense (2002), intende illustrare il quadro concettuale all'interno del quale le città greche gestivano i rapporti reciproci. A tale scopo, Low presta particolare attenzione alle leggi e alle varie aspettative che avevano

valore nei rapporti interstatali. Dopo il primo capitolo sulla disciplina delle relazioni internazionali (con buone osservazioni, per esempio, sull'uso di Tucidide nelle teorie moderne), l'autrice analizza, nei capitoli 2–3, i vari sistemi esistenti nella gestione dei rapporti tra *poleis* (*filia*, etnicità, parentele di vario carattere, panellenismo, ecc.), i molteplici tipi di leggi internazionali (sacre di vario stampo, quelle tra leghe e alleanze, le regole anfizioniche, ecc.) nonché le sanzioni che si applicavano ai trasgressori secondo i *nomoi* osservati dalle parti interessate. La questione di comportamento negli affari interstatali costituisce il tema del capitolo 4. Per quanto riguarda le aspettative morali, l'analisi della lingua usata nelle fonti rilevanti non sembrerebbe suggerire una differenza sostanziale tra l'ambiente domestico e quello internazionale. Nonostante la nota contrapposizione tra 'giusto' e 'utile', tra 'diritto' e 'forza' (cfr. il notissimo dialogo melio-ateniese, forse fittizio, riportato da Tucidide 5,85 sgg.), Low riesce a individuare molte descrizioni di comportamento in cui *dikaion* e *sumpheron* coincidono senza difficoltà alcuna. Gli ultimi due capitoli trattano di interventi negli affari delle *poleis* da parte di altre (5) e la generale stabilità dei sistemi che regolavano i rapporti interstatali nel periodo classico (6).

In somma, benché questo libro non sia di facile lettura, poichè il discorso si muove prevalentemente su un livello piuttosto astratto, con gli esempi concreti di episodi e rapporti sparpagliati tra più capitoli, Low riesce a dimostrare quanto sia ingiustificata l'idea secondo cui i greci sarebbero stati incapaci di occuparsi degli affari internazionali se non con forza e violenza.

Mika Kajava

PAUL CHRISTESEN: *Olympic Victor Lists and Ancient Greek History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-86634-7 (hb). XVII, 580 pp. GBP 72.

In questa massiccia opera, Christesen non solo raccoglie praticamente tutte le fonti relative alle liste degli olimpionici, ma analizza anche altre informazioni pertinenti, quali le liste riguardanti i giochi pitici e i protocolli dei re di Atene, Sicione e Sparta. Tutti questi materiali sono comodamente presentati in 17 appendici con traduzioni dei testi greci. Gli studiosi della Grecia arcaica e classica leggeranno con grande interesse il secondo capitolo che l'autore dedica alla cronologia olimpica. Secondo l'ipotesi di Christesen, la prima edizione delle liste degli olimpionici, attribuita a Ippia di Elide (V sec. a.C.), sarebbe nata dalla voglia di questi di sincronizzare la storia dei giochi con le realtà politico-topografiche, che avevano segnato un'evoluzione importante soprattutto nei rapporti tra Elide e Sparta. Così l'anno 776 a.C. come data della fondazione degli Olimpici avrebbe permesso a Ippia di collegare l'elide Ifito con Licurgo di Sparta, essendo stato quest'ultimo a favore del controllo elide sugli svolgimenti degli agoni. L'autore ritiene che la compilazione delle liste sia stata opera dello stesso Ippia che dovette ricavare i dati rilevanti da iscrizioni e da racconti rimasti vivi nelle famiglie dei vincitori. Dopo queste considerazioni alquanto congetturali, scarsamente confermate dalle scoperte archeologiche, Christesen nel terzo capitolo si addentra nelle *anagrafai* (la nostra conoscenza delle quali deriva principalmente da Aristotele), che forniscono varie informazioni di stampo storico, notizie su programmi degli eventi olimpici (quali appunti su novità e omissioni), storie di atleti famosi, e così via. Invece gli "standard catalogues", che circolavano

come documenti autonomi, offrono poche informazioni oltre ai nomi dei vincitori. La grandissima importanza dei registri olimpici per la cronologia antica in genere viene sottolineata rispettivamente nei capitoli 4 ("Olympiad chronographies") e 5 ("Olympiad chronicles"). La discussione delle "cronografie", ossia delle liste numerate di vincitori dello stadio sincronizzate con quelle di arconti e altri eponimi, costituisce un'autorevole resoconto dell'evoluzione e delle fonti della famosa *Chronografia* di Eusebio, realizzata come prelude per i *Chronikoi kanones*, in cui le date delle Olimpiadi sono collegate a molti altri sistemi di datazione. Tale metodologia di sincronizzazione emerge anche dalla cronografia di Timeo di Tauromenio (IV/III sec. a.C.; cfr. ora C. A. Baron, *Timaeus of Tauromenium and Hellenistic Historiography* [2012]), ma è particolarmente evidente nei *Chronoi* di Dionisio di Alicarnasso, che poi sarebbero usati nella struttura cronologica delle sue *Antiquitates Romanae*. Come viene ben illustrato nel quinto capitolo, il genere letterario delle "cronache", cioè delle collezioni di eventi di vario tipo cronologicamente ordinati secondo gli Olimpiadi (e spesso, in aggiunta, suddivisi annalisticamente), è rimasto vivo per un lungo arco di tempo, dal tardo IV sec. a.C. (Filocoro) al III sec. d.C. (Dexippo).

Le conclusioni (nelle quali, del resto, riguardo alla molto dibattuta data dell'introduzione della nudità olimpica, l'autore ritiene con buoni argomenti che Orsippo di Megara, il primo atleta ad essere stato incoronato nudo, non possa essere saldamente collocato nella 15. olimpiade [720 a.C.], come tradizionalmente sostenuto) sono seguite dalle suddette appendici, da una bibliografia (di ben 31 pagine) e dagli indici. Le illustrazioni e le numerose tabelle riassuntive orientano il lettore attraverso una complessa e varia massa di informazioni.

Mika Kajava

THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN: *Olympia & The Classical Hellenic City-State Culture*. Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 96. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Copenhagen 2007. ISBN 978-87-7304-309-7. 139 pp. DKK 120.

In base all'argomento di fondo del presente opuscolo, Olimpia con i suoi giochi avrebbe assunto un ruolo maggiore nell'unire il mondo ellenofono attraverso l'idea di un'identità comune a tutte le poleis, per diverse che queste siano state tra loro in termini amministrativi o di dimensione. Tale concetto di comunità venne poi caratterizzato da norme tipicamente elleniche quali la nudità atletica. Allo stesso tempo, ovviamente, i giochi con il loro programma sportivo e religioso offrirono alle città un ambiente ottimale per affermazioni autorappresentative, cosa che si manifestò ampiamente a Olimpia nelle tesorerie e dediche erette dalle città nonché nella pubblicazione di trattati interstatali. Nielsen dimostra chiaramente come le città nel celebrare le vittorie dei loro cittadini (o di altri atleti commissionati) mettevano in evidenza anche il proprio profilo politico. Particolarmente interessante risulta il capitolo 5 concernente i rapporti tra Olimpia e la città (non proprio vicina) di Elide da cui i giochi venivano controllati. Spicca, per esempio, il fatto che gli enti governativi di Elide potevano situarsi alternativamente nelle due località. Il ruolo di Elide è notevole anche per la sua doppia natura: l'autorità elide sui giochi olimpici, che evidentemente comportò l'esercizio della loro fama per propri scopi propagandistici, non significò minimamente l'impedimento per le altre città di autorappresentarsi con espressioni politicamente motivate.

Ottima lettura, dunque, corredata in aggiunta da una chiara documentazione delle fonti. Tuttavia si poteva dare qualche accenno in più ad altre località, quale Delfi, dove nei periodi arcaico e classico si incontrano fenomeni del tutto simili a quelli olimpici (dediche di trofei, annunci di trattati ecc.).

Mika Kajava

ANNA MISSIOU: *Literacy and Democracy in Fifth-Century Athens*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-11140-9 (hb), 978-0-521-12876-6 (pb). XVI, 211 pp., 23 figs., 3 maps, 2 tables. GBP 50, USD 85 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 29.99 (pb).

In this study, Anna Missiou examines literacy in fifth-century Athens from a socio-political perspective. The main issue of the study is the interaction of literacy with democratic ideals and practices. Missiou challenges the generally accepted view that relatively few citizens were fully able to read and write, arguing instead that the Athenians managed to achieve extensive functional literacy. She questions William V. Harris's account according to which Athens lacked the necessary preconditions for mass literacy, and argues that the development and spread of literacy were both preconditioned and stimulated by democratic ideals – such as transparency, equity, equality, objectivity, fairness, and unity – and democratic functions.

Missiou states that literacy was adopted after Kleisthenes' reforms as a means of facilitating communication and exchange of information. She argues that ignorance on political matters and decisions would have been contrary to the democratic ideals and anti-elitist spirit. According to her, the geographical distance between the newly established demes and tribes encouraged extensive literacy: if citizens were illiterate the remote demes would not have been able to gain information about the most important issues and decisions made by the political bodies. In her opinion, the ability to read and write was integral to all citizens as participants in the political decision-making process. The agendas of the Council and the decrees of the Assembly "were made publicly available to as many people as possible through writing" (p. 145).

Missiou discusses Kleisthenes' reforms in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, she gives a fresh account of the procedure of ostracism as a communication process, arguing that the ostraka mediated between senders (those who voted) and receivers (those who counted the votes). It is traditionally assumed by scholars that there were no candidates in the *ostrakophoriai* and citizens were entitled to vote for whoever they wished. Missiou points out that this assumed absence of a list of candidates rests solely on the silence of the literary sources. She interestingly points out that given the number of namesakes in fifth-century Athens, there would have been a major risk of confusing the "candidates" with each other during an *ostrakophoria* had there not been a list of candidates before an *ostrakophoria*. She then makes a tempting suggestion of a "fixed list" with the full names of the candidates. According to Missiou, this would explain the amount of ostraka with only the single name of a person instead of his full name. The list would also have made the cumbersome task of counting the votes less difficult. She also argues that the list was a means of protecting freedom of speech and opinion and thus was in accordance with democratic values.

The prevailing scholarly consensus seems to be that citizens were allowed to give their ostrakon to someone who was literate and let him write the name of the candidate. Chapters

3 and 4 set their sights on this "literacy through intermediaries". One case usually given as an example of literacy through intermediaries – Missiou calls this "second-hand literacy" – is the famous Aristeides anecdote (quoted on p. 59) according to which the righteous politician Aristeides wrote his own name on an ostrakon because an illiterate citizen who was not aware of who he was talking had asked him to do it.

Missiou further investigates "second-hand literacy" by re-examining the 191 "Akropolis ostraka" all but one of which have the name Themistokles inscribed. According to Oscar Broneer's traditional account, these ostraka were produced in 14 different handwritings by the opponents of Themistokles and were intended to be given to citizens who were either illiterate or did not have time to prepare their own ostrakon. This view supports the assumption of illiterate citizens. According to this view, the citizens did not necessarily have to be literate but they might have had professional scribes.

Broneer's assumption has so far gone unchallenged. Missiou refreshingly re-analyses ten of the Akropolis ostraka. She questions the predominant view of 14 hands, calls this assumption a "myth" (p. 58) and concludes, quite convincingly, that "almost as many [hands] as the ostraka produced the Akropolis ostraka" (p. 9). Missiou also notes that the Akropolis ostraka are not as well written as one would expect from a professional scribe. She argues that it was the individual citizens themselves who prepared the ostraka and the purpose of the makers of the Akropolis ostraka was to influence their fellow voters and make it easy for them to vote for Themistokles.

In Chapter 4, the material consists of longer official inscriptions such as the *horoi* and the archaic "owls". Missiou also attempts to find out what the "primary working material" was and who wrote the administrative documents. She argues that since writing on stone was a slow process and information could not have been transmitted rapidly enough, *leukômena grammateia* (whitened wooden tablets) must have been in use. There are no direct sources but, as Missiou points out, we know from literary sources that the laws of Solon, for example, were written on wooden *axones*.

Scholars disagree on the social composition of the Council. Missiou argues that the Council was organised according to the democratic nature of Kleisthenes' tribal reforms and that the Council consisted of members who "belonged to all social classes and came from all the demes" (p. 147). According to Missiou, all the Solonian classes, including the *thêtes*, were literate: in Chapter 5, Missiou argues that Kleisthenes also gave access to the Council to the *thêtes* class. Against the generally accepted view, Missiou also argues that all the public tasks required literacy and that the people that assisted the councillors in literary tasks, maintained the record, and were responsible for other routine work were not skilful public slaves but Athenian citizens. She bases this argument on a comparison of the meanings of the words *dêmosios* and *hypêretês* that occur in the sources. According to Missiou, Kleisthenes gave the power to the "*dêmos* as a whole". There are demographical grounds for the argument: according to Missiou, the 500 places in the Council could not have been filled without the *thêtes* class that formed two-thirds of the adult male citizenry in Athens.

The starting point of the study is the democratic nature of Kleisthenes' reforms and the general anti-elitist spirit of Athenian society. These assumptions are familiar from the vast literature concerning democratic Athens and remain here undisputed by Missiou. In sum, however, the material consists of primary documents and there are numerous fresh and tempting arguments regarding ostracism and the Akropolis ostraka, as well as the access of the *thêtes* class

to the Council. All in all, the challenge is that the material is sometimes hardly sufficient; especially the suggestion of whitened or waxed wooden tablets as "primary working documents" is based on rather little evidence. On the other hand, Missiou admits herself that the evidence is relatively insufficient. However speculative it might be, Missiou has managed to provide a persuasive argument that literacy was part of the social and political history of democratic Athens.

Suvi Kuokkanen

CHARLOTTE LEROUGE: *L'image des Parthes dans le monde gréco-romain. Du début du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. jusqu'à la fin du Haut-Empire romain*. Oriens et Occidens 17. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2007. ISBN 978-3-515-08530-4. 427 pp. EUR 62.

Nella sua ricca monografia, l'autrice rintraccia e illustra le caratteristiche e immagini riservate ai Parti nella letteratura romana dall'inizio del I sec. a.C. fino alla fine della dinastia arsacide nel 224 d.C., immagini queste che venivano influenzate anche da eventi storici quali il disastro di Carrhae nel 53 a.C. o l'incontro a Roma tra Nerone e Tiridate nel 66 d.C. Oltre al panorama dell'evoluzione "storica" dell'immagine partica a Roma, viene offerto un ampio spettro di informazioni sulla civiltà partica tratte dalle fonti antiche (organizzazione statale e istituzionale, l'arte di guerra, estensione geografica, religione [e.g., Mitra], usi e costumi, tradizioni sull'origine, ecc.). L'immagine complessiva sembrerebbe di duplice carattere, frutto di due tradizioni etno-storiografiche fra loro distinte: agli occhi greco-romani, da un lato, i Parti rappresentano ricchezza e mollezza orientale (mondo persiano), mentre sono efferati e temibili barbari dall'altro (mondo scito), caratteristiche, ambedue, irrimediabilmente inferiori ai valori romani. Riguardo alla restituzione sotto Augusto dei *signa* di Crasso nonché all'esistenza di un tempio rotondo di Mars Ultor in Campidoglio (pp. 105 sgg.), colgo l'occasione per notare che la vicenda probabilmente risulta più complicata di quanto qui sostenuto; si vedano, a proposito, le mie osservazioni in "Vesta and Athens", in *The Greek East in the Roman Context* (Proc. Coll. Finnish Inst. Athens, 1999), Helsinki 2001, 81 sgg. L'opera di Lerouge rimarrà senz'altro basilare per tutti i futuri studi sul regno arsacide, ma è anche destinata a diventare lettura obbligatoria per chiunque si occupi delle varie percezioni presso i greci e i romani di altri popoli e culture.

Mika Kajava

The Oxford Handbook of Social Relations in the Roman World. Edited by MICHAEL PEACHIN. Oxford Handbooks in Classics and Ancient History. Oxford University Press, Oxford – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-19-518800-4. XVI, 738 pp. GBP 95.

