

# ARCTOS

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## **ARCTOS – ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA**

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## VIRGIL'S WOODEN HORSE: WHICH WOOD?<sup>1</sup>

NEIL ADKIN

### 1. The wood of the Wooden Horse itself

Which wood Virgil's Wooden Horse was actually made of is a notorious *crux criticorum*. In *Aeneid* 2,16 Virgil says the horse was made of fir: *sectaque intexunt abiete costas*. In less than a hundred lines however he flatly contradicts himself by saying it was made of maple: *trabibus contextus acernis* (2,112). Austin's influential commentary offers three different explanations of this discrepancy: either it "may simply be a poet's variation for the woodenness of wood, or possibly the Horse had an outer sheath of *abies* (softwood) and an inner frame of *acer* (hardwood)", or perhaps the *acer* is "a deliberate inaccuracy, a brilliant Virgilian touch to lend colour to Sinon's 'act' by a pretence of innocent ignorance".<sup>2</sup> The multiplicity of these explanations would seem to indicate Austin's awareness of the inadequacy of each. Such an agnostic view was evidently shared by Williams: his own commentary, which appeared just eight years after Austin's, suggested that the inconsistency was in fact due to "lack of revision".<sup>3</sup> The thesis that the horse was made of different woods was nonetheless revived by Losada a decade later.<sup>4</sup> This view is rightly dismissed by Hexter;<sup>5</sup> however he himself puts for-

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<sup>1</sup> Works are cited according to *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum*, Leipzig 1990<sup>2</sup>, and its online *Addenda* at <http://www.thesaurus.badw.de/pdf/addenda.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> R. G. Austin, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos liber secundus*, Oxford 1964, 69.

<sup>3</sup> R. D. Williams, *The Aeneid of Virgil: Books 1–6*, London 1972, 218.

<sup>4</sup> L. A. Losada, "Maple, Fir, and Pine: Vergil's Wooden Horse", *TAPhA* 113 (1983) 301–10.

<sup>5</sup> R. Hexter, "What Was the Trojan Horse Made Of? Interpreting Vergil's *Aeneid*", *YJC* 3,2 (1990) 118 with n. 36 ("any ... scholar who might wish to distribute the woods over various parts of the horse will still have to explain why Vergil decided to leave us with enough information, or with too much, to imagine nothing but a muddle").

ward the unhelpful hypothesis that Virgil's aim was deliberate incomprehensibility.<sup>6</sup> Horsfall's recent commentary marks no advance: like Austin, he too is unable to make up his mind between the explanations offered so far.<sup>7</sup>

Austin opens his discussion of the problem by stating that "it seems most improbable that Virgil has forgotten the *abies* of 16". So far from such forgetfulness on the poet's own part, he would in fact appear to have taken great pains to ensure that his audience did not forget *abies* either. This term is employed in Virgil's very first mention of the horse. The passage at issue here may be quoted *in extenso*:

*fracti bello fatisque repulsi*  
*ductores Danaum tot iam labentibus annis*  
 15 *instar montis equum divina Palladis arte*  
*aedificant, sectaque intexunt abiete costas;*  
*votum pro reditu simulant; ea fama vagatur.*  
*huc delecta virum sortiti corpora furtim*  
*includunt caeco lateri penitusque cavernas*  
 20 *ingentis uterumque armato milite complent.*  
*est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama*  
*insula, dives opum Priami dum regna manebant,*  
*nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis:*  
*huc se propecti deserto in litore condunt;*  
 25 *nos abiisse rati et vento petiisse Mycenae.*  
*ergo omnis longo solvit se Teucra luctu;*  
*panduntur portae, iuvat ire et Dorica castra*  
*desertosque videre locos litusque relictum:*  
*hic Dolopum manus, hic saevus tendebat Achilles;*  
 30 *classibus hic locus, hic acie certare solebant.*  
*pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae*  
*et molem mirantur equi ... (Aen. 2,13–32)*

In this passage the opening sentence (13–16: *fracti bello ... abiete costas*) is nothing less than the *rectum operis initium*.<sup>8</sup> In this sentence Virgil sums up the whole of the Trojan War, describes the horse as being "as big as a mountain", and identifies its author as none other than the Olympian goddess Pallas Athena; it might

<sup>6</sup> Hexter (above n. 5) 121: "In the face of this interpretive conundrum, arena for a debate that has now resounded at least 1600 years, we might wonder if Vergil's purpose was not the creation of just this insoluble puzzle". This theory has now been repeated in the edition for students by R. T. Ganiban, *Vergil: Aeneid Book 2*, Newburyport, MA 2008, 31.

<sup>7</sup> N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 2: A Commentary*, Leiden – Boston 2008, 60f.

<sup>8</sup> So Serv. *Aen.* 3 *praef.*

therefore be thought somewhat anticlimactic for such an impressive period to end by merely specifying the particular type of timber that the horse's sides happened to be made of. *Abies* is moreover carefully highlighted by its conspicuously penultimate *locus* in the period. The word is further set off by the two progressively shorter asyndetic clauses which after this ambagious 4-line period share between them the one single line that follows immediately: *votum pro reditu simulant; ea fama vagatur* (17). Virgil must accordingly have had a very good reason for giving such prominence to a mere dendrological detail like *abies*. What can it have been?

The present passage finds no place in O'Hara's monumental study of Virgilian etymologizing.<sup>9</sup> *Abies* was however derived from *abire*:<sup>10</sup> hence *abies* means "you will go away".<sup>11</sup> It would seem that this etymology is being exploited by Virgil here.<sup>12</sup> The first clue to Virgil's etymologizing purpose in this use of *abies* would appear to be supplied by the immediately ensuing clause: *votum pro reditu simulant* (17). This employment of *reditus* in the singular is a Virgilian hapax, which requires annotation.<sup>13</sup> *Reditus* is separated from *abies* by only three words: both nouns occupy the penultimate position in adjacent clauses. The etymon of *abies* is *abire*, which is linked by *derivatio* to *reditus*.<sup>14</sup> A wood whose etymological meaning is "you will go away" is accordingly just right for a *votum pro reditu*.<sup>15</sup>

The second clue to Virgil's *jeu étymologique* on *abies* occurs just eight lines later: *nos abiisse rati et vento petiisse Mycenae* (25). Servius' note on *abiisse*

<sup>9</sup> J. J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*, Ann Arbor 1996. *Abies* is wholly absent from his "Index of Words Glossed".

<sup>10</sup> Cf. R. Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies*, Leeds 1991, 1.

<sup>11</sup> On this heteroclitite form of *ire* as 4th-conjugation cf. F. Neue – C. Wagener, *Formenlehre der lateinischen Sprache* III, Berlin 1897<sup>3</sup>, 326–9.

<sup>12</sup> For his similar use of another such 2nd-person (*ares*: "you are dry") as an etymon cf. N. Adkin, "Wet Rams: The Etymology of *aries* in Virgil", *WS* 122 (2009) 121–4. For his employment of *abire* in a similarly etymological context in the previous book (1,195–202) cf. id., "Virgilian Etymologizing: The Case of *Acestes*", *AC* 69 (2000) 205–7.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Gloss.*<sup>L</sup> I Ansil. PR 2776: *pro reditu*: *p. reversione*.

<sup>14</sup> On *derivatio* ("die etymologisierende Stammwiederholung") cf. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Stuttgart 2008<sup>4</sup>, 328f. (no. 648).

<sup>15</sup> Hexter (above n. 5) 111 has argued that in this passage *reditus* could mean "return to Troy". This view has been accepted recently by Horsfall (above n. 7) 62. Here however Virgil's use of *reditus* to gloss *abire* as the etymon of *abies* would appear to show that *pro reditu* simply means "going back home" to Greece.

points out that the correct form is *abisse* with just one "i". Here Virgil's use of two *i*'s is sufficiently significant to make this text the standard example of *barbarismus per adiectionem syllabae*.<sup>16</sup> The inconcinnity is exacerbated by the same addition of *-ii-* to another monosyllabic stem in the same line: *petiisse*. Horsfall is puzzled: "The repeated ending *iisse* ... *iisse* apparently only here in V. In fact, in all class. Latin, of extreme rarity ..., though it is hard to credit that here of all places V. would have permitted himself a sound-sequence generally viewed as harsh or awkward".<sup>17</sup> The inelegance of *abisse* could easily have been avoided by the reading *et abisse* recorded in Heyne's apparatus.<sup>18</sup> This adscititious "i" of the perfect infinitive does however draw attention to the corresponding "i" of the 2nd-person future: *abies*.

*Abisse* is not only "barbarous", but also unnecessary. Virgil says: *nos abisse rati*. If the Greeks are no longer there,<sup>19</sup> it is obvious that they have "gone away". What the Trojans "thought" was that the Greeks had gone home to Greece.<sup>20</sup> The real point is accordingly made by the second half of the line: *vento petiisse Mycenae*. Pleonastic *abisse* is moreover highlighted by the commatic and elliptical form of expression: both *eos* and *sumus* are omitted from a clause of just three words (*nos abisse rati*),<sup>21</sup> which is introduced by asyndeton and ends with strong elision at the second diaeresis.<sup>22</sup> In consequence *abisse* is directly juxtaposed with *rati*. By Virgil's day *reor* had disappeared from the ordinary language:<sup>23</sup> it is altogether absent from *Eclogues* and *Georgics*.<sup>24</sup> Use of such lofty language to express self-evident content is noteworthy: to conclude from "deserted places" and "abandoned shore" (l. 28) that the Greeks have "gone away" does not need much ratiocinative effort, which in turn hardly calls for a grand lexeme like *reor*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. (e. g.) Don. *gramm. mai.* 3,1 p. 653,9; Char. *gramm.* p. 350,11f. (ex Comin.).

<sup>17</sup> Horsfall (above n. 7) 68.

<sup>18</sup> C. G. Heyne – G. P. E. Wagner, *Publius Virgilius Maro* II, Leipzig – London 1832<sup>4</sup>, 269.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the immediately ensuing *desertos ... locos litusque relictum* (28).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. the paraphrase ("putant abisse ad Graeciam") in J. L. de la Cerda, *P. Virgilio Maronis Aeneidos libri sex priores*, Cologne 1642, 148 n. "c".

<sup>21</sup> By contrast there is no ellipse of any sort between this line (25) and l. 17 (*reditu*).

<sup>22</sup> Of the clause's resultant six syllables no fewer than four belong solely to *abisse*.

<sup>23</sup> It is included by Cicero among words that make the discourse appear *grandior atque antiquior* (*de orat.* 3,153).

<sup>24</sup> The verb is a Catullan hapax, which significantly occurs only in the "learned" *carm.* 63 (l. 55). For a summary of the word's history cf. A. Yon, "*Ratio*" et les mots de la famille de "*reor*", Paris 1933, 23–5.

Evidently Virgil's purpose in thus highlighting the superfluous *abiisse* is again to call attention to this word as the etymon of *abies*.

Two further points may be made in connection with Virgil's use of *abies* here. In a note on *votum pro reditu simulant* (17) Servius refers to the passage of Accius giving the inscription to Minerva which the Wooden Horse was said to bear: <deae> *Minervae donum armipotenti abeuntes Danai dicant*.<sup>25</sup> Austin's own note on the same line affirms that "Virgil silently passes over the tradition that the Horse bore a dedication to Minerva".<sup>26</sup> This view would appear to be mistaken. Virgil's use of *abies* in conjunction with its etymon *abiisse* shortly afterwards is evidently an allusion to the *abeuntes* of the inscription: the type of wood is accordingly being employed as a particularly ingenious way of evoking the dedication.<sup>27</sup> Horsfall in turn complains: "With reference to the tradition regarding the dedicatory inscription on the T[rojan] H[orse], V.'s position is studiously unclear".<sup>28</sup> It would seem on the contrary that Virgil's position is quite clear, but expressed with great subtlety.

The other point regarding *abies* likewise concerns the dedication's reference to the horse as a *donum Minervae*. The next sentence but one after Virgil's *abiisse* begins thus: *pars stupet innuptae donum exitiale Minervae* (31). Austin finds the line "puzzling".<sup>29</sup> *Exitiale* in particular is felt to be problematic. Virgil's use of the word in this passage needs to be glossed on two separate occasions.<sup>30</sup> Horsfall regards the epithet as superfluous.<sup>31</sup> It may accordingly be significant that Varro had recently etymologized *exitium* from *exitus* (*ling.* 5,60), which is synonymous with *abitus*: both mean "departure".<sup>32</sup> It is perhaps possible therefore that Virgil's adjective is also meant to evoke *abire* as the etymon of *abies*,

<sup>25</sup> *Acc. trag.* 127 R<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>26</sup> Austin (above n. 2) 36.

<sup>27</sup> For a comparable instance in which Virgil addresses an issue with the same kind of indirectness later in this book cf. N. Adkin, "More Yukky Virgil: *Aeneid* 2,410–5", *Hermes* 134 (2006) 400–6, where it is argued that Virgil again has recourse to etymology in order to set out his stance on the question whether the Lesser Ajax raped Cassandra when he dragged her from Athena's temple.

<sup>28</sup> Horsfall (above n. 7) 62.

<sup>29</sup> Austin (above n. 2) 41.

<sup>30</sup> *Viz. Gloss.*<sup>L</sup> I Ansil. EX 651 (*exitiale ... : funestum, mortale*); *Gloss.*<sup>L</sup> III Abstr. EX 59 (*exitiale: mortiferum, mortale*).

<sup>31</sup> Horsfall (above n. 7) 72.

<sup>32</sup> So *OLD* 7 (s. v. *abitus*, 1); *ib.* 645 (s. v. *exitus*, 1).



from which the *donum* it qualifies was made.<sup>33</sup> Such amphibolies were considered especially clever.<sup>34</sup>

Just ninety-five lines after Virgil has stated that the Wooden Horse was made of *abies* he says instead that it was made of *acer*. Again the passage in question may be cited in full:

*saepe fugam Danai Troia cupiere relictā  
moliri et longo fessi discedere bello;  
110 fecissentque utinam! saepe illos aspera ponti  
interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis.  
praecipue cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis  
staret equus toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi.  
suspensi Eurypylum scitatum oracula Phoebi  
115 mittimus, isque adytis haec tristia dicta reportat:  
"sanguine placastis ventos et virgine caesa,  
cum primum Iliacas, Danai, venistis ad oras;  
sanguine quaerendi reditus animaque litandum  
Argolica". (Aen. 2,108–19)*

Austin points out that here reference is made to the horse "almost casually".<sup>35</sup> It is therefore noteworthy that in such a "casual" mention the poet should find it necessary to specify the particular sort of timber the horse was made of: *trabibus contextus acernis* (112). Such a specification is all the more surprising, since it fills the whole hemistich and takes up most of the clause that deals with the horse. As with *abies*, Virgil evidently goes out of his way to highlight the type of wood: this time *acernis* is given additional prominence by its emphatic final position in the line. Again the reader is obliged to ask why the poet should attach such importance to a merely silvicultural spec, particularly since this time it flatly contradicts the one he has just given.

Besides this specification of the precise variety of the horse's timber it is also noteworthy that in the same connection Virgil should take the trouble to mention the seemingly quite unrelated topic of the weather: *praecipue cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis / staret equus toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi* (112f.).

<sup>33</sup> *Abies* occupies the same penultimate *locus* in the line as *exitiale*, which is juxtaposed with *Minervae*, while the corresponding *Palladis* is similarly placed in the same *sedes* as the *abies* of the next line. Both *abies* and *exitiale* are linked respectively to the matching syntagms *montis equum* and *molem ... equi* at the main caesura of the contiguous line.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Cic. *de orat.* 2,253: *ambigua sunt in primis acuta*.

<sup>35</sup> Austin (above n. 2) 69.

This information has recently been dismissed by Horsfall as mere "verbosity".<sup>36</sup> Additional data about the weather also occupy the preceding line and a half: *saepe illos aspera ponti / interclusit hiems et terruit Auster euntis* (110f.). Here Horsfall similarly finds no more than "traditional/literary nonsense".<sup>37</sup> This dismissive standpoint would seem however to be erroneous. In the line and a half just cited it may be noted that the same emphatic final *sedes* as *acernis* in the next line is here occupied by *euntis*. This participle puzzles Servius, who feels obliged to gloss it as *ire cupientes*: the Greeks were in fact prevented from "going" by the weather, as the first word of the same line makes clear – *interclusit*. Here Virgil's use of this weightily epitritic hapax is significant enough to prompt Forcellini to an individual gloss:<sup>38</sup> "h. e. impediit, ne discederent". Since *discedere* is in turn glossed by Forcellini as *abire*,<sup>39</sup> here the sense of *intercludere* is "impedire, ne abeant". If however the Greeks are unable to *abire*, the wood of the horse cannot now be *abies*: "you will go away".<sup>40</sup> Timber and weather accordingly turn out to be related after all. In this connection Virgil stresses that the weather which prevented departure was "especially" bad when the horse was there.<sup>41</sup> In such inclement conditions it is therefore "especially" inappropriate for the horse to be made of a wood that means "you will go away".<sup>42</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Horsfall (above n. 7) 131.

<sup>37</sup> Horsfall (above n. 7) 130.

<sup>38</sup> A. Forcellini, *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis* II, Padua 1940, 895 (s. v. *intercludo*).

<sup>39</sup> Forcellini (above n. 38) 145 (s. v. *discedo*, C).

<sup>40</sup> Virgil's use of impossible *euntis* in the same etymologically significant *locus* as *acernis* is evidently meant to evoke *ire* as the etymon of similarly inadmissible *abies*. Shortly afterwards Virgil employs *reditus* (118), which had likewise occurred in similarly central position shortly after the mention of *abies* (17): these are the only two instances of this noun in the whole of the first half of the *Aeneid*. This time however *reditus* is qualified by *quaerendi*; for this verb's "implication of being unable to find" cf. *OLD* 1533 (s. v., 2). On this occasion the Greeks cannot "go back home".

<sup>41</sup> 112f. (*praecipue cum iam hic trabibus contextus acernis / staret equus toto sonuerunt aethere nimbi*). Significantly Horsfall (above n. 7) 131 points out that *praecipue* is "not common": here this important word is positioned immediately after *euntis* and at the beginning of the line that ends with *acernis*.

<sup>42</sup> E. Paratore, *Virgilio, Eneide I: Libri 1–2*, Rome – Milan 2008<sup>8</sup>, 266f. maintains that the poet wishes to "sottolineare col motivo religioso delle repentine tempeste la tragica ὕβρις dell'inganno del cavallo". Here Paratore compares the biblical account of the Passion (cf. [e. g.] Lk. 23,44: "there was a darkness over all the earth"). Virgil's storms would however seem to have less to do with hybris than with etymology.

146 lines later Virgil again specifies the type of wood that the Wooden Horse was made of: this time it is pine. The text at issue here reads in full:

255 *et iam Argiva phalanx instructis navibus ibat*  
*a Tenedo tacitae per amica silentia lunae*  
*litora nota petens, flammis cum regia puppis*  
*extulerat, fatisque deum defensus iniquis*  
*inclusos utero Danaos et pinea furtim*  
*laxat claustra Sinon. illos patefactus ad auras*  
 260 *reddit equus ... (Aen. 2,254–60)*

Again mention of the kind of wood is associated with *ire*. The same sentence that ends with *pinea ... claustra* (258f.) employs this verb in its opening line: *Argiva phalanx ... ibat / a Tenedo ... / litora nota petens* (254–56). Again the use of *ire* is odd: this time Servius has to gloss it as *veniebat*.<sup>43</sup> Here *ibat* occupies the same emphatic final *sedes* in the line as *euntis* in 111. Again this employment of *ire* is evidently intended to put the reader in mind of the same verb as etymon of *abies*.<sup>44</sup> Once again however *abies* itself cannot be the wood of the Wooden Horse: just as in line 111 the Greeks were prevented by the weather from "going away", so now they are not "going away", but on the contrary "coming back" to Troy.

If the *pinus* of this passage is lexically different from *abies*, these two trees are in practice regarded in classical texts as virtually the same.<sup>45</sup> Such is not however the case with the *acer* of line 112. The question accordingly arises why Virgil should there have singled out this particular wood. The clue would appear to be supplied by the ensuing *pinus*. This lexeme was etymologized from *pinnus*, which is an old word for *acutus*.<sup>46</sup> *Acutus* is synonymous with adjectival *ācer*,<sup>47</sup> which is in turn the obvious etymon of the noun *ācer*.<sup>48</sup> If then *pinus* is

<sup>43</sup> Cf. also Claud. Don. *Aen.* 2,255 p. 182,5–7 (ad loc.): *iter per terram dicimus fieri, hoc tamen loco ibant inquit, hoc est navibus ferebantur*. Horsfall (above n. 7) 225 remarks in connection with this instance of *ire* that "the use with a collective noun as subj. seems not directly paralleled".

<sup>44</sup> For Virgil's concern with etymology in this section cf. N. Adkin, "Exiting Virgil's Trojan Horse: *Primusque Machaon*", *AC* 78 (2009) 195f., which deals with the very next sentence.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. R. J. Edgeworth, "'Inconsistency' in Vergil and in Homer", *Glotta* 59 (1981) 142 n. 6.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Maltby (above n. 10) 476.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* I, 364,80–365,9 (s. v. *ācer*).

<sup>48</sup> Cf. A. Walde – J. B. Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, Heidelberg 2008<sup>6</sup>, 6f. On such indifference to vocalic quantity in classical etymologizing cf. O'Hara (above n. 9) 61f. The Virgilian *acernus* was duly recognized as a derivative of *ācer*; cf. N. Adkin, "Further

dendrologically equivalent to *abies*, it corresponds etymologically to *ăcer*: hence all three woods of the Wooden Horse turn out to be really the same.<sup>49</sup>

## 2. "Woody" Thyrsis (ecl. 7,55-68)

The same etymological wordplay would appear to shed light on three other Virgilian passages that are regarded as problematical. The first occurs already in *Eclogue* 7. Here the singing-match between Corydon (C.) and Thyrsis (T.) which is the subject of the poem ends with the following lines:

- |    |    |  |
|----|----|--|
| C. | 55 | <i>omnia nunc rident: at si formosus Alexis<br/>montibus his abeat, videas et flumina sicca.</i>   |
| T. |    | <i>aret ager, vitio moriens sitit aeris herba,<br/>Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras:<br/>Phyllidis adventu nostrae nemus omne virebit,</i>  |
|    | 60 | <i>Iuppiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri.</i>   |
| C. |    | <i>populus Alcidae gratissima, vitis Iaccho,<br/>formosae myrtus Veneri, sua laurea Phoebo;<br/>Phyllis amat corylos: illas dum Phyllis amabit,<br/>nec myrtus vincet Veneris, nec laurea Phoebi.</i>                      |
| T. | 65 | <i>fraxinus in silvis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis,<br/>populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis:<br/>saepius at si me, Lycida formose, revisas,<br/>fraxinus in silvis cedat tibi, pinus in hortis. (ecl. 7,55–68)</i> |

The last quatrain (65-68) is felt to "n'[avoir] plus rien de la fantaisie de celui qui précède".<sup>50</sup> The same commentator likewise censures the second line of the whole passage (56) as "prosaïque et sans fantaisie".<sup>51</sup> This line 56 runs: [*si*] *montibus his abeat, videas et flumina sicca*. The second line of the quatrain that is said to lack "fantaisie" reads in turn (66): *populus in fluviis, abies in montibus altis*.

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Supplements to Marangoni's *Supplementum Etymologicum*: The Commentators on Horace", *InvLuc* 30 (2008) 262.

<sup>49</sup> Since *pinus* is evidently the key to the conundrum, E. Baehrens, "Emendationes Vergilianae", *JKPh* 31 (1885) 392f. is clearly wrong to delete as a *Binneninterpolation* the words *et pinea furtim / laxat claustra Sinon. illos* (258f.).

<sup>50</sup> So J. Perret, *Virgile: Les Bucoliques*, Paris 1970<sup>2</sup>, 83.

<sup>51</sup> Perret (above n. 50) 83. Cf. already A. Cartault, *Étude sur les Bucoliques de Virgile*, Paris 1897, 196: "un vers assez plat". The same negative view has recently been repeated by E. Kraggerud, "Transpositions in the *Bucolics*? (On *Ecl.* 7,53–60)", *PVS* 26 (2008) 107.

It would seem that these two lines which are supposedly "sans fantaisie" are in fact linked by an eminently imaginative *jeu étymologique*: *abies* is again being etymologized from *abire*.

Virgil has taken great care to point up the etymology by ensuring that a very close correspondence marks this pair of texts that are exactly a deced of lines apart. *Abies* and *abeat* are themselves positioned in emphatically central *sedes* on either side of the main caesura.<sup>52</sup> The relationship between *abies* and *abeat* is further highlighted by the juxtaposition of each of these words with exactly the same ablative plural *montibus*. In connection with *abeat* this use of *montibus* is surprising.<sup>53</sup> Additional emphasis is given to the interrelation of *abies* and *abeat* by mention of "rivers" in the other half of each of the respective lines: homoeocatactic *flumina* and *fluviis* are etymologically identical.<sup>54</sup> These two words for "river" are themselves highlighted: in connection with *flumina* Servius uses the term *hyperbolicos*, while the employment of *in* with *fluviis* is qualified by Clausen as "strange".<sup>55</sup> Like the *montibus* of line 56 the occurrence of *flumina* in this same line is surprising.<sup>56</sup> A final link between *abies* and *abeat* is the use of *formosus* in the contiguous line. In each case the epithet is placed in the same penultimate *sedes* from fourth *biceps* to trochaic caesura in the fifth foot. In both texts this modifier is directly juxtaposed with a proper noun, which is the subject of a *verbum eundi* in a conditional clause introduced by *at si*.<sup>57</sup>

This section of the poem would seem to contain further etymologizing. If *abies* is being derived from *abire*, the antonymous *venire* would appear to be serving as the etymon of *Venus*. This etymology had been set out very recently

<sup>52</sup> On the importance of this *locus* in etymologizing cf. F. Cairns, "Ancient 'Etymology' and Tibullus: On the Classification of 'Etymologies' and on 'Etymological Markers'", *PCPhS* 42 (1996) 33 = *Papers on Roman Elegy 1969–2003*, Bologna 2007, 317.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. R. Coleman, *Virgil: Eclogues*, Cambridge 1977, 222 (on 55f.): "*Montibus* cannot belong to a Mantuan location".

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Varro *ling.* 5,27. This fluvial parallelism shows that l. 66 should start with *populus in fluviis*, not with *fraxinus in silvis*; for the latter as a *varia lectio* cf. Servius Auctus on l. 65.

<sup>55</sup> W. Clausen, *A Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues*, Oxford 1994, 231.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. A. Forbiger, *P. Vergili Maronis opera* I, Leipzig 1872<sup>4</sup>, 128 (ad loc.), who glosses *flumina* as follows: "Unum tantum commemorat e multis, quae commemorari poterant: sensus enim est: tunc omnis naturae habitus mutetur". Here rivers have evidently been deliberately singled out in order to point up the parallelism.

<sup>57</sup> The verb at issue in the first passage is *abeat*, which occurs in the third foot of the adjacent line. In the second passage the same third foot of the adjacent line has the etymologically related *abies*: the arrangement is accordingly chiasmic.

by Cicero on two different occasions.<sup>58</sup> *Abeat* is followed after an interval of only two lines by *adventu* (l. 59) in exactly the same *sedes* immediately before the main caesura. After a further interval of two more lines *adventu* itself is then followed by *Veneri* (l. 62) in the same *sedes* as *abies* on the other side of the main caesura. Very recently it has been argued that in the next line but one (64) the variant reading *Veneris* reported by Servius Auctus should be preferred to *corylos* in the same emphatic *sedes*.<sup>59</sup> The line which separates these two occurrences of *Venus* is marked by metrical and syntactic *redditio*:<sup>60</sup> *Phyllis amat ... Phyllis amabit* (63). Here Virgil's purpose is evidently to highlight the etymological link between *Phyllidis adventu* and *Venus*, goddess of Love.<sup>61</sup>

Here Virgil's ultimate source is Theocritus (8,43 and 47), who uses βαίνειν, ἀφέρπειν and ἐπινίσσεσθαι. It may however be observed that not a single one of Theocritus' verbs is found as a gloss of the language employed by Virgil himself.<sup>62</sup> It would in fact seem that here Virgil's aim is to outdo his Theocritean source. In lines 64 and 66 [v]eneris and abies present the form of a 2nd-person singular of a future perfect and future verb respectively.<sup>63</sup> Similarly in line 62 [v]eneri['] could be another such 2nd-person singular future perfect with the elision of final "s" that was normal in Older Latin.<sup>64</sup> In this connection reference may also be made to *revisas* in the line immediately after *abies*. This hapax in the *Eclogues* that is positioned in emphatically final *sedes* in line 67 has been impugned on grounds

<sup>58</sup> Viz. *nat. deor.* 2,69 and 3,62.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. E. Kraggerud, "Textual and Exegetical Issues in Vergil's First and Seventh *Eclogues*", *SO* 81 (2006) 49: "In conclusion, then, having found the reading *Veneris* superior to *corylos*, I wish it re-established in future texts of the poet". This use of *Venus* is accordingly separated from *abies* and the first *Venus* by just one line respectively: all three nouns occupy the same etymologically significant *locus* after the strong 3rd-foot break.

<sup>60</sup> On this figure ("Wiederholung als Klammer") cf. Lausberg (above n. 14) 317f. (nos. 625–7).

<sup>61</sup> This etymological connection is an argument against transposing ll. 53–56 and 57–60, as mooted by Perret (above n. 50) 82f. *Adventus* and *Venus* would then be too far apart.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* I, 65,81–83 (s. v. *abeo*); I, 830,40–42 (s. v. *advenio*); I, 837,18f. (s. v. *adventus*). For the large number of possible alternatives to the lexemes Virgil does use cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* I, 65,83f. (s. v. *abeo*; add J. Menrad, "*Abeo*", *ALLG* 4 [1887] 471); I, 834,3–10 (s. v. *advenio*); I, 840,41f. (s. v. *adventus*). It is noteworthy that Virgil's use of *abire* in this passage has to be glossed; cf. Philarg. *Verg. ecl.* 7,56 *rec.* I & II: *abeat: idest discedat*. It may also be noted that for Virgil's *abeat* the Palatinus instead gives the metrically equivalent *aberit*.

<sup>63</sup> For the unimportance of vowel length in these matters cf. O'Hara (above n. 9) 61f.

<sup>64</sup> Here the desiderated final "s" is in fact supplied by the start of the next word: *sua*.

of both content<sup>65</sup> and form.<sup>66</sup> It may however be pointed out that *revisas* does provide a further 2nd-person singular of a *verbum eundi*. We accordingly have *veneri, veneris, abies* in alternate lines straight after the main caesura; *abies* is then followed by *revisas* in final position in the very next line. The meaning is: "you will have come, you will have come, you will go away, you would come back to see".<sup>67</sup> So far therefore from being "unzureichend", *revisas* caps the foregoing sequence of *verba eundi* very effectively. This kind of wordplay is eminently suited to the sort of playful *grammaticus* that Virgil is increasingly turning out to be.<sup>68</sup>

### 3. "Rolling on the (woody) river" (*Aen.* 8,86–96)

Similar play on words would seem to mark the second of the three passages where Virgil exploits the etymology at issue in his description of the Wooden Horse. This time he is recounting the voyage of Aeneas' party up the Tiber to visit Evander:

*Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem  
leniit, et tacita refluxens ita substitit unda,  
mitis ut in morem stagni placidaeque paludis  
sterneret aequor aquis, remo ut luctamen abesset.  
90 ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo:  
labitur uncta vadis abies; mirantur et undae,  
miratur nemus insuetum fulgentia longe  
scuta virum fluvio pictasque innare carinas.*

<sup>65</sup> The idea expressed by *revisas* "contrasts somewhat coarsely" with Corydon's foregoing lines according to Coleman (above n. 53) 224.

<sup>66</sup> V. Pöschl, *Die Hirtendichtung Virgils*, Heidelberg 1964, 141 complains that here the caesura after *formose* "verleiht dem durch sie abgehobenen Wort *revisas* ein Gewicht, das vom Gedanken her nicht berechtigt scheint. Es wird eine Erwartung geweckt, die *revisas* nur unzureichend einlöst".

<sup>67</sup> For this basic sense of *revisas* cf. A. Forcellini, *Lexicon Totius Latinitatis* IV, Padua 1940, 136 (s. v.): "*Reviso* est ... redeo ut videam, redeo ad videndum ... Angl. ... come back to see".

<sup>68</sup> One might compare his *jeu* on the wood of the Wooden Horse. It is tempting to associate both instances with Agrippa's characterization of Virgil as a *novae cacozeliae repertor, non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis atque ideo latentis* (Don. *vita Verg.* ll. 181–83). On each of these occasions all the words in question are notably "common". For another case which likewise involves *verba eundi* as well as etymology cf. Adkin (above n. 12; "Acestes"). For a conspectus of other attempts to understand Agrippa's remark cf. W. Görler, "*cacozelia*", in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* I, Rome 1984, 597.

95 *olli remigio noctemque diemque fatigant*  
*et longos superant flexus, variisque teguntur*  
*arboribus, viridisque secant placido aequore silvas. (Aen. 8,86–96)*

Here two specific texts call for comment. The first consists of lines 90f.: *ergo iter inceptum celerant rumore secundo: / labitur uncta vadis abies*. Here the words *labitur uncta vadis abies* prompt Henry to a complaint of "baldness".<sup>69</sup> Such criticism would seem however to be unwarranted. The term *vadum* is defined as follows: *vada ... sunt per qua in mari vel in fluminibus homines vel animalia pedibus vadunt, quae Vergilius brevia appellat, Graeci βραχέα*.<sup>70</sup> In the present passage *vadum* is not therefore entirely appropriate, since here Virgil is instead at pains to stress the "depth" of the water.<sup>71</sup> The Virgilian form *vadis* does however produce another 2nd-person singular of a *verbum eundi* used in conjunction with *abies*: this time "you go".<sup>72</sup> When the etymology of *abies* is given by Isidore, he expresses himself as follows: *abies dicta quod prae ceteris arboribus longe eat (orig. 17,7,32)*. The particular sense of *abies* is accordingly "you will outgo", "you will go faster". Virgil has here positioned *abies* in the etymologically significant *locus* directly after the main caesura. The same *sedes* in the immediately antecedent line is filled by similarly anapaestic *celerant*: "they make faster". The object of *celerant* is *iter*, which had recently been etymologized by Varro from *ire*.<sup>73</sup> Since *ire* is synonymous with *vadere*,<sup>74</sup> *iter* corresponds to *vadis* in the next line. *Iter ... celerant* accordingly parallels *vadis abies*: both syntagms evince the same sequence of "go, go faster".<sup>75</sup>

<sup>69</sup> J. Henry, *Aeneidea* III, Dublin 1883, 650.

<sup>70</sup> So Isid. *orig.* 13,18,6.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *pleno ... flumine* (l. 62); *lacu ... alto* (l. 66); *fluvium ... tumentem* (l. 86). The last of these three epithets is particularly important, since it occupies emphatic final position in the first line of this section and of the immediately preceding sentence. The river is in fact "in flood" (so P. T. Eden, *A Commentary on Virgil: Aeneid VIII*, Leiden 1975, 53 [on l. 96]).

<sup>72</sup> Such a reading is favoured by the above-mentioned derivation of *vadum* from *vadere*; cf. in addition Eutyech. *gramm.* V 459,21: *vado vadis vadum*. The connotation of *vadere* itself is "to ... go (esp. with rapid ... movement)" (so *OLD* 2003 [s. v., 1a]).

<sup>73</sup> *Ling.* 5,35. *Ire* is also the etymon of the second half of *abies* after the *ab* denoting the *prae ceteris* in the afore-cited etymology.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* V 2, 627,47f. (s. v. *eo*).

<sup>75</sup> The phrase *ergo iter inceptum celerant* is repeated from *Aen.* 6,384 with the significant substitution of *celerant* for *peragunt*. In the present passage the etymologizing parallelism with the next line confirms *celerant* against the variant readings *peragunt* and *celebrant*. It also shows



The collocation *labitur uncta* has been taken from Ennius: *labitur uncta carina per aequora cana celocis*.<sup>76</sup> On the other hand *vadis abies* is Virgil's own addition. Significantly this is the earliest instance of the metonymic use of *abies* to signify "a ship".<sup>77</sup> It was argued in the preceding paragraph that the Virgilian *vadis abies* answers to *iter ... celerant* in the previous line. The adjective corresponding to *celerare* is *celer*, which was regarded as the etymon of Ennius' term *celox*.<sup>78</sup> It would seem that Virgil's appendage of *vadis abies* to Ennius' *labitur uncta* in place of the latter's *carina ... celocis* is a playful bid to outdo his source: Virgil's metonymically naval *abies* "outgoes" even the celerity of Ennius' *celox*.

The other text requiring particular comment in this section occurs in the next sentence: *variisque teguntur / arboribus, viridisque secant placido aequore silvas* (95f.). Here *secant* is a problem. *Oxford Latin Dictionary* documents a use of this verb to mean "cleave a path through", but never in connection with trees.<sup>79</sup> When on the other hand *secare* does have such an arboreal reference, it instead always has the specific sense of "chop".<sup>80</sup> The difficulty entailed by the idea of "cutting woods" has evidently prompted Servius' odd suggestion that instead the woods' reflection in the water is meant. This view has been rejected inter alios by Eden, who however feels obliged to propose the equally odd notion that the words mean "they row between small islets of clumps of trees".<sup>81</sup> The oddness of Virgil's language would in fact seem due to a desire to evoke his earlier application of *secare* to a tree at 2,16: *secta ... abiete*. In the present passage *abies* has just been used in the immediately foregoing sentence.

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those editors to be wrong who place a full stop instead of a colon after *rumore secundo* at the end of this line. Henry on the other hand punctuates before *rumore secundo*, because in his view this adverbial phrase is needed in order to "clothe with hair" the afore-mentioned "baldness" of *labitur uncta vadis abies*. These latter words would seem however to have been shown instead to be remarkable for their etymological crinosity: Henry's punctuation is accordingly unnecessary.

<sup>76</sup> *Ann.* 478. Cf. *ann.* 386 (*labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas*).

<sup>77</sup> Cf. C. J. Fordyce, *P. Vergili Maronis Aeneidos libri VII–VIII*, Oxford 1977, 216.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. Maltby (above n. 10) 118. Ennius' *carina* was derived from *currere*; cf. Maltby (above n. 10) 109.

<sup>79</sup> *OLD* 1717 (s. v. *seco*, 5a).

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *OLD* 1717 (s. v. *seco*, 2a). For the use of *silva* itself in connection with such "cutting" cf. in particular the set phrase *silva caedua* with the gloss of (e. g.) Gaius *dig.* 50,16,30 *pr.* (*silva caedua est ... quae in hoc habetur, ut caederetur*).

<sup>81</sup> Eden (above n. 71) 53.

Corroboration for this view would appear to be supplied by the preceding clause: *variisque teguntur / arboribus*. These words are censured by Wagner as "satis otiosa".<sup>82</sup> Peerlkamp agrees.<sup>83</sup> It may also be felt that *teguntur* – they are actually "covered" – is rather strong vocabulary for the present nautical context. This verb does however fit those who enjoy the protective cover of Virgil's Wooden Horse, since they have been depicted in Book 2 in just such terms: *variis tecti arboribus*. In the present passage Virgil's *variisque teguntur / arboribus* would accordingly appear to be a further witty allusion to *abies* along with its etymological and dendrological counterparts, *acer* and *pinus*.<sup>84</sup>

#### 4. The wood of the Magna Mater's wood (*Aen.* 9,85–89)

The third and final Virgilian passage that employs the etymological play involved in the account of the Wooden Horse occurs in the ensuing book. Here the celebrated episode in which the Trojan fleet is turned into sea-nymphs contains a notorious crux. When the Magna Mater asks Jupiter to protect these ships, she gives the following description of the wood from which they are made:

85     *pinea silva mihi multos dilecta per annos,  
lucus in arce fuit summa, quo sacra ferebant,  
nigranti picea trabibusque obscurus acernis.  
has ego Dardanio iuveni, cum classis egeret,  
laeta dedi ... (Aen. 9,85–89)*

Here the problem is twofold. In the first place Servius states categorically that maple is not used in ship-building.<sup>85</sup> Secondly the types of wood at issue are self-contradictory. The Magna Mater starts by announcing that she had a grove

<sup>82</sup> C. G. Heyne – G. P. E. Wagner, *Publius Virgilius Maro III*, Leipzig – London 1833<sup>4</sup>, 192.

<sup>83</sup> P. H. Peerlkamp, *P. Virgilio Maronis Aeneidos libri VII–XII*, Leiden 1843, 91: "*Variisque teguntur arboribus*. Wagnerus haec satis otiosa putat. Et sunt".

<sup>84</sup> On *variis* Fordyce (above n. 77) 216 observes: "Probably 'all manner of trees' ... rather than a picturesque epithet which makes the trees, in the play of light and shade, 'mottled' or 'dappled'". No reason is given for this preference. It is now possible to supply one: here we evidently have an oblique reference to the "various" woods of Virgil's Wooden Horse.

<sup>85</sup> Serv. *Aen.* 9,87: *de acere naves non fiunt*. Virgil's *acernis* is however followed immediately by plural *has*, which cannot accordingly refer only to singular *picea*. The poet is therefore emphasizing that these ships did consist of *acer*.

of pine;<sup>86</sup> however she then proceeds to affirm that this pine-grove was instead "dark with maple".<sup>87</sup>

Heyne wished to athetize lines 86f. (*lucus ... acernis*).<sup>88</sup> Other editors instead delete line 85 (*pinea ... annos*).<sup>89</sup> There would however seem to be no reason to interfere with the text. This tristichic sentence is carefully framed by two adjectives denoting the two types of wood: *pinea ... acernis*. Exactly the same pair of *épithètes rares* had been employed in Book 2 to describe the wood of the Wooden Horse: *acernis* (2,112) ... *pinea* (2,258).<sup>90</sup> As well as deliberately re-deploying the vocabulary used for the Wooden Horse, here Virgil would also appear to be again availing himself of the same etymology, which resolves the twin problems of *acer* as a ship and as "darkening" a grove of *pinus*: this word *pinus* is etymologized from *pinnus*, which means *acutus*, which is synonymous with *ācer*, which is in turn the etymon of the *ācer* at issue here. As with the wood of the Wooden Horse, this whole *quaestio vexata* of the wood of the Magna Mater's wood accordingly turns out to be just another very smart *jeu étymologique*.

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<sup>86</sup> *Pinea* (l. 85) is equivalent to *picea* (l. 87), since the latter was etymologized from *pix*, which was in turn derived from *pinus*; cf. Maltby (above n. 10) 474 (s. v. *picea*); 478 (s. v. *pix*). For additional evidence cf. N. Adkin, "Further Supplements to Marangoni's *Supplementum Etymologicum*: Servius and Servius Auctus on Virgil", in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XV*, Brussels 2010, 486 (s. v. *picea*).

<sup>87</sup> *Obscurus* is glossed as *densus* by A. Forbiger, *P. Vergili Maronis opera* III, Leipzig 1875<sup>4</sup>, 229. It may be noted that this use of *obscurus* would seem to entail a hitherto unidentified *jeu étymologique* on *lucus* at the other end of the same distich; cf. Quint. *inst.* 1,6,34 (*lucus quia umbra opacus parum luceat*). This etymology would appear to go back to Aelius Stilo (*fr.* 59 F.).

<sup>88</sup> Heyne – Wagner (above n. 82) 313. Heyne was accordingly obliged to replace *has* (l. 88) with *hanc*.

<sup>89</sup> Thus very recently M. Geymonat, *P. Vergili Maronis opera*, Rome 2008, 497.

<sup>90</sup> While M. N. Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus*, New Haven – London – Oxford 1911, 365f. lists 24 instances of the noun *pinus*, Virgil elsewhere uses the adjective *pineus* only in the late Book 11. Similarly Wetmore (p. 6) records only one other example of adjectival *acernus*. In the present passage *trabibusque obscurus acernis* reproduces closely the description of the horse at 2,112 (*trabibus contextus acernis*): on each occasion *trabibus ... acernis* occupies the same final *sedes* in a hyperbaton produced by an antibacchic epithet. The use of *trabes* in the later text is moreover noteworthy: "nur hier verwendet Vergil *trabes* für die Stämme von Bäumen, die (noch) nicht gefällt sind" (so J. Dingel, *Kommentar zum 9. Buch der Aeneis Vergils*, Heidelberg 1997, 72).

***DOMESTICA BONA* ON STAGE IN THE POMPEIAN HOUSE:  
ON VIEWING AND READING THE STORY OF  
PERO AND MYCON**

MARGHERITA CARUCCI

**Introduction**

In the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto (V, 4, a) in Pompeii, a wall-painting illustrates a woman offering her left breast to an old man, who is lying across her lap to the right; on the top is a barred window from which light enters. The scene is accompanied in the top left corner of the panel by an inscribed text<sup>1</sup> whose letters appear mostly faded but clear enough to inform the viewer that the painted scene represents the story of Pero and Mycon (Fig. 1). The representation of a woman (Pero) suckling an old man (Mycon) may appear almost disturbing and not easily understandable: as a female viewer of post-modern society, I could not help to see in the painted image of that woman the unhappy life experience of my female companions and their being subjected to the control and needs of men. It is without doubt that each work of art communicates different messages, because the act of reading is inevitably influenced by the viewer's social status, gender, beliefs, tastes, values, and expectations.<sup>2</sup> To find the meanings of ancient images that were significant for the ancient viewers is even more difficult for us as modern viewers, since we are also influenced by the cultural implications of our modern society. Nevertheless, the analysis of ancient images within their original

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<sup>1</sup> *CIL* IV 6635 (= *CLE* 2048).

<sup>2</sup> The various contextual approaches that come under the rubric of the "New Art History" are discussed by P. Burke, "Context in Context", *Common Knowledge* 8.1 (2002) 152–77; R. R. Smith, "The Use of Images: Visual History and Ancient History", in T. P. Wiseman (ed.), *Classics in Progress: Essays on Ancient Greece and Rome*, London 2003, 59–102.



Fig.1. Pompeii, House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, wall-painting: Pero and Mycon (photo by the author).

spatial, cultural, and social context may highlight some possible meanings of the same images and suggest possible modes of viewing of the ancient viewer.<sup>3</sup>

This paper will demonstrate how the insertion of the story of Pero and Mycon in the larger social framework of cultural transformations in the early Imperial period, more particularly in relation with Augustan family legislation and ideology, allows a deeper understanding of the painted scene than the traditional reading of the story as an isolated scene visualising a moral lesson for the individual.

### **The painting of Pero and Mycon**

The painting in the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii illustrates the story of Pero and Mycon. According to the ancient story, Mycon was unjustly

<sup>3</sup> See also R. Brilliant, "Some reflections on the new Roman art history", *JRA* 11 (1998) 557–65; N. B. Kampen, "On Writing Histories of Roman Art", *ABull* 85.2 (2003) 371–86.

imprisoned and condemned to starve to death, but his daughter Pero saved her father's life by visiting him in the cell and feeding him the milk from her breast. The painting, which is dated to the third quarter of the first century AD, illustrates the high moment of the story. The choice of this legendary tale gives rise to a number of questions. Why is this story represented in a domestic context? What message does the scene convey to the ancient viewers? How can the image of a woman suckling her father be placed in the normal lives of the house's inhabitants? Could the painted scene of a daughter with her father say something about family relationships and dynamics in the society of the early imperial time?

The story of Pero and Mycon was very popular in early imperial times. In fact, its representation appears in two more Pompeian wall-paintings showing the same decorative schema: the one in the House of Bacchus (VII, 4, 10)<sup>4</sup> and the other in the House IX, 2, 5 (Fig. 2).<sup>5</sup> Further figurative examples of the story in Pompeii are attested on terracotta statues and a pottery fragment, but also in some decorative examples of South Gaulish sigillata.<sup>6</sup> More illustrative examples must have circulated in Rome, too, since Valerius Maximus speaks of a painted representation (*pictam imaginem*) of the story.<sup>7</sup> In textual record, the story of Pero and Mycon is first attested in Valerius Maximus, who also refers to another version of the same story, which replaces the figure of the father with that of a noble mother.<sup>8</sup> The two versions ended up overlapping and creating some confusion. Pliny the Elder, for example, reports the version which has the woman's mother in prison rather than her father, but the writer adds that the mother was of humble conditions and a temple dedicated to Pietas was built on the site of the prison where the story takes place.<sup>9</sup> The story as the *aition* for the building of the

<sup>4</sup> G. Pugliese Carratelli – I. Baldassarre (eds.), *Pompei, pitture e mosaici*, vols. I–IX, Roma 1990–1999: vol. VI, 978–80. The painted panel is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (= MANN 9040).

<sup>5</sup> Pugliese Carratelli – Baldassarre (above n. 4), vol. VIII, 1052–67.

<sup>6</sup> A. Santucci, "Micone e Pero: l'iconografia antica", in R. Raffaelli – R. M. Danese – S. Lanciotti (eds.), *Pietas e allattamento filiale: la vicenda, l'exemplum, l'iconografia. Colloquio di Urbino, 2–3 maggio 1996*, Urbino 1997, 123–39.

<sup>7</sup> Val. Max. 5,4 ext. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Val. Max. 5,4,7.

<sup>9</sup> Plin. *nat.* 7,36. The episode of the dedication of the temple of Pietas is discussed by S. Lanciotti, "Un voto di troppo: il tempio a Pietas in Festo e nella tradizione liviana", in Raffaelli – Danese – Lanciotti 1997 (above n. 6), 103–21.



Fig. 2. Pompeii, House IX, 2, 5, wall-painting: Pero and Mycon (photo by the author).

temple occurs again in Hyginus,<sup>10</sup> Festus, who says that the temple was built in the area where the young daughter lived,<sup>11</sup> and Solinus:<sup>12</sup> they all use Valerius Maximus' story about the father and his daughter, who however are left unnamed (only Hyginus names the girl as Xanthippe).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Hyg. *fab.* 254.

<sup>11</sup> Fest. *verb. sign.* 14.

<sup>12</sup> Solin. 1,124, p. 32.

<sup>13</sup> On the basis of literary record, the story of Pero and Mycon is described as an example of filial devotion toward a father. This motif was elaborated into the more general concept of charity in the Renaissance throughout the XVII–XVIII centuries. Following the printing of Valerius Maximus' work in the late XV century, the story of Pero and Mycon became very popular in art as a visual representation of Roman Charity (*L'allégorie dans la peinture: la représentation de la charité au XVIIe siècle*, Caen 1990; G. M. Fachechi, "L'iconografia della Caritas Romana dal medioevo a Caravaggio", in Raffaelli – Danese – Lanciotti 1997 [above

## Inscription

The painted image of Pero and Mycon in the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto is equipped with an ecphrastic poem made of three elegiac couplets, which are painted in the top left corner of the panel.<sup>14</sup> The reading of the damaged text of the epigram, which is mostly found in the references cited in note 14,<sup>15</sup> is:

*Quae parvis mater natis alimenta parabat  
Fortuna in patrios vertit iniqua cibos.  
aevo dignum opus est: tenui cervice seniles  
as[pice iam venae lacte replente tument.  
admoto]que simul voltu friat ipsa Miconem  
Pero: tristis inest cum pietate pudor.*

"The adverse Fortune turned in food for her father the nourishment that the mother used to offer to her little kids. This deed deserves being remembered for ever. Look! On his thin neck the old man's veins are swollen with filling milk. The same Pero draws near with her head and rubs against Micon: sad modesty is mixed with piety" (my translation).

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n. 6], 227–45). In fact, the image of a daughter breastfeeding her old father suited well the Christian idea of mercy, as it visualised the words of Christ in Matthew's Gospel (25, 35–6, 40). In the transposition of a pagan motif in the Christian Europe, the tale of Pero and Mycon is charged with a religious meaning. More recently, Rubens' painting of Pero and Mycon appeared in a scene of the film *Girl with a pearl earring* (2003), which tells the story of a maiden and a painter in the Netherlands in the late XVII century. The painting appears in the room of the painter's patron, who is described as a very wealthy and licentious man as a means to emphasise the licentious character of the rich man, who got sexually obsessed with a young servant.

<sup>14</sup> W. Deonna, "La légende de Pero et de Micon et l'allaitement symbolique", *Latomus* 13 (1954) 140–66:146, 356–75; G. Berger-Doer, s.v. Pero II, *LIMC* VII (1994) 327–9: 328 n. 5; W. J. Th. Peters & al., *La Casa di Marcus Lucretius Fronto a Pompei e le sue pitture*, Amsterdam 1993, 334–6; A. Santucci, "Micone e Pero: l'iconografia antica", in Raffaelli – Danese – Lanciotti (above n. 6), 123–39: 125–6; A. Tontini, "L'epigramma CIL IV 6635 (= CLE 2048)", in Raffaelli – Danese – Lanciotti (above n. 6), 141–60; L. Piazzì, "Poesie come didascalie di immagini: tre casi pompeiani", in F. De Angelis (ed.), *Lo sguardo archeologico. I normalisti per Paul Zanker*, Pisa 2007, 181–98.

<sup>15</sup> A different reading is suggested in the Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg, EDH-Nr. HD032538 (Scheithauer): *Quae parvis mater natis alimenta parabat / Fortuna in patrios vertit iniqua cibos / [haustus pulc(h)rum opus] est tenui cervice seniles / ast liquidus venae lacte [repente tumor] / [languentemque] simul uoltu (!) fricat ipsa Miconem / Pero tristis inest cum pietate pudor.*



The popularity of the story of Pero and Mycon in both literature and art in early imperial period suggests that any viewer would have recognised the painted representation of the story without any accompanying explicatory text. Moreover, on the Pompeian wall-painting the figures were also identified by the names painted next to them (today mostly faded away), which would have been sufficient for the recognition of the story. Why was the Pompeian painting accompanied by the inscribed text? Does the text add details that could not be illustrated in the picture? How do words and image interact with one another? Was the juxtaposition of text and image deemed as necessary for the reception of their message by either whom was looking at or whom was reading? Was, for example, the inscribed text designed to be read by the literate reader, while the painted image was for the illiterate viewer?<sup>16</sup> Piazzzi argues that the ephrastic poem may have served to overcome the limitations of art by adding movement and temporal dimension to the represented story: the image of Mycon's veins, which are being filled with milk, and the ambiguous expression on Pero's face revealing both *pietas* and *pudor* could have not been completely visualised in the artistic media.<sup>17</sup> Put in these terms, Piazzzi's argument seems to suggest that for the broadening of its restricted limits and for its complete and correct visualisation the viewing of the image needs necessarily being supported and completed by the text. The scholar's reasoning thus reiterates the traditional assumption that pictures are less valuable and only texts can unlock the meaning of an image or of a story.<sup>18</sup> Rather, the insertion of an elegiac poem in the painted panel, which does not occur in the other recorded illustrations of the same story, may be motivated by the commissioner's desire to display his cultural interests or literary pretensions. That seems to be suggested by the arrangement of the whole panel, which was conveniently placed on the south wall of the room i (Fig. 3). Any visitor entering through the *fauces* (a) and walking along the northern side of the *atrium* would have been able to catch a glimpse of the written lines accompanying the painted scene, if the door of the room was left open. The viewer would have not been able to read the small

<sup>16</sup> For a discussion of the relation between text and image on the Pompeian wall-paintings, see B. Bergmann, "A painted garland: weaving words and images in the House of Epigrams in Pompeii", in Z. Newby – R. Leader-Newby (eds.), *Art and Inscriptions in the Ancient World*, Cambridge 2007, 60–101.

<sup>17</sup> Piazzzi 2007 (above n. 14).

<sup>18</sup> This tradition of logocentrism is discussed in details by M. Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, Cambridge 2009. For a discussion of the relation between image and text in classical antiquity, see also Newby – Leader-Newby 2007 (above n. 16).

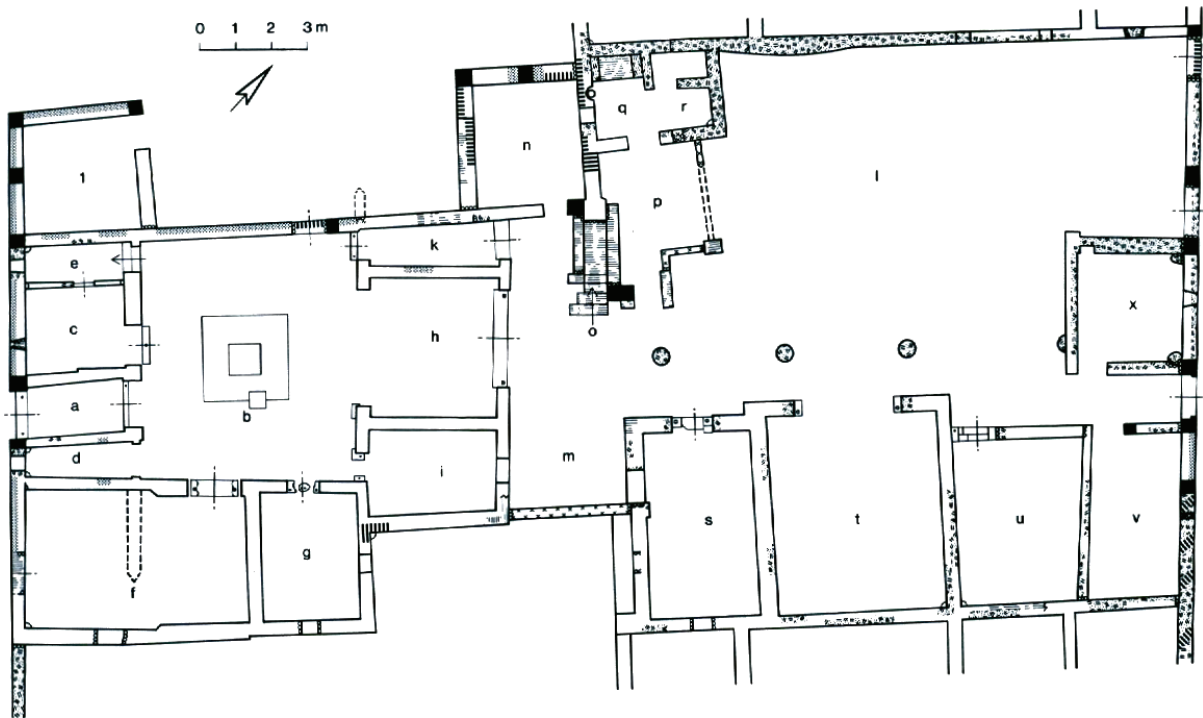


Fig. 3. Pompeii, House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, house-plan (adapted from Peters *et al.* 1993 [above n. 14], fig. 113, p.137).

letters of the poem from that distance, but s/he would have immediately associated the appearance of letters painted on the wall with the house-owner's literacy.<sup>19</sup> On a closer look inside the room and in relation with the painted figures of Pero and Mycon, the poem would have also helped the viewer contextualise the representation within a specifically interpretative framework. In the painting of Pero and Mycon, the inscribed text invokes *pietas* and *pudor*, which are significantly placed in the last line as to summarise the moral lesson contained in the story and to emphasise the importance of these two virtues for both men and women. The English translation 'modesty' does not convey the complex meaning of the term *pudor*, which refers to shame or sense of shame. As Kaster shows on the basis of the survey of the occurrences of the word *pudor* in Latin texts, the term was used to denote "a displeasure with oneself caused by vulnerability to just criticism of a

<sup>19</sup> The owner of the House V.4,a in Pompeii has been identified as Marcus Lucretius Fronto on the basis of four electoral slogans painted in the nearby street and on a graffito found in the garden of the house. The appearance of the name of Lucretius Fronto on the slogans and that of Fronto on the graffito has led scholars to conclude that the house belonged to this politically active and rich public figure. Though the identification of the house-owner is not based on secure grounds, the big size of the house, the rich decoration, and the elegiac poem in the *cubiculum* point to a rich and literate Pompeian man.

socially diminishing sort" (shame) but also "an admirably sensitivity to such displeasure, and a desire to avoid behaviour that causes it" (sense of shame).<sup>20</sup> In the Pompeian epigram, the term *pudor* serves to reveal Pero's displeasure and sense of failure that may damage her social identity as a woman. In fact, in reference to women, the word *pudor* was limited to a single frame of reference, the sexual. Put in these terms, the *pudor* of women is congruent with their *pudicitia*, or sexual shame.<sup>21</sup> In Roman society, *pudicitia* is a virtue that is to be on display by means of a range of codes such as dress, gesture, and the use of space and language in order to signal the individual's sexual respectability, which is often about not participating in prohibited sexual activity. The violability of Pero's body may be easily associated with the woman's lack of shame and consequently her conduct may be liable to be severely judged by the external viewer. By contrast, the mention of *pudor* in the painted epigram serves to warn the viewer against any severe judgement of Pero's action of feeding her father: though this kind of behaviour does not meet social expectations, no shameful incest is involved. With reference to the adult elite male, the term *pudor* describes a great emotional range, since men were involved in a wide range of social situations and relations which exposed them to the risk of *pudor*.<sup>22</sup> In the epigram, the description of Pero drawing near her father and rubbing against him as a sign of affection seems to suggest that also Mycon may have felt a sense of shame in this kind of uncomfortable situation. Thus the insertion of the word *pudor* in the painted text serves to remind the reader of the fact that, in spite of the disturbing appearance of the scene s/he is looking at, the woman maintains her sexual respectability and the old man is safe from any kind of criticism that may undermine his good standing in society.

In the inscribed text, *pudor* is associated with another value of broader connotations, i.e., *pietas*. In Latin usage, the word *pietas* is used to designate the dutiful respect that one shows toward gods, fatherland, parents, and relatives. The structure of the painted poem seems to emphasise Pero's *pietas* rather than Mycon's. However, the viewer would have recalled the literary reference to the man's unjust conviction, which implies that Mycon was an upright man who performed his duties toward the gods and his fatherland with respect. In reference to Pero, the term *pietas* emphasises the values of affection and compassion that the daughter shows toward her father. Pero thus embodies the values of respect-

<sup>20</sup> R. A. Kaster, *Emotion, Restraint and Community in ancient Rome*, Oxford 1997, 4.

<sup>21</sup> R. Langlands, *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 2006.

<sup>22</sup> Kaster (above n. 20) 9–11.

ability (as a mother and as a daughter), of filial respect, and loving attachment to a member of her family.

Seen as a whole, the inscribed text and the painted scene of Pero and Mycon serve to provide viewers and readers with an illustration of moral qualities and moral issues which provoke reflection, and to provide role models for them to follow. The whole painted panel, however, was not an isolated picture to be viewed and read as a single work of art. It was rather part of a broader iconographic programme, which suggests further modes of viewing and reading.

### **Spatial context: architectural and decorative layout**

The painting of Pero and Mycon was inserted in a small room (i) of the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto: the chamber (ca. 3.60 x 2.52 m) lay off the *atrium* b and on axis with the *fauces* d. Along with the painted scene of Pero and Mycon on the southern wall, the room was also decorated with the images of two children on either side of the entrance door and with the representation of Narcissus on the northern wall. The room seems to be a *cubiculum* because of its floor covering: a pattern of big marble *tesserae*, white and grey, of geometric shape is interrupted at 1.15m from the back wall, where the bed would have been placed.<sup>23</sup> Above the bed two differently-sized and -shaped windows look out into the small courtyard m.<sup>24</sup> The chamber was located in the communal area of the *atrium* (b), which also included two more *cubicula* (c and g), a *triclinium* (f) and the *tablinum* (h), which were all decorated with figured wall-paintings. A visitor entering the house from the opposite *fauces* (a) would have caught only a glimpse of the interior of the *cubiculum* through its open door. In fact, the arrangement of the *cubiculum*'s opening, which is off-centred in relation to the main entrance (a) and opposite a storeroom (d), would have protected the chamber's users from prying eyes. The closing of the door, moreover, would have secured a higher level of seclusion and intimacy within the room. It is difficult to ascertain whether the chamber was exclusively used by the female members of the household, as the small size and the arrangement of the door seem to suggest, or by men, as the location of the room in

<sup>23</sup> A. Anguissola, *Intimità a Pompei. Riservatezza, condivisione e prestigio negli ambienti ad alcova a Pompei*, Berlin – New York 2010, 550 Cat. 125.

<sup>24</sup> Santucci 1997 (above n. 6) 135 identifies the domestic space as a reception room for entertaining clients and dealing business, but the scholar does not fully specify the reasons for her identification.

the communal area of the *atrium* seems to indicate.<sup>25</sup> Perhaps, it would be rather better to describe the *cubiculum* as a not gender-specific room, which could have been used by both female and male members of the household, according to the need and to the times of the day.<sup>26</sup> The lack of any rigidly gendered distinctions in the use of the *cubiculum* is also suggested by the iconographic motifs of the wall-paintings, which could have addressed both male and female viewers.

On either side of the entrance door are two tondi bearing the busts of a boy and a girl.<sup>27</sup> The boy is represented wearing a *petasus* and holding a caduceus, as Mercury's attributes to symbolise his successful future in commercial activities under the protection of the god (Fig. 4). Significantly, the girl painted on the other side is shown without any gender or social attribute: there is even doubt whether the bust represents a girl or a boy, as the short hair and the *chlamys* are contradictory gender signals (Fig. 5). The lack of any distinctive sign with social connotations seems to underscore the lack of social identity of the girl in her childhood: the girl will be assigned her identity in the family and society only when she becomes a wife and a mother.<sup>28</sup>

On the wall opposite the painting of Pero and Mycon is the illustration of Narcissus, who is depicted in the traditional scheme of a semi-nude youth sitting on a rock and looking at his image reflected in the pool below (Fig. 6).<sup>29</sup> The nudity of Narcissus, his elongated body open to be admired, the spear he holds to

<sup>25</sup> Because of the representation of the children, J. R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy 100 B.C. – A.D. 250: Ritual, Space, and Decoration*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford 1991, 159, argues that the room is a *cubiculum* for children. Unfortunately, there is too little evidence about the sleeping habits and activities of children in the Roman house to help us identify spaces exclusively arranged for children.

<sup>26</sup> The flexible use of the *cubiculum* is also frequently attested in textual record, which associates the room with a number of activities, from the intimate sleep and sex to the more social reception of guests, according to the times of the day and the class of visitors. See M. Carucci, *The Romano-African Domus: Studies in space, decoration, and function*, Oxford, 2007, 130–4; L. Nissinen, "Cubicula diurna, nocturna: Revisiting Roman cubicula and Sleeping Arrangements", *Arctos* 43 (2009) 85–107.

<sup>27</sup> Peters et al. 1993 (above n. 14) 336–9.

<sup>28</sup> Moormann (in Peters et al. 1993 [above n. 14] 405, 409) suggests that the images of the children represent two members of the family who died very young, but there is no evidence to support his statement.

<sup>29</sup> Peters et al. 1993 (above n. 14) 332–4; J. Hodske, *Mythologische Bildthemen in den Häusern Pompejis: die Bedeutung der zentralen Mythenbilder für die Bewohner Pompejis*, Ruppolding 2007, 252, Taf. 167; K. Lorenz, *Bilder machen Räume. Mythenbilder in pompeianischen Häusern*, Berlin 2008, 223, 428–9.



Fig. 4. Pompeii, House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, *cubiculum* i, wall-painting: portrait of a boy (photo by the author).

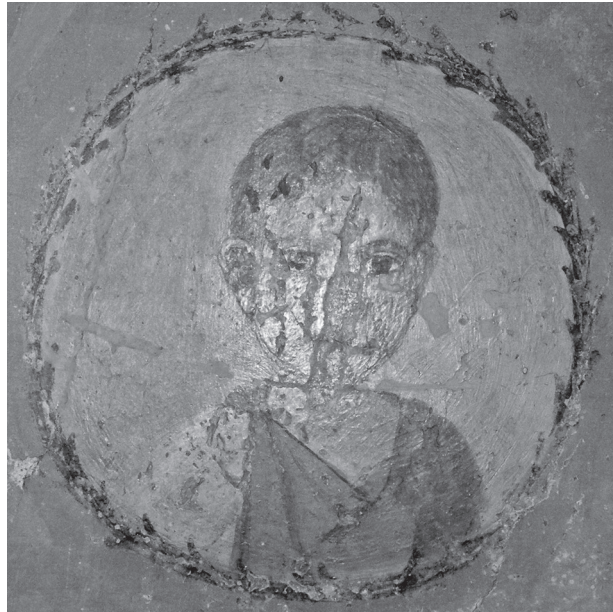


Fig. 5. Pompeii, House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, *cubiculum* i, wall-painting: portrait of a girl (photo by the author).

signify him as a hunter, and the natural landscape are details that all emphasise the erotic content of the painting. This is also heightened by the portrayal of Narcissus as a youth on the threshold between childhood and manhood:<sup>30</sup> the image of the adolescent male as the embodiment of beauty and sexual attraction is a recurrent motif in Latin erotic poetry. The adolescence of Narcissus would have produced a more striking effect if seen in contrast to the nearby images of the child in the guise of Mercury and of Mycon as an old man and a baby simultaneously. Placed within the framework of his personal story, the image of Narcissus who falls in love with his own reflection and dies would have also provoked reflection on the broader themes of gaze, subjectivity, eroticism, and viewing in art.<sup>31</sup> In the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, the visualisation of many of these

<sup>30</sup> Ovid (*met.* 3,351–2) describes Narcissus as a sixteen-years old youth, who could have appeared both as a child and a young person.

<sup>31</sup> For the discussion of the theme of Narcissus in antiquity, see E. Pellitzer, "Reflections, Echoes and Amorous Reciprocity: On Reading the Narcissus Story", in J. Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology*, Totowa 1997, 107–20; M. Bettini, *The Portrait of the Lover*, Berkeley 1999, 94–99, 230–1; S. Bartsch, "The Philosopher as Narcissus: Vision, Sexuality and Self-Knowledge in Classical Antiquity", in R. Nelson (ed.), *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance*, Cambridge 2000, 70–99; P. Hardie, "Lucretius and the Delusions of Narcissus", *MD* 20–1 (2002) 71–89; J. Elsner, *Roman eyes: visuality & subjectivity in art & text*, Princeton 2007, 132–76. For a wider use of Narcissian themes in modern literature, see L.



Fig. 6. Pompeii, House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, cubiculum i, wall-painting: Narcissus (photo by the author).

Narcissian themes may have been facilitated by the spatial arrangement of Narcissus' image, which appears as an isolated scene, set individually in the middle of a yellow wall, to easily focus viewers' attention. On the other hand, the insertion of Narcissus' story in a spatial context, which included other painted scenes and iconographic motifs, prompted viewers to try out different modes of viewing and reading. The scenes of Narcissus and Pero-Mycon, which are conveniently placed on opposite walls, may be seen as simultaneously complementary and contrasting. The two scenes may be connected by the motif of love, which the images of the small winged erotes on either side of the figured panels seem to emphasise.<sup>32</sup> They both represent a love story: Narcissus falls in love with his

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Spaas (ed.), *Echoes of Narcissus*, New York – Oxford 2000.

<sup>32</sup> It is also possible that the erotes may have served a merely decorative function, as the attributes they hold (cornucopia, cantharos, thyrsus, and box) do not seem to be thematically related to the illustrated stories or to the two children.

own image, while Pero shows her love toward her father with an act of filial piety. On the other hand, the figure of Narcissus as a symbol of exclusive self-love appears in contrast with the images of Pero and Mycon as the visual representation of mutual love on which the family is built. The thematic opposition between the individualism of the boy and the close interaction of the daughter and her father is also emphasised iconographically by the illustration of Narcissus as an isolated figure and of Pero and Mycon as a closely embraced pair of figures. Within this intersecting-directional viewing, the fatal death of Narcissus seems to warn the viewer against the danger of moral isolation, while the survival of Mycon and the portraits of the two children state the importance of family relationships for the formation of personal and social identity.

The motif of the family as the thematic link of the pictures occurs again in the adjoining *tablinum*, whose sides walls were decorated with the representation of two mythical couples: Dionysus and Ariadne on one side and Mars and Venus on the other side. The image of the couples, who are represented as joined together and separated from the other accompanying figures, along with the gesture of Mars touching Venus' breast evokes the ideal of *concordia* between *dominus* and *domina* as the fundamental support of every family. The ideal of harmony in the family as the thematic link connecting the scene of Pero and Mycon with other mythical stories occurs again in the wall-paintings of the House of Bacchus (VII, 4, 10) and the House IX, 2, 5, both at Pompeii. In the House of Bacchus, the painting of Pero and Mycon appears in an unidentified room nearby the *atrium* along with the images of Venus and Adonis, which would symbolise here the union of a man and a woman around which the family revolves, and of Hector with his wife Andromache and his son Astyanax as the visual representation of the family as composed of husband, wife, and offspring. In the House IX, 2, 5, the painting with Pero and Mycon was associated with the story of Ariadne abandoned: placed on the side walls of the *triclinium*, the two panels would have been seen as pendants linked by the idea of harmony whose presence or absence may sustain (Pero and Mycon) or destroy (Ariadne) a family.

### **Social context: family dynamics in the early imperial times**

The choice of the story of Pero and Mycon as a decorative motif in association with images thematically linked by the idea of family may have been influenced by some sort of changes in family relations and attitudes in the early imperial society. Placed in a larger social framework, in fact, the story visualises significant



cultural transformations of the early Empire that Augustan laws had promoted. It is without any doubt that Augustan moral reform affected profoundly dynamics of and attitudes toward family and gender roles in the Roman society during the following centuries of imperial experience. As Dixon argues, literary texts, funerary sculpture and inscriptions show that a sentimental ideal of Roman family arose in the late Republic and continued in Imperial times.<sup>33</sup> This ideal of happy, unite, affectionate family was reinforced and invoked in everyday life against the more dramatic realities of frequent divorces, remarriages, and death of children.<sup>34</sup> In line with this prevalent sentiment, Augustus introduced a series of laws, which promoted the virtues of marriage, procreation, and large families; this was combined with an increased number of representations displaying family groups, children, and mothers. With its emphasis on the return to family values, the Augustan program also drew much attention to women as significant contributors to the restoration and keeping of the system: their good behaviour within the domestic context was considered as partly responsible for the health of the state. The result was a wider representation of female figures in Augustan society and throughout Imperial times in literature, in inscriptions, in commemorative reliefs as well as in domestic decoration.<sup>35</sup> An illustrative example are the sculpted images decorating the Ara Pacis Augustae, the altar that the Senate commissioned in 9 BC to celebrate Augustus' return from Spain and Gaul.<sup>36</sup> The sculptures depict scenes of sacrifices to the gods as an image of traditional Roman piety whose timeless value is emphasised by the juxtaposition of scenes drawn from the Roman myth, legend, and history. However, the idea dominating the entire state monument is the family, and more specifically Augustus' family which will ensure prosperity and peace to Rome. On the altar, in fact, Augustus is represented surrounded by the members of his family, which exceptionally includes women and children, to exemplify the values of marriage and childrearing. The message of fecundity and related prosperity is conveyed more clearly

<sup>33</sup> S. Dixon, "The Sentimental Ideal of the Roman Family", in B. Rawson (ed.), *Marriage, Divorce, and Children in Ancient Rome*, Oxford 1991, 99–113.

<sup>34</sup> B. Rawson – P. Weaver (eds.), *The Roman Family in Italy: status, sentiment, space*, Oxford 1997.

<sup>35</sup> N. B. Kampen, "Between Public and Private: Women as Historical Subjects in Roman Art", in S. B. Pomeroy (ed.), *Women's History and Ancient History*, Chapel Hill 1991, 218–48; T. R. Ramsby – B. Severy-Hoven, "Gender, Sex, and the Domestication of the Empire in Art of the Augustan Age", *Arethusa* 40 (2007) 43–71.

<sup>36</sup> D. K. K. Kleiner, "The Great Friezes of the Ara Pacis Augustae", *MEFRA* 90 (1978) 753–6.

by the allegorical image of a female figure holding two plump babies amidst lush vegetation, animals, and the personifications of the winds. Although the identification of this figure is not certain (Tellus, Pax, Venus, Terra Mater), the symbolically reproductive body of this allegorical figure would be connected with the really reproductive bodies of the imperial women. In spite of iconographic and narrative differences, on the Pompeian painting too, the image of Pero breastfeeding highlights the reproductive capacity and main role of the female body. A further visual illustration of the virtues of motherhood and childcare as ideals transposed onto the mythological world appears in the *cubiculum* of the House of the Postumii (VIII, 4, 4) in Pompeii, where the wall painting shows the image of a maenad holding the baby Dionysus.<sup>37</sup> In all these artistic scenes, women are portrayed as wives and mothers as the only role that they are asked to play within the sphere of their family and society. This ideal of the woman as an obedient daughter, devoted wife, and good mother was not invented in Augustan times: faithfulness to the husband, fertility, and ability to run the household were the traditional virtues that were praised in the old Republic to exemplify the Roman woman. What was new in Augustan times was to put the female *domestica bona* on display in public spaces. In Augustus' programme, the publicity of the female members of his family and the praise of their domestic virtues were strategically promoted to support the creation of the Julio-Claudian dynasty.<sup>38</sup> This is clearly evident on the friezes of the Ara Pacis, where female fertility is closely linked to the triumph of Roman imperialism. However, Augustan ideology along with its moral reform promoted by a number of laws on marriage and procreation deeply transformed approaches to and dynamics of the whole Roman society not only within the restricted limits of Rome but also in the broader area of the imperial provinces. In Pompeii, the impact that changes and ideals of the imperial family had on the transformation of gender roles and familial responsibility in the provincial elite is evident in a number of exemplary women, such as Eumachia.<sup>39</sup> In the early first century AD, Eumachia, the public priestess of Venus and member of

<sup>37</sup> Pugliese Carratelli – Baldassarre (above n. 4), vol. VIII, 465 no. 22.

<sup>38</sup> B. Severy, *Augustus and the Family at the Birth of the Roman Empire*, New York – London 2003; K. Milnor, *Gender, Domesticity, and the Age of Augustus: Inventing Private Life*, Oxford 2005.

<sup>39</sup> For a description and discussion of the women's roles in Pompeii, see E. Fantham et al., *Women in the Classical World: Image and Text*, Oxford 1994, 330–44; L. Savunen, *Women in the urban texture of Pompeii*, Helsinki 1997; J. J. Dobbins – P. N. Foss (eds.), *The World of Pompeii*, London – New York 2007, 526–37.

the local elite, paid for the construction of a large public building in the Forum.<sup>40</sup> The architectural layout of the structure, whose function has not been identified, closely resembles the plan of the *Porticus Liviae* on the Severan marble plan. Literary sources inform us that this *porticus* was dedicated by Livia and Tiberius in seven BC, while Livia alone dedicated an *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* nearby in the same year as a visual form of celebration of her harmonious marriage to Augustus.<sup>41</sup> The building of the *porticus* by Livia and her son and the dedication of a shrine to the conjugal *concordia* emphasise the unity and harmony of a specific family. However, because of its political role, the domestic experience of the imperial family becomes for the entire Roman elite an ideal to praise and to make public. Eumachia's association with both the imperial family and Livia, as a model for the elite women who participate in public life, is also suggested by the accompanying inscription above the entrance, which states that the building has been built by Eumachia in her own name and that of her son and dedicated to *concordia Augusta* and *pietas*.<sup>42</sup> The role of Eumachia, who sponsors a public building in the traditionally male-defined area of the Forum and thus assures the political future of her son, shows how the deep changes of gender roles and family dynamics of the Augustan family affected the provincial society of Pompeii, too. Eumachia's dedication shows close parallels with the painting of Pero and Mycon, such as the reference to *pietas*, which occurs in both inscriptions, and the invocation to the familial harmony, which is visualised in the material appearance of the Eumachia's building and in the physical closeness of Pero and Mycon in the painted panel.

A further artistic example of Augustan ideology, which focuses on the idea of family and shows some parallels with the painted scene of Pero and Mycon, is the *porticus* of the temple of Apollo at Rome. As part of the Augustus' Palatine complex, the *porticus* was decorated with the statues of the fifty Danaids along with the image of their father. The reason why the images of the Danaids, who, at the order of their father Danaus, murdered their cousins-husbands on their wedding night, were inserted in the decorative program of the Augustan complex has puzzled scholars and has been variously explained. The myth may allude to

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<sup>40</sup> J. H. D'Arms, "Pompeii and Rome in the Augustan Age and Beyond: The Eminence of the *Gens Holconia*", in R. I. Curtis (ed.), *Studia Pompeiana et classica in honor of Wilhelmina F. Jashemski, 1. Pompeiana*, New Rochelle 1988, 51–68; Savunen 1997 (above n. 39) 53–6; Severy 2003 (above n. 38) 246–7.

<sup>41</sup> Ovid. *fast.* 6,638.

<sup>42</sup> *CIL* X 810.

fratricide and civil war, as it is a tale of cousins killing cousins; it may contain a reference to Augustus' triumph at Actium, as the Graeco-Egyptian Danaids recall Cleopatra; the act of the Danaids, who rejects the "foreign" marriage at the behest of their father may mirror Rome's rejection of Antony under the command of the *pater patriae* Augustus.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, the myth may suggest a further reading, if inserted within the framework of moral reform and family legislation promoted by Augustus. The Danaids' image as dutiful daughters and killers of their husbands at once highlights the difficulties in locating women in public discourse. Nevertheless, it also illustrates the extent to which female domestic virtue may be complementary of male public power and sometimes even more effective than that (Danaus did not kill anyone in his daughters' wedding night).<sup>44</sup> In spite of disturbing elements in the story which portrays the Danaids as the wives who murder their husbands, the myth emphasises the importance of the female members of the household for the unity of the family. As the Danaids were represented as dutiful daughters, Pero too is an example of a devoted daughter who takes an extreme action (breastfeeding her father) in order to restore the unity of her father's family that the authority of the state had tried to destroy with its unjust sentence of death.

The ideals of family life, which developed in Imperial times, form then the social frame into which the painted story of Pero and Mycon along with its accompanying illustrations in the *cubiculum* of the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto may be inserted. Far from being a disturbing scene, as it may appear at first glance, the illustration of Pero and Mycon is rather a celebration of *domestica bona* on which familial happiness and harmony (*concordia*) are based.

## Conclusions

Similarly to the domestic experience of the imperial family, in the Pompeian household the visibility of the virtues of the members of the family (including women and children) in the domestic space was necessary for the construction of the *pater familias'* social identity as a good father and thereby a good citizen.

<sup>43</sup> E. W. Leach, "Hypermetra's Querela: Coopting the Danaids in Horace Ode 3.11 and in Augustan Rome", *CW* 102 (2008) 13–32; Milnor 2005 (above n. 38) 51–3.

<sup>44</sup> Because of the scarce archaeological evidence, we do not know whether the sculptural group included Hypermetra, the only Danaid that spared her husband's life. See A. Carandini, *La Casa di Augusto dai "Lupercalia" al Natale*, Bari 2008, 84–8.

The public display of virtues, which were strictly associated with the domestic sphere, becomes then a means by which the male head of the household could give a correct presentation of his role and social identity to a viewing audience. In the Roman visual culture, the invocation of virtuous femininity and male respectability was materially visualised and communicated through the correct choice of specific iconographic motifs and their location. Thus in the House of Marcus Lucretius Fronto, the story of Pero and Mycon as a representation of filial love was associated with the images of children, who will ensure the continuity of the family's line, and of Narcissus to signify the dangers of excessive individualism and negation of sociality.<sup>45</sup> The arrangement of these complementary wall-paintings in a *cubiculum*, which could have been variously used by the family (both female and male members of the household) and the guests, enabled the house-owner to display the high moral qualities and unity of his family to a wide audience.

The analysis of the painted scene of Pero and Mycon in its original social context shows that the discussion of a figurative panel within a broader social and cultural framework may suggest further possible meanings of the same scene and allow a deeper insight into the society which produced the artistic image. Surely, the appearance of the story of Pero and Mycon on only three wall-paintings in Pompeii and the restricted number of public buildings overtly displaying female virtues limit the number of comparisons with other figurative examples of *domestica bona*. It is hoped that in the future even more themes represented on the Pompeian wall-paintings will be analysed extensively within their original context for a deeper understanding of Roman imperial society.

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<sup>45</sup> According to the mythical tale, the adolescent Narcissus ignored the love of many nymphs and youths and consequently the possibility of constructing a family and being a member of it.

"... τὸν Πλαυτιανόν, καὶ ἐς αὐτοὺς τοὺς αὐτοκράτορας, ἰσχύσαι ..."  
**(DIO 76,14,6): ANCORA UN'ISCRIZIONE ONORARIA PER IL  
PREFETTO DEL PRETORIO PLAUZIANO\***

FRANCESCA CERRONE

Tra le tante iscrizioni che nell'Ottocento arricchivano la villa di Cosimo Petrarcone, nelle immediate vicinanze del teatro romano di Casinum,<sup>1</sup> alcuni anni fa tornò alla luce un frammento di lastra marmorea già pubblicato dal Mommsen nel *CIL X*.<sup>2</sup>

Dell'iscrizione si conservano oggi due frammenti ricomposti (45,5 x 24 x 2,8; lett. 7–6,5; v. fig. 1), che ho potuto controllare e fotografare nei magazzini del Museo Nazionale di Cassino, dove sono custoditi a partire dall'anno 2000, quando, a seguito di alcuni lavori di sistemazione nella villa Petrarcone, furono recuperati nel terreno di riporto.<sup>3</sup> Un confronto con il testo fornito nel *CIL per-*

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\* Questo lavoro, nato nell'ambito del Dottorato di Ricerca in Filologia e Storia del mondo antico, che sto conducendo presso l'Università Sapienza di Roma sulle élites municipali di Aquinum, Casinum e Interamna Lirenas, è l'esito di un seminario tenuto nell'Università di Helsinki nel maggio 2011. Desidero qui ringraziare i professori H. Solin, M. Kajava e O. Salomies, non solo per i consigli e i suggerimenti di cui sono stati prodighi, ma anche per l'ospitalità riservatami e la possibilità di consultare il ricchissimo archivio di aggiornamento al *CIL X* che mi ha permesso di ampliare e migliorare la base documentaria della mia ricerca. Un ulteriore ringraziamento ai professori G. L. Gregori e M. L. Caldelli che hanno riletto il mio lavoro, contribuendo a migliorarlo. Eventuali errori e manchevolezze sono tuttavia attribuibili solo alla scrivente.

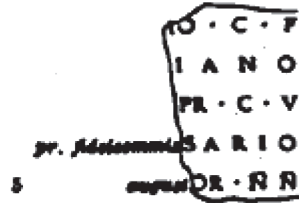
<sup>1</sup> Quel che resta dell'antico giardino Petrarcone è oggi proprietà comunale della città di Cassino; al suo interno, quasi del tutto nascoste da una rigogliosa vegetazione, sono conservate ancora alcune delle iscrizioni della collezione, tra cui l'importante testo relativo al *C. Futius praef. Casinatium* (*CIL X* 5194).

<sup>2</sup> *CIL X* 5184, cfr. G. Fiorelli, *NSA* 1876, 92 nr. 2 e Ponari, *Atti Terra Lavoro Caserta* 1876, 55.

<sup>3</sup> Ringrazio il dott. Alessandro Betori, della Soprintendenza Archeologica del Lazio, che

mette di accertare la perdita del margine destro, ancora visibile al Mommsen, e di scorgere tracce di almeno un'altra riga dopo la r. 5:

**5184 Casini in hortis Petrarcone.**



**Descripserunt a. 1876. Ed. Ponari apud Florellium  
not. degli scavi 1876 p. 92 et in actis Casertanis  
a. 1876 p. 55.**

Nonostante la sua frammentarietà, il testo è chiaramente interpretabile come una dedica onoraria per un personaggio appartenente all'*ordo* senatorio, essendo egli definito *clarissimus vir* in r. 3, di cui si conserva in r. 1, oltre alla parte finale del gentilizio, la filiazione (*C. f.*); in r. 2 resta la parte finale del cognome (*-ianus*). Il riferimento a più imperatori, espresso con la formula *dominorum nostrorum*, fornisce un utile *terminus post quem* per la dedica, che non potrà essere stata eretta anteriormente alla coregenza di Marco Aurelio e Lucio Vero.

L'interpretazione che dell'epigrafe diede il Mommsen, ipotizzando un incarico di *praetor fideicommissarius*<sup>4</sup> alla r. 4, è rimasta a tutt'oggi indiscussa, tanto che l'anonimo personaggio è stato inserito nel lavoro specifico del Röhle come uno dei sette *praetores fideicommissarii* noti,<sup>5</sup> tutti databili dalla fine del regno di Adriano alla metà del III sec. d.C.: 1. *P. Coelius Balbinus Vibullius Pius*, senatore ispanico, console con L. Elio Cesare nel 137, a cui fu posta una dedica a

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con disponibilità e cortesia mi ha permesso di rivedere il materiale epigrafico conservato nei magazzini del Museo di Cassino e di presentare una nuova foto della lastra; indispensabile è stato l'aiuto di Paola De Rosa, responsabile del magazzino, e di Dante Sacco, valido conoscitore della topografia e dell'archeologia della città.

<sup>4</sup> Il *praetor fideicommissarius* era addetto specificamente alle cause di *fideicommissa*, cioè quelle volontà che il testatore chiede di mettere in atto dopo la sua morte, in beneficio anche di terze persone. Due pretori specifici per queste cause furono creati da Claudio, per poi essere ridotti a uno soltanto con Tito (v. B. Kübler, *Fideicommissum*, in *Diz. Epigr.* III, 1922, 74–6, dove si ricorda anche l'anonimo personaggio cassinate).

<sup>5</sup> R. Röhle, "Praetor fideicommissarius", *RIDA* 15 (1968) 399–428, in part. la nostra iscrizione è citata a p. 400 nr. 5.

Roma nel 136;<sup>6</sup> 2. [P. Cass]ius [P.]f. Claudia Dexter Augus[tanus Alpi]nus Belli-  
cius Sollers Metiliu[s ---]us Rutilianus, vissuto durante il regno di Antonino Pio;<sup>7</sup>  
3. Ti. Claudius Saethida Caelianus, vissuto anch'egli in età antonina, di famiglia  
originaria di Messene, di cui si conserva ad *Abellinum* una dedica onoraria;<sup>8</sup> 4.  
Cn. Petronius Probatius Iunior Iustus, di origine evidentemente nolana, dell'età  
di Severo Alessandro;<sup>9</sup> 5. il nostro anonimo personaggio onorato a Cassino; 6.  
C. Aemilius Bere[ni]cianus Maxim[us], definito ormai *praetor supremar(um vo-*  
*luntatum)*, denominazione che a partire dall'età di Caracalla sostituisce quella di  
*praetor fideicommissarius*;<sup>10</sup> 7. Q. Servaeus Fuscus Cornelianus, anch'egli defi-  
nito *praetor supremar(um voluntatum)*, la cui carriera si colloca tra il 222 e il 268  
d.C.<sup>11</sup>

Nonostante si conosca la specificità del ruolo di *praetor fideicommissarius*  
e molti siano i riferimenti a questo incarico anche nel Digesto, è indubbio che  
le occorrenze epigrafiche e l'uso di precisare questo tipo di pretura in dediche o  
iscrizioni ufficiali riportanti il *cursus* del senatore non sono frequenti; il numero  
di attestazioni si riduce ulteriormente da sette a cinque, se escludiamo le due epi-  
grafi menzionanti il *praetor supremarum voluntatum*, più tarde, quando ormai il  
titolo è mutato. Pur non potendosi scartare a priori la possibilità che nella lastra  
dalla villa Petrarcone si celi un *praetor fideicommissarius*,<sup>12</sup> alcuni problemi si  
oppongono a questa ricostruzione: innanzitutto pone qualche difficoltà il riferi-  
mento agli imperatori subito dopo la menzione di un ipotetico incarico di pretore  
e nel mezzo dell'elencazione delle funzioni del *cursus* dell'onorato; da escludere  
anche l'ipotesi che *dominorum nostrorum* possa essere inquadrato in una formula  
di dedica *pro salute* per la casa regnante, poiché anche in questo caso la posizione

<sup>6</sup> *CIL* VI 1383 (cfr. pp. 3805, 4689) = *ILS* 1063 (Roma); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1241 = Röhle (sopra n. 5) 399 nr. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *CIL* III 12116 cfr. 13618 = *ILS* 1050; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 490 = Röhle (sopra n. 5) 399 nr. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *CIL* X 1123 = *ILS* 1086 (Abellinum); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1004a = Röhle (sopra n. 5) 400 nr. 3; cfr. N. Luraghi, *The Ancient Messenians*, Cambridge 2008, 306–18 per la famiglia dei *Claudii Saethidae* nel contesto messenico.

<sup>9</sup> *AE* 1967, 579 (Numidia, Lambaesis) e *CIL* X 1254 = *ILS* 1179 = *AE* 2006, 298 (Nola); *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 302 = Röhle (sopra n. 5) 400 nr. 4.

<sup>10</sup> *CIL* XII 3163 = *ILS* 1168; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 336 = Röhle (sopra n. 5) 400 nr. 6.

<sup>11</sup> *CIL* VIII 22721 = *ILS* 8978; *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 560 = Röhle (sopra n. 5) 401 nr. 7.

<sup>12</sup> Impossibile ipotizzare un'identificazione del personaggio onorato a Cassino con qualcuno dei pretori menzionati, vista la mancata corrispondenza delle formule onomastiche di questi ultimi con quanto resta delle prime righe del testo.



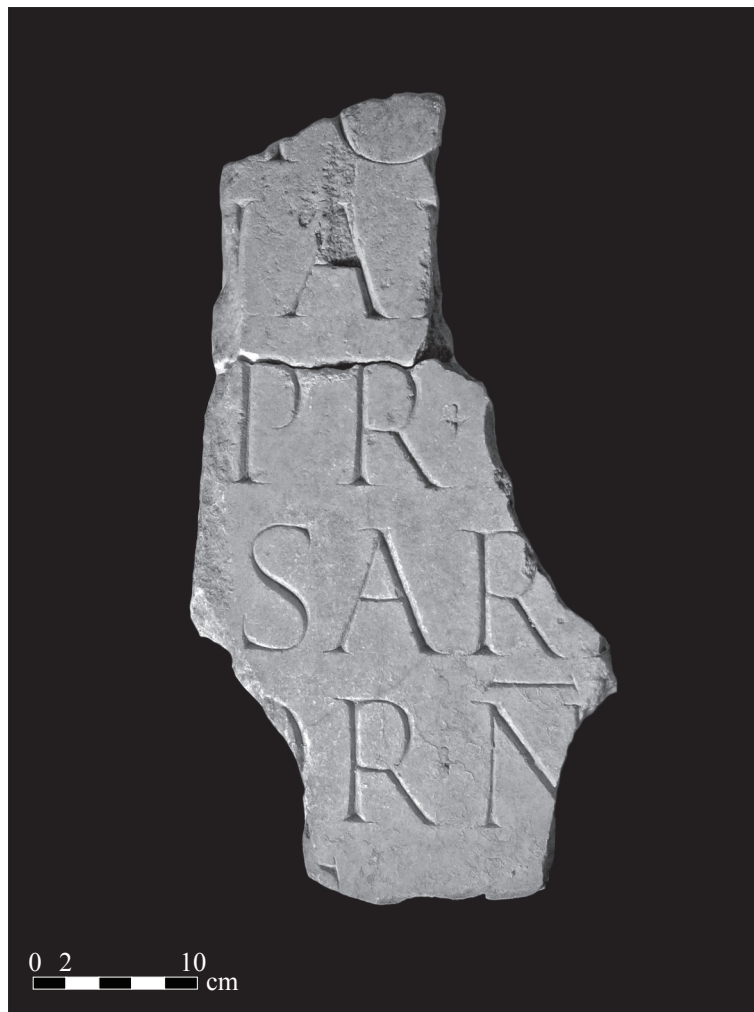


Fig. 1 – *CIL X 5184*. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Cassino, magazzini.

a metà dell'iscrizione sembra poco consona, rispetto a quella usuale che prevede nella parte iniziale il riferimento agli imperatori. Sembra preferibile, a questo punto, pensare per la r. 4 ad una qualifica che possa stare in *iunctura* con il successivo *dominorum nostrorum*.

Le parole terminanti in *-sarius* non sono molte nelle iscrizioni.<sup>13</sup> Se si esclude qualche gentilizio, resta l'interessante aggettivo *necessarius*, termine molto diffuso nell'epistolario ciceroniano,<sup>14</sup> che in campo epigrafico è utilizza-

<sup>13</sup> La consultazione di banche dati online quali [www.manfredclauss.de](http://www.manfredclauss.de) e [www.eagle-eagle.it](http://www.eagle-eagle.it) hanno velocizzato di molto la ricerca di queste occorrenze.

<sup>14</sup> Solo per fare alcuni esempi: Cic. *fam.* 13,48; talvolta abbinato con *familiaris*: Cic. *fam.* 12,78 e 6,9; *necessitudo paterna* è definito il legame tra Cicerone e L. Munatius Plancus e L. Plotius Plancus in *fam.* 10,5,1 e 13,29,1,5. Si vedano anche E. Deniaux, *Clientèles et pouvoir à l'époque de Cicéron* (CEFR 182), Rome 1993, 86 e *passim* e J. Hellegouarc'h, *Le vocabulaire latin des relations et des partis politiques sous la République*, Paris 1963, 71–6.

to quasi esclusivamente per il prefetto del pretorio di Settimio Severo *C. Fulvius C.f. Qui. Plautianus*,<sup>15</sup> personaggio della cui sfrenata ambizione e smodato egocentrismo possiamo avere un'idea grazie al considerevole dossier epigrafico che lo riguarda, comprendente, una trentina di epigrafi<sup>16</sup> (ad esclusione dei bolli laterizi,<sup>17</sup> delle *fistulae*<sup>18</sup> e delle datazioni consolari). Non sappiamo esattamente quanto abbia contato, per la sua rapida carriera, l'essere conterraneo di Settimio

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<sup>15</sup> La letteratura su questo personaggio, sia antica che moderna, è molto vasta. Fondamentale, dopo le voci della *RE* (A. Stein, in *RE*, VII, 1910, 270–8 nr. 101), della *PIR* (A. Stein, *PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 554) e le schede prosopografiche di vari autori (A. R. Birley, *The African Emperor Septimius Severus*, London 1988, 221 nr. 32), il lavoro di F. Grosso, "Ricerche su Plauziano e gli avvenimenti del suo tempo", *RAL* 23 (1968) 7–58; un'utile messa a punto sul dossier epigrafico, che aggiorna il precedente articolo uscito in *Aquileia Nostra* 50 (1979) 125–52 è G. Alföldy, "Un'iscrizione di Patavium e la titolatura di C. Fulvio Plauziano", in G. Alföldy, *Städte, Eliten und Gesellschaft in der Gallia Cisalpina. Epigraphisch-historische Untersuchungen*, Stuttgart 1999, 129–45, a cui vanno aggiunte le precisazioni cronologiche di M. Christol, "L'épigraphie de Thugga et la carrière de Plautien", in M. Khanoussi – L. Maurin (a cura di), *Dougga (Thugga). Études épigraphiques*, Paris 1997, 127–40 e Id., "Comes per omnes expeditiones. L'adulation de Plautien, préfet du prétoire de Septime Sévère", *CCG* 18 (2007) 217–36 e il recentissimo contributo di M. L. Caldelli, "La titolatura di Plauziano – una messa a punto", *ZPE* 178 (2011) 261–72, con tutta la bibliografia precedente e l'edizione di un nuovo testo dal teatro di Teanum recante una dedica per questo prefetto; desidero ringraziare la prof.ssa M. L. Caldelli per aver messo gentilmente a mia disposizione il testo dell'articolo prima della stampa definitiva.

<sup>16</sup> Traggo questi numeri e queste indicazioni dal contributo di Caldelli (sopra n. 15), 263.

<sup>17</sup> Plauziano compare, tra il 203 e il 205 d. C., come *dominus* di varie *figlinae* già di proprietà imperiale (H. Bloch, *I bolli laterizi e la storia edilizia romana: contributi all'archeologia e alla storia di Roma*, Roma 1947, 292–9), che a seguito della sua *damnatio* torneranno nuovamente in possesso del principe (*figlinae Voconianae, Terentianae, Domitianae, Favorianae, Genianae, Ponticulanae*), cfr. L. Camilli, "Ponticulanae figlinae", in *LTUR: Suburbium* IV, Roma 2006, 219–20; Id., "Terentianae figlinae", *ibid.* V, Roma 2008, 139–40; Id., "Voconianae figlinae", *ibid.* V, Roma 2008, 261–2.

<sup>18</sup> Ch. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome: a Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki 1991, 229–30. Le due fistule sono state rinvenute durante gli scavi per la costruzione del traforo sotto il Quirinale e recano, oltre alla dicitura di prefetto al pretorio e *clarissimus vir*, i nomi dei *procuratores*, caratteristica che le accomuna significativamente a quelle dell'imperatore e che testimonia ancora di più quanto la sete di potere del prefetto lo avesse portato arditamente a considerarsi al pari del principe (Bruun 31; cfr. anche Dio 76, 15, 2b = *Exc. Vat.* 132b, in cui Plauziano è paragonato esplicitamente a un quarto imperatore). Che i rinvenimenti sul Quirinale siano da collegare a un'attività di Plauziano come concessionario di acqua e non come proprietario di una villa è confermato anche dai reperti murari e strutturali (v. E. Lissi Caronna, "Domus: C. Fulvius Plautianus", in *LTUR* II, Roma 1995, 105–6 e W. Eck, *ibid.* 106), che evidenziano un apparato decorativo particolarmente ricco solo a partire dalla fine del III e nella prima metà del IV sec. e non nelle fasi precedenti.

Severo<sup>19</sup> e forse suo parente tramite la madre dell'imperatore, Fulvia Pia,<sup>20</sup> tuttavia la sua ascesa fu velocissima: prefetto dei vigili nel 195,<sup>21</sup> nel 197 compare già come prefetto al pretorio.<sup>22</sup> Superata una prima crisi tra Severo e Plauziano avvenuta forse intorno al 200, nell'aprile del 202 sua figlia Plautilla divenne moglie di Caracalla;<sup>23</sup> nel 203 ottenne il consolato (indicato come consolato *iterum* a seguito degli ornamenti consolari ricevuti già nel 197 – da cui il titolo di *c. v.* – e della cooptazione in senato forse dopo il matrimonio di sua figlia<sup>24</sup>); nel 204, con la morte di Geta, fratello di Settimio Severo, cadde definitivamente in disgrazia e a seguito di un intrigo di palazzo in cui fu coinvolto, non è chiaro se come orditore o come vittima,<sup>25</sup> fu ucciso sul Palatino il 22 gennaio 205 e *damnatus*.

<sup>19</sup> Herodian. 3, 10, 6 si pronuncia per l'origine libica di Plauziano.

<sup>20</sup> F. Chausson, "Variétés généalogiques, 2. Macer avus maternus de Septime Sévère", in *Historiae Augustae Colloquium Perusinum*, Bari 2002, 160–1 e 163 fig. 4 (stemma) ricostruisce un albero genealogico in cui ipotizza che Fulvia Pia, madre di Settimio Severo, possa essere stata figlia di un Fulvius e di una esponente della *gens Plautia*, forse una non attestata sorella di L. Plautius Octavianus; un ignoto e ipotetico fratello di Fulvia Pia potrebbe quindi aver dato i natali a C. Fulvius Plautianus, il futuro *praefectus praetorio*, che verrebbe così a essere il cugino di Settimio Severo.

<sup>21</sup> *CIL* XIV 4380 = *AE* 1889, 125 (*NSA* 1889, 75) = *AE* 1968, 8a (il primo a integrare il nome di Plauziano nell'erosione dell'iscrizione ostiense fu Grosso [sopra n. 15] 13–4).

<sup>22</sup> Caldelli (sopra n. 15) 262 nt. 6.

<sup>23</sup> Secondo D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*, Darmstadt 1996<sup>2</sup>, 162 il matrimonio sarebbe avvenuto tra il 9 e il 15 aprile del 202, nell'anno dei decennali di Settimio Severo (Dio 76,1,2).

<sup>24</sup> Per la cooptazione in senato P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander (180–235 n. Chr.): prosopographische Untersuchungen zur senatorischen Elite im römischen Kaiserreich*, Amsterdam 1989, 66; cfr. anche Christol 2007 (sopra n. 15) 224–5 che ipotizza la cooptazione non prima del 202 e opta per una *adlectio inter consulares* a giustificazione del suo consolato *iterum*, piuttosto che per una *adlectio inter praetorios*.

<sup>25</sup> Contraddittorie da questo punto di vista le cronache di Dione e di Erodiano: il primo in 77, 2–5 attribuisce a Caracalla l'iniziativa dello stratagemma che lo avrebbe poi condotto a dimostrare al padre Settimio Severo la malafede di Plauziano. Herodian. 3,10,5–8 e 3,11–12 attribuisce invece a Plauziano l'idea del complotto ai danni di Severo e Caracalla, poi fallito a causa del tradimento dei tribuni a cui aveva ordinato di uccidere i principi. Un tentativo di conciliazione tra le due versioni, che interpreta il testo di Erodiano come la trasposizione del resoconto ufficiale del senato 'ripulito' delle colpe del giovane principe, è in A. Daguet-Gagey, "C. Fulvius Plautianus, hostis publicus. Rome, 205–208 après J.-C.", in M. H. Quet (a cura di), *La 'Crise' de l'Empire romain de Marc Aurèle à Constantin. Mutations, continuités, ruptures*, Paris 2006, 75.

Come evidenziato già nei numerosi studi che hanno riguardato questo personaggio e come puntualizzato di recente da M. L. Caldelli, le iscrizioni note hanno permesso di ricostruire lo sviluppo di una titolatura accresciutasi nel tempo, mano a mano che le tappe della sua carriera e la sua posizione di potere all'interno della casa imperiale si rafforzavano. Questo risulterà particolarmente utile per definire sia la cronologia, che le integrazioni della lastra onoraria di Cassino.

A parte il titolo di *praefectus praetorio*, che detiene dal 197 e il titolo di *clarissimus vir* attestato la prima volta il 9 giugno del 197,<sup>26</sup> entrambi presenti nella dedica di Cassino, peculiare, anzi esclusivo, è il titolo di *necessarius*, la cui prima attestazione si ritrova in un'iscrizione da Leptis Magna, del 199–200<sup>27</sup> e forse, secondo una plausibile ipotesi di Caldelli, già nell'iscrizione di Lugdunum, databile probabilmente tra il 197–198 d.C., subito dopo la sconfitta definitiva di Clodio Albino.<sup>28</sup> Questo ricorre praticamente in tutti testi, salvo i casi in cui per brevità non ci si limiti sinteticamente solo alla prefettura e al clarissimato.<sup>29</sup>

Per quanto diffuso già nell'epistolario ciceroniano come uno dei termini tipici del linguaggio clientelare, il significato di *necessarius* nel caso di Plauziano è discusso: parente, amico, uomo di fiducia e indispensabile collaboratore sono probabilmente solo alcuni dei significati a cui il prefetto del pretorio voleva alludere fregiandosi di questo appellativo.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *CIL* VI 224 cfr. pp. 3004, 3755 = *ILS* 2185, proveniente dai *castra Severiana* degli *equites singulares* sotto S. Giovanni in Laterano.

<sup>27</sup> *AE* 1967, 537 su cui si sono alternate varie proposte di lettura: M. Corbier, "Plautien, comes de Septime-Sévère", in *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé*, Rome 1974, 213–7 = *AE* 1976, 696; L. Gasperini, "Note di epigrafia lepcitana", in *Africa Romana* V, 1988, 155–8 = *AE* 1988, 1099; definitiva sembra la lettura *amico et necessario* proposta da Di Vita-Evrard (cfr. Christol 1997 [sopra n. 15] 137); la datazione, viste le dediche analoghe poste dagli stessi dedicanti per altri membri della casa imperiale, si può restringere tra il 10 dic. 199 e 9 dic. 200 (ottava potestà tribunizia di Settimio Severo e terza di Caracalla).

<sup>28</sup> Caldelli (sopra n. 15) 265.

<sup>29</sup> *Necessarius* è in *CIL* XIII 1681 (Lugdunum); *AE* 1967, 537 (Leptis Magna); *CIL* XI 1337 (Luna); *ILAfr.* 564 (Thugga); *CIL* V 2821 (Patavium); *CIL* XI 8050 (Tuficum); nell'iscrizione greca *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 4216 (Eleusi) è forse integrabile ἀναγκαῖος. Nel *P. Col.* VI, 123, contenente un rescritto di Settimio Severo databile al 16 marzo 200, Plauziano è definito οἰκεῖος degli imperatori, termine che (come notato anche da Christol 1997 [sopra n. 15] 136) costituisce molto probabilmente la trasposizione greca di *necessarius*, in un periodo ben anteriore al matrimonio di Plautilla. Il meno appropriato *adfinis dominorum nostrorum Augustorum* si trova invece in *CIL* III 6075 = *ILS* 1366 da Efeso.

<sup>30</sup> A chi ha pensato a una voluta esaltazione del legame originario di parentela con la casa

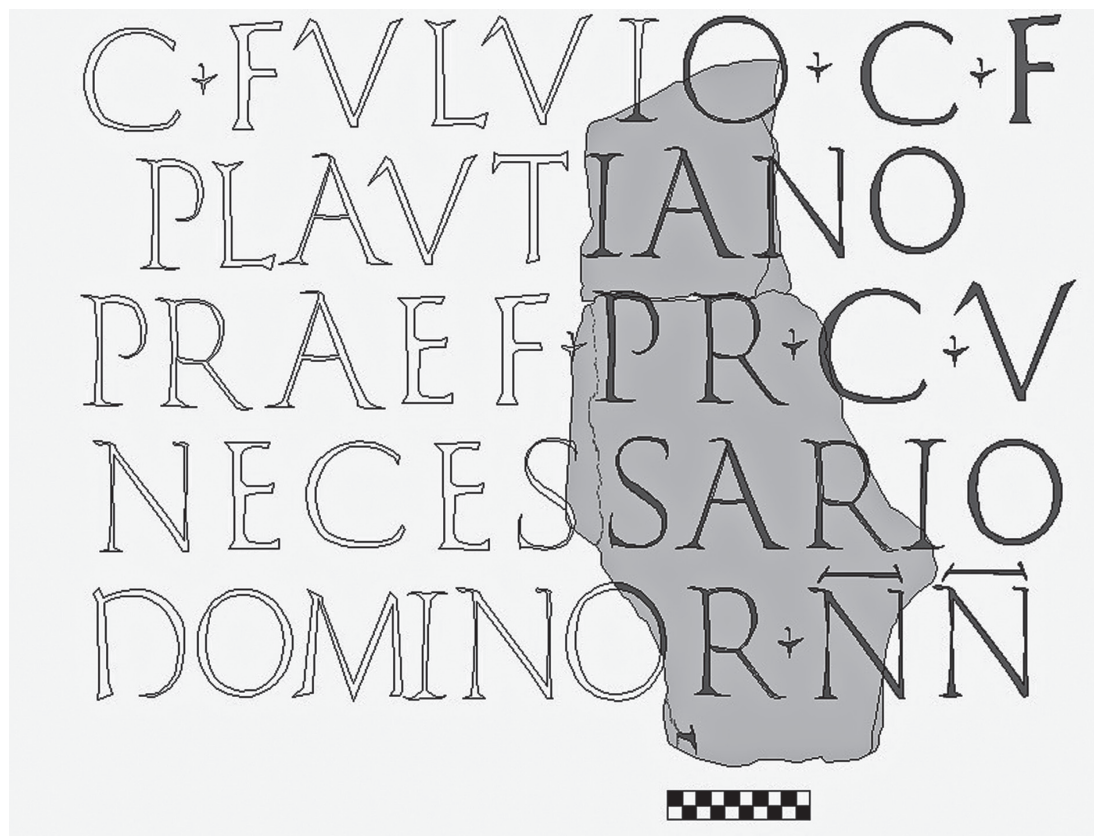


Fig. 2 – Ricostruzione in Autocad delle prime cinque righe (a cura della dott.ssa I. Gabrielli). In nero le lettere conservate e quelle viste dal Mommsen.

Il completamento del testo cassinate risulta a questo punto particolarmente agevole per le prime cinque righe: in r. 1 l'integrazione obbligata di cinque lettere, [C. Fulv]io, permette di escludere con una certa sicurezza la presenza della tribù prima del cognome in r. 2.<sup>31</sup> In r. 3 l'abbreviazione della prefettura non può essere troppo stringata, quindi bisognerà ipotizzare [praef.] pr.;<sup>32</sup> tutta la r. 5 è occupata dalla qualifica di *necessarius*,<sup>33</sup> mentre in ultima riga integrerei [Do-

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regnante, si è opposto Alföldy 1999 (sopra n. 15) 139–42, che pensa piuttosto alla propaganda nata nel momento in cui si prefigurava il matrimonio di Plautilla con Caracalla. Questa tesi è però contraddetta dalla datazione dell'epigrafe leptitana *AE* 1967, 537 al 199–200, la più risalente attestazione di questo titolo (v. sopra n. 27), a cui si aggiunge il *P. Col.* VI, 123 citato a n. precedente, in cui molto verosimilmente οἰκῆτορ deve essere interpretato come traduzione di *necessarius* (contra Alföldy 1999 [sopra n. 15] 140–1).

<sup>31</sup> La tribù manca anche nelle iscrizioni *AE* 1967, 537 e *IRT* 524 (entrambe da Leptis Magna), *IL Afr.* 564, *CIL* XIII 1681 e nei testi greci *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 4216 e *MAMA* 467.

<sup>32</sup> Prefettura al pretorio e clarissimato occupano sempre le prime due posizioni della titolatura, anche in ordine inverso.

<sup>33</sup> Motivi di spazio non permettono di integrare la congiunzione *ac* o *et* prima di *necessario*,

*min]or(um) nn.*<sup>34</sup> Al di sotto di questa si intravede un tratto curvo con graffia, compatibile con una *C* o *G*, che rende certa la continuazione del testo almeno per un'altra riga; uno spazio chiaramente anepigrafe dopo questo resto di lettera può far immaginare una impaginazione molto spaziata o in alternativa la presenza di una sigla centrata, la cui ultima lettera (*C* o *G*) non risulta compatibile con altre espressioni della titolatura di Plauziano. Da uno spoglio delle attestazioni vediamo che *necessarius* è seguito talvolta dalla formula *Augustorum*,<sup>35</sup> più comune *dominorum nostrorum* semplice<sup>36</sup> oppure *dominorum nostrorum Auggg.*;<sup>37</sup> possibile anche *necessarius dominorum nostrorum Imperatorum*<sup>38</sup> e il ridondante *necessarius dominorum nostrorum Imperatorum Augustorum*,<sup>39</sup> un unico caso di *dominorum nostrorum / [---] principum* seguito dal nome degli imperatori.<sup>40</sup> Nel

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che troviamo spesso in altre dediche (*CIL* XI 1337 = *ILS* 1328 da Luni; *IRT* 530a = *AE* 1952, 83 da Leptis Magna; nelle due iscrizioni da Thugga *IL Afr.* 564 e 565; *CIL* VI 227, posta dagli *equites singulares* probabilmente prima del 201; *CIL* VIII 25526 da Bulla Regia; *AE* 1967, 537 da Leptis Magna; *AE* 1906, 25 = *ILS* 9004 da Thamugadi).

<sup>34</sup> Da escludere per motivi di spazio l'integrazione *necessario [Imperat]or(um) NN*, oltretutto meno frequente. Non bisogna troppo meravigliarsi della doppia e non tripla *N* in r. 5, dato che ricorre in altri documenti; Alföldy 1999 (sopra n. 15) 138 pensa si tratti di un errore, in realtà è forse un plurale generico come ricorre anche in *CIL* VI 227 e *CIL* VI 1074; mentre per *necessario / dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum) Seve/ri et Antonini* in *CIL* XI 8050 = *ILS* 9003 da Tuficum e *necessario] dominor(um) nn(ostrorum) / [---] principum / [Severi et Ant]onini Augg(ustorum)* in *CIL* XIII 1681 = *ILS* 1328a da Lugdunum le doppie *D* e *N* sono giustificate dalla menzione dei due soli Settimio Severo e Caracalla.

<sup>35</sup> *CIL* VI 1074 (cfr. pp. 3777, 4322) = *ILS* 456 = *AE* 1954, 245 = *AE* 2007, 208 per cui cfr. anche Alföldy 1999 (sopra n. 15) nr. 6 e Christol 2007 (sopra n. 15) 221–4; in erasione anche in *IRT* 292 = *IRT Suppl.* 24 = Alföldy 1999 (sopra n. 15) 134 nr. 14.

<sup>36</sup> Leptis Magna: *IRT* 530a = *AE* 1952, 83; Thamugadi: *AE* 1906, 25 = *ILS* 9004; Luna: *CIL* XI 1337 = *ILS* 1328; Viminacium: *IMS* II 67; Thugga (in erasione): *IL Afr.* 565 = M. Khanoussi – L. Maurin (a c. di), *Dougga. Fragments d'histoire: choix d'inscriptions latines éditées, traduites et commentées (Ier-IVe siècles)*, Bordeaux 2000, 37 nr. 13; Patavium (integrato): *CIL* V 2821 = *AE* 1979, 294.

<sup>37</sup> Thugga: *IL Afr.* 564 = Khanoussi – Maurin (sopra n. 36) 36 nr. 12; Teanum: Caldelli (sopra n. 15); Tuficum (seguito dal nome degli imperatori): *CIL* XI 8050 (*necessario / dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Augg(ustorum) Seve/ri et Antonini*).

<sup>38</sup> Ricostruibile nell'iscrizione ostiense *CIL* XIV 4392, secondo Alföldy 1999 (sopra n. 15) 142–5: [*necessario*] / *domino[rum nostrorum Imperatorum] / L(uci) Septimi Se[veri Pii ---]*.

<sup>39</sup> Leptis Magna: *AE* 1967, 537; Bulla Regia (seguito dal nome degli imperatori): *CIL* VIII 25526.

<sup>40</sup> Lugdunum: *CIL* XIII 1681 = *ILS* 1328a.

testo di Cassino si potrebbe forse ipotizzare la formula *necessarius dominorum nostrorum Augg(ustorum)*, in modo che *Augg.* occupi tutta la r. 6, con la prima *G* coincidente con il residuo di lettera sulla pietra. Tuttavia, dopo le ricostruzioni in Autocad realizzate, si è dovuta escludere questa possibilità, visto che tutta la riga verrebbe ad essere troppo sbilanciata verso sinistra.<sup>41</sup> Impossibile anche restituire in questo punto i nomi degli imperatori (e.g. *Severi et Antonini* o *Severi et Antonini et Getae*), poiché l'apice residuo non risulta compatibile con nessuna delle lettere della loro formula onomastica.

Certamente nelle righe successive non doveva essere ricordato il consolato *iterum*, che ricorre, nelle epigrafi in cui con certezza se ne ha menzione, come a Tuficum (*CIL* XI 8050), subito dopo la prefettura e il clarissimato.<sup>42</sup> Vista la particolare importanza che questa carica doveva ricoprire nel *cursus*, la sua assenza credo non possa essere in alcun modo relegata tra gli *argumenta ex silentio*, ma che al contrario debba essere interpretata come *terminus ante quem*: il documento andrà dunque collocato tra quel gruppo di dediche innalzate in onore del potente prefetto prima del 203.

Lo sviluppo verticale del testo e la semplicità del formulario sembrano trovare un significativo riscontro nelle dediche di Lugdunum<sup>43</sup> e Luna,<sup>44</sup> dove al nome in dativo di *Plautianus* e ai consueti titoli di prefetto al pretorio, *clarissi-*

<sup>41</sup> Il lavoro di ricostruzione in Autocad portato avanti con competenza e disponibilità dalla dott.ssa Ilaria Gabrielli, a cui esprimo la mia gratitudine, è risultato fondamentale per verificare la fondatezza o meno di alcune ipotesi di integrazione: oltre ad AVGG. in r. 6, si sono potute escludere la presenza della tribù *Quirina* in r. 2 e l'integrazione *Imperator(um) nn(ostrorum)* in r. 5, oltre che la pertinenza del tratto residuo di lettera in r. 6 a una *S*, ipotizzata in una prima fase di studio.

<sup>42</sup> Nell'iscrizione da Teanum, anche se il consolato è di integrazione, la sua posizione dopo il clarissimato e la prefettura e prima di *necessarius*, può considerarsi sicura, visto il riferimento all'*adlectio in patricias familias* nelle righe successive. Unica altra iscrizione che conserva la menzione del consolato *iterum* di Plautiano è *IG* II/III<sup>2</sup> 4216 da Eleusi, che tuttavia, trattandosi di testo in lingua greca, presenta formulario e impostazione diversi. Stessa problematica si presenta anche per *MAMA* X 467 così come integrata di recente da R. Haensch, "Eine Ehreninschrift für C. Fulvius Plautianus: *MAMA* X 467", *ZPE* 101 (1994) 233–8.

<sup>43</sup> *CIL* XIII 1681 = *ILS* 1328a: [C(aio) Fulvio P]lautiano / [praef(ecto) pr]aet(orio) c(larissimo) v(iro) / [necessario] dominor(um) nn(ostrorum) / [---] principum / [Severi et Ant]onini Augg(ustorum) / [et Getae nob(ilissimi)] Caesaris / [t]res / [provinciae Galliae].

<sup>44</sup> *CIL* XI 1337 = *ILS* 1328: C(aio) Fulv[io] / C(ai)f(ilio) Qu[ir(ina)] / Plautian[o] / praef(ecto) p[raet(orio)] / ac ne[necessario] / dom[inorum nn(ostrorum)] / ex con[sensu ord(inis)] / plebisq[ue Lunens(is)]. Cfr. G. Ciampoltrini, "Appunti sull'Etruria settentrionale in età severiana", *SCO* 42 (1992) 225–8 con tav. Xa.

*mus vir e necessarius* degli Augusti, seguono semplicemente i dedicanti: forse le tre Gallie nel primo caso, l'*ordo* e la *plebs* di Luni nel secondo. Entrambe queste iscrizioni, considerata la mancanza di ulteriori e ampollosi titoli, sembrano rientrare nel gruppo di dediche che segnano i primi significativi passi dell'ascesa di Plauziano, prima dell'acme conseguente il matrimonio di Plautilla con il giovane Caracalla.<sup>45</sup> Analogamente nella r. 6 dell'iscrizione di Cassino si potrebbe integrare una formula abbreviata per i dedicanti (che andranno verosimilmente identificati con il corpo civico della città di Cassino), del tipo *d(ecuriones) C(asinates)* o *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) C(asinatium)* o ancora *r(es) p(ublica) C(asinatium)*, anche se quest'ultima sembra la meno probabile.<sup>46</sup>

Il tipo di supporto (lastra e non base) e le dimensioni totali della lastra così come computabili a seguito della ricostruzione grafica, che non superano i 70 cm in larghezza, potrebbero lasciar immaginare la presenza di lastre iscritte contigue, poste a foderare un basamento comune per le statue di più personaggi, similmente a quanto accade a Ostia,<sup>47</sup> dove al nome di Plauziano si affianca, in una colonna a sinistra, la dedica per il figlio (Plauzio Ortensiano), mentre nella parte perduta a destra poteva plausibilmente trovare posto la dedica per Plautilla, venendo così a configurare un vero e proprio gruppo statuario "dinastico" parallelo e complementare a quello della casa regnante, che troverebbe giustificazione dopo il fidanzamento (201)<sup>48</sup> e il matrimonio (202)<sup>49</sup> di Plautilla con Caracalla.

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<sup>45</sup> Nuove datazioni sono proposte da Caldelli (sopra n. 15) 265 per Lugdunum e Luna: nel primo caso è del tutto plausibile una datazione intorno al 197/198, subito dopo la spedizione contro Clodio Albino, conclusasi proprio a Lione con una vittoriosa battaglia, mentre per l'iscrizione di Luni è stata proposta una datazione al 201 – aprile 202 (vista la presenza a Luni di una iscrizione anche per Plautilla, definita ancora *sponsa* di Caracalla).

<sup>46</sup> Da escludere la formula *ex c(onscriptorum) c(onsulto) C(asinatium)*, frequente fino all'età giulio-claudia e mai attestata in età severiana.

<sup>47</sup> *CIL* XIV 4392 (50 x 90, sp. 2,5; lett. 7 / 9 / 4 / 3,5).

<sup>48</sup> Sulla base di alcune iscrizioni per Plautilla in cui questa compare contemporaneamente con i titoli di *Augusta* e di *sponsa* – quindi *fidanzata* di Caracalla – Christol dimostra convincentemente come la propaganda messa in atto dall'ambizioso prefetto del pretorio celebrasse i nuovi legami familiari instauratisi con la casa imperiale, ancora prima della cerimonia ufficiale del matrimonio e quindi già dal fidanzamento tra Plautilla e Caracalla. La data del fidanzamento, ricostruita per via indiziaria dall'A. sulla base di alcune erasioni presenti su miliarii dell'Asia Minore, può essere così ipotizzata intorno alla metà del 201 (Christol 1997 [sopra n. 15] 134–6).

<sup>49</sup> Cfr. sopra n. 23.



In questo caso si potrebbe pensare a integrare nelle righe mancanti la qualifica di *socer et consocer* degli imperatori,<sup>50</sup> che trarrebbe motivazione proprio dal nuovo legame di parentela instauratosi con i principi; tuttavia, dopo aver già escluso per i motivi anzidetti la possibilità di integrare nella r. 6 l'onomastica imperiale e l'altrettanto improbabile *Augg(ustorum)*, anche questa possibilità non risulta supportata dai resti sulla pietra e dai tentativi di ricostruzione in Autocad.

Sembra, pertanto, più corretto lasciare il campo aperto a future ipotesi, fornendo questa prudente trascrizione del testo (ricostruzione nella fig. 2):

[C. Fulv]io C.f.  
 [Plaut]iano  
 [prae]f(ecto) pr(aetorio), c(larissimo) v(iro),  
 [neces]sario  
 5 [domin]or(um) nn(ostrorum)  
 [- - -]C[- - -?]  
 - - - - - ?

Tra il materiale epigrafico relativo a *Casinum* non è stato possibile rintracciare nessun altro frammento graficamente compatibile con la dedica a Plauziano, nonostante in età severiana si registri, per questo centro, un discreto numero di dediche imperiali, quantitativamente superiori a quelle conservate per i periodi precedenti. L'esistenza di due basi con dedica a Settimio Severo, l'una posta da un *pagus Lapillanus*<sup>51</sup> in un anno incerto, l'altra dal *collegium aeneatorum*,<sup>52</sup> tra il 10 dic. 199 e il 9 dic. 200 d.C. (*tribunicia potestas VIII*), a cui si aggiungono una base per Caracalla eretta nel 197 (in cui compare come *imperator destinatus*), e un'ulteriore dedica per questo principe molto frammentaria e di datazione incerta,<sup>53</sup> costituiscono un'ulteriore conferma che negli anni precedenti al 203, anno del consolato effettivo di Plauziano, la presenza severiana nel cassinate era

<sup>50</sup> Questo titolo ricorre, oltre che ad Ostia, a Thugga (*ILAfr.* 564) e, se è corretta la nuova integrazione del testo da Urso (Baetica) in *CIL* II<sup>2</sup>/5 1027 = *CIL* II 1405 = *CILA* II, 3, 617 = *Hisp. Epigr.* 7 (1997), nr. 889; *Hisp. Epigr.* 9 (1999), nr. 516; ed è integrato a Patavium (*CIL* V 2821) e in una seconda iscrizione da Thugga (*ILAfr.* 565). Un analogo gruppo di basi per Plauziano e forse Plautilla è ipotizzabile anche per Teanum, dove tuttavia, tra le integrazioni possibili del testo non sembra trovare spazio la definizione di *socer et consocer* degli Augusti.

<sup>51</sup> L'iscrizione sembra sia stata rinvenuta presso il teatro (Bongianelli); secondo Masciola, sarebbe stata trovata nel 1747 dai soldati Farnesiani che buttarono giù, sperando di trovarvi un tesoro, la parete meridionale della torre "imminentis praedio Petrarconiano" (*CIL* X 5172).

<sup>52</sup> *CIL* X 5173, conservata nell'abbazia di Montecassino.

<sup>53</sup> A. Pantoni – A. Giannetti, "Iscrizioni latine e greche di Montecassino", *RAL* 26 (1971) 433 nr. 5.

di un certo rilievo e contribuiscono a rafforzare l'ipotesi che la dedica posta da Cassino al megalomane prefetto del pretorio possa risalire a un periodo non troppo avanzato della sua carriera, ipoteticamente tra il 197 e il 200, nello stretto giro di anni in cui sia *pagi* che *collegia* locali hanno ritenuto di dover onorare Settimio Severo e Caracalla.

Dell'iscrizione cassinate stupiscono particolarmente l'elevata qualità di esecuzione e l'eleganza, caratteristiche che, per quanto mi è noto, non trovano confronto nel materiale locale di quest'epoca, nemmeno tra le suddette dediche imperiali. Molto simile risulta, invece, la paleografia dell'epigrafe per Plauziano da Lione: simili le incisioni delle lettere, il modulo non troppo allungato e una certa ricercata eleganza. Si potrebbe quindi supporre l'intervento di officine lapidarie gestite direttamente dal potere centrale o la presenza di lapidisti al seguito della corte quando questa viaggiava. In ogni caso la distanza tra Roma e Cassino non è tale da impedire di pensare a uno spostamento *ad hoc* di maestranze romane.

Anche se non è obbligatorio ipotizzare che le dediche in onore della casa imperiale da parte delle amministrazioni cittadine implicassero una presenza *in loco* dei principi, il recente rinvenimento della dedica a Plauziano nel teatro di Teanum, dove la presenza severiana è decisamente determinante, credo che possa essere un valido punto di partenza, da sottoporre ad adeguata verifica storico-archeologica, per ipotizzare un effettivo passaggio della corte nel cassinate, vista la collocazione di entrambi i centri lungo la via Latina, a distanza non eccessiva l'uno dall'altro.

L'iscrizione di Cassino, pur non aggiungendo nulla di nuovo sulla figura e sulla carriera di Plauziano, ne conferma la straordinaria sete di potere e la capacità di imporsi sulla scena politica e clientelare non solo dell'Italia, ma dell'Impero in generale. Anche Cassino, che non si era tirata indietro nel manifestare la lealtà municipale al potente prefetto, si adeguerà alla *damnatio memoriae* decretata dal senato nel 205 e distruggerà quanto aveva eretto in suo onore appena qualche anno prima. Al contrario di quanto accaduto per altre dediche onorarie al potente prefetto, a Cassino si è proceduto, oltre che all'abbattimento delle statue, anche al distacco e alla distruzione della lastra, che risulta così spezzata e frammentata esattamente come a Tuficum e Luni, invece che semplicemente erasa come nella maggior parte delle altre epigrafi.



**]pa-ko-qe (KN Ch 5728): A NEW OX NAME FROM KNOSSOS?**

ΜΙΚΑ ΚΑΙΑΒΑ

The Ch series of the linear B tablets from Knossos constitutes an interesting group of texts with oxen's names, all apparently written by the palace scribe "No. 110" (*KT*<sup>5</sup> pp. 50–1). On some twenty records, listing the names of the pairs of working oxen, the animals are identified with descriptive names drawing on their physical characteristics, especially their colouring. In Ch 897, for example, the oxen allocated to the herdsman Ep<sup>h</sup>oros (gen. *e-po-ro-jo*) are styled as *to-ma-ko wo-no-qa-so-qa*, that is, "White-muzzled" (στόμαργος) and "Wine-dark, Ruddy" (οἶνοψ), unless the latter name means "with wine-dark croup" (*/Woinok<sup>w</sup>-orsos/*).<sup>1</sup> The documents further show names such as *a<sub>3</sub>-wo-ro*, "Speckled", i. e., of variegated colour (αἰόλος, Ch 896, 898, 1029, 5754, 5938); *ko-so-u-to*, "Tawny" (ξουθός, Ch 900); *ke-ra-no*, "Black" (κελαινός, Ch 896–7); *po-da-ko*, "White-footed" (πόδαργος, Ch 899, 1029), and *]a-ko-ro-we-i*, "of uniform colour" (ἄχροος, Ch 7100).<sup>2</sup> Even the name *a<sub>3</sub>-zo-ro-(qa)* (Ch 1029, 1034), if (plausibly) taken to mean */aisk<sup>h</sup>ros/* (αἰσχρός),<sup>3</sup> would have served to identify an ox

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lejeune 1971: 384 ("à la croupe rougeâtre"); Killen 1992–93: 101–2 (possibly); *DMic*, s. v.; Chantraine 2009, s. v. ὄρος (Suppl.).

<sup>2</sup> This adjective also occurs at Pylos in connexion with oxen, though in a sacrificial context (PY Cn 418; cf. Palaima 1989: 104–6; Killen 1994: 79; Hajnal 1995: 147–8; Kohl 2007: 18–9). As for the form *]a-ko-ro-we-i*, Killen 1992–93: 104–5 may be right to suggest that it is a dative singular rather than a variant spelling of the dual in *-e*. Thus the names of the two oxen could have been recorded as follows: "[oxherd's name (a part of which may be preserved in the probably joining Ch 7937) + name of the first animal *me-ta* (or *ku-su*)] *a-ko-ro-we-i*". For *a-ko-ro-we* (with copulative *a-*), see Farci 2007: 22–5, with compelling and original arguments in favour of the meaning "of uniform colour" (e. g., the appearance of the two types, *Katerini* and *Sykia*, of the endangered indigenous *Steppe* breed, and the Hesychian gloss on ἀχροῖην· ὁμόχρῳιαν, καὶ συγχρωματισμόν).

<sup>3</sup> Palmer 1979: 278; Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 177.

by indicating some physical defect or deformity. In no case do both animals of a pair have the same name. Descriptive names such as these obviously served a function. It would have been in the interests of the palace to identify and mark the precious ploughing animals so that they could not be replaced by inferior ones. A fraudulent herdsman might indeed have tried to substitute a weaker ox for the one he had been assigned. The palace administration at Knossos evidently kept detailed records of the oxen (and other animals) in its possession, giving them individual names based on immediately recognizable physical features to prevent possible fraud.<sup>4</sup>

However, at least two of the names still remain mysterious, i. e., Ch 5724+6005+frr.: ]qe wa-no-qe BOS<sup>m</sup> ZE 1[, and Ch 5728: ]pa-ko-qe BOS<sup>m</sup>[. What the former name (*wa-no*) means I do not know, but for the latter a solution seems possible.<sup>5</sup> Although, in principle, the sequence *-ako* could be understood in several ways (*-ᾶγος*, *-αγχος*, *-αιγος*, *-αλγος*, *-αλκος*, *-αρκος*, *-αρχος*),<sup>6</sup> it is very likely that this ox name may be compared with *po-da-ko* (*Podargos*) and *to-ma-ko*<sup>7</sup> (*Stomargos*), which are both known from the same Ch records at Knossos. Moreover, since not only the *-argos* names, but also almost all the other names of the series somehow seem to indicate the physical appearance of the animals, their colouring in particular, it is a reasonable guess that ]pa-ko belongs to the

<sup>4</sup> Thus plausibly argued by Killen 1992–93: 102–3, cf. Bartoněk 2003: 412–3; Landenius Enegren 2004: 14; McInerney 2010: 50. According to another view, the pairs of oxen listed on the records were sacrificial animals: Godart – Tzedakis 1993: 242–3. If so, one wonders how an ox called /*aisk<sup>h</sup>ros*/ could be sacrificed to gods. – For the administration and management of livestock breeding at Knossos, see now Greco 2010.

<sup>5</sup> The reading ]pa-ko-qe seems to be generally accepted (the photograph published in *CoMIK* III p. 122 makes it very likely that the fragmentary first sign, marked as uncertain by Bennett, *KT*<sup>2</sup> p. 14, is, in fact, *pa*). The alternative reading ]*da-ko-qe* by Ventris, obviously influenced by *po-da-ko* (Ch 899, 1029), has been followed by Petruševski 1968: 680 and Lejeune 1971: 381 (but cf. p. 383: "mais lecture ... ]*pako* également possible"). Whether the particle *-qe* was doubled remains unknown: Ruijgh 1967: 297. Cf. Morpurgo 1963, s. v.; *DMic* II 75.

<sup>6</sup> Lejeune 1971: 385 n. 29.

<sup>7</sup> The variant *tu-ma-ko* /*Stumargos*/ appears in the Knossos C series (KN C 973) together with the problematic *a<sub>3</sub>-wa*, perhaps shorthand for *a<sub>3</sub>-wo-ro*, "Speckled", rather than representing the name *Aias* (*pace* Mühlestein 1967: 43–52). *Tu-ma-ko* is unlikely to represent \**θύμαρχος*, "valiant" (cf. Lejeune 1971: 386: "ne saurait être, *a priori*, écarté"), or \**θύμαργος*, "lively-spirited" (thus Chantraine 1963: 15). Although referring to colouring, \**θύμαργος*, "with white goiter", is not particularly attractive (Lejeune 1971: 386: "est à la rigueur admissible, mais ne séduit guère").

same category.<sup>8</sup> If this is so, I would suggest that we are dealing with *re-]pa-ko-qe* BOS<sup>m</sup> (Υ†Φ⊗Φ), i. e., λέπαργος, "with white coat". Significantly, this rare compound adjective is used of oxen and other animals in later poetry, just as *wono-qo-so* /woinoq<sup>u</sup>s/ is in Homer (βόε οἴνοπε *Il.* 13,703, etc.; but cf. above n. 1). It is no less important that most of the Mycenaean oxen's names of the Knossos Cn set have survived as poetic terms either in Homer or in post-Homeric poetry, and some are also found in prose sources. Although these adjectival names frequently assumed new meanings in reference to various animals, objects, or even abstractions, it is noteworthy that their original, Mycenaean-type usage seems to emerge after Homer, especially (though not exclusively) in the poetry of the Greek mainland as well as in prose writing.<sup>9</sup>

The rare adjective λέπαργος seems to fit this pattern fairly well. It occurs as the epithet of an ox in what may be a tragic fragment of unknown date, perhaps in dochmiac verse: λεπάργου βοός (*TrGF* II adesp. F \*231). Even though the etymological explanations given by Hesychius and others are wrong,<sup>10</sup> the reported meaning of λέπαργος, "with white coat (or flanks)", sounds quite apposite, as the first element (λεπ-) is evidently related to λέπος, "rind, husk, scale", λοπός, "peel, hide", λώπη, "mantle, coat", and similar derivatives that are all connected with the verb λέπω, "to peel, to bark".<sup>11</sup>

Interestingly, although a poetic word, λέπαργος seems to have survived also as a denomination of quadrupeds almost in the Mycenaean fashion. In Theocr. 4,45, it appears as the proper name of a calf (*Whitey, Blanche*, sim.), together with that of a heifer, *Kymaitha* (45–6: σίτθ', ὁ Λέπαργος, / σίτθ', ἅ Κυμαίθα, ποτὶ

<sup>8</sup> This was duly opined by Godart – Tzedakis 1993: 240, but they did not pursue the issue further: "il est probable que l'animal qui était dit ]pa-ko en Ch 5728 avait une partie du corps (différente des pattes et du museau) de couleur blanche."

<sup>9</sup> Recurrence of Mycenaean oxen's names in Greek literature: Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 175–81. Mycenaean compound nouns (and names): Meissner – Tribulato 2002. Univerbation of Myc. oxen's names in *-argos* (and of other similar forms): Tribulato 2006: 166–7, pointing out that, in all probability, *po-da-ko* and *to-ma-ko* represent univerbated names rather than syntagms ([*stóm<sup>(a)</sup> argós*], [*pód<sup>(a)</sup> argós*]).

<sup>10</sup> Hsch. λεπάργου βοός· τοῦ λαπάρας λευκάς ἔχοντος ἢ ὅλον τὸ δέρμα; similarly, Phot. *Lex.* λ 192: λέπαργοι· οἱ τὰς λαπάρας λευκάς ἔχοντες, and Eust. ad *Od.* I, p. 78, 5–6: ὁ λέπαργος βοῦς ἦτοι ὁ λαπάρας ἔχων λευκάς.

<sup>11</sup> Chantraine 2009, s. v. λέπω (note that λέπαργος, "à la peau blanche", is recorded under ἀργός; the word does not seem to figure in Frisk 1960–72 nor in Beekes 2010). For early occurrences, cf. κρομύοιο λοπός, onion peel (*Hom. Od.* 19,233); δίπτυχος λώπη, of a mantle (*Od.* 13,224).

τὸν λόφον. οὐκ ἔσρακούεις;),<sup>12</sup> and in Call. *Aet.* fr. 24,19, the isolated Λ<sub>1</sub>έπ<sub>1</sub>αργε may well be the name of one of King Theiodamas' oxen killed by Heracles, as suggested by a papyrus gloss ("in marg. superiore"): Λ[έ]παργε, ὄν(ομα) τ(οῦ) ταύρ(ου)· ἐὰν δὲ λεπαργέ, λευκὲ κ(α)τ(ὰ) τ(ὸ) τ(ὸ) λέπο[ς] ἀργὸν ἔχειν] (*sic*; Pfeiffer, vol. I p. 34 = fr. 26 Massimilla = fr. 25 Asper).<sup>13</sup> Here one should note that the scholiast's remark on the alternative accentuation need not be taken to mean that the two explanations are mutually exclusive. In fact, it may well be that in these cases, Λέπαργος, besides being an individual name, also serves to describe the animals' colouring.<sup>14</sup>

A further instance of a quadruped styled as λέπαργος occurs in a passage of Nicander's *Theriaca* (incidentally, in exactly the middle of a sequence of nine acrostich lines giving the signature of ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ), where the term stands for an ass carrying the gift (of eternal youth) provided by Zeus to lazy humans.<sup>15</sup> The ancient commentaries correctly refer to the animal's white coat, though, again, with popular explanations.<sup>16</sup> However, considering that the pack animal of this myth was an ass (*teste* Ael. *NA* 6,51), and since asses are ash-grey rather than

<sup>12</sup> *Whitey* (Gow 1950), *Blanche* (Verity 2002, giving Κόμαιθα as *Fruity*); cf. J. M. Edmonds, *The Greek Bucolic Poets* (Loeb ed. 1912): "Hey up, Snowdrop! hey up, Goodbody! to the hill wi' ye! Art thou deaf?" – Schol.f (with wrong etymologies but with right substance): λέπαργος· ὁ λευκός, ἢ ὁ λευκοποίκιλος. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ λέπας ἔχειν ἀργόν, ὃ ἐστὶ λευκὸν ἔχειν τὸ δέρμα· ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκός εἶναι κατὰ τὴν λαπάραν; Schol.g: λέπαργος· ὁ λευκός παρὰ τὸ ἔχειν λέπας ἀργόν, ἢ γουν δέρμα λευκόν, ἢ λευκός κατὰ τὴν λαπάραν.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Nisetich 2001: 77 (transl. "with gleaming coat"): "Has Theiodamas finished his rude dismissal of Heracles with an order to his favourite ox, 'Come along now, Shiny', or is this the narrator, addressing the ox Heracles picks out for dinner?"

<sup>14</sup> Gow 1950: 87 (vol. II) was likely to be right in his comment on the name *Lepargos* in Theocr. 4,45: "though a name, is still conscious of its function as a descriptive adjective". Note also that some connection is possible between the Theocritean passage and the *Aetia* fragment (telling the story of Heracles and Theiodamas), cf. Barigazzi 1976: 237–8.

<sup>15</sup> Nic. *Ther.* 349–50: Νωθεῖς γὰρ κάμνοντες ἀμορβεύοντο λεπάργω / δῶρα· ("for, being sluggards and growing weary, they entrusted the gift to an ass for carriage", transl. Gow – Scholfield, Cambridge 1953). In some translations, the ass (λέπαργος) is given the epithet of "slow" (e. g., J.-M. Jacques, Budé ed. 2002: "lent grison"; G. Spatafora, Roma 2007: "lento asino"), as if associating the term with λήθαργος (?), cf. Schol. *Nic.* 423b (next note).

<sup>16</sup> Schol. *Nic.* 349b: λεπάργω τῷ ὄνῳ, παρὰ τὸ ἔχειν τὴν λαγόνα λευκὴν; in 423b, the scholiast notes in passing that λέπαργος comes from λέπος, but the context is otherwise fantastic: λάθαργος τὸ λευκὸν λέπισμα· ἀπὸ τοῦ 'λέπος' λέπαργος καὶ λέφαργος, ἦτοι τροπῇ τοῦ δασέως εἰς δασὺ καὶ τοῦ ε εἰς η, καὶ τοῦ η εἰς α; cf. further Etym. M. (on Nic. *Ther.* 349): Τῷ ὄνῳ. Ἐπεὶ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν κοιλίαν λευκός.

*lepargoi*, it may be that here Nicander adopted a term typically used of oxen (and cattle). Perhaps this is indicative of λέπαργος having gradually become a common denomination for draft animals and beasts of burden alike.<sup>17</sup> A proverb reported in Suda (α 2090) might also point in this direction: ἀνὰ σοὶ τάδε πάντα, λέπαργε, probably implying the loading of considerable burdens on a single person's shoulders. The metaphorical use of λέπαργος would be explained by the custom among farmers to make the stronger of a pair of draft oxen carry the yoke and other farming implements after the day's ploughing work was over.<sup>18</sup> However, those using the proverb would hardly have considered the type of pack animal, whether it was an ox or an ass, a mule or a horse. As to the origin of the Suda phrase, one should note that since it is a (so-called) paroemiac, it may have been a self-contained saying, either born autonomously or quoted from the latter part of a dactylic verse (rather than from the end of an anapaestic period, because of the disturbing caesurae). The combination of ἀνά and the dative, rare on the whole, does not seem to occur in comedy, which, if from a play, would otherwise be a conceivable context for this sort of proverbial expression.

A notable passage in Sophocles' *Tereus* (*TrGF* IV \*\*581 Radt)<sup>19</sup> shows that λέπαργος could also be applied to a bird. In his version of the metamorphosis of Tereus into a crested hoopoe, the innovative poet introduced an older myth telling that Tereus had become a hawk. Thus, in the springtime, the Thracian hero first took the intermediary form of a "hawk with white feathers" (κίρκου λεπάργου) before definitively turning into a hoopoe in the summer: ὃς ἦρι μὲν φανέντι διαπαλεῖ πτερὸν / κίρκου λεπάργου· (lines 4–5).<sup>20</sup> Not surprisingly, the metamorphic scene with Tereus the Hoopoe, perhaps even depicted on stage, was later parodied by Aristophanes in his *Birds* (99–101 and *passim*).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> In Nicet. Mag. *Epist.* 22,7–8 (ninth century), λέπαργος clearly denotes ass: μὴ λίποι λεπάργων γένος φόρτος καὶ ρόπαλον. *Rhopalon* was already used to beat an ass in Homer.

<sup>18</sup> Suda α 2090: ἀνὰ σοὶ τάδε πάντα, λέπαργε· ἐπὶ τῶν οὐδὲ μετὰ τὸν κάματον ἀνιεμένων, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τῶν βοῶν. ἐπειδὴν γὰρ ἀπολυθῶσι τοῦ ἔργου, εἰώθασιν οἱ γεωργοὶ τῷ δυνατωτέρῳ ἐπιτιθέναι τὸν ζυγὸν καὶ τὰ σκεύη. Cf. Eusth. ad *Od.* I, p. 403, 23: ταυτὸν ὄν τῷ, ἀνὰ τοῖς σοῖς ὄμοις ἢ ἀνὰ τῷ σῷ ὄμῳ.

<sup>19</sup> The fragment is preserved in Aristotle (*HA* 633 a 17) who attributed it to Aeschylus (*TrGF*<sup>2</sup> Aesch. fr. 304 Nauck), but apparently there is no other evidence to support this claim: Dobrov 1993: 211 n. 51; Fitzpatrick 2001: 99–100 (esp. n. 58). Note, however, March 2003: 161 n. 55, who somewhat obscurely finds fr. 581 unworthy of Sophocles (and of Aeschylus) "in sense and style".

<sup>20</sup> "In the springtime he wields the wing of a white-feathered hawk" (from Sutton 1984: 129).