The scope of this volume, as indicated in its title, is outright daunting. One might well ask whether there is any human activity (beyond mere physiological processes) that does not entail reciprocal interaction – and thus, by very definition, social relations – between individuals and groups of individuals. True, there is a scholarly tradition to cite. Ramsay MacMullen's classic

from 1974 was entitled *Roman Social Relations*, but as the concerns of that slim volume were further specified inside the book, it was clear to its readers that it did not purport to be anything else than a study on a selection of specific aspects of rural, rural-urban, urban and class relations. In the title of a multi-authored tome of the *Oxford Handbook Series* the element 'social relations' easily raises expectations that are impossible to meet.

The initial, somewhat skeptical reflection spurred by the declared contents of the book is further substantiated by a glance at the actual topics featured between its covers. Dealt with is a host of most diverse aspects of social life and human existence, from birth to last rites. Moreover, in addition to chapters dealing with the Roman family, primary and rhetorical education, philosophy as socio-political upbringing, law and social formation (grouped together in a section entitled *Mechanisms of Socialization*, constituting Part II), elite self-representation, public speaking, the Second Sophistic, Roman society in the courtroom, public entertainment and socializing at the baths (*Communal Contexts for Social Interaction*, Part IV), honor, friendship, hospitality, dining and violence (*Modes of Interpersonal Relations*, Part V), there is an entire section with individual chapters on literature, epigraphy, papyri and coins on the rationale that they reflect *Mechanisms of Communication and Interaction* (Part III). These examples illustrate the almost excessive miscellany of the subjects addressed.

The professed objective of the book is twofold – on the one hand, to synthesize the results of the multifarious research that since the 1970s has been devoted to the individuals and groups constituting the Roman community, and to their interaction in particular, and, on the other, to make an attempt at configuring the study of Roman social relations in novel ways and thereby suggesting new directions for such research. While these objectives clearly have been achieved to no small degree, my one serious objection to the book concerns the selection of its topics, which I find overambitious and arbitrary at the same time.

Whereas there are in my mind several unnecessary or at least unwarranted inclusions among the themes featured, there is also a number of quite odd omissions. Though a principal subject matter of the volume is declared to be the groups that constituted the Roman community, the coverage is not what reasonably might be expected in this regard. While a whole section contains individual chapters on what is termed *Marginalized Persons* (Part VII) – slaves, women, children, prostitutes, entertainers, magicians and astrologers, bandits and physically deformed and disabled people (in several cases, it would seem, marginalized in no other way than that they represent groups that have received no or little scholarly attention before the last few decades) and while another section, entitled *Societies Within the Roman Community* (Part VI), contains chapters on, respectively, *collegia*, the Roman army, Graeco-Roman cultic societies, Jews and Christians, there is not a single chapter on any other group of legally, socially or professionally defined Romans.

Whatever the possible shortcomings with regard to its organization and coverage, the volume offers a wealth of thought-provoking and highly rewarding reading. And it must be made absolutely clear that all the individual contributions – written by 35 leading scholars in the field – represent first-rate scholarship. Of special value is the introduction by the editor of the volume, Michael Peachin, providing an outstanding overview of the history of research on Roman social history from Rostovtzeff up to the present. This introduction also contains a very valuable presentation of handbooks of as well as central issues in current research on Roman social history. The section with *Prefatory Material* (Part I) also features an introductory essay,

by Clifford Ando, which provides the overall historical context for the discussions contained in the book. The bibliographies accompanying each chapter cover literature in all relevant languages, not only in English.

Kaj Sandberg

A. J. S. SPAWFORTH: *Greece and the Augustan Cultural Revolution*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 978-1-107-01211-0. VIII, 319 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

In this book Antony Spawforth, a well-known authority on Roman Greece, sets out to study the impact of the Roman cultural revolution under Augustus on the Roman province of Greece. The argument set out in the start is that the transformation of Roman Greece into a classicizing "museum" was a specific response of the provincial Greek elites to the cultural policies of the Roman imperial monarchy. The mounting exposure of Greek elites to cultural "Roman-ness" gave rise to new forms of identity, leading to a process of the Greeks' acculturation to Roman values. At the core of the argument lie the moral values promoted by Augustus (hence the cultural revolution, a concept originally introduced by Bowersock) and the communication, adoption and use of these values by the Greek local notables in the acculturation process, the visible results of which are studied through a number of aspects. An underlying discourse is how to address the paradox of Roman (moral) depreciation of Greek culture which, however, was at the core of Roman (Hellenistic) culture. The conceptual tool for achieving this was the promotion of "proper" Hellenism and the distinction between 'good' (Attic) and 'bad' (Asiatic) Greekness. This methodologically difficult question Spawforth sets out to answer by "paying detailed attention to historical and social context".

Spawforth acknowledges his intellectual debt especially to Glen Bowersock's influential book *Augustus and the Greek World* (1965), but also makes frequent reference to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill's *Rome's Cultural Revolution* (2008) as well as to Clifford Ando's *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire* (2000). The whole concept of the book is built upon acceptance of an idea of a specific Augustan ideology of the restoration of *mores*.

The reflections of this ideology in the acculturation process are studied in an interrelated series of chapters. The first chapter, titled "Greece and the Augustan Age" (pp. 1–58), is extensive and makes a sound exploration of the approach used and of previous research on the discussion of the Augustan impact on Greece in terms of imperialism and 'cultural politics'. This chapter introduces topics like the Augustan "moral revolution", Roman images of Greece, Augustan classicism, Augustus' relationship with the Greek world, Augustan urban foundations in Greece and the position of Greek provincial elites. The focus is astutely directed, e.g., to the reciprocity of the "cultural dialogue": how Greek cultural trends were adopted and used in Rome, and how the educated elite of the Greek east was already familiar with Roman cultural values prior to the expansion of the empire. Spawforth sees the promotion of Augustan cultural values in Greece as an extraordinary Roman intervention, where Romans are active players, the regime recommending its ethical standards to elite Greeks in order to consciously create a particular climate of opinion. This "cocktail of culture, power and coercion" (p. 25) is introduced to a specific class of Greek (and Roman) cultural brokers.

The concept of 'Romanization' is also taken up (p. 28). However, a theoretical discussion of the concept is not a key issue to Spawforth. His view is that as a concept, 'Romaniza-

tion' still has explanatory significance, but due to its ambiguities, it is best avoided as a term (Schörner 2005 as a source is rather limited in this respect). Instead, Spawforth introduces the term 'Romanity' to express the disposition on the part of the Greek provincials to imitate the culture of the Romans and Italy in general. As a result, the book describes a 'Romanization' of Greece achieved through a process of "re-Hellenization" for which the impulse came from the west. The mechanics of this takes the form of an acculturative discourse, a term taken from Wallace-Hadrill (2008). Also of note is the author's view that the Greek east has often been seen as exempt from official attempts to impose Roman culture – a view that has been challenged, along with the traditional view that Romanization is a process that only takes place among less civilized peoples. In all this, Spawforth is on the right track, but his discussion remains limited in relation to the current debate.

Chapter 2, "Athenian Eloquence and Spartan Arms" (pp. 59–102), starts expanding the themes introduced in Ch. 1. It explores cultural initiatives in two famous cities of *Graecia vera*, Athens and Sparta. Building programmes, such as the Agrippaeum in the Athenian Agora, or the revival of traditional aspects of public life in Sparta, visible in epigraphy and in other ancient sources, underline Rome's willingness to promote a set of specific Hellenic values perceived to be related to the Classical Greece of Roman imagination. Chapter 3, "The Noblest Actions of the Greeks" (pp. 103–41), looks at the renewed interest in Athens, Sparta and Plataea in the celebration of old Greek victories, especially related to the Persian Wars. These were used as an ideological theme (in monuments and other ways of commemoration) to underline the historical parallelisms between contemporary eastern threats, with Rome as the defender of the western world.

Chapter 4, "The Gifts of the Gods" (pp. 142–206), explores the impact of Augustus on the civic religion of Greece. According to Spawforth, there is, before and during the Augustan period, evidence of an active movement to reconstruct old cults in part to "create the province of Greece as a museum of art, architecture and rites". In Chapter 5, "Constructed Beauty" (pp. 207–32), Spawforth takes a closer look at urbanism and building activities as a keynote of Augustan culture, and at the general picture in urban centres in Greece: in Athens and Sparta, but also in Nicopolis and Messene, exploring the trends and analysing the role of the local elites in this Roman-style urban transformation. To Spawforth, this supports a picture of active cultural interference but also shows a stratum of provincial nobles eager to work with the new regime. Chapter 6, "Hadrian and the Legacy of Augustus" (pp. 233–70), looks at Augustan and later Greece in a larger context, and in comparison with other provinces. It also discusses a number of other themes, such as opposition to the expansion of empire. In Spawforth's view, the "Roman cultural" movement was essentially a concern of the civic elites, and it is unclear how much the rest of the provincial community engaged in this cultural dialogue. This aspect would have merited a longer discussion. The "Roman cultural revolution" in Greece is thus presented as a kind of cultural veneer, a view not very much in favour in recent research on cultural identities. The chapter is concluded with a look at the Second Sophistic as a phenomenon supporting 'Romanity' rather than being reactionary, and at the Roman interest in later Greece – described at best as "a tepid embrace" (excluding the Hadrianic period).

In the Conclusion (pp. 271–4), Spawforth briefly reiterates his main points. The book argues against any notion that Greece fell into a state of history-free limbo following the imperial incorporation in 146/5 BC. The imperial state intervened in a variety of ways across the whole cultural landscape for reasons of *Realpolitik*, but also to prompt a preferred kind of Hel-

lenism, especially under Augustus and later under Hadrian. The Conclusion is followed by an extensive Bibliography (pp. 275–308) and an Index (pp. 309–19).

In sum, the book is a very well documented scholarly debate about a complex and interesting issue, using extensive and very recent literature, presenting well-justified paradigms and offering a skilfully written narrative. The sources Spawforth uses are primarily ancient authors, epigraphy and architecture, although the focus is heavily on the first two categories. Forays into archaeology and the theoretical side of 'Romanity' are of a more limited nature, but in general the bibliography provides a fresh look at research on Early Imperial Greece, and can be recommended to anyone interested in this area and in this period.

The discussion is not so much about power and the effects of imperialism, colonization and dominance and responses to this as about moral discourse as the linchpin of cultural change and the (positive) responses to this discourse by the provincial elite. This is, however, the slight drawback of the approach. The top-down view of elite agency adopted in this book offers a rather narrow perspective of cultural changes in a complex society. Current scholarship on responses to Roman imperialism stresses the diversity of local responses, which certainly should also be evident on the elite level, but recognizable also in other spheres of society. The nature of our evidence leads us to concentrate on the elite but to bypass other strata of society, and this cannot be beneficial for the understanding of the whole. Spawforth makes a brief reference to this aspect in his book (p. 274) but still it is a pity that, in a book so filled with insightful discussions, the issues involved in this are not more fully explored.

Pirjo Hamari

The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interactions. Edited by LARISSA BONFANTE. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-19404-4. XXIII, 395 pp. GBP 60, USD 90.

While barbarians have never really been neglected within the field of Classics, the study of European Iron Age communities, in particular, seems to have gained in self-assurance in the past decade or so. The apologetic tone has been shed, and together with the rehabilitation of the term 'barbarian' for scholarly use, the study of "non-classical" cultures of the ancient world has proliferated. A wide array of studies has managed to cover most conceivable aspects of not only the barbarian interaction with Mediterranean civilisations, but also their 'factual' archaeological cultures and, not less importantly, the reception and use of ancient 'barbarian' identities in more recent centuries. With the increasingly confident modern recourse to the concept of barbarity within ancient studies, attempts have reappeared to bring into negotiation literary sources and archaeological interpretations – a technique with great potential to both enrich and muddle our understanding.

Enrichment is most emphatically what is achieved by the work under review, along with tolerable amounts of muddle. Based on papers given at the University of Richmond in March 2003, the collection presents a selection of perspectives into the relationships between Mediterranean and 'barbarian' archaeological cultures. Ancient literary testimonies are dealt with in most of the contributions, and in a large majority of them this strategy is well handled. Occasionally, however, inherited scholarly presuppositions grounded in the literary sources do

affect the conclusions drawn from the archaeological data. The desire itself to look for common elements in European barbarians is partly dependent upon the Classical tendency to entertain ethnographical commonalities. Similar circularity is inherent in the remark by the editor Larissa Bonfante that "[the Greeks] were the 'Others', for they did things differently from all other peoples around them" (p. 7) – a statement that is echoed in other contributions, but which seems like an unwitting perpetuation of the ancient Greek perception of their own exceptionalism. Such hidden presentiments, while almost unavoidable in ancient barbarian studies, do not diminish the overall value of any contribution as long as they are recognised.

Chapter 1, "Classical and Barbarian" by Bonfante serves as an introduction, and provides all the mandatory caveats concerning the use of archaeological evidence. Bonfante's pedigree in Etruscan studies is very strong, and her principal contribution to the book, Chapter 8 ("The Etruscans: Mediators between Northern Barbarians and Classical Civilization"), reflects her intimate knowledge of the subject. The crucial role of the Etruscan communities leads rather smoothly to the skilled iconographical contribution by Otto-Herman Frey ("The World of Situla Art") in Chapter 9. Frey looks into the *situlae* (essentially, very fancy buckets) from the broad area mostly extending around the north shore of the Adriatic, and presents readings of their pictorial elements that allow some rather nuanced conclusions to be drawn both about the local elite culture of the area, and the preferences concerning consumption and decoration that emerge from the international models for these *situlae*.

Paul Keyser, a historian of ancient science, contributes Chapter 2 ("Greek Geography of the Western Barbarians"), an insightful treatment of the modes of thought characterising the Greek conceptualisations of the West and Westerners. Of particular value is the stress upon the mythologisation of the Western landscape itself. That said, one is left yearning for more debate about whether what is mostly taken as Greek modes of thought about barbarians could in some instances actually rather be modes of expression, dictated by the register of ethnographic writing. Keyser's contribution could be paired with that particular group of Westerners that the Greeks found difficult to label exactly, namely the Romans. This fascinating subject is covered by the tantalisingly brief contribution of John Marincola ("Romans and/as Barbarians") in Chapter 11. While the Hellenistic notion of becoming Hellenic through the adoption of cultural standards certainly allowed for a more inclusive attitude towards the Romans, other factors at play – both political and notional – are also examined by Marincola.

Scythians are represented in this collection by two contributions that together form a very strong pair. Individually, Askold Ivantchik's "The Funeral of Scythian Kings", constituting Chapter 3, is noteworthy in the breadth of its archaeological data and the vim of its comparative method, while Renate Rolle's Chapter 4 ("The Scythians: Between Mobility, Tomb Architecture, and Early Urban Structures") is much more solid in steering cautiously clear of outright speculation. Herodotus looms behind both contributions, with Ivantchik arguing vehemently (p. 73) against Hartog's *Mirror of Herodotus* (1980, transl. 1988) and comparing the archaeological remains of burial practices with the literary testimony. Rolle, for her part, believes that the remains of a huge enclosed settlement near Bel'sk, Ukraine, might be the Herodotean town of Gelonos, said to have incorporated a mixed population of Hellenes and Scythians. Both articles dwell too long upon matters that are either too basic (Rolle) or too speculative (Ivantchik), and cautious readers may feel slightly uneasy with the sweeping connections that the Eurasian steppe seems to both allow and invite. Generally, though, both are very useful when dealing with Scythian structural remains, whether tombs or *gorodishche*.