<sup>21</sup> Dobrov 1993; cf. Clarke 2004: 107 n. 39 (stage presentation, perhaps by means of bird-



It was surely not exceptional for an adjective such as λέπαργος to be used of a bird. The epithet πύγαργος, "white-rump", while marking a species of antelopes in Herodotus (4,92) and in some later texts (Philo, LXX, Ael.), describes a ("white-tailed") eagle in Aristotle (*HA* 618 b 19; also 593 b 5, of a water-bird) and, possibly, already in Archilochus (fr. 313 West).<sup>22</sup> It is equally significant that the rare poetic adjective ἀργήεις, "white, shining", not only appears as the epithet of a bull in Pindar (*Ol.* 13,69: ταῦρον ἀργάεντα, in sacrificial context), but also characterizes one of a pair of eagles of omen in a lyric passage of Aeschylus (*Ag.* 115: ὁ κελαινὸς ὃ τ' ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς), where the expression (οἰωνός ...) ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς is, in terms of content, perfectly equipollent to πύγαργος.<sup>23</sup> Although I am not competent to say how frequently oxen may be identified as *pugargoi*, such evidence makes one wonder whether *pugargos*, too, could have appeared on the Mycenaean records (\**pu-ka-ko*), as did *stomargos* and *podargos*. It is noteworthy, in any case, that the name *wo-no-ko-so*, if interpreted as refer-

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shaped masks). Arena 1982: 3–6, associating (by metathesis) λέπαργος with πελαργός, "stork", implausibly argues that Tereus would first have been transformed into a sort of "falco-cicogna". He also claims that λέπαργος became a synonym for Tereus, and that the Suda proverb (above n. 18) recalled the feathered bird-actor playing the role of Tereus in Sophocles (and in Aristophanes). Tereus and his bird costume in Aristophanes: Dunbar 1995: 166–7.

<sup>22</sup> This fragment is probably somehow connected with Arch. fr. 178 (μή τευ μελαμπύγου τύχηις) showing the adjective μελάμπυγος, the opposite of πύγαργος, which according to later sources (e. g., Porph. ad Hom. *Il.* 24,315; Tzetz. in Lyc. *Alex.* 91) was used of an eagle species by Archilochus. But it may rather be that fr. 178 reflects the mythical episode of Heracles being called "Black-bottom" by the mischievous Cercopes because of his dark and hairy behind (Zenob. *Cent.* 5,10: δασύτης περὶ τὴν πυγὴν), unless the phrase originally referred to a prow eagle from which the epithet was transferred to Heracles; for various views, cf. van Dijk 1997: 140–1 (esp. nn. 24–5). In any case, μελάμπυγος is an eagle species in Arist. *HA* 618 b 19 (cf. Kajava 2010: 130), but it also proverbially marked manhood and courage (of the Herculean type), this usage perhaps going back to the very same Archil. fr. 178 or even earlier (cf. Irwin 1974: 139–44; Nesselrath 2007: 142 n. 51, and for a typical gloss, Suda μ 987: μή τινος ἀνδρείου καὶ ἰσχυροῦ τύχης). Analogously, πύγαργος (or λευκόπυγος [*PCG* II *Alex.* fr. 322 K–A, with comm. ed. Arnott 1996], λευκοπρωκτός [*PCG* IV *Call.* fr. 14 B K–A]) was used of cowards (Arch. fr. 313 West [perhaps]; *TrGF* IV *Soph.* fr. 1085 Radt; *TrGF* II *adesp.* F 655, 21 [perhaps; from an original satyr play or from a revision of an earlier work; fifth century to Hellenistic period]; Lyc. *Alex.* 91 [of Paris], and the scholiasts).

<sup>23</sup> In fact, πύγαργος (in the sense "coward", see n. 22) may have been what Aeschylus meant here, since the two eagles were identified by Calchas as the two sons of Atreus (line 122), Agamemnon and Menelaos, the former known for his strength (with κελαινός [ἐξόπιν] perhaps standing for μελάμπυγος), the latter for his being a faint-hearted warrior (i. e., πύγαργος), cf. Fraenkel 1982: 67–70 (*ad* 115); Irwin 1974: 142–4.

ring to the colouring of the animal's rump (φοινός<sup>w</sup>-ορσος, see above n. 1), would provide a sort of parallel, unless this name specifically (and perhaps literally, cf. οὐρό) marked the ox's tail.<sup>24</sup> However this may be, a look at the reappearance of the Mycenaean oxen's names in Greek literature shows that their semantic field could extend considerably, to include not only various animals, but also people and their behaviour. This is well illustrated by what is known about the history of the Mycenaean *-argos* names (*po-da-ko*, *to-ma-ko*)<sup>25</sup> as well as by the later use of *a<sub>3</sub>-wo-ro* (αἰόλος).

The adjectives ἀργής and ἀργός have two basic meanings, that is, "agile, quick" and "bright, glancing, shining, white", respectively. In Homer, both Hector and Menelaos had a horse called Podargos, "Swiftfoot", while the Harpy Podarge, a swiftly-moving wind demon, was the mother of the immortal horses of Achilles. Moreover, Homeric hounds are often "swift-footed" (πόδας ἀργοί, ἀργίποδες, or simply ἀργοί). However, considering that rapid motion and luminosity are frequently connected, being the two principal aspects of various visual phenomena,<sup>26</sup> one could argue that the name of Hector's horse not only suggested swiftness, but also the animal's shining feet.<sup>27</sup> Similarly, Odysseus' faithful dog was called Argos (parox.), the Nimble One, but this might also allude to a kind of flickering light caused by its nimble movements (at least when it was young). The name of Jason's ship, the Argo, probably suggests both speed and brightness. However, this kind of extension of meaning cannot have applied to the Mycenaean oxen's names marking the animals' colouring, although, in theory, outside the palace context, also *po-da-ko* and *to-ma-ko* could have referred to the glossy shine caused by the light moving on the oxen's wet feet and muzzles.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. ὀροπύγιον, indicating tail (or tailfeathers) of birds, and generally tail or rump of any (?) animal (Aristoph., Arist., and two fourth-century inventory lists, where the term refers to statues depicting birds: *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 1498, 27 [Acropolis]; *IG XII* 6, 261, 35 [ὀρσοπ-; Heraion of Samos]). Regarding the element ὀρσο-/ὀρο-, and the fact that an eagle could be μελάμπυγος (nn. 22–3), one should pay attention to Ahrens' ingenious conjecture for reading μελανόρσου, "black-tailed" (eagle), in place of the vulgar μέλανος τοῦ (scil. αἰετοῦ) in Hom. *Il.* 21,252. Aristotle inadequately proposed μελανόστου, "black-boned" (Schol. Hom. *Il.* 21,252 d1, d2 Erbse).

<sup>25</sup> Heubeck 1974: 41–3; Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 178–80.

<sup>26</sup> D'Avino 1958: 99–134; Irwin 1974: 39, 214–5; Dürbeck 1977: 87–9; Ferrini 1978: 19–20; Benedetti 1980: 159; Briand 1993: 107, 116.

<sup>27</sup> In later poetry, ἀργίπους could clearly mean "white-footed", rams being thus characterized in Sophocles (*Ai.* 237; Schol. λευκόποδας).

The post-Homeric adjective στόμαργος was used in the meaning of "noisily-prating, loud-mouthed" (Aesch. *Sept.* 447, also Soph., Eur.), perhaps modelled upon the variant γλώ]σσαργος in Pind. fr. 140 b 13, and obviously drawing on the idea of "speaking loudly (< clearly) and quickly". Whether it was ever used in the sense of "white-muzzled" anywhere in Greek literature, poetry or prose is unknown (but surely it could have been).

The two meanings of αἰόλος are well comparable to those of ἀργής and ἀργός: 1) "quick / agile / nimble" (of animals in Hom.), and 2) "spotted, speckled" as well as "glittering, flashing" (of armour in Hom.).<sup>28</sup> Both uses are very ancient, the original meaning being perhaps that of "spotted" (or similar), while the meaning "quick, nimble" would have developed later (yet still before Homer). When used of insects (bees, flies), worms and snakes in Homer, αἰόλος may not underline their colouring or appearance, nor does it seem to refer to their velocity, but rather to their agitated and struggling movements. However, as in the case of the *-argos* terms, one wonders whether some of the Homeric epithets could be explained by quickness and flashing light acting contemporaneously. For example, the "glancing" element of epithets such as αἰολοθώραξ "with glancing breastplate" and κορυθαἰόλος "with glancing helmet" (especially à propos Hector) might be understood as being caused by the warriors' quick movements. Similarly, αἰολόπῳλος, "with quick-moving steeds" (Hom., etc.), is probably also associated with flashing light, just as the Homeric phrase πόδας αἰόλος ἵππος, describing a "quick-moving horse" in *Il.* 19,404, may properly refer to the visual effect caused by the quivering of the horse's hocks. Also, Myc. *a<sub>3</sub>-wo-ro /Aiwo-los/*, sometimes implausibly associated with the animal's motion and vivacity,<sup>29</sup> might have referred to light moving back and forth on the animal's glossy and moiré coat, which thus to an observer appears to flash, as if making it "of variegated colour". Evidently, however, the real meaning on the Knossian palace records would have been "with speckled coat" (black-speckled, dark red-speckled, or similar).<sup>30</sup> In post-Homeric poetry, αἰόλος continued to be used for "speckled, spotted", but it also had the metaphorical meaning of "checquered" and "shifty",

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Kajava 2011.

<sup>29</sup> Gallavotti 1957: 7; Chantraine 1963: 13; Benedetti 1980: 159.

<sup>30</sup> Ilievski 1958: 338; Lejeune 1971: 384 ("le Moiré"); Chadwick 1976: 127 ("Dapple"); Risch 1992: 91 ("... d'après la couleur de leur pelage"); Killen 1992–93: 103 ("of variegated colour"); Godart – Tzedakis 1993: 239 ("moiré" or "Le Moiré"); Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 175 ("gescheckt, gefleckt").

being thus almost equivalent to ποικίλος.<sup>31</sup> The adjective was never applied to people, but the Lord of the Winds was called Aiolos (proparox.), properly, the Changeable, or the Rapid.<sup>32</sup>

For curiosity's sake, I conclude by noting that some Byzantine scholars, starting from the ninth-century grammarian Theognostus, registered λέπαργος as a synonym for "snow", and Eustathius reported that this was because snow made the bare rock (λέπας) white.<sup>33</sup> The idea itself might go back to Theophr. *HP* 4,14,13, where λεπίδες (scil. χιόνος) stood for down-floating snowflakes: ὅταν αἰθρίας οὔσης αἰ λεπίδες καταφέρωνται.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Cf. ποικίλος αιολόμητις (Prometheus) in Hes. *Theog.* 511, and ποικιλομήτης, epithet of Odysseus in Homer and of some gods in the *Hymns* (also ποικιλομήτιδες ἄται in Soph. *TrGF* IV fr. 592 Radt); Pind. *Nem.* 8,25 has αἰόλω ψεύδει, "insidious lie".

<sup>32</sup> However, this name might originally go back to the tightly closed bag full of winds, which was made from the hide of a nine-year-old ox (Hom. *Od.* 10,19), cf. Hajnal – Risch, s. a.: 176: "aus dem Fell eines gescheckten Rindes hergestellte Schlauch", assuming a phrase such as \*αἰόλο' ἄσκός ... βόειος, where the genitive \*αἰόλοο would have been reinterpreted as the name of the bag's manufacturer.

<sup>33</sup> Theogn. *Can.* 27,23: λέπαργος ἢ χιών (similarly Ps.-Zonar. *Lex.* p. 1295, 25). Eusth. *ad Od.* I, p. 78, 6: λέπαργός φασιν ἢ χιών παρὰ τὸ λευκαίνειν τὸ λέπας.

<sup>34</sup> Λεπίδες (denoting scales, flakes, etc.) is Scaliger's obvious emendation for ῥεπίδες, suggested by *squamulae* in Theodorus Gaza's Latin translation from 1450–51 (printed ed. pr. Treviso 1483). The connection with Theophrastus was pointed out by Arena 1982: 6.

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## DEUX ÉPITAPHES LATINES CONSERVÉES À L'ABBAYE ROYALE DE CHAALIS (COLLECTION JACQUEMART-ANDRÉ)<sup>1</sup>

FABRICE POLI

L'abbaye royale cistercienne de Chaalis, située sur le territoire de la commune de Fontaine-Chaalis (Oise), fut fondée en 1136 à l'instigation du roi Louis VI qui désirait commémorer la mémoire de son cousin Charles le Bon, comte de Flandres, assassiné par ses sujets révoltés en 1127. Après de nombreux siècles d'extension et de prospérité, l'abbaye, qui avait même été au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle le centre d'une vie intellectuelle féconde, fut placée en quasi liquidation judiciaire en 1785 par le roi Louis XVI, avant d'être finalement vendue lors de la révolution française en 1793, comme bien national. Le nouveau propriétaire, ne conservant que le palais abbatial (devenu résidence de Mme Jacquemart-André, puis le Musée), exploita les autres bâtiments comme carrière de pierre, ce qui entraîna la quasi complète démolition de ce qui avait été jadis l'une des plus grandes églises cisterciennes du royaume de France. En 1902, alors que Nélie Jacquemart-André, veuve du banquier et collectionneur d'art Édouard André (1833–1894) était en route pour le Japon, elle apprit, durant une escale en Inde, que le domaine de Chaalis, où elle avait passé son enfance,<sup>2</sup> était en vente. Arrêtant là son voyage en Orient, Nélie Jacquemart-André rentra en France et acheta le domaine où elle décida de résider et où elle installa la moitié de la riche collection acquise par son défunt époux et par elle-même, le reste demeurant dans leur hôtel particulier parisien. Lors de son

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<sup>1</sup> J'ai pu bénéficier, pour la rédaction de ces pages, des remarques et précieux conseils des Prof. M. Corbier, H. Solin et O. Salomies: que tous trois trouvent ici l'expression de ma reconnaissance. J'adresse aussi mes plus amicaux remerciements à M. Jean-Marc Vasseur, directeur du service culturel et pédagogique de l'abbaye royale de Chaalis (collections Jacquemart-André), pour les enseignements précieux qu'il m'a fournis et pour sa disponibilité de tous les moments lors de la rédaction de cette note.

<sup>2</sup> Le père de Nélie (son vrai prénom était Cornélia) Jacquemart avait été un collaborateur de M. de Vatry, sénateur de la Moselle et propriétaire du domaine de Chaalis.



décès en 1912, elle fut inhumée dans la chapelle des abbés, située dans le parc de l'abbaye. Comme convenu avec son mari, elle légua tous ses biens à l'Institut de France. Un an plus tard, les deux musées Jacquemart-André, le parisien et celui de Chaalis, ouvrirent au public. Parmi les collections rassemblées, l'Antiquité occupe une place modeste, représentée essentiellement par de la statuaire (bustes d'empereurs romains), des objets de l'Égypte ancienne et du Moyen-Orient. Trois urnes cinéraires romaines (dont une anépigraphe), faisant partie de la collection, sont exposées au rez-de-chaussée. Puisque, parmi les urnes avec inscription, l'une est à ce jour inédite et l'autre a été mal lue, il nous a semblé utile de les republier brièvement.

### Urne cinéraire inédite

Urne cinéraire (hauteur: 0.28 m; longueur: 0.33 m; largeur 0.32 m.) en marbre. L'urne, privée de son couvercle, présente un décor fait de guirlandes, de masques et d'oiseaux, décoration qui évoque des urnes cinéraires de la deuxième moitié ou de la fin du I<sup>er</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.<sup>3</sup> Elle est dans un excellent état de conservation. Comme souvent lorsque l'on a affaire à une collection privée, les renseignements sur l'origine font défaut et l'on sait seulement que l'objet provient d'Italie, sans que l'on puisse être plus précis sur les lieux, date et circonstances de la découverte. L'objet est exposé au rez-de-chaussée du Musée (cat. 143; n. 1151) où j'ai pu l'examiner le 31 mai 2009.

L'objet présente sur une face l'inscription suivante en belles lettres lisibles.

*Dis M(anibus) Corneliae  
Primillae  
Cornelius  
Antigonus coiugi  
carissimae fecit.*

"Pour les Dieux Mânes de Cornelia Primilla. Cornelius Antigonus a fait faire [cette urne] pour son épouse très chère".

L'inscription appelle peu de remarques compte tenu du fait que tous les éléments anthroponymiques – noms et *cognomina* – sont bien attestés et le formulaire clas-

<sup>3</sup> Cf. F. Sinn, *Stadtrömische Marmorurnen*, Mainz a. Rhein, 1987, n. 112, 115 et 366.

sique. On peut cependant noter, comme me le suggère astucieusement Madame Mireille Corbier, que Nélie Jacquemart a probablement acheté cette urne parce que la défunte portait le même nom qu'elle, puisque le vrai prénom de Nélie Jacquemart était Cornélia (cf. note 2). Remarquons enfin que les deux époux portent le même nom (*Cornelius*), ce qui est peut-être l'indice qu'ils étaient des affranchis.



### Relecture de *CIL* X 6181

La deuxième inscription dont il sera question ici n'est pas, à la différence de la précédente, inédite et a déjà été publiée dans le volume X du *CIL*. Sa localisation actuelle était inconnue et sa redécouverte constitue en soi un fait non négligeable. Il s'agit d'une urne cinéraire de marbre (hauteur: 0.48 m; longueur: 0.42 m; largeur: 0.32 m), décorée de pilastres à rayures en spirales, avec un bas-relief représentant deux époux sous la porte d'un temple; sur les côtés, on peut voir une décoration de lauriers et d'oiseaux évoquant des urnes d'époque flavienne.<sup>4</sup>

L'objet a été découvert à Formies et est connu depuis le XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, date de l'*editio princeps* par Johannes Iucundus;<sup>5</sup> outre cette première mention, l'ins-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Sinn (note 3), n. 277.

<sup>5</sup> J. Iucundus, *Sylloge epigrammatum*, ca 1477/1484–1489, f. 126.

cription est notamment citée chez Thomas Gammarus<sup>6</sup> et Pasquale Mattei.<sup>7</sup> L'inscription a connu depuis sa découverte des localisations nombreuses et variées répertoriées dans le *CIL*<sup>8</sup> et les circonstances de son arrivée ultime dans la collection Jacquemart-André ne sont pas déterminables. L'objet est, comme l'urne précédente, exposé au rez-de-chaussée du Musée (cat. 149; n. 1184) où j'ai pu l'examiner le 31 mai 2009.

L'urne présente une inscription assez développée, mais malheureusement affectée par une lacune circulaire qui a gravement endommagé les quatre premières lignes du formulaire et, dans une moindre mesure, la cinquième ligne. Si cette lacune existait déjà lors de l'édition du *CIL*,<sup>9</sup> le texte de l'inscription dans l'*editio princeps* de J. Iucundus était en revanche complet et non altéré: de ce fait, les lettres placées en italiques par Mommsen sont tirées de l'*editio princeps* susmentionnée et peuvent donc être considérées comme sûres. L'examen direct de l'inscription, qui se trouve désormais localisée, permet donc de vérifier et de restituer définitivement le texte originel de l'inscription qui a d'ailleurs été parfois mal comprise:<sup>10</sup>

*D(is) M(anibus)*  
*Stephanidis pientis(simae),*  
*q(uae) uix(it) annis XXVIII, m(ensibus) III,*  
*d(iebus) XI et Epicteto Cae(saris)*  
*coniugi et Euschem(o)*  
*fil(io) eorum Eros domi-*  
*nis et sibi pos(teris)q(ue) eor(um).*

"Pour les Dieux Mânes de Stephanis très affectueuse qui vécut vingt-huit années, trois mois, onze jours, et pour Epictetus (de esclave) César son époux et Eusche-

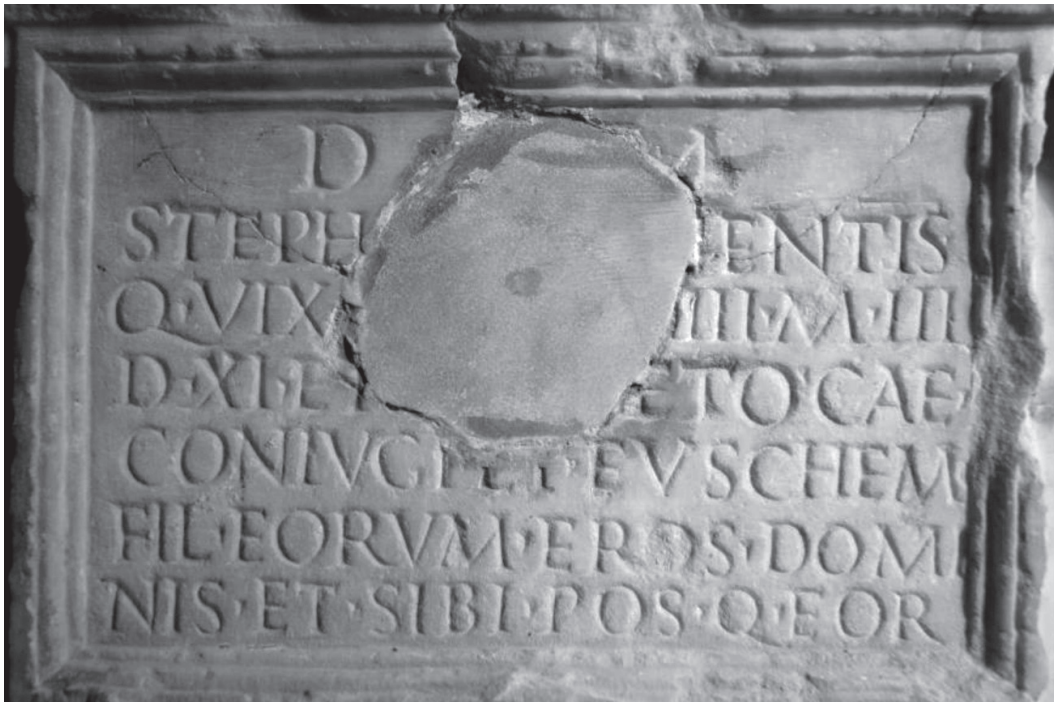
<sup>6</sup> Th. Gammarus, *Sylloge inscriptionum*, ca 1489–1507.

<sup>7</sup> P. Mattei, *Ausonia ovvero istoria cronologica antica e moderna delle principali città ora componenti il distretto di Gaeta*, 1867–1869, p. 476.

<sup>8</sup> J. Iucundus: *Molae in aede S. Laurentii. Antea in ecclesia parochiali S. Laurentii* (J. Iucundus, *op. cit.*); P. Mattei: *inde ab. A. 1825 apud sacerdotem quendam a Capo Castello; mox in uilla quadam prope diuersorium floribus inserendis destinata* (Mattei [note 7]); etc.

<sup>9</sup> Au vu de l'examen actuel, la lacune s'est, par rapport au *CIL*, accrue, car les deux premières lettres *pi* de l'adjectif *pientissimae*, visibles alors, sont désormais perdues. Voir plus bas.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. l'exégèse erronée proposée par l'Epigraphik-Datenbank Clauss / Slaby (EDCS): *D(is) M(anibus) / Stephanidi Pientis / q(ui) vix(it) an(nos) XXVIII m(enses) III / d(ies) XI et Epicteto CAE / coniugi et Euschem(o) / fil(io) eorum Eros domi/nis et sibi pos(teris)q(ue) eor(um)*. On voit notamment que l'anthroponyme de la ligne 2, *Steph[anidi]* a été pris pour un masculin.



mus leur fils. Eros [leur esclave, a fait cette urne] pour ses maîtres et lui-même et pour les descendants de ceux-là".

Cette inscription appelle les brèves remarques suivantes: 1) Le nom de la défunte est *Stephanis*, anthroponyme dont on possède un certain nombre d'attestations, comme nom unique ou comme *cognomen*; 2) Grâce au *CIL*, la restitution des deux premières lettres du mot qui suit le nom de la défunte, *pientis(simae)*, est désormais certaine. La lacune observée, alors que les lettres *pi* étaient lisibles au moment de l'édition du *CIL*, prouve que l'objet a connu des détériorations ultérieures à celles constatées lors de l'édition du *CIL*; 3) La fin de la ligne 4, *Epicteto Cae(saris)*, fournit le nom du mari qui est un esclave impérial. Le nom *Epictetus* est très fréquent et n'appelle pas de remarques particulières; 4) Le nom du fils du couple, *Euschem(...)* peut être suppléé en *Euschem(o)* (déclinaison thématique) ou en *Euschemoni* (déclinaison athématique consonantique), les deux flexions étant attestées dans nos inscriptions; 5) Notons enfin que le curateur de la tombe est l'esclave appelé *Eros*. La présence du pronom *sibi* prouve que l'esclave avait été inhumé avec ses maîtres. Même s'il n'est pas fréquent que l'esclave soit le curateur de la tombe, cette mention se trouve cependant quelquefois.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. *CIL* X 7612 (Cagliari): *D(is) M(anibus) / L(ucio) Iulio Pon(tic)lo nego(tian)ti Galli(cano) Primus / ser<v>us amantis/simo domino posuit.*



## THE CONFLICT RECONSIDERED: CLEOPATRA AND THE CIVIL WAR IN THE EARLY IMPERIAL EPIC

ELINA PYY

In this paper I study the representations of the battle of Actium and Cleopatra VII in the epic poetry of the early Principate. My aim is to scrutinize how the conceptions of Actium and the character of the Ptolemaic queen contributed to the interpretation of the Civil War in the literary discourse of the Principate. I will focus on war-centred, historical epics; because of the particular role that the genre had in relating and reconstructing the Roman past, it held a prominent position when the value base of the new regime was formed. The primary source for my study is Virgil's *Aeneid*; as a point of comparison I will study Lucan's *Pharsalia*. The Civil War theme is of central importance in both of these works, and when studied comparatively, they will provide one with an understanding of how the approach towards the subject changed during the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Another source of importance is the little-studied hexameter poem found in the Villa of Papyri in Herculaneum, the so-called *Carmen de bello Actiaco* by an unknown author. It is difficult to draw conclusions based primarily on this fragmentary and poorly preserved work; nevertheless, due to its' dating to the first decades of the Principate, it is of primary importance for my study and will be used as a comparative source.

### **The fall of Egypt in the sources of the Augustan Era – the Civil War concealed**

On the 2<sup>nd</sup> of September in 31 B.C., a naval battle was fought on the Ionian Sea, near the city of Actium by the Ambracian Gulf. Fighting parties consisted, on one side, of Caesar Octavian's Roman forces, and, on the other, of Mark Antony with the backing of Ptolemaic Egypt. The battle ended in a victory of the party of Octavian; Cleopatra and Antony fled to Alexandria, where both committed a suicide a year later. Octavian conquered Egypt and secured his position as the sole ruler

of Rome; the victory was celebrated in a fabulous three-day triumph, while the monarchy was carefully concealed in the guise of a newborn Republic.

The battle of Actium and its significance for the Augustan propaganda<sup>1</sup> have roused continuous interest among scholars. Despite different viewpoints, most studies are built on the conception that in order to legitimise his actions, Octavian strove to be depicted as the representative of the Roman order as a whole. In his *Res gestae divi Augusti* Augustus himself attests that *iuravit in mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me belli quo vici ad Actium ducem depoposcit*.<sup>2</sup> Even though a considerable portion of the Roman nobility, including hundreds of senators and both consuls of the year 32 had fled to Antony's side,<sup>3</sup> Actium was presented as a crusade of united Italy against the barbarian East.

It has been considered that the purpose of such a representation was to minimise Actium's nature as a battle of the Civil War.<sup>4</sup> By emphasising his role as a representative of *tota Italia*, Augustus strove to conceal that he had been wag-

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<sup>1</sup> Despite its anachronistic connotations, propaganda is the word most commonly applied when referring to the creation of the Augustan administration's public image. It is, however, worthwhile to further expose its meaning in this particular context. For lack of a more suitable word, I use the term referring to the attempts of the imperial administration to reconstruct recent history. The expressions of the Augustan conception of history are considered to have been expressed through various forms; literature, architecture, numismatic evidence and public celebrations (such as triumphal processions and the *ludi saeculares*). It is, however, highly problematic to observe these different sources as expressions of one unified message. Considering the vast divergences of topics and viewpoints within the source groups, it seems questionable that the Augustan administration had a single, well-formed conception of the recent past, and even more questionable how deliberately it was transmitted through different medias. The whole conception of the Augustan propaganda should therefore be approached critically and being aware that the modern meaning of the term might distort the interpretations. Defining propaganda as 'political' causes further trouble. In Roman society the concepts of political, social, cultic and military overlapped greatly, and it is necessary to define the meaning of these ideas in every discussion concerning them. In this particular paper, when referring to political or social activity or propaganda, I place them mainly in the context of public participation and warfare. The pursuit of legitimised power and participation in military activity are the main attributes defining political agency in this discussion.

<sup>2</sup> *RG* 25,2.

<sup>3</sup> Dio 50,2,6.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., L. Hughes-Hallett, *Cleopatra. Histories, Dreams and Distortions*, New York 1990, chapter 2, "The Story According to Octavius", 36–68; C. Pelling, "Anything truth can do, we can do better: the Cleopatra legend", in S. Walker – P. Higgs, *Cleopatra of Egypt. From history to myth*, Princeton 2001, 292–3; O. De Bruyn – A. Delcourt, "La bataille d'Actium, mythe fondateur d'un nouveau régime", in L. van Ypersele (ed.), *Imaginaires de guerre. L'histoire entre mythe et réalité*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2003, 269–392, see 372–5.

ing war against another Roman commander. The idea of the unanimous backing of Italy legitimised both the war and the social base of Augustus' autocracy. It has been suggested that it was also an attempt to fade out the painful memory of the Social Wars, and of the fierce conflicts of the Civil Wars in the preceding decades.<sup>5</sup> It is a widespread conception that in Augustan propaganda, Actium became a mystified Roman crusade, a founding myth of a new order, and Cleopatra, in turn, a personification of everything that had been conquered – the dangerous and effeminate East, treacherous Egypt, and fearsome foreignness.

In past years, however, the question has been raised whether Actium and Cleopatra actually played such a considerable role in Augustan propaganda as has been suggested. Scholars such as M. Wyke and R. Gurval have rightly remarked that their role is not clearly emphasised, for example, in the visual evidence of the Augustan era. In the coinage circulated in the beginning of the Principate, the battle is only indirectly referred to, while considerably more emphasis is put on the final capture of the Orient, for instance.<sup>6</sup> Neither is the battle explicitly portrayed in any piece of monumental architecture of the age of Augustus.<sup>7</sup> The imperialistic ideology and the conquering of new areas seem to have been issues of greater importance to the Augustan administration.

Neither is Cleopatra the principal issue in the evidence of the Augustan era. It is surprisingly difficult to find representations of the Egyptian queen in any visual material dating to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.<sup>8</sup> The minor role of the

<sup>5</sup> D. Quint, *Politics and Generic Form from Virgil to Milton*, Princeton 1993, 26–7. See also P. Marchetti, "Dans le sillage d'Actium: quelques réflexions sur la construction idéologique du Principat", in van Ypersele (above n. 4) 393–407, see 394–5, 406–7.

<sup>6</sup> M. Wyke, "Augustan Cleopatras: Female Power and Poetic Authority", in A. Powell, *Roman Poetry and Propaganda in the Age of Augustus*, London 1992, 86–129, see 117–21; R. A. Gurval, *Actium and Augustus. The politics and emotions of civil war*, Michigan 1995, 4–6.

<sup>7</sup> P. Zanker has noted that since the Civil War was such a delicate subject during the period, the victory at Actium could not be celebrated with clear references to the defeated enemy or even to the battle itself. Instead, abstract symbols of victory were used in the decorations of public buildings – marine creatures, dolphins, and parts of ships (*rostra*) can be found as nonspecific allusions to the battle of Actium. According to Zanker, these symbols of the maritime battle were a starting point of the new imperial imagery that developed further during the Augustan era. P. Zanker, *Augustus und die Macht der Bilder*, München 1987, 85–90. For some further analysis on the imagery and the symbolism concerning Actium in the decoration of the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, see O. De Bruyn – A. Delcourt (above n. 4) 380–6.

<sup>8</sup> Wyke (above n. 6) 116–21. See also Zanker (above n. 7) 67–70. On Cleopatra's representation in her own Ptolemaic propaganda, M. Wyke, *The Roman Mistress: Ancient and Modern Representations*, Oxford – New York 2002, 200–4. For other extensive studies on visual



defeated queen in the public media, and her absence in Augustus' own memoirs indeed question the conception of her crucial role in Augustan propaganda. J. Williams has perceptively noted that unlike often assumed, the foundation of the new order seems to have been based more on the conquest of Egypt as a whole than on the specific Actian defeat of Cleopatra.<sup>9</sup>

Based on this evidence it appears that contemporary Augustan literary research has been influenced by the powerful rhetoric of the later Roman historiography. In the works of Appian, Plutarch and Dio Cassius, Cleopatra indeed appears as a serious threat to Rome and as the major agent in corrupting Antony.<sup>10</sup> Even though these depictions doubtlessly tell a lot about the lasting interest in Actium and Cleopatra, and of the gradual development of ideas concerning them, it is highly questionable to allow them to influence the reading of earlier sources. The intellectual and cultural atmosphere of the second (and in Dio's case, the early third) century A.D. and the literary taste of the Greek-speaking audience presumably influenced deeply the historians' interpretations of the Roman past. In most of their representations of the Ptolemaic queen, a strong romantic and moralistic tendency can be perceived.

Among the sources of the Augustan era, there is however one group in which the importance of Actium indeed appears to be emphasised. In the poetry of the early Principate the great naval battle is a concurrent theme – Horace, Propertius and Virgil all discuss the matter in their own personal styles, all still managing to represent the battle as a turning point of Roman history and as a starting point of the Augustan era of peace. The influence of the Augustan administration on these representations has been widely studied, and the independence of the poets has generally been somewhat questioned. It has been considered that through his friend and councillor, Gaius Maecenas, Augustus selected the most talented of the Roman poets to sing the praise of the new order and, particularly, to celebrate his Actian victory.<sup>11</sup>

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representations of Cleopatra, see e.g. Walker – Higgs (above n. 4).

<sup>9</sup> J. H. C. Williams, "'Spoiling the Egyptians': Octavian and Cleopatra", in Walker – Higgs (above n. 4) 190–9, see 197–8; also Gurval (above n. 6) 4–5.

<sup>10</sup> See, e.g., App. *BC* 1, 8–11; Plut. *Ant.* 25; 28,1–2; 29,1–2; 36; 50,4; 51; 53,3–6; 54,3–6; 56; Dio 48,24,2–3; 49,41,1–4; 50,3,3–50,5,4; 50,24,6–50,27,2.

<sup>11</sup> See K. Quinn, *Virgil's Aeneid: A critical description*, London 1968, 26, 293–9; J. Griffin, "Augustus and the Poets: *Caesar qui cogere posset*", in F. Millar – E. Segal, *Caesar Augustus: seven aspects*, Gloucestershire 1984, 198; F. Léon-Marcien, "L'interprétation de la bataille d'Actium par les poètes latins de l'époque augustéenne", *LEC* 24 (1956) 330. This conception has, nevertheless, also been questioned. W. Johnson, for instance, has perceived in the works

The close relationship between the imperial ideology and the Augustan poets has strongly influenced the reading of their works – not the least when discussing Actium's reputation as a foreign conflict. The unity of Italy and the Roman conquest over the world have often been considered concurrent themes in Horace's, Propertius' and Virgil's depictions of the battle. Augustan poets have been accused of deliberately ignoring the Civil War issue, representing Actium primarily as a chapter in the Roman history of dominating foreign peoples.<sup>12</sup>

This idea seems justifiable as far as it concerns the representations of Actium in the lyric and the elegiac poetry. In the works of Horace and Propertius, the horrors of the Orient and the battle against the foreign queen are, indeed, obviously expressed, and any references to the Civil War are difficult to find. Horace, for instance, relates of Actium that

*dum Capitolio / regina dementes ruina, / funus et imperio parabat  
/ contaminato cum grege turpium / morbo virorum, / - - sed minuit  
furorem / vix una sospes navis ab ignibus, / mentemque lymphatam  
Mareotico / redegit in verso timores / Caesar, ab Italia volentem /  
remis adurgens.*<sup>13</sup>

In a very similar manner, Propertius states that

*scilicet incesti meretrix regina Canopi, / una Philippeo sanguine adus-  
ta nota, / ausa Iovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim, / et Tiberim  
Nili cogere ferre minas, / Romanamque tubam crepitanti pellere sistro  
/ - - septem urbs alta iugis, toto quae praesidet orbi, / femineas timuit  
territa Marte minas. / - - cape, Roma, triumphum / et longum Augusto  
salva precare diem! / fugisti tamen in timidi vaga flumina Nili.*<sup>14</sup>

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of the Augustan poets concealed criticism towards their own society and scepticism towards the common clichés. He states that in Horace's representations of Cleopatra, for example, there is noticeable irony and disdain towards usual lies spread about the queen. W. R. Johnson, "A Queen, a great Queen? Cleopatra and the politics of misrepresentation", *Arion* 6 (1967) 387–40: 399. Gurval, too, has considered depictions of Actium more as "distinctive and dissimilar objectives of individual poets, far from any constant and uniform intention to applaud (or bemoan) the outcome at Actium". Gurval bases his interpretation on the conception that Actium wielded little importance for the Augustan propaganda: therefore it is credible that the poetic myth of the battle is formed more by the individual poets' outlook than by the instructions of the Augustan administration. Gurval (above n. 6) 10, 16–17.

<sup>12</sup> Williams (above n. 9) 198, see also Quint (above n. 5).

<sup>13</sup> Hor. *carm.* 1,37,6–10, 12–17.

<sup>14</sup> Prop. 3,11,39–43, 57–8, 49–51.

Apparently, the continuous juxtaposition between the characteristics of the Roman civilisation and those of the alien culture is a prominent feature in these literary versions of the battle. The foreign threat is personified in the character of Cleopatra, while Augustus is represented as the saviour of the people, single-handedly driving away the peril. The Civil War and the Roman enemy is nowhere to be found.

However, the situation appears to be quite different when it comes to the epic narratives of the early Principate. Both in the *Aeneid* of Virgil and in the *Pharsalia* of Lucan the civil conflicts' significance to the development of the state actually appears as a rather recurring theme, notably expressed when discussing Actium. This is a matter that has received surprisingly little attention. I will now attempt to dig a little deeper in these epic representations in order to clarify the role of Actium in the Roman epic, and, subsequently, the role of Cleopatra in Actium.

### **The end of history? – Actium in the continuum of the civil struggles**

It is somewhat peculiar that in the extensive epic masterpieces of both Virgil and Lucan, the poets only briefly mention the battle of Actium. The theme of the *Pharsalia* – the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey – certainly offers an opportunity for a more extensive treatment of the subject than the total of two lines Lucan gives it.<sup>15</sup> As for Virgil, the brief description of the great battle is even more confusing. In the *Georgica*, the poet reveals his plans to subsequently write a magnificent imperial epic about Caesar's fiery fights.<sup>16</sup> However, the outcome appears quite different than planned. In the massive twelve-book narrative about the wanderings of Aeneas the battle of Actium is only referred to in 43 lines in the end of book VIII, where the scene is presented in the centrepiece of Aeneas' shield, surrounded by episodes from earlier Roman history and tradition.<sup>17</sup>

It is worthwhile to summarise here briefly the passage concerning the shield, in order to provide a framework for Virgil's discussion of Actium. This passage seems to be a confusing mixture of mythology, legendary past, and the political history of Rome. The poet has selected seemingly scrappy and discon-

<sup>15</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,66–67: *Leucadioque fuit dubius sub gurgite casus, / An mundum ne nostra quidem matrona teneret.*

<sup>16</sup> Verg. *georg.* 3,46–7: *ardentis ... pugnas Caesaris*; the whole passage 3,16–48.

<sup>17</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8,626–728; the battle of Actium in particular 8,671–713.

nected stories, seeking to describe the turning points of history from the founding of Rome until the age of Augustus. The task is certainly challenging – what Livy spends over a hundred books narrating, Virgil attempts to wrap up in 102 lines. The poet describes first the image of Romulus and Remus in the affectionate care of the she-wolf. The next motif is the war between the Romans and the Sabines, brought about by the rape of the Sabine women. Next to these episodes Virgil places the torturing of Mettius, the Alban torn into pieces for violating the alliance with the Romans. Subsequently follow the war against Clusium and the attack of Gauls in 390 B.C. At this point, the style of the shield appears to change and the poet moves on from the legendary imagery to describe personages of more recent history. He relates the sufferings of Catiline in the underworld, and places Cato in the peaceful dwelling-place of the pious. Finally, the story of the shield achieves its climax in the centrepiece, representing the battle of Actium and the flight of Cleopatra. The scene is completed by a representation of the triple triumph in 30 B.C.

Interpretations concerning the passage have been varied. It has been considered particularly difficult to locate the description of Actium in the overall atmosphere of the *Aeneid*. The optimistic celebration of the Roman glory seems indeed a rather disconnected episode in the middle of the gloomy world of the epos. Some scholars have studied it as Virgil's reluctant attempt to include political propaganda in his work; others have considered the passage a genuine expression of patriotic pride.<sup>18</sup> In either case, to most scholars the representation of Actium has seemed an uneasy passage that does not fit in the *Aeneid* as a whole.

The way I see it, this uneasiness is to some extent due to the efforts to read the *Aeneid* as a story of the Roman conquest and world dominion. It appears that to understand the connection between the shield and the entity, one must let go of this idea, and study the passage in the context of Rome's internal development and the Civil Wars. Instead of considering the episodes depicted in the shield as "*exempla* of Roman character" or as a "presentation of Roman virtues", as has been proposed<sup>19</sup>, they could rather be studied as historical stages of Rome's development through conflicts with their neighbouring allies. After all, Virgil himself defines the subject of the shield as *res Italas Romanorumque triumphos*.<sup>20</sup> He claims to represent there *genus omne futurae / stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in*

<sup>18</sup> See e.g. Gurval (above n. 6) 12, 212; Quinn (above n. 11) 195–8.

<sup>19</sup> R.D. Williams (ed.), *The Aeneid of Vergil*, London 1972–73, 265–6.

<sup>20</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8,626.

*ordine bella.*<sup>21</sup>

The theme of the Civil War is thus strikingly present in the Virgilian version of Roman history. Apart from the attack of the Gauls, in every episode the enemies of the *Romulidae*<sup>22</sup> are either those of their own or those of their later allies – the Sabines, the Etruscans, the Albans. The teleological nature of the continuum of conflicts is made apparent: through destructive wars the *victi* are assimilated into the Roman society and the unity of *tota Italia* is achieved. The battle of Actium is represented as the outcome and the culmination of this development: as a worthy descendant of the *Romulidae*, Augustus Caesar leads a united Italy into the final battle that will end the internal turmoil and bring about long-expected peace:

*hinc Augustus agens Italos in proelia Caesar / cum patribus popu-  
loque, penatibus et magnis dis, / stans celsa in puppi, geminas cui  
tempora flammis / laeta vomunt patriumque aperitur vertice sidus.*<sup>23</sup>

Gurval has considered it ironic that Virgil represents Augustus commanding the united troops of the Italians, the very people Aeneas is fighting from behind his shield.<sup>24</sup> This is certainly a point worthy of attention, but to me it seems a deliberate detail that links the story of Aeneas with contemporary Roman history of its time. With the united troops of Augustus, the history of civil struggles has achieved its fulfilment.

The only thing standing in the way of this final unity is, of course, Mark Antony. It is noteworthy that, unlike most authors who seem to blame Cleopatra, Virgil explicitly mentions Antony in his representation of Actium. Moreover, he is mentioned first, and his Egyptian consort is only afterwards referred to.<sup>25</sup> This single detail characterises the battle as a civil war, and it has consequently often been neglected in studies that tend to stress the imperialistic nature of the Virgilian epic. But when examined against the background of Aeneas' shield, the

<sup>21</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8,628–29.

<sup>22</sup> Virgil uses the terms *Romulidae* (8,638) and *Aeneadae* (8,648) to distinguish the *gens* of Aeneas, considered to be the original Romans, from their Italian allies and opponents.

<sup>23</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8,678–81. Moreover, in order to further emphasise the unity of Italy brought about by Octavian, Virgil represents the winner in his triumph as sacrificing to the Italian gods that had ensured his victory: *dis Italis votum immortale sacrabat* (8,715).

<sup>24</sup> Gurval (above n. 6) 234.

<sup>25</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8,685, 688.

detail no longer seems contradictory and disconnected. Instead, it very logically makes Actium the final stage in the succession of Rome's internal conflicts, the final victory of the *Romulidae* over rebellious friends and allies.

It is intriguing to compare Virgil's viewpoint with another epic narrative, written eight decades later in a different political atmosphere. In Lucan's *Pharsalia*, the subtle allusions that Virgil reaches in his poetry are strikingly absent. In his poem, Lucan speaks of the Civil War more explicitly and harshly than any Roman poet before or after. The judgemental tone should be studied against the poet's personal history.<sup>26</sup> The last books of the *Pharsalia* were most likely written when Lucan's relationship with the imperial court had already been broken, which naturally might have influenced his pessimistic representation of the Roman history and politics.

Generally Lucan expresses a highly judgemental attitude towards *bellum civile*. The phenomenon is represented as an unnatural tragedy provoked by the individual commanders' greed and ambition. Virgilian echoes are present as Lucan emphasises the war as a struggle of friends and family members: he highlights the familial relationship between Caesar and Pompey by recurrently referring to them as father- and son-in-law.<sup>27</sup> Differences to Virgil are, however, as apparent as similarities. In Lucan's narrative, the disgust felt towards the Civil War evolves into rather open admiration of the Republican system. Lucan recurrently depicts Caesar as a bloodthirsty and unemotional tyrant; his awaiting death is described as the revenge of the Senate, and the punishment for the Civil War that the great men of the Republic had long been praying for.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> In the beginning of his literary career, Lucan enjoyed the friendship and tutelage of the imperial house. However, while working with his extensive history of the Civil War, the poet, drifted into a feud with Nero. The reason for the dispute is not clear, but the young poet seems to have adopted a rather hateful outlook towards the emperor. He was condemned in 65 A.D. for participation in the Pisonian conspiracy and was forced to commit a suicide at the age of 25. See e.g. Tac. *Ann.* 15,48–70; J. Masters, "Deceiving the Reader: The Political Mission of Lucan's *Bellum Civile*", in J. Elsner – J. Masters (eds.), *Reflections of Nero: Culture, History, and Representation*, Chapel Hill 1994, 151–77.

<sup>27</sup> See, e.g., Luc. *Phar.* 10,348; 10,417. In Virgil's representation, the same kind of an association between the war and the family feud is implied in the passage concerning the sack of the Sabine virgins.

<sup>28</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,343; 10,397–98. The passage concerning Caesar's death: *Dignatur viles isto quoque sanguine dextras, / quo Fortuna parat victos perfundere patres, / poenaque civilis belli, vindicta senatus, / paena data est famulo*, (10,138–141). Lucan also emphasises Caesar's lust for power and riches and compares him to certain Republican leaders, clearly expressing the nobler spirit of the latter (*Phar.* 10,149–54).

Nevertheless, considering the poet's hateful outlook towards civil conflicts in general, I find it probable that his principal message is not the condemnation of the imperial regime altogether. The harsh judgement of Caesar and the other warmongering commanders of the *populares* might as well be mostly due to their reputation as provokers of the civil strife and *discordia*. This assumption is supported by the passionate tone with which Lucan seems to sympathise with the *infelicia fata* of a Rome torn by concurrent internal conflicts. Indeed, his desperate exclamation *ubi non civilia bella / invenit imperii fatum miserabile nostri?* echoes the same gloom and frustration with which Virgil dealt with the subject in the *Aeneid*.<sup>29</sup>

Quint has suggested that Lucan represents his *Pharsalia* as an allegorical version of the battle of Actium. He has considered crucial that the battle of Pharsalus, too, is depicted as a victory of the united western troops over the unorganised legions of the eastern peoples, and that this miscellaneous party, alike, is commanded by the Roman general, which adds a significant touch of civil war to the patriotic struggle.<sup>30</sup> The comparison could be made to the Virgilian interpretation of Actium, where the clash of cultures was spiced up with an explicit mention of Mark Antony as the enemy. Altogether, both epic poets studied here seem to disapprove of the conception of Actium as merely a crisis of foreign policy. Implicitly, through the previous conflicts in Roman history they emphasize the Civil War lurking behind the imperialistic endeavours of Rome.<sup>31</sup> Actium is represented both as a part of the series of the civil struggles, and as a culminating point that might finally end them and bring about the unity of the state. The first is a viewpoint highly emphasised in the pessimistic and gloomy narrative of Lucan, while the latter is what Virgil's fatalistic representation of Actium could be considered as built on.

<sup>29</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,410–11. Other passages concerning the subject see e.g. 10,416–17; 10,402–10.

<sup>30</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 7,360–68; 7,269–74; 7,252–44; Quint (above n. 5) 35–6.

<sup>31</sup> By their choice of words as well, both poets condemn the civil war as unnatural and unjust by nature. Lucan characterises Caesar's actions as impious warfare, *nefando Marte*. Vergil describes the sack of Sabine maidens as an act *sine more* and the resulting conflict as *novum bellum*. Gurval has rightly explained that *novum* as an attribute of war refers to something unexpected or unforeseen in a negative sense. The struggle between supposed allies is considered a shocking turn of events and definitely a disapproved one. The same kind of allusion is made in the representation of Actium, when Virgil describes raging battle as *nova caede*. Expressions such as these can be considered as both emphasising the nature of conflict as a civil war and expressing the disapproval of the authors towards that kind of a war. Luc. *Phar.* 10,147–50; Verg. *Aen.* 8,635; 8,637; 8,695; Gurval (above n. 6) 220.

***Ne nostra quidem matrona* – Epic Cleopatra's failure in the female role**

The role of Cleopatra, then, should be studied against this background. In the narratives of Virgil and Lucan the foreign queen is, indeed, strongly defined by her association with the internal conflict of Rome. Conversely to what has often been observed, it seems that epic Cleopatra is, after all, not merely a foreign threat. Rather, she is one component in the internal crisis of Rome, and the real peril is her successful meddling with the political affairs of the Empire.

Lucan, in particular, puts great emphasis on Cleopatra's endeavours to increase her power through the Roman Civil War. He states that *nam Latio iam nupta duci est, interque maritos / discurrens Aegypton habet Romamque meretur*, explicitly expressing the danger the seductive queen forms to the Empire.<sup>32</sup> Cleopatra's political interests are stressed also when the poet mentions that she was *nec sceptris contenta suis nec fratre marito* – therefore, she was pursuing the Roman general as her lover and Rome herself as her dominion.<sup>33</sup>

Although the meddling of foreigners in Rome's internal affairs is generally condemned, the case of Cleopatra is made worse by the fact that she is, besides a foreigner, also a woman. Her interest in the business of Rome and in the business of men is a violation of both Roman ethnic hierarchy and its gender dynamics.<sup>34</sup> In fact, Cleopatra's gender is so highly stressed by both epic poets that it appears, actually, as a stronger defining characteristic than her status as an Egyptian.

This is not a common viewpoint in the studies concerning Cleopatra. The queen's foreignness, rather than her gender, has been stressed as her defining attribute by most scholars. Being an Egyptian has been considered her most severe vice in the Roman authors' depictions. Her decadence and immorality have been studied as representatives of foreign and Eastern in general, and sometimes she has been considered merely a symbol of "effeminate and conquered Asia".<sup>35</sup> Nevertheless, keeping in mind the crucial theme of the Civil War, I propose that other perspectives besides ethnicity should be more seriously taken under examination. The foreignness of the Egyptian queen is naturally an important characteristic of her nature, but it alone does not suffice to explain the resentment aroused by her

<sup>32</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,358–59.

<sup>33</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,138.

<sup>34</sup> Lucan judges harshly the meddling of foreigners in the internal strife of Rome also when he describes the attempt of the Egyptians to attack Caesar and deprive the Roman senate of the honour of killing the tyrant, *Phar.* 10,338–44.

<sup>35</sup> Wyke (above n. 6) 105, 116–7; Williams (above n. 9) 194–5.



intervention in Rome's political affairs. Moreover, it should be considered a supplementary vice to her dangerous femininity, the issue that seems to be of primary interest in the epic poetry of the early Principate.<sup>36</sup>

This conception is supported by Lucan's explicit reference to the battle of Actium. In the *Pharsalia*, the poet states that *Leucadioque fuit dubius sub gurgite casus, / an mundum ne nostra quidem matrona teneret*.<sup>37</sup> Here, the attributes of Cleopatra – her femininity and her foreignness – are harmoniously melted together, while the emphasis is still on the gender perspective.<sup>38</sup> It is noteworthy that Lucan has chosen not to call Cleopatra the Egyptian queen, but, intriguingly, *ne nostra quidem matrona*. The choice of words stresses the abnormality of Cleopatra's behaviour. It emphasises her status as a woman – the role she has, according to the Roman standards, failed to fulfil. The statement is also an accusation towards the Egyptian culture that produced the woman so different from 'our' moderate matrons. The claim is further highlighted when Lucan presents Cleopatra as *dedecus Aegypti, Latii feralis Erinys, / Romano non casta malo*.<sup>39</sup> The emphasis put on the queen's promiscuity as a source of her political power characterises her principally as female, despite all her *potestas*. Her behaviour is subsequently considered shameful for a woman, even for an Egyptian one. Stressing the gender roles that are considered universal, Lucan judges foreign society based on his contemporary Roman value system.

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<sup>36</sup> Johnson has questioned altogether the Roman poets' eagerness to highlight Cleopatra's character as a barbarous Egyptian queen. He has rightly stated the importance of the Alexandrian culture to the Roman poets – nourished by Alexandrian art and civilisation they might have felt uncomfortable characterizing the Alexandrian queen as barbarous. This theory is well worth considering when we study the Cleopatra-representations in different genres of Roman literature. Johnson (above n. 11) 399.

<sup>37</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,66–7.

<sup>38</sup> Other characteristics connected with Cleopatra's character, such as *luxuria* and the greed were also, in the Roman elite culture, considered weaknesses typical for the female sex. Hughes-Hallett has stated that all attributes characteristic to Cleopatra's foreign status (cowardice, duplicity, animality, administrative incompetence) belonged also to her gender. Thus, in Virgil's representation of Actium she flees, "true to her nature as a woman and an Egyptian". According to Hughes-Hallett, these kinds of stereotypic ideas that were considered representative of the universal truth about women and Egyptians, increased the authority and credibility of Cleopatra-narratives, when recurring repeatedly. Hughes-Hallett (above n. 4) 44, 49; see also Quint (above n. 5) 28. On *luxuria* attributed to the character of Cleopatra, see Hughes-Hallett 64–7.

<sup>39</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,59–60.

The female queen is thus a particularly threatening and an unnatural creature, for she has adopted a social role that violates the universal dynamics of gender. This is a basic message about Cleopatra, a message that Virgil and Lucan repeat utilising never-ending possibilities for literary allusions that the epic genre provides. I have, above, raised the question why Virgil depicts Cleopatra so briefly in his description of Actium. The reason might well be that he had already described her vividly and in detail through some other characters. Similarities between Cleopatra and Dido are obvious, and have been carefully studied before.<sup>40</sup> The Dido-episodes in books I and IV of the *Aeneid* can be considered a prelude to the introduction of Cleopatra in book VIII.

Lucan, too, makes clear that he wants the reader to see Virgilian Dido behind Cleopatra. His characterisation of her as *Latii feralis Erinys*<sup>41</sup> is an obvious allusion to Dido, who, on her deathbed, furiously swears to haunt Aeneas' people forevermore.<sup>42</sup> Moreover, the scene where Cleopatra feasts with Caesar is strikingly similar to the banquet given by Dido to Aeneas. The choice of words when describing the splendour of the feast and the appearance of the queen efficiently recalls the Virgilian narrative.<sup>43</sup> The allusion is made obvious when Cleopatra is represented as clothed in the fabric of Sidon.<sup>44</sup> The association with Dido is eminent, since *Sidonia* is an attribute that Virgil connects to the Carthaginian queen throughout his narrative.<sup>45</sup>

Even though Dido is clearly the most obvious epic parallel for Cleopatra, she is not the only one. The way I see it, the poets link Actian Cleopatra with a larger group of tragic and destructive women in the Roman legendary imagery and tradition. The furious and warmongering Latin queen Amata in book VII of the *Aeneid* belongs to this category, as well as Helen, represented in book II as the cause of the Trojan War and in book VI as the active agitator of the hostilities.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Studies discussing the subject, see, e.g., J. M. Benario, "Dido and Cleopatra", *Vergilius* 16 (1970) 2–6; N. Horsfall, "Dido in the light of history", *Proceedings of the Virgil Society* 13 (1973–74) 1–13; J. D. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: nation and poetry in the Aeneid*, Princeton 2007.

<sup>41</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,59.

<sup>42</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,384–87; 4,621–29.

<sup>43</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,107–71; Verg. *Aen.* 1,637–42; 1,697–708.

<sup>44</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,141: *Candida Sidonio perlucent pectora flo.*

<sup>45</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 1,446, 4,137, the parallel passage where Dido is depicted as dressed in Sidonian fabric, see 4,682.

<sup>46</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 2,567–87; 6,509–29. Comparison made between Amata and Dido, for example, see J. W. Zarker, "Amata: Vergil's other tragic queen", *Vergilius* 15 (1969) 2–24.

Lucan, too, compares his Cleopatra to Helen, attesting that *quantum inpulit Argos / Iliacasque domos facie Spartana nocenti, / Hesperios auxit tantum Cleopatra furores*.<sup>47</sup> In book VII of the *Aeneid*, the brief reference to the dangerous and seductive witch-queen Circe could, as well, be read as a prelude for the perilous Egyptian temptress.<sup>48</sup>

The Egyptian queen is thus placed in the long succession of *reginae* threatening to the Roman forefathers. In the epic tradition, this kind of an association brings with it a wide web of meanings. It should be noted that in the Roman historical epic, from Virgil onwards there was a strong tradition of representing Juno, the divine queen, as hostile towards the Roman people and as continuously working against their imperial mission.<sup>49</sup> In both the *Aeneid* and the *Pharsalia* she is represented as responsible for the misfortunes of the Romans, provoking wars and civil discord. The relentless rage of Juno is usually depicted working through flesh-and-blood women. These mortal queens could in a sense be considered as alter egos of the divine queen. The purpose of their existence is to hinder the great mission of Rome's world-dominion. As Lucan calls Cleopatra *Latii feralis Erinys*, he thus instantly brings to mind Juno and her epic *reginae*, one of which the Egyptian queen had by then become.

It is noteworthy that these kinds of allusions work to emphasise the third defining characteristic of Cleopatra; besides foreign and female, she is a *queen*, and as such an indisputable object of fear and contempt for the Romans. The suspicion and hatred felt towards monarchy was such an essential characteristic of the Republican worldview that Cleopatra's identification as a Hellenistic queen indeed could alone have been enough to make her an untrustworthy ally for many. The matter is made worse by the active political role of the queen. Instead of being merely a passive and nominal ruler, in the epic of the early Principate she is an independent agent who actively provokes her unwarlike people to war.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,60–62.

<sup>48</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 7,10–20.

<sup>49</sup> The convention is based on a thought typical of classical mythology that most gods kept favourites among peoples and cities. Juno was thought of as being particularly fond of the Greek cities Samos, Argos, and Sparta, and, especially, of the Phoenician Carthage. See, e.g., Verg. *Aen.* 1,15–18, Stat. *Theb.* 1,250–82, Sil. *Pun.* 1,26–28. The goddess is represented as especially worried about Rome overcoming Carthage as the head of the world, see Verg. *Aen.* 1,19–24; Sil. *Pun.* 1,29–33. Additional to this worry was the old grudge Juno bore against Troy; the Romans, as the descendants of the Trojans, generally fell out of her favour as well, see Verg. *Aen.* 1,25–28.

<sup>50</sup> The unwarlike nature of the Egyptians and their culture is referred to by Lucan various

### The threatening *dux femina*

The character of Cleopatra in the epic of Virgil and Lucan is thus closely connected to the rhetoric concerning a dangerous *dux femina*. This is an expression applied in Latin literature to refer to a political or a military leadership of a woman. A perverted male role of a woman is an expression of the decadence of the society, and the blood-thirsty and unstable nature often associated with the role is considered a threat to the rationalised, male order.

The horror aroused by a female leader in general and Cleopatra in particular is clearly expressed in the Roman poetry. Wyke has observed that the "poetic narratives of Actium construct an anomalous female despotism by which the *libertas* of the Roman male is dangerously imperilled".<sup>51</sup> The threat that the Egyptian queen forms to Rome is apparent in the lyric versions of Actium. In his *Ode* 1,37, Horace accuses Cleopatra of intentions to entirely ruin the Roman state.<sup>52</sup> Propertius, too, in his *Elegiae*, stirs up fear brought about by female warfare.<sup>53</sup>

In the epic poetry, as well, Cleopatra's role as a threatening military leader is highlighted. This is a matter worth further attention. Military leadership of a woman was in the Roman mentality entirely unthinkable. The role of a military commander was a public and political role reserved for upper-class men only. One should remember that mere political power wielded by women, though often considered suspicious and objectionable, was not a phenomenon completely alien to the Roman society. Through their families, elite matrons had obtained a considerable role in the political life of the state from the late Republic onwards. This power, however, was of strictly unofficial nature, and it was gained and used in the private sphere of the society. In the role of a military leader, instead, a woman's *potestas* was rolled out in the public and officially confirmed. This could easily be considered a violation of gender structures that held the society together. By showing off her public role in the battle of Actium, Cleopatra, thus, is represented as crossing the line concerning the public and political position of women.

The presence of the queen in the battle is stressed by every poet who deals with the topic of Actium. In the *Aeneid*, Cleopatra is the only person explicitly

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times; see, e.g., *inbellis populi* (10,54); *inbelli signa Canopo* (10,64).

<sup>51</sup> Wyke (above n. 6) 108.

<sup>52</sup> Hor. *carm.* 1,37,5–8: *Capitolio / regina dementis ruinas / funus et imperio parabat.*

<sup>53</sup> Prop. 3,11,58: *femineo marte*; see also 3,11,39–46.

named among the forces of Antony, mentioned right after the chief himself and thus paralleled to Agrippas's role as the co-commander on the other side.<sup>54</sup> This all appears to be a deliberate attempt to emphasise her role as a fatal *femina dux*. Highlighting Cleopatra's unnatural military status, the poets also address an accusation to Antony: by accepting a woman as his companion in war, he threatens to bring this model of behaviour to Rome as well. What if Antony's side had been victorious? Would the Eastern effeminacy and the leadership of women have penetrated the Roman patriarchal system? Through these kinds of provocative questions the poets lay stress on the peril brought about by Cleopatra's meddling with the Roman Civil Wars. She is not only a military threat but also a prospective destroyer of the traditional gender structures and the moral foundation of Rome.

Another characteristic typical for a *dux femina* is her exercise of power through immoral sexual relationships. Here, again, emphasis is put on the distinction between lawfully wedded matrons and promiscuous female rulers. Involvement in a shameful affair is a matter that aggravates a woman's failure in a respectable female role. In his description of Actium, Virgil expresses the shameful nature of Antony and Cleopatra's so-called marriage: *sequiturque (nefas) Aegyptia coniunx*.<sup>55</sup> The affair of the Roman general with the Egyptian queen is stigmatised as unpleasing to the divine law. Echoes of this judgement are apparent in Lucan's narrative as he defines Caesar's relationship with Cleopatra as an unlawful wedlock with illegitimate offspring.<sup>56</sup>

As a background for Antony and Cleopatra's shameful affair, the unofficial nature of Aeneas' relationship with Dido is similarly stressed in book IV of the *Aeneid*.<sup>57</sup> But Virgil is able to take the succession of the immoral queens even further back. In her glorious banquet Dido is represented as dressed in a golden veil brought by Helen to Troy when entering her fatal marriage.<sup>58</sup> The passage foreshadows the subsequent affairs of Dido and Aeneas and of Antony and Cleopatra. In his representation of Actium, Virgil reminds the reader of the shameful affairs of the former epic queens, and by a single word, *nefas*, he is able to associate Cleopatra's unlawful wedlock with these preceding scandals and their disastrous consequences. One cannot but wonder at the subtlety with which the poet directs

<sup>54</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8,678–88.

<sup>55</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8,688.

<sup>56</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,75–76: *miscuit armis / inlicitosque toros et non ex coniuge partus*.

<sup>57</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,170–72.

<sup>58</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 1,647–52: *inconcessosque hymenaeos*.

his readers' reactions and attitudes.

The most severe peril in the affair between the foreign *dux femina* and the man of power is the political union between the two. Besides a lover, Dido wishes Aeneas to be a co-ruler of her kingdom and an instrument through which the Punic glory would reach its heights.<sup>59</sup> Lucan, likewise, blames Caesar for donating Egypt to Cleopatra rather than conquering it for himself.<sup>60</sup> In these episodes, the foreign woman seeks to benefit from her shameful affair, and the man, blinded by his love, compromises the interests of his own country in an attempt to please the queen. The passages direct the reader's attention to the possible consequences of Antony and Cleopatra's union. One of the most efficient theses of the propaganda against Antony was an accusation that he was planning to move the seat of power from Rome to Alexandria. This argument, confirmed by Antony's testament, was the ultimate reason that ensured Octavian the support of the Senate and enabled him to sail against Antony in Actium.<sup>61</sup> Recurring poetic allusions to the foreign mistress' attempts to increase their power through their lovers can thus be considered reflections of the fear that Rome would be suppressed in an alliance with the foreign power. The natural hierarchy, the dominion of the male over the female and the Romans over the other peoples is altogether called in question by the fatal allure of the *dux femina*.

The gender issue is especially apparent when the epic poets discuss the ways in which the *dux femina* corrupts the man who falls for her charms. The degrading effects of the affair on the man are explained in order to release him from the responsibility. He is represented as bewitched, not able to control his actions once fallen in love with the queen. Like Circe, who seduced men and turned them into beasts, the lethal charms of the *regina* rob the man of his social consciousness, of his manliness and humanity.<sup>62</sup> Therefore he cannot be held responsible for his actions, and the blame is addressed on the temptress. The perversion of the gender dynamics is complete as the woman adopts a public, male role and suppresses the man in a depoliticised, female part.

<sup>59</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,47–49.

<sup>60</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,78–81.

<sup>61</sup> On these accusations, see Suet. *Aug.* 17,1; Plut. *Ant.* 58,3–8; Dio 50,3,2–5. According to Williams, Antony was considered "more conquered by, than conqueror of, the Orient". He was not seen as a victor who made Egypt a part of the Roman Empire, but as a mere tool in Cleopatra's pursuits for the dominion of the world. Williams (above n. 9) 195–6.

<sup>62</sup> This is a recurrent theme in the Roman literature. For some discussion of the topic, see, e.g., Hughes-Hallett (above n. 4) 52–6; Williams (above n. 9) 194.

The worst effect of this decline is that the man becomes forgetful of his country and his quest. *Nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere / regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos*, Virgil states on Dido and Aeneas.<sup>63</sup> Likewise, he depicts Mercury blaming the hero for his thoughtlessness: *tu nunc Karthaginis altae / fundamenta locas pulchramque uxorius urbem / exstruis? heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum!*<sup>64</sup> Allusions to Antony promoting Egypt's interest on Rome's expense are obvious.

In the Roman epic, the allure of the *dux femina* represents a threat not only to Rome's stability, but also to its imperialistic endeavours. Jupiter himself disapproves of Aeneas who, rather than linger in the foreign city, should claim his role as a conquerer *qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem / Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucris / proderet, ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem*.<sup>65</sup> Ultimately, Aeneas is capable of resisting the temptation and adopting his patriotic quest. By this allusion Virgil seems to remind the reader that Antony, on the contrary, was not. Conquered by his lust, he was not a fit leader for Rome, not able to expand the borders of the Empire – in short, not able to complete the historical process represented in Aeneas' shield. Therefore the autocracy of Augustus, the worthy descendant of the *Romulidae*, is legitimised by an unbreakable linkage between Dido and Cleopatra. The theme of the Civil War is connected with Rome's imperialistic quest by the linkage that the dangerous female leader provides.

### **Epic Cleopatra and the foreshadowing of doom**

Cleopatra's status as the prominent ally of Antony and the enemy of Octavian obliges the Roman poets to represent her as a dangerous opponent and a serious threat. From the viewpoint of the Roman gender structures, the issue, however, seems to be somewhat problematic. If the woman is a dangerous adversary of mighty Rome, does that not imply that she is a competent ruler of her own country? And conversely, if she is by nature a bad politician, how can she so successfully meddle with Rome's internal conflicts and drive the great Octavian to such troubles?

<sup>63</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,193–94.

<sup>64</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,265–67.

<sup>65</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,229–31.

The epic poets solve this problem by stressing the woman's nature prone to weakness. The woman can, indeed, be a threatening and powerful ruler, but she is an unreliable one: on the background lurks always the possibility that her feminine weakness takes over and ruins the whole state. Before falling in love with Aeneas, Dido is represented as a good and responsible leader. Virgil attests that *iura dabat legesque viris, operumque laborem / partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat*.<sup>66</sup> She is also an empathetic queen, who pities the exiles and receives them in her care.<sup>67</sup> Politically skilled Dido in fact becomes furious Cleopatra only in the very end of her story, when the feminine vulnerability takes over her social conscience. Then, she is enslaved by her lust and neglects her city:

*non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus / exercet portusue  
aut propugnacula bello / tuta parant: pendent opera interrupta mi-  
naeque / murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.*<sup>68</sup>

Her well-balanced mind, necessary for a ruler, has been conquered by irrational despair; she is *furens* and *accensa*, incapable to take care of herself, let alone of an Empire.<sup>69</sup> The peaceful queen has been transformed into a careless *dira*, prepared to drive her own people to perdition in order to avenge her wounded heart.<sup>70</sup>

L. Hughes-Hallett has perceptively observed that the concurrent theme in the Dido-episode is the suppression of personal needs and feelings for the well-being of a larger social group.<sup>71</sup> Aeneas is able to do this; Dido is not. Virgil actually appears to think that no woman is, and thus he strips the *dux femina* of her supposed political competence. The message is clear enough: though a woman might be an accomplished leader, her nature will not allow her to remain so for long. She plays a dangerous game resisting the natural order of things, and will ultimately drive to destruction not just herself but her people as well. Therefore her meddling with the Roman affairs is even more reprehensible, for she will drag along to perish all her allies.

This seems to be the message expressed in the character of Cleopatra. As a female ruler, she has already degraded the men of her own court. She has done

<sup>66</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 1,507–8.

<sup>67</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 1,628–30.

<sup>68</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,86–89.

<sup>69</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,364; 4,376; 4,465.

<sup>70</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,590–94; 4,600–06; 4,621–29.

<sup>71</sup> Hughes-Hallett (above n. 4) 62.



the same to Antony by stripping him of his sense of responsibility. Let her mess with Rome and she will drive the whole Empire to devastation; the funerary pyre of Dido becomes the flaming city of Rome in the Virgilian allusions of the female leader. This exact idea is the background of Lucan's Civil War depiction as well. The severe judgement he sets on Cleopatra's affair with Caesar is analogue to her later relationship with Antony. The meddling of the queen who is destined to perish brings the foreshadowing of doom also on her lovers and their Empire.

One of the most recurring characteristics that define the epic *dux femina* is indeed her approaching doom. Throughout her story Dido is attributed as *infelix* and *moritura*. The same expressions are applied by Virgil in the context of two Latin *reginae*, who meddle with the political sphere, Amata and Camilla.<sup>72</sup> As for Cleopatra, in the short passage concerning her, Virgil has considered it important to stress her approaching death: *regina in mediis patrio vocat agmina sistro, / necdum etiam geminos a tergo respicit anguis*.<sup>73</sup> The association between the two queens is made explicit by the rhetoric of death: Cleopatra in Actium is described as *pallentem morte futura*, while Dido in book IV is *pallida morte futura*.<sup>74</sup> Even Lucan, who represents Cleopatra nearly two decades before her death, considered it worthwhile to imply her doom: he depicts the queens' own courtiers conniving the murder of their mistress.<sup>75</sup>

Despite the centrality of the approaching death in the depictions of Cleopatra, neither Virgil nor Lucan attempted to explicitly describe her death. Of course, the death scene would not fit in the entity of either the *Aeneid* or the *Pharsalia*. It is difficult to characterise it important enough to be represented in Aeneas' shield, whereas in the *Pharsalia* the attempt would require a time leap of nearly fifteen years. However, it would be extremely interesting to read an epic representation of the death of Cleopatra, in order to perceive how closely it would be associated with the end of the Roman Civil Wars. A text, in fact, has been pre-

<sup>72</sup> In the *Aeneid*, Dido is at least four times referred to as *infelix*, Verg. *Aen.* 1,712; 1,749; 4,529; 4,596. She is also *miserrima* (4,117), *certa mori* (4,564), *moriens* (4,674) and *moritura* (4,308). The approaching death of the queen is implied the first time in 4,68–73, when Dido, hit by the arrow of Cupid, is depicted as wandering through the city like a deer that has been lethally wounded. On Amata and Camilla, Verg. *Aen.* 7,376; 11,563; 11,587–89; 11,816.

<sup>73</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8,696–97.

<sup>74</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 8,709, 4,644.

<sup>75</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,374–75. Once again, Dido is alluded to: the courtiers plan to murder their cruel mistress "in her very bed, be her bedfellow who he may" (*crudelemque toris dominam mactemus in ipsis / cum quocumque viro*). The reader is deliberately reminded of Dido, who intentionally killed herself in the bed she had shared with Aeneas.

served that might have included that kind of a depiction – the *Carmen de bello Actiaco* mentioned earlier.<sup>76</sup> Less than 70 lines survive of the poem, but among them the role of Cleopatra is highly emphasised. The queen is depicted as comparing different ways of suicide, using involuntary slaves and criminals as her guineapigs.<sup>77</sup> The existence of this kind of a scene implies that the death of the queen might have been represented as well. Unfortunately, the end of the poem has not been preserved. We might never know what an epic representation of the *regina moriens* would have been like, but based on the tradition represented by Virgil and Lucan, one is tempted to imagine it as immensely tragic, slightly moralistic and loaded with political overtones.

### **Sympathising the enemy – a humane epic outlook or a propagandistic tool?**

I have above recurrently stressed the moralistic tone present in the epic depictions of Cleopatra. The queen is rigorously evaluated and often severely judged by the Roman poets – she has to be, since she represents a threat to the Augustan autocracy and a violation of the social hierarchy that formed the basis of the Roman society. In the course of years, the monstrous image of Cleopatra was even further highlighted by historians such as Dio, Appian and Plutarch. From this basis, Hughes-Hallett has gone as far as to state that every author belonging to the Roman literary tradition, poets and historians alike, depicted the Egyptian queen as conniving and treacherous, incapable of genuine feelings.<sup>78</sup> I feel obliged to question this statement, for there is at least one who, despite his principled disapproval of what Cleopatra stands for, manages to treat her very empathetically and compassionately on a humane level.