Thracians, a crucial group for the formation of Greek notions about the barbarian peoples of the north, are approached in this collection from the direction of pictorial studies and comparative mythology. In his "Philomele's Tongue" (Chapter 5) Ivan Marazov showcases a confident theoretical approach to the pictorial register of Thracian mythonarratives. Many hypotheses, however, are expected to be taken for granted, and despite several clever connections, the theoretical jargon may occasionally gloss over deep ambivalences in our sources. After all, to argue for pictorial polysemy in ancient mythological imagery can be a very convenient thing for a modern scholar to do, but to proclaim that this will "restore a dialogue with antiquity" (p. 133) smacks of hubris. The second contribution which has much to do with the Thracians is by Nancy Thomson de Grummond ("A Barbarian Myth? The Case of the Talking Head", Chapter 10), who approaches the curious pictorial motif of the talking head frequently used both among the Thracians and Italian groups, with further possible connections with "Celtic" Europe. The Orpheus paradigm of previous scholarship is usefully called into question, and despite occasional bold conjectures Thomson de Grummond has put together a remarkable investigation. She suggests a three-pronged typology for the image of a talking head, and the article as a whole seems like a very good starting point for any study into the narrative element of a prophetic voice, whether iconographic or literary.

Barry Cunliffe (Chapter 6) approaches the elusive category of "Celts" by combining the usual warnings regarding the circularity of the ethnonym with a theory previously advanced by himself and John T. Koch (*Celtic from the West*, Oxbow 2010). In this he is aided by the early Greek references to the *Keltoi* connecting this ethnonym with the west rather than the north, but in so doing he may be overreaching: the tendency of Greek ethnography to use very broad ethnic categories need not have stemmed from linguistic commonalities among the barbarian groups themselves (p. 200). The Germans, another group of northerners that depended upon the previously formed iconosphere of European barbarians, are covered in Chapter 7 by Peter S. Wells ("The Ancient Germans"). As with the Celts, many contributions to the study of ancient "Germans" find it necessary to engage to a certain extent with the history of scholarship, but having done this concisely, Wells proceeds to point out the sheer literariness and tendentiousness of much of the written tradition (p. 214, p. 218). Possible shared identities among the *Germani* are understandably approached through archaeological sources, and by the end of the article what emerges is a more nuanced, more careful alternative to the over-confidence of the Ethnogenesis School, albeit with the themes of the Migration Age treated in a slightly old-fashioned way (p. 226). The barbarians of Late Antiquity are also the context for Walter Stevenson's "The Identity of Late Barbarians: Goths and Wine" (Chapter 12). He provides a measured and valuable reassessment of the significance of the consumption of alcohol concerning the identity and self-identification of groups coming into contact with the wine drinking elite culture of Greeks and Romans. While some circularity concerning the use of the word 'ethnicity' is found in the article (e.g. p. 362), especially the argument that beer drinking had much longer roots in the Mediterranean than the literary sources lead us to expect (p. 359), is most interesting.

Cunliffe's concluding Chapter 13 ("Some Final Thoughts") and a clever and approachable art historical essay by Ann Farkas (Note on Delacroix, "Enslaved among the Barbarians") bring the book to a close. The volume is lavishly illustrated with 15 maps, 23 colour plates, and 104 illustrations – the majority of which are of good quality, and of course quite crucial in a work so concerned with the study of iconography. Some errors are inevitable, such as the

location of the famous archaeological site of Vix (not in Vendée, but in northern Burgundy) in the map reproduced both on p. 2 and on the inside of the front cover. The Index is quite satisfactory, especially considering the wide variety of subjects covered.

Antti Lampinen

TILMANN BECHERT: *Germania Inferior. Eine Provinz an der Nordgrenze des Römischen Reiches*. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Orbis Provinciarum. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2007. ISBN 978-3-8053-2400-7. 167 S., 67 Farb-, 18 SW- und 15 Strichabb. EUR 29.90.

Il libro intende offrire al lettore uno sguardo generale sull'archeologia, storia e cultura della Germania Inferiore dal I secolo a.C. fino alla fine dell'antichità. Oltre alla graduale romanizzazione che, dopo una lunga presenza di legioni romane e di altre truppe nella regione, era culminata nella formazione, alla fine degli anni 80 d.C., della provincia romana con capitale a Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (Köln), vengono discussi i molteplici aspetti della vita vissuta nei territori sulla riva occidentale del Reno, in corrispondenza dell'odierna Germania occidentale e di parti degli attuali Belgio e Olanda (amministrazione, esercito, città e insediamenti, istituzioni, economia e commercio, arte e artigianato, religione, integrazione e romanità, ecc.). Dopo un resoconto delle caratteristiche della società tardoantica, il volume si conclude con buoni indici e un'ampia bibliografia. Si tratta di un'ottima introduzione alla storia e cultura della Germania Inferiore, aggiornata con osservazioni sulle nuove scoperte e accompagnata da piantine e ricostruzioni architettoniche di edifici e di altre strutture.

Mika Kajava

MIROSLAVA MIRKOVIĆ: *Moesia Superior. Eine Provinz an der mittleren Donau*. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Orbis provinciarum. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2007. ISBN 978-3-8053-3782-3. 127 S. EUR 24.90.

Questo lavoro è dedicato al territorio e alle varie vicende storiche della Mesia Superiore dai tempi preromani alla fine del VII secolo d.C. Tra gli eventi più significativi nella storia mesica spiccano naturalmente la formazione della provincia romana della Mesia all'inizio del I sec. d.C. e la sua successiva divisione, verso la metà degli anni 80 d.C., in due parti, l'Inferior e la Superior, quest'ultima, con capitale a Viminacium (Kostolac), corrispondente a parti delle attuali Serbia e Bulgaria e della Repubblica di Macedonia. Tra i temi trattati, come era da aspettarsi, maggior enfasi viene data alla storia militare (insieme alla rete stradale), ma sono illustrati anche altri argomenti quali lo sviluppo degli insediamenti civili, l'economia e il commercio, la religione (a cui tuttavia sono dedicate solo cinque pagine) e la tarda antichità (cristianesimo, invasioni barbariche, ecc.). Le iscrizioni, non solo latine ma anche greche, da cui derivano le informazioni più importanti relative alla storia e alle istituzioni mesiche, sono discusse con competenza. Molto utile, alla fine del volume (pp. 113 sgg.), la breve sintesi delle cose che più hanno caratterizzato quella che era la Moesia Superior. In somma, un bel volume corredato,

nella migliore tradizione della casa editrice Zabern, da numerose e suggestive immagini. Purtroppo, l'impaginazione degli indici è rimasta in parte confusa (il Sachregister risulta diviso sotto più titoli). Ci sono anche alcune piccole sviste (per es., p. 52 [didascalia]: *Septiminus*, non *Septimius*; p. 88 [didasc.]: *aeternum*, non *aeternam*) che però non tolgono nulla al lavoro compiuto.

Mika Kajava

Rom in der Spätantike. Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum. Herausgegeben von RALF BEHRWALD – CHRISTIAN WITSCHEL. Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien 51. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2012. ISBN 978-3-515-09445-0. 409 S., 44 s/w Abb., 9 s/w Tab. EUR 62.

Ralf Behrwald (Universität Bayreuth) und Christian Witschel (Universität Heidelberg) organisierten 2006 in Heidelberg ein internationales Kolloquium mit dem Titel "Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum: Rom in der Spätantike". Dieser Band enthält die Beiträge der Teilnehmer. Wie wir aus dem Vorwort entnehmen können, war das Ziel des Kolloquiums, verschiedene Modi historischer Erinnerungen im spätantiken Rom zu erfassen.

Jetzt sind wir also in der Lage, mit den Ergebnissen des Kolloquiums Bekanntschaft zu machen. Der Band fängt mit einer Einführung der Herausgeber an, in welcher versucht wird, die Forschung zur räumlichen Verortung historischer Erinnerung – in dieser Zeit sehr intensiv diskutiert – zu erörtern. Man hat weiterhin die Erinnerungsorte im spätantiken Rom in drei thematische Blöcke geordnet. Diese bestehen aus Beiträgen von Althistorikern, Philologen und Archäologen, die säkulare, christliche und historische Modi diskutieren. Das Kolloquium selbst war damals in fünf thematische Sektionen eingeteilt. Wie wir in dem Tagungsbericht des Kolloquiums lesen können, fanden sich unter den Teilnehmern drei, dessen Beiträge in diesem Band nicht erscheinen. Stattdessen enthält der Band die Aufsätze zweier weiterer Autoren.

In dem ersten thematischen Block über die säkularen Erinnerungsorte im spätantiken Rom diskutiert S. Schmidt-Hofner "Trajan und die symbolische Kommunikation bei kaiserlichen Rombesuchen in der Spätantike". Da die Spätantike in Kaiser Trajan einen der angesehensten ehemaligen Herrscher des Reiches sah, versucht der Autor dieses Phänomen zu erläutern und dessen Funktion in Zusammenhang mit den spätantiken kaiserlichen Aufenthalten in Rom zu bestimmen. Richard Lim untersucht in "Inventing Secular Space in the Late Antique City: Reading the Circus Maximus" die Bedeutung des Circus Maximus im spätantiken christlichen Rom. Er erforscht den Prozeß, in dem dieser für Rom und den Römern sehr wichtige Ort seinen Status in der Spätantike behielt. Es folgt der Aufsatz von R. Coates-Stephens über den Bau der Aurelianischen Mauer. Diese Arbeit erörtert die Bedeutung der Mauer für das städtische Leben und für die Viertel, durch die sie gebaut wurde. C. Machado untersucht die Veränderungsprozesse in den Häusern von Roms Eliten, und V. Fauvinet-Ranson stellt fest, daß Rom im 6. Jh. nach Cassiodor noch heidnische Spuren aufweist.

Der zweite thematische Block ist den christlichen Erinnerungsorten im spätantiken Rom gewidmet. Ein solcher Ort ist ohne Zweifel die Grabstätte des Apostels Petrus, die F. Alto Bauer in "Saint Peter's as a Place of Collective Memory in Late Antiquity" diskutiert. B. Brenk untersucht in "Kirche und Straße im frühchristlichen Rom", wie sich die neuen kirchlichen Gebäude an das alte Stadtbild anpaßten. In seinem Beitrag "Urbs und Ecclesia – Bezugspunkte

kollektiver Heiligererinnerung in Rom des Bischofs Damasus (366–384)" untersucht S. Dieffenbach die Verehrungsstätten der Heiligen in Rom, ebenso wie Damasus' Bemühungen um die Heiligentopographie. Damasus und seine Bemühungen um die Orte der Märtyrerverehrung behandelt auch Marianne Saghy in "Renovatio memoriae: Pope Damasus and the Martyrs of Rome". Ralf Behrwald befaßt sich mit den heiligen Legenden der Stadt Rom in "Heilsgeschichte in heidnischer Szenerie: Die Denkmaltopographie in der christlichen Legendenbildung". Diese Untersuchung führt zu interessanten Ergebnissen, unter anderem daß die Verfasser von Legenden weniger die Topographie als das Literarische in Auge behielten.

Der dritte thematische Block ist der historischen Erinnerung in den spätantiken Inschriften Roms gewidmet. In "Passato e presente nell'epigrafia tardoantica di Roma" untersucht Silvia Orlandi, wie sich Roms glorreiche Vergangenheit und die christliche Gegenwart in den spätantiken Inschriften begegnen. John Weisweiler analysiert in "Inscribing Imperial Power: Letters from Emperors in Late-Antique Rome" die Bedeutung von fünf spätantiken Ehreninschriften. Philippe Bruggisser behandelt in "'Sacro-saintes statues'. Prétextat et la restauration du portique des *Dei consentes* à Rome" den als Christengegner berühmten Senator Praetextatus und die Restaurierung der *porticus deorum consentium*, ebenso wie die heidnischen Götterbilder, die dort standen. Christian Witschel schließt diesen thematischen Block und auch das Buch ab mit seiner Arbeit "Alte und neue Erinnerungsmodi in den spätantiken Inschriften Roms". Er analysiert den spätantiken Inschriftenbestand Roms und stellt unter anderem fest, daß sich auch auf den Inschriften alte Traditionen und neue Sitten begegnen, nach seiner Meinung nicht ohne Konflikte.

Rom in der Spätantike. Historische Erinnerung im städtischen Raum enthält fünfzehn wichtige Beiträge, die das Niveau des Kolloquiums und dessen Teilnehmer widerspiegeln. Die Autoren sind nicht nur Spezialisten auf ihrem Feld, sondern zeigen auch, daß man, um zu neuen Einsichten gelangen, neue Wege bestreiten sollte.

Mirjana Sanader

RAYMOND VAN DAM: *Remembering Constantine at the Milvian Bridge*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-09643-1. XIV, 296 pp. GBP 58, USD 94.

This is the second monograph by Van Dam devoted to some aspect of the reign of Constantine I (306–37). Anyone who enjoyed his first book, *The Roman Revolution of Constantine* (Cambridge 2007), will undoubtedly enjoy this also. The basic style and approach remain very much the same, and, indeed, in his footnotes he frequently refers the readers to his earlier work. However, those who value factual accuracy or logical argumentation over strained attempts at novelty will probably find this as tiresome and unconvincing as his first book (see my review in *Classics Ireland* 16 [2009] 113–6, or that by T. D. Barnes in *Journal of Late Antiquity* 2 [2009] 374–84).

The basic thesis of the current book is that the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312 was of little or no significance for the history of Christianity, but that successive generations of Christian historians have distorted the memory of this event in accordance with their own confessional agendas. Van Dam argues that the real significance of the battle lay in the strictly

political sphere, what it meant for the style of empire or emperorship, rather than in the religious sphere. In his view, Maxentius represented an older 'Republican' style emperor who paid due respect to the importance of Rome as the capital of the empire, whereas Constantine represented a new Tetrarchic style emperor who preferred to identify with the frontiers rather than Rome.

The book consists of ten chapters. In the first, Van Dam explains his aims and methodology. He seems to think that memory studies and narratology can somehow contribute to a better understanding of the past through a more critical approach to the sources (pp. 8–11), but these terms do not describe anything that critical historians have not already been doing for several decades already, if not centuries. This is merely old wine in new skins. The book then divides into two parts. In the first part, chapters two to seven, he systematically re-examines all the major sources for the circumstances surrounding the battle of the Milvian Bridge, pagan and Christian, literary and artistic, in order, first, to demonstrate the weaknesses in the various Christian versions of events and, second, the existence of an often very different understanding of events in the non-Christian sources. While this first part is concerned to deconstruct the traditional interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the battle of the Milvian Bridge with its emphasis on the religious sphere, the second part, chapters nine to ten, offers a new reconstruction of events with an emphasis on the strictly political sphere. Finally, one should note that Van Dam proceeds in a 'backward' fashion from the present to past in his examination of the sources in the belief that it "allows us to investigate the uncertainties like detectives, to write about the suspense like novelists, and to respond to the surprises like moviegoers" (p. 17). In reality, it simply disorients and irritates the reader and, as quickly becomes clear, represents a classic case of style over substance.

It is difficult to know where to begin in any attempt to convey the sheer misguidedness of this volume. The basic problem is that Van Dam seems determined to project modern secularism back into an era when it simply did not exist in an essentially anachronistic approach. He seems to accept that Constantine did experience some sort of unusual phenomenon before the battle of the Milvian Bridge, whatever it was that is usually referred to now as his 'vision', although he does not commit himself as to the nature of this phenomenon. However, he refuses to accept that this experience could then have had any significant effect upon his beliefs and behaviour. In fact, there was nothing unusual about Constantine's receptiveness to an apparent sign of divine favour or his subsequent efforts on behalf of the religion whose god, so he believed, had shown him this favour. Emperors had always paid some attention at least to alleged omens, some emperors more than others, and had often made determined efforts to propagate their favourite cult. The only difference is that this time Constantine's chosen cult went on to become the last one standing.