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<sup>76</sup> In his article "Il 'Bellum Actiacum' e Lucano", Cozzolino has intriguingly discussed the similarities in the style of the *Carmen de bello Actiaco* and the *Pharsalia*. He indicates the relation between these epic works, suggesting that Lucan was familiar with *Carmen de bello Actiaco* and utilised it in his work. A. Cozzolino, *Cron. Erc.* 5 (1975) 81–6. More discussion on the poem and its dating, see H. W. Benario, "The 'Carmen de Bello Actiaco' and Early Imperial Epic", *ANRW* II 3.3 (1983) 1656–62; R. Immarco Bonavolontà, "Per una nuova edizione del *PHerc.* 817", in *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia, Napoli, 19–26 maggio 1983* (1984), 583–90 and "La col. VI del *Carmen De bello Actiaco* (*PHerc.* 817)", *Pap.Lup.* 1 (1992) 241–8; G. Zecchini, *Il Carmen de bello Actiaco. Storiografia e lotta politica in età augustea*, Stuttgart 1987.

<sup>77</sup> Col. 5–6.

<sup>78</sup> Hughes-Hallett (above n. 4) 46–7.

I am, of course, referring to Virgil. True to his psychological sensitivity throughout the *Aeneid*, and his great compassion towards the *victi*, Virgil refuses to depict his epic queens merely as abstract representations of vices and weaknesses. The tragic deaths of Camilla, Amata and Dido, sensitively and movingly described, challenge the reader to reconsider the downfall of the Egyptian queen as well. In the middle of his political narrative of war, Virgil calls for a more humane point of view, claiming sensitiveness to the human suffering and the personal loss.

The idea of Virgil expressing compassion towards Cleopatra through his other tragic queens can naturally be easily questioned. Literary allusions between characters are a vague subject – it is impossible to indicate when Dido is just Dido, and when she might be Cleopatra. However, if the poet was willing to sympathise with the Egyptian queen, concealed allusions would be the way to do it. In the political climate of the Augustan era, Virgil could not have straightforwardly included Cleopatra's point of view in his version of Actium. But could he have included it elsewhere?

In my opinion, he did. In the end of book IV, when Aeneas is fleeing from Carthage and Dido is about to face her death, she gives a speech that summarises her outlook on the tragedy:

*'urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi, / ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi, / felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum / numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.'* - - *'moriemur inultae, / sed moriamur'* ait. *'sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras. / hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto / Dardanus, et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.'*<sup>79</sup>

Associations with the battle of Actium are inevitable. The queen has been conquered, and, realising that nothing can be done, she foresees her approaching death. The victor, on the other hand, sails triumphantly towards his country, towards the new era he is about to establish. It is established through the blood of the foreign queen, and the flames of her destruction colour the waves as the hero sails away.

In her speech Dido recalls her accomplishments as a queen and proclaims that, had she been able to rule in peace, without ever meeting the Trojan exiles, both her own fate and that of her country would have been happier. This is presumably what Cleopatra might have pondered upon on the eve of her death.

<sup>79</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 4,655–57; 4,660–62.

The Romans ruined her life, there is no question; since the moment Caesar laid his feet on Egyptian soil the destiny of the Ptolemaian princess was altered for good. This is at least what Lucan seems to think. Even though his description of Cleopatra is a whole lot less sympathetic than Virgil's, he strikingly puts the blame of her actions on the Romans who dragged her into the political mess of the last century B.C. *Hoc animi nox illa dedit, quae prima cubili / miscuit incestam ducibus Ptolemaida nostris*, the poet states.<sup>80</sup> Caesar, not Cleopatra, is made the scapegoat of the Civil Wars all the way to Actium: he is the one who first meddled with the foreign queen, and now the queen is meddling with the conflicts of Rome. Therefore, in Actium, the Romans are really cleaning up their own mess.

What survives of *Carmen de bello Actiaco* represents the defeated queen with rather compassionate tone as well. The unknown poet goes even further than Virgil in giving voice to Cleopatra herself. Among the lines preserved there are six consisting of Cleopatra's speech, and there have been more, since these speeches do not seem to have been preserved in their entirety. In these passages Cleopatra laments her miserable fate (*Saepe eg[ro] quae ve[st]ris cup[id]e [se]rmonibus haus[i]. / Qua[s] igitur segnis [e]t[ia]nnunc quaerere causas / exs[angu]is[s]que moras vitae libet?*) and her abandonment by Antony (*Atq[ue] alia inc[ipiens miseram me linquit] a[man]te[m]*).<sup>81</sup> There are six additional lines depicting Cleopatra's mournful state of mind, and one passage, where an unknown companion seeks to console the miserable queen.<sup>82</sup>

Rather surprisingly, of all genres of Roman literature, the imperial epic thus seems to be the one that most distinctively gives a voice to the Egyptian queen (or, more accurately, to the literary character representing her), and does so in a compassionate and an empathetic tone. Virgil achieves this through subtle allusions and literary parallels, while the author of the *Carmen de bello Actiaco* applies a more straightforward approach. How is this kind of an attitude possible? Why would the poets of the early Principate sympathise with the enemy of the state, and describe her in a nearly admiring way? Were they not influenced by the ideas of the imperial propaganda after all?

They most likely were, but the compassionate descriptions of the defeated queen are, in fact, not in contradiction with this matter. One should not pass by the possibility that representing Cleopatra as a great and a tragic queen might not

<sup>80</sup> Luc. *Phar.* 10,68–69.

<sup>81</sup> Col. 4,2–4 (cited from Blänsdorf, *Fr. Poet. Lat.* [2011] 46e); 7,1 (cf. Blänsdorf fr. 46g: *atq[ue] alia inc[ipiens ...]ra[...]*tes).

<sup>82</sup> Col. 4,7–8; 7,2–5; 3,1–8.

have been merely a personal choice of the poets – it could have been part of the imperial propaganda. It is crucial to recall that when the *Aeneid* was published after Virgil's death in 19 B.C., the battle of Actium had been won a long time ago, and the Augustan regime had already established itself. The purpose of Virgil's epic was not, therefore, to elevate the war morale of the Romans. There was no longer an absolute need to dehumanise the enemy – on the contrary, a less hypocritical narrative might even increase the artistic valour of the poem and subsequently its popularity and distribution.<sup>83</sup> A mere political pamphlet of the ultimate victory of Augustus would never have achieved the kind of bi-millennial popularity that the *Aeneid* did. The political message spreads more widely and is preserved better when it is wrapped in a fascinating and a humane narrative. This is a fact the leader of the Empire was doubtlessly very well aware of.

In addition, one should recall that the winner himself paid attention to honouring his defeated allies. In civil war, a certain etiquette must be followed. Mark Antony as a Roman general, and Cleopatra as his ally, no matter how severely vilified during the war, deserved to be sent to the underworld respectfully by the winning side. Suetonius tells that Octavian had a mighty tomb built for Antony and Cleopatra in Alexandria – exactly the way Antony had wanted it.<sup>84</sup> The ruler of the Empire aimed to appear the pious Roman who respected the *maiorum mores*. The sympathetic epic representations of the defeated queen are not in contradiction with this pursuit. On the contrary, they work as a means of transmitting the message that the winner understood the cost of the great victory and grieved the bloodshed of the Civil War.

## Conclusion

Epic representations of Actium and Cleopatra seem to form a rather unique group in Roman literature. It can be considered hazardous to draw any generalizations based on two works set apart by eight decades, and one fragmentary source the dating of which is uncertain. Nevertheless, in this scrappy evidence there appear many characteristics that set the epic narratives apart from other literary sources.

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<sup>83</sup> Pelling has further studied the compassionate tone towards Cleopatra in Horace's *Ode* 1,37. He, too, has ended up in stressing the significance of the temporal distance between the poem and the battle of Actium. Pelling emphasises that sympathy felt towards the losing side usually increases in time, and, according to him, Horace's nearly admiring representation of *non humilis mulier* is a good example of this phenomenon. Pelling (above n. 4) 294–5.

<sup>84</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 17,4–5.

One of these is the apparent theme of the Civil War, perceivable in the representations of Actium and Cleopatra throughout. This little studied matter challenges the reader to reconsider the content of the imperial propaganda as a whole. I conclude that in contrast to what has often been argued the Civil War was far from being a taboo in the Augustan era. If it had been so, in the years preceding Actium, it certainly was not ten years later when Virgil composed his *Aeneid*, or thirty years later when Augustus wrote his *Res gestae*. Time leaps of a few decades may seem short and insignificant when studied from a distance of two millennia, but in the early Principate, a few decades certainly could have an enormous influence on the political ambiance. When the battle of Actium had ceased to be reality and become an episode of recent history, it was not anymore regarded as unsuitable to discuss it as part of the Civil Wars, as long as the necessity of the war and its beneficial outcome were explicitly expressed. This is exactly what the epic does. Through the representations of the internal conflicts – the rape of the Sabine virgins, the war against the Tarquinius, the struggle of Caesar and Pompey – the epic poets of the early Principate refer to the battle of Actium both as a part of the recurring civil conflicts, and as their final endpoint.

The character of the Egyptian queen, too, should be studied against this background. In the works of Virgil and Lucan Cleopatra appears as tightly associated with the Civil War. Here the differences between the epic and other literary genres are the most eminent. Unlike in Roman lyric or historiography, the epic Cleopatra is not represented as the *casus belli* or the principal enemy in the war, but rather as the foreign *regina* meddling with the Roman internal conflicts. She is associated with other dangerous queens of the literary tradition and, thus, characterised as a stereotypical *dux femina*, the woman who perverts the natural gender structures by adopting a public, political male role. In contrast to the common conception, not her foreignness but rather her status as a female leader is represented in the epic as her most defining vice. The queen who fails to fulfil her role as a woman is acting against her nature, and is therefore destined to perish. She will drag to perdition both her country and her allies – if she is let meddle with Rome, she will take the Empire with her as well. Cleopatra of Virgil and Lucan is the incarnation of this danger. It is at the same time a female peril brought about by the male weakness and an Eastern peril brought about by the Roman internal disorder. The role of Actium is to restore the universal order that has been shattered by the Civil Wars and by the threatening power of the *dux femina*. The only thing that legitimises the one more horrifying battle of the Civil War is the optimistic idea that this war, finally, would be the one to put an end to Roman internal conflicts and restore the natural balance of things.

The poets emphasise that it is not only Augustus' grand gesture to wage this ultimate war – it is, indeed, his obligation. The chaotic situation is, according to the epic poets, blamed on the Romans themselves, who have driven the state to the internal struggles, and dragged the foreign queen into them. The mess brought about by the previous generations must be cleaned up by the Romans themselves, and Augustus as the heir of Caesar is the natural choice for the one to do it. In *Actium*, he claims his stand as the worthy descendant of the *Romulidae* and brings to the end the curse of the Civil Wars. By delivering this message the imperial epic does exactly what it is set out to do, without compromising the poets' artistic visions. In a subtle and elegant way, the epic poets legitimise Augustus' attack on Antony and Cleopatra, still managing to do it without glorifying the war itself, and retaining a humane compassion towards the conquered. The epic poetry of the early Principate forms, indeed, a more magnificent funerary monument of Antony and Cleopatra than the mighty tomb in Alexandria. In a more permanent way, it carries out the same purpose: to emphasise the tragedy of the Civil Wars, to celebrate their ultimate end, and to express the high-mindedness of the hero regretting those he was obliged to conquer.

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## OBSERVATIONS ON THE NEW DECREE FROM COPIA THURII (*AE* 2008, 441)

OLLI SALOMIES

In *Minima Epigraphica et Papyrologica* 11 (2003), fascicolo 13, p. 71–160, Felice Costabile published a most interesting decree from Copia in Bruttium (modern Calabria), which has been preserved in an unusual way, inasmuch as not the inscription itself, but only its impression has been preserved, for the stone on which the text was inscribed was, perhaps in the 3rd century AD, used upside down for paving a floor in the local baths. The stone was later destroyed, and so now only the impression exists. It goes without saying that reading the impression of an inscription is a pretty complicated business, and a look at any of the photos attached to the *editio princeps* will confirm this. Moreover, the right – from the point of view of the reader – side of the inscription, along with about 5 to 15 letters in each line, is missing.

The inscription was apparently first observed in the early 2000's, and has since then been presented to various scholarly audiences. Taking into account the great difficulties in deciphering the text, especially in the lines in which the letters are small, it is a wonder that Professor Costabile has been able to produce the *editio princeps* so soon, and the scholarly world must be grateful to him for this achievement. On the other hand, one does not have to read many lines of the published text in order to see that there is still work to do.

The text, as published by Costabile (p. 82; also p. 111) and reproduced with minor alterations in *AE* 2008, 441, runs as follows:

*Ti(berio) Claudio Caes[aris] / l(iberto) Idomen[er]o[rum] quoi de ciui[tate] /  
Copienses honoris caussa de s[e]n[ati]o[n]e [sen]t[en]tia) / deder[un]t ea quae  
infra scripta s[un]t. /<sup>5</sup> P(ublius) Blaesius Marianus IIIuir quinq[ue]n[na]lis  
[iure dic]un[do] / iterum, M(arcus) Minucius M(an)ni [sic] f(ilius) Sota  
praef[ect]us Ti(beri) Caesaris Aug[ust]i / cens[or]ia potestate, VIII  
k(alendas) Apr(iles) senatum in cur[ia] Vin[uleia] / consuluerunt. Scriben-*



*do [a]dfuerunt: T(itus) Albius Sabin[us] ----- ] / P(ublius) Sumettus Regi-  
 nus, L(ucius) Idumaeus Mela, Q(uintus) Vibul[us] Agrippa, [-----  
 Q(uod)] / <sup>10</sup> [u(erba)] f(acta) sunt de honore Ti(beri) Claudi Caesar(is)  
 l(iberti) Idomen<e>i, q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret) d(e) e(a)  
 r(e) i(ta) censu[ere. Quod Ti(berius)] / C[l]audius Idomeneus ita se ges-  
 serit annis Copiae iis suae uitae cum seruierit in [municipio n(ostro) :]  
 / [in]colis magn[e] pr[ae]cessit summa modestia, iust[it]ia <a>eque  
 p(ublicum) a(rgentum) administrare ex[pertus est] / et deinde liber factus  
 similem se <praestitit> ; pristinae clem[en]tia<e> fouendae placere huic  
 s[plendidissimo] / ordini [A]ugustalem eum in hunc annum exs decre[t]o  
 nostro creare, qui honor de A[ugustalitate] / <sup>15</sup> ante hoc tempus nulli ratus  
 sit, eumque ordinem <n(ostrum)> em[e]rere praeferrique cen[suere, exs  
 K(apite) .. de Aug(ustalitate)] / legis, omnibus quos hoc [a]nno senatus  
 f[ut]uros Augusta[l]es cens(uit), uere quo n[ot]ius [sit in eum studium r(ei)  
 p(ublicae)] / et is modes[t]iae suae praecepisse fructum debitum merito  
 uideatur ; itaq[ue] admirantes] / ceteri simili[s] fortunae hominis periti ui-  
 tae forte merit[um], senatus am[plissimum] iudiciorum, imitari eum uelint.*

What one sees immediately is that what we have here is an "honorific" inscription which is followed, from line 5 onwards, by a decree of the of the local *ordo*, calling itself, as is usual, *senatus*. However, one does not have to read many lines before one sees that there are passages in which the reading cannot be correct; in fact, there seem to be passages in which the Latin seems either unintelligible or incorrect or both. This is, of course, not without parallel, for there are also other decrees which include passages which can barely be understood (e.g., Sherk – see n. 5 – no. 21). However, these are texts from the third and the fourth centuries, and thus much later than this one which is from the time of Tiberius (thus Costabile) or, if the honorand is not a freedman of Tiberius (called *Ti. Claudius* until 4 AD) but of Claudius (as suggested as a possibility by M. Corbier in *AE*), from the time of this emperor (although this would require us to accept that *Ti(berius) Caesar Aug[ustus]* in line 6 refers to Claudius and not to Tiberius, as one would *a priori* assume). Be that as it may, this inscription is in any case from a period in which one expects the Latin to be more or less correct. It is also, however, true that this inscription does seem to include some unusual features. In this article, my aim is to suggest some possible emendations to the text, but also to point out passages in which the text seems either odd or even unacceptable. Before going into this, I would like stress my admiration for Professor Costabile's labours in producing a reading of the inscription; if there is still some work to be done, this is due to the great difficulties this particular text offers.

As mentioned above, the text consists of an honorific inscription and of a copy of a decree conferring "honours" on the honorand. In the edition of Costabile, the honorific inscription runs as follows:

*Ti(berio) Claudio Caes[aris] / l(iberto) Idomen<sup>o</sup> quoi de ciui[tate] / Copienses honoris caussa de s[e]n(atus) [sen(tentia)] / deder(unt) ea quae infra scripta s[u]nt.*

This is translated (p. 110) as "al quale, in merito alla cittadinanza, i Copiensi hanno dato quello che è scritto sotto" (this translation seems to omit *honoris caussa*; in the French version in *AE*, "à qui, à propos de la citoyenneté, le peuple de Copia, pour l'honorer, a accordé sur avis du sénat ce qui est écrit ci-dessous"). Before going into more important matters, let me observe that the reading of the cognomen is in fact *Idomeni* (with *I longa* at the end) which is considered as an error by Costabile, but on the one hand, it would be very odd if the stonecutter or the person who formulated the inscription would have made an error in the name of the honorand, and not only once but twice (cf. below). And on the other hand, it seems obvious that, as observed by Costabile himself (p. 92), the form *Idomeni* reflects the Greek dative Ἰδομενεῖ; since there are also other instances of Greek names ending in *-eus* being furnished, in the dative, with the ending *-i*,<sup>1</sup> there is perhaps no good reason for correcting the form to *Idomen<sup>o</sup>*.

As for the rest, it must be first noted that the inscription has a structure out of the ordinary inasmuch as it says nothing about the *honores* of the honorand of whom just the name is given, the reader being referred, in the matter of the *honores* "given" to Idomeneus, to the decree that is cited below. In fact, the whole phrase *cui* (here replaced by archaic *quoi*) ... (subject) ... *dedit/dederunt* (or in the passive *datum est*, etc.) is unusual, although not unparalleled.<sup>2</sup> The formulation

<sup>1</sup> H. Solin, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 80f.; add *Longinio Basili CIL VI 27849* (I wish to thank Professor Solin for this reference).

<sup>2</sup> Cf., e.g., *AE* 1927, 124 cf. 2005, 324 (Formiae) *C. Clodio Hilario biselliario, cui ordo conscript(orum) ornamenta decur(ionalia) dedit*; *CIL X 1081 = ILS 6446* (Nuceria) *M. Virtio M. f. Men(enia) Cerauno aedili, Iivir(o) iure dicundo ... , cui decuriones ob munificentiam eius ... duumviratum gratuitum dederunt Nuceriae*; *AE* 1984, 188 (Forum Popilii) *C. Messio ... Scaev(ae) Iivir(o) tert(ium), cui lege Flavia datum est, primus sententiam sui ordinis interrogaretur cuique post mortem publice funus locusque sepulturae decretus est, Scaeva f(ilius)*; *CIL III 1193 = ILS 2746 = IDR III 5, 2, 542* (Apulum) *C. Iul(io) ... Corinthiano ... cui ob virtute(m) sua(m) sacratissimi Imper(atores) coronam muralem etc. ... dederunt*; cf. *CIL XIII 1684. 1821. 1954 = ILS 1441. 4952a. 7030*. Other verbs used in relative phrases introduced by *cui* are, e.g., *deferre* (*CIL IX 5856 = ILS 6574, [cui] primo equiti Romano ...*

*dederunt ea, quae infra scripta sunt* is, in contrast, as far as I can see altogether without parallels (but the reading is not in doubt). But these are certainly not the only unusual details here. As always in similar cases, it is the *senatus* which is offering the *honores* to Idomeneus, but the text as restored implies that it is the *Copienses* who are acting here *de senatus sententia*. Perhaps this is acceptable, as the *ordo* could possibly be seen as representing the whole of the population, but what I certainly cannot find acceptable is the reading *de civi[tate]* and its rendering as "in merito alla cittadinanza", i.e., more or less "as to the citizenship" (rendered in French in the *AE* as "à propos de la citoyenneté"). First of all, "to whom, as to (or: in reference to) his (or: the) citizenship, the people of Copia ... gave what is written below" does not seem to mean anything, and the contents of the decree, as far as one can make any sense of it, do not seem to have much to do with questions connected with one's citizenship (I am not sure this can be explained away by what is said on pp. 154–6); in fact, a mention of citizenship seems quite out of the place here. Moreover, I cannot see how the phrase "dare aliquid de aliquo" could mean anything other than "to give something from something", the *de* + ablative indicating the provenance of a donation, as in expressions such as *dare de suo*, *de sua pecunia*, "to give from one's own money", "to give at one's own expense".

But is the reading of the inscription in line 2 even *de civi[ --- ]*? What one sees in fact is *DECV* followed by a vertical stroke which is identified with an *I* by Costabile but which could also be the left part of letter such as *B*, *D*, *E*, *F*, *H*, *K*, *L*, etc. The first *I* in *civi[ --- ]* is reconstructed on the basis of an uncertain trace inside the *C*, which seems to have the form of a double *T*, with a short horizontal stroke at the top and at the bottom (cf. fig. 4 on p. 75); but taking into account the fact that what we have here is not the inscription but its impression, and that the surface is most uneven, it seems better to see this just as another trace due to chance, to be ignored in the reading of the inscription. Support for this view can be based on the fact that, at least in the legible parts of the inscription, there do not seem to be other instances of ligatures or of letters having been inscribed inside other letters in this inscription.<sup>3</sup>

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*patrocinium delatum est*), *mandare* (*CIL* V 1874 = *ILS* 1118; *CIL* XI 387 = *ILS* 6660), *conferre* (*CIL* III 8203 = *ILS* 7177 = *IMS* VI 62), *decernere* (e.g., *CIL* XIV 362 = *ILS* 6135).

<sup>3</sup> It must, however, be admitted that in the reconstruction of the middle part of line 11 on p. 95, it is suggested that the *O* of the (alleged) reading *Copiae* was at least in part inscribed within the *C*, but to me everything here seems uncertain and in the facsimile on p. 106, the *O* is placed to the right of the *C*.

Taking all this into consideration, I suggest that we should read not *de civi[tate]* but *decur[iones]*, followed by *Copienses* in line 3. One could object that it would be strange if the *decur[iones]* *Copienses* gave something *de s[e]n(atus) [sen(tentia)]*, read at the end of line 3, but to be honest, one does not see much in the photos after *de*, and certainly not a trace which could be identified with certainty as an *S*, not to mention a trace which could be seen as representing the *N* in *s[e]n(atus)* (that the editor here thought of reading *s[e]n(atus)* no doubt was influenced by the fact that the *ordo* of Copia is referred to as *senatus* in line 7). In view of this, and of the fact that at least in the facsimile on p. 106, the trace indicated as existing after *de* could also be interpreted as a *C*, I suggest that, instead of *de s[e]n(atus) [sen(tentia)]*, the reading should be *dec[reto suo]* (or *dec[ret(o)]* or *s(uo)*). I must confess that I have not been able to locate an exact parallel to the phrase *decuriones ... decreto suo* followed by a verb, but a *decretum* is, of course, what the *decuriones* are expected to produce, and there are instances of the expression *ordo* (consisting of the *decuriones*) ... (*ex*) *decreto suo* followed by a verb; e.g., *CIL* V 337 = *Inscr. It.* X 2, 19 = *ILS* 6679, *huic ordo pientissimus decr(eto) suo funus pub(licum) et res pub(lica) ... censuerunt*.<sup>4</sup>

To recapitulate, I suggest that the reading of the "honorific" part of the inscription should be as follows: *Ti. Claudio Caes[aris] / l. Idomeni, quoi decur[iones] / Copienses honoris caussa dec[reto suo] / deder(unt) ea, quae infra scripta s[u]nt*.

This part is followed by the decree of the *senatus* (lines 5ff.). This begins in the normal way with the names of the magistrates who convened the *ordo*, the date (*VIII K(alendas) Apr(iles)*) and the place (*in cur[i]a Vin[u]leia*). In many decrees, the year and the name of the city are also added, but there are also parallels for the omission of these items.<sup>5</sup> In this particular case, the identity of the city can be inferred from the mention earlier of the *Copienses*, and there are also other instances in which the city in which the decree was drawn up is not mentioned *expressis verbis* but can be inferred on the basis of an adjective referring to its

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ILS* 1116. 6274. 6810; *AE* 1989, 420; 1999, 470; *IRT* 566.

<sup>5</sup> The date is given, but the year is omitted in, e.g., *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 3173 = R. K. Sherk, *Municipal Decrees of the Roman West* (1970; quoted in the following as "Sherk") no. 15 (late Republican); *CIL* X 1453 = *ILS* 5616 = Sherk no. 27 (Augustan or even Triumviral, as proposed by E. Bispham, *From Asculum to Actium* (2007) 384f., 505f. no. D5; *CIL* XI 1420 = *ILS* 139 = Sherk no. 47 (AD 2/3); etc. As for the omission of the city in inscriptions mentioning the place where the *ordo* or some other body convened, note, e.g., *CIL* V 2856 = Sherk no. 4; *CIL* X 1453 = *ILS* 5616 = Sherk no. 27; and all decrees of the *ordo* of Puteoli (e.g., *AE* 2008, 372).

inhabitants. However, it must be admitted that these instances are much later and do not seem to appear in municipal decrees, but in decrees of other bodies.<sup>6</sup>

From a formal point of view, this decree belongs to that group of municipal decrees in which the magistrates, who are apparently normally identical with the *relatores*, are already mentioned in the prescript, and not again in the *relatio*;<sup>7</sup> in these cases, the *relatio* has normally the passive form *quod (...) verba facta sunt*. Exact parallels for the expression *senatum consuluerunt* at this point can be found in a fragmentary early decree from Venusia (*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 402 = IX 439 = Sherk no. 17) and, abbreviated *s. c.*, in decrees from Ferentinum (*AE* 1982, 307 = *Suppl.It.* I Ferentinum 5; *CIL* VI 1492 = *ILS* 6106 = Sherk no. 9) and Aquileia (*CIL* V 875 = *ILS* 1374 = *I. Aquileia* 495 = Sherk no. 2); the expression *decu[ri]ones consuluerunt* in *CIL* V 2856 = Sherk no. 4.<sup>8</sup>

The list of the witnesses begins in the normal way with *scribendo [a]dfuerunt* followed by the names. If the original width of the inscription has been calculated correctly – and it seems so, cf. p. 71 and the reconstruction on p. 106 – there does not seem to be enough space for the name of another person after Ti. Albius Sabin[us] in line 8, and so it is surely preferable to assume with Costabile (p. 82 in the Apparatus criticus) that this man had two cognomina. As for the first two names in line 9, we are offered the reading *P. Sumettus Reginus*, *L. Idumaeus Mela*, but both *nomina* are otherwise unattested and – to be honest – not very plausible (the same view is taken in the commentary in the *AE*). As for *Idumaeus*, there is apparently nothing one can do with this name (I also find it odd that one would encounter the name for the first time in an inscription honouring a certain Idomeneus), although one could observe that, if at least the reading *-maeus* is correct (this seems to be indicated in the facsimile), the repertory of *nomina* otherwise attested ending in *-maeus* and thus coming into question here

<sup>6</sup> I mean here instances of the type *CIL* XI 970 = *ILS* 7216 (AD 190), *in templo collegi fabrum et centonariorum Regiensium*; *CIL* XI 2702 = *ILS* 7217 (AD 224), *in schola collegi fabrum civitatis Volsiniensium*.

<sup>7</sup> But in *senatus consulta*, the convening magistrate(s) could be mentioned both in the prescript and in the *relatio* (e.g., *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 588 = VI 40890 – the *s. c. de Asclepiade Clazomenio et aliis* – of 78 BC, *Q. Lutatius Q. f. Catulus cos. senatum consuluit a. d. XI K. Iun. in comitio; scribundo adfuerunt ... ; quod Q. Lutatius Q. f. Catulus cos. verba fecit* etc.).

<sup>8</sup> But the passive form is also used in those decrees in which the *relatores* are mentioned within the *relatio* in an ablative absolute (e.g., *EE* VIII 371 = S. L. Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in The Kelsey Museum* [2005] no. 10 [Puteoli], *[qu]od universis postulan[tibus] --- v. f. sunt*]; *AE* 1991, 713 [Fidentia], *quod referentib(us) C. Annio Primitivo et Q. Sertorio Felicissimo curatorib(us) verba f(acta) s(unt)*; etc.

is fairly limited.<sup>9</sup> As for *Sumettus*, I am a bit sceptical about what is said on this name on pp. 130–3, where this name is said to be that of a *gens* of Arcadian origin. On the basis of what one seems to see in the photo on p. 93 one could perhaps suggest the possibility of reading *Suavitius* or *Suavetius*, which *nomen*, although rare, at least has the advantage of also existing outside this particular text;<sup>10</sup> in this case, one would have to assume that the right stroke of the *V* is almost vertical, which in fact seems to be the case in a number of instances of this letter in this inscription.

The section dealing with the subject of the decree is introduced in lines 9f. with the normal phrase [*q(uod) / v(erba)*] *f(acta) sunt* with the mention of the subject following. In most decrees, this is expressed either by the use of a clause formulated as an *accusativus cum infinitivo*,<sup>11</sup> or the subject is mentioned in the ablative dependent on the preposition *de*. The latter is used here: [*q(uod) / v(erba)*] *f(acta) sunt de honore Ti. Claudii Caesar(is) l(iberti) Idomen(e)i*. Now this is interesting, for the solemn style of decrees from the municipal sphere seems to have required that the ablatives following *de* include a gerundive, as for instance in *CIL* XI 1420 = *ILS* 139 = Sherk no. 47 (Pisae, 2/3 AD), *de augendis honoribus L. Caesaris* or in *CIL* IX 47 cf. *AE* 2003, 352 = Sherk no. 13 (Brundisium), *de honoranda morte L. Cassi Flaviani*;<sup>12</sup> in these instances, the verb in the gerun-

<sup>9</sup> The reverse index in H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum* (1988, <sup>2</sup>1994) p. 222 produces *Ammaeus Calmaeus Cammaeus Carmaeus Ptolemaeus Romaesus*, but there are also *Calsameus* (L. Sensi, *RPAA* 57 [1984/5] 16, Fanum) and *Mammaeus* (M. Della Corte, *PP* 6 [1951] 227 no. 8, Herculaneum; *AE* 2007, 1611a, the cognomen *Mammaianus* in Berytus). All of these names are very rare and in many cases, the attestations seem most uncertain.

<sup>10</sup> *Suavitius* and its variants are attested in Rome (*CIL* VI 2591. 10350, cf. *AE* 2001, 433), Capua (*CIL* X 3972) and Salerno (*CIL* X 640 = *Inscr. It.* I 1, 88). The pretorian in *CIL* VI 2591 has the same *praenomen* as the man in the beginning of line 9, *P(ublius)*.

<sup>11</sup> E.g., *AE* 1947, 53 = Sherk no. 28 = *AE* 1976, 144, [*quod*] *M. Ofillius Celer Iivir iter(um) v(erba) f(ecit) pertinere at municipi dignitatem meritis M. Noni Balbi respondere*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *AE* 1956, 20 = 2007, 373 (Herculaneum; no doubt *de] statua Pomp[on]n[io] --- ponenda ad] honorand[am] [eius memoriam]*); *AE* 1974, 256 = S. L. Tuck, *Latin Inscriptions in The Kelsey Museum* (2005) no. 11 (Puteoli; surely [*de honoranda memor]ia Iuli Iuliani*); *AE* 2008, 372 (Puteoli), *de decernendis ornamentis decurionalibus Pompeio Euphrosyno*; *AE* 1910, 203 cf. 2003, 352 = Sherk no. 14 (Brundisium), *de honoranda morte Clodiae Anthianillae*; *CIL* X 1782 = Sherk no. 33 (Puteoli), *de confirmanda auctoritate memoriae honorand(ae) statuaq(ue) ponenda Annio Modesto*; *AE* 1999, 453 (Puteoli), *de loco dando Augustalib(us)*; *CIL* X 1784 = *ILS* 6334 = Sherk no. 35 (Puteoli, AD 187), *de decernendo funere publico*; *CIL* X 3698 = *ILS* 4175 = Sherk no. 42 (Cumae, AD 289) *de sacerdote faciendo*; etc. As for *consulta* of

dive already gives an indication of what the *relatores* are suggesting. It is true, though, that ablatives without gerundives are also found, although only rarely; in *CIL* X 1787 = Sherk no. 36 (Puteoli), we have *de sepultura Cn. Tett[i ---]*; and there is also *CIL* X 1783 = *ILS* 5919 = Sherk no. 34 from Puteoli with *de desiderio Laeli Atimeti optimi civis* (the exact nature of the *desiderium* being described in the explanatory part of the decree).<sup>13</sup> However, the formulation *de honore* (the reading is here quite clear) followed by the name of the honorand in the genitive is, as far as I can see, without parallels.<sup>14</sup> As for the reading *Idomen(e)i*, I think that here, too (cf. above on the dative *Idomeni*), we do not necessarily have to assume an error, and that the genitive *Idomeni* could be accepted as such, although the genitive *Achilli* is perhaps not a very good parallel, as the nominative of this name is *Achilles* rather than *Achilleus*.

The *relatio* ends (in line 10) with the normal phrase *q(uid) d(e) e(a) r(e) f(ieri) p(laceret), d(e) e(a) r(e) i(ta) censu[ere]*. I cannot say I can see much of this in the photo, but this is what one naturally expects. We now move on to the decree. In some cases, the decree proper, introduced normally with *placere* and formulated as an indirect *accusativus cum infinitivo* clause, already begins at this very point; in these instances, the motivation of the decree has already been dealt with in what precedes, normally in the *relatio*,<sup>15</sup> but as in this inscription, it is

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the Roman senate, note, e.g., *AE* 1984, 508 (the *tabula Siarensis*), *de memoria honoranda Germanici Caesaris*; *Frontin. aq.* 100, *de eis, qui curatores nominati essent, ornandis*; *ibid.* 125, *de rivis ... reficiendis*.

<sup>13</sup> In *CIL* X 5670 = Sherk no. 46 = *ILMN* 582 (Sora), something clearly went seriously wrong with the syntax, for the mention of the subject starts with *de Ilviro quinquenn(ali) in prox(imum) annum*, but where one would expect *faciendo*, we read in fact *feri* (sic). For an ablative without a gerundive in a decree of the senate in Rome cf., e.g., *Frontin. aq.* 104, *de numero publicorum salientium*; *CIL* X 1401 = *ILS* 6043, *de postulatione necessari[orum] Alliatoriae Celsillae*.

<sup>14</sup> Costabile (p. 90) mentions as parallels *quod v(erba) f(acta) s(unt) in ho[n]orem C. Minici Itali* in *CIL* V 875 = *ILS* 1374 = Sherk no. 2 and *in honorem Curti Crispini* in *CIL* X 1784 = *ILS* 6334 = Sherk no. 35, but in these cases, we are not dealing with the introduction of the subject of the decrees. Something a bit similar to the formulation *de honore* can be found in Greek inscriptions, as, e.g., in the inscription from Beroea, *I. Beroia* 2 (late Hellenistic), where we read (lines 33ff.), ἐπεὶ ... ὁ δῆμος ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον τὴν πλείστην πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο περὶ τῆς τιμῆς αὐτοῦ (of a certain Harpalus), ἔδοξεν κτλ.

<sup>15</sup> Thus, e.g., in *CIL* VI 1492 = *ILS* 6106 = Sherk no. 9 (Ferentinum, AD 101/2); *CIL* XIV 2795 = *ILS* 272 = Sherk no. 55 (Gabii, AD 140), where the *relatio* is very detailed; *AE* 1956, 20 = 2007, 373 (Herculaneum); etc. In a decree of AD 255 of the *centonarii* in Luna, the decree proper introduced with *placere* comes immediately after the *relatio*, but its motivation, beginning with *praesertim cum*, is later inserted (*placere cunctis ... consentiri, praesertim cum*

much more common to begin the decree with a section setting out the motives for what is being decreed. This can be done with a clause formulated, at least in the beginning, as an *accusativus cum infinitivo*,<sup>16</sup> but it is much more common to begin the motivation with a causal conjunction. In editing this inscription, the editor has opted for *quod*: [*Quod Ti.*] / *C[l]audius Idomeneus ita se gesserit* etc. (lines 10ff.), and for this there seems to be a parallel, namely a decree of AD 261 of the *centonarii* of Sentinum (*CIL* XI 5749 = *ILS* 7221), where the decree (not formulated with great care) begins with *quod in praeteritum Coreti Fusci ... beneficia praestita susceperimus, nunc etiam in futurum ... speramus* etc. (note the change from the subjunctive to the indicative).<sup>17</sup> But the fact is that the normal conjunction is *cum* followed by verbs in the perfect subjunctive if referring to the past or in the present subjunctive if referring to existing conditions. This is the case in the inscription Sherk no. 6 cited by Costabile on p. 90, and the other parallels are too numerous to be quoted here.<sup>18</sup> It thus seems obvious to me that what we must read here is not [*quod*] but [*cum Ti.*] / *C[l]audius Idomeneus ita se gesserit* etc.

The explanatory part of the decree extends from line 10 to line 13, where the decree proper begins, as it should, with *placere*. Between lines 11 and 17, the letters are less than 2 cm high, and although the photographs are as good as they can be, and although there are many words and even groups of words which one can read with ease (e.g., *factus* in line 13), the fact is that much must remain uncertain, as Costabile's edition of the text makes perfectly clear. In this edition, this section – i.e., lines 10–13 – reads (with the correction of *quod* to *cum*) as follows (I have underlined those parts in which the reading seems fairly certain to me; cf. below):

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*sit et dignitate accumulatus) et ..., petendumque) etc.).*

<sup>16</sup> *IAM* II 307 = Sherk no. 64 (Sala in Mauretania, AD 144: *omnia a Sulpicio Felice optumiorarissimoque) praefecto Salenses habere* etc.); *CIL* X 1784 = *ILS* 6334 = Sherk no. 35 (Puteoli, AD 187: *optasse quidem singulos universosque ... Marcianae ... vivae potius honoris (= -res) conferre quam ad huius modi decretum prosilire* etc.). In *CIL* X 4643 = Sherk no. 44 (Cales), the presentation of the motives begins with an *AcI* phrase (*ordinem iam pr[idem] intellexisse* etc.), but then moves on to phrases introduced by *cum*.

<sup>17</sup> But some reasons for the decree had already been given (with *cum*) in the *relatio*.

<sup>18</sup> For some instances of decrees introduced by explanatory phrases beginning with *cum*, note, e.g., Sherk no. 15 (Brundisium, Republican); Sherk no. 28 (Herculaneum, about Augustan); Sherk no. 43 (Capua, Tiberian?); *AE* 1978, 100 cf. 1987, 241 (Interamna Lirenas, about AD 100); *AE* 2008, 372 (Puteoli, AD 129); Sherk no. 14 (Brundisium, AD 144); etc.



[cum Ti.] / C[l]audius Idomeneus<sup>19</sup> ita se gesserit annis Copiae iis suae vitae cum servierit in [municipio n(ostro) :] / 'in`colis<sup>20</sup> magn[e] pr[ae]cessit summa modestia, iust[iti]a <a>eque p(ublicum) a(rgentum) administrare ex[pertus est] / et deinde liber factus similem se <praestitit> ; pristinae clem[en]tia<e> fovendae placere (etc.).

This is translated (p. 110) as "Poichè Ti(berio) Claudio Idomeneo si è comportato nel modo seguente negli anni (trascorsi) a Copia, quelli della sua vita quando serviva [nel n(ostro) municipio]: ha superato di gran lunga quanti hanno qui domicilio per somma modestia, [si è] im[pegnato] con giustizia nell'amministrare equamente il p(ubblico) d(anaro) e, reso quindi libero, <ha dato> egual <prova> di sé; volendo accrescere la (propria) tradizionale magnanimità, (i senatori) hanno deliberato che (etc.)".<sup>21</sup>

To be honest, the original Latin version does not seem to me to make much sense and, more seriously, at places does not seem to be at all the correct Latin of the type one would and should expect in an early first-century AD decree from Italy. The problem is, however, that because of the state of the preservation of the original inscription, there is not much one can do about it. In spite of that, let me offer an observation or two and start by saying that, if the text has been formulated more or less in the same way as all similar texts, and I think that assuming this is a correct starting point, the decree proper must start with *placere*, the motivation of the decree proper ending not with what comes before *pristinae*, but immediately before *placere*. It is true that there is a decree from Interamna Lirenas not later than about AD 100, in which *placere* is preceded by *itaque* and a few words of additional information ([*ita*]que in honorem eorum – the father and brothers of Fadia – *placere* etc., *AE* 1978, 100 cf. 1987, 241),<sup>22</sup> but I am not sure

<sup>19</sup> At least here the *I* is an *I longa*, and there are examples of *I longae* also elsewhere, *Idomeni* and *quoí* in line 2, *scripta* in line 4. There does not seem to be a list of them in this edition.

<sup>20</sup> The reading is said to be *nicolis*.

<sup>21</sup> This, again, is rendered in French in the *AE* as "Attendu que Tiberius Claudius Idomeneus s'est conduit de la façon suivante à Copia lors des années de sa vie où il a été au service de notre municipe : il l'a emporté de beaucoup sur les habitants (*incolae*) par sa très grande honnêteté, il s'est appliqué également à gérer avec droiture l'argent public, et ensuite, devenu affranchi, il a manifesté la même conduite ; afin de se conformer à la bonté qui fut la sienne dans le passé, il a plu (...)".

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *ideo placet* Sherk no. 11 (of uncertain origin and date); *placet itaque* *AE* 1998, 282 (Lavinium, AD 228); *CIL* IX 10 = *ILS* 6113 = Sherk no. 12 (Neretum, AD 341); *placet igitur* *CIL* IX 259 = *ILS* 6115 = Sherk no. 16 (Genusia, AD 395).

this inscription can be used as a parallel, as *itaque* in this text clearly marks the transition to the decree proper. Therefore, I would very much prefer to see all that precedes *placere* in line 13, whatever its original wording, as the explanatory introduction of the decree, beginning at the end of line 10.

The important question is, of course, what is said in this explanatory introduction. As mentioned above, what we read now can only reflect some parts of the original text, the main reason being that, due to the circumstances of the survival of this inscription and the smallish size of the letters in this part of it, much of the text seems illegible. It is true that we are offered a reading – in my opinion not necessarily everywhere making a sense – of practically all of it, but I must confess that at least a reader who has only the photos at her or his disposal will be able to confirm only parts of the text as published. Having had a close look at the photos (especially those on p. 87, 93 and 112f.), I think that the reading in those parts of the text which I underlined above seems fairly certain (the text is more easily readable on the left side), and I am willing to accept the reading also in some other parts of the text, although only on the basis of what we are told the reading is and of the facsimile (p. 106), which, however, in places seems to be an interpretation rather than an exact rendering, of the inscribed text. Since at least the formulations [*cum Ti.*] *C[l]audius Idomeneus ita se gesserit* (lines 10f.) and *et deinde liber factus similem se* (line 13) seem pretty certain, one can say that the general sense of the passage seems to emerge: a positive evaluation of Idomeneus' activities both when still an imperial slave and after his manumission is given here.

There are, though, also long stretches of the text as published which I do not find acceptable.<sup>23</sup> It would be more than surprising if the *senatus* of Copia had really defined the people of Copia – it is obvious that the whole population of the city is meant – simply as *incolae*, as this term is used to refer not to *all* inhabitants of a city, but only to a special group of people within a particular city.<sup>24</sup> That is

<sup>23</sup> For some small details, note that in line 12, the letter following on *sum* where the reading is said to be *summa* does not seem to be an *M*, as the left stroke is vertical with a 90° angle (an *N* would be more plausible). In line 17, the letter following on *is*, after which the reading is said to be *modes[t]iae*, is not (I think) likely to be an *M* for the same reason. In line 14, where the reading is said to be *qui honor de*, I cannot see a trace of anything after *NOR* (cf. n. 31).

<sup>24</sup> On the definition of *incola* cf., e.g., Pomponius, *dig.* 50, 16, 239,2 and some of the contributions in R. Compatangelo – C.-G. Schwentzel (eds.), *Étrangers dans la cité romaine* (2007), especially those of E. Hermon (p. 25ff.) and O. Licandro (p. 43ff.). Note also the bibliography cited by G. Bandelli – M. Chiabà in C. Berrendonner et al. (eds.), *Le quotidien municipal dans l'occident romain* (2008) 28 n. 49.

why we often find the population of a city defined as *municipes* and *incolae* (e.g., *ILS* 2666. 2637. 3752. 6271). Moreover, for "*p(ublicum) a(rgentum)*", translated as "*p(ubblico) d(anaro)*", for something which is called *pecunia publica* in thousands of inscriptions, there is not a single epigraphical parallel (there is a reference on p. 84 to "*nummi I saeculi a.Ch.n. cum legenda ex arg(ento) pub(lico)*", but I do not think that this parallel is of any use in this context). But it is also the Latin that worries me. To say nothing of minor details – I am here thinking of turns of phrase certainly not reminiscent of epigraphical diction such as *annis Copiae iis suae vitae*, etc. – shouldn't there be (as observed in the commentary in the *AE*) an *ut* phrase corresponding to *ita*? Of course I understand that the editor assumes that *ita* is here used in the sense "in this way" and that it is accordingly followed by a list of the honorand's activities with verbs in the indicative perfect, but I am quite sure that the style of texts like this one requires that the honorand's activities are presented in consecutive *ut* clauses. And what about *magn[e]*? According to the *TLL* (VIII 150, line 25ff.), this adverb is attested only from the 4th century onwards, thus making it most unlikely that we would find it in an inscription from the 1st century AD. I also find the use of *<a>eque* in the sense "equamente" disturbing, as the normal meaning of *aeque* is "to an equal degree" (*OLD*).<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, in my view it is quite impossible to assume that *experior* which normally means something like "to try" or "to have experience of, undergo" (*OLD*) could be used in the meaning "impegnarsi" ("to engage oneself") in the phrase "*p(ublicum) a(rgentum) administrare exp[ertus est]*", rendered as "[si è] im[pegnato] ... nell'amministrare ... il p(ubblico) d(anaro)". And finally, I cannot possibly see how *pristinae clem[en]tia<e> fovendae* (sic) could mean "volendo accrescere la (propria) tradizionale magnanimità".<sup>26</sup> Something could be done about this by adding (e.g.) *<causa>*, but the problem is that the verb *fovere*, which is by no means a rare expression in inscriptions belonging to a similar context and especially in inscriptions dedicated to patrons and in *tabulae patronatus*, is used to refer to something the honorand or a patron is either doing or expected to do, not to what the dedicators do.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, this term seems to

<sup>25</sup> But it must be admitted that there are a few instances of *aeque* used in the positive (for *aequius* and *aequissime* are quite different things) also in the meaning "justly" (*TLL* I 1046, lines 21ff.).

<sup>26</sup> In the French translation in the *AE*, "afin de se conformer à la bonté qui fut la sienne dans le passé".

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Costabile p. 108f. Note, e.g., *AE* 2000, 344 (Misenum, AD 148/149), *Nymphidia Monime ... obsequentissime reverenterque nos fovere perseverans*; *CIL* XI 6335 = *ILS* 7218

make its first appearance in epigraphical language only in the second century AD.

The problem is that although I am able to point out expressions and phrases which in my view do not seem acceptable here, I cannot suggest an alternative version of the text of this passage as so much of the text is virtually illegible and as the presence here and there of apparently legible words and phrases does not seem to permit a secure reconstruction of this passage. But, as mentioned above, the apparently legible passages [*cum*] ... *Ídomeneus ita se gesserit* (line 11) and *deinde liber factus similem se pristinae* (line 13) roughly indicate the contents of this paragraph. Although the rest must, in my opinion, remain more or less obscure, let me finish this section by observing that instead of *annis* (here one seems to be able to read at least the letters *an*) *Copiae iis suae vitae*, one could think of something like *annis [---]tis* (the genitive of a feminine noun) *suae, ut [---]*, and that, if the reading *in`colis* (or perhaps rather simply *incolis*) is correct (which, according to the photos, might even be possible), one should restore *municipibus et* in the lacuna at the end of line 11.

The text now moves on to the decree proper. As edited, this begins with *placere huic s[plendidissimo] / ordini* (lines 13–4), where at least *placere*, the *H* of *huic*, and *ordini* seem fairly certain. Although a simple *placere* at this point is perhaps the rule, the formulation *placere huic ordini* is also well attested, as, e.g., in Sherk no. 27 (Herculaneum, Augustan or a bit later);<sup>28</sup> one also observes formulations such as *placere decurionibus, placere conscriptis, placere nobis*

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(Pisaurum, AD 256), *ut ... ornare et fovere nos dignetur*; Sherk no. 23 (Paestum, AD 337), *quod et nos et patriam nostram in omnibus fobeat ... in omnibus nos patriamque nostram fobere*; Sherk no. 25 (Paestum, AD 344), *speramus, quod ... nos fobere dignetur*; Sherk no. 24 (Paestum, AD 347), *speramus fore, quod et nos et patriamque (sic) nostram in o<m>nibus fobeat*; Sherk no. 16 (Genusia, AD 395), *quod ... singulos u[ni]bersosque tueatur et fobeat*; and cf. Sherk no. 1 (Tergeste, AD 138–161), *rem p(ublicam) n(ostram) cum fomentis ampliavit*. For *tabulae patronatus*, cf., e.g., *Suppl. It. 2 Histonium 3 (fovere, diligere [sic])*. Cf. also, e.g., *ILS 1180 (Tarquinii), quod rem p. foverit*; *ILS 6611 (Clusium), quod ... cives ... humanitate foverit*; *CIL IX 4208 = AE 1992, 360 (Amiternum), [quod] ... cives [officiis om]nibus fovere non desinat*; *CIL VIII 15880, in fovendis etiam rei p[u]b(licae) nostrae opibus*; *ILS 1219 (Praeneste), universus ordo fotus adq(ue) adiutus beneficiis eius* (for *fotus* cf. also *ILS 8978, alimentis annuis foti*; *CIL VI 41228, clientes foti semper eius auxilis*). It is only in Sherk no. 22 (Amiternum, AD 335) that *refovere* (an ancient patron's *benignum honorem*, etc.) seems to be something that the *ordo* (of Amiternum) is doing; but *refovere* is, of course, not the same thing as *fovere* but a response to it.

<sup>28</sup> Cf., e.g., Sherk nos. 2, 35, 37, 39; *AE* 1956, 20 = 2007, 373; 1986, 139 = 1987, 239; 1990, 141; 1999, 453; 2008, 372. In a decree of the Roman senate: Frontin., *aq.* 100.

and, from about the middle of the second century onwards, *placere universis*.<sup>29</sup> Whereas there is nothing wrong with *huic ordini*, one cannot help wondering about *s[plendidissimo]*. Let me start by observing that, in the decrees known to me, there is not a single instance of *ordini* being defined somehow when used at this point in the phrase *huic ordini*, but here it seems obvious that some attribute of *ordo* must be restored at the end of line 13. We are told that the word to be restored begins with an *S*, and, taking into account the fact that *splendidissimus ordo* is a formulation known from many inscriptions, the restoration *s[plendidissimo]* seems to offer itself as the natural solution. The problem is, however, that *splendid(issim)us* is an attribute which seems to have become common only after the first century; applied to *ordo*, *colonia* and similar expressions in inscriptions, this attribute seems to become more common only in about the time of Hadrian and Pius.<sup>30</sup> However, it must be admitted that there are some epigraphical instances of *splendid(issim)us* applied to cities also from the first century. In the edict of Claudius of AD 46, *CIL* V 5050 = *ILS* 206, Tridentum is referred to *splendi. (sic) municipium*, and in the edict of the legate of Galatia in c. 90–93, L. Antistius Rusticus, *AE* 1925, 126 = 1997, 1482, Pisidian Antioch is referred to as *splendidissim(a) col(onia) Ant(iochensis)*. One also wonders whether *CIL* II 1184 = *CILA* II 1, 33 with *ordo splendidissimus Romulensium* might not be from the first century, as the two M. Helvii Agrippae must in some way be connected with L. Helvius Agrippa, proconsul of Sardinia in AD 68–9 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 64).

This being the case, and apparently no better alternative offering itself, it seems that we must settle for the restoration *s[plendidissimo]*. However, it should be stressed that this must be the earliest instance by far of this expression in this particular context.

The decree proper now follows (lines 14–19), formulated in the normal way as an *accusativus cum infinitivo* clause (again, I have underlined those parts in which the reading, in my view, seems to be confirmed by the photos):

<sup>29</sup> *decurionibus*: e.g., Sherk no. 28; *conscriptis*: e.g., Sherk no. 43; *nobis*: e.g., *AE* 1978, 100 cf. 1987, 241; *universis*: Sherk no. 55 (140; the earliest dated instance known to me).

<sup>30</sup> E.g., *AE* 2008, 372 (Puteoli, AD 129); *CILA* III 1, 84 (Castulo, AD 155). For some observations on *splendidus* and *splendidissimus* cf. S. Demougin, "Splendidus eques Romanus", *Epigraphica* 37 (1975) 174–87. As the earliest occurrence of *splendidus* applied to individual equestrians – as groups, both senators and knights are referred to as *splendidi viri* in a letter of Domitian of AD 82, *CIL* IX 5420 – in *inscriptions* (as contrasted to literary sources) the author mentions (p. 180) the decree from Brundisium of AD 144, Sherk no. 14. However, there is now, as noted in the addenda on p. 187, also the decree *AE* 1974, 256 of AD 113 from Puteoli, with *[Iulius] Iulianus splendidus adulescens* (one could perhaps read *[splendidi]ssimum virum* in the decree of AD 105 from Aquileia concerning the prefect of Egypt, C. Minicius Italus, Sherk no. 2).

[A]ugustalem eum in hunc annum exs decre[t]o nostro creare, qui honor de<sup>31</sup> A[ugustalitate] / <sup>15</sup> ante hoc tempus nulli ratus sit, eumque ordinem <n(ostrum)> em[er]ere praeferrique censuere, exs K(apite) .. de Aug(ustalitate)] / <sup>16</sup> legis, omnibus quos hoc [a]nno senatus f[ut]uros Augusta[l]es cens(uit), vere quo n[ot]ius [sit in eum studium r(ei) p(ublicae)] / <sup>17</sup> et is modes[t]iae<sup>32</sup> suae praecepisse fructum debitum merito videatur; itaq[ue] admirantes] / <sup>18</sup> ceteri simili[s] fortunae hominis periti vitae forte merit[um], senatus am[plissimum]<sup>33</sup> / <sup>19</sup> iudiciorum, imitari eum velint.

This is translated (p. 110) as "crearlo Augustale nell'anno in corso con nostro decreto – onore che, per quanto riguarda l'A[ugustalità], non è stato ratificato per alcuno prima di questo momento – e che egli è benemerito del <n(ostrum)> Ordine e che sia anteposto, [ai sensi del capitoli *tot*] della legge [sull'Aug(ustalità)],<sup>34</sup> a tutti coloro che il senato ha deliberato diverranno Augustali quest'anno, perchè [sia] ancor meglio nota [la sollecitudine verso di lui della p(ubblica) a(mministrazione)] e sia evidente che meritatamente egli ha colto in anticipo il dovuto frutto della sua modestia; sic[chè] tutti gli altri, [ammirando] il forte riconoscimento – la più al[ta] delle ricompense del senato – alla vita di un uomo che ha sperimentato una simile fortuna, vogliono imitarlo".<sup>35</sup>

<sup>31</sup> As already observed in n. 23, there is absolutely nothing to be seen in the photos after *NOR*, not even uncertain traces of letters.

<sup>32</sup> In my view, the letter following on *IS* cannot be an *M* (as in *modes[t]iae*).

<sup>33</sup> On p. 110, it is said that C. M. Lucarini of Pisa has suggested adding *uti* at the end of line 18 (the infinitive of *utor*, rather than the variant of *ut*, apparently being meant if I am correct in assuming that *uti* is meant to correspond to "ottiene" in the translation), offering a modified translation. But the new translation, too, leaves one with mixed feelings. I certainly cannot see how *admirantes ceteri simili[s] fortunae hominis* could be translated "sicchè tutti gli altri, ammirando una simile fortuna dell'uomo" or *periti vitae forte merit[um], senatus am[plissimum]* – or rather *am[plissimo] ? – uti] iudiciorum* with "ben sapendo che un forte merito della vita ottiene il più alto dei giudizi del senato" (but I am not sure these passages can be translated at all).

<sup>34</sup> Another possible translation is also offered, "[per beneficio] della legge [sull'Augustalità]".

<sup>35</sup> In the French translation in the *AE*, "il a plu à notre très noble ordre de le nommer Augustal pour cette année (this seems to be more correct than "nell'anno in corso" of the Italian translation) en vertu de notre décret – honneur relatif à l'augustalité qui avant le moment présent n'a été accordé à personne – ; il a décidé que cet homme mérite bien de notre ordre et qu'il doit être placé, en vertu du chapitre [---] de la loi sur l'augustalité, avant tous ceux que le sénat a destinés à être Augustaux cette année, afin que véritablement on fasse mieux connaître l'affection qu'éprouve pour lui la république et qu'il apparaisse comme ayant à juste titre recueilli le fruit que mérite son

The Italian version is perhaps nice prose, but the Latin strikes me again as very odd, and, to be honest, I cannot think this published text comes even close to what the decree originally said, assuming of course again the original Latin to have been of about the same type that one finds in other inscriptions of the same type and period. Once more, the problem is that only some parts of the text seem to be readable with some certainty and that the rest seems to be based on intuition rather than on a faithful rendering of what the inscription actually says. It follows that, although the general sense seems to be clear, the original text of this passage can, in my view, no longer be restored, although some observations can be made. In the commentary in the *Année épigraphique* it was already pointed out that the reading in line 15 must be *datus* (not *ratus*) *sit*;<sup>36</sup> this passage clearly deals with the *honor* being awarded, for which *dare* is (along with *decernere*, *obferre*, etc.) a suitable expression,<sup>37</sup> not with the *honor* being "ratified". Moreover, as *ratus est* (from *reor*) normally means "(someone) has supposed", the participle (or adjective) *ratus* meaning "having legal validity" (*OLD*) seems to be used preferably in contexts in which it cannot be confused with forms of *reor*, and thus in formulations of the type *aliquid ratum esto* or *aliquid ratum habere*, etc. (thus also in the parallels offered on p. 91); inscriptions, accordingly, do not seem to offer a single instance of the masculine form *ratus*.

Another detail to which I would like to draw attention is the infinitive *creare*. In the great majority of the cases, the infinitive expressing the contents of the decree in decrees introduced by *placere* is a passive infinitive.<sup>38</sup> It is only rarely that one finds an active infinitive being used; in fact, before the 4th century, there seems to be only *CIL X 1786* of AD 196 from Puteoli with *placere ...*

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honnêteté ; et qu'ainsi tous les autres qui connaissent la même condition, admirant la récompense éclatante accordée à la vie d'un homme d'expérience – la plus magnifique des décisions du sénat –, veulent l'imiter."

<sup>36</sup> The use of the subjunctive *sit* is obviously due to "attraction", as the relative clause is placed within indirect speech.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. formulations such as *locum dare* (in *locus datus decurionum decreto*), *statuam dare* (e.g., *CIL II<sup>2</sup> 5, 789, huic cives et incolae ... statuam ex aere conlato dederunt*), *funus etc. dare* (e.g., *CIL XI 1600, huic publice ... funus locusque sepulturae datus*). For *honorem dare* cf., e.g., *CIL X 1026 = ILS 6372, huic ob munificent(iam) decurionum decreto et populi conse(n)su bisellii honor datus est*; *CIL II 4611 = IRC II 60, huic ordo Barcinonensium honorem decurionatus dedit*.

<sup>38</sup> E.g., Sherk no. 3 and no. 28, *placere ... statuam ... poni*; Sherk no. 43, *placere ... [memoriam] ... decorari*; Sherk no. 44, *placere ... gratias agi*; *AE 1956, 20 = 2007, 373, placere ... statuam ei decerni*; *AE 2008, 372, placere ... ornamenta ... decerni*; etc.

*inscriptionem ... dare* (cf. earlier *de forma inscriptioni danda*).<sup>39</sup> One thus wonders whether the passive form *creari* might not be preferable here; and the photos (especially fig. 30b on p. 113) in fact clearly indicate that the reading is *creari* rather than *creare*, for what one sees with certainty is just a vertical stroke at the end of the word.

This is where I must finish with observations meant to improve the text, for the rest is too obscure to be subject to elucidation. However, before concluding, let me point out some expressions and phrases which I think are unacceptable in a Latin text such as this, although I am unable to offer better solutions. First, the structure. In a normal decree, *placere* is followed by a clause or clauses in the form of an *accusativus cum infinitivo*, with possibly relative, final, consecutive and other clauses being interspersed; in some cases, decrees proper at the end may turn to the use of subjunctives.<sup>40</sup> Here, though, the structure is most peculiar, as we start with *placere* but then face in line 15 *cen[suere]* which is not at all what one expects, and then seem to have arrived at the end of the exposition with *videatur* followed by a semicolon – but not preceded anywhere by the necessary *ut* (*quo* in line 16 cannot, in my opinion, be taken as a substitute for the missing *ut*); at the end, there is a clause again missing the *ut* and being introduced by a somewhat unexpected *itaque*.<sup>41</sup> But there are odd things also in the details. First of all, I do not think that the reading in line 14 could possibly be *honor de A[ugustalitate]*,<sup>42</sup> but even if it could, that this could be translated with "per quanto riguarda l'A[ugustalità]" or "honneur relatif à l'augustalité"; I am quite sure that the only possibility of combining *honor* and *Augustalitas* would be to say *honor Augustalitis*. To continue, although *eumque ordinem <n(ostrum)> em[e]rere* (where I can read only *eumqu* in the photo) may be correct Latin, it is

<sup>39</sup> The 4th-century instances (both with *placet* instead of *placere*) are Sherk no. 21 (AD 325) and no. 12 (AD 341).

<sup>40</sup> E.g., Sherk no. 44, *placer(e) ... gratias agi ... pe[rmit]tiq(ue) e(i) ... ampliare, quoq(ue) manifestio[r sit] ... liberalit(as) eius, ex[emplar] epist(ulae) IIIIvir(i) ... [pro]ponend(um) curent* (the change from *curari* to *curent* may well be motivated by the fact that it was important to name the magistrates responsible in this case). Cf. also, e.g., the decree of the senate at Frontin., *aq.* 100, where the decree starts with *eos qui aquis publicis praeessent ... habere ... lictoribus uti*, but then moves to instructions introduced with *ut*: *utique ... deferrent* etc.

<sup>41</sup> As far as I can see, there is – in addition to the formulation *itaque placere* (above n. 22) – no attestation of *itaque* within a decree proper. The *uti*, the addition of which C. M. Lucarini suggests at the end of line 18, is (unless I am mistaken) the infinitive of *utor*, not a variant of *ut* (n. 33).

<sup>42</sup> Cf. n. 31.



in no way possible that it could be translated with "e che egli è benemerito del <n(ostro)> Ordine" or "que cet homme mérite bien de notre ordre" (that would be *de ordine nostro bene mereri*), for although *emereri* (not *emerere*) can sometimes mean approximately the same as *bene mereri* (*TLL* V 2, 472, 83ff.), it is attested in this meaning mainly as the participle *emeritus* and cannot not be used as a transitive verb in this sense. Moreover – if this passage dealt with Idomeneus' merits – one would prefer a verb in the perfect, not in the present, as decrees tend to refer either to past or to future merits (in the latter instance, verbs like *spero* often being used). The most serious objection to an interpretation of this passage as referring to Idomeneus' merits at all is, however, the fact that this is not the correct place to deal with this topic: the honorand's merits were the subject of the passage beginning with *cum Ti.] C[l]audius Idomeneus ita se gesserit* and ending before *placere* (lines 10–13), and we are now in the section meant to set out the contents of the decree proper.

In what follows, there is also much that seems disturbing. *Praeferri* (in line 15) is certainly not an expression that one would expect in this context, but it seems that it can be read in the photo; however, I would be more than surprised if it really meant "to give precedence to" (cf. "che sia anteposto"). To say that someone should be "preferred" to others of the same status – I would like to know what exactly that is supposed to mean – would (I think) be without parallel in a context such as this. It seems more probable that *praeferre* is here used in some other sense, e.g., "to exhibit", "to display", "to put forward", etc. (a wide range of meanings is on offer in the *OLD*). In what follows, we now read [*de Aug(ustalitate)*] / *legis* (lines 15f.), but "legge [sull'Aug(ustalità)]" should of course be *lex Augustalitis* (in this order); as for *legis*, I can read only *gis* which may well represent a dative/ablative plural of a word ending in *-gus -ga -g(i)um* (e.g., *pagus collega collegium*) and going with *omnibus*. In line 16, we are offered the reading *vere quo n[o]tius [sit]*<sup>43</sup> where *vere* cannot have been read correctly, for *vere* simply does not have the same meaning as *verum*. As for the formulation *quo n[o]tius [sit in eum studium r(ei) p(ublicae)]* in the restored passage at the end of line 16, translated as "perchè [sia] ancor meglio nota [la sollecitudine verso di lui della p(ubblica) a(mministrazione)]", the problem with this restoration is that *studium* is normally something displayed not by those who are

<sup>43</sup> Cf. p. 91 and *AE* 1998, 282, *et quo notius sit ista voluptas*; Sherk no. 44, *quoq(ue) manifestio[r sit] ... liberalit(as) eius*; Sherk no. 33, *quo testatior sit erga eum adfectus rei p(ublicae) nostrae*; Sherk no. 2, *quo testatius sit* etc.; *AE* 1991, 713, *quo plenius voluptas n(ostra) erga eum eluceat*.

honouring someone but by the honorands themselves, as, e.g., in Sherk no. 44, *ordinem iam pr[idem] intellexisse L. Vitrasii Silvestris [erga] communem patriam et studium et [vo]luntatem*.<sup>44</sup> In *modes[t]iae suae praecepisse fructum* (line 17), one wonders not only about *modes[t]iae* (I do not see the first letter as an *M*, cf. n. 23) but also about *praecepisse*, for I do not think that *praecipere* can be taken to mean the same as *percipere* that one would expect here. As for *admirantes*, restored at the end of line 17, this participle seems quite out of the place here for many reasons and because the expressions *admiror*, *admirandus*, *admirabilis*, etc. do not seem to make their appearance in decrees and honorific inscriptions before the later second century.<sup>45</sup>

At the end we are offered the reading (*itaq[ue] admirantes*) / *ceteri simili[s] fortunae hominis*<sup>46</sup> *periti vitae forte merit[u]m, senatus am[plissimum] / iudiciorum, imitari eum velint*, the letters which seem legible in the photos being underlined. This is translated as "sic[chè] tutti gli altri, [ammirando] il forte riconoscimento – la più al[ta] delle ricompense del senato – alla vita di un uomo che ha sperimentato una simile fortuna, vogliono imitarlo". To say nothing of the missing *ut*, I am puzzled about *periti* being allegedly used in the sense "che ha sperimentato", for the correct expression is of course *experti*; I also find the word order *simili[s] fortunae hominis periti* most awkward (*similem fortunam hominis experti* would also be awkward). Moreover, I find it hard to believe that *meritum* could have been described with the adjective *fortis*,<sup>47</sup> and even harder to believe that *meritum* could have been used in the sense "riconoscimento" ("récompense" in the French translation), as a *meritum* is (as I am quite sure I do not have to

<sup>44</sup> Cf., e.g., Sherk no. 1, *cuius opera studioq[ue] et ornatio[res] et tutiores in dies nos magis magisque sentiamus*; Sherk no. 36, *[stu]dium et amorem*. For honorific inscriptions, note, e.g., CIL X 1120, *pro merito laborum, studiorum suorum*; CIL VIII 22737 = ILS 6780, *amplissimum munificentiae studium*. (But it is true that in Sherk no. 64, *studium* is that of the dedicators: *testi[mon]ium ... manifestiore iudicio quam studio esse perhibendum*).

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Sherk no. 35 (AD 187), *ob ... admirabilem cas[us]at[em]*; in honorific inscriptions: in the third century AE 1917/18, 72 (Africa, *admirabilis integritatis ... viro*); AE 1949, 108 (Africa, *[ob] ... admirabilem benevolentiam*); in the fourth century: ILS 1237. 1266. 1270. 5511. AE 1968, 115 (*iudici admirando*). 2003, 1917.

<sup>46</sup> Perhaps one could as far as to say that the whole of *hominis* is legible. One would, however, like to have a more straight vertical stroke where the left stroke of a *N* should be (now the first impression is that of an *C*, *G* or *O*). The reading *homines* does not seem possible.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. TLL VI 1, 1159, 18ff., *fortis* being used "de vi et efficacia rerum incorporalium (actionum, statuum), i. q. validus, firmus, efficax, magnus", where the repertory of nouns associated with *fortis* does not suggest that *meritum forte* would have been a likely combination.

stress) something which characterizes honorands and not something offered by those wishing to honour someone; and although the *TLL* adduces a few passages in which *meritum* seems to have the meaning *praemium* (*TLL* VIII 819, 46ff., citing, e.g., Suet. *Nero* 3,1, *Cn. Domitius ... classem ... M. Antonio sponte et ingentis meriti loco tradidit*),<sup>48</sup> I cannot possibly believe that it could have been used in the sense "acknowledgement" or "reward" in an epigraphical text of this nature and date. I also wonder about *senatus am[plissimum] iudiciorum*, for this does not at all seem an idiomatic way of expressing "la più al[ta] delle ricompense del senato", for which one would expect *senatus amplissimum iudicium* or perhaps, if one wished to strike a more polished note, *senatus iudiciorum amplissimum*. Perhaps, though, the original text was in fact quite different from the text as published: on the photos, only *iudiciorum* seems legible, and there do not seem to be any parallels for *iudicium* being described as *amplissimum*.

To conclude, I hope to have been able to show that the "honorific" part of the inscription in question can, and should, be modified a bit (above at n. 4), but that the decree proper, which consists of a part explaining why the honorand was thought worthy of being honoured by the city of Copia, and of a part which sets out the exact contents of the honours being accorded, can have been originally formulated in the way it has been published only in those passages in which the reading can be controlled with the help of the photos. In passages the reading of which is apparently based more or less on the editor's intuition, the text as presented by the editor can in many cases not be regarded as representing the kind of Latin one must expect from a text like this and the reconstruction of the text of these passages by the editor can accordingly not be accepted. However, the passages in which the text seems more or less certain do give us a fair idea of the contents of the decree; we can see that Idomeneus had been active – the exact nature of his activities escaping us – in Copia as an imperial slave, leaving a favourable impression of himself; having been manumitted, he continued with the same activities, also meeting with approval as an imperial freedman. For this, the *ordo* of Copia honoured him by appointing him an *Augustalis* and by according him some other honours which, however, must remain uncertain. At the end of the decree, what can still be read clearly indicates that the *ordo*, by conferring honours on Idomeneus, invited others to emulate his conduct.

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<sup>48</sup> Translated as "ce qui compta pour un service éminent" by H. Ailloud (in the Budé edition).

## AFTER IRONY: READING PLATO SERIOUSLY

SAMUEL SCOLNICOV

Schleiermacher's insight that, for Plato, literature is no mere window dressing for philosophy but an essential part of it<sup>1</sup> has been slow in gaining general acceptance. To this day interpreters still insist in finding in his dialogues "doctrines" to be directly extracted from them, mostly from his Socrates' mouth. Plato's dialogues, however, cannot be read as Galileo's on the two new sciences or Hume's on natural religion, to mention only two of a kind in which the names of the interlocutors merely stand for abstract philosophical positions, rather easily identifiable. Plato's dialogues are true dramas, involving not only conflicts of ideas but also of entire personalities.<sup>2</sup> In such dialogues, as in all drama, the dramatic situation is to be taken as a whole: the characters and their implicit or explicit philosophical positions, not necessarily consistent, the setting as well as the other participants or hearers, the dramatic date (with its frequent anachronisms<sup>3</sup>) and the overall context of the dialogue and of each of its passages. Calicles, for example, is not refuted; he is shamed down into silence. The setting of *Gorgias*, in the house of Calicles,<sup>4</sup> in the presence of Ambassador Gorgias, is essential for the act of shaming, for the loss of face (*elenchos*), in Plato's eyes the last remnant of the essential social nature of man. (In this respect, Euthydemus and Dionysodorus are more dangerous than Calicles and Thrasymachus. These, at least,

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<sup>1</sup> Fr. Schleiermacher, *Platons Werke. Einleitung*, Berlin 1804.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly clearer to his original audience. See H. Thesleff, "Plato and his Public", in B. Amden et al. (eds.), *Noctes Atticae*, Copenhagen 2002, 289–301 (repr. in his *Platonic Patterns*, Las Vegas 2009). But see n. 18 below. And cf., e.g., P. Friedländer, *Plato*, Princeton 1964; A. W. Nightingale, *Genres in Dialogue: Plato and the Construction of Philosophy*, Cambridge 1995.

<sup>3</sup> On anachronisms in Plato's dialogues, see, e.g., M.-L. Desclos, "Platon l'historien", in L. Brisson – F. Fronterotta, eds., *Lire Platon*, Paris 2006, 3–11.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Gorg.* 447b.

are still capable of shame; the first two are not.<sup>5</sup>)

The written Platonic dialogue requires a reading technique not unlike that of drama. It proceeds step by step and must be read sequentially, without skipping from passage to passage or detaching a passage from its context. (The interpreter, however, cannot avoid doing this, at his own peril, except, perhaps, in a line-by-line commentary.) Every replica in a dialogue is eminently situational and its meaning and significance depend on its place in the dialogue as a whole. As in drama, the same word may, and probably does mean different things for different speakers, and/or at different times. It is therefore misguided to see the dialogues as collections of philosophical puzzles to be examined separately from each other or from the dialogue as a whole.<sup>6</sup> Thus, all a speaker says in a Platonic dialogue is consequent on who he is and on his place in the dialogue. Whatever is said in such a dialogue cannot be unceremoniously detached from the speaker.