A noteworthy feature of this volume is the carelessness with the primary evidence. For example, Van Dam concludes his summary of the contents of Photius' summary of the history of the reign of Constantine by Praxagoras of Athens with the statement that 'his Constantine entered the capital not behind a military standard in the shape of a cross but rather behind a pike carrying the head of his defeated rival' (p. 102). However, the summary of Praxagoras does not actually say anything at all concerning the entry of Constantine into Rome. Furthermore, while it does describe the display of Maxentius' head, it is quite clear that the Romans stuck it on a pole and not a 'pike'. Again, Van Dam's summary of the contribution by the coinage to the debate concerning the interpretation of the claim by Lactantius that Constantine ordered a

symbol of Christ to be marked on the shield of his men before the battle of the Milvian Bridge is vitiated by his failure to distinguish between the mint-marks and other minor details that lay within the control of local officials and the main elements of any particular coin design that were obviously co-ordinated and decided upon at a much higher level and, to that extent at least, were probably a better reflection of official policy (pp. 117–8). A completely misleading impression is given concerning the frequency and significance of Christian marks on the coinage of this period, not least in the reference to "stars that might be interpreted as crosses" where the direct opposite is probably the case. Other straight factual errors include the statement that the father of Magnentius was from Brittany when he was actually from Britain (p. 48), and the stunning claim that "the *labarum*, a *vexillum* with Christian symbols, apparently did not appear on coins until after Constantine's reign" (p. 63, n. 11) which ignores the well known depiction of the *labarum* on a bronze type issued at Constantinople in 327–28 (*RIC* VII, Constantinople nos. 19, 26). It is clear that Van Dam has a poor understanding of one of the most important categories of primary evidence for any discussion of the reign of Constantine, both because of its contemporary nature and its independence from the literary traditions, the numismatic evidence.

More serious than these misleading statements or straight factual errors is the flawed argumentation. Sometimes the problem is that the arguments proceed on the basis on flawed premises. For example, Van Dam argues that the *labarum* as described by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Life of Constantine* cannot have been crafted by Constantine in 312 "since the inclusion of Greek letters would seem out of place for a military standard designed by a Latin-speaking emperor in the western provinces" (p. 63). The hidden assumptions here need to be explored further. Whatever the case, it is no stranger that a Latin-speaking emperor of the West should have placed Greek letters on a new standard in 312 than that, for example, the mint officials at Arles should suddenly have started using Greek letters on the coinage to distinguish the product of the different workshops c. 316 (*RIC* VII, Arles nos. 99–111). On other occasions, it is difficult to reconcile his conclusions with the evidence adduced beforehand. For example, one struggles to reconcile the description of the contents of Porfyrius' poetry with the conclusion that "still in 324 a pagan senator could successfully petition the emperor without highlighting Christianity" (p. 170). Yes, Porfyrius did include nearly all of his Christian references in the intertextual lines and patterns of his poems, but these lines and patterns were precisely the focus of this type of poetry. Similarly, one cannot easily reconcile the description of Constantine's letters to Anullinus, proconsul of Africa, with the conclusion that "Constantine's initial concern was not Christianity in North Africa but the loyalty of his magistrates" (p. 173).

Finally, despite his critical approach towards the testimony of Eusebius and Lactantius on the subject of the battle of the Milvian Bridge, Van Dam can prove surprisingly uncritical at times, as in his acceptance of the claim that Galerius wanted to replace the Roman Empire with a Dacian Empire (pp. 227, 235–6). Furthermore, he can also be quite repetitive. For example, he describes the monument of the five columns which Diocletian and Maximian erected at Rome in 303 on several occasions (pp. 136, 206–7, 238), writing each time as if he had never mentioned it before.

It is impossible to recommend this book to anyone. As I said about Van Dam's earlier volume also, it is likely to mislead newcomers to the field grappling with the problems posed by the reign of Constantine, while it has little of substance to offer more advanced students of this period. If anyone requires a concise, accurate, and well-written discussion of any aspect

of the reign of Constantine, he or she is best referred instead to the relevant section of T. D. Barnes, *Constantine: Dynasty, Religion, and Power in the Later Roman Empire* (Chichester 2011), if not directly to the many fine secondary sources that Van Dam drew upon in the composition of this work.

David Woods

DAGMAR HOFMANN: *Suizid in der Spätantike. Seine Bewertung in der lateinischen Literatur*. Altertumswissenschaftliches Kolloquium 18. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2007. ISBN 978-3-515-09139-8. 250 S. EUR 44.

Nella versione elaborata della sua tesi di dottorato (Jena 2007), Hofmann intende analizzare la posizione del suicidio nella percezione morale della tarda antichità occidentale. La scelta cronologica è assai benvenuta, considerando quanti studi nel passato sono stati dedicati al fenomeno del suicidio nella Roma repubblicana e altoimperiale. L'autrice discute con autorità e competenza le opinioni espresse dai filosofi antichi, andando da quelle generalmente permissive degli stoici a quelle dei neoplatonisti che si manifestarono piuttosto critici verso il suicidio. Tra i tanti giudizi dei cristiani in riguardo (che spesso concernevano l'opposizione tra spontaneità e morte forzata nei casi di martirio), particolare attenzione viene naturalmente data all'estrema rigidità di Agostino (*civ.* 1,17: *qui se ipsum occidit, homicida est*), la cui condanna del suicidio è assoluta, mentre alcune altre autorità si esprimevano in toni più miti (Ambrosio e Girolamo, per esempio, hanno accettato suicidio nel caso di donne che lo preferivano per evitare imminente stupro). Tuttavia, come l'autrice ben dimostra, la posizione di Agostino andrebbe vista non come una svolta culminante o decisiva nel continuo dibattito sul suicidio, ma piuttosto come un caso eccezionale maggiormente spiegabile per le dichiarazioni del santo nei confronti dei martiri donatisti (che egli ebbe voglia di rappresentare come spregevoli suicidi). Occorre notare inoltre che l'opinione incondizionata di Agostino sarebbe stata canonizzata solo nel XII secolo. Tra le altre osservazioni dell'autrice possiamo ricordare quella sulla relativa neutralità del codice penale romano rispetto a suicidio anche dopo il trionfo del cristianesimo (II.4). Altrettanto interessante risulta la discussione del noto divieto cristiano per i suicidi di una sepoltura, che trova chiari confronti nelle prassi antiche romane. Nel capitolo sul suicidio dei sovrani (III.3), l'autrice ipotizza, forse a ragione, la morte sospetta di Valentiniano II nel 392 d.C. come volontaria, cosa che potrebbe essere suggerita dal discorso funerario tenuto da Ambrosio.

Il maggior merito di questo innovativo e ben documentato volume, la cui autrice è ben consapevole del fatto che l'esigua quantità di suicidi nelle fonti disponibili non significa la loro infrequenza, è quello di aver chiaramente affermato la continuità attraverso la tarda antichità sia delle opinioni sul suicidio sia delle norme in riguardo, entrambe individuabili nei dibattiti e nelle legislature in ambienti tanto pagani quanto cristiani.

Mika Kajava

FLORA R. LEVIN: *Greek Reflections on the Nature of Music*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-51890-1. XXIII, 340 pp. GBP 45, USD 85, EUR 51.90.

The author of this book, Flora R. Levin, died in 2009 and *Greek Reflections on the Nature of Music* is thus her last book. Levin has also written two monographs on Nicomachus of Gerasa: *The Harmonics of Nicomachus and the Pythagorean Tradition* (1975) and *The Manual of Harmonics of Nicomachus the Pythagorean* (1994) as well as several contributions to ancient Greek music.

The presentation of *Greek Reflections on the Nature of Music* states that "in this book, Flora R. Levin explores how and why music was so important to the ancient Greeks". Generally, the main themes treated are the Pythagorean mathematical analysis of sound, the Aristoxenian empirical approach to music and the clash between these two schools. Under closer examination are subjects such as numerical ratios corresponding to musical intervals, the division of melodic space, the intervallic and continuous movement of sound, and the relationship between harmonic theory and astronomy. Music's role as a mirror-image of the cosmos and, vice versa, the role of cosmic elements – time, motion and the continuum – in music are also a constituent part of Levin's thematic field. The author seems to have a special agenda to give more attention to Ptolemaï of Cyrene, the only known female scholar of musical science in antiquity. Her writings are known only from the paragraphs quoted by Porphyry. Levin discusses these passages thoroughly and speculates about the background of this cryptic character among the ancient Greek musical theorists.

Levin examines her topics with genuine enthusiasm, though she often seems to forget the original argument. One could describe her writing style as a stream of consciousness inspired by musical and philosophical writings from antiquity to modern times. The themes of ancient Greek musical science are often compared with excerpts from modern writers on philosophy (e.g. Wittgenstein, Russell), astronomy (Kepler), acoustics (Helmholz) and music (e.g. Maconie, Cooke, Hindemith, Stravinsky, Mendelsohn, Sloboda, Zuckerkandl). Levin also generates artificial dialogues between ancient and modern authors by quoting passages that she feels have similar mindsets or concepts. As to the interpretation of ancient Greek musical texts, she often quotes directly from other modern authors (e.g. Anderson, Barker, Mathiesen, Comotti, Winnington-Ingram and West) instead of stating her own conclusions. On the other hand, Levin sometimes expresses her own opinions as universal facts. Among the rather controversial claims are the following: "acoustic theory is universally accepted to have begun with Pythagoras of Samos..." (p. XIV) and "the view accepted here is that ... Homer is the single author of the Iliad and the Odyssey" (p. 24, n. 47). Levin even refers to evidence that speaks against these views (p. 10, n. 18; p. 24, n. 47), but still trusts her own instincts and does not furnish any counter-evidence to support her claims. However, these are minor details. What is more problematic is that there are an exceptionally large number of errors and some hasty assumptions in this book.

Levin is convinced that the Greeks in general – and not only musicians – had absolute pitch, and to support this claim she mentions, for example, their ability to discriminate microtonal intervallic relations (p. XVIV–XV). This can be easily questioned, for example, by referring to Aristides Quintilianus' report that enharmonic genus (which contains $\frac{1}{4}$ -tones) was accepted only by the most remarkable musicians, whereas it was impossible for most people (Arist. Quint. *De Mus.* 1,9). This, of course, does not rule out the possibility that the Greeks

could have been generally musical people, but still it is evident that an extremely accurate perception of microtonal structures was a special skill possessed only by the most talented professionals.

There are many deceptive typos in the diagram displaying the names of ratios (p. 67, fig. 2): the ratio of ἐπίπεμπος is written erroneously $1+1/3$ instead of $1+1/5$, the ratio of ἐπιτετρόπεμπος $1+4/3$ instead of $1+4/5$ and τρισεπίπεμπος $1+2/3$ instead of $1+3/5$. There is also a minor spelling mistake in the chart (*supertriquitus* instead of *supertriquintus*). More idiosyncratic than truly incorrect is Levin's choice of expressing superparticular and superpartient ratios as fractions instead of using number to number ratios, which is the prevailing manner of presenting musical intervals mathematically. Levin does use number to number ratios elsewhere in the book, when she deals with mathematical approaches to intervals, and hence the present chart would have been more useful if the ratios were expressed in the usual way, for example, the hemiolic as 3:2, the epitritic as 4:3, the sesquiquartan as 5:4, etc.

Proslambanomenos is omitted from both the lesser perfect system (p. 142, n. 24) and the perfect immutable system (p. 150, n. 36).

Levin's chromatic tetrachord (p. 152) is erroneous, because the ratios 256:243, 256:243, and 64:54 do not form 4:3. Naturally, this kind of tetrachord, which includes two equal Pythagorean *leimmata*, does not exist in the texts of ancient Greek authors.

The interpretation of the passage from Aristoxenus (Aristox. *El. Harm.* 56–57; p. 195–6, n. 97) is erroneous. The notes should be E – F – A – B instead of E – F – A – C. In this interpretation the interval of a fifth exists between the notes E and B.

The claim that the interval of a fifth would contain only six semitones (p. 199) is erroneous, as the number of semitones is seven.

The passage attributed to Helmholtz (pp. 200–1) is actually a quote from the translator of Helmholtz's book, Alexander J. Ellis, who was also the developer of the cents system, in which the octave is divided into 1,200 equal units.

The hemiolic chromatic tetrachord is presented erroneously as $3/4$, $3/4$, $13/4$ (p. 202). In reality, it is: $3/8$ -tone, $3/8$ -tone, $13/4$ -tone.

Levin confuses the information when she reports that the intervals of Eratosthenes' diatonic tetrachord were 9:8, 10:9, 16:15, and Didymus' 9:8, 9:8, 256:243 (p. 222). In reality, the figures of Eratosthenes belong to Didymus, and vice versa (see Ptol. *Harm.* 72–74 [Düring]).

The musical interval equal to ratio 28:27 is not a $1/4$ -tone, as Levin claims (p. 284), but a (septimal) $1/3$ -tone. On the same page she also reports that 15:14 equals a $1/3$ -tone, though in reality it corresponds to a semitone (in modern nomenclature known as a septimal or a major diatonic semitone).

The diagram of the Harmonic Series (pp. 286–7, n. 86, fig. 10) should have shown that the 7th, the 11th, the 13th and the 14th tone differ from the Equal Temperament, because this fact also has an effect on the intervals of the scale in question (e.g., the interval between the 13th and 14th tone is not a semitone but a $2/3$ -tone, etc.).

P. 299, line 25: should be the number 12 instead of the fraction 1/2.

These defects are not the only ones that can be found in this book, but only a sample of incorrect details that can easily mislead a reader with no previous knowledge of ancient Greek harmonic science or contemporary music theory. Who, then, is the potential reader to whom this work could be recommended? As Levin's book does not offer any new information on ancient Greek music, it cannot be recommended for experts in the field. However, since previous

knowledge of music theory is highly recommended, *Greek Reflections on the Nature of Music* is probably best suited for musicians with only a little or no experience of Greek music. The book introduces the central features of Greek musical literature and gives a general overview of the relevant writings. Unfortunately, because there is a lot of misinformation in this book, the reader must be cautious with the concepts and details presented. Some of the errors seem due to lack of editorial accuracy, and thus a new revised edition would be a welcome idea.

Kimmo Kovanen

Philosophie und Dichtung im antiken Griechenland. Akten der 7. Tagung der Karl und Gertrud Abel-Stiftung am 10. und 11. Oktober 2002 in Bernkastel-Kues. Herausgegeben von JOCHEN ALTHOFF. Philosophie der Antike 23. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2007. ISBN 978-3-515-08824-4. 156 S. EUR 30.

The eight papers in this slender volume assess the multifaceted connections between Greek philosophy and poetry. In the brief "Foreword", Jochen Althoff reminds the readers of the fact that the ancient concept of philosophy was substantially broader than the modern one (p. 7). Although the range of the papers extends from Homer to Porphyry, a quick skim through the *index locorum* ascertains that Aristotle, not surprisingly, is the protagonist of the book. In terms of subject, the book is rather diverse: many of the papers discuss the influence that philosophical ideas had on literature, but the notion of friendship in Aristotle, for instance, is also dealt with.

The overall quality of the papers is extremely high. I particularly enjoyed the papers of Oliver Hellmann, Sabine Föllinger and Jochen Althoff. Hellmann's paper examines in depth the controversial character of Achilles by comparing the divergent perspectives of Plato and Aristotle. Föllinger's article on the other hand investigates the notion of *Nicht-Wissen* in early Greek literature. Althoff's thoughtful paper discusses the character of Socrates as a natural philosopher in Aristophanes' *Clouds*, for instance, by detecting points of resemblance with the ideas of Protagoras and Aristotle.

All in all, *Philosophie und Dichtung im antiken Griechenland*, even though being only 156 pages long, presents a reasoned and well-balanced collection of perspectives to our understanding of the absorbing interaction between poetry and philosophy. The book ends with an *index locorum* and a *Sachindex*, a minor complaint being the lack of a general bibliography.

Iiro Laukola

The Cambridge Companion to Socrates. Edited by DONALD R. MORRISON. Cambridge University Press, New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-83342-4 (hb), 978-0-521-54103-9 (pb). XVIII, 413 pp. GBP 60, USD 95 (hb), GBP 19.99, USD 29.99 (pb).

This book is a valuable collection of essays. As is appropriate for the *Cambridge Companion* series, all the authors are well-known scholars from a variety of fields. Each of the fifteen essays is both accessible and of high quality. The collection offers a learned introduction to dif-

ferent aspects of Socrates for beginners and experts alike.

The volume is advertised for its diversity. This is true in one sense. The diversity concerns the sources and, consequently, skepticism towards the solution of "the problem of the historical Socrates". The editor, who is known for his work on Xenophon's Socrates, argues that "Socrates is essentially contested territory" (p. XIV). In another sense, most of the essays are philosophically quite close to the dominant Anglo-American analytical approach to Socrates.