Here a distinction is in order, between an *utterance* or enunciation and a *proposition*. An utterance is a unit of speech, long or short, the actual token of words emitted by the speaker at a given moment, essentially dependent on him who produces it. A proposition is the content expressed in the utterance, independently of who produced it or even of the language in which it was produced. (For our purposes, the modern distinction between sentence and proposition is irrelevant.)

It is easy to see that utterances cannot be easily formalized. Two tokens of the same word or expression can bear different meanings, depending on the speaker and on the hearer. Moreover, as any simple case of misunderstanding will show, the same word or expression can be used by the speaker in one way and understood differently by his hearer. Platonic dialogues are notorious for such misunderstandings.

By contrast, Aristotle, in the *de interpretatione* and in the *Analytics*, deals essentially with propositions and can, therefore, have them combined in order to bring about a demonstration by means of the middle term, no matter who actually produces the syllogism. In the *Sophistici elenchi*, Aristotle is in great pains to show that many of the sophisms in Plato's *Euthydemus*, presented there as deriving from the lack of distinction between utterance and proposition, can be ana-

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Euthyd.* 294d.

<sup>6</sup> As, e. g., famously done by Vlastos in his influential treatment of the Third Man Argument in *Parmenides*. Cf. G. Vlastos, "The Third Man Argument in the *Parmenides*", *Philosoph. Review* 63 (1954) 319–49; Id., "Plato's 'Third Man' Argument (*Parm.* 132a1–b2): Text and logic" (1969), repr. in his *Platonic Studies*, Princeton 1973, 342–65.

lysed as based on the improper use of language.<sup>7</sup> In his view, each word carries a meaning in itself and if the same word has more than one meaning, these should be carefully distinguished, as he himself does in *Metaphysics* Δ.

Consistent with its dramatic and situational nature, the Platonic dialogue does not typically aim at giving a purported definitive solution to a philosophical problem, let alone erecting a comprehensive philosophical *system*, such as those of Proclus, Spinoza or Hegel. The Platonic dialogue deals with a specific *aporia*, a "no exit" situation, and aims only at *euporia*, at the dissolution of that particular *aporia*, in a way that will satisfy that interlocutor. And what satisfies *that* interlocutor may not be sufficient for another or for the eventual reader of the dialogue, unless he, explicitly or implicitly, shares with that interlocutor his presuppositions.<sup>8</sup>

In the Divided Line, Plato stresses that philosophy is not primarily a deductive science.<sup>9</sup> Although there is a deductive phase, after the First Principle is achieved, nevertheless the chief aim of philosophy is not to deduce its conclusions from purportedly self-evident first principles, but to go "upwards", from accepted conclusions to their *hupotheseis* and from them to the *anupothetos arkhe*. Rather than deductive, philosophy may be described as "anairetical", in Plato's own words, or, to borrow Husserl's term, "archaeological". In this, Plato sets himself squarely against Parmenides (as against Descartes and quite a few of Plato's interpreters, ancient and modern).

Philosophy's procedure is spelled out in *Phaedo* 100–101, having been already used in *Meno*,<sup>10</sup> as what became known as the method of hypothesis or method of analysis.<sup>11</sup>

This procedure was already in use by the geometers in Plato's time (cf. *Meno*) and was later the standard procedure in the search for "principles". Philosophy *assumes* the conclusion and looks for the *hupotheseis* which can best support it. And so on from *hupothesis* to *hupothesis*.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See, e. g., *Soph. elench.* 170a12, b11 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Cf., e. g. in *Phaedo*: Simmias (95a), Cebes (102a, 107a) and Socrates (107b).

<sup>9</sup> *Rep.* VI 511b; and cf. VII 533c.

<sup>10</sup> *Men.* 86e.

<sup>11</sup> And cf. my "Hypothetical method and rationality in Plato", *Kant-Studien* 66 (1975) 157–62.

<sup>12</sup> *Contra* J. Hintikka – U. Remes, *The Method of Analysis: Its Geometrical Origin and its General Significance*, Dordrecht 1974, I do not think the Greek method of analysis can be subsumed under deduction.

The dialogue aims only at an *homologia* between the participants. The proposed solutions, if any, are valid only for them. Unconditionally valid conclusions can be granted only after one reaches the *arkhe anhypothetos*, if one ever does. Until then, one moves only hypothetically, from *doxa* to *doxa*.<sup>13</sup> The dialogue moves always within an *hypothesis*, explicitly or implicitly accepted by the interlocutor. Different sections of a dialogue can, and often do move under different *hypotheses*. So, e.g., in *Protagoras*, the whole dialogue is conducted from Protagoras' utilitarian overarching point of view, which is not Socrates', but according to which the latter devises all his arguments. In the first part of *Theaetetus*, the *hypothesis* is explicitly put forward, that there are no ultimate ontological and epistemological elements; in the second part, the *hypothesis*, again made quite explicit, is that there are ultimate ontological and epistemological atoms.<sup>14</sup>

Plato's dialogues are, as is plain to see, either narrated (about a third of them) or directly presented (and some, like *Theaetetus*, are mixed). One might think that those of either one type or the other would, in principle, be more reliable. But this is not necessarily the case. In the directly presented dialogues, Plato is careful to leave the dialogue incomplete or set up as simply impossible. The aporetic character of the "early" dialogues leaves the events open, sometimes quite abruptly. In others, the dramatic date is suspect, as chronological inconsistencies are purposefully inserted. (The *Apology* is, of its own nature, a case apart. On *Phaedo*, see below.)

The narrated dialogue interposes the narrator between the events narrated and the hearer/reader. This makes it easier for the hearer/reader, and indeed for the author, to distance himself from the events. This is, indeed, why Plato prefers *diegesis* over *mimesis*.<sup>15</sup> The direct presentation (as in tragedy) carries with it the *prima facie* presumption of the verisimilitude of the events. The interposition of the narrator allows Plato to question this presumption.

But the narrator is, he too, a *dramatis persona* and, as such, he narrates the dialogue from his own point of view. There is, *a priori*, no speaker for Plato.<sup>16</sup> In reading a narrated dialogue, one must take into account the point of view and the interests of the narrator, not in the least when the narrator is Socrates himself. Socrates too is a dramatic character, with his own interests. He may distort the

<sup>13</sup> I use here "*doxa*" in the sense used in *Meno*, viz., "unsupported belief".

<sup>14</sup> *Theaet.* 153e4–5, 185a11–b2.

<sup>15</sup> *Rep.* III 396c ff.

<sup>16</sup> On this problem, see G. A. Press (ed.), *Who Speaks for Plato? Studies in Platonic Anonymity*, Lanham 2000.

story for his own purposes or even tell an impossible story, as in *Euthydemus*,<sup>17</sup> although this is not always necessarily the case. And whether or not this is so is one of the thorniest questions in Platonic exegesis. More on it, below.

Some dialogues are set as "Chinese boxes", a story within a story within a story ..., as the *Symposium* or *Parmenides*. In such dialogues, the personal element is neutralized, without, however, vouching for the historicity of the event narrated. Yet, the personal, idiosyncratic element is filtered out, and even if the entire situation is put in doubt, the philosophical content is presented as "objectively" as possible.

The above is true also of the non-aporetic dialogues. One may wonder why, in a dialogue that seems rather straightforward and expository, as the *Republic* or the *Sophist*, the dialogue format is still necessary. What need is there for responses in which the interlocutor mostly agrees with the questioner and there seems to be a rather explicit exposition of "doctrines"? – Again, it is always important to consider who answers and when, from what position he is speaking and in what way his answers are conditioned by it.<sup>18</sup>

Furthermore, the interlocutor has, in those dialogues, the important function of checking our steps, lest we slip into irrelevant associations or deviate from the agreed meaning of the terms used, and make the wrong move. Thus, in the *Politicus*, we are forced to retrace our steps, because of a faulty assumption.<sup>19</sup> Moreover, in those "positive" dialogues, the interlocutor's task is to make sure that we do not argue outside of the *hypothesis* under consideration at that stage of the argument, although he is not always up to it.

Any hypothetical argument is, of its own nature, ironical. It moves under an hypothesis that is proposed only *argumenti gratia* and is not necessarily believed by the leader of the dialogue, although it must be accepted by the interlocutor. In the aporetic dialogues this is of the nature of the dialogue. There is also the case in which the interlocutor too accepts the *hypothesis* only for the sake of the argument, as Glaucon and Adeimantus in the *Republic*,<sup>20</sup> since they too share Socrates' view of *philosophia*, albeit not quite clearly, and want therefore to hear his refutation of the adversary position.

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<sup>17</sup> *Euthyd.* 290e.

<sup>18</sup> This is true, in a lesser measure, also of *Timaeus* and the *Laws*, which are not dialectical since they deal with facts in the sensible, material world, not amenable to dialectic.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. *Polit.* 274e ff.

<sup>20</sup> *Rep.* II 358c.



The irony of an hypothetical argument, and especially of those used by Socrates in the Platonic dialogues, is of a particular kind. Socratic irony must be carefully distinguished from other types of irony. The first and most common type of irony is simple irony, which the teachers of rhetoric called "antiphrasis": calling the white – black, and the black – white.<sup>21</sup> The speaker says one thing and hopes we understand he means its opposite.

A second type is what Vlastos called "complex irony":<sup>22</sup> The speaker makes it impossible to decide between the two opposite poles. This is the romantic irony of Kirkegaard.<sup>23</sup> Vlastos believed socratic irony to be something like it. But this too is not socratic irony. In socratic irony the other pole is never given, we have to find it for ourselves. Socratic irony is *open*.<sup>24</sup> Socrates makes it abundantly clear in the dialogues what he *does not* mean by the term under examination. But he never volunteers information about what he *does* mean. This he leaves for the interlocutor to find for himself. He can do no more. If called upon to clarify his meaning, he cannot do better than use the same words to say something else. Courage is the knowledge of safe and unsafe things. But for Socrates, "courage", "knowledge" and "safe" have meanings different from those they have for Laches. And no amount of explaining will change Laches' understanding of these terms. Socrates has some success with young lads or with those already predisposed to philosophy: Simmias and Cebes in *Phaedo*, Glaucon and Adeimantus in the *Republic*, the young Clinias in *Euthydemus*. They all accept Socrates' position but cannot justify it satisfactorily. With others, Socrates fails again and again. In that respect, it has justly been said that "words cannot teach us more than what we already know – or little else".<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, is there not anywhere a fixed point of reference, some criterion that will help us distinguish (at least at first blush) between the serious and the merely facetious, between what Socrates (or, for that matter, Plato) really means and what he says only for the sake of the argument? Such a fixed point, however, cannot be within the text. Everything said in the text is suspect of being ironical. Why should we believe Socrates when he says that no one does evil

<sup>21</sup> Quintil. *inst.* 6,2,15; 9,2,15.

<sup>22</sup> G. Vlastos, "Socratic irony", *CQ* 37 (1987) 79–86.

<sup>23</sup> S. Kirkegaard, *The Concept of Irony*, tr. L. M. Capel, Bloomington 1841.

<sup>24</sup> See my "Plato's Use of Irony", in A. Bosch-Veciana – J. Monserrat-Molas, eds., *Philosophy and Dialogue: Studies on Plato's dialogues*, vol. 2, Barcelona 2010.

<sup>25</sup> E. Hoffmann, "Die literarischen Voraussetzungen des Platonsverständnisses", *ZPF* 2 (1947) 469.

willingly,<sup>26</sup> but not when he says that he is grateful to Callicles who serves him as a touchstone (or perhaps he really is grateful to him)<sup>27</sup> or that there are atoms of knowledge *kath' auto* (or alternatively that there are not and all there is is but *pros ti*)<sup>28</sup>?

If there is a fixed point, it must be outside the text. In that much, the proponents of the *ungeschriebene Lehre* are right.<sup>29</sup> However, such doctrines too would have to be put in words. But the fixed anchoring point we need cannot be put in words, for words will always be ambiguous.<sup>30</sup> Thus, also *ungeschriebene Lehre* are of little help. What cannot be written, cannot be said either.

A higher-level reality is always implied, of course.<sup>31</sup> However, that higher level will not do by itself. As it is, it is only a necessary but so far unproved presupposition of the Socratic-Platonic ethical intuition. The upper section of the Divided Line treats the ideas themselves as hypothetical until the *arkhe* is reached. That two-level model of reality is far from self-evident and in itself in need of support.

Yet, I believe there *is* a fixed point. But it is not in words, written or spoken. It is an *event*, not a text, an event capable of turning the eye of the soul together with the whole of the soul, of causing a profound *Gestalt*-switch that will bring us to a new understanding of what is and is not of worth: Socrates' death. Socrates' death was an event one must have seen its significance directly, its meaning for Socrates' life as a life of *philosophia*. This is the crucial importance of the final scene of *Phaedo*. And this is why Socrates is present or his death is alluded to in some way or another in all of Plato's dialogues. Those present at his death understood what Socrates meant when he said, in the *Apology*, that the unexamined life is not worth for a man to live it,<sup>32</sup> and why, in *Crito*, he refused to escape from prison. As opposed to other narrated dialogues, the narrator of *Phaedo* was

<sup>26</sup> E. g., *Men.* 77b6–78c2, *Prot.* 352b1–358d4.

<sup>27</sup> *Gorg.* 486d.

<sup>28</sup> See n. 2, above.

<sup>29</sup> K. Gaiser, *Platons ungeschriebene Lehre*, Stuttgart 1963; see now Th. A. Szlezák, *Platon lesen*, Stuttgart 1993, Engl. tr. G. Zander: *Reading Plato*, London 1999; G. Reale, *Per una nuova interpretazione di Platone*, Milano 2003. *Contra*: R. Ferber, *Warum hat Platon die ‚ungeschriebene Lehre‘ nicht geschrieben?*, München 2007.

<sup>30</sup> As Plato has shown abundantly in *Cratylus*.

<sup>31</sup> As in Thesleff's two-level model. See H. Thesleff, *Studies in Plato's Two-level Model*, Helsinki 1999.

<sup>32</sup> *Apol.* 37a6.

present himself. In the first words of the dialogue – of crucial significance, as often in his dialogues – Plato stresses the importance of the personal witnessing of the event: *Autos paregenou?* [...] *Autos*, "Were you present yourself? [...] I was present myself."<sup>33</sup>

For those who were not present, Plato tries, in the last pages of the dialogue,<sup>34</sup> to convey the emotions experienced by those who witnessed the scene themselves. Socrates' stance towards life and death is ultimately not to be argued for, but directly intuited. And Socrates knows there is no convincing those who do not share his view.<sup>35</sup>

Two other formative events in the history of mankind depended ultimately on personal experience, and that experience had to be re-created for the benefit of those who could not participate in them: the giving of the Tables of the Law on Mount Sinai and the Crucifixion. Those who "saw the thunderings"<sup>36</sup> at the foot of the Mount or heard the Seven Last Words on the Calvary directly understood the significance of those events. *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*, on the one hand, and the Gospels, on the other, are attempts to fix for posterity their emotional impact. And so is *Phaedo*.

But there is a crucial difference between Socrates' death and the other two occasions. In the giving of the Torah and in the Crucifixion, the messages are independent of the event. Whatever support these dramatic happenings gave to the injunctions associated with them – say, the Commandments or the Sermon on the Mount – is external to these injunctions. Socrates' death, by contrast, validates by itself the claim he made in the *Apology*: If he cannot continue with *philosophia* as he understood it, he might as well take the cup and drink it willingly.<sup>37</sup> In other words, Socrates' death demonstrates the absolute primacy of *logos* (as Socrates first termed it) or *nous* (as Plato was later to call it).

The Platonic dialogue is a search for the *hypothesis* that will support Socrates' moral intuition that reason is not merely instrumental but, primarily, *normative*, that it is its own justification. According to the method of hypothesis, as set out in *Phaedo*, whatever is consistent with this intuition is deemed true,

<sup>33</sup> *Phaed.* 57a1.

<sup>34</sup> *Phaed.* 115a–end.

<sup>35</sup> *Apol.* 37e.

<sup>36</sup> *Exod.* 20.18.

<sup>37</sup> *Phaed.* 117c. Contrast *Matthew* 26, 39: "Let this cup pass from me; nevertheless not as I will but as thou wilt."

until proved otherwise or until the *arkhe anhypothetos* is reached, if it ever is. Its eventual attainment is never guaranteed. And this is why *logos*, the discussion, must go on after Socrates' death.<sup>38</sup> True, one cannot read the dialogues without presupposition.<sup>39</sup> But this presupposition is not a *Prinzipienlehre* outside the dialogues or even coded within them. It is the existential, emotional, intuitive conviction of the value of normative reason, exhibited in Socrates' death and in need of defence by providing it with *hypotheseis* to support it.

Plato, however, is not Kant: Plato's idea of the Good is not a regulative idea in Kant's sense but must have ontological status. And although it is doubtful that the unhypothetical beginning can ever be reached – certainly not by all – Plato cannot leave it as a postulate. The last step in the upward movement is a necessary ontological step – or else Socrates' *philosophia* is but a pious wish.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> See the important central digression on "misology" in *Phaed.* 89b ff.

<sup>39</sup> Szlezák, *Reading Plato* (above n. 29), 95.

<sup>40</sup> I am grateful to my colleagues at Helsinki, and especially to Prof. Holger Thesleff, for perceptive queries and comments that forced me to rethink some points and saved me from a few misunderstandings.



## ANTONINE PLAGUE AND DEACTIVATION OF SPANISH MINES\*

MORRIS SILVER

This note begins by challenging the economic logic of Andrew Wilson's argument that the main reason for the abandonment of shaft-mining facilities in southwest Spain was a disruption caused by the Antonine plague. Specifically, that mining operations were not restarted after a hiatus because of flooding and the difficulties of pumping water out of the shafts effectively enough to allow operations to be restarted. It is suggested instead that the mines were abandoned because higher labor costs resulting from losses in manpower due to the plague made it uneconomic to operate shaft mines in Roman Spain.

During the later second century CE, as Wilson (2002: 28) explains, the major silver and copper mining facilities of Rio Tinto in the southwest of Spain saw a "hiatus" (significant abatement or abandonment) for which "the reasons are not fully clear, the deposits were not exhausted". Unfortunately, not only the reasons for but also the timing of the cessation remains uncertain. The textual sources are uninformative and the available archaeological evidence, including lead pollution data (Wilson 2009: 77–8), should not be regarded as precise. Wilson (2009: 78), however, maintains: "Activity at the settlement at Rio Tinto and its associated necropolis ceased between 170 and 180". For this rather precise dating Wilson relies on Jones' (1980: 159) dating of excavated Samian ware:

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It shows that the site [Corta Lago, the largest mining settlement of the complex] was principally active from the Flavian period to the third quarter of the second century. The starting date, of course, tallies neatly with the evidence for the development of the Dehesa cemetery. Yet it is the abrupt end of the life-cycle of the site that is of particular interest. The histogram [Figure 6(a)] shows a steep decline in the presence of Samian after A.D. 160–70 and after that there is very little evidence of the presence of later types. In particular the near absence of Form 31, the commonest form of the late Antonine period, is significant. Unless this represents abrupt changes in the character or efficiency of the samian industry (and there appears to be no evidence for this), then the downturn must be reflected in the steep decline in the Corta Lago mining settlement at the time.

Jones (1980: 161) goes on to refer to "the sudden collapse of the mining settlement." I must confess that I regard conclusions based on precise dating of pottery to be rather fragile. Perhaps it is most prudent to speak of the cessation of Rio Tinto mining activities as a process which took place during the last quarter of the second century. Obviously, temporal vagueness works against monocausal explanations, especially those explanations framed in terms of a single decisive event.

Notwithstanding doubts about precise dates the search for reasons has not abated (see Scheidel 2009: 55–6). Most recently, Wilson (2009: 78) links the "hiatus" in mining with a "disruption" caused by the "Antonine Plague":

Once abandoned even for a short while, large areas of underground mines would have become impossible to work even if the mines were subsequently re-activated. Once underground mines had been abandoned for even a few weeks, galleries below the water table would have flooded while the water-lifting wheels and Archimedes screws that enabled Roman miners to operate below the natural water table were able to cope with the daily influx of groundwater if continuously operated, the dewatering of completely flooded galleries would have been difficult.

That flooding problems in shaft-mines might occur and were taken into account by Roman mining authorities is attested in a labor contract from Dacia (*CIL* III, p. 948 no. x = *FIRA* 3.150a) of 164 CE: a worker (one Memmius Asclepi) agrees: "Should inundation impede [the gold mining work] he shall calculate a proportional reduction (of the wages)" (transl. Berger 1948: 222). Arguably, the main point here is that if Memmius shirks his duties and the mine becomes flooded he will be penalized in his income. Thus, the worker is provided with an incentive to be diligent not provided in a strictly fixed wage contract. The provision for wages to be docked lowers the costs of supervision and hence transaction costs.

Wilson does not, however, support his argument in terms of flooding by citing engineering specifics about Rio Tinto's mining shafts which are not available. The more basic problem with Wilson's "disruption" explanation is that even if it could be shown that mining operations had been directly disrupted by the Plague and even if, as a result, shafts had become flooded and even if the resulting water accumulation was too substantial to be cleared then new shafts could have been opened (Edmondson 1989: 94). In economic life "bygones are bygones." Economic actors had considered revenues and costs and decided it would be profitable to invest in mining shafts in Rio Tinto. The disruption caused by the Antonine Plague and its aftermath did not make shaft-mining there unprofitable. Thus, it would pay to invest in new shafts just as much as it had paid to invest in the original ones. Some Roman investors (like some moderns) might dwell on and be overwhelmed by past misfortunes but others would see the future profits and get started digging new shafts. The argument presented by Wilson is not correct and cannot explain the deactivation of the Spanish mines.

A variant on Wilson's current argument is that the cessation of mining in Rio Tinto was due to the short-lived invasion of Baetica by Moorish rebels in about 171 CE (Birley 2000: 168 with n. 20; Jones 1980: 161–2; Wilson 2002: 28–9, 2009: 78). Damage to mining operations may be attested by an inscription from Vipasca (*IRCPacensis* 121) naming an individual as *restitutor metallorum* "restorer of mines". The inscription has been placed in the reign of Marcus Aurelius or somewhat later and, if dated correctly, it may react to the Moorish incursions in southern Iberia or to the effects of plague or even to some unknown problem (see Hirt 2010: 123–5, 154, 163, 343–4). However, the invaders were expelled and the mines were abandoned (Scheidel 2009: 55 with note 39). Any disruption caused by the invasion would not have made mining unprofitable and consequently work would have resumed and persisted. Again, in economic life "bygones are bygones".

However, the mines in Rio Tinto were deactivated and the Antonine Plague stands out as a possible cause. The failure of Wilson's argument should not preclude further exploration of this connection. There is in fact a viable alternative line of argument. Before examining this alternative it should be noted that there were actually *two* major plagues during the last quarter of the second century. The first began in about 180 CE under Marcus Aurelius and the second shortly after 190 CE under Commodus. I refer simply to "Antonine Plague" without assuming that the causal agents were necessarily identical.



My argument begins by understanding that the Antonine Plague caused significant loss of life across the Roman Empire<sup>1</sup> and deduces that the high mortality resulted in a significant increase in the price of labor-power. The reasons for an increase in wages are straightforward. Plague reduces the available stock of labor power while the stocks of land and material capital are left unchanged. The ultimate result is a higher wage for labor relative to the rental price for land/material capital. This outcome is predicted because the increase in land/material capital per worker raises the (marginal) productivity of (surviving) workers. The last worker employed now contributes more to total output than previously and the value of his/her contribution now exceeds the prevailing wage rate. Therefore, it pays each employer to increase his employment of labor. However, at the old wage the quantity of labor demanded by employers exceeds the quantity sup-

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<sup>1</sup> A number of scholars have suggested that the Antonine Plague was responsible for enormous loss of life and dislodged the Roman economy, permanently or for a very long period, from its growth path up to that time (see Gilliam 1961: 225–6). Thus, Jongman (2006: 243) maintains: "Here, I want to draw attention to the possible effects of the Antonine Plague from AD 165. There is no doubt that it killed a significant proportion of the Empire's population, and that it continued to do so for quite a long period. I think it may well have been the ancient equivalent of the Black Death of the fourteenth century. I also think it is our best bet to explain why over such a wide range, things suddenly began to go wrong in the late second century AD." Zuiderhoek (2009: 42–4) argues similarly and estimates that mortality ranged from 7–10 percent to as much as 25–33 percent. The Antonine Plague continued to the end of the second century CE (cf. Nutton 2003: 694). Jongman, in particular, seems to believe that the Antonine Plague was bubonic in nature. Some scholars, however, view such extreme losses of life as unlikely, not least because they think the plague was smallpox. Elsewhere (Silver 2012) I argue that the plague was unlikely to have been smallpox (repeat epidemics in Rome and reported deaths of animals) and likely to have been bubonic (contemporary reports of numerous deaths and rapid transmission).

Scholars have put forward (Duncan-Jones 1996) and refined (Scheidel 2002, 2010) a number of ingenious proxy measures of the demographic/economic impact of the Antonine Plague. These include army discharge certificates (*diplomata*), Egyptian year-dated documents, dated inscriptions (Rome and Italy and elsewhere) recording a statue or a building, brick stamps in Rome, and dated evidence for production in the Phrygian marble quarries. All the measures are valuable and, unfortunately, all have been subjected to some valid criticisms (Bruun 2003; Greenberg 2003). Broux and Clarysse (2009) have facilitated the construction of a direct, albeit geographically and socioeconomically limited, index of mortality during the Antonine Plague. They gathered into five-year intervals some 606 Lydian inscribed stone funerary monuments dated from 50 CE to 279 CE (Graph 2, p. 30). The stelae are from the roughly four thousand square miles around Saittae, a northeastern town, and probably are too expensive to be erected by ordinary working people, who might have relied on wooden monuments. The numbers of funerary stelae reach very distinct peaks in both 165–169 and 190–194. For the severity of the plague under Commodus, see especially Dio 73,14,3 and Herodian 1,12,1–2.

plied (recall the plague). Competition among self-interested employers drives up the wage rate/rental price.<sup>2</sup>

Next, it is recognized that the Spanish mines were especially sensitive to higher labor costs because the extraction of ore by means of shaft-mining techniques is well above average in labor intensity and is much more labor intensive than opencast extraction (Edmondson 1989: 93–4; Strabo 4,6,12 on the ease of opencast gold mining in Noricum; cf. Hirt 2010: 44–6). The labor intensity of shaft mining is well illustrated in the ancient sources. Pliny the Elder's (*nat.* 33,21) remarks on gold mining (probably) in Spain: "By the light of lamps long galleries are excavated into the mountain... The miners then carry the ore out on their shoulders, each man forming a part of a human chain working in the dark, only those at the end seeing the daylight" (transl. Lewis and Jones 1970: 182). More expansively, Diodorus Siculus (5,36–37) explains: "Now at first unskilled labourers, whoever might come, carried on the working of the mines, and these men took great wealth away with them, since the silver-bearing earth was convenient at hand and abundant; but at a later time, after the Romans had made themselves masters of Iberia, a multitude of Italians have swarmed to the mines and taken great wealth away with them, such was their greed. For they purchase a multitude of slaves whom they turn over to the overseers of the working of the mines; and these men, opening shafts in a number of places and digging deep into the ground, seek out the seams of earth which are rich in silver and gold; and not only do they go into the ground a great distance, but they also push their diggings many stades in depth and run galleries off at every angle, turning this way and that, in this manner bringing up from the depths the ore which gives them the profit they are seeking..." (transl. Oldfather).

<sup>2</sup> Note that even if, as is unlikely due to collusion and enforcement costs, employers of labor power successfully collude and refuse to pay a higher wage, workers may still capture their increased productivity by hiring land/material capital and becoming self-employed (e.g. as independent farmers).

Some evidence for Egyptian wages is available. "Evidence from Tebtunis shows an apparent doubling of daily wages for forms of field labour. Successive documents record rates of 4–7 obols in 152 (median 6 obols, n=12); 8 obols in 166 (n=2) and 10–14 obols in 169/70 (median 12 obols, n=3)" (Duncan-Jones 1996: 124 citing Drexhage). Scheidel (2010; cf. 2002) finds that daily and monthly wages of unskilled rural workers in Roman Egypt rose more than the price of wheat. Examining Scheidel's (2010) Figure 1, it appears that between the 100–160s CE and the 190s–260s CE: real monthly wages rose about 20% while daily wages rose slightly. A final point of some importance is that the real price of donkeys in Egypt rose by 50% from the "pre-plague" to the "post-plague" period (Scheidel 2010: Fig. 1). One interpretation of this finding is that the demand for donkeys increased as users sought to compensate for the severe loss in human labor power due to the plague.

*The argument is that by raising the value of labor-power the Antonine Plague raised total costs to a point at which it became uneconomic (unprofitable) to continue working the Spanish shaft-mines.* That is, the rise in labor costs made extraction costs exceed the value of the extracted metals, including of gold. To anticipate a possible objection, note that labor costs in shaft-mining would be a central consideration whether the labor power was provided by slaves (*servi*), or by free hired workers (*mercenarii*), or by self-employed miners (*occupatores, coloni*). All categories are attested in Spanish mines by two inscribed bronze tablets (Vipasca I ch. 7; Vipasca II Para. 10,13) from Aljustrel (Roman Vipasca) in southern Portugal.<sup>3</sup> It should be stressed that slaves, even convict slaves, have a market value and/or an opportunity cost (the income that might be earned by deploying them in alternative work) which would have been increased by the plague along with the wage of free labor. If the opportunity cost of convict labor and/or coerced local workers (Domergue, Sillières and Martin 1977) is zero – that is, their labor might be productively employed *only* in mining, or more specifically in shaft mining, this would have limited any plague induced rise in total labor costs. However, even this extreme and unrealistic assumption would not eliminate the increase in the cost of non-convict labor-power supporting shaft-mining. In this category we should include the wages of the military personnel needed to keep forced laborers from escaping!

It might be objected that Romans did not, like good neo-classical economists, take labor costs into account in making production decisions. The most famous example of apparent disregard is the response of Vespasian (69–79 CE) when offered a device/plan for transporting columns: "To a mechanical engineer, who promised to transport some heavy columns to the Capitol at small expense, he gave no mean reward for his invention, but refused to make use of it, saying: 'You must let me feed my poor commons' (*sineret se plebiculam pascere*)" (Suet. *Vesp.* 18; transl. Rolfe). However, a number of concrete (and less ambiguous) ex-

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<sup>3</sup> See Domergue 1983: 146f., 1990: 277f.; Thompson 2003: 162–5; cf. Edmondson 1987: 61–70. Strabo (3,2,10), citing Polybius (second century BCE), refers to forty thousand workers deployed in the Spanish mines. Some were miners and others provided support services (Edmondson 1987: 60). According to Patterson (1972: 231): "The required labour in each mining district varied according to the nature of the country rock, the grade of ore, the flow of groundwater, and the mineralogical nature of the ore; but it can be generally estimated on the basis of total required work that 500 to 1,000 slave-years [man-years] were required to produce one ton of silver during Greek and Roman times, irrespective of guard, transport, and supply production labour. Polybius mentioned a figure of this magnitude for Roman mines...."

amples demonstrate that Romans did take labor costs into consideration. Pliny the Elder's (*nat.* 18,38) dictum that "good farming is necessary, perfect farming detrimental, except when the farmer runs his farm by his own family or by persons he has to maintain in any case" (*bene colere necessarium est, optime damnosum, praeterquam subole sua colono aut pascendis alioqui colente*; transl. Bostock and Riley) stands as a testimony to economic rationality and sophistication. Like a modern microeconomist, Pliny is noting that when the marginal cost of labor (incremental cost of employing additional hours of labor) is effectively zero, as it is for already hired labor, labor may appropriately be applied to the point of "perfection" – i.e. to the point where the monetary value of the marginal product of labor (value of its incremental output) is zero. Again, Columella (2,2,12) balances the value of additional land to farm with the cost of additional labor when he advises: "It is easy to clear stony ground by gathering up the stones; and if there is a great quantity of them, parts of the field must be used for building them into piles of some sort, so that the other parts may be cleared off, or the stones will have to be buried in a deep-dug trench. This should be done, however, only if the cheapness of labor makes it advisable" (*Ac saxosum facile est expedire lectione lapidum, quorum si magna est abundantia, velut quibusdam substructionibus partes agri sunt occupandae, ut reliquae emumentur, vel in altitudinem sulco depresso lapides obruendi*; transl. Ash).

Most directly, Pliny the Elder (*nat.* 34,49) explicitly recognizes the importance of differences in labor costs in shaft vs. opencast mining: "Black lead [our lead] is used in the form of pipes and sheets: it is extracted with great labor in Spain, and throughout all the Gallic provinces; but in Britannia it is found in the upper stratum of the earth, in such abundance, that a law has been spontaneously made, prohibiting any one from working more than a certain quantity of it" (*Nigro plumbo ad fistulas lamnasque utimur; laboriosius in Hispania eruto totasque per Gallias, sed in Brittannia summo terrae corio adeo large, ut lex ultro dicatur, ne plus certo modo fiat. nigri generibus haec sunt nomina: Iovetanum, Caprariense, Oleastrense, nec differentia ulla scoria modo excocta diligenter. mirum in his solis metallis, quod derelicta fertilius revivescunt*; transl. Bostock and Riley; cf. Elkington 2001: 63). It is not clear whether the intention of the "law" (convention?) is to protect Spanish producers from low cost competition or to limit production and raise the profit of producers in Britannia. It is clear that labor costs mattered to the Romans.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The Antonine Plague induced rise in the relative price of labor-power might lie behind the adoption of important new technologies in the city of Rome during the earlier third century CE.

To conclude, any "disruption" in shaft-mining operations due to invasion or plague would have lasted only a few years but the plague-induced rise in the price of labor would have lasted for many years and certainly well into the third century. On the other hand, the rise in the price of labor would not preclude working capital-intensive hydraulic mines in the northwest of Spain or elsewhere. Indeed, shaft-mines might be worked in regions whose deposits were more accessible and whose mining operations were consequently less labor intensive than in Spain. This consideration might or might not explain a possible intensification of shaft-mining activity in the central Balkans (Mladenovic forthcoming). The answer cannot be known until research is undertaken with a focus on comparative natural/environmental conditions, mining techniques, and dating. It is hoped that the new arguments put forward in this paper will serve to motivate new research.

What is presently clear is that Spanish shaft-mines were deactivated and for this entrepreneurial decision an explanation in terms of an increase in the price of labor-power due to the Antonine Plague is not only logically coherent but also fits the facts better than alternative hypotheses such as disruptions due to flooding of mine shafts and/or invasions of the mining region.

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Alexander Severus (222–235) reportedly "erected in Rome very many great engineering-works (*opera mechanica plurima*)."  
(SHA *Sev. Alex.* 22,4; transl. Magie). Coarelli believes that SHA refers to the construction of the Janiculum water-mills (cited by Wilson 2002: 13–4). Morel (1993: 227) suggests, "Economizing on manpower was just not in the spirit of the times..." But perhaps it was in times of plague when labor costs surged relative to capital costs!

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## ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

### CCLXV. WEITERE LATEINISCHE COGNOMINA

**Ἀκκεπτοῦς:** *AE* 2008, 1546 = *SEG* LVI 1900 (Maximianopolis in Palästina) Ἀκκεπτοῦς ἡ φιλόθεος, aus christlicher Zeit.<sup>1</sup> Also eindeutig Frauennamenname. Trotz der Schreibung mit einem κ kaum anders als zur Namensippe *Acceptus* gehörig zu verstehen. Dies war ein beliebtes Cognomen, im griechischen Osten freilich nur selten belegt (*ICret* IV 224). Wenn es zu *Acceptus* zu stellen ist, dann haben wir hier das erste einwandfreie Beispiel des an einen lateinischen Stamm angehängten griechischen Frauennamensuffixes -οῦς. Vgl. jedoch Δουνοῦς aus Emesene in Syrien (*IGLS* 2113), dazu *Arctos* 39 (2005) 168; vielleicht ist diese Bildung aber eher als semitisch zu bewerten. Dies Suffix war in der griechischen Namengebung der hellenistischen und besonders römischen Zeit recht produktiv.<sup>2</sup> So können wir mit gutem Gewissen diesen bemerkenswerten Fall dem Befund griechisch-römischer onomastischer Wechselbeziehungen hinzufügen, neben vielen anderen Bildungen, wie zum Beispiel die zahlreichen aus lateinischen Stämmen mittels des griechischen Suffixes -ᾶς gebildeten Männernamen.

*Adquisitor:* Kajanto 360 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu Audollent 280. 281 *Atquesitor*.

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\* Wolfgang Günther hat meinen deutschen Ausdruck verbessert, wofür ich ihm herzlich danke. Olli Salomies und Mika Kajava haben das Manuskript auf gewohnte Weise durchgesehen; auch ihnen gebührt mein Dank.

<sup>1</sup> Die Editrix princeps L. Di Segni datiert die Inschrift aus archäologischen Gründen ins 3. Jh., woran man zweifeln muss. Ich würde an eine etwas spätere Zeit denken. Zweifel werden auch von Chr. Marksches, *ZAC* 11 (2008) 435–7 angemeldet. Zurückzuweisen ist die Behauptung von K. Hallof bei Marksches 437 Anm. 47, "Aceptous scheint der regulär gebildete Genetiv des Namens \*Akepto (Omega mit Akut), wie Sappho usw. zu sein".

<sup>2</sup> Vgl. z. B. O. Masson, *BCH* 103 (1979), 367. *Onomastica Graeca selecta* III, Genève 2000, 155–7.



*Adquisitus*: Kajanto 297 mit vier Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 497. Dazu *ICUR* 17384; *CIL* V 798 = *I. Aquileia* 295 (vgl. unten S. 162).

*Altinus*: Kajanto 196 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Herm.* 7, 3 (294 n. Chr.) *Aurelio Altino*.

**Ἀγγουλάς**: *SEG* LV 841 vgl. Feissel, *I. Cilicie* 219–220 (Chersonesus Taurica, 553, 548 oder 563 n. Chr.) [πράττ]οντος Ἀγγουλά [τοῦ λαμροτ]άτου τριβού[νου] (aus Isaurien). [Oder könnte Ἀγγουλά[του] ergänzt werden?]. Ein homonymer isaurischer Mönch wird des Öfteren in der Vita des Symeon Stylites des Jüngeren genannt: 123 Ἀγγουλᾶν τινα Ἰσαυρον (Nom. Ἀγγουλάς 128. 168. 240).<sup>3</sup> Vgl. ferner den Genetiv Ἀγγίλου auf einem Ziegel aus Konstantinopel, den Feissel, *Bull. epigr.* 2004, 531 für einen Isaurier hält. Ferner ist aus byzantinischer Zeit ein weiteres Anthroponym Ἀγγύλας bekannt.<sup>4</sup> Demnach wird eine lateinische Zuweisung sehr unsicher, doch könnte der Name aus *Angulatus* (s. den vorigen Band dieser Zeitschr. 232; zu notieren ist aber, dass hier epichorisches Gut vorliegen kann) mit dem auch in der Kaiserzeit verbreiteten Suffix -ᾶς gebildet sein. Wie bekannt, und auch in diesen *Analecta* oft hervorgehoben, wurde dies Suffix beliebig lateinischen Namenstämmen angehängt, und zwar oft kurznamenartig.

*Antistianus -a*: Kajanto 140 mit elf Belegen für den Männernamen und zwei Belegen für den Frauennamen. Hier sei nur bemerkt, dass dieser Name in griechischen Quellen neben der für das Gentilicium üblichen Form Ἀνθέστιος (die auch lateinisch *Anthestius* auftritt) die Form Ἀνθεστιανός bietet (dagegen scheint die Schreibweise Ἀντιστιανός neben dem gut belegten Ἀντίστιος nicht in Gebrauch gewesen zu sein): Männernamen *AM* 13 (1888) 304 (Kyzikene, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); *TAM* V 682 (Charakipolis in Lydien, 161/2 n. Chr.); *TAM* III 407 (Termessos, 3. Jh. n. Chr.); *SEG* XXXVII 1175 (Kremna in Pisidien, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); *SB* 8526 (Nubien); Frauennamen *IG* X 2, 1, 170 (Thessalonike, 3. Jh. n. Chr.); *SEG* LVII 1532 (Termessos, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Ἀὐρ(η)λία).

*Apricula*: Kajanto 325 mit sechs Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *NSc* 1920, 287 Nr. 2 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Apricla*; *AE* 1977, 193 (Capua); *Oebalus* 5 (2010) 264 Nr. 6 (ebenfalls Capua, in einer Familie serviler Herkunft; ihr Bruder heißt *Lupus*, es liegt also eine Art Namenpaar vor, ob aber die Namen aus dieser Motivation

<sup>3</sup> Herausgegeben von P. van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de S. Syméon Stylite le Jeune (521–592)* I (Subsidia Hagiographica 32), Bruxelles 1962. van den Ven akzentuiert Ἀγγουλάς.

<sup>4</sup> Mehrmals in den *Acta monasterii Docheiarii, Practicon sive census domuum in Lemno* aus dem 15. Jh.: *Archives de l'Athos* XIII, Paris 1984 Nr. 60.

her gewählt wurden, stehe dahin); *Suppl. It.* 4 Sulmo 57 *Apricla*; *ICUR* 18436 *Apricla*.

*Apriculus*: Kajanto 325 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1979, 192 (Cannole in Apulien) *Apriclus*; *ILJug* 169 *Apriclus*.

*Aprilla*: Kajanto 325 mit acht Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 1983, 77 (Rom); *ICUR* 22331; *I. Stabiae* 18 *Aprila*; *Suppl. It.* 5 Regium Iulium 27; 27. *BRGK* Nr. 82; *Fragm. Vat.* 34 (313 n. Chr.). Auch im griechischen Osten belegt: *CIG* 4091 (der Mann ein Petronius).

*Aries*: Kajanto 325 mit zwei Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 497. Dazu *Bull. com.* 82 (1970–1971 [1975] 76 Nr. 16 (Rom); *ICUR* 23477; *Suppl. It.* 9 Amiternum 210 [*A*]ries (die Ergänzung ist sicher); *ICret* IV 337 (1. Jh. n. Chr.) [ἀπὸ] Ἀρίητος ἀρχ(- - -).

*Arriana*: Kajanto 141 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1583 [---]lia *Crispina Arrian[a]* erwähnt unter den Mädchen aus dem Senatorenstand, die im Jahre 204 in den Säkularspielen das Lied sangen; *IGRR* III 146 (Paphlagonien); *SEG* LVII 1917 (Arabia, 5./ 6. Jh., christl.).

**Αὐξιλία**: *MAMA* VIII 379 (Pisidien) [A]ὐξιλ[ί]α δούλη Τηλεμάχου. Doch bleibt die Ergänzung etwas unsicher, nicht wegen des Anlauts, wo es kaum andere Ergänzungsmöglichkeiten gibt, aber statt Αὐξιλία könnte auch Αὔξιλλα erwogen werden; freilich gibt es einen solchen Namen sonst nicht, der aber eine plausible Bildung darstellen würde. Ferner ist zu notieren, dass *Auxilius -ia* auch als Gentilname gebraucht wurde, doch sieht man nicht recht ein, wie in Kleinasien ein seltenes Gentilicium einer Sklavin hätte zugelegt werden können.

***Auxilia[nus?]***: *TitAquinc* 839 *Aur(elio) Auxilia[no?]*. Mit gebotener Vorsicht kann dieser Name festgelegt werden, denn andere plausible Ergänzungen stehen nicht zu Gebote.

*Auxilius*: Kajanto 363 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2008, 1169 (Berzobis in Dakien, von den Editoren in trajanische Zeit datiert) [---]ριος Αὐξίλιος. Es scheint ein Cognomen zu sein, auch wenn es ganz ausgeschlossen ist, dass in [---]ριος etwas anderes als der Gentilname stecken könnte. Wenn aber andererseits die von den Editoren gegebene Datierung stimmt, müsste erwogen werden, ob hier möglicherweise das Gentilicium *Auxilius* in der Funktion des Cognomens vorliege, da die mit dem Suffix *-ius* versehenen Cognomina erst seit severischer Zeit üblich werden.

Βαριανή: *Arctos* 36 (2002) 108 (eine Ephesierin). Dazu Robert, *Hellenica* 2 (1946) 155 (Byzantion, christl.).

*Barianus*: Kajanto 142 mit einem Beleg. Dazu L. M. Ugolini, *Albania antica* 1 (1927) 197 Nr. 191 (Amantia in Illyrien, ca. 200 n. Chr.) Βαριανοῦ

Σώσπιδος;<sup>5</sup> *SEG XXXI 904* (Aphrodisias, 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Βαριανοῦ, Athlet.

**Caeciana:** *HEp 1, 172* (Turgalium, Sklavin).

**Caecianus:** Kajanto 142 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CAG 34, 2, 296* (Narbonensis).

**Caeso:** Kajanto 172 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Iust. 10, 32, 1* (259 n. Chr.).

**Caesonianus:** Kajanto 142 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg I 2144* (Madauros) *C. Caesonius Honoratus Caesonianus, flamen perpetuus egregius vir.*

**Cassianilla:** *AE 2008, 1055* (Spalato, 4. Jh. n. Chr.). Abgeleitet aus *Cassianus* (Kajanto 144).

**Celerinius:** *AE 2008, 472* (Samothrace) *Cocceius Celerinius*, also Cognomen. Der Editorin zufolge soll die Inschrift nicht früher als aus dem Ende des 2. Jh. n. Chr. sein, sie gehört aber deutlich dem schon fortgeschrittenen 3. Jh., wie vor allem die Nomenklatur zeigt. So können wir unbesorgt ein neues Cognomen auf *-ius* festlegen, zumal der Text noch ein anderes gibt, nämlich *Dracontius*. *Celerinus* war üblich in der Kaiserzeit.

**Certianus:** Kajanto 254 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. *Arctos 42* (2008) 217 Zarai in Numidien (der Beleg, obwohl akephal, kann kaum anders aufgefasst werden). Dazu ein in Lezoux im Gebiet der Arverni in Aquitanien in der Mitte des 2. Jh. n. Chr. tätiger Töpfer: *Names on Terra sigillata 3* (2008) 1.

**Cestianus:** Kajanto 144 mit drei Senatoren aus dem 1. Jh. v. Chr. und sechs Belegen aus *CIL. Arctos 38* (2004) 167 aus Apollonia von Illyrien. Dazu andere Belege aus dem griechischen Osten: *SEG XXXIII 586 = LIV 670* (Tomis, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Κεστια[v]ός; *IG VII 1772* (Thespiiai, 150–250 n. Chr.) Αἴλιος Κεστιανός; *ABSA 59* (1964) 35 (Chios); *I. Smyrna 761* Κλ(αύδιος) Πρόκλος Κεστιανός; *Studia Pontica III 37* (Neoclaudiopolis) Κύριλλος Κεστιανοῦ; *I. Anazarbos 417* (1./2. Jh.); *TitComanCapp 6, 8* Μάξιμος Κεστιανοῦ.

**Cordianus:** Kajanto 295 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu zwei Namensträger aus Jonien: *I. Erythrai/Klazomenai 529* (frühere Kaiserzeit); *I. Magnesia 178. 179* (2. Jh.) Τ. Φλ. Κορδιανός.

Κορνῶς: *Rep. 318. Arctos 37* (2003) 175. Dazu *I. Cos EF 374* (1. Jh. n. Chr.); *SEG LVII 1452* (Termessos, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

<sup>5</sup> Fehlt in *LGPN III.A*, aber unter Σώσπις wird der Mann als Βαριανὸς Σώσπις angeführt, die Autoren haben also möglicherweise B. als Gentilicium gedeutet; sie datieren die Inschrift in die hellenistische Zeit, was natürlich ausgeschlossen ist.

*Crustuminus*: Kajanto 181 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2008, 330 (Pompeji, 39 n. Chr.) *A. Rustius Crustuminus, min(ister) Fort(unae) Aug(ustae)*.

*Cupitianus*: Kajanto 296 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1975, 86 (Rom (2./3. Jh.)); 1987, 157 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); *ILLPRON* 1152 (Iuvavum) *Cupit(ius) Cupitianus d(ecurio)* (Sohn *Cupitanus*).

*Datianus*: Kajanto 298 mit sechs Belegen aus *CIL* und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *PLRE* I 243 Nr. 1 *Censorius Datianus*, Konsul 358 n. n. Chr., aus Antiochien; 244 Nr. 2 v. p., *praeses* ca. 305 n. Chr.; *Symm. epist.* 3, 38 (397 n. Chr.); *CIL* V 5559; *AE* 1994, 1100 (Britannien); *AE* 1984, 928 (Karthago, 230 n. Chr.) [*S*] *trabonius Datianus Urbanicianus*; *ILAlg* I 3682 *M. Emilius Datianus Lampius*; II 4373. Mehrere Bischöfe (von denen Kajanto nur einen anführt): s. *ThLL* Onom. III 58, 22–28.

*Datinus*: *AE* 1999, 1825 (Thuburbo Maius in der prov. proc.) *C. Asinius Datinus sac(erdos)*; *ILAlg* II 8068 (Cuicul) *C. Caecilius Datinus*. Der Frauennamen in Kajanto 298 mit zwei Belegen.

*Dativilla*: Kajanto 297 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VIII 3297 *Minuci[a] Da]tivilla* Frau eines *praeses* provinciae Numidiae (die Ergänzung ist plausibel).

*Datosus*: Kajanto 298 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *ILAlg* II 7417 *Galerius Datusus*.

*Datula*: Kajanto 298 mit einem Beleg. Dazu Martyrol. Hier. 4 Non. Iun. (in Rom); *IL Afr* 588, 14 (Thugga) *Aebutia Datula*.

*Datulla*: *ILAlg* II 4782 (Thibilis) *Aemilia M. f. Datulla*.

*Datullus*: Kajanto 298 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1902, 11 = 147 (Lam-baesis) *Alf(ius) Datullus*; *ILAlg* II 5145 *Datius Datullus*.

*Datulus*: Kajanto 298 mit sieben Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu Martyrol. Hier. 15.14 Kal. Ian. (in Afrika); *IL Afr* 100, 2; *ILAlg* I 1409 *Petronius Datulus*. 2546 *C. Iulius Datulus*. 3797 *M. Iulius Datulus*; *ILTun* 1109, 55 (Karthago).

Fragm. *Datul[---]*: *ICUR* 2210 (Sexus unbekannt).

*Decidianus*: Kajanto 145 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu T. Domitius Decidianus, quaestor aerarii 44–47 n. Chr., dessen Name in dem Zollgesetz von Asia (ed. Oxford 2008, p. 28), 6 so überliefert ist (er war bisher als *T. Domitius Decidius* geläufig: *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 143); *CIL* IV 3340, 46. 67 (56 n. Chr.) *L. Ceius Decidianus*.

*Deusdona*: Kajanto 217 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *RPAA* 57 (1984–1985) 132 Nr. 12 *D(eu)sdona pr(es)b(yte)r* (er kann derselbe wie der von Kajanto aus *ICUR* 6449 angeführte sein, sicher ist das aber nicht; aus der Zeit des ausgehenden Altertums, wenn nicht frühmittelalterlich); *ICUR* 12240, 2 (aus derselben Zeit, doch kaum identisch mit den vorigen) *Deodona pr(es)b(yte)r*.

!Δομναροῦς; *SEG* LVII 1503 (Termessos, 3. Jh.). Ἀὐρ(ηλία) Δομναροῦς.<sup>6</sup> Durch dieses neue Zeugnis gewinnt meine oben *Arctos* 38 (2004) 170 gegebene Deutung an Wahrscheinlichkeit, in *TAM* III 1, 592 Δομναροῦ (Dat.) liege dieser Name vor.

*Domnina*: Kajanto 362. *Arctos* 38 (200) 171; 39 (2005) 164; 42 (2008) 229. Dazu *CIL* XV 8185; *AE* 2008, 231 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); *CIL* II 1836; *AE* 1950, 118 (Carnuntum) *Valeria L. f. Vitalis quae et Domnina*.

*Domnus*: Kajanto 362 mit einem heidnischen Beleg. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 164–168 mit einer ausführlichen Übersicht. 44 (2010) 237. Dazu noch *SEG* LVI 1681 (Nakoleia in Phrygien, 3./4. Jh.); LVII 1720 (Kappadokien, 1./2. Jh.).

\**Donatalis* Kajanto 298 aus *CIL* VII 928 (= *RIB* 953) ist zu streichen: M. Janon – M. Christol, *Epigraphica* 71 (2009) 191–201; statt *Parcis Probo Donatalis* ist zu lesen *Parcis pro Bodo Natalis*.

*Donatilla*: Kajanto 298 mit sieben Belegen (von denen zwei christl.). Dazu *Passio Crispinae* (Ruinart, ed. min. p. 478); Martyrol. Hier. 6 Kal. Mart. (in Nikomedia). Kal. Mart. (in Afrika). 8 Kal. Oct. (im Gebiet der Bituriges); *ICUR* 15906 (= *CIL* VI 38408) *Donatila*. 17028. 26648 *Gargilia Donatilla*; *AE* 1968, 642 (Numidien, christl.) *Aegidia Donatilla*. 1972, 716 (Sitifis). 1995, 1689 (Theveste) *Iul(ia) Donatilla*; *BCTH* 1930/31, 141 (Mauret. Caes.) *Donatila*; *ICHR*Haidra 209; *IL Afr* 166, 7 *Carvilia Donatilla*; *ILTun* 318 (christl.) *Mallia Donatilla*.

*Donativus*: Martyrol. Hier. 4 Kal. Mart.. Kajanto 298 hat nur den Frauennamen *Donativa*.

*Donatulus*: Kajanto 298 mit fünf Belegen in *CIL* VIII. Dazu *Cypr. epist.* 56 tit.; *AE* 1989, 813 (Sufetula) *L. Marius Donatulus*.

*Dulcitia*: Kajanto 282 mit 13 Belegen (davon 1 jüd., 8 christl.). Erwähnt sei noch *Epist. pontif.* Gassó-Batlle 64, 3–5 (eine *famula*).

*Dulcitus*: Kajanto 282 mit sieben heidnischen und 13 christlichen Belegen. Öfters auch bei den spätantiken Beamten (*PLRE* I sechsmal; II zweimal; III dreimal) und unter der christlichen Prominenz (*PCBE* I zweimal; II neunmal).

*Fabricillianus*: *AE* 2008, 222 (Rom, Fluchtafel, 2./3. Jh.) *Fapricillianu(m)*. Vgl. *Fabricilla* Kajanto 168 (hier einmal belegt).

*Fortuitus*: Kajanto 296 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *EE* VIII 484 (Capua) *Ga[binius] Fort[ui]tus*; *IL Alg* I 3795. II 69 *Antonius [D]onatulus*; *Mourir à Dougga* 297. Üblicher ist *Donatula*, auch er bei Kajanto ausschließlich aus Afrika belegt. Deswegen sei eigens folgender stadtrömischer christlicher Beleg erwähnt: *ICUR* 26430.

<sup>6</sup> Vgl. C. Brixhe, *Bull. epigr.* 2007, 484, der hier ebenfalls einen hybriden griechisch-römischen Namen sieht.

*Fructula*: Kajanto 352 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2008, 1053 (Spalato, ca. 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Fructla* (Tochter *Fructosa*).

*Futianus*: Kajanto 147 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2008, 1724 (140 n. Chr.), ritterlicher Offizier unbekannter Herkunft, Präfekt der ala Gallorum Atectorgiana, stationiert in Moesia inferior.

*Gailla*: Kajanto 172 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 173 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2008, 1091 (Brigetio).

*Gemellianus*: Kajanto 295 mit acht Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 169; 40 (2006) 135. Dazu *IGUR* 656 (2. Jh.) Τι. Κλ. Γεμελλιωνός; *AE* 1994 (Virunum, Ende 2. Jh.) *Gemelli(us) Gemellianus*; *IGRR* III 162, 51 (Ancyra, 102 n. Chr.) Γεμελλιωνός Μάξιμος (also eher Gentilname).

*Herbonianus*: *AE* 2008, 785 (Britannien). Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Herbonius*, auch er einmalig, belegt in Aquileia: *CIL* V 798 = *I. Aquileia* 295 (165 n. Chr.) *Herbonius Atquis(itus)* (wohl so zu verstehen, vgl. unten S. 162).

*Hortus*: *AE* 1969/70, 277 (Hisp. cit.) *Paulina Horti f(ilia)* (vgl. 276); 2008, 1689 (Tituli in prov. proc., 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Pinarius Hortus*. Die Herleitung des Namens bleibt etwas dunkel. Da aber eine epichorische Erklärung, wenigstens für den afrikanischen Beleg, kaum zu Gebote steht, bleibt es nur übrig, den Namen mit *hortus* zu verbinden. Bezeichnungen von örtlichen Allgemeinbegriffen sind nur selten metonymisch zu Personennamen geworden, und teilweise können Cognomina, die sich formal mit einem Begriff aus der leblosen Natur decken, anderer sprachlicher Herkunft sein.<sup>7</sup> Als Beispiel sei *Silva* angeführt.<sup>8</sup> Trotzdem scheint es schwierig zu sein, für *Hortus* eine andersartige Erklärung zu finden. Vielleicht hat seine Ingebrauchnahme als Cognomen der Umstand erleichtert, dass ein Toponym *Hortus* zugrunde liegen kann; und Toponyme konnten leichter zu Personennamen werden, wie zum Beispiel *Italia* oder einige Flussnamen wie

<sup>7</sup> Kajanto 339 führt einige Namen unter der Rubrik "hill, sea, brook, wood", von denen die Mehrheit aber keine ausreichend überlieferten Belege aufweist oder anders zu erklären ist. Zu den von Kajanto verzeichneten Namen sei Folgendes angemerkt: Der einzige Beleg von *Mons* bleibt sehr zweifelhaft (s. H. S., "Från Mons till Berg". ("Von Mons zu Berg"), in: *Språkets speglingar. Festskrift till Birger Bergh*. Redaktörer: A. Jönsson och A. Piltz, Lund 2000, 291–3. *Rivus* ist eher als keltisch aufzufassen. *Oceanus* gehört in die Sphäre der aus mythologischen Namen gebildeten Cognomina. Nur *Tumulus* gehört deutlich zu dieser Begriffsebene. Hinzu kommt freilich *Campus*, der ein paar Male in der lateinischen Anthroponymie belegt ist: *Arctos* 32 (1998) 238; 39 (2005) 162 (er ist übrigens auch griechisch: Bechtel, *HPN* 234).

<sup>8</sup> Als Männernamen hat er wohl eher eine etruskische sprachliche Herkunft (so Schulze, *ZGLE* 371. 418). Der Frauenname konnte später leichter von den Sprachteilhabern mit *silva* verbunden werden (auch wegen der Assonanz mit *Silvia*).

*Rhenus* oder *Euphrates* zeigen.<sup>9</sup> Doch ist zuzugeben, dass diese Art Namengebung immer selten geblieben ist.

*Importunus*: Kajanto 266 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 500. Bisher war der Name, der Frauenname *Importuna* mit einbegriffen, ausschließlich aus christlichen Urkunden belegt. Jetzt kommt hinzu der Flottenpräfekt [---]lius *Importunus* aus trajanischer Zeit: *AE* 2008, 1739 (derselbe 1738). Dass der Name bisher nur in christlichen Urkunden belegt war, dürfte auf Zufall beruhen, trotz seines auf christliche Demut und Niedrigkeit hinweisenden Begriffsinhalts. An christlichen Belegen kommt hinzu noch *ICUR* 12303 *Inportunus acol(u)t(hus) s(an)c(ta) e e(c)cl(esiae) Rom(anae) t(i)t(uli) s(an)c(ta)e Anastasiae*; 21102 *Inportunus subdiac(onus)*.

*Ingenuina*: Kajanto 315 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 175. Dazu *AE* 1988, 917 = 2006, 990 (Noricum) *Capitonia Ingenuina*.

*Ingenuinus*: Kajanto 315 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 175. Dazu *AE* 2008, 792 (Ratae Corieltavorum in Britannien). Der Name wie die ganze Namensippe ist charakteristisch für westliche und Donauprovinzen.<sup>10</sup>

*Iuncina*: Kajanto 334 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 11718 vgl. *AE* 2008, 1279.

*Iuncinus*: Kajanto 334 mit vier Belegen. Dazu Leber, *I. Kärnten* 76.

*Laberianus*: Kajanto 148 mit sieben Belegen. *Arctos* 43 (2009) 168. Dazu *SEG LVII* 1510 (Termessos, 3. Jh.).

*Laurinus*: Kajanto 334 mit sechs Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 2008, 373 (Puteoli, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *P. Manlius Sp. l. Laurinus* (der homonyme Sohn in *CIL X* 1784); *BCTH* 1946/1949, 420 (Theveste, christl.).

*Magnillus*: Kajanto 275 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Theod.* 3, 8, 2 (vgl. *PLRE I* 533), vicarius Africae.

*Maioricus*: Kajanto 294 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu zwei heidnische: *AE* 1912 = 1988, 1555 (prov. proc., 4. Jh.); *ILAlg II* 6974 *Omidius Maioricus*. Der Frauenname *Maiorica* ist üblich.

<sup>9</sup> Zu dieser Art Namen siehe H. S., "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; "Varia onomastica XV. Liris", *ZPE* 156 (2006) 308–12.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. z. B. A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in den zwei germanischen Provinzen* 2, 1, Rahden/Westf. 2007, 425f.; *Die Personennamen im römischen Britannien*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2011, 405f.

*Mamertina*: Kajanto 212 mit zwei heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ZPE* 178 (2011) 281 (Ligures Baebiani, etwa 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Fabricia Q. l. Mame<r>t(ina?)*.

*Matrinia*: *ICUR* 25196. Es könnte der Gentilname vorliegen, angesichts der späten Zeit des Belegs (die Inschrift kann kaum vorkonstantinisch sein) würde ich aber für eine neue mit dem für die spätere Kaiserzeit so charakteristischen Suffix *-ia* aus *Matrinus -na* abgeleitete Bildung plädieren.

*Memorianus*: Kajanto 255 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2008, 783 (Britanien).

Μινῶτος: Kajanto 176 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 209. Dazu *I. Tyr* II 4 (um Christi Geburt).

*Minor*: Kajanto 294 mit zwei Belegen für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen. Dazu *CIL* VI 6062 (ca. augusteische Zeit) *L. Marcius L. f. Vot. Minor* (wenn nicht als *minor* zu verstehen).

!*Mula*: *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 501 aus *CIL* IV 2203. 8185. 8747. Gestrichen werden müssen 8185 und 8747, in denen die Lesung völlig offen ist. In 2203 wiederum liegt eher das Appellativum *mula* vor (das in 2204 mit griechischen Lettern geschrieben wiederkehrt), in der Bedeutung einer Prostituierten;<sup>11</sup> auf dieselbe Weise ist *muscella*, Diminutiv von *mula*,<sup>12</sup> in 2016 zu verstehen und wahrscheinlich auch in 3059, wo die Lesung freilich etwas unsicher bleibt.

Μουσωνιανή: *SEG* XLI 1300 (Termessos, 3. Jh.) (der Ehemann ein Aurelius). Den Männernamen *Musonius* belegt Kajanto 151 nur einmal; dazu *Arctos* 35 (2001) 210, ebenfalls aus Kleinasien (dort zur Erklärung der Verbreitung).

*Nasidianus*: *AE* 2008, 1631 (Byzacena) *Aelius Rufinianus Nasidianus*. Der Gentilname *Nasidius* war verbreitet im römischen Afrika.

<sup>11</sup> Für ein Appellativum treten ein z. B. V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966<sup>3</sup>, 30; J.-P. Cèbe, *La caricature et la parodie dans le monde romain antique des origines à Juvenal*, Paris 1966, 339; L. Löfstedt, in *ThLL* s. v. *Mulus (mula)*, 1621, 16f. Für einen Eigennamen dagegen z. B. Zangemeister und Mau im Index von *CIL* IV p. 235 und 751; I. Kajanto, *NPhM* 66 (1965) 455; J. Adams, *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, London 1982, 122; L. Savunen, *Women in the Urban Texture of Pompeii*, Diss. Helsinki 1997, 106; St. De Caro, *Il Gabinetto segreto del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli*, Napoli 2000, 57; A. Varone, *RSP* 16 (2005) 107.

<sup>12</sup> So Th. Halter, *ThLL* s. v. *muscella* 1697, 20–6; P. Debouxhtay, *Mus. Belg.* 1925, 115f; Väänänen, *Latin vulgaire*<sup>3</sup> (s. die vorige Anm.). Früher verband man das Wort oft mit *musculus*, so G. B. De Rossi, *Bull. arch. crist.* 2 (1864) 72, und andere. R. E. Wallace, *An Introduction to Wall Inscriptions from Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Wauconda (Ill.), 2005, 88 Nr. 179.



**Nataliana:** *CollEpigrMusCapitol* 78 (Rom, 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.)  
*Cornelia Nataliana*.

**Natalianus:** Kajanto 290 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 179. Dazu *CIL* VI 37163 *T. Aur. Natalian(us)*; IX 2747 (Aesernia) [*S*]eptimi[us N]atalianu[s].

**Natalica:** Kajanto 290 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 136. Dazu *CIL* VIII 23603 *Rupilia Natalica*.

**Natalicus:** Kajanto 290 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 16366 [*N*]atalicus (die Ergänzung ist sicher); *ILAlg* II 6641 (Sigus) *Iulius L. f. Quir. Natalicus*; Ennabli, *IChrCarthage* I 97. – Sexus unbestimmt: *ICUR* 13192.

**Natalinus:** Kajanto 290 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1979, 383 (Britannien).

**Natalio:** Kajanto 290 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 18507 *Aurelius Natalio*; *ILJug* 1964 (Dalmatien) *Naeuius Natalio*.

**Natta:** Kajanto 322 mit sieben Belegen (davon sind vier Senatoren aus der republikanischen Zeit, alle Pinarii, der fünfte C. Scoedius Natta Pinarianus, cos. suff. 81); die zwei von Kajanto angeführten Nichtsenatoren sind ebenfalls Pinarii. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 224 (es sei nebenbei bemerkt, dass in der dort angeführten Inschrift *CollEpMusCap* 78 der Vater *Natta* eine Tochter *Nataliana* hat). Dazu kommen noch zwei weitere nichtsenatorische L. Pinarii Nattae aus der frühen Kaiserzeit wenn nicht der späten republikanischen Zeit in Aquileia: *I. Aquileia* 3450.

**Nῶνα(?):** *I. Rheneia* 52 (etwas nach 100 v. Chr.) Σακόνδα Νῶνα ἢ καὶ Ἐλπὶς Γαίου θυγάτηρ Ῥωμαία, γυνὴ δὲ Αὔλου Γρανίου. Zur Namenformel vgl. *Arctos* 7 (1972) 163–6, wo ich die Ansicht vertrete, in der delischen Inschrift sei Νῶνία verstanden werden. Man sollte aber ernsthaft die Möglichkeit in Erwägung ziehen, dass die überlieferte Form in der sonst einwandfrei gehauenen Inschrift doch bewahrt sein kann. Man kann in der römischen Namengebung auf Delos allerlei kleinere Eigentümlichkeiten und Abweichungen von der allgemeinen Praxis beobachten, und vor diesem Hintergrund wäre die in der Inschrift gegebene Namenform vertretbar. Aus einer Laune waren der Namensträgerin zwei ähnliche Namenselemente zugelegt worden, aus Ordinalzahlen abgeleitete Namen, möglicherweise als eine Art Relikt provinzieller (campanischer?) Namengewohnheiten. Was aber einer Erklärung bedarf, ist, dass ein Name *Nonus Nona* nicht mit Sicherheit bezeugt ist. Ein solcher Namen muss aber einmal existiert haben, denn nur daraus kann das Gentilicium *Nonius* gebildet sein. *Nonus Nona* muss schon sehr früh außer normalem Gebrauch gekommen sein, es können aber

zerstreute Belege erhalten sein. Einer wäre dieser.<sup>13</sup> Bei dem Männernamen *Nonus* (s. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 501. *Arctos* 34 [2000] 150) ist die Überlieferungsdichte etwas besser bestellt. Auch er fehlt bei Kajanto, es lassen sich aber einzelne einschlägige Belege finden:<sup>14</sup> in Pompeji *CIL* IV 8613 vgl. *Epigraphica* 30 (1968) 113f, wo ich mich zur Lesung *Nonus* positiv geäußert habe, doch ist die Lesung nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben; *Carte archéol. de Gaule* 21, 3, 378 *C(aius?) Nonus*; *CIL* III 6143 = 12341 = *ILBulg* 380 *T. Octavius Nonus* (nach dem in *ILBulg* publizierten Foto zu schließen scheint die Lesung vertretbar zu sein); *IG* VII 2695 (Theben, kaiserzeitlich) Νόνου καὶ [τῆς] ἀδελφῆς ἀύ[τοῦ];<sup>15</sup> unsicher bleibt *SEG* VII 907.<sup>16</sup>

! *Nonanus -a*: Kajanto 293, der allein *Nonana* aus *ICUR* 2911 zitiert (die Inschrift steht auch in *CIL* VI 10944 und ist wohl eher als heidnisch zu beurteilen). Vom entsprechenden Männernamen *Nonanus* gibt es keine hinreichend gesicherten Belege: in *CIL* XIII 5469 (Lingones) hat man *Iulianu[s] Nonani* lesen

<sup>13</sup> Auszuscheiden ist ein vermeintlicher Beleg von *Nona* in *CIL* VI 10944 (= *ICUR* 2911). Die Inschrift lautet AELIA NONA / NA LVCILLAE SIN/NVM POSV/IT OVITAE und wird von den Corpuseditoren folgendermaßen aufgelöst: *Aelia Non(n)a Na(sidia?) Lucillae si[g] num posuit o(b)itae* (heute sollte man die diakritischen Zeichen anders gebrauchen). Bang im Nominaindex des *CIL* gibt *Aelia Nona*. Die Lesung steht fest, wie man aufgrund des guten von L. Bivona, *Iscrizioni latine lapidarie del Museo di Palermo* 348 publizierten Fotos feststellen kann. Statt *Nona* ist aber *Nonana* zu lesen; zu diesem Namen vgl. gleich unten unter *Nonianus -a*. – Sehr unsicher im Zusammenhang bleibt *Nona* auf einem Terra sigillata -Teller aus Weißenburg (Biriciana in Raetien): *Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Römerreiches* B 7 (1914) Nr. 72 Weissenburg, 51 Nr. 2; s. A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Rätien*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2009, 234, der den Beleg mit *Nonna* verbindet.

<sup>14</sup> Auszuscheiden hat *CIL* X 4454: in dieser korrupt überlieferten Inschrift aus Capua steht am Anfang NONVS. Der Text ist nur durch Silvestro Ajossa bekannt, der ein schlechter Autor war; Alessandro Simmaco Mazzocchi nennt seine Abschriften "Ajossae antiquas inscriptiones corruptissimas".

<sup>15</sup> Vgl. H. S., "Latin Cognomina in the Greek East", in *The Greek East in the Roman Context. Proceedings of a Colloquium organised by the Finnish Institute at Athens, May 21 and 22, 1999*, edited by O. Salomies (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens 7), Helsinki 2001, 201.

<sup>16</sup> *SEG* VII 907 (Gerasa, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Σαβεῖνα Νόνο[υ] (die meisten Buchstaben stehen nicht mit Sicherheit fest). Ferner [---] *nonus* als Name eines Eques singularis (Speidel, *Denkmäler der Kaiserreiter* [1994] 68; aus dem von Speidel publizierten Foto zu schließen bleibt die Lesung in der Luft hängen) und ein vermeintlicher Terra sigillata -Töpfer namens *Nonus*, dessen zahlreiche Stempel (zusammengestellt in *Names on Terra sigillata* 6 [2010] 262f) eher vielleicht an einen *Nonius* schließen lassen (vgl. einen C. Nonius auf arretinischer Ware (*CVArr*<sup>2</sup> 1275).

wollen, wenn aber am Anfang des Namens sich ein Nexus von A und N findet, dann ist mit den Corpuseditoren *Anonanus* festzulegen, ein Name, der freilich schwer erklärlich ist.<sup>17</sup> Wie dem auch sein, handelt es sich um eine morphologisch mögliche Bildung, doch fragt man sich, ob nicht eher Nebenformen von *Nonian-* vorliegen;<sup>18</sup> besonders die stadtrömische Inschrift *CIL VI 10944 = ICUR 2911* ist voll von Vulgarismen, so dass der Ausfall von *i* leicht anzunehmen ist.

*Nonianus*: Kajanto 151 mit fünf Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *AE* 2008, 515 (Pisae, Ende des 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

**Νώνιλλα**: *MAMA VI 150, 201* (Akmonia in Phrygien) *Νώνιλλα Ῥούφου*. Aus *Nonius* mit dem Suffix *-illa* abgeleitet, das recht produktiv wurde (Kajanto 168–170), auch wenn nur wenige so gebildete Frauennamen keine Modenamen wurden, von wenigen Ausnahmen wie *Quintilla* (der auch zu *Quintus* gehören kann) abgesehen.

*Nonus*: siehe oben zu *Νῶνα*.

*Octava(?)*: Kajanto 293 mit einem Beleg. Dazu die bemerkenswerte Namenssequenz in *Inscr. It. IX 1, 55* (Augusta Bagiennorum) [---] *Cassio / Tert(i) f. Cam(ilia) / Septumo / et Octav[ae?] / et Quartae / mater ... fili(i)s*. Aus dem beigefügten, freilich nicht sehr guten Foto zu schließen, scheint die Lesung keine Probleme zu bieten. Man ist versucht, in der Namenwahl der Kinder eine bewusste Tendenz zu sehen, ihnen aus Ordinalzahlen gebildete Namen zuzulegen.<sup>19</sup> Das heißt aber nicht, dass die Namen notwendigerweise nach der Geburtsordnung der Kinder gegeben worden wären, es können auch andere Namengebungsmotivationen vorliegen, oder aber die Wahl der Namen erfolgte ohne einen festen Plan. Ob übrigens mit dem Editor in 4 gerade *Octav[ae]* ergänzt werden soll,<sup>20</sup> stehe dahin; ebenso gut kann es sich um einen Sohn handeln, wobei wir zuerst zwei Jungen namens *Septimus* und *Octavus* hätten. Doch ist es besser, sich unsicheren Konjizierens zu enthalten, denn die Inschrift ist nicht einwandfrei konzipiert, wie aus

<sup>17</sup> So aus letzter Zeit A. Kakoschke, *Die PN in germ. Prov.* (s. Anm. 10) II 2, 152. Aber II 1, 104 plädiert er für *Anonanus*, ohne Hinweis auf die andere Deutung.