The collection begins with Louis-André Dorion's article "The Rise and Fall of the Socratic Problem". Dorion reviews the history of the problem, particularly the modern developments due to Schleiermacher's critique of Xenophon. He argues against this modern trend, and, given the fictional nature of the *logoi Sokratikoi*, against the search for the historical Socrates. In a sense, most of the articles in this volume seem to keep their distance from more modest, comparative scholarship on Socrates, which is suggested by Dorion. The editor has tried to avoid an over-strong Platonic dominance in the articles, but still many of the scholars rely heavily on Plato. And even when this is not the case, for example in Klaus Döring's article (2) on the so-called minor Socratics, the historical Socrates is still invoked (p. 43).

David O'Connor (3) discusses Xenophon's Socrates under the main theme of envy, and Aristophanes, the oldest of the sources, is discussed by David Konstan (4). He argues competently for the rather uncontested view that Aristophanes' Socrates is more a conglomerate of suspicious intellectual activities than a parody of the historical Socrates (p. 85). In the essay by Paul Woodruff (5), the volume reverts to the usual Platonic dominance in the sources. Woodruff's title is "Socrates and the New Learning" and he discusses Socrates' relation to the pre-Socratics and the Sophists. He argues that "Socrates swam in the river of new learning, but he redirected it to purely moral ends, and in the process transformed it into the seed of the august Platonic tradition of philosophy" (p. 109). The author of the next article (6), Mark McPherran, argues that we can reconcile Socratic religion with Socratic rationality. In his detailed philosophical argumentation, he freely uses Plato, Xenophon and other sources, thus showing his commitment to research on the historical Socrates.

Josiah Ober (7) writes on Socrates' relation to democratic Athens. He discusses Socrates' trial and execution, and relates them to other similar cases. Relying on Plato's testimony, Ober argues that in spite of his critique, Socrates valued Athens, because it "allowed him to live as a philosopher and as an obedient citizen" (p. 174). According to Ober, understanding this combination also unites the historical and Plato's Socrates. In the penultimate essay about Socrates and politics (14), Charles L. Griswold sticks to Plato's Socrates but oversteps another line which has become important in the research on Socrates' philosophy. Griswold freely uses the *Republic* as his source although it has not been considered a plausible source for Socrates' views since the early 20th century. Griswold argues that this character is a super-philosopher for whom lying to poor Crito about his motives is less important than impressively demonstrating, "in deed as well as word, that the philosophically examined life is best" (p. 351).

Hugh H. Benson (8) discusses the Socratic method. He argues that *elenchos*, though not the only way for Socrates to discuss, is a distinctive and coherent method. Benson argues subtly for his non-constructive view on *elenchos*. According to him, the point of *elenchos* is to test knowledge claims and all the *elenchos* shows is that the interlocutor's beliefs are inconsistent. Christopher Rowe's article (9) deals with the *Apology* and the *Phaedrus* in order to find a balanced view about Socratic self-examination. Thus he – like Griswold – appears to study the Socrates as he appears in Plato's dialogues. Rowe's main conclusion is that according to

Socrates the self was simply our rational self and the irrational parts of the self are not essential (p. 214).

Richard Bett (10) follows the trend to study Socrates in Plato. But while Benson's approach appears to favour developmentalism and Griswold and Rowe a sort of unitarian approach, Bett opts for Grote's view in allowing Socrates to try out different philosophical positions in different Platonic dialogues. He argues that Socrates was a searcher like the sceptics but that he had "confidence about a number of things...; if one looks at the whole package, one will not be inclined to think Socrates a sceptic in any ordinary sense of the term" (p. 234). Melissa Lane (11) argues in an original way and rather convincingly for a new understanding of Socratic irony. She studies carefully many of the linguistic and social contexts in which Socrates uses expressions which interpreters have regarded as ironical and argues that they are better understood as simply sincere. "Socrates' self-deprecation, such as it is, is not necessarily ironic; ascriptions of *eirōneia* in Plato do not mean irony; friendship terms of address in Plato do not function ironically; and ironic praise is not, at least in some central cases, best understood as 'ironic' at all" (p. 256). If Lane's argument is accepted, it will definitely need to be taken into account in Platonic scholarship.

Terry Penner (12) presents some new features in his well-known theory of Socratic moral psychology. The new element is that in his rationalistic interpretation of the Socratic psychology of action, he now finds a role for appetites and passions. Fulfilling these leads to happiness and makes one act. Christopher Bobonich (13) also discusses Socrates and *eudaimonia*. His view of Socrates' account is more critical. In the last article (15), A. A. Long gives a very interesting presentation of "Socrates in Later Greek Philosophy". Long argues that Socrates' posthumous fame is partially due to the fact that his trial and death did not have their future colossal significance for his contemporaries. This enabled the Socratic writers to build a multifaceted picture which transformed the controversial historical figure into a philosophical icon.

In summary, this is an important book. Nevertheless, there are quite a lot of companions and handbooks available these days. Therefore, it might be asked whether it would be appropriate to demand more of them. In the case of this particular volume, one would certainly have wished the individual papers to have been in discussion with each other.

Eero Salmenkivi

DARYN LEHOUX: *Astronomy, Weather and Calendars in the Ancient World. Parapegmata and related texts in Classical and Near Eastern Societies*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-85181-7. XIV, 566 pp., 26 ill. GBP 65, EUR 90.

Daryn Lehoux's study of classical parapegmata is divided into two complementary parts: the first part is a series of analyses of the agricultural, astrological and calendrical contexts of classical parapegmata as well as discussions on the relevance of their Egyptian and Mesopotamian backgrounds, while the second part is an exhaustive catalogue of all extant parapegmata, complete with high quality editions and translations of most of the original sources.

Parapegmata are slabs of marble, plaster or clay, with inscriptions and holes for moveable pegs, designed to track temporal cycles of various sorts, but most scholars also include

as parapegmata contemporary texts designed for the same purpose. Lehoux refines the current definition somewhat when he clarifies that parapegmata were specifically used to track such temporal cycles as were not covered by the calendars in use. They are thus "extra-calendrical tools". This definition helps to explain the fact that Roman parapegmata after the Julian calendar reform track almost exclusively *lunar* cycles, since the reform made the calendar a better representation of the solar cycle, thus obviating the need to track the sun separately in parapegmata.

Lehoux challenges the widespread notion of an archaic Roman lunar calendar, and argues that the preoccupation of the makers of parapegmata with the Moon was almost entirely astrological. In the majority of Roman agricultural texts, specific tasks, such as planting or manuring, were timed to lunar phenomena. This included not only the lunar phases, but also lucky or unlucky lunar days, and the Moon's position relative to the horizon, that is, above it or below it (a distinction which is relevant in astrology). Interestingly, the logic of the lunar-scheduled tasks displays many features which are familiar from astrology, e.g. the idea that a waxing Moon can make crops grow. Although one of the central concerns of the makers of parapegmata was weather forecasting, this was not the only use of these devices, and their use also changed in a complex relationship with calendar evolution. This discovery leads to one of the (several) important points made by Lehoux about calendars and parapegmata, namely that, contrary to what many have assumed, the fact that they track certain temporal cycles is not evidence of the existence and use, at the same time, of a full-blown calendar system. In a similar manner the author also refutes other fanciful calendrical reconstructions that have been suggested based on parapegmata.

Perhaps the most fascinating part of Lehoux's analysis is, however, the chapter on the nature of the *sign* in parapegmata. Here he presents some important and well-formulated arguments for the need for a serious reevaluation of the two observational claims made about parapegmata; one by the ancients themselves that the connection between a meteorological phenomenon and an astronomical one was based on observation, and the other made by modern scholars, that parapegmata were used in conjunction with astronomical observation. Lehoux convincingly argues that neither claim holds true: a storm and a star cannot (usually) be simultaneously observed and thus at least some interpolation was necessary. This in turn would have required both a preexisting stellar scheme, i.e. a working knowledge of the heavens that predated the connection between the stars and weather, and this also requires regular and meticulous interpolation. To make matters worse, no single year would have yielded a clean record of observation, i.e. in no single year can one observe all stars in all positions without the disturbance of clouds. Put these points together, and the strong observational claim made by the ancients is much weaker in practice.

The modern claim that parapegmata were observational aids is refuted by Lehoux on the grounds that they generally index the data they present to a calendrical *date*, either as a column in a text, or through the placement of the peg. This suggests that users of parapegmata did not observe the star and then turn to the parapegmata to see the weather one should expect, but rather that they looked up the (current) date to see the weather of that date. Thus, Lehoux argues, the date, instead of the astronomical phenomenon, had become the sign that was observed. A semiotic shift occurred, in which the signs which were tied to the omnia were the dates of a canonised calendar. This idea has far-reaching implications for the study of ancient

(and probably also medieval) astrology, where ephemerides, the successor genre of *paraepgmata*, were paramount, and often entirely superseded actual observation.

Lehoux also discusses the potential precursors of *paraepgmata* in Mesopotamia and Egypt, and mainly arrives at the conclusion that the very different institutional and ideological assumptions behind the tracking of astronomical and meteorological phenomena yielded very different texts. In Mesopotamia, for instance, the consistent observation of celestial phenomena was part of a highly specialised state religion, whereas in Greece it was carried out by scattered individuals. As opposed to the clear line of influence in the area of planetary theory, astrometeorology did not pass on from Egypt and Babylon to Greece. But this is hardly surprising, because meteorological traditions must necessarily describe local weather. Different climates require different meteorological and agricultural traditions.

Lehoux's book raises many interesting points relevant to ancient astronomical, astrological and calendrical traditions. *Paraepgmata* are special as sources in that respect; they belong at the crossroads between what have for us become very separate disciplines, and thus require their students to be very patient and grounded. Lehoux has here shown himself to be both. However, the work is somewhat uneven, and there are some things one would have wished had been included or pursued further; for instance, it seems strange that when the heliacal risings are described to the beginner (commendable in itself), nonetheless, the relationship of *paraepgmata* to later ephemerides are hardly touched upon and their difference from astronomical tables is not even mentioned. This is strange because the Arabic astronomical tradition features briefly in the form of al-Bīrūnī's *paraepgma*; his text is even included in translation. This leads one to hope, in vain, for even a brief discussion of the pre-Islamic Arabic meteorological tradition of lunar stations, the *anwa'*. That this discussion is missing is perhaps explained by the fact that the analytical part of the book seems to be a reworking of a collection of separate articles, tied together by a strict focus on the *paraepgmata* as a distinct group of sources.

The many useful analyses, not to mention the considerable contribution made in the form of editions and translation of previously unedited texts in the second part of the book, more than make up for the partial unevenness of the work as a whole. In an important area of study that can certainly not be called overcrowded, Lehoux's work is most welcome.

Nadja Johansson

A Handbook of Ancient Religions. Edited by JOHN R. HINNELLS. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-84712-4. 610 pp., 55 illustrations, 17 maps, 11 tables. GBP 80.

Let it be noted straight away that *A Handbook of Ancient Religions*, edited by John R. Hinnells, reaches beyond the expertise of not only the reviewer but also the usual scope of *Arctos*. Hinnells has built a career in comparative religion, and the ambitious breadth of the monograph reflects this. The division into chapters is both regional and chronological and covers (in order): the Palaeolithic, Egypt, Ugarit, Mesopotamia, Israel until the fall of the Second Temple, Greece, the Roman empire, ancient Europe, Indus, China, and Aztec and Inca. It seems to the reviewer pointless to start exhaustively discussing each of the chapters, so here a general overview will be provided instead.

Hinnells set out to write an accessible handbook with a clear structure, and succeeded very well in the task. All the chapters follow a similar basic structure while each author has the opportunity to highlight topics or case-studies they find illustrative and important. Sources and the history of scholarship receive plentiful attention, which is a pleasant surprise not always found in handbooks (although in the Indus section there is an awkwardly emphatic criticism of Parpola (p. 464)). Some chapters also have a section on legacy and *Nachleben*, although early Israelite religion interestingly lacks this – perhaps it was deemed either too obvious or too broad a topic. On average, the authors are admirably explicit about their chosen approaches and interpretations.

The chapters draw on multiple classes of evidence, but the emphasis varies. Perhaps the most methodologically explicit and interesting is the combination of ethnography and neurophysiology utilized by Jean Clottes and David Lewis-Williams for Palaeolithic religion.

As for the substance itself, the non-specialist reviewer can say little. The specialists will be unlikely to find much new in the volume, and will doubtlessly come up with points they wish had been made or emphasized. The chapters on Greece and Rome are no exception, although Susan Guettel Cole brings up a refreshing point about women and slaves practising religion differently from free males, and J. A. North provides an interesting discussion of the rise of Christianity and its possible connection to an emerging need for local communities and the importance of personal religious conviction.

One must admit that the handbook seems to inhabit a slightly awkward niche: it is too general for anyone with more than a very cursory interest, but too specific for someone looking for an encyclopaedia-length overview. Even so, the clearly-written chapters rich with illustrations and examples of both textual and archaeological evidence make it pleasant reading that is accessible without smoothing over scholarly debates and problematic evidence.

Elina M. Salminen

Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice. Ancient Victims, Modern Observers. Edited by CHRISTOPHER A. FARAONE – F. S. NAIDEN. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2012. ISBN 978-1-10-701112-0. XIII, 209 pp. EUR 55, USD 95.

This somewhat concise book is based on a seminar held in Chicago in 2009, and the list of contributors (ten in all) includes many well-known names in the field. The book is divided into four sections with two papers in each: Modern Historiography, Greek and Roman Practice, Visual Representation and Literary Representation. The emphasis of the book as a whole – as was stated in the heading of the Chicago Conference and in the concluding "Afterword" by Clifford Ando (pp. 195–200) – is that animal sacrifice was not as central a ritual in the Graeco-Roman world as many textbooks still argue. However, if this overemphasizing is true as regards Roman studies, as Jas Elsner shows in a footnote in his "Sacrifice in late Roman art" (pp. 120–63), whether it is true also in Greek Studies is another question. In fact, Albert Henrichs in his treatment of animal sacrifice in tragedies treats it as a central phenomenon in that context ("Animal sacrifice in Greek tragedy: ritual, metaphor, problematizations", pp. 167–79). Furthermore, the art historian Richard Need ("Sacrificing stones: on some culture, mostly Athenian", pp. 99–119) points out that if animal sacrifice was not a central ritual, this does not mean

that it was an unimportant ritual (p. 104).

In his "Afterword", Ando points out three factors, the absence of which, according to him, proves that animal sacrifice was not a central ritual in the Graeco-Roman world: it had no metaphorical elaboration, it was not a component of other rites and it was not conceived as archetypal or iconic. This seems a totalizing conception of "centrality", particularly if it is meant to resist some "great stories" of the significance of Greco-Roman animal sacrifice created by, for instance, Walter Burkert. What is the centrality of a given rite other than its importance? For example, the Last Supper is, of course, the most important and thus central ritual for Christians, but is it a component of all other rituals? The metaphorical elaboration of animal sacrifice is quite obvious at least in tragedy, which offers us several basic literary representations of blood sacrifice. Furthermore, sacrifice as such, as John Scheid suggests in his "Roman animal sacrifice and the system of being" (pp. 84–98) was not at the margin of Roman religious life. He also points out the continuing importance of animal sacrifice even during the third century CE; if the well-known Christian campaign against un-Christian practices in general, and blood sacrifice in particular, put animal sacrifice in the front row, blood sacrifice was still commonly practised.

Animal sacrifice was quite central also in comedy, as James Redfield shows in "Animal sacrifice in comedy: an alternative point of view" (pp. 167–79). He reminds us of the well-known fact that post-kill was the focus of comedy. Or as Redfield comments: "Once again, consumption is revealed as the true meaning of the sacrifice [in comedy]" (p. 175) speaking also about "the joy we take in eating meat" (p. 179). However, how can "we" be sure what is the 'true meaning' of any human rituals, institutions, or practices – even in comedies, which naturally emphasized corporality? The meaning depends on whose point of view we are taking as there is no universal position to take. Therefore, one may ask whether the characters in comedy are speaking more about the joy of feasting together than the joy of eating (sacrificial) meat.