<sup>18</sup> Zu *CIL VI 10944 = ICUR 2911* siehe H. S., *Arctos* 7 (1972) 164; A. Ferrua, *Corona di osservazioni alle iscrizioni cristiane di Roma incertae originis* (Memorie della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia 8°, 3), Città del Vaticano 1979, 84, und (zögernd) L. Vidman, im Cognominaindex des *CIL VI*, S. 299.

<sup>19</sup> Zu dieser Art Namen O. Salomies, "Nomi personali derivati da numerali a Roma", in *L'onomastica dell'Italia antica. Aspetti linguistici, storici, culturali, tipologici e classificatori*, a cura di P. Poccetti (ColIEFR 413), Roma 2009, 515–31.

<sup>20</sup> Der Editor Ferrua schreibt, in 4–5 seien "subintelligenda nomina filiarum Cassiae"!

dem Schlussteil des Textes *misserrumo filis pos(uit)* hervorgeht, weswegen man sich fragt, ob am Anfang *Cassiis Tert(i) f(i)liis* hätte stehen sollen, unabhängig davon, ob in 4 Sohn oder Tochter zu ergänzen sei.

*Ofellus*: Kajanto 176 mit einem Beleg aus Horaz. Dazu *Bull. com.* 54 (1927) 244 Nr. 5 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *duobus Marcis Annis Ofellis patri et filio*.

*Optatilla*: Kajanto 296 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 213. Dazu *EE* VIII 155 (Hisp. cit.) *Optatila*; *ILAlg* II 4286. 6955 (beide Male *Optatila*).

*Optatina*: Kajanto 297 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg* II 5345 *Flaminia Optatina*. 6753 *Sallustia Optatina*.

*Optatinus*: Kajanto 297 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *CILA* II 190 (Celti in der Baetica) Sklave; *RMD* III 188 (Brigetio, 206 n. Chr.) *C. Iulius Optatinus*, Prätorianer; *ILAlg* II 5543.

*Optiva*: Kajanto 297 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1971, 245 (Narbonensis) (Kontext etwas dunkel); *ILAlg* II 8166 (Cuicul) *Postimia Optiva*.

*Oratus*: Kajanto 297 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *BCTH* 1946/49, 178 (Ucubi in der prov. proc.) *Fabius Oratus*.

*Orbianus*: Kajanto 152 mit vier Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 501. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 183. Dazu *CIL* VI 2276 [---] *orbianus mystagogos* (andere Namen auf *-orbianus* stehen nicht zu Gebote); *I. Tyr* II 182 τόπος Ὀρβιανοῦ κονιάτου.

*Palumba*: Kajanto 331 mit drei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 1638b; *AE* 2008, 340 (Abellinum, 535 n. Chr.) *Palumba diacona*; Vives, *InscrCristEsp* 558 (7. Jh.).

*Palumbus*: Kajanto 331 mit vier Belegen. Dazu Suet. *Claud.* 21 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> 74) Gladiator in der Zeit des Claudius; *CIL* VI 1523 (Mitte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Q. Cassius Domitius Palumbus*; *AE* 1986, 544 (Noricum); Leber, *I. Kärnten* 112 (Virunum); *IDR* I 44 (Alburnus Maior, 167 n. Chr.) *Cassius Palumbus*. Christlich: *ICUR* 12240, 1 Πάλω(μ)βυς πρ(εσ)β(ύτερος) = 17 *Palumbus pr(es)b(yster)* (spät, aus der Zeit des ausgehenden Altertums, wenn nicht frühmittelalterlich). 20179.

**Πατερκούλιος**: *SEG* LVII 1970 (Mons Porphyrites in Ägypten) Πατερκούλις. Die Bildung mit dem für die spätere Kaiserzeit so typischen Suffix *-ius* weist die Inschrift etwa ins 3. oder 4. Jh. zu.

*Pateria*: Greg. M. *epist.* 1, 37. *in euang.* 38,15. *dial.* 4,17; vgl. *PLRE* III 970; *PCBE* II 1612 (Tante Gregors des Großen).

*Paterio*: *Oebalus* 5 (2010) 256 Nr. 5 (Capua, Ende 2. / Anfang 3. Jh.); *CIL* XIII 6013 (Brocomagus in Germania superior, ca. 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Pater[i]o Atessatis* (plausible Ergänzung). 6572 (Osterburken) *Paterio cornice(n)*; Weber, *I. Steiermark* 149 (Solva, 205 n. Chr.) VI, 6 und VII, 4 mit echtlateinischen Gentilicia verbunden; *CIL* VI 2730 vgl. *AE* 1996, 91 (3. Jh.) *Antonius Paterio mil. coh.*

*pr., nat. Moysia superiore reg. Ratiarese vico C[a]nisco*; III 14541, 1 = *IMS I 132* (ca. 2. Jh.) *Soianus Paterionis*. Der in griechischen Urkunden des Ostens belegte Name Πατερίων muss als griechisch beurteilt werden. Zu ihm und überhaupt zu Namen auf *Pater-* siehe meine Ausführungen in *Oebalus 5* (2010) 257–61.

***Paterius***: *CIL VI 29253* (2. Jh.) *M. Ulpio Paterio*; *Greg. M. epist. 5, 26* (595 n. Chr.) und sonst, ein *notarius ecclesiae Romanae*; *Fl. Paterius*, Konsul 443 n. Chr. unbekannter Herkunft (*PLRE II 836 Nr. 3*); vielleicht sein Nachkomme war der Paterius, dem Ennodius im Jahre 512 eine Rede verfasste (*PLRE II 836 Nr. 2*).

***Patero***: *CIL VI 32922* (3. Jh.) *Aur. Patero* (Prätorianer sicher provinzieller Herkunft); *X 655* (Salernum, fortgeschrittene Kaiserzeit). Handelt es sich nur um eine nachlässige Graphie von *Paterio*?

***Petitus***: *Kajanto 297* mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ICUR 24742a [P]etitus* (wenn nicht *Expetitus Repetitus*, die aber viel seltener vorkommen).

***Pisonianus***: *Rep. 379*. Im griechischen Osten: *IG II<sup>2</sup> 3167* (2./3. Jh.); *JHS 22* (1902) 354 (Ikonion(?) in Lykaonien). Weitere östliche Belege des Namens scheinen ein Gentilicium zu beherbergen.

***Pollianus***: *Kajanto 153* mit neun Belegen (davon 1 christl.). *Arctos 38* (2004) 180; 40 (2006) 137; 41 (2007) 101. In *Arctos 38* und 41 werden Belege aus der griechischen Welt angeführt, es gibt deren aber mehr: aus Athen, Mittelgriechenland, Makedonien, Jonien, Mysien, Bithynien, Lydien. Mit Vereinfachung der Geminata geschrieben: *SEG XVI 882* (Arsinoe in Cyrenaica, um Christi Geburt; *LVI 481* (Messene, 188 n. Chr.). Auch die Schreibweise Πολλιανός kommt vor und dürfte denselben Namen vertreten, vgl. eine Πώλιτα Πολλιανοῦ in Hierapolis (*Alt. von Hierapolis 223*).

Ποπλᾶς: *Rep. 381*. *Arctos 38* (2004) 181; 41 (2007) 101; 43 (2009) 171. Dazu *AE 2008, 1258 = SEG LVI 480* (Messene) Φλάβ(ιος) Ποπλᾶς ⅄ΠοπλᾶϚ; *SEG LVI 1508* (Kadoi in Phrygien).

***Postumiana***: *Kajanto 296* mit drei Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *ILAlg I 2145* *Cornelia Romanilla Postumiana*.

***Postumianus***: *Kajanto 296* mit zwei Belegen aus dem Senatorenstand, neun heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *AJA 59* (1955) 160 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Mutter *Postima*; *AE 1990, 40* (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Vater *Postumius*; *Sotgiu I 251* (Turris Libisonis) *C. Apronius C. f. Postumian[us]*; *AE 1982, 683* (Nemausus) *L. Allidius Postumianus*.

***Postumilla***: *Kajanto 296* zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE 1988, 110* (Rom, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Aur. Postumille*; *IG XIV 1124* (Tibur) Gen. Ποστουμίλλης.

*Postumina*: Kajanto 296 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *ILJug* 2186 (Salona) [*Me*] *scenia Postumina*; *IMS* VI 117 (Scupi, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Flavia Postumina Fl(avi) fil.*

*Postuminus*: Kajanto 296 mit acht Belegen (davon zwei aus dem Senatorenstand). *Arctos* 40 (2006) 137. Dazu *AE* 2000, 227 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *L. Maecius L. f. Postuminus*; *HEp* 2, 775 (Lusitanien) *M. Dom. Postuminus* (Vater *Postumus, Clun(iensis)*); *AE* 1969/70, 405a (Condate in der Lugdunensis) *T. Fl. Postuminus sacerdos Romae*; *ILJug* 2186 (Salona) *L. Cornificius Postuminus*; 1994, 1441. 1442 (Sirmium) *Ti. Cl. Postuminus b.f. cos.*; *ISM* V 81 (Ulmetum in Moesia inf.) *Aem. Postuminus*.

***Primasia***: *ICUR* 14563 *Primase* (Genetiv oder Dativ).

*Primasius*: Kajanto 291 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *SEG* XXXVI 575 (Pergamos in Makedonien, 5./6. Jh.) Πρεμιάσιος.

! *Primicinius* Kajanto 291 steht sicher für *Primigenius*.

*Primicus*: Kajanto 291 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CAG* 11, 1, 374 (Narbo) *Primico* (aus dem Kontext geht nicht hervor, ob es sich um einen Dativ handelt).

*Primigenianus*: Kajanto 290 mit sieben Belegen aus dem *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 2001, 420 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Sklave; 2001, 669 (Ostia) *A. Fabius Primigenianus*; Weber, *I. Steiermark* 149 VI, 5 (Solva, 205 n. Chr.); *ÖJh* 15 (1912) 54 Nr. 27 (Klaros, aus Korinth) *M. Αἰφίκιος Πριμιγενιανός*.

*Primina*: Kajanto 291 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1988, 82 (Rom) *Flavia Pr[i]mina*; *Suppl. It.* 9 Ticinum 43 *Primenae Marcellae* (wohl als P. Sklavin von Marcella zu verstehen; anders die Editoren im Index p. 340).

*Priminius*: Kajanto 291 mit neun Belegen (davon 7 christl.). Dazu *AE* 2001, 525 (Rom, -men-); *ICUR* 13321 (-men-); 15919 (-men-); 17980 (-men-); *ICI* V 29. 30 (Tropea, -men-).

*Primitus*: Kajanto 290 mit einem Beleg (er denkt an eine eventuelle Haplogie für *Primitivus*). Dazu *RIU* 1436 (Matrica) *Ael. Primitus* (die Editoren ändern unnötigerweise in *Primitivus*); *BCTH* 1901, 311 (Thamugadi) *Primitus actor*, also Sklave.

*Primogenius*: Kajanto 291 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* IV 1463; *TPSulp.* 43 (38 n. Chr.) Gen. *C. Matei Primogeni*.

*Primosus*: Kajanto 291 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 943, ein Senator diocletianischer Zeit (derselbe in *CIL* VI 37118 *Latinius Primosus*); *AE* 1975, 876 *Q. Latinius Primosus Puniscus*, Sohn eines Duovir von Ureu (zum Namen vgl. den Senator); 1975, 886 = 1987, 1056 (prov. proc.); 1998, 1588 (Thibilis) *Iul. Primosus*; *ILAlg* II 4766. 8093. 9629b.

*Primulla*: Kajanto 291 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg.* I 1850 *Primulla Felicis filia*.

*Primullus*: Kajanto 291 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 22 Ticinum 141 (3. Jh.); *ILAlg* I 49 Cn. *Domitius Primullus*.

*Principius*: Kajanto 291 mit 12 Belegen (davon 8 christlich). Dazu *I. Köln* 775 [*Prin*]cipius (die Ergänzung ist sicher).

*Prior*: Kajanto 294 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 2 Corfinium 20 [*P*]rior (die Mutter heißt *Prima*); *ILAlg* II 8494 C. *Octavius Prior*.

*Probatius*: Kajanto 277 mit fünf christlichen Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 249 mit weiteren, auch heidnischen Belegen. Dazu *I. Tyr* II 112 Προβατίου γαροπώλου.

*Quaesitus*: Kajanto 2977 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *IRomEdeta* I 147 (= 2. Aufl. II 181) C. *Vibius Quaesitus* (2. Jh. n. Chr.).

*Quartianus*: Kajanto 293 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 182. Dazu *AE* 1982, 929 = 1989, 779 (Karthago) C. *Annaeus [N]onianus Arn. Qu[a]rtianus*.

*Quintana*: Kajanto 293 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *IL Afr* 603, 29.

*Quintanus*: Kajanto 2993 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 17996; *AE* 1968, 95 *Aur. Quintanus*, Soldat der legio II Parthica; 1982, 160 (Minturnae) *Sex. Manlius Sex. f. Fabia Quintanus*; *ILAlg* II 4607.

*Rogatinus*: Kajanto 297 mit vier Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *ILAlg* I 2329 *Claudius Rogatinus*.

*Rogatulus*: Kajanto 297 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *Mourir à Dougga* (2002) 110 C. *Atulius Rogat[u]lus*.

**Σακιδιανός**: *IGLS* XI 8 (243 n. Chr.). Aus dem Gentilnamen *Sacidius*, der in Mittel- und besonders Norditalien einigermaßen belegt ist.

*Secundanus*: Kajanto 292 mit acht Belegen. Dazu 17. *BRGK* 236 (Cruciniacum, Defixio) *Sulpicius Secundani*; Marichal, *Les graffites de La Graufesenque* (1988) öfters (s. Index S. 268).

*Secundillus*: Kajanto 292 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg* II 10219 *Q. Nasidius Secundilus*; *AM* 26 (1901) 121 B 35 (Kyzicus, 117–138 n. Chr.) Σεκούνδιλλος.

*Secundulus*: Kajanto 292 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *IL Afr* 177, 5 *Claanius Secundulus*; *ILTun* 1109, 4 (Karthago) *Aemilius Secundulus*; *AE* 1995, 1775 (Theveste) *Magnius Secundu[l]us*.

**Secutor**: *TitAquinc* 391 [---]li et Sec[u]toris. Lesung und Deutung scheinen überzeugend. Nomina agentis auf -tor -sor konnten zeitweise als Cognomina gebraucht werden (eine Liste bei Kajanto 360–362), aber nur wenige wurden üblicher wie etwa *Adiutor* oder *Viator*.

*Seducator*: Kajanto 267 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1994, 1236 (Trier, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Hilarius Seducto[r]* (Freigelassener).

*Sempronianus*: Kajanto 154, wo neben zahlreichen Namenträgern aus der Plebs ein Senator verzeichnet ist. Ein weiterer *L. Lucretius M. Servilius Gallus Sempronianus c. v.* aus Dianium in Hispanien: *AE* 1999, 962 (zur Herkunft *AE* 2008, 672).

*Senior*: Kajanto 294 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *JlWE* I 197 (Emerita, 8./9. Jh.) *Iacob filius de Rebbi Seniori*. Hier scheint ein richtiger Eigenname vorzuliegen.<sup>21</sup>

*Septimilla*: Kajanto 293 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 9 Amiternum 174 *Volcasia Septimilla*.

*Sera*: *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 7, 926 (Iulipa, 1./2. Jh.) *Fabia Sera*. Wenn die Lesung stimmt, kann der Name zu *Serus* gestellt werden. Es kann sich aber auch um epichorisches Namengut handeln.

*Serus*: Kajanto 295 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *IChrMactar* 10, 3 *Serus fidelis*. Die Form kann auch als Vereinfachung der *Geminata* erklärt werden.

*Sextanus*: Kajanto 293 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1965, 113 (Brundisium) [--- *Sex*]tanus (die Ergänzung ist sicher); 1976, 319 (Clunia) *Coelius Sextanus*. Teilweise können die Belege sich teilweise mit *Sextianus* decken, doch ist der Name *Sextanus* morphologisch plausibel.

*Sospes*: Kajanto 232 mit vier Belegen (davon zwei senatorisch). *Arctos* 38 (2004) 186; 41 (2007) 103; 42 (2008) 227. Dazu L. M. Ugolini, *Albania antica* 1 (1927) 197 Nr. 19 (Amantia in Illyrien, ca. 200 n. Chr.) Βαριανὸς Σώσπιδος.

*Subitana*: Kajanto 296 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *BCTH* 1954, 115 (Acholla in prov. proc.) *Aemilia Subitana*.

*Subitanus*: Kajanto 296 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg* II 5904 [S]ubitanus; *ILLTun* 201, 124.

*Substitutus*: Kajanto 356 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2008, 547 (Aquileia, 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Q. Lucius Supstit[utus]*.

*Tampianus(?)*: *AE* 2008, 993 (Noricum, Lesung nicht gesichert). *Tampius* war ein übliches Gentile, und die Präsenz der *ala (Pannoniorum) Tampiana* in den Donauprovinzen hat möglicherweise auch die Ingebrauchnahme des Cognomens gefördert.

*Tatina*: Kajanto 163 mit einem Beleg (mit Druckfehler *Tatinta*). Dazu *CIL* X<sup>2</sup> 90 (Antium, Fluchtafel) *Horte(n)sius Tatines f(ilius)*. Trotz der gräzisierungstendenziellen Genetivendung besteht kein Anlass, den Beleg mit der griechischen Namensippe zu Τατίς in Verbindung zu bringen. Der zugrunde liegende Gentilname *Tatius*

<sup>21</sup> Fehlt im Namenindex der *JlWE*, dort fehlen aber auch die anderen in der Inschrift vorkommenden Namen!



war verhältnismäßig verbreitet, und es bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten, davon eine okkasionelle Ableitung mittels des Suffixes *-inus -ina* anzunehmen. *Tatinus -a* wurde gelegentlich auch als Gentilname gebraucht (*CIL* XIV 5236), doch hier kaum als solcher aufzufassen, trotz des Umstandes, dass ihr Sohn einen Gentilnamen führt.

**Tellurius:** C. Molle, in *Il teatro di Teanum Sidicinum dall'antichità alla Madonna delle Grotte* (a cura di F. Sirano) (2011), 125 Nr. 4 (Wandgraffito) *Telluri, vibas*.<sup>22</sup> Eine Weiterbildung aus *Tellus* (auch als Personennamen belegt: Kajanto 338) mit dem für die spätere Kaiserzeit so typischen Suffix *-ius*.

*Tempestiva:* Kajanto 296 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* II 3012. II<sup>2</sup> 14, 190.

*Temporina:* Kajanto 296 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 14, 251 *Terentia [Te]mporina*.

*Temporinus:* Kajanto 296 mit drei Belegen. Dazu 17. *BRGK* 206 (Mainz) *Teddiat[ius] Temporinus*.

*Terentina:* Kajanto 163 mit acht Belegen (davon Sklavinnen 2, christl. 1). Dazu *AE* 1980, 190 (Tibur) *Iunia Terentina*; 2008, 743 (Edeta in Hisp. cit., 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Cornelia Terentina* (Schwester *Terentulla*); Weber, *I. Steiermark* 277 (Solva, 205 n. Chr.) *Iulia Terentina*. Christlich: *AE* 1995, 1756 (Theveste).

*Terentinus:* Kajanto 163 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *HEp* 7, 1107 (Hisp. cit.) *Terentini Terenti f.*; Weber, *I. Steiermark* 149 (Solva, 205 n. Chr.) *Terentinus Marini*; *AE* 1973, 381 = 1978, 593 (Raetia) *Terentinus Taurionis f.*; *ILS* 9294 (Thamugadi, 4. Jh.). Christlich: *IChrHaidra* 92.

*Terentulla:* Kajanto 171 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 221. 41 (2007) 104. Dazu *RPAA* 82 (2009–2010) 140 (Rom) *Terentia M. filia Terentulla Albini (uxor)*; *AE* 2008, 743 (Edeta in Hisp. cit., 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Cornelia Terentulla* (Schwester *Terentina*).

*Tertianus:* Kajanto 292 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *IGUR* 299 Κόιντος Ἀΐλιος. 693 Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Τ. Σεουήρος; *IG* XIV 2411, 5 (Falerii, Bleivase) Φλ(άουιος) Τ. ἀγορανόμος. Üblich im griechischen Osten (z. B. in Athen, Makedonien, Kleinasien, Ägypten).

**Terticia:** *ILN* III 85 (Aquae Sextiae, 3. Jh.)<sup>23</sup> *Publicia Terticia*. Weiterbildung aus *Terticus* (Kajanto 292) mittels des späten Suffixes *-ia*.

*Tertullia:* Kajanto 293 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* X 4135 (suspekt für Mommsen; von Iannelli gesehen, der ein guter Autor war; andererseits scheint

<sup>22</sup> Molle erwägt als alternative Deutung eine Form von *Tellus*, was ausgeschlossen ist.

<sup>23</sup> Die Editoren datieren die Inschrift "après l'époque julio-claudienne", sie gehört aber eindeutig in die fortgeschrittene Kaiserzeit.

die Inschrift nicht sehr spät zu sein, während das Suffix *-ia* kaum vor dem 2. Jh. n. Chr. denkbar ist); XI 5752 *Avidia C. f. Tertullia flam(inica) mater municipal(is)* (auch diese Inschrift scheint der frühen Kaiserzeit anzugehören).

**Titulianus:** *CAG* 45, 173 (Lugdunensis). Vgl. *Titullianus* in *Rep.* 413 aus Nikaia in der Narbonensis.

**Tuscianus:** Kajanto 157 = 188 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 222. Dazu *AE* 1991, 280 (Rom).

**Unica:** *RIB* II 8, 2503, 463 (Vasengraffito). Kontext etwas dunkel, doch kann der neue Frauename vorliegen. *Unicus* in Kajanto 294 mit einem Beleg.

**Variana:** Kajanto 158 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *IGUR* 1289.

**Varianus:** Kajanto 158 mit acht Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 189. Dazu *AE* 2007, 902 (Segusio in den Alpes Cottiae, 1. Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.) [---]tius *Varia[nus]*; *AE* 1989, 487 (Uley in Britannien); *IDR* III 5, 34 (Alba Iulia) *C. Iulius Varianus*; *IGB* V 5636 (144 n. Chr.) Οὐαριανὸς Θεόκριτος (oder Gentilname?); Perrot, *Exploration* I 87 Nr. 50 (Kyzikene) [- - -]ήιος Οὐαριανός; *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 7 (3. Jh.) Μ. Αὐρήλ(ιος) Οὐαριανός; *TAM* III 118, derselbe 180 und *SEG* LVII 1464 (Termessos, 1. Hälfte de 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Μᾶρ. Αὐρ. Οὐαριανὸς Μειδιανὸς Περικλῆς. 596 Αὐρ. Οὐαριανὸς Μάρων. 697 Αὐρ. Οὐαριανὸς Μερλου; *AE* 1993, 1580 (Apamea in Syrien) *Aurelius Varianus* Soldat der legio II Parthica; Marek, *Stadt, Ära und Territorium in Pontus-Bithynia und Nord-Galatia* (1993) 3 (169 n. Chr.) Ἄλλιος Οὐαριανὸς Κυρήνιος Κυρίνα.

**Varronianus:** Kajanto 158 = 265 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 44 (2010) 252 (*Varon-*). Dazu *AE* 2008, 1415 (Antiochia Pisid.) [- *Fl*]avonius *P. f. Ser. [S]anctus Varronianus*, Duovir, 1. Hälfte des 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

**Venustianus:** Kajanto 283 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *Cod. Iust.* 2, 11, 4 (298 n. Chr.); *ILAlg* I 2141 (Madauros) *Q. Calpurnius [Ve]nustianus, e[q(ues) R(omanus)]*; *ILTun* 1611, 34 (Sicca Veneria) *C. I(ulius) Venustianus*; *Mourir à Dougga* 732 *L. Magnius Venustianus*.

**Venustinus:** Kajanto 283 mit neun Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2008, 792 (Tatae Corieltavorum in Britannien); *I. Olympia* 122 (265 n. Chr.) Π. Ἐγνάτ(ιος) Βενυστεῖνος Βενυστεῖνου (vgl. 477).

**Vetedinus:** *CIL* IX 6409a (Corfinium) *L. Lucceius Vetedinus* (fehlt im Cognominaindex des *CIL* IX). Abgeleitet aus *Vetedi-*, belegt bei Atri (*CIL* IX 5048 = I<sup>2</sup> 1899) und in Venafrum (*AE* 1924, 121 = Capini, *I. Venafrum* 58).

**Vibiana:** Kajanto 158 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2008, 849 (Arelate, christl.) *Aureliae Vibiane* (Dat.).

**Vindicianus:** Kajanto 158 mit fünf Belegen. *Rep.*<sup>2</sup> 505 mit vier spätantiken Beamten. Dazu *JiWE* II 180 (Rom); *CIL* II 3418 *M. Valerius M. f. Quir. Vindici-*

*anus flamen conventus Carthaginensis*; III 10833 (Pann. sup.) *Aur. Vindicianus*. 11966 (Castra Regina) *Aurel. Vindicianus*; XIII 804. 881; *RIB* I 934; *ILJug* 1597 (Dalmatien); *Lupa* (Datenbank) 4207. 4308 (Pann. sup.); *TitAquinc.* 287. 351; *IL Afr* 166, 9 *M. Cerficius Vindicianus*; *ILAlg* II 3031 (Celtianis) *M. Lurius M. f. Quir. Vindicianus*; *IChrHaidra* 11.

*Vitalia*: Kajanto 274 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1978, 238 (Brundisium); *ILJug* 2789 (Siculi in Dalmatien, 425 n. Chr.) *Fl. Vitalia pr(es)b(ytera)*; *IMS* III 2, 86 (Timacum maius) *Aur. Vitalia*.

*Vopiscus*: Kajanto 295 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 225. 37 (2003) 188. Dazu *CIL* VI 30381; *AE* 1980, 367 (Seperna in der regio IV). In Athen zweimal belegt; s. *LGPN* II 355 (180–183 und ca. 213–220 n. Chr.).

#### CCLXVI. VERKANNTEN NAMEN

*Adquisitus*. In *CIL* V 798 = *I. Aquileia* 295, 8 lesen wir *Herbonius Atquis*. Die Lesung ist sicher (aus dem in *I. Aquileia* publizierten Foto zu schließen). Es liegt zweifellos das Cognomen *Adquisitus*, hier *Atq-* geschrieben, vor (zu ihm oben S. 144). Brusin in *I. Aquileia* wundert sich über die Seltenheit des Namens. Fehlt in *ThLL* und *OPEL* I<sup>2</sup>.

*Phaecida*. Siehe gleich unten S. 163.

*Tatis*. Die Editoren von *Inscriptions latines d'Aquitaine* 218 wollen in *CIL* XIII 868 *Tatini(ae)* festlegen, doch ohne jeglichen Grund. Der Text muss *D [M] Tatini Anaxagoras maritus p(osuit)* verstanden werden. Das Richtige steht schon im Cognominaindex von *CIL* XIII, p. 49 (den die neuen Editoren anscheinend nicht heranzuziehen verstanden haben). *Tatinius -a* ist ein (nicht häufig belegter) Gentilname, dem in einer Sklavenfamilie neben dem Sklavennamen *Anaxagoras*, dazu abgekürzt, zu begegnen recht eigentümlich wäre. Nein, es ist *Tatini* zu verstehen, Dativ von *Tatis*, einem guten griechischen (und kleinasiatischen) Namen, der in obliquen Kasus gelegentlich *Tatin-* aufweist (*CIL* VI 21479 *Tatini verna*). Die Deklination *-in-* anstelle von *-id-* in Frauennamen auf *-is* ist alles andere als selten, wie etwa Formen wie *Anthini(s)* *Graphini(s)* *Helpini(s)* *Moschini(s)* zeigen.

*Tellutius*. Dieser Name liegt wahrscheinlich in *CIL* III 607 = *CIAlb* 35 aus Dyrrachium (seit langem verschollen) vor. Die erste Zeile, die den Großteil des Namens des Geehrten enthält, lautet *L. Fl(avio) T. f. Aem. Tellu+* (in der zweiten Zeile geht es mit dem Cognomen *Gaetulico* weiter); vom letzten erhaltenen

Buchstaben wird im Apographon des einzigen Augenzeugen Heuzey der untere Teil einer vertikalen Hasta angegeben. Mommsen las in *CIL* im Text *Tellur[i?]*, druckte aber im Cognominaindex S. 2414 vorsichtiger *Tellu...*, im neuen albanischen Corpus wird es zu *Tellur(i)*, was im Index unverständlicherweise zweimal erscheint: einmal im Gentiliciaindex (S. 223) als *Tellurius*, ein zweites Mal im Cognominaindex (S. 226) als *Tellurus*! Nun war *Tellus* kein Männername (als Frauenname wurde er okkasionell gebraucht). Der einzige Name, in dem nach TELLV ein Buchstabe mit einer vertikalen Hasta folgt, ist das Gentilicium *Tellutius*, eine einwandfreie Bildung, belegt ein paar Male aus Italien (*CIL* X 5470. *EE* VIII 119; in der Form *Telutia* in Caere: *CIL* XI 3685 = I<sup>2</sup> 1980). Dies ist in der Nomenklatur des polyonymen Ritters zu ergänzen. Man vergleiche die Wasserleitungsröhre *AE* 1984, 811, ebenfalls aus Dyrrachium, wo der Name desselben Mannes *Tell. Gaet.* lautet. Kein Zweifel, dass der ganze Name des Mannes *L. Flavius T. f. Aem. Tellutius Gaetulicus* lautete.<sup>24</sup>

#### CCLXVII. FALSCH NAMEN

*Falcida*. Dieses Cognomen hat G. Paci, *Ricerche di storia ed epigrafia romana delle Marche* (Ichnia 11), Tivoli 2008, 739f Nr. 1 (2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr.) in einer Inschrift von Rotelle in der regio V erkennen wollen, die ihm zufolge *P. Fadius P. l. Falcida* lautet. Daraus *AE* 2008, 485. Ein Männername *Falcida* wäre aber schwer erklärlich, höchstens als ein Relikt alter italischer Namengebung, aus derselben Quelle wie das Gentilicium *Falcidius* herrührend. Das mutet freilich nicht sonderlich überzeugend an. Nun liest man auf dem beigefügten Foto eher *Faecida*. Auch ein solcher Name ist in der antiken Anthroponymie bisher unbekannt, lässt sich aber als griechisch deuten. Im Griechischen existiert eine Namensippe um Φαίκος (Bechtel, *HPN* 495), von der Bechtel noch Φαικίας Φαικίνας Φαικύλος kennt. Aus vorrömischer Zeit lassen sich noch Φαικίων aus Lokroi Epizephyrioi (*SEG* XLVIII 1270 und sonst, um 350–250 v. Chr.) und Φαίκων aus Byzantion (*I. Byzantion* 72, 2. Jh. v. Chr.), Kallatis (*ISM* III 161, 2. Jh. v. Chr.) und Centuripae in Sizilien (*SEG* XLIV 776, ca. 350 v. Chr.). Zu dieser Sippe gesellt sich ungezwungen ein Φαικίδης, der sich jetzt in Italien in der lateinischen Form *Faecida* entpuppt hat. Die Schreibung mit *f* statt *ph* ist nicht üblich auf Inschriften der frühesten Kaiserzeit, lässt sich aber durchaus belegen.

<sup>24</sup> Darauf wies schon H. Freis, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 117 hin.

*Fideus*. In *AE* 2008, 216 wird der Stempel auf einer Tonlampe *Coeli Fidei* wiedergegeben und, ganz richtig, als Name des Töpfers erklärt, der gemäß dem Index S. 798 (und 809) *Coelius Fideus* geheißen habe. *Fideus* ist aber ein nom fantôme, der wegen der nachlässigen Wiedergabe der Erstpublikation in den Text eingeschlichen ist. Dort steht COELI FIDEL, was durch das beigefügte Foto bestätigt wird. Der Editorin A. Caspio ist entgangen, dass der Töpfer schon bekannt war; seine Stempel sind in großer Anzahl erhalten und in *CIL* XV 6381 zusammengestellt. Das Wichtige an dem neuen Exemplar ist, dass aus ihr um ersten Mal unbestreitbar hervorgeht, dass das Cognomen des Töpfers *Fidelis* war, denn die bisher bekannten Stempel geben den Namen in kürzerer Form F, FI oder FID wieder. – Der Stempel wird zwischen dem 1. und 3. Jh. angesetzt, doch weisen die Buchstabenformen, soweit anhand des Fotos feststellbar, auf die schon vorgegrückte Kaiserzeit hin.

*Pardalus Pardale*. Zu *Pardale* s. mein *Namenbuch*<sup>2</sup> 1146, wo ein zweifelhafter Beleg aus *ICUR* 14628 verbucht wird (in *CIL* VI 8534 ist *Pardale* nicht sicher überliefert); dort steht *Septim[iae Par]dalenī*, was aber besser als *Pardalini* aus *Pardalis* zu verstehen ist (dieser Name ist in Rom sonst achtmal belegt, auch noch in altchristlichen Urkunden). Was *Pardalus* betrifft, gibt es im Lateinischen davon keinen einzigen einwandfrei überlieferten Fall. In *CIL* IV 4998 ist statt *Pardalus* eher *Pardalas* zu lesen, deswegen auch in 4527 (es handelt sich wahrscheinlich um dieselbe Person). In IV 7528 ist der Name wiederum falsch ergänzt. Der Ablativ in *cum Pardalo* in *ICUR* 23264 ist wohl gleich *Pardalio* (der Text enthält auch sonst irreguläre Schreibungen wie *Hrusate* für *Chrysanthe*). Ähnlich lassen sich die meisten, wenn nicht alle Genetivformen *Pardali* als Genetiv von *Pardalius* verstehen.<sup>25</sup> Und *Pardalius* kann man als eine spätantike Suffixbildung aus *Pardalis Pardalas* abtun. Dagegen findet sich Πάρδαλος ein paar Male im Griechischen überliefert: in Larisa (*IG* IX 2, 1031, ca. 2./3. Jh.) und in Patrai (Rizakis, *Achaïe* II 115, 3. Jh.); in beiden Fällen scheinen Lesung und Deutung des Namens in Ordnung zu sein. Das ändert aber nichts an der Anomalität einer solchen Bildung, denn weder im Griechischen noch im Lateinischen ist ein Appellativum *pardalus* mit Sicherheit überliefert; das gebräuchliche Wort war *pardalis*. Die okkasionellen Belege für Πάρδαλος sind als eine Art Rückbildung aus πάρδαλις Πάρδαλις zu deuten, wie auch Παρδαλᾶς. Aber ein Name *Pardalus* (wie auch *Pardale*) ist nie in die römische Namengebung eingedrungen.

<sup>25</sup> Das älteste Zeugnis des Genetivs *Pardali* ist *CIL* XI 1255 = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 422 (s. unten S. 166), die, aus dem Wortlaut und den Buchstabenformen zu schließen, ins 2. Jh. zu gehören scheint. Und das Suffix *-ius* wurde in der zweiten Hälfte dieses Jahrhunderts gebräuchlich.

## CCLXVIII. VERKANNTÉ IDENTITÄTEN

*CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 476, 8 = XI 6706, 8 (auch *CIE* 8461) und XV 6025 geben zweifellos denselben Text eines unter dem Fuß einer arretinischen Vase gekritzeltén Graffitos wieder. Die Quelle für I<sup>2</sup> 476, 8 ist Garrucci, *Sylloge* 1882, von ihm in Capena mitgeteilt (ob er das Stück selbst gesehen hat, geht nicht mit Sicherheit hervor). In XV 6025 wiederum wird eine Zeichnung von Henzen wiedergegeben. Dies Graffito stand auf derselben Vase mit dem Stempel *CIL* XV 5751, den Garrucci 2234 als capenatisch publiziert; dieselbe Provenienz steht auch durch andere alte Gewährsleute fest. Demnach handelt es sich sicher um ein und dieselbe Vase. Garrucci, Index S. 608. 622 liest das Graffito *Au. Cav. / Panur(gus)*, während Dressel aufgrund von Henzens Apographon für die zweite Zeile *Danub(ius)* erwägt (bei der Lesung des ersten Worts wagt er keine Entscheidung). Es ist ungewein schwierig, den Sinn der Kritzelei zu bestimmen. Ihre Datierung hängt davon ab, dass es sich *CIL* XV 5751 um eine arretinische Vase handelt. Diese Gattung kam, wie man heute üblicherweise denkt, erst nach Caesars Tod in Gebrauch. Die Placierung von I<sup>2</sup> 476, 8 in die vorhannibalische Sektion ist also entschieden falsch. XV 5751 gehört in die Produktion eines A. Vibius Scrofula,<sup>26</sup> die in die Zeit etwa zwischen 40–15 v. Chr. datiert und in Arretium lokalisiert wird.<sup>27</sup> Zum Vorschlag von Dressel ist zu bemerken, dass die Schreibung *b* für *v* in *Danubius* in einer Inschrift der augusteischen Zeit recht überraschend wäre, denn beispielsweise aus den pompejanischen Graffiti sieht man, dass diese Schreibweise erst gegen Mitte des 1. Jh. n. Chr. einsetzt.<sup>28</sup> Und in der Tat würde man aufgrund von Henzens Zeichnung *Panur(gus)* den Vorzug geben (s. besonders den ersten und letzten Buchstaben, die, wenigstens im Apographon, am ehesten als P und R zu lesen sind). *Panurgus* war kein geläufiger Personennamen, bezeugt in Rom (drei Belege, von denen der älteste spätrepublikanisch und die zwei restlichen aus augusteischer Zeit sind, in meinem *Namenbuch*<sup>2</sup> 768) und in Falerii (*CIL* XI

<sup>26</sup> So muss wohl sein Cognomen aufgrund von *CIL* XV 5756, 1 (= *CVArr*<sup>2</sup> 2400, 1. 2408) *Scrofu(---)* und *Carte archéol. Gaule* 13, 2, 385 (Glanum) *A. Vibius Scrofula* (es wird sich um denselben handeln) lauten.

<sup>27</sup> So P. Kenrick in *CVArr*<sup>2</sup> 1404, 22.

<sup>28</sup> S. z. B. die Überlegungen von V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966<sup>3</sup>, 50–2.

3166),<sup>29</sup> nicht aber in der griechischen Welt;<sup>30</sup> er konnte aber sicher schon früh als Sklavename in Italien in Gebrauch kommen. – Die Inschrift muss also aus *CIL* I entfernt werden, und man versteht auch nicht recht, was sie im etruskischen Inschriftencorpus zu tun hat.

*CIL* XI 1255 (Placentia) = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 422 (Brixia). Die Inschrift scheint Placentia zuzuordnen zu sein. Sie taucht 1874 in Malcantone im Territorium von Piacenza auf, wo sie laut einem anonymen Architekten gefunden und von ihm in die Lombardei gebracht worden sei. 15 Jahre später wurde sie in einem Vorort von Brescia von einem gewissen Rizzini beobachtet; heute ist sie im Museum von Brescia, wo Garzetti sie gesehen und in *Inscr. It.* mit Foto publiziert hat.

*AE* 1995, 207 steht schon *CIL* VI 21952. In *AE* wird notiert "Voir *CIL*, VI, 21952", es handelt sich aber mit Sicherheit um dieselbe Inschrift.

#### CCLXIX. VARIA URBANA

1. In *CIL* VI 25885 aus der Abschrift von Bouchard ist der Anfang von 5 FVPLV Henzen zufolge korrupt. Doch die Stelle ist heilbar. FVPLV ist einfach Verschreibung oder Verlesung von *Euplu*, Dativ von *Euplus*. Identische Form in *NSc* 1022, 423 Nr. 86 *T. Sabinio Euplu*, und in *CIL* VI 3358 *Cutio Euplu* (hier Ablativ). Die Form auf *-u* wurde durch die im Griechischen regelmäßige Schreibung Εϋπλους erleichtert. Man fühlte auch im Lateinischen das *-u-* als lang, wie solche heteroklitische Formen zeigen wie *Eupluti Euplunis* oder *Eunuti*.<sup>31</sup> Vgl. ferner weitere Formen auf *-u* wie *Euchru* (*RAC* 35 [1959] 25) oder *Hedychru* (*CIL* VI 8560).

2. *CIL* VI 24613 findet sich im Vatikan in der Sala della biga, wo ich ihren Text im Jahre 2011 zusammen mit Giorgio Filippi kontrolliert habe; ihm sei auch für gute Fotos des Monuments gedankt. Warum es hier unter die Lupe genommen wird, sind die drei Inschriften, die Henzen nur aus Alfonso Chacón, *Cod. Chis.* J 167 f. 264 (von Henzen noch *Anonymus Hispanus* benannt), der sie *in eodem lapide ex altera facie* überliefert, kannte und demzufolge als interpoliert beurteilte.

<sup>29</sup> Auch *Danuvius* war keine übliche Personenbezeichnung, s. meine Überlegungen in *Eine ganz normale Inschrift* (s. Anm. 9) 125–32.

<sup>30</sup> Der von Cicero mehrmals in *Pro Roscio comoedo* erwähnte Schauspieler dieses Namens, hochwahrscheinlich ein Sklave, könnte an sich aus dem griechischen Osten stammen. Dasselbe trifft für den Grammatiker Antonius Panurgus zu (s. J. Christes, *Sklaven und Freigelassene als Grammatiker und Philologen im antiken Rom*, Wiesbaden 1979, 91f).

<sup>31</sup> Vgl. H. Solin, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 78–81; 67 (1987) 200–6; 91 (1992) 183f.

Doch zu Unrecht. Giovannantonio Dosio, der bekannte florentinische Künstler, hat in seinem vor etwa dreißig Jahren aufgetauchten Kodex (Nationalbibliothek in Florenz, N. A. 618),<sup>32</sup> f. 6v *a-c* außer den zwei lateralen, heute noch existierenden Inschriften die Rückseite gezeichnet und dort FRATRIBVS IIII SACRVM und CALISTO DIADVMENO ELPIDEPHORO EVANDRO gelesen. Diese gehören also zu den von Henzen athetierten Teilen (die dritte bei Chacón stehende von Henzen für interpoliert gehaltene Inschrift POMPONIAHILEI Q · POMPONIVS IVDAEMON stellt in korrupter Form die zwei lateralen Inschriften dar). Es ist aber ausgeschlossen, dass nicht nur Chacón, sondern vor allem Dosio die Inschrift der Rückseite aus freien Stücken erfunden hätten – Dosio war absolut kein Fälscher, sondern hat gewissenhaft nur das abgeschrieben, was er wirklich gesehen zu haben glaubte. Heute sieht man aber nichts von den Inschriften der Rückseite. Die einzige Art und Weise, das zu erklären, ist anzunehmen, dass die Schrift der Rückseite später Beschädigungen erlitten hat (die man in der Tat feststellen kann), etwa wegen der vielen Transporte des Monuments, zuerst aus dem alten Palazzo Boccapaduli an der piazza Giudea im Ghetto in das neue Palais von Prospero Boccapaduli (palazzo Boccapaduli già Boccamazza an der Ecke der via del Pianto und via in Publicolis), wo von Chacón gesehen, dann in die Villa Celimontana, und endlich in den Vatikan.

#### CCLXX. ASCULANUM

G. Imperatori – T. Piermarini – D. Ricciotti – F. Rosei – S. Tarquinio, *Lapis lapidis*, Ascoli Piceno 2008, 92 Nr. 18 (*AE* 2008, 481a irreführend *Runediae Ochiadis*, als seien die Namen links vollständig) nennt zwei Frauen, denen sie ihre Sitzplätze im Theater anzeigt.<sup>33</sup> Der Name der ersten Frau wird *Runedia [---] ochias* wiedergegeben. Ein Gentile \**Runedia* ist aber ein nom phantôme. Anhand des Fotos liest man vielmehr *Rutiediae / [L]ochiadis*. Das Gentile könnte auch *[T]rutiedia* heißen, denn aus der notwendigen Ergänzung der zweiten Zeile wäre da vor R Raum für einen Buchstaben (angenommen, dass der Steinmetz für den "Umbruch" Sorge getragen hat). Auch *Rutiedius* und *Trutiedius* sind bisher unbelegt, vgl. aber *Rutedius*, in Campanien (*CIL* X 3769; *AE* 1913, 214?) und Aquileia

<sup>32</sup> Dazu G. Tedeschi Grisanti – H. Solin, *"Dis manibus, pili, epitaffi et altre cose antiche" di Giovannantonio Dosio. Il codice N. A. 618 della Biblioteca Nazionale di Firenze*, Pisa 2011.

<sup>33</sup> Ein Foto in G. Paci, *Ricerche di storia e di epigrafia romana delle Marche*, Tivoli 2008, 504.



(Pais 205; *I. Aquileia* 58) belegt und *Trutedius* aus Catina (*CIL* X 6999).<sup>34</sup> *-iedius* neben *-edius* lässt sich durch zahlreiche Parallelen stützen.<sup>35</sup> *Lochias* wiederum ist die einzig mögliche Ergänzung.<sup>36</sup>

Der Name der anderen Frau wird *Ponponia Cramin-* festgelegt (in *AE* wird *Gramin-* gedruckt, aber am Foto liest man deutlich *Cr-*). Wir kennen keine Namen auf *Cramin-* und auch nicht auf *Gramin-* (C könnte für G stehen). Es gibt keine Namensippe zu *gramen*, und die Adjektive *gramineus* und *graminosus* sind nicht besonders passende Namenwörter. Was dahinter stecken könnte, bleibt Vermutungen überlassen. Als eine recht hypothetische Alternative könnte man vermuten, dort stehe nicht das Cognomen der Pomponia, sondern es sei eine dritte Person, ein Mann namens *C. Ramin[ius]* erwähnt. Der Gentilname *Raminus* ist belegt (*CIL* XIII 2931). Oder ist da doch das Cognomen der Pomponia zu suchen? Etwa *Grammina*, zwar unbekannt, aber neben *Gramme Grammicus* (mein *Namenbuch*<sup>2</sup> 1255) nicht völlig undenkbar, auch wenn es eine recht hypothetische Bildung bleibt.

#### CCLXXI. PROCURATOR A FRUMENTO

Man kennt den Titel des *procurator a frumento* mit Sicherheit nur aus zwei Inschriften: *CIL* X 8295 (Antium) *C. Clodius C. f. Quir. Maximus, proc(urator) Aug(usti) a frumento*; und *AE* 2000, 350 vgl. *PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 8 (unbekannter Herkunft)<sup>37</sup> *T. Sabidi Maximi proc(uratoris) Aug(usti) a frumento*. Dazu kommt *I. Ephesos* 620 *M. Arruntium M. [fili]um Ter. Claudian[um], praef(ectum) coh(ortis), tribunum [bis], praef(ectum) al[ae et] vex[il]li praetorianorum, doni[s] mil[itaribu]s don[atum] ... [proc(uratore)] Romae fru[menti mancipalis?]*,<sup>38</sup> *it(em) praef(ectum)*

<sup>34</sup> Dazu noch *Brutedius* aus Rom (*CIL* VI 28770).

<sup>35</sup> Vgl. z. B. A. Schulten, *Klio* 2 (1902) 167–93, 440–65; 3 (1903) 235–67.

<sup>36</sup> In Rom 22mal belegt (mein *Namenbuch*<sup>2</sup> 1014). Sonst z. B. *CIL* V 2348; VIII 13092; IX 762. 2303; X 1505. 6042; XIV 417. 2853 *AE* 1996, 692 (Aquileia); *ILAlg* II 4276.

<sup>37</sup> Aus A. Parma, *AION Arch* n. s. 7 (2000) 205–7. In *AE* wird als wahrscheinliche Provenienz Campanien vermutet. Es ist aber besser, sie mit dem Editor princeps gänzlich offen zu lassen.

<sup>38</sup> Die Ergänzung *[mancipalis]* wurde von H.-G. Pflaum, *BSNAF* 1978–1979, 223–8 eingeführt (vgl. ferner das Supplement zu *Carrières*) (die editio princeps hatte *fru[menti comparandi]*, was nicht überzeugt). Zu dieser Ergänzung vgl. den C. Vibius Salutaris, der in mehreren ephesischen Inschriften als *promagister* (oder *pro magistro*) *frumenti mancipalis* erscheint (*PIR* V 397). Ferner *I. Philippi* 718 *praef(ectus) fabrum et frumenti mancipalis* und *CIL* II

*cl(assis) [Moesiaca et ripae Dan]uvi, [adlectum in amplissim]um ordine[m]* usw., im griechischen Text ... ἐπίτροπον ἐ[ν] Ῥώμῃ ἐπὶ τοῦ σείτου ... (vgl. Pflaum, *Carrières* Suppl. 114). All diese drei Inschriften können in die flavische Zeit (oder allenfalls in den Anfang des 2. Jh.) angesetzt werden.<sup>39</sup> Dieses Amt hat man auch in *CIL* X 6537 (Velitrae) sehen wollen. Im folgenden befassen wir uns allein mit dieser Inschrift. Ihr Text lautet im heutigen Zustand (die mit Unterstreichung versehenen Partien sind heute verschwunden):<sup>40</sup>

[-----]  
*a cubiculo, proc(urator-) [---]*  
*a frum(ento), accensus patro[n- ---]*  
*et sibi, Claudiae A[---]*  
*Claudiae Atticillae [---]*  
 5 *posteri[sq(ue)] eorum. P(edes) in fron[te ---].*<sup>41</sup>

Für einen *procurator a frumento* treten ein – um nur diese Namen zu nennen – Mommsen, *CIL* X p. 1123 (als Freigelassener angeführt); G. Cardinali, *Diz. epigr.* III (1922) 303; H.-G. Pflaum, *RHD* 56 (1978) 50 (Freigelassener); A. Parma, *AION Arch.* n. s. 7 (2000) 205. Nun kann der exakte Titel nicht *procurator a frumento* geheißen haben, denn die alten Gewährsleute haben nach PROC einen Punkt gesehen, weswegen in der ersten Zeile noch etwas folgen musste. Trotzdem meine ich, dass *procurator* und *a frumento* zusammengehören, auch wenn *a frumento* am Anfang einer Dienstbezeichnung stehen konnte (z. B. *CIL* VI 8518 *T. Aelius Aug. lib. Aelianus a frumento* usw.). Vielleicht *proc. [Aug.] / a frum(ento)*, wie in den übrigen Fällen. Nun gehörten die übrigen Prokuratoren *a frumento* dem ordo equester an, was unser Anonymus kaum sein konnte. Vielmehr war er Freigelassener, wohl ein kaiserlicher. Ich würde in ihm einen claudischen Freigelassenen sehen, der das Amt des Prokurators *a frumento* bekleidete, da bekanntlich Claudius Freigelassenen die Türen zu Prokuratelen öffnete. Pflaum (*RHD*) meint, unser Mann sei ein subalterner Beamter des ritterlichen *procurator a frumento* gewesen, den man aus Antium (und jetzt auch aus der Inschrift von Sabidi-

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1197 *Aug. n. verna dispensator [frumen]t(i) mancip(alis)*.

<sup>39</sup> *CIL* X 8295 wird verschiedentlich datiert: O. Hirschfeld, *Philologus* 29 (1870) 55 Nr. 8 "aus unbestimmter Zeit"; Pflaum, *Carrières* 1031: 1./2. Jh., aber *RHD* 56 (1978) 50: flavisch; Parma: Anfang 2. Jh.; S. Demougin, in *Le tribù romane* (2010) 376: 1. Jh. Zur Datierung von *AE* 2000, 350 s. Parma.

<sup>40</sup> Von mir 1977 im Museum von Velletri aufgenommen.

<sup>41</sup> Dessau las POSTERIS EORVM, es gibt aber Raum für Q.

us) kannte. Vielmehr aber war der Anonymus der claudischen Zeit ein autonomer Beamter (ein subalternen Beamter hätte eigentlich *subprocurator* genannt werden müssen). Denn später wurden Prokuratoren dieser Art nicht mehr aus dem Freigelassenenstand bestellt, von flavischer Zeit an wurde dieses Amt der ritterlichen Laufbahn einverleibt. In unserem Fall könnte die Reihenfolge der Dienststellen etwas ungewöhnlich anmuten: *a cubiculo, procurator a frumento* und *accensus*, lässt sich aber vertreten. In 1 muss PROC als Nominativ genommen werden, etwa *a cubiculo procuratoris* wäre sonderbar ohne den Namen des Prokurators. Aber wie soll man *accensus patro[n-]* verstehen? Ich ergänze *patro[no]* und sehe hier einen adnominalen direkt zu *accensus* gehörenden Dativ; der Typ existiert: CIL VI 1887 (mit Vespasian als *patronus*). 1961. 36120(?); XI 3051; AE 1946, 96 (Rom).<sup>42</sup> In unserem Fall wäre der Patron der Kaiser, vermutlich Claudius. Wie steht es aber mit dem syntaktischen Gefüge? Der Errichter hat das Grabmonument sich und zwei Frauen mit dem Gentilnamen *Claudia* samt deren Nachkommen geweiht. Wie ist aber dann *et* vor *sibi, Claudiae* in 3 zu erklären? Wenn es sich nicht um eine Nachlässigkeit für *sibi et* handelt, könnte man sich im verlorenen Teil den Namen der Person, die als erster Grabempfänger gedacht war, vorstellen, etwa die Frau des Anonymus; nach der Angabe seines eigenen Cursus fügte er *et sibi* ein und fuhr dann mit den Namen etwa der Töchter fort, die diesmal ohne *et* folgten.

*Universität Helsinki*

<sup>42</sup> Ferner mit Dativ CIL VI 1963 *accensus Germanico Caesar(i)*; X 531 (stadtrömisch oder ostiensisch) *accensus consuli*. 1889 *accensus consuli*.

## DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

*Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag.* Herausgegeben von ROBERT ROLLINGER – BRIGITTE TRUSCHNEGG. Oriens et Occidens 12. Franz Steiner Verlag, München 2006. ISBN 3-515-08738-9. 878 S. EUR 69.

La varietà tematica dei quasi 50 contributi internazionali raccolti in questa Festschrift riflette bene i molteplici interessi di ricerca di Peter Haider (professore straordinario dal 1988 all'Università di Innsbruck). Sono incluse le seguenti sezioni: Asia Minore (4 articoli), Siria (9), Mesopotamia (4), Iran (3), Egitto (12), Africa del Nord (2), Hispania (1), le Alpi (3), Italia (1), Egeo (3), percezione dei popoli stranieri e stereotipie (1), teoria della storia e storia della scienza (1), storia della ricezione (1). Chi scrive è in grado di dare un giudizio solo su quanto scritto sul mondo greco-romano, ma non dubito che l'impressione positiva nata dalla lettura degli articoli di mia competenza valga su tutto il contenuto del volume.

*Mika Kajava*

Συγγράμματα. *Studies in Honour of Jan Fredrik Kindstrand.* Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Studia Graeca Upsaliensia 21. Uppsala Universitet, Stockholm 2006. ISBN 91-554-6665-6. VIII, 222 pp. SEK 215.

Il volume costituisce una collezione di tredici articoli dedicati a Jan Kindstrand, benemerito studioso e professore ordinario, per moltissimi anni, di lingua e letteratura greca all'università di Uppsala, come dovuto riconoscimento per il suo costante impegno a favore degli studi ellenici in Svezia e all'estero. I temi dei contributi riflettono, in parte, i tanti interessi dello stesso Kindstrand (vd. bibliografia pp. 217-21, redatta da Tore Hållander), cioè, prosa postclassica, retorica, filosofia cinica, ecc. Chi scrive ha trovato di particolare interesse il dossier dedicato all'edizione (cd. *Romana* del 1515) di Pindaro ad opera di Zaccaria Callierge. – Ecco il contenuto del volume: E. Bowie: The Construction of the Classical Past in the Ancient Greek Novels; P. E. Easterling: Notes on Notes: The Ancient Scholia on Sophocles; S. Fogelmark: The 1515 Kallierges *Pindar*: A First Report; G. Gren-Eklund: Poesis. On Creating Art according to Aristotle and Sanskrit Poetics; K. Gutzwiller: Learning and Love in the Epigrams of Meleager; H. Hofmann: Kritische Nachlese zur Hypothesis des Sophokleischen *Tereus* (P. OXY. 3013); T. Hägg: Gregory of Nazianzus: A New Lease of Life for the Second Sophistic; D. Innes: Gorgias, *Helen* 13; U. Jaitner-Hahner: Cum prior dies sit posterioris discipulus. Fronto Ducaeus und seine Chrysostomus-Edition; D. Russell: Some Problems in Heraclitus, *Homeric Allegories*; T. Stenström: Penelope und Melanthos Sohn. Erörterungen zu Eyvind Johnsons "Die Heimkehr des Odysseus" und Homers Odyssee; M. Wifstrand Schiebe: Sinn und Wahrheitsgehalt der

Kultbilder aus der Sicht der antiken Philosophie. Zur antiken Debatte an Hand des Beispiels Marcus Terentius Varro; N. G. Wilson, A Note on Latinisms in Aelian.

Mika Kajava

*The Cambridge Companion to Herodotus*. Edited by C. DEWALD – J. MARINCOLA. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006. ISBN 0-521-53683-9 (pb), 0-521-83001-X (hb). XXII, 378 pp. GBP 17.99 (pb), GBP 45 (hb).

This Companion continues the tradition of high standards of the Cambridge Companions to Literature. It is a carefully and thoughtfully edited collection of 20 contributions by distinguished scholars covering a great variety of aspects on Herodotus (henceforth H) and his *Historiê*. The approach of this volume is primarily literary, emphasizing Herodotus' literary art and history writing, but not neglecting other aspects of his work.

The Introduction by Dewald and Marincola is important in setting the frames of Herodotean studies and explaining the present state of scholarship and how the articles in this volume fit into it. The amount of research produced on H makes one wonder whether anything new can be said. As scholarship progresses, be it classical studies or related sciences, such as anthropology or sociology, new angles can be applied even to Herodotean studies: the authors in this volume are applying a "new attitude in reading Herodotus," as Dewald and Marincola state. It is also true that scholarship always mirrors its own time. However, the modern studies on H all depend more or less on the traditional landmark of Herodotean scholarship, the work of Felix Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa (1913). Jacoby covered almost all aspects of H and, thus, later studies have had to take a stand on his work which also has influenced the questions studied (to name only a few: how H came to be the "first" writer of Greek history, what caused his development from ethnographer and geographer to a historian, in what order the work was composed and does it form an artistic whole, are H's stories to be trusted, etc.).

All 20 chapters are mentioned below, although it is quite impossible to discuss them all. Their titles seem to follow mainly traditional patterns like "Herodotus and X" or "X and Y in Herodotus," which comes naturally in this type of handbook but makes the table of contents somewhat less interesting. Usually, each chapter includes a 'Further reading' section as well as endnotes. This is a welcome practice, since many of the chapters have been kept short. A general bibliography, a timeline, and indices appear at the end of the volume. Five maps of different parts of the Herodotean world are included at the beginning of the book.

The first four chapters set H into context. Chapter 1 by J. Marincola, "Herodotus and the poetry of the past", discusses the relationship of H, the first great prose writer, to his poetic predecessors. Marincola focuses on the conceptual areas where H is indebted to poets or where he distinguished himself from them. The main point of reference is naturally Homer, but also, e.g., Pindar, Bacchylides and Simonides are dealt with in regard to story-telling, how H positions himself between the past and the present, and the roles of glory, wisdom and truth.

In Chapter 2, "Herodotus and his prose predecessors", R. Fowler explores the genre; what other studies had been performed before and were being produced at the same time, and how unique H's *historiê* was. The question of sources and influences, both written and oral, is not an easy one, but Fowler shows that something can be said. As an Appendix to his chapter,

Fowler lists the writers (and their known works) of genealogy, ethnography, geography, and local history who were active before and during H's career.

H's connections with tragic poets and poetry are discussed in Chapter 3, "Herodotus and tragedy", by J. Griffin. The myths were building blocks for H as well as for the tragedians, of whom Sophocles was his personal friend. H's storytelling, however, could be interrupted by long passages of ethnographic or geographic content, which of course does not happen in tragedy. Griffin includes an interesting discussion on H's choice of characters, e.g., Croesus, whose story opens the *Histories*, as underlining the motif of the conduct of Greeks and barbarians.

R. Thomas explores "The intellectual milieu of Herodotus" in Chapter 4. H is placed among the late archaic and early classical philosophers, intellectuals and sophists. H's versatile background (origins, travels and exiles) made sure this milieu was not one-sided. The important concept of *nomos*, custom, is also discussed thoroughly here, and it will, of course, crop up in almost all other chapters as well.

Chapters 5 to 10 discuss H's methods, language and style. H is peculiar among the ancient historians in his way of using the first person and discussing his own role as a researcher; that was not common in his time although we are accustomed to reading such discussions by scholars today. N. Luraghi studies H's methods of research and his "footnotes" in Chapter 5, "Meta-historiê: Method and genre in the *Histories*". Herodotus' method consists of three cornerstones: oral information (*akoê*), personal eyewitness testimony (*opsis*), and his own reasoning (*gnômê*). Quite fascinatingly, L. explains how H's method of using *akoê* statements function both in making his writings clear and understandable to the audience and, at same time, defining the limits of possible knowledge. Such statements also act as a reminder of what sort of information H is passing on; he hardly expected people to believe that he actually travelled around gathering information.

Herodotus' style is examined in Chapter 6, "The syntax of *historiê*: How Herodotus writes" by E. Bakker. He airs older concepts of Herodotus' style as paratactic both at sentence level and in the whole organization of the work (i.e., co-ordinating style presenting all elements at one and the same level). Bakker thinks that Herodotus' style "cuts through the contrast between *parataxis* and *hypotaxis*" and, in order to describe this style, he uses the term *syntaxis*, introduced by Dionysius of Halicarnassus. Bakker goes on giving examples of H's "syntactic" style in using discourse particles *men ... de*, and especially characteristic of H, the combination of *men nun*. Bakker also observes the deictic use of demonstrative pronouns *houtos* contra *ekeinos* and considers this the beginning of a tradition in historiographical narrative (unlike H's *syntaxis*.) Analysis of H's narrative strategies continues in the seventh chapter, "Speech and narrative in the *Histories*" by C. Pelling.

The power of *logos*, power of the story, was one subject of interest for H, as is shown by C. Dewald and R. Kitzinger in Chapter 8, "Herodotus, Sophocles and the woman who wanted her brother saved." H is using an anecdote of a woman who chooses her brother to be saved instead of her husband or son, to indicate the weaknesses of Darius' politics. King Darius is the one giving the woman this possibility of choice, and the woman's argument surprises him. As a convenient point of comparison, H's friend, the tragedian Sophocles (this connection was already discussed in Ch. 3) used the same story in the *Antigone*.

In Chapter 9, "Stories and storytelling in the *Histories*," A. Griffiths looks at the structures of stories in H. The variation of the general level and precision (and pseudo-precision) within the stories make them vivid and reliable. Variation between the stories is needed for

the whole work to be interesting. There is an abundance of analeptic and proleptic stories that jump aside introducing the background or future dealings of persons introduced at a particular moment. Griffiths also discusses the Homeric epic and oral tradition as H's model for this multi-threaded text type. Oral transmission is also obvious as H's source material. H however, did not simply gather and present folktales; Griffiths shows how he reshaped them for his purposes, for example, by clearing away some simplistic divine or magical solutions. The whole opus magnum of H is proven to be very carefully compiled and the stories are definitely not arbitrarily placed within it. I would certainly have liked a chapter of its own on the subject of comparing of H' technique with Near Eastern narrative traditions to which G. makes reference in the Further Reading section.

C. Dewald approaches "Humour and danger in Herodotus" in Chapter 10. The humorous elements are embedded in the *logoi* which H used as his building material. In certain anecdotes the humour, jokes and puns are, in fact, vehicles of criticism or even aggression.

Chapters 11 to 15 concentrate on ideological, religious and political issues. Despite the somewhat obscure title of Chapter 11, "Location and dislocation in Herodotus" by R. Friedman, it provides a most interesting discussion on the boundaries, both geographical and political, that define H's subjects *versus* H's own, deterritorialized perspective of describing small and big cities in an *equal* manner. Other dimensions of locality are discussed through H's stories on itinerants, exiles and travelers. The concept of (dis)location is also significant within the panhellenic vs. intrahellenic identities.

H's views of the world (natural and divine) and connections to natural sciences present in his day are discussed in Chapter 12 "Herodotus and the natural world" by J. Romm. We delve deeper into the concepts of the divine world in Chapter 13, S. Scullion on "Herodotus and Greek religion." H's view on religious practices and gods is quite mundane, and closely tied to *nomos*, custom. The gods and cults vary from place to place; the *nomoi* of different cultures can be compared and H treats the Greek *nomoi* in a respectful tone, whereas others' religious *nomoi* may be criticized. H seems to imply to the existence of a (universal) divinity 'behind' the gods.

Wars are the nodes in political history, and L. Tritle discusses the way H deals with them in Chapter 14, "Warfare in Herodotus." The author discusses H's own experience, his stance and the descriptions of certain important battles (Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis, Plataeae). In Chapter 15, "Herodotus, political history and political thought", S. Forsdyke challenges old views that considered H's political understanding to be poor. This new reading is indebted to modern views of what political history is; it does not consist simply of military and constitutional developments, but also of social practices and norms.

The geographic point of view is taken under consideration in Chapters 16–19. The Greek cities are discussed in Chapter 16, "Herodotus and the cities of mainland Greece", by P. Stadter. The obvious counterparts, Sparta and Athens, are examined first, then other cities. Just as H himself probably moved later in his life to the Athenian colony of Thurii in southern Italy, we move to the West in Chapter 17, in which R. Vignolo Munson discusses H's view of colonization and Sicilian tyranny in "An alternate world: Herodotus and Italy."

M. Flower takes us back to the beginning of the *Histories* and to the great opponent of the Greeks in Chapter 18, "Herodotus and Persia." The Persians and their empire get as much space as the Greeks in the *Histories*. H may have wanted to emphasize how great a deed the Hellenes managed to perform by beating the Persians. Moreover, he may have wanted to remind the Greeks that Persia was still a mighty power, and a possible threat.

In Chapter 19, "Herodotus and foreign lands", T. Rood moves on to other non-Greek areas and analyses how H combines ethnographic and geographic information in order to explain the historical and political impact of those areas. After all, the essence of H's whole work is to understand why and how Greeks and barbarians fought with each other. It is uncertain, however, to what extent we can say that H (anachronistically) used an anthropological method in order to try to understand foreign customs in their own right. H clearly directs his work at a Greek audience, always explaining how foreign people and customs differ from the Greek standards, and only rarely providing explanations for why that is.

The book on the whole focuses on the world and times of Herodotus himself. The last chapter by S. Hornblower is the only to discuss the reception of H, and that takes only into account "Herodotus' influence in antiquity". Hornblower first deals with allusions, borrowings and denials of H visible in his contemporaries (writers of tragedy and comedy as well as historians). After that, in the fourth century and later, H is referred to also by name, although borrowings can of course also be unattributed. Hornblower also studies the impact of H on the Hellenistic historians as well as on those of the Roman period.

*Marja Vierros*

*Die Fragmente des Aristoxenos aus Tarent.* Neu herausgegeben und ergänzt, erläutert und übersetzt von STEFAN IKARUS KAISER. Spudasmata 128. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim 2010. ISBN 978-3-487-14298-2. XXXIX, 247 S. EUR 39.80.

This book contains the literary fragments by Aristoxenus of Tarentum, a Greek philosopher and musical theorist who lived in the fourth century BC. Kaiser has collected over 400 references to the writings of Aristoxenus and to "the Musician" himself from the works of later authors dating from the second century BC to the 15<sup>th</sup> century AD. The texts are arranged chronologically and subdivided by their context into four categories: 1. *philosophica* 2. *historica* 3. *ad Aristoxenum vel ad rem musicam pertinentia* and 4. *miscellanea et incerta*. The majority of the sources are Greek and Latin texts but there are also some Arabic musical writings included (Al-Farabi and Al-Katib), although not the original texts but only French and German translations. Nearly all of the Greek texts are translated into German, some of them for the first time. There is also an introduction which includes a brief account on Aristoxenus' life and his works and an examination of his significance in literary history.

This is a thorough and well-organized study which will surely be useful to anyone looking for further information on Aristoxenus and more details regarding his contribution to the theory of music in addition to the *Elementa harmonica* and the *Elementa rhythmica*. The reader also learns about less-known sources dealing with ancient Greek music. Although this book does not introduce any revolutionary new evidence on Aristoxenus or his works, it clearly demonstrates his influence on later musical writings, also in the Arabic world. In summary, Kaiser's book is a highly recommendable read for those interested in ancient Greek music.

*Kimmo Kovanen*



ANNE GANGLOFF: *Dion Chrysostome et les mythes. Hellénisme, communication et philosophie politique*. Préface de LUC BRISSON. Collection Horos. Éditions Jérôme Millon, Grenoble 2006. ISBN 2-84137-195-6. 428 pp. EUR 28.

Nel suo libro, nato da una tesi di dottorato (Parigi-Sorbonne, 2003), Anne Gangloff intende studiare l'accezione e l'uso dei miti da parte di Dione Crisostomo. Particolare attenzione viene prestata alla portata educativa e ai valori pedagogici e politico-morali dei miti utilizzati da Dione nella sua opera. L'analisi di questi miti, anche dal punto di vista lessicologico, e dei vari modi narrativi adoperati dal grande oratore per presentarli al suo pubblico, permette all'autrice di studiare le riflessioni di Dione sui concetti di vero e falso, di saggezza filosofica e seduzione poetica, nonché sull'uso di parole come strumenti d'insegnamento e di persuasione. L'attualizzazione dei miti ereditati da un lungo passato e il loro utilizzo letterario per scopi politico-pedagogici non solo illustra il cammino intellettuale di Dione, ma offre anche nuove prospettive per la comprensione della mentalità dei greci al tempo della seconda sofistica. Non sorprende affatto che questo lavoro abbia ricevuto ben due riconoscimenti nel 2007.

*Mika Kajava*

*Gregory of Nazianzus. Images and Reflections*. Edited by JOSTEIN BØRTNES – TOMAS HÄGG. Museum Tusulanum Press, Copenhagen 2006. ISBN 87-635-0386-7. 349 pp. DKK 395.

This beautiful and erudite volume consists of case studies dealing with the questions of how we can know Gregory of Nazianzus (or any other person in the past), and how Gregory (or any other human) can know God and express that knowledge. Gregory (c. 330–390) is the most contradictory of the three Cappadocians now honoured as church fathers. He bears the honorific title "Theologian" – but he was known among his contemporaries for his philosophical rhetorical skills, and he wrote some 30,000 verses of poetry. He was patriarch of Constantinople – but having been expelled from the see he later claimed his life was a failure. He wrote more about himself than any other ancient author preserved to us save Cicero and Augustine – but his rhetoric hides his person.

The book is result of a research project with most of the articles being reworked versions of papers given at the conference "Gregory of Nazianzus: the Theologian, the Hellenist, the Man" in Bergen in 2003. The stated intention of the present volume is to penetrate into the person and thinking of Gregory by using his orations and poems as points of departure. In this, the collection illustrates perfectly the new ways of working in the field which used to be called "Patristics", but is now more and more often labelled as "Early Christian Studies". The contributors, accordingly, represent a variety of academic fields. It may be fitting, thus, that the work of experts on patristics, church history, philosophy, literature and classics is here reviewed by an ancient historian (who apologizes the lateness of the present review).

The volume begins with a short introduction by Jostein Børtnes, presenting Gregory as a philosophical rhetorician. This is followed by two chapters based on rhetoric and mental images in Gregory ("Gregory contemplating the beautiful: knowing human misery and divine mystery through and being persuaded by images" by Frederick W. Norris and "Rhetoric and mental images in Gregory" by Jostein Børtnes). The former stresses the importance of images

and mental pictures instead of logic for Gregory, who sees theology (as a true form of philosophy) as a discipline of probability. Børtnes' article is rich in theory of literary criticism, analysing the interplay of memorization and metaphoric images in Gregory. This interplay forms verbal icons to approach the God – who cannot be reached as such by mere human words. For Gregory the notion of language is deeply a human enterprise.

These themes are further elaborated in Stratis Papaioannou's piece on "Gregory and the constraint of sameness" and Edgars Narkevics' clear and persuasive "*Skiagraphia*: outlining the conception of God in Gregory's Theological Orations". The latter approaches theological orations as a battle scene of rhetorical strategies, and it evolves into a subtle analysis of the use of traditional rhetoric both in theological polemics and in dealing with what may be the philosophically most ardent question for Gregory: how to speak about God.

Indeed, many of the papers in this collection are about Gregory caught between the new philosophy (i.e. the Christian theology) and the Hellenic cultural tradition. This theme is directly addressed in John A. McGuckin's article "Gregory: the rhetorician as poet", and in Neil McLynn's "Among the hellenists: Gregory and the sophists", both showing Gregory as an author intimately versed in the classical tradition. He is loyal to his cultural background, while using the old literary forms for disseminating the new message. The result is a Christianized version of classical Hellenism, with new *paideia* and a new kind of an intellectual hero, a city rhetor and bishop in one person – personified in the person of Gregory himself. Later in the book, Stephanos Efthymiadis' piece on "Two Gregories and three genres: autobiography, autohagiography and hagiography" is useful as a study on the evolvement of hagiography as a genre after Gregory, but somewhat of a disappointment for a reader anticipating some further analysis of Gregory as an autohagiographer.

Tomas Hägg's contribution "Playing with expectations: Gregory's funeral orations on his brother, sister, and father" deals with the classical *paideia* and the rhetoric of the self, giving a thorough analysis of the rhetorical devices put in action. As such, the piece both functions as a parallel to Narkevics' paper, and marks a beginning for the section of papers analysing Gregory's "family talk" strategies of representation: attitudes on proper family relationships and "ruptures" caused by actual family relationships. The articles "Life after death: the martyrdom of Gorgonia and the birth of female hagiography" by Virginia Burrus and "Gregory's women: creating a philosopher's family" by Susanna Elm concentrate on gender expectations and construction of the self in the borderline of private life and public honour. The authors show Gregory as a family man proud of his relatives, building for himself an entire philosophical family and using this as a claim for special authority. Despite the undeniable family pride present in Gregory's texts, they reveal more about their writer than about the object, his biological family.