All the contributors refer to recent research into animal sacrifice, while only two of them deal with the historiography of blood sacrifice. Bruce Lincoln shows in "From Bergaigne to Meuli: How animal sacrifice became a hot topic" (pp. 13–31) how the work of the French Indologist Abel Bergaigne (1938–88) was the background to Marcel Mauss's famous study on sacrifice. Important contributions were also made by German scholars, culminating in the work of Karl Meuli (1891–1968). Fritz Graf continues with the subject of historiography by elaborating on the influence of two famous works: *Homo Necans* and *La violence et le sacré* ("One generation after Burkert and Girard: Where are the great theories?", pp. 32–51). Both Lincoln and Graf suggest that there has been a lot of interest in animal sacrifice since the 19th century. However, when the English translation of Detienne and Vernant's *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec* (1979) was published, one reviewer wrote that "sacrifice is in many ways a distasteful subject which has attracted scant attention" and that "few have probably delved into Burkert's *Homo Necans*" (*JHS* 101 [1981] 184). Perhaps few had delved then, but many certainly did during the 1980s, and this huge interest in the subject at the end of the 20th century may distort the historiography of this research area.

The authors of this book are naturally right about their criticism of the broad lines offered by the "great" books on Graeco-Roman animal sacrifice. One reason to come to different conclusions or interpretations of the same phenomenon is, of course, the use of different types of evidence. Thus, violence and guilt were important concomitants of animal sacrifice for Burkert, while Vernant emphasized the social aspect of the sacrificial meal. For the latter

view, F. S. Naiden's "Blessed are the parasites" (pp. 55–83) is a quite suggestive contribution, as it ponders on what kind of evidence we have for arguing that sacrificial meals were, in fact, communal. The author concludes that the portions were too small for a proper meal. What kind of further conclusions may one draw from this? At least not any kind of "true meaning" of animal sacrifice. As Ando suggests at the end of the book, it would be useful to view "the (self) interpretive structures of the communities in which they [that is, practices like animal sacrifice] were produced" (p. 198).

However, even if the times of great theories like those of Burkert, Girard and Vernant are over, their books still inspire scholars. In all, *Greek and Roman Animal Sacrifice* would be a good introduction to studies of animal sacrifice in Antiquity had it included an introductory chapter on the theme. Only Scheid and Henrichs clearly refer to the different types of animal sacrifice (pp. 84 and 183). Instead, *La cuisine et l'autel* (2005), edited by Stella Georgoudi, Renée Koch Piettre and Francis Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepolis), which also contains surveys of recent research on animal sacrifice, begins with the question of definitions.

Tua Korhonen

FRANCESCA PRESCENDI: *Décrire et comprendre le sacrifice. Les réflexions des Romains sur leur propre religion à partir de la littérature antique*. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 19. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2007. ISBN 978-3-515-08888-6. 284 S. EUR 59.

In questa dotta e utilissima aggiunta ai già fiorenti studi sul sacrificio nel mondo antico, Francesca Prescendi, nella scia di Scheid e altri, offre un quadro generale di più interpretazioni dell'argomento, prestando particolare attenzione alle concezioni e ricostruzioni ricavabili dalla letteratura antiquario-tecnica nonché alla percezione del sacrificio come uno strumento di comunicazione tra uomini e dei (ma con chi comunicava la gente quando comunicava con i dei? Va ricordato che la natura di molte divinità, greche e romane, era ambigua e soggetta a variazione). Con l'aiuto di fonti di varia natura ed epoca, l'autrice arriva alla descrizione di un sacrificio modello (pp. 31 sgg.) che tuttavia nella sua uniformità stabilita, difficilmente corrisponde alla realtà rituale, dovendo questa frequentemente essere stata piuttosto disordinata e poco fissa. Gli elementi costituenti del sacrificio (riti preliminari, consecrazione, offerte e partizione, il destino degli *exta*, ecc.) sono analizzati con grande professionalità, e lo stesso vale per la molto dibattuta questione del sacrificio umano e dell'omicidio rituale, qui introdotta e discussa con competenza nel capitolo 3.3 (ora si veda anche C. Schultz, "The Romans and Ritual Murder", *JAAR* 78 [2010] 516–41).

Complessivamente, si tratta di un lavoro intelligente e ben documentato, ricco di numerose osservazioni innovative e originali che fanno riflettere il lettore. D'altro canto, sembra che l'autrice sia rimasta alquanto impantanata nella letteratura antiquaria, i cui metodi e punti di partenza meritavano più attenzione.

A proposito quanto comunicato a p. 50 (n. 230), mi sia consentito di concludere che, nonostante alcune critiche (e grazie a consensi), sono tuttora propenso a rimanere nella mia opinione (espressa in *Arctos* 32 [1998] 109–31) che a Roma devono essere stati effettuati abbattimenti di animali anche (!) in maniera del tutto profana.

Mika Kajava

C. M. C. GREEN: *Roman Religion and the Cult of Diana at Aricia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-85158-9 (hb). XXX, 347 pp. GBP 48.

The sanctuary of Diana at Lake Nemi, some 30 kilometres south of Rome, has fascinated scholars for many generations. One reason for this interest is obviously the strange priesthood of rex Nemorensis – a priesthood obtained only by killing one's predecessor. The goddess herself with her many faces is also a source of fascination. One of the most famous interpretations of the cult was presented by Sir James Frazer in his influential but disputed work *The Golden Bough*, published in 1911–15. Frazer was strongly criticized by the most authoritative scholar of Roman religion at that time, Georg Wissowa. These two scholars serve as starting points in Green's book.

Green aims to give a new interpretation of the cult of Diana at Nemi. She makes a difference between Roman and Latin religion and wishes to present Diana specifically as a Latin goddess. The book is divided into three parts. The first part of the book deals with the history of the sanctuary and the nature of the goddess. Green discusses both archaeological and literary evidence. She underlines that archaeological research of the last 30 years has thoroughly changed our views of early Rome and Latium. Green pays special attention to the Augustan era – as Augustus regarded Apollo and Diana as his tutelary deities, a connection would seem natural.

As for the nature of the goddess, Green wishes to stress the role of Diana as a huntress. She is a lunar deity, too, a protectress of women in childbirth, as well as a chthonic goddess. Green, however, links these other roles to the role of Diana as a goddess of hunting. She does not think that the image of the maidenlike Diana the huntress was borrowed from Greek culture. It would rather reflect the original nature of the Latin Diana.

In the second part of the book, Green discusses the role and functions of the rex Nemorensis, the Greek myths connected with the sanctuary of Nemi and the minor deities Virbius and Egeria, also connected with the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi. Pointing out weaknesses in both Frazer's and Wissowa's views, Green makes some very interesting points, e.g., when discussing the nature of kingship in early Latium and Rome. Some of her interpretations are, however, rather speculative. Green uses Servius' commentary on Virgil's *Aeneid* as her primary source and does not really discuss the accuracy of Servius as an authority on early Latin or Roman religion or on the cult of Diana at Nemi.

Diana as a healer goddess is the topic of the third part of the book. The discussion on healing sanctuaries and their relationship to Hippocratic medicine is very interesting and offers fresh viewpoints. In this section, Green does not refer much to the anatomical ex-votos found at Nemi but tries to link the sanctuary of Nemi to a wider perspective of ancient sanctuaries with healing deities. She argues that practices at the sanctuary of Diana at Aricia were part of an Italic culture that was probably influenced by sanctuaries and philosophical schools of Magna Graecia.

Green's book is also valuable inasmuch as the author discusses recent scholarship on the goddess Diana and her sanctuary at Aricia, at the same time not neglecting older scholarship on the subject. The literary and archaeological evidence is also well introduced. Green wishes to emphasize the hunting aspect as the "original" nature of Diana, but it may be asked if it is actually relevant to try to define the "original nature" of a deity. In sum, the book is vividly

written and gives a good, although in part speculative, overview on different aspects of the goddess Diana and her cult at Aricia.

Marja-Leena Hänninen

G. MAX BERNHEIMER: *Ancient Gems from the Borowski Collection*. Introduction Sir JOHN BOARDMAN. Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, Ruhpolding – Mainz am Rhein 2007. ISBN 978-3-938646-08-3. 120 pp., 645 ils. EUR 48.

Questo bel volume, con una prefazione di Sir John Boardman, è dedicato alle gemme intagliate che fanno parte delle cospicue collezioni Borowski custodite nel Bible Lands Museum a Gerusalemme. Il gruppo dei 163 oggetti presentati è costituito da sigilli d'avorio, gemme incise, paste di vetro, cammei di pietre varie, e anelli di vari tipi e materiali, che si datano nell'arco di tempo che va dalla fine del III millennio a.C. alla tarda antichità. Essendo il volume indirizzato a un pubblico generale, i commenti sono molto concisi con pochi riferimenti al materiale parallelo oltre alla glittica. A molti lettori probabilmente sarebbe piaciuto trovare più commenti sulla comparsa dei motivi iconografici in vari contesti culturali e religiosi. Le immagini a colori non sempre rendono giustizia agli oggetti catalogati, essendo esse a volte oscurate o dalla struttura della pietra o dal colore di rivestimento della stessa. Risultano inoltre poco chiare alcune delle riproduzioni fotografiche delle impronte lasciate dalle gemme. Ciononostante, *Ancient Gems* fa pienamente onore a Elie Borowski, che già a giovane età si interessò delle gemme, meritandosi il dottorato nel 1946 a Ginevra con una dissertazione sui sigilli orientali nelle collezioni svizzere, e che, a detta dell'autore, fu "a very fine 'gem man' indeed" (Preface, p. 10).

Mika Kajava

HERMANFRID SCHUBART – GERTA MAASS-LINDEMANN: *Toscanos 1967–1984. Toscanos. Die phönizische Niederlassung an der Mündung des Río de Vélez. Lieferung 2: Grabungskampagnen in der Siedlung von Toscanos (1967 und 1978), an den Befestigungen des Alarcón (1967, 1971 und 1984) und in der Nekropole Jardín (1967–1976)*. DAI, Madrider Forschungen 6, 2. Walter de Gruyter & Co., Berlin 2007. ISBN 978-3-11-018210-1. V, 375 S., 45 Beil., 121 Taf. EUR 209.

Toscanos con le sue vicinanze alla foce di Río de Vélez nella provincia di Málaga costituisce uno dei più importanti luoghi di commercio fenici (o fenicio-punici) della penisola iberica. Il presente volume, elaborando sulle scoperte provenienti dagli scavi condotti dall'Istituto Archeologico Germanico (Madrid) in varie occasioni dal 1967, studia l'insediamento di Toscanos, un'altro più antico sul Cerro del Alarcón, e la necropoli di Jardín, completando così le sezioni 1 (1969) e 3 (1982) del sesto volume delle "Madrider Forschungen". Le tracce della presenza fenicio-punica nella zona, documentabili dall'VIII al IV secolo a.C., sono analizzate e presentate in maniera intransigente e con una rara rigidità di metodo e ricerca, cosa che non sorprende, essendo gli autori i massimi esperti della materia.

Mika Kajava

KIM BOWES: *Houses and Society in the Later Roman Empire*. Duckworth Debates in Archaeology. Gerald Duckworth & Co. Ltd., London 2010. ISBN 978-0-7156-3882-8. 120 pp. GBP 12.99.

LISA C. NEVETT: *Domestic Space in Classical Antiquity*. Key Themes in Ancient History. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-78336-1 (hb), 978-0-521-78945-5 (pb). XVIII, 178 pp. GBP 45, USD 75 (hb), GBP 19.99, USD 32.99 (pb).

Various aspects of ancient domestic space and households have been rigorously described and vigorously debated in the past few decades. These two slim volumes, published in 2010, continue this process in slightly different ways. Kim Bowes's book concentrates on Late Antiquity whereas Lisa Nevett takes a diachronic view on ancient houses, both Greek and Roman. Both authors are acknowledged experts in the study of domestic space, although Nevett is perhaps best known for her work on Greek houses.

Bowes's book is published in the Duckworth Debates in Archaeology series and takes a polemic view of its topic. The initial intention is to offer an overview of what kind of research has been done on Late Antique housing in the past and what the state of research is at the moment. The second aim is to offer new points of view based on new analyses of historical contexts as well as the buildings themselves. The book is divided into four chapters with the first two on the archaeology of Later Roman houses and the third on developments in the study of the history of the period. The fourth chapter proposes new directions for the study of domestic architecture and society in Late Antiquity. The book features a useful bibliography and is richly illustrated. Most of the images are reproductions of ground plans and drawings from earlier publications, and sometimes I would have wished for plans redrawn for this purpose – some of the points Bowes makes based on the images are not easily understandable.

Traditionally, the Late Roman house seems to have a life of its own quite separate from what happened before on the site as well as in Roman society in general. Bowes effectively demonstrates how the Late Roman house has been almost "invented" in scholarly literature. The study has been based on a very limited number of town houses and villas which tend to have been excavated and documented early and usually not to exacting standards. The most common architectural element connected to the Late Roman period is the apse, which has been read from the point of view of medieval church architecture. Previous studies have also been driven by textual evidence emphasizing the hierarchization and ritualization of space for which there is not so much tangible archaeological evidence. The extending database of excavated sites and the emergence of detailed archaeological analyses of these buildings have shown that the apse is not exclusively Late Roman and that it was used in different ways. The Late Antique house was also usually a direct continuation of an earlier building, a phase and not an independent creation of its time. Views on Late Antique society are also changing and this will also hopefully lead to a re-evaluation of archaeological evidence. Bowes suggests looking at the use of the elements more widely and open-mindedly – the apse is used functionally in dining or reception spaces, but it can also be a stylistic element in many other kinds of spaces. Instead of interpreting the house as a means whereby the house owner could dominate his social inferiors, the Late Antique domestic space should be looked at as a pawn in the social competition between peers resulting from reforms in the elite's career tracks. A more careful analysis of the geographical distribution of the Late Antique building boom could also result in a better under-

standing of how the houses – both urban and rural – functioned in this competition.

Nevett's book does not perhaps aim at such a polemic view of its subject matter, but rather tries to bridge the gap between studies on households and houses based on texts and archaeological evidence. The six main chapters are based on a series of seminar and conference papers given in the 2000s and then adapted to form a coherent whole. This has resulted in a slightly eclectic-looking bibliography lacking in works from the late 2000s – some of which could have added to or even changed Nevett's conclusions. The first chapter takes a more general look at how houses can reflect society after which there are five case studies. The second chapter takes a look at how houses changed in Early Iron Age Greece from the 10th century to the 6th century B.C. The evidence is sketchy and geographically unevenly distributed, but it is striking to note how single-room houses dominated most of the area and time periods. The 8th century is usually associated with rapid changes in society, but this is not so clearly reflected in domestic architecture. House forms become more complicated, but change comes slowly and also spreads slowly. Control of movement and the individual's use of space seems to be connected to the Classical period and citizen-states which are the topic in Chapter Three. Nevett takes a look at the spaces that could have been used in domestic symposium in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. The enclosed andron with off-centre doorway and spaces for couches usually associated with symposia appears quite late and suggests changes in the ways the symposium was held, who was able to participate and how its significance was perceived in society in general.

In the fourth chapter, Nevett moves forward in time and travels to the island of Delos, which has long been held as an important meeting point between eastern and western cultures. This makes it an interesting place to study how cultural identity could be reflected in domestic space. Nevett is able to discern two different types of houses based on the access and visibility of the interior space from the entrance. Most of the houses form a secluded environment, which is visible to a guest only after he/she has entered the house. A small group of large houses placed their interior space as if deliberately on display. The first group could potentially be associated with Greek housing traditions and the second with Roman tradition. However, underlying this pattern is a varying use of space and adaptation to different needs and requirements of the household. The fifth chapter takes the reader to Roman Pompeii and takes a look at artifact distributions and social groups inside houses. Nevett analyses the contents of houses with respect to short-term changes such as seasons and also tries to trace long-term changes based mostly on architecture. Particularly the short-term change is an interesting topic as literary sources suggest a use of space according to the availability of natural light, warmth or coolness depending on the season. Nevett's conclusions remain tentative – for example, the atrium is described both as the coolest and the warmest space in the house – but the idea would be worth pursuing more rigorously. The last chapter is on Late Roman North African housing and elite self-representation and re-contextualizes the *Dominus Julius* mosaic in its architectural and cultural sphere. The interpretation follows the traditional ideas of hierarchization, and reading it after Bowes's deconstruction of the underlying paradigms of the study of Late Roman houses suggests the need for yet another re-interpretation.