The last paper of the volume, Andrew Louth's piece on the role of Cappadocian theology in iconoclastic controversy, is somewhat out of place as it does not directly contribute to the portrait of Gregory of Nazianzus, but studies the reception of the Cappadocians and Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite. Also Samuel Rubenson's as such interesting "The Cappadocians on the Areopagus" is somewhat out of place in this context. The author analyses Athens as a city and as a metaphor in the writings of the Cappadocians, and shows how personal experience can shape the way in which one uses examples and metaphors for the sake of one's argument. Instead, aspects of Gregory's apophatic theology (referred to in many papers but not systematically discussed) would have merited a similar synthetic treatment as his ideas of *theosis* receive

in the essay of Torstein Theodor Tollefsen, the logic and clarity of presentation of which is to be praised.

On the whole the volume is a coherent collection of studies, offering a clear picture not only of the status quo on studies on Gregory, but more generally of the more recent directions of the Early Christian Studies. The concentration on the persona of Gregory keeps the themes focused, and makes different chapters engage with each other. The final essay by Philip Rousseau ("Retrospect: images, reflections and the "essential" Gregory") suggests just one possible reading of this rich collection of studies.

Ville Vuolanto

B. BÄBLER – H.-G. NESSELRATH: *Ars et Verba. Die Kunstbeschreibungen des Kallistratos*. Einführung, Text, Übersetzung, Anmerkungen und archäologischer Kommentar. K. G. Saur Verlag, München – Leipzig 2006. ISBN 978-3-598-73056-6. IX, 105 S., 4 Taf. EUR 64.95.

Si tratta di una nuova edizione delle *Descrizioni* (*Ekphraseis*) di Callistrato (IV/V sec. d. C.), che tradizionalmente vengono stampate insieme con le *Immagini* (*Eikones*) di Filostrato. Ecco le quattordici opere d'arte, le cui descrizioni sembrerebbero basarsi su una visione autoptica da parte di Callistrato tranne per il n. 9: 1) Satiro; 2) Baccante (Scopa); 3) Eros (Prassitele); 4) Indiano; 5) Narcisso; 6) Kairos (Lisippo); 7) Orfeo; 8) Dioniso (Prassitele); 9) Mennone; 10) Peana-Asclepio; 11) Giovane (Ἡΐθεος, Prassitele); 12) Centauro; 13) Medea; 14) Atamante. Il testo greco adottato diverge da quello delle edizioni anteriori, rispettivamente di Schenkl – Reisch (Teubner 1902) e di Fairbanks (Loeb 1931), in una trentina di punti, derivando quasi tutti gli emendamenti, da Nesselrath ragionevolmente difesi, dalla ricerca precedente. Il lavoro filologico-letterario e le traduzioni in tedesco sono opera di Nesselrath, mentre le parti propriamente storico-archeologiche sono dovute a Bäbler.

Le introduzioni e i commenti sono concisi, ricchi di informazioni e ben presentati, e lo stesso vale per gli indici. Gli autori possono congratularsi per la bella riuscita del loro libro dedicato a un testo che nel passato è stato diversamente valutato dai critici, archeologi o filologi, per quanto riguarda l'affidabilità delle descrizioni, lo stile e la qualità come letteratura (cfr. il secco commento di Wilamowitz dopo una rilettura di Callistrato: "ich will's nun aber gewiß nicht wieder tun"). Con soddisfazione, comunque, si nota l'aumentare dell'interesse per l'autore delle *Descrizioni* (cfr. M. Costantini & al., *Le défi de l'art. Philostrate, Callistrate et l'image sophistique*, Rennes 2006).

Mika Kajava

*Brill's Companion to Propertius*. Edited by HANS-CHRISTIAN GÜNTHER. Brill, Leiden 2006. ISBN 978-90-04-13682-3. XII, 476 pp. EUR 207.

The *Brill's Companion to Propertius* deals with the work and legacy of the ambivalent poet as well as the reception of his poetry in antiquity and later. The style and subject of Propertius' poetry have been considered confusingly similar to Tibullus' light-hearted love poetry, and his

debt to Catullus has received considerable scholarly attention. Fortunately, modern scholarship has restored to Propertius some of the *kudos* that rightly belonged to him in his own time. In this companion, the poet's polished style, diverse themes, and candid artistic voice are studied from various points of view, the meaning being to see Propertius' poetry as more than just frivolous erotic elegy with obscure mythological overtones.

The book is thematically divided into six parts, which all discuss Propertius' work and person from different angles. The first part by P. Fedeli is an overview of the history of Propertian scholarship. Fedeli's paper offers a good background for the other discussions in the book, in which earlier scholarship is repeatedly referred to.

The second part of the volume focuses on the textual tradition of Propertius, the manuscripts and their transmission, the edition and the textual criticism being examined. In his paper, "The Transmission of the Text of Propertius", J. Butrica discusses the arrangement of the books in the editions of Propertius, as well as the progress of corruption of the oeuvre in antiquity and in the Middle Ages. This paper is followed by R. Tarrant's study of Propertian textual criticism and editing, which completes the outlook on the subject and makes the second part of the book a balanced whole. Tarrant examines some specific problems in the process of editing Propertius; the arrangement of the books, the division of the poems, possible transpositions and interpolations. With the help of some very clear examples, he shows/demonstrates that the Propertian editing tradition is haunted by unanswered questions, and how difficult it is to reach unanimity on the original state of the oeuvre.

In the third part, Propertius' poetry is studied against the influence of his Greek and Roman predecessors and artistic role models. In his paper, "Propertius and the Origins of Latin Love Elegy", F. Cairns examines the stylistic principles on which the genre relied. He discusses the problem of "subjective" and "objective" elegy, the fictitious narrating *persona* of the Roman love poet, and the controversial originality of the Roman elegists. In the next paper, A. Hollis aims to deepen the reader's understanding of the subject when he deals with the Hellenistic Greek poets, and their influence on Propertius' style and subject. This third part of the book ends with P. Knox's discussion of Propertius' relation to the so-called neoteric predecessors. The focus is on Propertius' stylistic features which he adapted from the neoterics (sound patterns, word choice, metrical coloration), and on his recurring allusions to their work (most frequent in the first two books).

In the fourth part, the focus is on Propertius' poetic technique and on the major themes of his poetry. R. Maltby thoroughly examines the central motifs and the ways in which the poet's dealing with them differs from Tibullus and Ovid. The paper also gives a balanced general view of the development of Propertius' work. The development of Propertius' poetic self and artistic identity is also touched upon in an intriguing way. In the following paper, "The Image of Woman in Propertius' Poetry", E. Fantham pays attention to the ways in which the poet utilizes mythological characters in order to make a point about contemporary women, or about the female sex as a whole. The connection between mythology and reality is fascinating, and Fantham points out intriguingly how the poet's outlook on the socio-political situation of his own time is expressed through the female characters. The fourth part of the book closes with T. Reinhardt's study of rhetoric in Propertius' poetry, which draws attention to some interesting features in the elegiac language of persuasion.

Next, the book moves on to analyze Propertius' work systematically. The fifth part, "An Interpretation of Propertius' work", consists of four chapters, each of them commenting

on one particular book of the Propertian oeuvre. In G. Manuwald's profound discussion of the *Monobiblos*, the book's position within the collection, its structure, and composition are convincingly explained. The discussion of the second book, by H. P. Syndikus, on the other hand, appears to be a little less coherent whole; the book is analyzed elegy by elegy, but a thematic structure of this chapter might have been a more beneficial choice. However, given the book's loose and complicated structure, Syndikus laudably succeeds in pointing out the crucial themes in the poem. The skillful modification of the themes of the first book is represented as the core of the second, and the development of the authors' poetic skills and interests is nicely brought out. K. Newman's analysis of the third book focuses on Propertius' poetic identity, and on his position in the literary tradition, whereas H.-C. Günther's discussion of the fourth book emphasizes the refinement of the poet's thought and ideology, and the somewhat dramatic change in the subject matter of his poetry.

The last part of the book deals with the reception of Propertius after his time. S. Gavinelli examines the fate of Propertius' elegies during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance; she discusses the copying process and the commentary tradition as well as the prevailing ideas and conceptions about the Augustan elegist in the periods under scrutiny. In his paper, B. Zimmermann studies the later reception of Propertius, demonstrating the huge impact that contemporary social and cultural ambience has often had in the reading of Propertius' poetry.

All in all, the *Brill Companion to Propertius* succeeds in illustrating the many sides of this poet's work and legacy. The structure of the book is functional, as every part introduced above works as an independent whole as well as in interaction with the other chapters. The chapters engage with each other – since total unanimity is not always achieved, the voices of different scholars are heard and some issues are left open for further discussion. The book is recommended for all those who wish to familiarize themselves with Propertius' work and character.

Elina Pyy

FRANCIS CAIRNS: *Sextus Propertius. The Augustan Elegist*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-86457-2 (hb), 978-0-521-11770-8 (pb). XVI, 492 pp. GBP 62, USD 117 (hb); GBP 27.99, USD 48 (pb).

In his extensive survey of the poetry of the Roman elegist, Francis Cairns uses the personal history of the poet as his starting point. He examines the characteristics typical of Propertian elegy and the development of the poet's work, paying particular attention to the circumstances of Propertius' personal life and to the external forces in the ambience of his day that directed and influenced his art. The goal is to examine how Propertius' background, social standing, and personal contacts resulted in the poetry which is so notably different from the contemporary elegists.

The point of departure proves fruitful, as the book makes the reader reflect more thoroughly and critically on the world of poetics and art during the early Principate, revealing the people, the events, and the motives behind the poetry. Since Propertius' personal history and his role in the literary circles of the time are not known with the same precision as those of, e.g., Virgil's and Horace's, a great amount of speculative discourse is inevitable when arguing

about the influence of Propertius' background on his works. Cairns is nonetheless well aware of this and does not neglect to point out the highly debatable nature of his conclusions. One of the objectives of this book appears indeed to be to encourage further and more open-minded scholarly discourse about the background of Propertian elegy.

The central theme of this book is the nature of Roman patronage in its relation to poetics in general and its effect on Propertius in particular. The author begins with a thorough examination of Propertius' family background (his hometown, social contacts, economic circumstances, and the political standing of his family), subsequently discussing the poet's youth and education compared to the other known poets of the era. He then moves on to discuss at length and in detail the patrons that supported and influenced Propertius' career. One chapter is dedicated to (Volcacius) Tullus, one of the addressees in the *Monobiblos*, and his family background. The author discusses the nature of the relationship between the Propertii and the Volcaciai, shedding some light on the complex equation of friendship, kinship, and patronage in the Roman world.

A considerable part of the book is dedicated to the other addressee in the *Monobiblos*, Gallus. The author argues that Gallus, besides being the other of the two early patrons of the poet, was indeed the Roman elegist C. Cornelius Gallus, and a major influence on Propertius' style. According to Cairns, Gallus' pervasive impact on Propertius' work has often been underestimated and has not been examined with sufficient depth, and that the lack of interest in the subject has severely distorted the view of Propertius' poetry. In chapters 3–7, the author attempts to fix this shortcoming by discussing the Gallan markers in Propertius' poetry from verbal, metrical, and thematic viewpoints. He pays particular attention to the Gallan characteristics that set Propertius' elegies apart from other surviving contemporary works belonging to the same genre. Cairns' extensive examination of the little known elegist explains and laudably sheds some interesting light on the elegiac tradition and the consistency and inconsistency within it.

The latter part of the book is dedicated to Propertius' evolving elegiac style and to his new patrons' impact on it. After the *Monobiblos*, Propertius entered the patronage of Maecenas and Augustus, and, according to Cairns, the contents of Propertian elegy changed along with the patrons. The author examines Book 2 in particular as a state of transition, and discusses the effects that Maecenas had on Propertius' gradual move from erotic elegy towards social, political, and moral themes, as well as towards discussing contemporary persons and events. Propertius' relationship to Maecenas, and the benefits and contacts it offered him are also discussed in order to illustrate the development of the poet's career.

The relationship of Propertius with the *princeps* is discussed as well. The author argues that from the moment of his entry into Maecenas' circle, Propertius' poetic services were fully at the disposal of Augustus, and remained so for the rest of his career. Cairns represents Propertius as a prominent member of the group of poets devoted to the celebration of the regime; he examines Propertius' work from the second book as focusing on themes that expose the poet's loyalty and gratitude to his patron. Especially interesting are the observations that the author makes when discussing the elegiac poet's treatment of Augustan moral values, and the coexistence of private and public themes in his work. In his attempt to disprove the conception of Propertian elegy as 'subversive' towards the Augustan ideology, the author manifests a rather strong and unyielding idea of the nature of Roman patronage. However, his views appear justified and are convincingly argued.

All in all, Cairns' monograph is a comprehensive survey of the nature and background of Propertian elegy. The main argument – that Propertius' personal, social, and political background determined the patronage he enjoyed, which had an impact on his literary development – is straightforward and convincing. The insightful use of Propertius' poetry together with other sources, and the versatile methodological means utilized add to the prestige of the study. The book makes the reader reflect on the background of Roman poetry in general, and to consider more open-mindedly the people and the events that influenced the stylistic, thematic, and linguistic choices of the poets of this particular era. Hopefully Cairns' work will result in further research on this fascinating subject.

Elina Pyy

VICTORIA RIMELL: *Ovid's Lovers. Desire, Difference, and the Poetic Imagination*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2006. ISBN 978-0-521-86219-1. VIII, 235 pp. GBP 50, USD 90.

Victoria Rimell's ambitious work tackles a difficult topic, namely issues concerning identities, intertextuality and intersubjectivity. This collection of six essays concentrates on the *Medicamina*, the *Ars Amatoria*, the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides*, offering fresh, but in some cases also controversial, perspectives on Ovid and his gender constructions.

Rimell harnesses the idea of intersubjectivity to study some central themes in Ovid. The concept of intersubjectivity is used in philosophy and psychology to describe a condition between subjectivity and objectivity, a kind of common sense or agreement between people that shapes our ideas and relations. From this perspective, Rimell presents desire subjects that seduce each other, the relationship between self and other, and especially the relationship between male and female worlds, which she considers to be the heart of Ovid's vision of poetry and imagination.

Rimell well shows how complicated it is to interpret Ovid. She challenges recent criticism of Ovid: "In this book, I want to sidestep the kinds of questions that have repeatedly been asked of Ovid in the last thirty years, by asking not (simply) about constructs of femininity, or of masculinity, or about whether Ovid can be judged a anti-, proto- or pseudo-feminist, but instead about relationally, about the desiring subject in Ovid's poetry as a being-in-relation." (pp. 3–4).

Rimell uses numerous quotations from Ovid to point out how the myth of Medusa and Narcissus can be seen in his texts in different forms. She emphasizes the meaning of gaze and asks, for instance: Who actually looks at whom and why? Who is the intended reader and who is actually vying against whom? And what were Ovid's ideas behind the scenes of desire and metamorphoses, which are often filled with snakelike and mirrorlike figures? (pp. 27–30).

In the first chapter ("Specular logics: *Medicamina*", pp. 41–69), Rimell examines Ovid's *Medicamina*. She points out that the text might be intended for both male and female readers, which could be interpreted as either a threat or a boost for the self-identity of both genders.

In the second chapter ("*Double vision: Ars Amatoria I, 2 and 3*", pp. 70–103), Rimell studies the only surviving Roman love manual, the *Ars*, and how the power between women and men changes constantly in this text. In her view, this is Ovid's way to manipulate male and

female audiences and to keep readers on their toes (pp. 74, 102).

The third chapter ("*Seeing seer: Metamorphoses 10–11.84*", pp. 104–22) deals with the *Metamorphoses*, which includes 15 books of narrative poems on the creation of the world, the gods and everything in between. Rimell concentrates on the married couple Orpheus and Eurydice, the gaze between them, and how different writers have interpreted the story. She reflects the story against other metaphors and connects them to her carrying theme, Medusa and Narcissus.

Chapter four ("*Co-creators: Heroides 15*", pp. 123–55) deals with the epistolary poems, the *Heroides*, which consist of letters written by mythical heroines to their male lovers. Rimell underlines the difficulty of writing about the "other", a concept that feminist theory has brought to Roman studies. Focusing on the "Sappho", she stresses the uncertainty of determining whose love affairs were actually portrayed. Are they Ovid's, Sappho's or those of the intended readers? Rimell shows the many different ways one can look at emotions, sexualities and genders. She also shows how Ovid's amatory poetry reflects the work of other writers, different forms of sexual passions and how intertextuality enacts intersubjectivity.

In the last two chapters ("*What goes around: Heroides 16–21*", pp. 156–179, and "*Space between: Heroides 18–9*", pp. 180–204), Rimell continues focusing on the *Heroides*. First she discusses marriage in general, and then Hero's and Leander's relationship which she connects with that of Narcissus and Medusa. The author also points out that water appears as a gendered element (pp. 187, 203).

In my view, Rimell offers a fresh interpretation of Ovid, but by doing so she endangers the structure and readability of her brilliant study. Her original interpretation offers a lot to the reader, but also asks in equal measure. The line of thought is at times overshadowed by the mass of brackets and quotations with even eight-line sentences (pp. 84, 100–1). But Rimell was conscious of these choices: "In particular, this book is meant to evoke complex, tangled and paradoxical nature of the Medusa and Narcissus myths, which to various degrees (as literal references and allusions, but also as wavering, mutating images and metaphors) scaffold my readings throughout. What will emerge, I hope, is not just a jigsaw of precise and detailed arguments, but a portrait of the proliferating and at times bewildering reflections that characterize Ovid's vision of the self, and of his own literary career" (p. 12).

Rimell portrays Narcissus and Medusa with the help of exiting and multidimensional observations. Medusa appears as a complex and contradictory figure, and the Narcissus of recent studies, in which he is seen as the poet and self-conscious reader, is challenged. Through Medusa and Narcissus, Rimell shows how the dialectic of Ovid's erotic discourse may be viewed in different ways.

Clearly, Rimell's book is not an average easy reading study on Ovid's view of lovers and desire. The in-depth analysis is often critical of the way Ovid has been viewed and favours a reader who has some knowledge on previous studies on the poet.

The book shows brilliantly that "writing" is a relative concept. All texts are written for someone, keeping in mind both past and future writers. The idea of "other" and "sameness" is always a puzzle for the mind. Rimell's analyses of intertextuality, intersubjectivity and gender are of interest to all those who study ancient Rome and wish to inquire into who actually wrote to whom and why.



*Seneca and the Self*. Edited by SHADI BARTSCH – DAVID WRAY. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-88838-7. IX, 304 pp. GBP 55, USD 99.

Assembling the papers of a 2003 University of Chicago conference with the same title, *Seneca and the Self* is an inspired and important book that bears witness to the current cultural resonance of the Senecan corpus. As A. A. Long puts it in his essay: "... the Seneca revival is also an important part of a widespread and most welcome reappraisal of the Roman intellectual culture of which he was a most prominent member" (p. 21). This may be best seen in context with the vigorous activity in Hellenistic studies, an important domain for many of the present volume's contributors. Some of these conference articles (Gill, Inwood, Long) have already been published elsewhere.

After an introductory section by the editors and Long, the book's essays are grouped into three parts titled "Philosophical Perspectives" (Inwood, Gill, Nussbaum), "Seneca and Roman Culture" (Asmis, Edwards, Ker, Bartsch) and "Reading the Tragedies" (Schiesaro, Wray, Busch). That said, the essays by and large seem to unify rather than segregate the different roles in which Seneca made his impact. Literary-rhetorical, philosophical and cultural interpretation of both prose and poetry go smoothly together and the inclusion of Senecan humour in Nussbaum's article on the *Apocolocyntosis* completes the book's holistic scope.

The modern notion of *selfhood*, which receives historically conscious critical attention above all in Long's, Inwood's and Gill's essays and plays a somewhat minor role in the rest, seems a very successful choice in bringing about just enough unity to this diversity of articles to contribute to something larger than their sum. This also makes the book a worthy read for even those who would not choose to look for any themes of selfhood at all. The bold plurality of methods and ideas that the collection boasts with goes a good deal beyond any positivistic classicist standards but may well be something in the direction that the full appreciation of the unified, holistic nature of Seneca indeed deserves and calls for.

Teemu Huttunen

DYLAN SAILOR: *Writing and Empire in Tacitus*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-89747-1 (hb). XII, 359 pp. GBP 55, USD 99.

Sailor's book is about the relationship between Tacitus the author and the Empire in which he lived and worked (p. 2): "This book is the result to take seriously the reminder this inscription [CIL VI 1574] offers, that Tacitus' writing was part of a life." The discussion concentrates on the *Agricola*, and certain key passages in the *Histories* and the *Annals*. The central claim of the author is that there is an inherent (though in scholarly discussion not often pronounced) tension between Tacitus the statesman with a respectable *cursus honorum*, and Tacitus the historiographer who relentlessly accounts the deeds of *principes*, even bad ones, without falling into disfavour. The central claim is advanced in Chapters 1, 3 and 5 whereas Chapters 2 (on the *Agricola*) and 4 (on the city of Rome) appear less essential for the course of argument.

Sailor's thesis is that Tacitus, in various ways, tries to balance himself between these two, in many ways opposite, roles. His substantial career, although providing him with ac-

cess to the essential administrative and other resources, also restricted his independence and impartiality as a historian. Sailor argues that in many places Tacitus' text is written in order to give the impression that his books had the potential to be dangerous, and that only by choosing his words carefully he was able to record all that he did in the way that he did without facing threat from the ruler; his exceptional capacity as a writer enabled him to write uncompromising history and not only to survive, but also to flourish under several emperors, even the infamous Domitian. For example, in Sailor's reading, Tacitus employs the story of Cremutius Cordus (who was forced to commit suicide under Tiberius for praising Brutus and Cassius), to paint a picture of himself as an author who could have faced a similar fate, and suggesting an identification between the two historians. Sailor's point is that Tacitus had to struggle to achieve the appearance of an "outsider" (in the eyes of his readership) to the events he describes (p. 257): "Under those circumstances, it was a burden of this work — as of the previous ones — to show that Tacitus was not the *princeps'* man and his work not in the *princeps'* service. That scholars do not regularly note this and talk instead about the ways in which he successfully negotiates the regime's potential *hostility* testifies to how well he has done his job."

While this is a legitimate approach, the argument could have been formulated in a more compact form (the book has 321 pages). The interpretation of a particular passage of Tacitus is sometimes forced, and relying on ideas that depart too far from what Tacitus actually wrote (e.g. p. 266 on the usefulness of the *Annals*; or on p. 167 the analysis of the language of fidelity and betrayal).

In spite of the lengthy exposition, the author fails to explain how his approach is compatible with *hist.* 1,1,4 where Tacitus explicitly mentions the *rara temporum felicitas*, a circumstance that makes possible the fair treatment of present events, and presumably past events even more so. His discussion of *hist.* 1,1,4 (pp. 153-160) is concerned with explaining how Tacitus here excuses himself from writing a history of Trajan but ignores the difficulties that the last words cast on his central claim.

It is true that (especially in the *Histories* and the *Annals*) Tacitus depicts the whole idea of the Principate (the institution itself, independent of the qualities of a particular emperor) as the main cause that ruined Roman society, and this may have been a potential source of annoyance for his dealings with Trajan. However, this aspect, too, is included in *hist.* 1,1: whatever a historian thinks about the Principate generally, one can speak freely.

Furthermore, another problem is evident in the discussion of this key passage (p. 151 on *hist.* 1,1,3–4). In discussing Tacitus' account of his relationship to the various *principes*, Sailor notes that "The Flavians pose a different problem, in that each of them in succession advanced Tacitus' standing, especially Domitian. [...] This declaration [*neque amore quisquam dicendus et sine odio*] seems designed to persuade readers not to suspect him of favoritism toward the Flavians, which is puzzling, since probably no one would have. [...] In short, the last thing we should expect from Tacitus is an overly favorable treatment of the *domus Flavia*." Here Sailor apparently ignores the words *sine odio* in the passage. Even if lacking a clear reference in the preceding text (whereas *neque amore* has its counterpart in the reference to Tacitus' public career), the implications of these words should have been clear to Tacitus' audience, namely Domitian's reign of terror, recorded even in Tacitus own previous work, *Agricola*.

ILARIA MARCHESI: *The Art of Pliny's Letters. A Poetics of Allusion in the Private Correspondence*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-88227-9. XII, 278 pp. GBP 55.

This book is about intertextuality in the private correspondence (Books 1–9) of Pliny the Younger. The author's aim is to study the letters as pieces of literary art through the identification of allusions to other texts. According to her main argument, the allusive technique gives a structure to the whole private correspondence and marks it as a coherent work of literary art, at the same time being an instrument in the contemporary debates on literature, oratory and history in which Pliny engages himself.

In Chapter 1 ("The semiotics of structure"), the author argues that poetic allusions were a means by which Pliny organized parts of his collection, a collection that is seemingly put together haphazardly, without arrangement according to chronology or addressee. For example, allusions to Virgil (*Aen.* 6,129) connect the successive letters 1,2 and 1,3, and allusions to Catullus (Catull. 8) connect letters 1,12 and 1,13.

Chapter 2 ("*Sed quid ego tam gloriose?* Pliny's poetics of choice") tackles the question of Pliny as a poet. Marchesi proposes a new reading of the epistle 7,4, suggesting that the letter is to be read as a parody, as "a playful declaration of modesty" (p. 88), written by a person possessed by a poetic *furor*, rather than taking it at face value and exemplifying Pliny's vanity and naivety in expressing it (a judgement passed on the letter by previous scholars).

Chapter 3 ("The importance of being *Secundus*: Tacitus' voice in Pliny's letters") has as its centrepiece a letter to Tacitus (*epist.* 1,6). Marchesi's discussion proceeds from the long-recognized allusion of Pliny's phrase *motuque corporis excitetur* (*epist.* 1,6,2) to Tac. *dial.* 36,1 (*motibus excitetur*). On the surface, the letter makes a point about the advantages of bringing writing-tablets on a hunting trip. Inspired by the physical exercise of the trip, the gentleman hunter sitting by the hunting nets in the peace afforded by the surrounding nature and solitude can return home with *plena cerae*. In Marchesi's reading, motivated by the Tacitean intertext, Pliny takes here a clear position on those statements on the decline of oratory that were expressed in the *Dialogus*: "In Pliny, intellectual *cogitatio* is opposed to physical *agitatio* and the paradoxical *quies* of hunters like him is opposed to *motus*: the best thoughts are produced by the mind of someone who sits beside the nets, surrounded by woods, solitude and silence." [...] "Developing Tacitus' point in a new direction, Pliny's text insists that rhetoric does not need, even as a premise to be negated, the political dissensions of old time." (p. 128)

Chapter 4 ("Storming historiography: Pliny's voice in Tacitus' text") discusses Pliny's double role as a potential author of history and as an actor in history written by others. In her analysis of Pliny's famous description of the relationship of, and differences between, oratory and history (*epist.* 5.8, p. 151ff), Marchesi presents the view that Pliny in fact sees the two as closely related, and almost identical (p. 169): "The final remark on the dichotomy, like the one that opened the letter, is formulated in terms that suggest the existence of a profound continuity if not identity between the two. Instead of finding a final element of distinction, Pliny gives them the same qualification, one word in the superlative: *ea dissimilia et hoc ipso diversa, quod maxima*." There is some confusion in Marchesi's discussion on the passage, concerning the notoriously surprising use of the demonstrative pronouns *haec* and *illa* (on which the interpretation of the passage depends). In the course of her discussion, the author seems to assent to the majority opinion on the referents of *haec* and *illa*, *haec* to mark the textually more distant

element (oratory), and *illa* to mark the textually closer referent (history). However, the table that she produces (p. 167) has the situation reversed, so that as the attributes of oratory appear those that Pliny links with *illa* (= history in the majority opinion).

Chapter 5 ("Overcoming Ciceronian anxieties: Pliny's *niche/nike* in literary history") is about Pliny's relationship to the towering figure of Cicero. In Marchesi's reading, Pliny tries to convince his readers that at least in one respect, that of publishing a well-edited and -arranged collection of epistles, he is the superior of the two. Part of this argument is based on a rather speculative interpretation of letters 9,2 (to Sabinus) and 2,2 (to Paulinus). According to Marchesi (p. 229ff), the recipient of letter 9,2 (Sabinus) would have read letter 2,2 (to Paulinus) in its published form, then written to Pliny using phrases and lines of thought from this letter, and finally received the letter 9,2 from Pliny as a response with again the same themes and vocabulary (the wish of receiving long letters, the mutual affection that causes the absence of such letters to be considered an offense and the futility of any excuses for not writing). This is supposed to underline the fact that Pliny's epistles circulated in published form, and thus lifted him above Cicero as a person publishing an epistolographical corpus.

Assessing the process of identifying allusions is difficult in the absence of criteria as to what constitutes an allusion and what does not. Therefore, the acceptability of the proposed instances of intertextuality depends ultimately on the reader's willingness to believe the author's literary reconstruction, and less on anything that would come even close to such concepts as argument, or even less, proof. Allusions differ as to their status. Some are well established and have been acknowledged for a long time, while others are new ones suggested by the author. Certainly, there can be no doubt that intertextuality played a substantial role in Pliny's literary technique, as this volume among others shows. But proving the reconstruction of Pliny's presumed line of thought behind the allusion is a different thing from simply recognizing the intertext, and one where this study does not quite succeed. Usually the invited reading departs too far from what actually stands in the text to be plausible (as in the passage on hunting and writing in letter 5,8, in Marchesi's treatment turned into an argument about the state of oratory, or in the alleged recycling of fairly commonplace epistolary motives in letters 9,2 and 2,2). Furthermore, at times the author seems determined to read in the text the exact opposite of what Pliny actually writes (on oratory and history [p. 169], and the parodic interpretation of 7,4 [p. 78ff]). To scholars working on intertextuality this book undoubtedly has much to offer, but its argument is on most occasions too tenuous to be of much interest to the general reader.

*Hilla Halla-aho*

DAVID RUHNKENIUS: *Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii*. Edidit H. NIKITINSKI. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. K. G. Saur Verlag, Monachii et Lipsiae 2006. ISBN 978-3-598-71322-4. IX, 41 pp. EUR 32.

David Ruhnken, origine Ruhneken, latine Ruhnkenius (1723-1798) Pomeria oriundus, Lugduni Batavorum studiis grammaticis duce Tiberio Hemsterhusio imbutus verus Batavus fit et ad altissimum gradum Parnassi ascendit. Fit princeps criticorum, quam nobilem dignitatem servare scit, praecessor philologorum Germanorum aetatis aureae motus neohumanistici, qui a Friderico Augusto Wolff initium cepit. Quod ei philologia fuit, apparet ex eo quod ei praestantissimus

usus linguae Latinae idem ac ipsa scientia valebat. Scripta ab eodem edita tamen, quamvis sint angustis limitibus, nulla reprehensione digna. Ita hymnus Homericus Cereris, Timaei lexicon, Rutilius Lupus; minus bene cessit historia critica oratorum Graecorum.

Tiberius Hemsterhusius ab amicis et discipulis ut perfectus magister philologiae adoratus est. Ei Ruhnkenius elogium celeberrimum dixit, quod nunc Helgus (Oleg) Nikitinski, de studiis neolatinis iam optime meritis, novis curis in Bibliotheca Teubneriana edidit. *Elogium Tiberii Hemsterhusii* criticae artis exemplum splendidum, quod ad vitam disciplinamque Hemsterhusii illustrandas praesertim, ad historiam litterarum et humanitatem eorum temporum in universum quam maxime confert; porro latinitatis monumentum aere perennius evasisse inter omnes constat.

Nikitinski in textu constituendo duarum *Elogii* editionum rationem habuit, cum ceterae ad rem nihil fere afferant: editionis primae a. 1768, et editionis secundae "castigatoris" a. 1789. Idem, ut ii, qui ante eum scripserunt, iusta de causa textum secundae editionis religiose dat, additis in apparatu critico lectionibus primae. Insuper in bibliotheca universitatis Leidensis incidit in exemplar primae *Elogii* editionis cum adnotationibus manu ipsius Ruhnkenii scriptis (in apparatu critico R insignivit). R intermedium *Elogii* statum repraesentare par est cum editore iudicare.

His fundamentis usus Nikitinski optimam editionem criticam produxit, quam omnibus, qui rebus philologicis et humanioribus saeculi XVIII student, ex imo corde commendamus.

Heikki Solin

RICHARD HUNTER: *Critical Moments in Classical Literature: Studies in the Ancient View of Literature and Its Uses*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-51985-4. VII, 217 pp. GBP 50, USD 95, EUR 56.20.

In the Introduction of this stimulating book, Hunter states that he will investigate "how themes and ideas constantly reappear over time and in different genres" and discuss "antiquity's concern with what literature was for, what its 'uses' were" (p. 8). Indeed, *Critical Moments in Classical Literature* offers an erudite, yet somewhat disjointed, survey on the literary criticism of the ancients from one of the most prominent modern scholars of Greek and Latin literature. The book is divided into six chapters, which respectively explore a single key text, ranging chronologically from Aristophanes to Plutarch. As Hunter admits, the choice of texts discussed is "in part almost inevitable" (p. 8); I doubt if it would be even possible to write a book on this subject without including, say, *The Frogs* or *On the Sublime*. Nevertheless, the inclusion of Euripides' *Cyclops* is certainly a pleasant surprise.

The front cover of the book features a photo of triennial Cambridge Greek Play production of Aristophanes' *Frogs* from 1947 and, not surprisingly, Chapter 1 starts with a discussion on this quintessential text of ancient literary criticism. Hunter draws multiple distinctions between Aeschylus and Euripides by focusing, for instance, on their different choral techniques, but also accentuates Aristophanes' reliance on Plato. Equally, along with Homer (and perhaps with Euripides), Plato lurks in the background of almost every chapter of Hunter's book. The section entitled "Classical Tragedy" contains, in my opinion, a discussion of particular interest; in this section, Hunter elegantly elaborates Dio Chrysostom's thoughts on how to enjoy the classical playwrights.

Chapter 2 investigates Euripides' *Cyclops* principally in terms of rewriting *Odyssey* 9. In this chapter, Hunter detects allusions to the socio-political πράγματα of late fifth-century Athens, especially when Euripides contrasts the barbarous θυμός of the Cyclops with the νόμος of Odysseus. Hunter ascertains this by pointing out that Euripides' *Cyclops* is unfamiliar with wine – unlike the Cyclops in Homer – and therefore with civilised pleasures. Although Chapter 2 makes a pleasing read, it is, nonetheless, not always clear how the *Cyclops* is actually relevant to the ancient literary criticism.

Chapter 3 is divided into two rather independent parts, both of which are loosely based on two previously published articles. The first part begins with a quote from the *Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander* (*Mor.* 854a–c) where Plutarch famously expresses his repulsion for Aristophanes who "satisfies neither the many nor the intelligent" (p. 78). Moreover, Plutarch contrasts the poetry of Aristophanes with a retired ἑταίρα who pretends to be a married woman. Instead, Menander is "a rest for philosophers and men devoted to study" (p. 79). Plutarch is, of course, above all concerned here with social and moral issues, in particular with the identity and παιδεία of Greek elite. Menander is preferred reading for an educated man chiefly on the basis of "successful 'mixing' of his vocabulary into a harmonious whole" (p. 86) which in the first place echoes Plutarch's Platonic ethical ideals. The second part of Chapter 3 investigates Horace's view on the reception of Plautus but furthermore inquires into his relationship with Roman satire and Attic comedy. Hunter shows that Horace's *sermones* were written primarily for a group of like-minded *amici* and that Horace, just like Plutarch, preferred the gentler and civilised (Menandrian) style of critique to the Aristophanes-esque taunts.

In Chapter 4 Hunter inspects Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *On Imitation*, which is preserved mainly in fragments. At first, Hunter explores the introduction of the epitome of the *On Imitation* in which Dionysius tells us two anecdotes. The first one is about an ugly farmer who had beautiful children due to the beautiful images his wife was looking at during her pregnancy. The second anecdote tells a story of the painter Zeuxis who when painting a picture of Helen of Troy, assembled a group of Crotonian virgins to pose as models and then "collected together the features of each which were worth painting into a single bodily image" (p. 110). On the basis of those two anecdotes, Hunter presents Dionysius' insight of a good writer particularly in light of Plato's views on μίμημις; according to Dionysius, a good writer must study the styles and texts of the laudable authors of the past because of their permanent influence on the soul.

Chapter 5 deals with *On the Sublime* by "Longinus". First, Hunter traces the concept of τὸ ὑψηλόν uttered in *On the Sublime* to Aristophanes' *Frogs*. Subsequently, Hunter explores the threat that mannerism poses to sublimity and the relationship with divine epiphanies and poetic loftiness. Then Hunter moves on to a discussion for the reasons why "Longinus" categorised the *Argonautika* of Apollonius of Rhodes as a model of non-sublime epic. Eventually, in a section entitled "Polish without Flaws" Hunter investigates writers whose *oeuvre* is, according to "Longinus", characterised by flawlessness yet still show little sign of sublimity in comparison with those writers who commit faults yet are sublime.

In the concluding Chapter 6, Hunter discusses Plutarch's *How the Young Man Should Study Poetry*, focusing particularly on the question of how the treatise engages in a dialogue with Plato's hostile views on poetry expressed in *Republic* 2 and 3. At the same time, this chapter draws together several ideas that were presented earlier in Hunter's book. Once again, παιδεία is at stake and that is Plutarch's answer to the fundamental question "What is poetry for?" Hunter accentuates this when he writes: "Plutarch is aiming to reproduce his own kind, an élite class whose cultural power depends on shared values" (p. 171). Therefore, Plutarch's

desire is not only to prepare the young men for public life, but also to solidify the Greek élite under Roman rule. Furthermore, Plutarch holds that the νέοι should study poetry under the guidance of a knowledgeable teacher for the purpose of training their κρίσις.

Even if the cohesion of the book is at times slightly vague as a result of Hunter's technique of using a large number of texts when discussing a main text, one must recognize Hunter for his impressive breadth of knowledge which manifests itself on every page of *Critical Moments in Classical Literature*. All in all, this detailed and thoroughly engaging book is an important contribution to our understanding of ancient literary criticism. The book ends with a bibliography, an *index locorum*, and a general index. The editorial work is impeccable.

*Iiro Laukola*

RENÉ NÜNLIST: *The Ancient Critic at Work. Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-85058-2. X, 447 pp. GBP 60, USD 108.

In recent years, the interest in Greek literary scholia has grown in a notable way. In his new book, René Nünlist examines the scholia as ancient literary criticism, demonstrating their remarkable level of literary-theoretical sophistication.

N.'s focus on approaches and methods of literary criticism inevitably dictates which scholia and authors are studied most profoundly: thus scholia on Homer are accorded much attention, while scholia on Hesiod, the classical dramatists, Pindar, Callimachus, Theocritus, Apollonius of Rhodes and – as a prose exception – Lucian are also discussed.

The book is divided into two parts. In the first part, N. concentrates on concepts of literary criticism which ancient scholars did not consider typical of a certain author or genre. Twelve topics are discussed: plot; time; narrative and speech; focalisation (which is largely based on N.'s 2003 article "The Homeric scholia on focalization" in *Mnemosyne* 56); effects on the reader; gaps and omissions (in which the mechanism κατὰ τὸ σιωπώμενον is studied especially laudably); poetic license; authentication; style; allusions, hints and hidden meanings, characters; mythography. In the second part, N. studies literary devices considered by the scholiasts to be typical of a particular poet or genre. This part includes seven chapters (of which six deal with Homer): The gods in Homer; Homeric similes; epithets; type scenes; Homeric speeches; reverse order and (the non-Homer chapter) staging, performance and dramaturgy. Throughout the book the literary concepts are surveyed with numerous, well-contextualized examples.

Although the examined literary concepts are tied to modern literary-theoretical discussion, N.'s study does not demand a specialist's knowledge of the field as none of the key concepts are left unexplained.

The decision to arrange the material by literary concepts rather than by Greek terms is a successful one. However, something can be said about the choice of topics. The book lacks chapters on topics such as "space" ("time" being granted its own chapter) and "meter", yet matters like acting and even décor are discussed.

N. pays (consciously, see 18–19) little attention to the authorship and classification of

different types of scholia, which impedes the book's usefulness as a medium for understanding the history of literary criticism.

Short conclusions are included at the end of each chapter, but the book lacks a substantial general conclusion. Instead, a very brief epilogue is presented. Due to the mosaic-like structure of the book, this decision may seem questionable, although it is not really a major detriment. Despite this minor annoyance, the book is conveniently reader-friendly. N.'s style of writing is clear and sharp, all quoted scholia are translated, a glossary of Greek terms (of almost twenty pages) is included, as well as a thematic index and an *index locorum* and a list of published scholia editions. The strengths of the book readily overweight its weaknesses, making it recommendable for all those interested in ancient views on literature.

Kalle Knaapi

ANNA MARIA WASYL: *Genres Rediscovered: Studies in Latin Miniature Epic, Love Elegy, and Epigram of the Romano-Barbaric Age*. Jagiellonian University Press, Kraków 2011. ISBN 978-83-233-3089-9. 290 pp. EUR 10.

Anna Maria Wasyl (hereafter W.) has contributed a timely discussion of several writers of Late Latin poetry, exploring the "change and continuity" in their rediscoveries of genres employed in what she terms the "classical phase" of Roman literature (read "late Republican, Augustan and early Imperial Latin literature") (pp. 7–8). The genres she treats are miniature epic and love elegy in Parts One and Two respectively (W. is aware of the problematic nature of the *epyllion's* status as a non-genre in antiquity, see pp. 13–29), and in Part Three that of epigram. The authors she treats are the most representative of their respective genres in this period: Dracontius (and the anonymous author of the *Aegritudo Perdicae*), Maximianus, Luxorius, the anonymous author of the *Sylloge*, and Ennodius. Each poet's geographical locale (Dracontius, the author of the *Sylloge*, and Luxorius from Vandal Africa, Maximianus and Ennodius from Ostrogothic Italy) has provided W. with the titular designation: "Romano-Barbaric". W.'s contention that one of the most important features of late antique poetics are works produced "that are hardly interpretable in 'old' generic terms" (p. 7) seems a bit strained in light of recent discussions of generic engagements with one another in the earlier "classical phase"; see, e.g., Stephen Harrison, *Generic Enrichment in Vergil and Horace* (Oxford, 2007).

The title of Part One, "The Miniature Epic in Vandal Africa and the Heritage of a 'Non-Genre'", alludes to David F. Bright's 1987 monograph, *The Miniature Epic in Vandal Africa*, one of the most important inaugural studies of Dracontius in English, one which W. is in constant dialogue with in her own engagement with Dracontius' *epyllia* (p. 11). W. limits her discussion to four of Dracontius' poems: *Hylas* (from the poet's juvenilia), *De raptu Helenae*, *Medea* (all from the *Romulea*), as well as, the *Orestis Tragoedia*. The selection is understandable, but as these are the poems that have received the most attention from scholars, some comment on the rest of Dracontius' neglected corpus would have been welcome. After defining the so-called genre of the miniature epic/*epyllion* (pp. 13–29), W. treats key aspects of this "genre" in the aforementioned poems. She deals with the presence of the "poet-narrator" in his work, the antagonistic relationship between miniature epic and Homeric epic (hence W.'s



designation of the *epyllion* as "non-Homeric" epic; 49f.), and Dracontius' "mixing of genres" such as miniature epic with lyric or tragedy. Part One concludes with W. turning her attention to the *Aegritudo Perdicae*, a poem that, she finds, while inferior to those by Dracontius not only in "range of poetic talent" and "depth of moral reflection", can nonetheless be read with "certain pleasure" (p. 109).

Part Two, "The Elegy without Love: Maximianus and his *Opus*", treats Maximianus as a "bold translator" of the traditional Augustan elegy into a different culture (p. 135). W. emphasises that Maximianus' poetics is polyphonic – diversity of themes, moods, and forms is *the* characteristic of his work in general (p. 120). In the Christian era, it is tempting to interpret elements of the poems through a certain moralistic lens, however, W. rightly steers the reader onto a middle road. Love is not read as either wholly similar to what is presented in earlier Latin love elegy, or as a spiritual Christian love (p. 135). What W. rightly concludes is that Maximianus' poems provide no simple messages on love and old age (p. 161).

In Part Three, "The Roman Epigram in the Romano-Barbaric World", W. turns to the final genre she considers: epigram. After providing a summary of the genre from Catullus, via Martial, W. then shifts her focus onto Luxorius, the "Carthaginian Martial" (p. 169). For W. Luxorius is comparable to Martial particularly in his "clear vision" of the genre, for, "like Martial, he seems more precise than his fellow litterateurs in describing the genre" they practiced (p. 217). This section also examines the works of the anonymous author of the *Sylloge* (published by Riese as cc. 90–197), and the Christian poet, Ennodius. W.'s meagre conclusion (p. 236) that the author of the *Sylloge* tells us even less than Luxorius does of life in North Africa – that the "action" of the poems occurs outside any specific context – should not detract the reader for her discussion of the aesthetic qualities of the poems themselves.

Despite her worthwhile and in-depth discussions of the poets and poems she has chosen to examine, often W.'s conclusions are not very profound. However, this estimation should not be read as a caution to actually engaging with the arguments presented in this monograph, but rather as a statement to signal to the potential reader that the real substance and worth of the book (apart from the impressive and very useful bibliography) are to be found in the details, and exemplary discussions of the poems themselves, and often not in the concluding remarks. While the poets that W. has discussed occasionally form a sort of "postscript" to their predecessors – usually only by the negative designator "imitators" – W. has confirmed their importance in any genealogical study of Latin literature.

Jeffrey Murray

ISOBEL HURST: *Victorian Women Writers and the Classics: The Feminine of Homer. Classical Presences*. Oxford University Press, Oxford – New York 2006. ISBN 978-0-19-928351-4. VIII, 253 pp. GBP 60, USD 85.

*Victorian Women Writers and the Classics: The Feminine of Homer* charts the exposure to and influence of Classical literature on literary women, both authors and fictional characters, during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The book is arranged thematically rather than chronologically, but the theme that Isobel Hurst weaves throughout the book is women's "special" relationship towards the Classics compared to men, derived from differences in education and gendered attitudes towards life experiences and social circumstances.

After a short Introduction (pp. 1–10), the book commences with a discussion of education ("Encounters with the Ancient World in Nineteenth-Century Literary Culture", pp. 11–53). It at first sets out to describe the ways in which boys and young men were taught their Classics from schoolroom to university, to establish the "norm" against which women's experiences should be contrasted. Hurst chooses to emphasize the system as repressive and stultifying, initially quoting Byron's "drill'd dull lesson" (later echoed as a heading for a sub-chapter). According to Hurst, the way in which boys were taught their grammar and literature was by rote and repetition, which deprived many of enjoyment of the Classics, which in some cases had to be rediscovered later in life. This Hurst wants to deliberately contrast with the way in which girls might have learned Classics, which was always out of personal interest, and lacking the formality and rigor which would on the one hand ensure impeccable grammar (a frequent criticism against women scholars) but might stifle enthusiasm at the same time. Hurst sets out a nice historical outline of the development of Classical education in Britain, which is paralleled in the second chapter by a historical outline of the development of Classical education for women. Chapter 1 concludes by leaving the sphere of male education and looking at ways that women who did not have the opportunity to learn Classical languages for themselves might have been exposed to the Classics: through ancient works in translation, historical fiction, and travel.

In Chapter 2 ("Classical Training for the Woman Writer", pp. 52–100), Hurst presents a loose historical arc of the development of women's education in the Classics from informal beginnings to university tuition. The chapter is divided into sub-chapters: the first ("Studying at home") looking at the support women might find from male members of their family, i.e., fathers, brothers or guardians – or, later in life, husbands. Hurst looks at the development of formal education for girls from the ladies seminaries "which provided social rather than intellectual training" (p. 70) to the raising of academic standards in girls' schools founded in the 1840s and 1850s, and the eventual preparation of girls to take university entrance exams. Latin was prevalent while Greek was a "luxury", and books like Magnall's *Historical and Miscellaneous Questions for the Use of Young People* ensured a moralizing slant to the study of the ancient world. Nevertheless, Hurst notes that the women likely to attend the newly-founded women's colleges were more likely to come from an upper-class, academic or clerical background and to have been educated at home, rather than acquiring a formal education in girls' schools. Hurst emphasizes the need that the first women attending Oxbridge felt to do well in the traditionally "masculine" spheres, i.e., Greek and mathematics, and the popularity of the image of Atalanta for claiming a stake in the traditionally male arenas of both Classical learning and athletics. After a brief discussion of Jane Ellen Harrison – the only "academic" Classicist to be discussed in the book – and her impact on more literary writers of the Victorian period, Hurst proceeds to discuss the performing of Greek tragedy at universities, and, finally, a provocative section titled "Oxford and the Decline of Classics", which culminates in Dorothy L. Sayers rejection of Classical studies in favor of English, and completes a pattern explored earlier in the section on men's education.

From World War I and the rejection of the Classical model of the hero, we skip backwards in time to Elizabeth Barrett Browning and her aspirations to be the "feminine of Homer", grappling with the epic and heroic modes ("Unscrupulously Epic", pp. 101–29). Hurst argues that Barrett Browning deliberately distanced herself from the gendered literary form that is epic, by focusing on women's issues and perspectives of significant historical events, she was "revising epic tradition", but was nonetheless "enabled by Homer" and Andromache's speech

in the Iliad, as well as emphasis in Euripidean tragedy on the fate of Troy's women.

From there to "Classics and the Family in the Victorian Novel", which marks a change in direction from a biographical and historical emphasis to looking at literary characters – the creations of Victorian writers in Chapter 4 (pp. 130–63), and their responses to female characters from Classical literature in Chapter 5 ("Greek Heroines and the Wrongs of Women", pp. 164–91). The fictional characters in Chapter 4 seem mostly similar to their creators and their experiences introduced in Chapter 2, although Hurst argues that the novels portray an "unhappiness and familial hostility" towards women's studies that may not reflect reality (p. 60). There is much in Chapter 4 in terms of content and themes that links directly with Chapter 2, both largely centering on access to education and attitudes towards women possessing knowledge of the Classics, that one wonders why the two chapters were not amalgamated and treated together.

Chapter 5 deals with the treatment by Victorian writers of Greek heroines – Aspasia and Xanthippe as wives of intellectuals, Medea and Alcestis as cases for divorce reform. Hurst argues that they are mainly recast as a mirror of the times. This chapter is broken up in the middle by another out-of-place discourse on elements of Greek tragedy found in the novels of George Eliot. Chapter 6 takes on the task of "Revising the Victorians" (pp. 192–219) by looking at the writings of Oxbridge-educated women of the 1930s, such as May Sinclair, Vera Brittain and Dorothy L. Sayers, and the trauma of World War I and the changing sexual politics (often expressed through Classical allusion) and attitudes towards academic women of post-war society. The book concludes with a brief look at Virginia Woolf's essay "On Not Knowing Greek"; Hurst concludes that Woolf is describing the study of Greek not as a hopeless cause but as a crucial element in the development of woman writers of the previous generations.

In essence, the title of the book, *Victorian Women Writers and the Classics*, encompasses three separate questions, all of which the book attempts to answer: 1) what was Victorian women's access to the Classics? 2) How did the Classics affect Victorian women's writing? 3) How did Victorian women write about the Classics? The questions are interesting and the answers fascinating. The problem is that these questions are not treated in turn, although they are treated distinctly in the various sub-chapters. The organization of the book is such that we jump between these very different discussions in a way that leads to both discontinuity and redundancy. This makes the book rather repetitive to read straight through, and then a little difficult to navigate when going back looking for something specific. One also wonders who the intended audience is. Although published in the series "Classical Presences", it seems that a background in the Victorian novels discussed will allow one to get more out of the book than familiarity with the Classics – merely having read *Wuthering Heights* as a teenager doesn't quite cut it. There are a few quotations in Greek and Latin, but these are supplied with some manner of translation. There is an index, predominantly of names of Victorian authors, although my few attempts to use the index to trace back references to authors who pop up again several chapters later were unsuccessful.

The problems of internal organization notwithstanding, the book presents a fascinating study of women's education and women's writing in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which should lead to a new appreciation of these authors' achievements and literary output.

Marlena Whiting

*A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Vol. V.A: Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia.* Edited by T. CORSTEN. Clarendon Press, Oxford 2010. ISBN 978-0-19-956743-0. XXXVIII, 496 pp. GBP 125, USD 225.

This new volume of *LGPN* covers Pontus, Bithynia, Mysia, the Troad, Aeolis, Ionia, and Lydia, and will prove an invaluable source of information not only for those studying ancient onomastics but also for epigraphists, linguists, papyrologists, historians and cultural sociologists. In the Preface and in the introductory chapter, Elaine Matthews and the editors discuss e.g., the nature of prosopography and the Latin names attested in Greek sources as well as the role of ethnics, patronymics and the geographical distribution of names in this area. The bibliography reflects the comprehensiveness of the source material. A special feature of this volume is the heavy use of numismatics which offers more information than seen in the previous volumes of *LGPN*. The cities and centres within regions are arranged according to an alphabetical, rather than geographical order, thus following the system of the *SEG*.

The classification of Miletus will possibly raise some discussion: The reader learns from the Introduction that this city – generally regarded as a characteristically Ionian *polis* – will only be included in the chapter on Caria in the forthcoming volume V.B (Caria to Cilicia), this decision being based on both geographical and other grounds.

With regard to the number of occurrences of names in volume V.A, Ἀπολλώνιος has the greatest number of attestations (1354). Another theophoric name, Ἀρτεμίδωρος, belonging to the category of compound names (*Vollnamen*), occurs 678 times, the largest number of occurrences of this name in all of the *LGPN* volumes, of which 124 are attested in Ephesus – the city of Artemis – and its environs. These figures reflect the prominence of this name in Asia Minor. The female variant Ἀρτεμιδώρα has 31 attestations (of which 3 are in Ephesus). The female dynastic name Στρατονίκη with geographical associations in both Caria and Lydia (92 occurrences in Lydia) is the most common (151 attestations in all) of the female names. The *LGPN* project also offers an excellent electronic database with search tools that give information on the documentation of names and offers statistics which cast light on the vast source material: the present volume V.A includes a total of 51,293 individuals, the number of different male and female names being 8096.

If one special name were to be brought into focus from the volumes of *LGPN*, one could, for example, examine the occurrences of the relatively rare Greek personal name Βασιλίσκος. This name which belongs to the large group of Greek personal names derived from animals has previously been attested only twice in *LGPN* vol. III.A (in Lipara and Zankle-Messina in Sicily) and in Cimmerian Bosphorus with 6 further attestations (vol. IV, with one possible occurrence in Scythia Minor); the present volume V.A now adds two further attestations, both late and from Lydia (Philadelphia and Sardis).

At the end of the volume there is a useful Reverse index of the names. The *LGPN* programme on Asia Minor will continue with two more volumes which cover the rest of the area of Asia Minor; the ambiguous ethnics in this region will be included with other undifferentiated cases in volume VI of the *LGPN*.

*Kati Näätsaari*

J. N. ADAMS: *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC–AD 600*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-88149-4. XIX, 828 pp. GBP 110.

One thing is conspicuous in the previous scholarship on the regional variation of Latin. Scholars who have studied the subject, especially from inscriptions, usually lacked understanding of either general linguistics or statistics, or both, even if they may have been excellent philologists and epigraphists. With his colossal new book, J. N. Adams (A.) now fixes this overall unsatisfactory state of affairs. The book starts with an important methodological introduction (1–36). The central question is not whether there was geographical variation in Latin, but how that could or can be traced in the written corpus of the highly standardized Latin language. As linguists well know, there is not a single documented language in the world that does not have social or regional variation. This observation makes it most unlikely that Latin would have been different from all other languages. But due to the heavy standardization of Latin, the question remains, whether regional variation can be detected in the written corpus of Latin, i.e. in the literature, in the inscriptions, in the papyri, in the ostraca, in the curse tablets.

A. brings forth innumerable observations on what cannot or what can be considered regional variation or diversification of Latin. The presentation of all Latin evidence is his main scope, and the book is accordingly well-documented. As the book is full of various observations, one can sometimes disagree on a detail or two, but due to A's exceptional expertise his argumentation normally seems absolutely convincing and can in any case never be ignored in future research.

The focus of the introduction is on definitions such as those of dialects and accents, standard varieties and standardization, isolation and archaisms and regions or areas of the Roman Empire. The main questions are listed as follows: 1) Is there satisfactory evidence for the regional diversification of Latin? 2) What factors might have contributed to regional variation? 3) Can texts ever be assigned a place of composition on linguistic evidence alone? 4) Is there any evidence from the Roman period that is relevant to the formation of the Romance languages, and 5) What attitudes to regional varieties can be identified? Did these influence the language in any way? The introduction ends with a research plan and observations on its limitations.

Chapters II and X deal with the republican and the imperial epigraphy, respectively. In Chapters III and IV explicit evidence on the volume's subject is chronologically discussed. Then follow chapters on Gaul, Spain, Italy, Africa and Britain (V–IX). A concluding chapter (XI) summarizes the results admirably.

The problems of literature as evidence for local variation cannot be ignored. The fact that the literary sources are based on manuscript tradition makes the appraisal of what the ancient authors actually wrote somewhat inaccurate. For instance, editors (cf. *tacite correxi* in older editions) may have "corrected" readings of mss. considered as "wrong" to more approved ones. We really can thus not be certain what the original variant of the dative ending *-ae* of the earliest writers Livius Andronicus, Plautus Ennius was (see p. 50).

A. tells us that he generally does not find imperial inscriptions satisfactory as evidence for the regional diversity of the language. The inscriptions are, however, discussed in detail; A. has chosen to exclude the Greek-speaking East from the data as he does not think that the area can be statistically informative as regards Latin and its local features. It is true, as A. emphasizes, that the same banal misspellings turn up right across the Empire.

The problems with statistics are obvious. Consider that the Roman Empire has  $N$  surviving inscriptions overall and a certain area  $P$  seems to have more of the linguistic feature  $x$ , which is a variant of the feature  $y$ , than appears to be the case in  $N$ . Thus we suspect that  $x$  is a dialectal or local feature at  $P$ . We start by counting the frequency of  $x$  at  $P$  and find that there really exists a fair number of  $x$ , and because of this we claim that  $x$  really is a local feature at  $P$ . We usually do not compare the result with the frequency of  $x$  in the whole  $N$ ; but even if we do, it is not statistically meaningful to count the frequency of  $x$  at  $P$  without at least counting the frequency of  $y$ , the variant of  $x$ , at  $P$  as well. However, even that would not give statistically reliable evidence about  $x$  being a local feature, since we should count the relation of  $x$  to  $y$  both at  $P$  and in  $N$  as a whole, to start with.

This still is not enough, however. Even if this comparative analysis is much more advanced as regards the possible results in detecting local variation, it still has a weakness, though it can give us hints that  $x$  is a local variant of  $y$  at  $P$ . However, as the survival of the archaeological material is not random, but depends on complex patterns that are affected by many factors at the same time, the odds should be tested with more refined methods. They could be tested, for example, with the Yule's  $Q$  that is based on the odds ratio and a symmetric measure taking on values between  $-1$  and  $+1$ , where one implies perfect negative or positive association and zero no association.

Using the more simple comparative analysis (see above) A. is able to show severe weaknesses in the analyses of epigraphic data by previous scholars, especially by J. Herman and P. Gaeng. He focuses basically on the variation of  $e$  for  $i$  and  $b$  for  $v$  and gets ratios that can be considered significant. Thus it seems, for example, that the Latin in Africa (for the literary evidence, see p. 259–70) really differed from that in, for example, Gaul. Africa seems to have had a five-vowel system corresponding to that of Sardinia, where five long vowels merged with the corresponding short ones. Even the more simple comparative analysis of inscriptions seems thus to show that the merger of, for example,  $e$  for  $i$  had not taken place in Africa.

A. is very thorough in analyzing the details and he also reminds the reader about multi-causality although he sometimes rejects the possibility of it (p. 63). As it is, the same linguistic feature can have different origins. The reasons for one feature existing in  $P$  and the same feature in  $Q$  can be various (see for example  $e$  for  $i$ , p. 71, and the nominative plural  $-as$ , p. 675) and what in one place can be due to a language contact, can in another place be due to internal variation and diachronic change. The variation can also be very local, especially in places that are geographically difficult to access. A. concludes plausibly that "innovations are constantly taking place locally. It is as well to get away from the idea that regional features necessarily show up over extensive areas ..." (p. 701). On the other hand, if an object is said to be made in Rome, the inscription on it still may not represent a typical Roman variety at all, since the writer/cutter may have his origin elsewhere, see, for example, p. 69 on *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 561 (= *ILLRP* 1197). The cist was evidently made in Rome but found at Praeneste and has a variety not typical of Rome: *Novios Plautios med Romai fecid. / Dindia Macolnia fileai dedit*. A. rejects the inscription as evidence of Praenestan local variety (*fileai*) on the grounds that it was made in Rome and both lines of the text are written by the same cutter.

I have here had the opportunity to highlight only some aspects of this extremely rich book. One cannot but admire the achievement and conclude that A.'s research has been carried out taking account of all existing sources and that it does not seem possible to find a piece of evidence not dealt with by A. In analyzing his sources A. does unveil the problematic nature of

inscriptions as evidence for local variation, but he also, e.g., discusses the question of whether a literary work can be placed geographically on internal linguistic evidence alone. The answer to the latter question is that this is possible, but only seldom and certainly not in a very accurate way.

Martti Leiwo

AXEL SCHÖNBERGER: *Die Ars maior des Aelius Donatus: Lateinischer Text und kommentierte deutsche Übersetzung einer antiken Latein grammatik des 4. Jahrhunderts für den fortgeschrittenen Anfängerunterricht*. Bibliotheca Romanica et Latina 7. Valentia GmbH, Francofurti Moenani 2009. ISBN 978-3-936132-32-8. 422 S. EUR 198.

Donatus' two grammars, the *Ars minor* and *Ars maior*, are the most famous grammars of the Roman world. They were in continuous use up to the sixteenth century, and provided a model for a large number of other works well into the early modern period; the *Donatus minor* was one of the first books printed by Gutenberg. The *Ars minor*, designed for beginners, deals only with the parts of speech, in question-and-answer form, in eleven pages in Keil's edition. The *Ars maior*, a more advanced work, is divided into three books, the first dealing with items smaller than the word, the second with the parts of speech and the third with stylistic issues. The last section began to circulate as an independent stylistic manual in the Middle Ages, known as the *Barbarismus*. Thus, we are dealing with texts of enormous importance not only for the teaching of grammar but also for literary studies. To my knowledge, Schönberger's German translation of the *Ars maior* is the first translation of Donatus' more advanced grammar into any modern language. The author had already translated the *Ars minor* into German in 2008.

Schönberger points out that for centuries there was no need for translations since Donatus' Latin is quite straightforward, and students had a sufficient knowledge of Latin. Today, however, knowledge of Latin has declined, and therefore it is important to render these seminal texts of Western grammar more accessible to modern students. The book consists of a foreword, the Latin text and German translation, commentary to the text and the translation, and a bibliography. There are no indices. The Latin text is based on Keil's edition, with minor modifications (p. 338), and Keil's text is scanned in the Appendix. The more recent edition by Louis Holtz is protected by copyrights and could therefore not be used. A separate chapter, "Zur Begrifflichkeit und Definitionen", surveys the salient features of each section on the parts of speech.

Donatus' text requires interpretation and commentary for several reasons, one of them being its telegraphic brevity. His work is so concise that it can indeed be called a *compendium* (p. 337), and he is often content to introduce a grammatical concept by merely quoting one or two examples. Because of this, Donatus' grammars required commentary even in his own time. Servius wrote the first commentary on Donatus in the late fourth century and henceforth every generation of grammarians until the early modern age reworked this concise manual for their own ends or wrote commentaries on it. The work also requires explanation because of its many references to Classical literature, including names of gods, mythological figures, historical places and so on. Moreover, some ancient grammatical terms have since fallen out of use, and need to be explained. Such is the case with *epikoinon*, for instance. Here translating

Donatus' own explanation suffices: "Es gibt das Epikoinon oder Mischgeschlecht, das unter einer Bezeichnung Männchen und Weibchen zusammenfasst, wie *passer* und *aquila*." (p. 55). The same is true of *ketika*: "Es gibt auch *ketika*, das heisst besitzanzeigende Nomina" (p. 45). Schönberger's comments are short and lucid and generally sufficient, e.g., Themisto: "Tochter des Hypseus, eine Nereide, die Pausanias zufolge Homers Mutter gewesen sein soll" (p. 220). However, here and there one might have wished for an additional comment, especially as regards philosophical terms. For instance, the two types of relational nouns (*nomina ad aliquid dicta* and *nomina ad aliquid qualiter se habentia*, p. 47) are probably alien to modern students. The former nouns are explained as "Nomina, die einen Bezug auf etwas ausdrücken" and the latter as "Nomina, die in einem qualitativen Verhältnis zu etwas stehen", the examples being "left" and "right".

Nouns are divided into proper and common by Donatus, but he also quotes a division into three, *nomen*, *vocabulum* and *appellatio*, which can be traced back to the second century grammarian Scaurus. The "Rufwort" as a translation for *vocabulum* – a common noun signifying things – strikes me as odd, since what first springs into mind on hearing this word is interjection rather than noun. But, of course, *rufen* is equivalent to *nennen* in one of its senses, and "Nennwort" could not be used because it stands for *appellatio* and *nomen appellativum*, terms for common nouns. In this case, it might have been a good idea to explain the motivation for this translation which is not immediately obvious to the reader. Schönberger does not reflect upon the general principles of translation in this volume.

Schönberger is a professional linguist and a classical scholar, which enables him to offer a highly adequate commentary as regards Donatus' linguistic framework and the historical context of his manual. The Latin text in the present volume marks some improvements with respect to the text of Keil's edition, by using many visual aids in the German text, such as, for instance, the subtitles and the detailed list contents (pp. 177–98). The italicized and indented examples also make the text more attractive to a modern reader. Thus, this work together with S.'s translation of the *Donatus minor* is an important contribution to the educational works on the history of linguistics. With his two Donatus translations, S. has initiated an important project, which has already found continuation in the translations of Priscian's grammatical works. Five volumes have come out over the last few years: *Priscians Darstellung der lateinischen Präpositionen: lateinischer Text und kommentierte deutsche Übersetzung des 14. Buches der Institutiones grammaticae* (Frankfurt am Main, 2008), *Priscians Darstellung der lateinischen Pronomina: lateinischer Text und kommentierte deutsche Übersetzung des 12. und 13. Buches der Institutiones grammaticae* (Frankfurt am Main, 2009), *Priscians Darstellung der lateinischen Konjunktionen: lateinischer Text und kommentierte deutsche Übersetzung des 16. Buches der Institutiones grammaticae* (Frankfurt am Main, 2010), *Priscians Darstellung der lateinischen Syntax (I): lateinischer Text und kommentierte deutsche Übersetzung des 17. Buches der Institutiones grammaticae* (2010), *Priscians Darstellung des silbisch gebundenen Tonhöhenmorenakzents des Lateinischen: lateinischer Text und kommentierte deutsche Übersetzung des Buches über den lateinischen Akzent* (2010). Completing this project will be a great service to the community of historians of linguistics by rendering the ancient grammatical sources more accessible to scholars wishing to be introduced into the study of the history of Latin grammar in any historical period, not only Antiquity.



*Littera legitera. Testi grammaticali latini dell'Alto Medioevo.* Presentazione e edizione critica a cura di LUIGI MUNZI. AION – Annali dell'Università di Napoli 'L'Orientale', Quaderni 11. Istituto Universitario Orientale, Napoli 2007. ISSN 1128-7217. 180 pp. EUR 48.

This book includes a collection of early medieval treatises on the letters (*litterae*) of the alphabet, many of which are edited for the first time here. Letters were also among the topics discussed in grammars, but these treatises focus on their distinctly Christian associations, which largely drew inspiration from Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*. These Christian themes, such as the invention of letters and their names in the three sacred languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, were immensely popular, and found their way onto the margins of numerous grammatical manuscripts in the eighth and ninth centuries in the form of glosses.

Nine very short treatises are edited here, together with two texts dealing with rhetorical exercises. The first treatise, entitled *De littera*, deals with the origin of writing, and is preserved in ms. *Bern, Burgerbibliothek 207*, f. 112r–113r. This text was partly edited by Hagen, who misinterpreted it as part of the grammar of Peter of Pisa, two copies of which are contained in the same manuscript. The editor has chosen to alter the unclassical graphia very little, and to avoid normalizing the spellings of proper names. Thus, we have, for instance, *Cathumus* pro *Cadmus*, *Fenices* pro *Phoenices*. However, when one and the same text makes use of different graphiae, as in *atomus* and *athomus*, the classical form is preferred. The second text, *Expositio de litteris quomodo nominantur*, is copied in three manuscripts, ms. *Bern, Burgerbibliothek 417*, ff. 94r–95r, ms. *Paris, BN, lat. 13025*, ff. 25v–26r, and *Vatican BAV, lat. 1750*, ff. 142r–142v. It deals with the invention of letters in the three sacred languages.

The third treatise entitled *De littera* is edited from ms. *Vatican BAV, lat. 6018*, ff. 51r–54r. Focussing on each letter in turn, it treats their origin, adding biblical and mystical allusions, along with miscellaneous other topics in a peculiar style, which uses a large number of both learned words and linguistic novelties (which vividly remind us of the creative use of language by Virgilius Maro the Grammarian). Copied in the same codex f. 54r and in ms. *Paris, BN, lat. 2772*, f. 89r is another treatise entitled *De littera*, which first treats issues in a more traditional grammatical vein, offering definitions of the letter, *elimentum* and *vox*, and then proceeds to deal with the three sacred languages. On the same folio of the Vatican codex is an even shorter account of twenty-one Greek letters, for which the Hebrew equivalents are given and a Latin interpretation.

The sixth treatise, ms. *Vatican BAV, lat. 6018*, ff. 97r–97v, entitled *In nomine domini incipiunt interrogationes seu responsiones* it is pointed out that in order to understand the Bible perfectly, one has to start from the study of letters. The two treatises *De littera* in ms. *Leiden, Bibliothek der Rijksuniversiteit, B.P.L. 135*, ff. 93v–94v and *Expositio de litteris* in ms. *Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. CXII*, ff. 3v–12v present an abbreviated version of a text edited by Hagen from ms. *Bern, Burgerbibliothek 417*, ff. 104r–109r (*Anecdota Helvetica, Grammatici Latini* 8, pp. 302–5).

This volume concludes with two treatises dealing with rhetorical exercises. These exercises take the form of an introductory phrase – a claim or an accusation put forward by a hypothetical opponent – followed by a series of possible responses by the defendant to this accusation. In the first treatise the interlocutor may choose how to defend himself against the claim "People are criticizing you" (*Obtrectant tibi homines*), by saying, for instance, that "The one who judges another, condemns himself" (*Qui alium iudicat, se damnat*). This treatise *Ob-*

*trectatorum murmurosa garrulitas et rationis laudabile consilium* is known from mss. *Paris, BN, lat. 2449*, f. 48r, *Vatican BAV, Regin.lat. 1625*, f. 65rb, and *Paris, BN, lat. 4886*, ff. 61v–62r. In the other treatise, copied in ms. *Paris, BN, lat. 4886*, ff. 62r–62v, the debate is depicted as taking place between a Christian and an unbeliever (*infidelis*), and thirty-seven answers are given to the introductory phrase "You will die" (*Moriturus es*), such as "It is then, I believe, I begin to live" and "Then I will be freed from the present evils, and enjoy the eternal goods".

Luigi Munzi is an experienced editor who specializes in early medieval grammar. Not surprisingly, then, his editorial work is based on a very sober method, and the commentary provided on each text is highly professional. These texts show that grammatical and biblical exegesis developed in parallel in the Early Middle Ages. Consequently, many features of biblical exegesis came to be transferred to grammatical texts. It was commonplace in medieval Bible study that, in addition to the immediate, literal sense of the text, a deeper meaning must be sought. The grammarians gradually transferred this method even to the study of grammatical texts, and began to approach them as if they had a deeper meaning, comparable to the figurative sense of the sacred text. The present treatises introduce many Christian themes as they pertain to one particular grammatical topic, the letters of the alphabet. Here we are dealing with the early stage in the process of Christian learning, which starts from the lowest things and gradually rises to the heights of Christian Wisdom and philosophical contemplation.

*Anneli Luhtala*

*Ancient Graffiti in Context*. Edited by JENNIFER BAIRD – CLAIRE TAYLOR. Routledge, Abingdon – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-415-87889-0. XV, 243 pp. GBP 70.

The main idea behind the collective volume *Ancient Graffiti in Context* is to view the different kinds of graffiti from across the Greco-Roman world side by side and put them in a wider context. As defined by Rebecca Benefiel on p. 20 of the volume, graffiti are "writings or drawings that have been incised into a surface". Zadorojnyi and Chaniotis elaborate on the "nature" of graffiti. For Chaniotis, graffiti are "images or texts of unofficial character scratched on physical objects whose primary function was not to serve as bearers of such images and inscriptions" (p. 196); Zadorojnyi points out that the primary characteristic of graffiti in societies of mass literacy is their spatial insubordination, which means that they appear "on surfaces *where* they have no right to be" (p. 110, emphasis by the author), and that the situation in ancient societies was not entirely different. Excellent points, but for anyone who wants to create a corpus of graffiti, Benefiel's definition remains useful, as terms like "official" might cause difficulty in the ancient context. In this volume, attention is mostly given to *texts* rather than images, although some articles have a wider focus.

There are three chapters on Pompeii or its surroundings, by Rebecca R. Benefiel, Katherine V. Huntley, and Peter Keegan. Benefiel analyzes the graffiti found in the House of the Four Styles. She describes it as a "moderate-sized home" and wishes to contrast it with the other dwellings where graffiti have been studied in a similar fashion such as the House of Maius Castricius in Pompeii and the Villa San Marco at Stabiae. However, although the house might not be as large as some others, it is far from modest with wall decorations in all four styles as well as a rather handsome atrium tetrastylus. The ground plan and the decora-

tive apparatus make the house definitely an elite residence. Benefiel's analysis of the dialogues between writings and writers is interesting, but does not take time into account – the house features all four Pompeian wall painting styles and that means that the plasters on which the graffiti have been inscribed have been laid in a period of possibly more than two centuries. Were all the graffiti really contemporary and written by people residing in the house at the same time? Were the dialogues separated by decades or even more than a century? The two largest clusters of texts are in Rooms 9 and 13, which have been decorated in the Second Style, that is, in the first century BC. The temporal aspect is, of course, difficult to take into account but here it might influence the results. Furthermore, the graffiti at a low level in the west wall of Room 13 are suggested to have been written from a reclining position, but considering the size and the decorative apparatus of the room, it would seem unlikely to have a couch positioned right by the wall. One would assume that the diners would have been reclining with heads towards the centre of the room and that the couches might have been placed away from the wall to allow movement on both sides – the size of the room is probably sufficient for this.