Both books offer plenty of theoretical ideas and practical data for the future study of domestic space in Classical Antiquity. Their clear and concise texts also make them excellent for use in the classroom as a basis for further discussions and papers on the topic. Despite the

wealth of publications, domestic space is far from having been exhaustively studied and both volumes emphasize the need for further work.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

SHEILA DILLON: *The Female Portrait Statue in the Greek World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-76450-6. XVI, 254 pp. GBP 55, USD 99.

A warm welcome to this captivating book that most scholars, be they interested in the stylistic developments of Greek portraiture or on some social aspects of ancient women's condition, will find enjoyable to read and useful for future research studies. In this new monograph, Sheila Dillon discusses an area that has not received much attention in the traditional studies of Greek sculpture. In fact, while the subject of traditional scholarly interest has predominantly been the sculptural representation of male and divine subjects, Dillon has interestingly chosen to focus on the portrait statues of non-divine and non-royal women in Greek society from the Classical period to Roman times.

The book includes an Introduction, which briefly outlines the scope and method of the text, four chapters forming the main body of the text, and the Conclusion, which summarises the main points of the discussion.

In Chapter 1, Dillon discusses the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the inscribed bases supporting female portrait statues as a means of reconstructing their original display context. The survey of a selected number of inscribed bases found in Athens, Priene, Pergamon, and Delos shows that most portrait statues of women were set up as votive dedications in sanctuary contexts by either the demos or the (mainly male) members of their family. Though the male identity of the dedicators and the mention of their names in the inscribed texts are not surprising in a patriarchal society where female identity is shaped by men, the display of physically imposing portrait statues of female subjects in public areas clearly suggested the importance of women's role within the family and the city's cults.

The physical appearance of portrait statues is analysed in the two following chapters, which are devoted to draped bodies (Chapter 2) and portrait heads (Chapter 3).

While nudity was the costume of male and divine bodies, Greek women were always displayed as fully clothed. In ancient society, clothing was immediately associated with women, who were responsible for the household production of textiles. Weaving and spinning were also associated with a number of feminine virtues such as industriousness, modesty, and chastity. However, as Dillon correctly points out, the representation of female bodies draped in semi-transparent and luxurious clothes also emphasised their sexual attractiveness. The author argues that the representation of women wearing ornate and expensive garments was a matter of elite visibility: the display of luxurious clothing was a symbol of the woman's social status and a means by which elite women were visually set apart from the rest of the female population. Also the wide range of options in types of pose, gesture, costume, and drapery that the author discusses in the central part of Chapter 2 served to visually emphasise the individuality and particularity of the represented women. While agreeing with Dillon's social reading of the draped statues, I would add that the erotic potential of the female statues, which were dedicated

and carved by men, also bespeaks the men's expectations toward the female body and its possession.

The clothed body surely conveys notions of one's social status, but it is also the representation of certain individualising physiognomic features to better express the personal identity of the subject. However, as Dillon shows in Chapter 3, the female portrait faces reveal a certain homogeneity in spite of the adoption of a variety of facial proportions and hairstyles. The author suggests some possible interesting reasons for this quasi-anonymity of the female portraits. Given the social conditions of ancient women, an upper-class woman would hardly have had the possibility of sitting for a male artist of the artisan class for her portrait. Moreover, because of the collective identity of elite women, who played a narrow range of exemplary roles within the family (as a daughter, wife, and mother) and society (as priestess), the association between real physiognomy and personal identity was not the primary concern in female portraiture. Rather, it was the visual representation of an ideal beauty which was the most typical signifier of female identity.

The adoption of an idealising style for the representations of female portraits is still attested in the Roman period, though the Roman sculptural traditions had some impact on Greek portraiture. In Chapter 4, Dillon discusses evidence for portrait statues of women in Thasos, Aphrodisias, and Perge to show that the Roman style of portraiture, with its emphasis on more realistic and individualised physiognomy, was adopted along with the traditional generic Greek style or what the author describes as the "not portrait" style.

The book closes with a carefully selected bibliography and four useful appendices which list portrait statues attested in Athens and Delos from the 4th till the 1st centuries B.C.E. In the concluding line of her work Dillon states that "we must ask different questions [...] If this book has persuaded its readers to do this, then it will have accomplished its task." (p. 167). Her book certainly raises some questions which are left unanswered here: given the wider number of statues depicting ideal and divine female figures, how did their iconography influence the portrayal of historical women? For even the well-known image of Aphrodite of Knidos carved by Praxiteles conveys a message of ideal beauty and modesty through her nudity and gesture of covering her pubes with her hand. Moreover, while Dillon focuses only on the standing statues, what visual impact had the seated female portraits? What message did they convey? In the search of these answers, Dillon's work already provides scholars with ample material for further discussion and deeper understanding of ancient society.

Margherita Carucci

CORINNA RIVA: *The Urbanisation of Etruria. Funerary Practices and Social Change, 700–600 BC*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-51447-7. XII, 247 pp. GBP 50, USD 85.

Corinna Riva's book, based on her PhD thesis at the University of Cambridge, discusses the sociopolitical transformations in Etruria during the Orientalising period. In a way, the subtitle of the book better describes its content: over half the text analyses the development of funerary ideology and grave-goods. The authoress emphasises, perhaps even too much, the significance of the funeral as a manifestation of political authority and can thus combine the ideological

development, clearly connected with the eastern Mediterranean, with the simultaneous urbanisation process.

Riva has a thorough knowledge of her material, even that from the newest excavations, as well as the secondary literature and modern methodology. Sometimes the conceptual treatment makes simple questions rather complicated. This may also leave the final results of the study a little vague. Riva concludes that "the tomb constituted the physical, material, and conceptual space where elite groups transformed their prestige into political authority; therefore it is at the tomb that political relations themselves within the early city were structured. – At the same time, the funerary landscape transformed the physical landscape of the early city into a political one (pp. 177–78)."

The traditionally "gravecentric" study of the Etruscan culture has in the last few decades been balanced by excavations of settlements and administrative areas. Riva clearly knows this material very well, but in a way, she now turns the focus back to the necropoleis, which not only reflect religious beliefs, social differentiation, and the development of architecture and material culture, but are also, according to her, at the centre of political endeavours. She may in this respect go too far; it is hard to believe that the elites of these early cities had to wait for funerals before being able to display their political authority.

Riva's book contains rich and partly new information about, for example, contacts with the Eastern Mediterranean, differences (and similarities) between female and male burials and the differing development of urban and extra-urban centres. Although she clearly states that the catalyst of the Orientalising process was the reopening of Mediterranean trade, the discussion of the economy of early Etruria remains unsatisfactory. Landowning was certainly the basis for the political power of the elite. But one could assume that even in this period, more power was in the hands of those who controlled trade. What happened when a captain from Corinth arrived at the coast of Southern Etruria, the ship full of refined clay, of which Corinth had enough, and willing to exchange it for corn and metal, of which there was insufficient for the growing Corinthian population? The captain hardly went around the farms with nice amphoras in his chariot. And at least in other societies, the role of tradesmen has been more important than that of farmers.

Riva's book is a good, even though somewhat one-sided, contribution to the discussion around the *formazione* of Etruscan society.

Jorma Kaimio

MARIA CRISTINA BIELLA: *Impasti orientalizzanti con decorazione ad incavo nell'Italia centrale tirrenica*. Tyrrhenica 6; Archaeologica 146. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2007. ISBN 978-88-7689-226-5. XXXIV, 279 pp., 45 tavv., 43 figg. EUR 180.

Questo libro raccoglie un interessante corpus del vasellame in impasto con decorazione a incavo (o excisione). L'originale tecnica, che in pratica comportava l'asportazione dello strato superficiale dell'argilla all'interno della sagoma, sembra sia emersa nell'Italia centrale nel VII secolo a.C., con nuclei di produzione particolarmente fiorenti nell'agro falisco-capenate. Nel catalogo vengono presentati 210 vasi (largamente inediti e provenienti per lo più dalle necropoli di Capena e Falerii Veteres), le cui decorazioni sono realizzate (excise) con uno strumento

largo almeno 2 mm, mentre nell'annunciato secondo volume saranno considerati gli impasti con decorazione incisa (questo studio, per quanto sappia, è ancora in corso di preparazione, cf. MCB, in *Boll. Arch. on-line*, vol. speciale: *XVII Intern. Congr. Class. Arch. Rome 2008*: http://151.12.58.75/archeologia/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2&Itemid=2). Al catalogo ricco di informazioni seguono brevi rassegne sulla tecnica dell'excisione nonché su tipologia (spicca la forma del kantharos) e funzione (soprattutto rituale e funeraria). Tra le più interessanti e più fornite risultano le sezioni relative ai motivi decorativi (pp. 129–62), alla cronologia (pp. 163–92) e alle produzioni locali (pp. 193–214). Il volume, corredato da numerose figure e tavole, conclude con i necessari indici e appendici. In somma, un'utile rassegna che contribuirà a far meglio conoscere un territorio ricco di botteghe e maestri delle originali e raffinate ceramiche figurate.

Mika Kajava

MARIA GIUSEPPINA CANOSA: *Una tomba principesca da Timmari*. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Monumenti antichi 65; Serie miscellanea 11. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2007. ISBN 978-88-7689-224-9. 234 pp., 61 tavv. EUR 180.

La tomba n. 33 scoperta nel 1982 a Timmari (Matera), indubbiamente tra le più interessanti e significative che si conoscano dal mondo greco-romano, viene adesso pubblicata in maniera superba da Maria Giuseppina Canosa, che ne ha diretto lo scavo e coordinato l'analisi. Eccezionale per le condizioni di conservazione e la ricchezza del corredo, la tomba si presenta particolarmente interessante per le caratteristiche di costruzione, con l'alzato, probabilmente in tavole lignee, impostato su una base di blocchi di pietra quadrati, e quindi simili e quelle della pira monumentale rappresentata sul cd. cratere di Patroclo proveniente da Canosa (e cronologicamente vicino alla tomba di Timmari). Altrettanto suggestivi sono i richiami ai mattoni intonacati con tracce di fuoco rinvenuti a Verghina, probabilmente interpretabili come resti del podio su cui era stata eretta la camera-pira in legno di Filippo; dal punto di vista tipologico, non è fuorviante nemmeno il riferimento al grandioso funerale di Efestione a Babilonia, per il quale fu costruita una gigantesca pira quadrata su un suolo appositamente livellato con l'aiuto di mattoni cotti (Diod. Sic. 17,115,1–2). Così come la tipologia tombale, anche il singolare rituale funerario ("cremazione secondaria", pp. 159–60) trova confronti significativi in Italia meridionale ad Armento (Potenza) – dove la terza tomba è legata all'aristocrazia macedone – e in Macedonia nelle tombe reali di Verghina nonché in quelle eccellenti di Derveni. Tale rituale comportava la traslazione delle ceneri e di altri resti carbonizzati del defunto dalla pira poco lontana alla (semi)camera tombale, dopodiché, sistemato il corredo funebre (benché alcuni oggetti potessero essere bruciati col defunto), le cerimonie continuavano con il banchetto, al termine del quale la camera lignea fu chiusa e la sepoltura interrata. L'analisi archeobotanica e palinologica, del resto, ha consentito di collocare la cremazione della tomba n. 33 alla stagione del tardo autunno, mentre gran parte del corredo (ca. 150 oggetti) è databile agli anni 340 e 330 a.C., cioè ai due decenni precedenti la chiusura della tomba, che Canosa ipotizza tra il 331 e il 330 a.C., associandola con la spedizione di Alessandro Magno in Magna Grecia.

Comunque sia, dal corredo, di elevatissimo livello, emergono più indizi che sembrano certi: si tratta della sepoltura di un condottiere, forse un comandante di un corpo speciale, che

non solo ha svolto un ruolo egemone sulle aristocrazie locali, ma è stato strettamente legato alla famiglia reale epirota-macedone. In questa ottica, risulta altamente suggestiva la proposta di individuare nel monumentale "cratere a mascheroni" (raffigurante, come pare, la nota scena iliadica dell'ambasceria di Oineo a Meleagro) un programma politico-figurativo con allusione al re epirota Alessandro il Molosso. Spicca inoltre l'indiscussa ideologia filomacedone che promana dall'iconografia del corredo, insieme con alcune singolari coincidenze quali la stagione della cremazione e il cranio rinvenuto senza corpo: non solo la morte del Molosso si colloca fra il tardo autunno e l'inverno iniziale degli anni 331–330 a.C., ma la tradizione tramandata da Livio vuole che il suo corpo sia stato lacerato con le parti staccate successivamente sepolte in più località dell'arco ionico. In estrema ipotesi, quindi, potrebbe il titolare della tomba non essere Alessandro il Molosso, sepolto dal partito filomacedone che ancora credeva nel progetto di conquista dell'Occidente? Ciò potrebbe essere pura fantasia, come l'autrice ben sottolinea (p. 177), ma l'idea rimane attraente lo stesso.

Mika Kajava

DIANA SPENCER: *Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity*. Greece & Rome New Surveys in the Classics 39. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-1-107-40024-5. XVI, 236 pp. GBP 14.99, USD 21.99.

Roman landscapes have been discussed from various points of view over the past few decades. Archaeologists tend to concentrate particularly on the problems of understanding and reconstructing settlement patterns from survey and excavation materials. Historians also participate in those discussions commenting on both literary and archaeological sources. Scholars concentrating on literary studies usually try to decipher the intended meaning of literary descriptions of landscapes – what was the effect aimed at when the text was composed? Diana Spencer has written a concise introductory book on the basics of analysing literary landscapes, which seeks to explore theories and methodologies for studying ancient landscapes mostly based on ancient texts. Chronologically the main emphasis is on the Roman Republic and early Principate and geographically on Central Italy.

The book consists of an introduction followed by five main chapters and ending with a short envoi. The densely annotated introduction affords a breathtakingly wide perspective on landscape theories in various disciplines from sociology to art history to architecture. It is followed by a survey of some key themes concerning particularly the Roman world such as ethnoscape, *locus amoenus* and the political uses of landscape. The next three chapters discuss such themes as aesthetics, labour and time in relation to Roman ideas of landscape. The fifth chapter is the core of the volume and concentrates on literary case studies. In the last main chapter, the emphasis is on material culture case studies, landscape paintings, architecture and its relationship to the topography of the sites explored. The envoi reflects on ancient and modern experiences based on a visit to Hadrian's Villa at modern Tivoli.

The landscapes discussed by the various Roman authors in Chapter 5 start with Cicero and questions of Roman identity. Cicero looks for, buys and sells estates himself and discusses similar transactions by his peers. The seemingly financial transaction is also significant for purposes of memory (like finding the place for Tullia's tomb) and ethnicity (references to Greek

landscapes). The story continues with Varro's agricultural guide which does not really discuss production as much as it discusses aesthetics and *otium*. Italy is presented in more utopian and idealistic terms than as a real, cultivated landscape. Italia has become completely Roman and questions of identity and ethnicity are still contested topics. The next topic is Columella's description of an ideal estate as well as characteristics of Roman Italy in the 1st century A.D. His habit of making rich cultural references on almost every aspect is fascinating. Statius's poems in *silvae* bring luxury and pleasure to the foreground, which was not really acceptable before the Flavian period. Pliny's descriptions of his villas evoke architectural spaces approaching natural landscapes and again relate to history, memory, mythology and social status.

In Chapter 6, Spencer uses archaeological evidence to study landscapes and turns to villa architecture and landscape paintings on walls. Her first example is the Villa Farnesina site and its large hemicyclic space opening towards the Tiber. She considers it as a landmark in its region and suggests possible lines of sight even to the other side of the river, maybe all the way to Augustus's Mausoleum. Although the idea is fascinating, the large public buildings between the villa and the northern part of Campus Martius would probably have blocked the view. Another example used is the garden room in Livia's villa near Rome, which brings the outdoors deep inside the architectural space. The third section is on the *porticus* built by Pompey and the sculptural displays in the *horti* on the outskirts of ancient Rome, both bringing *rus in urbe*.

Spencer intends the books as a starting point – a survey – for future work for other scholars rather than as the end point of her own. The examples are familiar and usually have already been widely discussed, but adding a more general theoretical framework to the treatment of landscapes in literary sources gives coherence and structure to the textual analysis. Spencer manages to create an easily understandable, concise and yet comprehensive volume for students and scholars alike.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

KATHERINE E. WELCH: *The Roman Amphitheatre. From Its Origins to the Colosseum*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-809443 (hb). XXII, 355 pp. GBP 55.

Besides the Olympic Games, it is surely the gladiators and the amphitheatres, which most fascinate modern readers in the field of ancient agonistics. Since the year 2000 books have been, if not flooding onto the market, at least regularly published on this subject. To name a few, D. L. Bomgardner in 2000 for Routledge, A. La Regina in 2001 for Electa in connection with the Rome exhibition, L. Jacobelli in 2003 for "L'Erma", K. Hopkins – M. Beard in 2005 for Profile Books, G. G. Fagan in 2011 for CUP from the social-psychological point of view, and above all K. E. Welch in 2007 also for CUP from the origins of Roman amphitheatre to the Colosseum.

K. E. Welch takes as her starting point the previous scholarly literature. She points out how much and how long L. Friedländer's magnum opus from the late 1880s affected our picture of gladiators and Roman morals. It was only in 1970 that the Roman spectacles were first analysed in ancient Roman terms, and in 1983 that arena and its spectacles began to be seen as a reflection of the bellicose spirit of ancient Rome, a substitute for warfare and a venue for political expression at a time when few Romans had personal experience of battle. Ever since the

1980s, much has been gained by the use of the interdisciplinary historical method, even with anthropological and psychoanalytic approaches. The amphitheatre itself as an architectural type received its first comprehensive treatment only in 1988 by J.-C. Golvin.

The author tackles its origins, monumentalization, the canonization of the building type and its dissemination in the early Empire. She analyses sensitively its development against the social and political background, and cultural circumstances in their historical setting. This is not an easy task, as the origins of the gladiatorial games were debated already in antiquity. Livy's suggestions of gladiatorial games being popular in South Italy, at least in the late fourth century BC, accords with the archaeological evidence; the indications of their connections to funerary rituals have traditionally been accepted. The first known gladiatorial show in Rome was given in the Forum Boarium in 264, and since 214 in the Forum Romanum, which seems to have been the physical setting of gladiatorial games to the end of the republican period. The beginning of regular gladiatorial combat in the middle of the third century BC coincides with the beginning of Rome's active military expansion, and was more frequent than has been supposed. Also the *venationes* extended much further back, as unusual animals began to be displayed in military triumphal contexts in the third century BC. *Damnatio ad bestias*, later the basic ingredient of amphitheatre entertainment, was known since 167 BC. The connection between the army and arena activities is indeed a strong one.

The discussion on *maeniana*, wooden balconies for extra viewing space, is fascinating reading. In the northern sector of the Forum Romanum they may date back to 338 BC, and were originally cantilevered from the upper parts of the facades of private houses, later reached out over the columns of the upper floors of the basilicas that lined the Forum. The author minutely traces the emergence of elements of later established amphitheatres, such as hypogea, stretched awnings, the oblong, or rather oval, space, and (temporary wooden) seating, that is, *spectacula*. The wooden structures in the Forum Romanum seem to have constituted the canonical type for other amphitheatres during the second century BC. Roman builders mastered wooden buildings of high technical virtuosity, long before Pompey's permanent theatre of stone was built in 55 BC. (The same carpenters were also the unsung heroes so deeply indispensable for creating the Imperial architecture in the *opus caementicium* technique).

Every chapter of this excellent and most interesting book begins with a presentation of the subject, followed by careful argumentation, supported with useful drawings, photos and reconstructions, and ends with concluding remarks. It is to be lamented that some twenty early amphitheatres are for the most part unexcavated and have not received thorough published treatment. The author presents both a list of the geographical distribution of these early stone amphitheatres, and a more detailed catalogue of republican amphitheatres in and outside Italy.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

Pompeii. Art, Industry and Infrastructure. Edited by KEVIN COLE – MIKO FLOHR – ERIC POEHLER. Oxbow Books, Oxford 2011. ISBN 978-1-84217-984-0. XVII, 181 pp. GBP 35.

The past two decades in Pompeii have witnessed unprecedented research activity both in the field and in libraries and archives. The results are beginning to appear in volumes of field reports, research monographs and – as in this case – collections of papers on various themes. This

slim volume, edited by Eric Poehler, Miko Flohr and Kevin Cole, features three themes: art, industry and infrastructure. The authors represent a new generation of scholars and they manage to take different perspectives on old and new themes. The topics of the chapters are almost always somewhat related to one another and the editors make a claim towards taking a more holistic point of view on their respective subject matters.

The book is divided into ten chapters with the first four discussing topics concerning art. The next section is dedicated to industry with three chapters, and, lastly, three papers discuss infrastructure. The original papers have almost all been presented in various conferences and seminars and they also maintain the concise character of a 20-minute talk. The importance of photographs, drawings and maps has not been underestimated and they are large and legible. The texts could have been edited a little further so that references to various places and buildings in Pompeii and sources would have been similar in all the chapters. The papers are clear and easily understandable, but repeated references to "beads of glass pastry" in one chapter did raise an eyebrow.

In the art section, three papers discuss Pompeian evidence, but the fourth topic moves outside the walls of the city handling the architecture of rural luxury villas. The section is started by Jessica Powers's chapter on wall ornaments usually made of stone or glass and inserted into wall paintings. Not very many are known, but by carefully analysing their types and contexts Powers shows a desire to display antiques and imported goods in prominent places. The probable planned effect of the usually three-dimensional elements in an otherwise two-dimensional decoration was surprise. Francesca C. Tronchin's chapter is on the sculptures in the Casa di Octavius Quartio, which she also analyses in their contexts. The garden with its water features, painting decoration and sculptures – not forgetting the inevitable plantings – formed an eclectic combination, which was intended to display the house owner's intellectual interests as well as his/her belonging to the Roman upper classes. The third Pompeii topic concerns the famous cupids in the wall paintings of the Casa dei Vettii and is written by Francesco de Angelis. He argues that, when the corpus of known cupid friezes is taken into consideration, the images of labour conducted by the cupids are not references to the libertine status of the house owners. Contextualizing the finds is also important in this paper.

The chapter on villa architecture by Mantha Zarmakoupi examines the use of a porticus and a cryptoporticus. She considers the literary sources for the use of the terms and notes that cryptoporticus appears for the first time in Pliny the Younger's letters. A porticus is most commonly used when it is clearly a colonnade. A cryptoporticus is today usually used to mean an underground and/or vaulted passage, but from Pliny's description it emerges rather as an above-ground passageway, which is covered and has windows/doorways. Both elements were used in diverse ways in the villa plans.

The second section is on industry. The first chapter is by Michael Anderson and discusses the visibility of renovation and rebuilding evidence found in many Pompeian houses. These works are connected to the seismic activity preceding the eruption very close to A.D. 79. The renovations must have disrupted the daily life of the houses' inhabitants and Anderson uses viewshed analysis to examine how the piles of lime, pozzolana, building stone, salvaged items, etc., have been placed in comparison to the vista from the front door. In most cases these materials were placed out of sight from the front door showing that the house owners were keen to maintain an image of an unaffected house and that disruption to daily life in the house was kept to a minimum. In the second chapter, Miko Flohr explores the atrium house and its relationship

with productive and economic elements, particularly the *fullonicae*. Flohr argues that although the old atrium houses were converted to industrial use, in most cases some parts of the house retained their residential functions. The opportunistic combination of production and habitation seems to have been a more common occurrence in Pompeii than was previously thought. The last industry chapter is by Myles McCallum and discusses pottery production in Pompeii. Only two facilities can be recognized with certainty within the town walls and both are located near the gates and areas where clay was available and could be easily imported. McCallum also discusses the process of pottery production as well as its social and economic relationships.

The infrastructure section is led by Alan Kaiser's chapter on streets and particularly on the nomenclature of roads in literary sources and how they might be applied in Pompeii. *Via/platea* is defined as a wide street with public and commercial amenities as well as large residential houses. As such they can also be recognized in Pompeii as its main streets. In the second chapter, Duncan Keenan-Jones, John Hellstrom and Russell Drysdale take a new look at the old question of lead contamination of water in the Roman world. They determined the lead content of the lime deposited by hard water in the walls of cisterns and water pipes by sampling a number of locations along the route of the aqueduct towards Pompeii, in the environs of the city and inside it. These figures were compared to the amount of lead found in human bones in Herculaneum as well as cross-culturally to previous studies on lead accumulation and its effects on humans. The results are still preliminary, but point towards a high content of lead in the water system. Lime deposits can diminish the amount of lead in the water flowing in the pipes, but the continuous renovations of the whole water system resulted in lead being present in the water in fairly large amounts. In the last chapter of the book, Eric Poehler looks at the last phase forum and how its infrastructure worked. The area was monumentalized and many accesses and drainages were affected by this building project – some of the old streets were intentionally turned into large gutters. The changes in the central area had repercussions for the whole of the city and these had to be dealt with.

The short chapters of the volume give a wonderful glimpse into what is being done in Pompeii at the moment. The variety of topics is astounding and the new insights into the various aspects of the daily life in Pompeii and its surroundings are fascinating. The reader is left wanting more.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

Piano di Sorrento. Una storia di terra e di mare. Atti del I, II e III ciclo di conferenze (2010–2011) sulla storia del territorio di Piano di Sorrento e della Penisola Sorrentina. A cura di CARLO PEPE e FELICE SENATORE. Città di Piano di Sorrento, Scienze e Lettere, Roma 2012. ISBN 978-88-66870-13-5. 195 pp. EUR 40.

Il presente volume raccoglie i contributi presentati nei cicli di conferenze su vari aspetti sulla storia – storia nel senso ampio del termine – della Penisola Sorrentina negli anni 2010–2011. Il volume rappresenta, attraverso rigorosa divulgazione scientifica, una felice combinazione di contributi di varie discipline, umanistiche e di scienze naturali, e certamente contribuisce a diffondere l'interesse verso la conoscenza della storia patria dei cittadini del territorio in questione, ma anche uno studioso interessato a vari aspetti della storia campana può trarre profitto

dalla sua lettura. Eccone gli argomenti: G. Ruggiero, C. Pepe e F. Senatore, Presentazione; A. Cinque, G. Irollo, Storia geologica del "Piano" di Sorrento e della sua falesia; G. De Alteriis, C. Donadio, La geologia marina e subacquea del Golfo di Napoli e della Penisola Sorrentina; F. Fontanella, La vegetazione e la flora interessante dei Monti Lattari e della Penisola Sorrentina; A. Cristilli, L'arredo scultoreo delle *villae maritimae* della Penisola Sorrentina; E. Federico, Prospettive toponomastiche dentro e fuori il Piano (Cassano, Carotto, Gottole, Carcito, Cardiento); V. Russo, Comunità, documenti e territorio nella storia sorrentina medievale e moderna; S. De Mieri, Per la pittura del Quattrocento in Costiera Sorrentina: opere di Giovanni da Gaeta (e della sua cerchia); D. Camardo, La rete di torri vicereali nel Regno di Napoli. Analisi del sistema e valutazione della sua efficacia nella lotta alle incursioni dei pirati; G. Adinolfi, Sopra alcune emergenze fauno-floristiche del monte Vico Alvano alla luce della viabilità antica in Penisola Sorrentina.

Ai lettori di questa rivista interesserà soprattutto il contributo di Cristilli sull'arredo scultoreo delle ville romane della Penisola Sorrentina. L'autore fornisce una specie di edizione critica di tutte le sculture di cui si conosce con certezza la provenienza da una determinata villa, con una accurata descrizione dei singoli pezzi e considerazioni sulla loro datazione (qualche volta riesce a correggere datazioni anteriori, come a proposito della testa barbata di uomo, finora datata al IV secolo d.C., che l'autore ritiene della media età imperiale). Trattando della presenza di proprietà imperiali locali, l'autore fa rinvio a Cornelia Cratia, figlia di M. Cornelius Fronto, cui è dedicata un'iscrizione pubblicata negli anni '40 del secolo scorso. Egli pensa che la figlia di Frontone possa essere entrata in possesso della cd. Villa di Agrippa Postumo, forse donata dall'amico imperiale Antonino Pio. Nel frammentario testo epigrafico non è tuttavia conservato niente circa i motivi dell'erezione dell'iscrizione, per cui sarà preferibile vedere in Cornelia Cratia una benefattrice della città di Surrentum, per la quale causa ella ricevette questa iscrizione onoraria che poteva stare nel foro.

Heikki Solin

Minerva Medica in Valtrebbia. Scienze storiche e scienze naturali alleate per la scoperta del luogo di culto. Atti del Convegno tenutosi il 7 ottobre 2006 in Travo (PC). A cura di Associazione "La Minerva" Gruppo di Ricerca Culturale – Travo. Testi di PAOLO BERBENNI, ANNAMARIA CARINI, STEPHEN CLEWS, CESARINA GREGOTTI, VENCESLAS KRUTA, LUIGI MALNATI, GIUSEPPE MARCHETTI, MONICA MIARI, FILLI ROSSI, JOHN SCHEID. Quaderni di Archeologia dell'Emilia Romagna 19. Edizioni All'Insegna del Giglio, Bologna 2008. ISBN 978-88-7814-368-5. 123 pp. EUR 25.

Il presente volume raccoglie i contributi presentati durante un convegno tenutosi nel 2006 a Travo nella provincia di Piacenza sul santuario di Minerva Medica a Travo. Il volume rappresenta una felice combinazione di contributi di varie discipline, umanistiche e naturalistiche; a parte va sottolineata l'efficace collaborazione del gruppo Archeologico di Travo. Eccone l'indice: L. Malnati, Presentazione; W. Tagliaferri, Introduzione; A. Carini, Punti fermi, ipotesi e prospettive di ricerca sul tempio di Minerva Medica a Travo; P. Berbenni, Caratteristiche chimiche e fisico-chimiche delle acque nella zona di presunta ubicazione del tempio; G. Marchetti, Considerazioni geomorfologiche e idrogeologiche sulla presunta ubicazione del tempio;

C. Gregotti, Le proprietà terapeutiche delle acque analizzate nella zona del tempio; V. Kruta, Il culto delle acque presso i Celti Transalpini in epoca preromana; L. Malnati, M. Miari, Culti preromani nell'appennino emiliano; J. Scheid, Il culto di Minerva in epoca romana e il suo rapporto con la Minerva di Travo; F. Rossi, Il santuario di Minerva a Breno (BS); S. Clews, Il tempio e il culto di *Sulis Minerva* a Bath; R. Zermani, Conclusione.

Di particolare interesse per i lettori di questa rivista sono il contributo di John Scheid e quello di Annamaria Carini, nel quale si impartiscono interessanti dettagli sulla storia e sull'interpretazione del gruppo di 19 iscrizioni che ricordano il santuario oggetto del volume; inoltre si discute del culto locale di Minerva e del suo significato. In appendice Carini pubblica le otto iscrizioni votive, corredate da buone fotografie, che si trovano nei Musei Civici di Palazzo Farnese di Piacenza. Le iscrizioni vengono attribuite al I–III secolo; personalmente non crederei che siano anteriori alla metà del I secolo.

Un paio di osservazioni. Nell'arula di Coelia Iuliana (*CIL* XI 1297) la dizione riferentesi alla guarigione è assai interessante; *indulgentia* sembra avere più o meno l'accezione di *beneficium* (così *ThLL* VII 1, 1248, 46), ma la traduzione data dalla Carini non è esatta. – A p. 15 si parla del cognome *Memor*; va rammentato che nelle due attestazioni ricordate si tratta di un elemento dato alla nascita della persona, che non dice assolutamente nulla di una presunta devozione di chi ha dato o avuto il nome.

Heikki Solin

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