Huntley focuses on figural graffiti from Pompeii, Herculaneum and Stabiae with a methodology borrowed from developmental psychology. She has been able to recognize some 170 drawings made by children and discusses their distribution in the sites. Inside the dwellings, the emphasis seems to be in small, closed rooms (traditionally called *cubicula*), possibly indicating control over children's activities, but on the other hand, gardens and porticoes around them as well as corridors are fairly common locations. It is also interesting to note the great frequency of children's graffiti in the streets and public contexts – they were present in most areas of the town.

Keegan's chapter on graffiti in Pompeii compares the texts to modern SMS messages, chats and blogs, in an effort to analyze them as places of memory. He uses an inspiring classification of texts based on memory types featuring skills, facts and/or experiences, but its practical applications remain less clear, because Keegan does not use the classification in the analysis of the graffiti clusters. The clusters have been found in private dwellings, public buildings as well as streetscapes, and Keegan seems – at least implicitly – to indicate that they are all alike in relation to access and visibility. But surely the Grand Palestra or the corridor from the Via Stabiana to the Great Theatre are not the same as the peristyle portico in a private dwelling? Most people could visit the two previous sites, but only a few had access to the garden of a private home. Taking the function and surrounding features of the clusters into consideration would have benefited the analysis.

Of the other articles, most focus on a single site or area. The exception is Alexei Zadorojnyi's fascinating discussion on elite ideology and political graffiti. J. A. Baird finely analyzes the typology and significance of graffiti and other types of inscriptions in Dura-Europos. Claire Taylor writes about rock-cut graffiti in Attica and the role of graffiti in the context of the Greek epigraphic habit. In the last chapter, Angelos Chaniotis discusses the definition of graffiti and gives an overview of the graffiti in Aphrodisias.

Katerina Volioti's chapter is the only one that deals with portable items or material culture. She discusses the inscribed letters incised on the bottom of a lekythos found in a grave at Pherai (modern Velestino). The vessel is set in a wider context of similar items with graffiti and comparable find contexts. In Volioti's analysis, the materiality and physicality of the graffiti bring to light the qualities of the *lekythos* itself – how it felt, how it was used. This is very promising, but it might have been a good idea to illustrate the method with a group of similar

graffiti: now the uncertainties of the assumed text leave too much room for doubt.

Rachel Mairs' chapter on the graffiti found at a pharaonic temple site on the route from the Eastern Desert to the Nile Valley maps the history of writing at the site from the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC all the way to 19<sup>th</sup> century AD. The official Egyptian dedicatory inscriptions mark the beginning of writing, but graffiti in Demotic seem to be absent from the period anterior to the Hellenistic Greek texts. Most of them seem to record gratitude or prayers to Pan for the successful crossing of the desert route. The tradition seems to continue until the most recent texts. The landscape and location explain the birth and importance of the textual tradition in this case.

In all, the concrete geographical and archaeological contexts are not prominent in this book and there are remarkably few distribution maps – often only one general site map as, for example, in the cases of Dura-Europos and Aphrodisias. The locations mentioned in the three chapters on Pompeii are all marked on the same map (Fig. 1.2) which is a fairly strange solution considering the importance of the locations in Keegan's chapter. One wonders what a more detailed analysis of the locations where the texts have been found could have brought into the discussion of their significance.

Graffiti are a difficult combination of language, visuality and context, and a gaze that focuses exclusively on the text or the image is bound to leave important questions unanswered. This is why contextual analyses are especially important. Chaniotis concludes the volume by writing that the study of graffiti is "never, ever boring" (p. 206); the reviewers can only agree.

*Kalle Korhonen – Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

MALCOLM CHOAT: *Belief and Cult in Fourth-Century Papyri*. *Studia Antiqua Australiensia* 1. Brepols, Turnhout 2006. ISBN 2-503-51327-1. XIV, 217 pp. EUR 40.

This book is an excellent example of how cultural processes can be explored via linguistic processes. It focuses on how semantic shift in certain terms and the use of certain types of formularies in fourth-century Egyptian papyri are due to the rise of Christianity. The material used consists of Greek and Coptic documentary papyri, most commonly letters, where the everyday and personal language use allows us to also discern the religious views of the writers or of a community. As a term, however, "religion" is replaced by the twin term "belief and cult", which may give us a more exact picture of what is in fact talked about in the papyri.

The rise and spread of the Coptic script temporally coincides with the rise and spread of Christianity in Egypt. Therefore, it is important to find out when and how these two interrelate and when and how they do not. Unfortunately, with Coptic material several questions remain open as the size of the published corpus is relatively small, although the situation is improving all the time. Therefore, problems still exist in, e.g., dating the texts both on palaeographic and linguistic grounds, and naturally this is reflected in the uncertainty of the conclusions drawn from the texts. This is, of course, explicitly recognized in the book which obviously does not ignore other problems one meets when using papyrological material as a source. Choat guides us through those problems towards a better understanding of the varied manifestations of the co-existence of traditional Graeco-Roman and Egyptian beliefs with Christian ones.

*Marja Vierros*

*Militärdiplome. Die Forschungsbeiträge der Berner Gespräche von 2004.* Herausgegeben von MICHAEL ALEXANDER SPEIDEL – HANS LIEB unter Mitarbeit von ALFRED MICHAEL HIRT. *Mavors Roman Army Researches* 15. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2007. ISBN 978-3-515-09144-2. IX, 414 S. EUR 88.

The fifteenth volume of the *Mavors* series consists of fifteen papers, written by the leading scholars of their specific fields, related to the study of Roman discharge diplomas presented in a colloquium held in Bern in October 2004. This conference was a continuation of a previous colloquium held in Passau in 1984 and the papers presented in Bern are in many ways related to the research questions raised during the previous conference. The number of known diplomas had nearly doubled during the time that elapsed between the colloquia and many issues could now be re-examined in a different light.

The first paper, written by Franziska Beutler (pp. 1–14), discusses the origin of the military diplomas and the development of discharge preconditions and benefits in the Julio-Claudian era. The observations she brings forth show that the development of a regular system was relatively slow; the early emperors only granted extended civic rights with *conubium* (which included the offspring and possible other family members) sparingly, and seemingly such grants were originally provided only individually through extraordinary merit. Although the development of official documents and legal formulas of discharge grants were finally formalized by Claudius, it remains uncertain whether the grants already concerned all veterans at that time or whether veterans still required additional merits to obtain grants.

The next paper by Regula Frei-Stolba (pp. 15–53) covers the problems related to the witnesses in the early *diplomata* and provides a full prosopographic study of them. The study covers such issues as the legal status of the witnesses, their relationship to the recipient, problems related to the early manufacture of the diplomas and irregularities in their witness lists. In another paper concerning early *diplomata*, Slobodan Dušanić (pp. 55–85) examines the religious and propaganda significance of the location (*loci*) and dates (*dies*) of the bronze discharge tablets on the Capitol and provides further insight into the challenges related to some witness lists of the early *diplomata*. Dušanić's attempt to argue that the diploma *CIL XVI 28* is related to the possible Dacian incursion of 81/82 CE on the other hand would seem to be based on too narrow an interpretation of this singular piece of evidence. The suggestion that the find spot of the diploma and its *dies* and *loci* could mean that every auxiliary unit of Germania Superior provided vexillations for the war and that all of these were seconded under the general command of *legio I Italica* seems overly simplified and stretches the evidence. Especially given that the precise meaning of the *dies* and *loci* given are uncertain, and the simplest explanation that the recipient of the diploma died while travelling from his parent unit in Germania back to his native country in Galatia is not taken into consideration.

The legal standpoint of the formulas used in diplomas are examined by Werner Eck (pp. 87–104), who concentrates on the changes that occur during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE). The interpretation of these changes to privileges, which mainly concerned the spouses and the offspring of the auxiliary soldiers born during the time in service, shows that Antoninus Pius had a deeply conscientious mind for legal issues and strict attitude toward military discipline. The next two papers are written by Paul Holder. The first one (pp. 105–63) is a statistical study continuing the research of the late Margaret Roxan with several tables (pp. 120–42) concerning diploma distribution, the status and origin of their recipients, and the

possible reasons for them obtaining a diploma in the first place. The paper also includes a full list (pp. 144–63) of diplomas from Flavian to the Antonine Era (71–192 CE) as it stood at the time of the colloquium. The second paper (pp. 165–86) examines the dissimilarities between multiple copies of the same constitutions, and shows on the basis of variations in abbreviations and spelling mistakes that there was no uniform method of production.

The issue of authorship of the diplomas is further pursued by Peter Weiss, whose paper (pp. 187–207) deals with multiple authors and later additions to the text of the diplomas. The examination shows that the production of diplomas evolved into mass production, where basic formulas were inserted in advance and details only added later, while mistakes of the first engraver or changed details on the formulas could be corrected to the text by various means. Barnabás Lőrincz on the other hand provides a continuation (pp. 209–20) of his paper from the 1984 colloquium and examines the forms of provincial governors' names and the function they performed in the discharge process.

The paper by Barbara Pferdehirt (pp. 221–45) examines the use of auxiliary vexillations and their manifestation in the diplomas. This interesting study concentrates on diplomas that mention the discharge of men while temporarily located in another province and the question of whether these units had been sent as complete units or if only vexillations had been used. The issue of vexillations occasionally remaining in a new province and evolving slowly into a unit in their own right is also reviewed. The use of topographical sequences in the order of units listed in the diplomas is examined by Zsolt Visy (pp. 247–65). The known diplomas for Pannonia are used as a case study and the author determines that either straight topographical listings or mixed topographical listings (where *milliaria* units were given precedence) were generally in use until the Marcomannic wars.

Auxiliary recruitment patterns are surveyed by Sébastien Gallet and Yann Le Bohec (pp. 267–92). Their study raises the question of continued recruitment (especially of specialists) from each unit's province of origin against the evidence of local recruitment. Michael A. Speidel (pp. 293–325) examines the process of honourable discharge and what this meant for the veterans in practice. This very interesting survey also explores the cases where men seem to have chosen to remain in service even after the fulfilment of required service time and their actual discharge.

Questions related to discharge are also considered by Miroslava Mirković (pp. 327–43), who examines the reasons why veterans would return to their native lands after twenty-five years of service. One of the more interesting questions examined is whether certain rights such as land ownership and tax exemptions bequeathed to a specific tribe followed veterans to the provinces where they served or whether they were required to return to their native land to take full advantage of their individual rights. Hartmut Wolff (pp. 345–72) provides a study of the policy of granting civil rights to the veterans during the Principate as well as its late republican precedents and relation to larger imperial ideologies. The series of papers is concluded by Hans Lieb (pp. 373–88), who examines the length of service among the different branches of the Roman army.

It is not unfair to say that, in recent years, discharge diplomas have provided an unforeseen surge in our knowledge of Roman administration, military history and in the complicated legal issues related to the status of veterans and their families. Since the colloquium in Bern, several hundred new complete or fragmentary diplomas have come to light which keep providing new information about the Roman world. It is against the backdrop of this new information

that the importance of these fifteen papers should be seen. In the end, one can only state that this collection of papers is not merely valuable to those who seek deeper understanding of the actual diplomas themselves, but also to those who are interested in larger issues of Roman society.

*Kai Juntunen*

*Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Berolinensis et Brandenburgensis editum. Vol. II<sup>2</sup>: Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae. Pars XIV: Conventus Tarraconensis. Fasc. 2: Colonia Iulia Urbs Triumphalis Tarraco.* Edidit GÉZA ALFÖLDY. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin – New York 2010. ISBN 978-3-11-026403-6. CXXVII, 304 (pp. 169–472) pp. EUR 199.95, USD 300.

Hic corporis vol. II partis XIV (dedicatae titulis conventus Tarraconensis) fasciculus secundus continet titulos Tarraconenses (fasciculus primus, editus a. 1995, titulos eiusdem conventus partis meridionalis continet), sed non omnes, ut quidam sine dubio existimabunt propterea, quod in frontispicio legimus "Fasciculus secundus. Colonia Iulia Urbis Triumphalis Tarraco", cum tituli sepulcrales praeter eos, qui pertinent ad homines ordinum paulo superiorum, et indices in hoc fasciculo non reperiantur et hic fasciculus solum titulos nn. 815-1199 contineat. Tituli tamen fasciculi eius, qui hunc sequetur, et qui mox ut spero edetur, quamquam editorem titulorum Tarraconensium G. Alföldy Athenis nuper mortuum esse valde dolemus (sub <http://cil.bbaw.de/> legimus enim "Zur Zeit bereitet das CIL zwei weitere Bände Géza Alföldys zum Druck vor, die seine Neuedition der Inschriften Tarracos abschließen werden — postum"), hic et illic in hoc fasciculo laudantur (e.g. n. 2341 p. CI).

Idem Alföldy iam a. 1975 ediderat titulos Tarraconenses in libro qui inscribitur *Die römischen Inschriften von Tarraco (RIT)*. At post a. 1975 reperti sunt tituli novi multi, et tituli quidam Tarraconenses melius explicati sunt, saepissime ab ipso Alföldy; ita facile intellegitur, cur Alföldy titulos Tarraconenses denuo edendos esse sibi persuaserit. Titulos, qui in *RIT* non inveniuntur sed qui in ephemeridibus vel in libris quibusdam post a. 1975 editi sunt, observavi praeter fragmenta quaedam hos, nn. 828a, 836, 838a, 841, 860, 893, 944a (titulus imp. Constantis), 982, 1017, 1023, 1065 (fragmentum a), 1068, 1075, 1078a, 1152; notandum est titulos quosdam non esse receptos in *Année épigraphique* (e.g. nn. 860, 893, 1017 editus a. 1995, qui est titulus M. Fulvi Grati honoribus Tarracone functi et tribuni militum legionis XI Claudiae, 1152). Titulos omnino novos observavi nn. 946, 992a (titulus L. Rutili Pudentis Crispini hominis ordinis senatorii, cuius praenomen adhuc ignorabatur; in v. 2 legendum est *pr[ae]f(ecto)*, non *pr[ae]f(ectus)*, cum et nomina et honores alii enuntiantur casu dativo, non nominativo), 1000, 1001, 1025. Tituli melius lecti vel intellecti sunt n. 974 (titulus Caninia Gallae), 977 (*RIT* 362, quem titulum iam apparet esse positum in honorem Cn. Domiti Calvini), 989 (*RIT* 143, in quo titulo posito sub imp. Pertinace iam legitur *cos. II post patre patriae*). Etiam hoc notandum est, Alföldy se ipsum saepius corrigere (e.g. nn. 837 – "aliter ALFÖLDY 1978a ... minus recte" –, 908, 910, 929, 966, 1019, 1070, 1077, 1110, 1120, 1163, in adnotationibus).

Fasciculus hic praeter Praefationem continet Conspectum auctorum operumque laudatorum (ubi non inveni "FRANCE 2001", quod opus laudatur ad n. 1108) et capita haec: De in-

vestigazione titulorum Tarraconensium; De historia et topographia Tarraconis; De typologia et chronologia monumentorum inscriptorum Tarraconensium (notabile est quod dicitur p. CVI, bases statuarum post Severos plerumque esse "monumenta antiquiora ... denuo inscripta"); Titulos Graecos (de quibus v. etiam eundem Alföldy in *ZPE* 178 [2011] 87sq.); Titulos falsos et posterioris aevi; Titulum alienum (p. CXXII n. 14, A 1, qui est titulus originis fortasse Aquitanicae, quem posuit Annosius Ceserian[us] quidam *Deo Idiat(te)*); Miliaria; Titulos externos ad Tarraconem spectantes (nescio an debuerit addi titulus Aeclanensis *CIL IX 1125 = ILS 1335*, quem Magio Maximo praefecto Aegypti posuerunt *Tarraconenses*).

In opere optimo et qui studiosis aliis pro exemplo esse debet errores inveni paucissimos; p. XCV, pro "Cn. Lucretius L. f. Scap. Seleucus" legendum est "Cn. Lucretius L. f. Scap.", cum *Seleucus* cognomen sit non ipsius Lucreti, sed liberti eiusdem; n. 865, in fine legendum verisimiliter est "saec. I a. C. n. priori" (non "p. C."); 975, in fine lege "C. (non P.) Fulvio Plautiano". – N. 989: *intentio mea, qua [sum adi]tus proxime* Germanice verti posse "mein Ansinnen, mit dem ich zuvor vorging" non putaverim; praeses enim non *aditur* quidquam sed *aditur* ipse a aliis. Novium Rufum hoc fere voluisse dicere crediderim, se esse aditum ab utraque parte de intentione (fortasse idem fere ac *sententia*) sua; ita nescio an legendum sit <de> *qua [sum adi]tus* (Mommsenium puto eodem fere modo cogitavisse de hac re, cum scripsit *qua<m> [sum adi]tus*; quamquam *adire aliquem aliquid* non ita eleganter mihi videtur esse dictum). – N. 1169 "cf. ad titulum n. 14, 845": numerus hic corrigendus esse videtur; n. 1181: M. Ulpus C. (non: M.) f. Quir. Reburus; n. 1183 "Cognomen Verrini ex *Verres* derivatum": mihi autem *Verrinus* ductum esse videtur a nomine *Verrii*, ut *Antoninus ex Antonio*.

Opus totum scriptum est lingua Latina satis eleganti, quae ab omnibus lectoribus bene intellegatur. Hic et illic observavi tamen quaedam, quae minus Latine mihi dicta esse videbantur; e.g. p. XCIX "concilio ... liberti ... servitia praestitebant" pro "praestabant"; p. C, "in aetate imperii labentis" pro "aetate"; n. 945, "longe discussum est"; n. 984, "nisi quod ... spectent" pro "nisi si ... spectant"; n. 991, "certum (pro: certus) sum"; n. 1013, "vir titulo Matritensi laudato (pro: laudatus)"; n. 1068 (et 1079 etc.), "servitium militare" pro "Militärdienst" (cf. supra "servitia praestitebant"); *servitium* enim pertinet ad servos et servitatem.

Haec omnia autem minimi sunt momenti, cum in omnibus pateat agi (ut supra iam dixi) de opere in universum optimo et doctissimo et omnibus antiquitatis studiosis utilissimo, quod honori erit non scriptori tantum verum etiam ipsi *Corpori Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

*Olli Salomies*

GIANFRANCO PACI: *Ricerche di storia e di epigrafia romana delle Marche*. Tored, Tivoli (Roma) 2008. ISBN 978-88-88617-19-0. 752 pp. EUR 150.

Con questo volume, in cui vengono ripubblicati vari contributi dell'autore (tra essi si trova anche un saggio inedito), l'instancabile collega ed amico maceratese Gianfranco Paci ha reso un grande servizio agli studi romani. Il valore del volume aumenta per il fatto che molti dei contributi sono difficilmente reperibili in normali biblioteche antichistiche; ciò vale particolarmente per quelle al di fuori dell'Italia. Apprendiamo molte cose sull'epigrafia di centri come Potentia, Cupra Maritima, Ricina, Urbs Salvia, Asculum ed altri. Le edizioni dei testi epigrafici sono corredate da buone fotografie e commenti dettagliati, qualche volta anche eccessivamente;



di alcune iscrizioni sono riportate più volte le stesse fotografie. Tutto sommato un volume che renderà grandi servizi a chi vuole approfondire la storia delle Marche romane.

Un paio di dettagli: a p. 504 viene offerta la foto (senza testo) di un'epigrafe proveniente dal teatro di Ascoli Piceno, edita integralmente da altri nel volume *Lapis lapidis* (2008), su cui vedi sopra p. 167; a pp. 631 ss. si pubblica e commenta un frammento di fasti di Urbs Salvia: nella prima riga [*Nu*]*micius* (buona integrazione) non può riferirsi a un magistrato romano; l'a. nel lungo commento non conclude sulla persona, anche se non si vede di cos'altro potrebbe trattarsi se non della menzione di un magistrato municipale; a pp. 729 s. si legge, invece di FALCIDA, piuttosto FAECIDA, un nome grecanico su cui vedi sopra p. 163. – Pochissimi refusi: p. 93 fig. 5 si riferisce a *CIL IX 5313* e non a 5513; p. 161 *nomina*, non *omina*; p. 355 *duoviro*, non *duovino*.

*Heikki Solin*

*Epigrafía jurídica de la Bética*. A cura di JULIÁN GONZÁLES. Hispania Antigua. Serie Historica 2. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-8265-489-4. 398 pp. EUR 160.

The title of this book seems a bit misleading, as this is not a book on the "epigrafía jurídica" –whatever that may be taken to mean – of Baetica in general, but a collection of articles mainly dealing with various "documents" published by the author in Spanish and foreign journals from the 1980's onwards; one of the papers, namely that on the fragment of a *tabula hospitalis*, *AE* 1991, 1017, seems to be previously unpublished (at least no original publication is mentioned).

The short preface (p. 7f.) deals mainly with the question of why it is only in the province of Baetica that one finds municipal laws inscribed on bronze (this being ascribed to "la riqueza en minerales de su suelo"), and with the contents of this book, described on p. 8 as a "reedición crítica de algunos de los documentos [jurídicos], cuyas *editiones principes* fueron realizadas por mi" and as "hallazgos epigráficos de otra naturaleza", which are interesting "por sus singulares contenidos y por la novedad de los datos que aportan".

The papers themselves do not seem to have normally been furnished with any addenda or with references to later discussions, unless this happens in articles or books discussed by the author himself in a paper included here (thus in the case of the monograph by F. Lamberti on the *lex Irnitana*, discussed in the article reproduced on p. 125ff.). The only exceptions observed by me are the chapter on the *tabula Siarensis* (p. 189ff.), with references to later discussions of the text, and that on the letter of the emperor Pius (p. 293ff), in which a paper by W. Eck is taken into account. Unfortunately there are normally no references to the *AE* or to other later editions of the texts discussed here.

The papers are reproduced in their original language of publication so that there are also some in English (but in the case of the *lex Irnitana* a Spanish translation of the inscription has been substituted for the original English one).

The contents of the book are as follows. Chapter I, "La *Lex Flavia municipalis*", begins with a reproduction of the edition of the *lex Irnitana* (originally in *JRS* 76 [1986] 147ff). If I may make an observation on the text, González reads, in *VB*, line 14 (p. 33), *quod legatos quoque quamque in re<m> mittendos ... censuerint*, with the *apparatus* saying that the *aes* in fact has *quosque* with the *S* "sobre la línea"; now *quod legatos quoque* is also the reading in

*CILA* II 4, 1201, but from the annotation there we learn that A. D'Ors in 1988 and G. himself in 1990 had read *quosque*. As *quod* (= *quot*) *legatos quosque* – continued with ... *mittendos ... censuerint, tot legatos* etc. – is the only possible reading, *quod legatos quoque* not making any sense, one can only wonder about G.'s preference here for this latter reading.

This paper is followed (p. 125ff.) by "Reflexiones (provoked by the book on the *tabulae Irnitanae* by F. Lamberti) sobre la *lex Flauia municipalis*" and by "La *lex Villonensis*" (p. 145ff., on *CILA* II 4, 1206). There seems to be no indication of the fact that G. himself in 1999, as registered in *AE* 1999, 906, added a small fragment to his fragment no. I. At the end of this chapter, we have "Nuevos fragmentos de la *lex Flauia municipalis*" (p. 159ff., a conflation of two papers published in 1999 and 2004).

Chapter II (p. 169ff.) on *Diplomata militaria* contains the publications of three fragmentary diplomas, *RMD* 179 (here one should read not *coh(ors)* but *coh(ortis)*, as the units are introduced at this point in the genitive), 137 (with no indication of the fact that the text has been restudied and furnished with new restorations by S. Dušanić in 1993, cf. *AE* 1993, 1006) and 476.

Chapter III (p. 183ff.) deals with *Senatus consulta* and contains the *Tabula Siarensis* (*AE* 1984, 508), "Un nuevo fragmento de la *lex Valeria Aurelia*" (*AE* 2000, 725) and the "S.C. de Gneo (sic) Pisone patre" (p. 259ff., with translation and 12 pages of commentary).

Chapter IV (293ff.) is devoted to "*Constitutiones imperatorum* (in fact, just one *constitutio*; but the military diplomas in Ch. II are also imperial constitutions and might have been dealt with in this chapter) *et ius iurandum Conobariense*" and contains an "*Epistula* de Antonino Pio", apparently addressed to the decurions of *Obulcula* (*AE* 1984, 511) and (p. 303ff.) "The first oath *pro salute Augusti* found in Baetica" (*AE* 1988, 723; *CILA* II 3, 990). Chapter V on *Tabulae hospitales* contains in fact (p. 317-9) just an observation (perhaps, as mentioned above, previously unpublished, as an original publication is not referred to) on the fragment *AE* 1991, 1017. At the end of the book, there is Chapter VI (p. 323ff.) on *Varia epigraphica* with papers of the author on some more or less interesting inscriptions not coming under the heading "epigrafía jurídica", e.g. (p. 335ff.), that on the inscription of C. Memmius, *imperator* (*AE* 2000, 726; cf. B. Díaz Ariño, *ZPE* 157 [2006] 231ff.; Id., *Epigrafía latina republicana de Hispania* [2008] no. U7) published in *Habis* 24 (1993), or (p. 371ff.) that on the inscription of the senator M. Accenna Helvius Agrippa (*CIL* II 1262 = *CILA* II 3, 915), published in the not very well-known journal *Kolaios* 4 (1995) (this is a paper apparently not registered in the *AE*).

From this description of its contents, it should be clear that this is a most useful publication. However, if it had been furnished with references to the *Année épigraphique*, to later discussions of the texts studied here (many of them objects of vivid scholarly interest), and with adequate indexes, the book would be much more useful and one can only wonder why the author preferred to leave most of the papers in their original state and to dispense with even rudimentary indexes. The book would also have gained a bit had it been priced in a more consumer-friendly range.

*Roman Inscriptions of Britain. Vol. III: Inscriptions on Stone, found or notified between 1 January 1955 and 31 December 2006.* Edited by R. S. O. TOMLIN – R. P. WRIGHT† – M. W. C. HASSALL. Oxbow Books, Oxford 2009. ISBN 978-1-84217-368-8. 524 pp. GBP 70.

Students of Roman epigraphy and of Roman Britain in general will have noted with satisfaction the publication of Volume III of *RIB* in 2009, more than 40 years after the publication in 1965 of *RIB* I, the other "inscriptions on stone" volume which included 2314 inscriptions (but only inscriptions which had been published before the end of 1954). As Volume II, dedicated to items belonging to the category of "instrumentum domesticum" (military diplomas, tile stamps, graffiti, etc.), was published between 1990 and 1995 in several fascicles, it seems obvious that there cannot be another Roman province whose epigraphic material would have been collected in such a comprehensive way. But it must of course be remembered that the number of inscriptions in Roman Britain is fairly limited, as Britain cannot be described as a province of the Roman Empire with a developed epigraphic culture.

The numbering of the inscriptions in *RIB* II ended with 2505, but in this volume, the inscriptions are numbered from 3001 – the explanation given for this in the Preface is "so as to mark the beginning of a third volume" – the numbering ending with 3527 (excluding the *alienae* and the *falsae*). This means that there are more than 500 inscriptions; however, a large number of them consists only of a few letters. There is perhaps not very much of interest for those scholars who normally deal with epigraphically more fertile areas, but at least there is, e.g., the legate M. Martiannius Pulcher (with an interesting *nomen*) restoring a temple of Isis (3001), the by now well-known *moritix Londiniensium*, Tiberinius Celerianus (3014; for a more recent study of this inscription, see M. Dondin-Payre – X. Lorient, *AC* 77 [2008] 127–69), a *haruspex* at Bath (3049), a building inscription apparently mentioning Iulius Agricola (3123), a building inscription mentioning Septimius Severus and his sons in the dative, where the name of Geta is legible (3215), an inscription mentioning an *eme(ritus) ex ordi(nato)* and an *act(arius) ... in cas(tris) int(er)fectus ab hosti(bus)* (3218), a funerary inscription containing the interesting formulation *pro condicione loci* (3222), and a text dedicated to *[D]iscipulinae Imp(eratoris) Had(riani) Aug(usti)* (3298); and there are also other inscriptions of a more general interest, e.g., those mentioning various exotic deities. Of course there are also soldiers with *patria*; I observed soldiers at least from Arretium (3004), Eporedia (3073), Cemenelum (3098), Forum Germanorum (3121), Hippo Regius (3445), Nicopolis in Thracia (?) (3460). There is also a Greek inscription (3151).

Virtually all the texts were of course already known from original publications mainly in the *JRS* or in *Britannia*, but it must be noted that there are quite a few inscriptions which for some reason were not also reproduced in the *Année épigraphique*; among inscriptions of a more general interest, I observed that at least 3053, 3073, 3121, 3170, 3180, 3185, 3272, 3332, 3518, 3523 and 3526 had escaped the vigilance of the editors of the *AE* (on the other hand, no. 3489 is in fact *AE* 2005, 953, although this does not seem to be mentioned in the caption).

My impression is that this volume is of a high quality, the readings of the inscriptions being in general impeccable and the commentaries (in which also linguistic matters are taken into account) most helpful. I have, however, some observations which I would like to present at this point. No. 3004: the soldier from Arretium, L. Pompei[us] Licetus ("The cognomen seems to be unique") is given the filiation *Gn. f.* (sic), because "From the deduced original width, it follows that the father's praenomen was abbreviated to two letters"; but seeing that this is not

a very early text, it would be surprising to find a man with a praenomen not identical with that of his father, and that is why I wonder whether it would not be preferable to give the father the praenomen *L.* but to restore not *f.* but *fil.*, possibly with a ligature, in the lacuna. – No. 3073, with the text *L. Octavi L. Pol. Martialis*; the nomenclature receives the comment "F. for *f(ili)* is omitted after the father's praenomen, which is very unusual, but see *RIB* 3121 for another instance". A bit more can perhaps be said on this phenomenon, which is not that unusual if one considers not Latin inscriptions in general, but only inscriptions of soldiers, the only category in which it is found. In inscriptions of soldiers, the omission of *f.* in the filiation is in fact quite common, especially in some places of which Carnuntum is no doubt the most prominent example (but one can observe the phenomenon practically everywhere; note, e.g., *AE* 2005, 616 from Emerita in Lusitania, with *L. Helvius L. Pap. Rebilus*). In my opinion, the omission of *f.* must have originated in military rosters, in which there were separate columns for the different items of a soldier's name, and in which apparently only the father's praenomen but not the indication *f.* was written in the field reserved for this particular item. – No. 3179, *In his praediis Aurel(iae) Con[ce]ssae san[ctis]simae pu[ellae]*. The name is taken to be a dative, but I wonder whether a genitive might not be preferable. It should be noted that there is in fact a paper published on the expression *in his praediis* (D. Lengrand, *REA* 98 [1996] 109–31). – No. 3195 (of AD 221): I am fairly sure that if *L. Viducius Placidus* is identical with *Placidus Viduci fil.* (but I cannot see why we could not be dealing with representants of different generations), he must have "adopted Roman-style nomenclature" not after (as asserted in the commentary) but before the *constitutio Antoniniana* in 212, for most, if not all, of the new citizens in 212 seem to have adopted the nomen *Aurelius*.

The volume ends with "Concordance tables", a "Glossary of Latin technical terms" (in the explanation of *votum*, "'vow', promise made to gain divine favour", the addition of "esp. (in plural) in a public ceremony at the New Year" in my view distracts the student from the most common meaning of the term in inscriptions). There is also an "Index of sites", but not an epigraphic index, which we are told in the preface "will be published separately". *RIB* I and II are cited as precedents for this procedure, but the indexes to *RIB* I appeared only in 1983, 18 years later than the volume itself, and so I wonder if the practice of publishing indexes separately is something which deserves imitation. But let us hope that this time we do not have to wait as long.

*Olli Salomies*

*Le vie della storia. Migrazioni di popoli, viaggi di individui, circolazioni di idee nel Mediterraneo antico. Atti del II Incontro Internazionale di Storia Antica (Genova 6–8 ottobre 2004). A cura di M. G. ANGELI BERTINELLI – A. DONATI. Serta Antiqua et Mediaevalia 9. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2006. ISBN 88-7689-230-3. XIV, 405 pp., 6 tavv. EUR 160.*

This volume contains the proceedings of a conference, organized in 2004 in Genoa, on migrations of ethnic and cultural groups, movements of individuals and the circulation of ideas in the Mediterranean world in Antiquity. This general topic has received a great deal of attention in recent years; for instance, the theme of the XVII International Congress of Classical Archaeology, organized by *AIAC* in Rome in September of 2008, was *Meetings between Cultures in the*

*Ancient Mediterranean*. However, not all the papers are in keeping with the theme as specified in the title. There are actually several odd inclusions in the book.

In his introduction ("Riferimenti alla tradizione classica e biblica nella percezione e rappresentazione del Nuovo Mondo", pp. 3–26) Francesco Surdich provides a very interesting introduction to the theme of the book by venturing outside the conventional chronological limits of the "Ancient World". Discussing how the explorers of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries interpreted and relayed their discoveries in the New World to the inhabitants of the Old World, he shows how important the classical and biblical traditions were in the beginning of the modern era when it came to processing new geographic and ethnographic data.

After the introduction there are nine papers organized under the heading *Storia ed epigrafia greca*. Pierre Carlier, in his contribution ("L'età delle migrazioni nelle tradizioni greche", pp. 29–35), is chiefly concerned with Thucydides in a demonstration of the importance of migrations as a theme in the narratives of Greek historiography. Marcel Piérart ("Le roi venu d'ailleurs. Réflexion sur les voyages dans les temps héroïques", pp. 37–50) analyses tales pertaining to the Heroic Age, suggesting that the familiar stories of Greek mythology were extensively modified during the period of colonization. Franco Montanari's paper ("I poemi omerici fra realtà e fantasia", pp. 51–65) is an interesting but inconclusive contribution to the debate as to the relationship, if any, between Homeric Troy and the famous mound excavated at Hisarlik. Serena Bianchetti, in her article ("Le tradizioni storiche sul Mediterraneo nella concezione dei 'geografi scienziati'", pp. 67–79), deals with the mutually conflicting views of Eratosthenes and Strabo of the relationship between traditional, Homeric geography and the scientific descriptions of the Mediterranean.

Guido Schepens ("Travelling Greek historians", pp. 81–102) discusses the travels of Greek historians. Those considered are chiefly the great names of the current canon of Greek historiography, who often claimed authority for their works by referring to their journeys, but the author also discusses the evidence for itinerant scholars whose works do not survive – namely local historians mentioned in Hellenistic inscriptions. Francesca Gazzano, in her paper ("Ambasciatori greci in viaggio", pp. 103–25), deals with the world of Greek diplomacy in the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods. This study of literary and epigraphic evidence is primarily concerned with the social prestige accorded to individual envoys by their *poleis*. Margherita Giuffrida's contribution to the volume ("Contatti, analogie, parallelismi tra Cipro e la Sicilia in età classica", pp. 127–44) is a very interesting discussion examining several intriguing cultural and historical parallels in the historical developments of the islands of Cyprus and Sicily.

Franca Ferrandina Troisi ("Professionisti 'di giro' nel Mediterraneo antico. Testimonianze epigrafiche", pp. 145–54) provides another study of epigraphically attested wandering individuals; this one deals with itinerant professionals such as artists, athletes and physicians. Eugenio Lanzillotta's contribution ("Solone, Tucidide, Paolo di Tarso e il Preambolo del Progetto di Trattato della Costituzione per l'Europa", pp. 155–62) is a discussion of the classical and Christian foundation of the constitution of the European Union.

The bulk of the remaining papers are grouped under the heading *Storia ed epigrafia romana*, though the first two deal with non-Romans. Giuseppe Zecchini's paper ("Migrazioni e invasioni in Polibio: il caso dei Celti", pp. 165–73) is concerned with the movements of Celtic tribes in Italy as presented by Polybius and Livy. Marjeta Šašel Kos' article ("The Illyrian History of Appian and migrations of peoples", pp. 175–92) examines the migrations of Illyrian tribes in the light of the evidence of Appian.

Elisabetta Todisco ("La comunità cittadina e 'l'altro': la percezione del forestiero a Roma tra tardarepubblica e altoimpero", pp. 193–207) deals with the Roman perceptions, in various social environments from the Late Republic to the High Empire, of foreigners. Daniele Manacorda's contribution ("Maestranze alessandrine nella Puglia di età repubblicana", pp. 209–22) discusses the presence of foreign artisans in Magna Graecia and Sicily in the light of the evidence of a new reading, proposed by Manacorda himself in the paper, of a graffito recovered in Herdoniae in present-day Apulia. Marc Mayer's paper ("Viajes, aventuras y desventuras de un hombre con ideas propias: Apuleyo de Madaura", pp. 223–36) examines the cultural importance of travelling by means of a case study focusing on the travels and life of Apuleius of Madaura.

Alicia Canto's paper ("*Advenae, externi et longe meliores*: la dinastía ulpio-aelia", pp. 237–67) stands out as a manifestation of Spanish patriotism more than anything else. The author discusses the terms normally used to designate the emperors from Trajan to Commodus, suggesting that current appellatives do not adequately convey the fact that the rulers in question formed a dynasty of Spanish ancestry. As this state of affairs, in her mind, does not make justice to the cultural and political role that Spain played in the Empire in the second century CE (she seems oblivious of the roles played by Africa and the East in this period), she suggests that the proper way to refer to these emperors is to use the designation Ulpio-Aelian dynasty. Giuseppe Camodeca's contribution ("Comunità di peregrini a Puteoli nei primi due secoli dell'impero", pp. 269–87) is a study that brings together epigraphic documentation and recent findings of underwater archaeology; it is demonstrated that in Puteoli there were, already in the first centuries CE, several permanent communities of foreigners, both from the western and the eastern parts of the Empire and organized in *vici* located in the vicinity of the port.

Antonio Sartori ("Uomini e idee insieme in cammino?", pp. 289–97) is an abortive attempt at establishing the route Paul of Tarsus took when he (possibly) traveled beyond the Alps. José d'Encarnação ("La Lusitanie romaine, pôle d'immigration: témoins épigraphiques", pp. 299–305) provides a very interesting study of the immigration to the Roman province of Lusitania during the Empire. The whole question has been largely neglected in previous research, due to a dearth of appropriate data; it was not customary among foreigners to indicate their *origines* in their inscriptions. Using other criteria, such as onomastic elements in the epigraphs and typological and stylistic characteristics of the monuments themselves, the author sets out to demonstrate that the province was more affected by immigration than what has earlier been assumed.

Carmen Castillo ("Propaganda imperial como vehículo y promotor de ideologías en el tardo imperio", pp. 307–17) is concerned with the ideology and propaganda of the fourth century emperors as reflected in their formal titulature. Catherine Wolff ("Le voyage et les juristes du Digeste", pp. 319–39) deals with the evidence of Digest on travelling and travellers.

The book concludes with a series of short reports sorted under the heading *Comunicazioni*: Francesco Neri ("Viaggi di reliquie nell'antichità greca", pp. 343–52) on the movements of the relics of heroes, Serena Teppa ("Platone in viaggio: alla corte di Dionisio il Vecchio", pp. 353–9) on Plato's first visit in Sicily, Stefania Gallotta ("I mercenari arcadi: dall'Occidente al Mar Nero", pp. 361–5) on Arcadian mercenaries, Federica Pezzoli ("Il progetto di sinecismo fra Teo e Lebedo (306–302 a.C.)", pp. 367–75) on *synoecism* and *sympoliteia* in the Hellenistic period, Maria Tramunto ("Artisti in tournée nell'Egitto romano", pp. 377–87) on the practicalities pertaining to the travels of itinerant artists hired by towns in Roman Egypt (most of the material discussed is constituted by papyri from Oxyrhynchus) and Marco Rolandi ("Il viaggio

di Teofane: recenti prospettive", pp. 389–97) on a document illustrating a journey undertaken by Theophanes of Hermopolis Magna to Antioch in the early 320s CE.

To sum up, the volume contains a number of interesting discussions providing more or less useful insights into the mobility of peoples, persons and ideas in the Ancient World. Many of the contributions constitute finished first-rate studies, others seem more like work papers or interim reports.

Kaj Sandberg

*The Cambridge Companion to Ancient Greek Political Thought*. Edited by STEPHEN SALKEVER. Cambridge University Press, New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-86753-5 (hb), 978-0-521-68712-6 (pb). IX, 380 pp. GBP 55, USD 90 (hb), GBP 19.99, USD 29.99 (pb).

This volume of the Cambridge companions series includes 12 chapters commissioned from a number of prominent scholars. To illustrate various aspects of the topic of "Ancient Greek Political Thought", the papers included here discuss Greek authors from Homer to Stoic philosophers of the Roman period. The term "political" refers to a wide spectrum of public life: the role of political institutions, the ethics of ruling, the complex relationship between citizens (in a broad meaning) and laws, not to mention the even more complex relationship between laws and justice. The book also includes useful attempts to define certain difficult concepts and metaphors such as "personal rights", "natural law" and "cosmopolis".

The first paper by Dan Hammer (= H.) on political thought in Homer raises the question of whether it is possible to discern concepts such as *demos*, gender or politics on general level in the *Iliad* and in the *Odyssey*, and if so, what period they should be seen as representing. The article itself is intriguing: H. argues that the distinction between the Homeric world and political concepts usually seen as typical of city-states should not be emphasized too much. Although the author makes several important observations (e.g., on the emergence of "people"), I was not altogether convinced and could not help asking myself whether it is really possible to study the Homeric epics as sources documenting political thinking or political philosophy. Does the fact that Homer offers us vivid descriptions of charismatic leaders and power struggles between them make these epic poems suitable material for studying political thinking?

Homer is followed by a chapter dedicated to drama, a genre in general deeply involved with human society both in antiquity and in modern times. In the paper on drama included here, called "Foundings vs. Constitutions", A. W. Saxonhouse (= S.) has chosen to concentrate on founding moments of a city, i.e., on scenes in which the beginnings of a political community can be felt and seen and on moments when individuals must realise the limits of their own power under the gods' "natural laws". These moments do not include the writing of laws or the drawing up of a constitution, something which in modern thinking is often regarded as being closely linked with the birth of a nation. To illustrate the problems involved in the founding of a nation with modern parallels S. briefly refers to views of, e.g., John Locke, Thomas Paine, Leo Strauss and Hannah Arendt. Having warmed up, S. proceeds to discuss Sophocles' *Antigone*, Aeschylus' *Oresteia* and Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*. In these plays, S. highlights moments when natural, unwritten laws clash with laws created by humans, laws that are no longer based on blood ties. S. argues that both the *Antigone* and the *Oresteia* make the idea of obligation

towards family (Antigone, Clytaemnestra) represent an older model of society, as contrasted with the justice that is based on rationality (Creon, Athena). In the new world it is the *ratio* that rules: even killing a family member can be justified with the needs of the larger community. S. observes that the picture these tragedies paint of one's possibilities to overcome unwritten rules and limits set by birth do not comply with modern thinking. But one could ask: why should it? Could it be that tragedies simply express the endless fight between humans, fate and gods in a way that was expected of this particular genre, rather than documenting social phenomena? However, if we do agree that drama can be used as a source for political thinking, S. points out where we should look and manages to make some perceptive remarks on the plays she deals with.

Greek historiography receives attention in two contributions, in those by Norma Thompson and Gerald Mara ("Thucydides and Political Thought"). Thompson (T.) compares Herodotus and Thucydides who both contribute to correcting the wrong ideas Athenians cherished (as all communities do) about their own past. Neither of these historians repeats the highly idealized story (supported, e.g., by iconography) of Harmodius and Aristogeiton as heroes who put an end to Athenian tyranny. Herodotus and Thucydides both observe that these "heroes" acted out of less admirable reasons and that tyranny actually did not end by their killing of Hipparchus. T. shows that after having turned over these "fake heroes" both historians introduce their own candidates for champions of anti-tyranny, Solon and Pericles, and through them make clear their personal preference for democratic government.

The middle section of the book discusses philosophical writing. There are three papers on Plato. In the first of them, Susan Bickford (= B.) deals with the Socratic method known as "political shaping of the soul", concentrating on the *Gorgias*, the *Republic* and the *Laws*. The author gives us an adequate overview of Socratic practice and emphasizes that the Socratic method of asking "silly" questions should not be understood as mere shaking of one's illusions of knowledge but rather as a process that should lead to "care for virtue". Chapter 6, David Roochink's (= R.) treatment of Plato's *Republic* is one of my favourites in this collection. R. lucidly guides the reader through the variety of the themes in Plato's long dialogue on the nature of justice. In a comprehensive manner, he discusses different aspects of this work, e.g., of Plato's critique of democracy, the part that is probably most difficult for modern readers to relate to. R. describes Plato's "beautiful city" in all its brutality (it is difficult to find another expression for it) and to balance the effect he also offers the reader a piece of Karl Popper's criticism of Plato. However, R. also shows that in reality all of Plato's regulations for the ideal city should not be taken too seriously. Plato might actually be understood to mean that, despite its faults, democracy is the best of all the "bad" forms of regimes.

In the third paper on Plato, Catherine H. Zuckert discusses Plato's dialogue Πολιτικός, the *Statesman*, and gives us interesting glimpses of the meaning and ideas of the "Elean stranger". The editor of the whole volume, Stephen Salkever, writes about Aristotle in a most convincing manner, making the point that Aristotle's political works *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* comment upon and complement each other. Chapters 9 ("Lived Excellence in Aristotle's Constitution of Athens" by Jill Frank and S. Sara Monson) and 10 ("Virtue Politics of Democratic Athens" by Ryan K. Balot) touch upon questions dealing with Athenian political ideas and virtues, and the essence of citizenship. Before the last paper by Eric Brown, who leads the reader to the political philosophy of Cicero and the Stoics of the cosmopolitan Roman period ("The Emergence of Natural Law and the Cosmopolis"), there is an interesting essay in which



the author, Fred D. Miller Jr. (= M.), contemplates to what extent we can trace the origins of universal rights as we understand them today, e.g., human rights and children's rights. M. first analyses Greek and Latin words that are used in the context of rights and justice (e.g., *dike*, *kurios*, *ius*) and then looks into Plato's *Republic*, Aristotle's *Politics*, the speeches of Demosthenes, Stoic philosophy and some Judaic and Christian writings. He concludes that without doubt we can find in these sources a concept of rights, but merely as rights of an individual to claims of justice against members of the same community. It is true that Stoic philosophy and early Christianity anticipated ideas of human equality but did not go so far as to declare "human rights" and this concept is a product of later times, mostly the Enlightenment.

As an overall statement it must be said that the range of texts discussed in this book is of great interest, although I would have warmly welcomed a chapter on Aristophanes, and that the authors of all contributions have made an admirable effort to link ancient texts with questions of modern political theory. Most of the papers themselves are indeed useful. However, the reader, considering that this is a handbook of sorts, cannot help asking in what way they are meant to belong together and to contribute to each other. I feel that the main problem of this book is the missing common thread, the lack of continuity. As a common thread one could perhaps see the concept of "democracy" which can be traced in each chapter, but there also seems to be some undesirable overlapping between the contributions. One also wonders about the planned target audience of this "Companion". On the other hand, it must be said that this book does offer a selection of high quality essays and that there can be no doubt that those interested in the political ideas of the ancient Greeks will find much of interest in it.

Tiina Purola

*Rethinking Revolutions through Ancient Greece*. Edited by SIMON GOLDHILL – ROBIN OSBORNE. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006. ISBN 0-521-86212-4. XV, 319 pp. GBP 55.

What is revolution? Did the ancient Greeks have one, or perhaps several? The concept of revolution is quite modern, and the way we are used to using it in our vocabulary depends heavily on the historical interpretation of the events in France in 1789.<sup>1</sup> To answer the second question first, I would like to quote Robin Osborne at the beginning of the Introduction to this volume: "The Greeks had no revolution". Nevertheless, we are used to thinking that the ancient Greeks were revolutionary in many ways, in politics, art, philosophy, and the sciences – as a matter of fact, in almost everything we can think of. This is the *raison d'être* of this multi-authored volume, which is just as much concerned with our view of things in the past as with the phenomena that we are trying to interpret with our present concepts. To illustrate this I would like to quote Helen King (p. 247): "From the Enlightenment onwards, identifying the fifth century [BC] as revolutionary has been closely linked to our view of rationality, seeing the sixth-century [BC] 'revolution' as concerned with removing the gods from the universe, and the fifth-century one as removing them from the material lives of humanity (see also Chapter 5 this volume)."

Chapters 1, "When was the Athenian democratic revolution?" by Robin Osborne, and 2, "Revolutions in human time: age-class in Athens and the Greekness of Greek revolutions" by

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, Band 8, s.v. Revolution.

James Davidson, deal with democracy. Robin Osborne illustrates how scholarship has located the "democratic revolution" sometimes with Solon, other times with Cleisthenes or Ephialtes, depending on the motives and points of view of the researcher or his or her tradition in scholarship. Yet, as long as we at least pretend to live in a democracy, it is important to keep debating about the "democratic revolution" at Athens as an example of what it means to put power into the hands of people (cf. p. 28).

Chapters 3, "Reflections on the 'Greek Revolution' in art: from changes in viewing to the transformation of subjectivity" by Jaś Elsner, and 4, "What's in a beard? Rethinking Hadrian's Hellenism" by Caroline Vout, concentrates on Greek art. Jas Elsner gives us the general overview of what "the Greek revolution", that is, the invention of Western art is. Caroline Vout discusses Hadrian's beard in detail – a good example of how one iconographic detail can tell us a lot about the way how philhellenism or the admiring of the Greeks, in the way we see it, was in many ways a product of the so-called Second Sophistic in second-century AD Rome.

Chapters 5, "Religion and the rationality of the Greek city" by Thomas Harrison, and 6, "Rethinking religious revolution" by Simon Goldhill, take us into the realm of religion. Simon Goldhill asks the question (p. 143): "How is the expression of identity – cultural identification – affected by living in a revolutionary age?" This question brings to mind another question: Do we live in a revolutionary age now? Perhaps posing the latter question in reading this book is exactly what Robin Osborne says that the authors of this volume have hoped for, that is, that the readers will not only have rethought a number of aspects that might have been seen as revolutionary in ancient Greece, but have further been reminded about the fact that a lot of the things that we now call revolutionary can be a product of formulations not from Antiquity but from modern times.

Chapters 7, "Paying attention: history as the development of a secular narrative" by Carolyn Dewald, and 8, "Talking about revolution: on political change in fourth-century Athens and historiographic method" by Danielle Allen, turn to a more philological mode. Chapter 7 is concerned with the politics behind the writing of history by Herodotus and Thucydides, whereas Chapter 8 demonstrates how one (philosophical) concept – *prohairesis* – can mirror a revolutionary change in the way the leaders were elected and thus how the whole idea of democracy was seen at Athens in mid-fourth century BC. As Danielle Allen puts it (p. 188): "These spare textual details hinting at mutually implicated discussions of the *prohairesis* of sophists at a minimum justify the claim that in the mid 350s, Athens experienced conceptual turmoil around the question of how public figures should legitimate their pre-eminence."

Chapters 9–11 concentrate on certain aspects of the history of philosophy, medicine and music respectively. Catherine Osborne in Chapter 9, "Was there an Eleatic revolution in philosophy?" reminds us that often the story that we hold as true has its origin in the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> century history of (in this case) philosophy. The effect that Parmenides, for example, had on his contemporaries, can and most probably has looked quite different from our point of view. We have been strongly influenced not only by early modern history of ideas but by the whole history of philosophy starting from Plato's view on Parmenides. All this may have little in common with the way the contemporaries thought of Parmenides, who, if nothing else, probably had access to a more complete set of Plato's writings than we do. Following the same lines as Catherine Osborne, Helen King in Chapter 10, "The origins of medicine in the second century AD", reminds us about the very different views of medicine even during the Second Sophistic

in the second century AD and modern times. The volume ends with Armand d'Angour's Chapter 11, "The New Music – so what's new?" with illustrative examples of what does or does not constitute a technological breakthrough in music.

Taking into account the vast range of topics and the amount of erudition shed on the pages of this volume, it is difficult to even try to assess the book in a holistic manner. One thing, however, is common to every chapter of the book: we are very much dealing with scholarly waves of emphasising one piece of evidence pro or contra another. And another thing is also true throughout this volume: revolution or no, the essays in the book offer many interesting (re-)thoughts both about Antiquity and the way we have formed our views on what might be claimed to be revolutionary about the classical Greek world.

*Erja Salmenkivi*

VINCENT FARENGA: *Citizen and Self in the Greek City State. Individuals Performing Justice and the Law*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006. ISBN 0-521-84559-9. IX, 592 pp. GBP 62, USD 90.

Vincent Farenga's *Citizen and Self in Ancient Greece* is a hefty monograph with an ambitious scope: as the title suggests, the author looks at how the performance of justice interacted with ideas of the individual or "self". The timespan ranges from the Early Iron Age to the Classical and the sources used from Homer to Attic orators. Farenga states performance theory as his main theoretical framework and sees citizenship itself as performative.

Farenga follows the development of the performance of justice from Homeric chiefdoms to Athenian democracy. For the Early Iron Age, he looks at archaeological reconstructions of social complexity but above all at Homer. In the first chapter, he argues that in the tumultuous times following the Mycenaean collapse it was crucial to establish a sense of past and continuity. In Homer, this is shown by laments: they were an attempt by the kin to assert the value of their dead, which others would either acknowledge (by joining in the laments) or reject (by, for example, lamenting their *own* dead instead). Achilles is here seen as a trailblazer as he asserts his autonomy from Agamemnon and the rest of the community.

From this, Farenga moves on to the development of the basis of justice, running through chapters two to six. In Homeric society, *basileis* were myth-tellers as well as contemporary leaders, and they could take up the roles of any of the parties involved in a dispute in order to resolve it. As magistrates and jurors were introduced after 700 BCE, a new role model was needed to justify the jurisdictional power of this new group. Farenga argues the figure of Odysseus provided a framework for this, showing how multiple perspectives (as he encounters during his travels) are needed for good judgments. The situation changed again in the mid-7<sup>th</sup> century with written laws. Here Farenga sees parallels between lawgivers and poets (apart from the obvious overlap with Solon) and the increasing shift from popular sovereignty to close adherence and identification with lawgivers – the impersonality of justice, if you will. Finally, the last chapter looks at Alcibiades and Socrates as autonomous agents but with the latter acknowledging the supremacy of laws. Thus we see a movement from highly idiosyncratic justice – stemming, however, from a common mythical past – towards an ideal of impersonal judgments, this time stemming from commonly acknowledged wise lawgivers. It is here worth

noting how the idea of an "absolute", non-subjective law and justice was associated with good citizenship and character in general: Farenga gives examples of how the jurors themselves were "on trial", judged based on the judgments they made.

*Citizen and Self in Ancient Greece* is top-heavy with theory. This is not unwelcome in a field that is sometimes accused of lack of explicit theory, but it does make the monograph heavy reading and, at times, difficult to follow for someone not familiar with the theoretical scholarship. Farenga certainly seems to push his readings a bit far at times, but *Citizen and Self in Ancient Greece* still provides an interesting approach to topics frequently studied, as well as an experiment in how to explicitly apply a theoretical framework to literary material.

*Elina M. Salminen*

SUSAN LAPE: *Race and Citizen Identity in the Classical Athenian Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-19104-3. XII, 341 pp. GBP 55, USD 90.

In this book, Susan Lape looks at Athenian citizenship during the Classical period: how and why it was controlled, how definitions changed depending on the circumstances, and also why the boundary between citizen and non-citizen was so important. The word "race" in the title is bound to raise some questions, and Lape explains her usage of the term. The term, simultaneously ambiguous and heavily burdened by 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup>-century ideologies, in Lape's work mainly refers to social identities that revolve around ancestry and the importance of not mixing Athenian and non-Athenian blood, supported by myths of autochthony and thus Athenians "belonging" to a specific territory.

Lape draws on written sources ranging from drama to epigraphy as well as anthropologists, Classicists and historians. She starts off by summarizing the development of laws and decrees on citizen status starting with Draco and continuing on to Pericles. She utilizes anthropological theory – including the monstrous term "social actor" for a person – to explain the tendency for stricter limitations on what qualified for a citizen. Although a complicated system with many variables, it largely functioned pragmatically. Control of citizen status allowed for privileges on one hand, and for an illusion of equality on the other: metics could be taxed more heavily and citizens less, while an "equal" status as citizens lessened conflict and bitterness between economic classes.

While Lape says she focuses on things Athenian citizens had in common, in order to do this she looks at trials and comedic plays that outline why someone was not an Athenian (Chapter 2). Poor character ran hand in hand with mixed or otherwise suspicious ancestry: an impostor could be recognized by a lack of love for democracy and other Athenian virtues. In an interesting section she discusses the role gender played in lawsuits against supposed impostors. Since women were largely isolated from the public sphere, it was easy to question their legitimacy or their marital status. At the same time, Lape points out trials were often between family members, making accusations of illegitimacy a risky business to say the least.

Chapters three and four are case studies on tragedy and historiography respectively. Lape sees opposing ideas regarding reproduction in Euripides' *Ion*: Creousa is the one preserving the Athenian bloodline, but at the same time Apollo, by raping her, makes her less than an active agent. In other words, the play acknowledges the importance of female bloodlines and

yet represents women as rather hapless when it comes to the important task of preserving Athenian lineage. Herodotus' and Thucydides' silence about Athenian racial identity Lape takes to be a counter-reaction: nurture is emphasized to counter Athenians' own emphasis on nature. At times she seems to push the texts a bit too far, for example saying the anecdote about Pelasgian-Athenian children growing up democratic and Athenian despite their Pelasgian surroundings is, in fact, a case of nurture over nature. This seems like explaining away evidence contrary to the main argument while not giving similar attention to other passages.

Following this, Lape turns to oratory and trials against suspected impostors such as Demosthenes' *Against Eubulides* and *Against Neaera*. Such texts are useful sources for how citizens were scrutinized. Special, polis-wide *dokimasiai* were conducted in 445/6 and 346/5 BC in addition to the routine scrutinies performed as a rite of passage and on entering public office. In addition to supposedly weeding out outsiders, the scrutinies encouraged exemplary behaviour as democratic and pro-Athenian conduct was considered evidence of being Athenian.

*Race and Citizen Identity in the Classical Athenian Democracy* starts out with the broad outline of the development of citizenship laws and finishes by showing how circumstance caused slackening and tightening the legislation. During the worst years of the Peloponnesian War, male citizens were allowed to procreate with two women – free Athenians or not – to supply the polis with much-needed offspring. After the Civil War, the strict Periclean criteria were reintroduced but with a grace period to prevent favouritism (for example only the opponents of the oligarchy gaining citizen status) while allowing for children born during the tumultuous period to be integrated without any awkward questions asked.

Susan Lape draws on an impressive range of ancient sources and scholarship to show how Athenian citizen status was motivated by self-interest and was constantly in flux, but throughout the Classical period was an important factor in upholding stability. *Race and Citizen Identity in the Classical Athenian Democracy* is a valuable contribution to the study of identity in Antiquity, and shows that even though currently a popular topic, much of interest can still be said about it.

Elina M. Salminen

GYÖRGY NÉMETH: *Kritias und die Dreißig Tyrannen. Untersuchungen zur Politik und Prosopographie der Führungselite in Athen 404/403 v. Chr.* Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien (HABES), Band 43. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2006. ISBN 978-3-515-08866-4. 203 S. EUR 39.

Il libro di György Németh costituisce un'analisi dettagliata della politica e delle istituzioni ateniesi nel tormentato periodo dei Trenta. Particolare attenzione viene data alla natura e alla composizione di questo gruppo oligarchico, come pure al ruolo e allo status della classe dei cavalieri e degli opliti, senza dimenticare le risorse economiche in possesso della classe dirigente. L'autore ritiene che i numeri a noi noti dei componenti del regime dei Trenta siano derivati dalle considerazioni politico-teoretiche, secondo le quali lo stato ideale dovesse consistere di 3000 cittadini-opliti, 300 cavalieri e 30 oligarchi. Nei Capitoli 4 e 5 vengono presentati cataloghi prosopografici di coloro che in qualche modo erano associati ai Trenta, o in qualità di sostenitori o come vittime. Tuttavia questi materiali potevano essere meglio utilizzati nei

capitoli precedenti, soprattutto nell'analisi della storia sociale, benché Németh sembra abbia ragione nel ritenere, per esempio, che il metodo prosopografico non aiuti molto per stabilire come i membri dei Trenta siano stati eletti. La prosopografia del resto non consente neppure di approfondire l'immagine propagata dalle fonti antiche dei Trenta come avari cacciatori di lucro e potere.

Németh fa anche riferimento al notissimo frammento del *Sisifo* satirico (fr. 19 Snell) attribuito a Crizia (p. 27 n. 88). Anche se l'attribuzione (che risale a Sesto Empirico) non è del tutto scontata, tale possibilità, e le conseguenze in caso di conferma, potevano essere discusse, vista l'importanza politico-religiosa dei temi trattati nel passo.

Non mancano errori di stampa o altre sviste di carattere tecnico. Un index locorum sarebbe stato auspicabile. Insomma, si tratta di un utilissimo resoconto di un tema rilevante, con importanti conclusioni e risposte che non sembrano forzate, bensì basate su una lettura critica delle fonti.

*Mika Kajava*

FERGUS MILLAR: *Rome, the Greek World, and the East*. Vol. 3: *The Greek World, the Jews, and the East*. Edited by HANNAH M. COTTON – GUY M. ROGERS. Studies in the History of Greece and Rome. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 2006. ISBN 0-8078-5693-2. XXVII, 516 pp. USD 70.00 (hb), 29.95 (pb).

*The Greek World, the Jews, and the East* completes the three-volume series of essays and articles by Sir Fergus Millar, the first two being *The Roman Republic and the Augustan Revolution* and *Government, Society, and Culture in the Roman Empire*. All papers in the third volume have been previously published over the course of several decades and, as suggested by the multi-part title, cover a range of topics. The eighteen essays have been divided into sections, however, and this helps the reader see the development of Millar's ideas and arguments, sometimes over the course of more than one article.

The first six articles deal with the Hellenistic world and Rome. Millar looks at Hellenistic Syria and Phoenician cities on the one hand, and at individual events and people such as the Maccabean Revolution and Polybius on the other. He points out the nuanced and complex interactions between groups of people, and concludes that neither "Hellenization" nor "Romanization" were ever completed as processes: in Syria, Hellenization was mainly prevalent among the urban upper classes and never replaced local cultures; in Phoenicia things already familiar were readily adopted – for example the polis system which resembled Phoenician cities – but cities could retain autonomy and local officials under both the Seleucids and the Romans; and Greek cities were given various privileges allowing more autonomy (as evidenced by coins, for example). The paper on the Maccabean Revolution adds a slightly different twist to the theme: Millar believes Antiochus Epiphanes' attempts to abolish Judaism reflect a relationship characterized better by conflict than syncretism or coexistence, again testifying to the Hellenizing movement failing.

The next six papers pair Rome with the East, although again in the broadest sense. In the first paper, Millar looks at the Gospels as historical documents and concludes that John shows the most understanding of Judaism and should be considered most accurate as a result.

(As opposed to many, he believes a mix-and-match approach to be misleading.) The following paper discusses what Millar perceives as the three stages of colonization of the Near East, focusing on some examples of each: Berytus as representing the Augustan veteran colonies; Ptolemais, Caesarea and Aelia Capitolina as Judaeian colonies of the mid-first to mid-second centuries; and Palmyra and Edessa as examples of the Severan period and the mid-third century. One paper looks at the multilingualism prevalent in the Roman Near East, while another provides examples of how Greek continued to be used by local populations in Parthia and Bactria, in some places until the eighth century AD. Other themes explored are long-distance trade in the Roman Near East and Aurelian and Zenobia in Syria.

Finally, the last part of the book is concerned with Jews, followed by an author's epilogue putting forth a suggestion for a more eastern focus to replace the traditional historical narrative (mostly) limited to Greece and Rome. Millar questions Porphyry's identity as an "Oriental" by pointing out his sense of remoteness when discussing the East as well as his exclusive usage of Greek-language sources. Similarly, he argues that Josephus is writing within the Graeco-Roman tradition by looking at his genealogies. The other articles explore identity, language and the relationship between Jewish communities and others, the broad outline being that Greek was prevalent among all groups but this by no means guaranteed a happy coexistence, particularly by the time of the Christianization of the Roman Empire.

To summarize the rather drably-presented list above, Millar is interested in interaction between different groups and peoples. He explores this dauntingly broad topic with an admirable breadth of knowledge. He exhausts written sources from inscriptions to the Bible, backing his arguments well while often admitting the limits of our knowledge. Due to the shortness of the articles, the range of topics explored, or just the limitations of the sources available, some articles are less conclusive and more like springboards for future research. As is often the case with "anthologies" like *The Greek World, the Jews, and the East*, some themes have been since explored at greater length, by Millar himself or others. Even so, the collection allows a glimpse into what great academic careers are made of: seemingly insatiable intellectual curiosity and the courage to explore new avenues.

Elina M. Salminen

GIOVANNI FORNI: *Le tribù romane IV. Scripta minora*. A cura di GIOVANNA MARIA FORNI. *Historica* 6. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2006. ISBN 88-7689-227-3. VII, 657, 18 tavv. EUR 230.

Giovanni Forni's opus magnum *Le tribù romane* is intended to replace Wilhelm Kubitschek's *Imperium Romanum tributim discriptum* (Vindobonae 1889). Forni accomplished only part III,1: *Le pseudo-tribù* (1985) before his untimely death in 1991. The task of publishing his lifework has been thereafter taken on by his daughter Giovanna Maria Forni, who has by now edited three volumes of the first part containing the *tribules* (A–B published in 1996, C–I in 1999, and L–S in 2007), and the fourth part containing this collection of Forni's minor studies on the tribes. The most valuable part of the work would apparently be part II, which should collect the tribes under different regions and cities, as revealed in the article "La tribù Velina degli Aquileiesi" (1989), which is an excerpt of the work going on. Hopefully that second part will be published one day.

Forni himself had already planned to publish a collection of his papers on the tribes, but did not have time to finish it. As G. M. Forni intended to realise her father's plans and to publish the book under review quickly, the articles dealing with the tribes were left out of the collection of Forni's papers *Scritti vari di storia, epigrafia e antichità romane* collected and edited in 1994 by Maria Gabriella Angeli Bertinelli. However, more than ten years passed before this collection on the tribes appeared by which time also Prof. Hubert Devijver, who had pointed out the importance of such a collection, had died, a fact apparently not noticed by G. M. Forni, who apologises to Devijver for the delay in the foreword of the collection.

But this collection of articles is, in any case, highly valuable for all those interested in the tribes of ancient Rome: it makes easily accessible the articles dealing with tribes written by the most eminent *tribus* researcher of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The articles arranged in chronological order cover the years from 1956 to 1990, thus omitting the first paper Forni ever wrote on this subject ("Il tramonto di un'istituzione. Pseudo-tribù romane derivate da soprannomi imperiali", in *Studi giuridici in memoria di Alfredo Passerini* [Studia Ghisleriana], Pavia 1954, 89–124) – omitted probably because the theme was later elaborated on by Forni in the volume on the *pseudo-tribù*, where he also explains that his views had changed over the years.

In the 40 articles of this collection, Forni approaches the tribes from a wide variety of angles: he considers the tribe as a part of the name formula and in poetical contexts, he writes about the morphology of the tribe names and about the double tribes and changing of the tribe, and he also discusses the research history of the tribes from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to name but a few of the themes present. His detailed accounts – in the style of Kubitschek – of the tribes in different regions (Pannonia, Dacia, Sicilia, Achaia, Umbria) and in some colonies (Augusta Emerita, Aquileia) are important predecessors for the expected final volume II. The importance of epigraphy for scholarship on the tribes is evident throughout the book but especially in the shorter articles, which re-examine individual inscriptions mentioning the tribe.

Several of the most recent articles in the collection lay emphasis on the fact that the tribe was always bound to a citizen, never to a city. That Forni's ideas in this respect were clarified only in his later years can be seen by comparing the titles of the articles: in 1976 "La tribù Papiria di Augusta Emerita", but in 1989 "La tribù Velina degli Aquileiesi".

This collection is well-edited; I noticed only a few misprints. All the articles are newly typeset, but the original page numbers are presented in the page margins. The text is mostly unaltered, although some corrections and additions have been made according to the notes left by the author himself. A hundred pages of indices contain ancient sources, inscriptions, personal names, tribes, and geographical names, and make the use of this collection easy. This is an extremely useful book not only for anyone working on tribes, but also for epigraphers in general.

*Laura Buchholz*

FRANCISCO PINA POLO: *The Consul at Rome: the civil functions of the consuls in the Roman Republic*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-521-19083-1. X, 379 pp. GBP 65, USD 110.

A few years ago, in a study of consular legislation in the pre-Sullan republic, I noted that the consulship of republican Rome would merit "a thorough treatment comparable to that which Corey Brennan has recently bestowed to the praetorship" (*Arctos* 38 [2004], 133). The book



under review here is nothing less than the much-needed study that I called for. Although the occupancy of the consulship provided the very basis for the civic dating system of the Romans and, indeed, the institution itself has always been perceived as the focal point of and the key to the politics of the republican period, the magistracy has long received very little systematic attention *per se* (cf. Hans Beck et al. [eds.], *Consuls and Res Publica. Holding High Office in the Roman Republic*, Cambridge 2011, 1: "the consulship of the Roman republic is notoriously under-researched"). Since its treatment in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century by Ettore De Ruggiero (*Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* II, Roma 1892, 679–862) the consulship has been considered only in works dealing with the republican system as a whole, whereas many other political institutions of the Republic – such as the Senate, the popular assemblies, the tribunate of the plebs, the censorship, the aedileship and the praetorship – have been examined in full-length monographic studies.

Pina Polo's excellent book, filling a major void in the scholarly literature on Roman political institutions, is the first major tangible result of two recent research projects led by the author in conjunction with Hans Beck, Antonio Duplá and Martin Jehne: *Cónsules, consulares y el gobierno de la República romana* (2005–2007) and *Cónsules, consulares y el gobierno de la República romana entre Sila y Augusto* (2008–2010), both funded by the Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia del Gobierno de España. Moreover, Pina Polo's monograph was almost immediately followed by the publication of another tome on the consulate, H. Beck et al. (eds), *Consuls and Res Publica* (see above), which is a proceedings-volume from an international conference organized by Pina Polo and his collaborators at the Universidad de Zaragoza in September of 2007. Although both are dedicated to the consulship of the Roman Republic, the two volumes differ markedly in their aims and approaches. Whereas the contributions to the conference publication primarily focus on problems pertaining to political culture and sociology, Pina Polo's book is a systematic survey of the civil functions of the consuls. However, the two books share a fundamental methodological feature. Both are concerned not so much with what the holders of the office were allowed to do according to constitutional theory, in the manner of the classical *Staatsrecht* tradition, but with what they actually did in practice. In collecting a wealth of empirical data on consular activities, Pina Polo has laid a new foundation for the study of the consulship of the Republic.

After the usual preliminaries, including an introduction providing a very good general contextualization along with an overview of previous research (pp. 1–9), follows the main body of the book, which is constituted by fifteen numbered chapters organized in two parts.

The first part, entitled *The Consular Functions in the Pre-Sullan Age (367–81)*, consists of eleven chapters. In the first chapter, "The consuls taking office" (pp. 13–20), the author is concerned with the formalities pertaining to the inception of the consuls' term, and also discusses the date on which this took place (which differed over time). The following discussion, "Consuls and civic religion" (pp. 21–57), is dedicated to the religious functions of the consuls, which included the duty to preside over the *feriae Latinae* and, above all, the responsibility to preserve and, whenever required, re-establish the *pax deorum*; this was something they did in conjunction with the Senate in accordance with strict rules. In the third chapter, "Consuls, the agents of diplomacy in the Roman state" (pp. 58–82), the role of the consuls in the diplomatic process is dealt with, a field of action rigorously supervised by the Senate. In the fourth chapter, "Communication between the consuls and the people: edicts and *contiones*" (pp. 83–98), the author documents the various subject matters on which consuls issued edicts, and the manners

in which they sought to influence the political process by formally addressing the people. He observes that the consuls of the pre-Sullan Republic spent most of their year in office away from Rome, a state of affairs which greatly reduced the political importance of the consulate. The following discussion, "Consuls as legislators" (pp. 99–121), is to a great extent a dialogue with my book *Magistrates and Assemblies. A Study of Legislative Practice in Republican Rome* (ActaIRF 24, Rome 2001). Though Pina Polo offers alternative interpretations at several points (I do not find it appropriate to enter into a discussion of them here), he does agree with me not only that consular legislation on civil matters was very rare in the pre-Sullan Republic (p. 101), but also that many of the consular laws that have been circulating in the scholarly literature since the 19<sup>th</sup> century are actually hypothetical creations of modern research (p. 110): "... their [*scil.* the consuls'] intervention in civil legislation during the pre-Sullan period is more questionable. In fact, as Sandberg rightly states, there is no certainty of their participation in many laws that Rotondi attributed to consuls. On the contrary, in many cases consular participation is only a hypothesis, if not mere speculation, formulated by modern scholarship. The use of Rotondi's compilation and the lack of alternative general studies have for decades resulted in the mechanical repetition of these hypotheses without consideration of the need for further verification." (cf. p. 101).

In the sixth chapter, "The jurisdiction of the consuls" (pp. 122–34), Pina Polo deals with consular jurisdiction which did not involve routine matters but rather special inquiries such as the famous one pertaining to the *Bacchanalia* in 186 BCE. In the following discussion, "Consuls as promoters of public works" (pp. 135–68), the author deals with the consuls' involvement in public building; including road-building, from the letting of the contract (*locatio*) to the formal approval of the finished work (*probatio*). This chapter is also concerned with their erection of temples, which – because of the fact that the vast majority of the temples of the republican period were vowed by commanding magistrates in the field and thus were victory monuments – constituted a particularly important category of consular building. The author collects and discusses all the evidence for consuls performing the *votum* (vow), the *locatio* and the *dedicatio* (the consecration or dedication) of a sanctuary.

In chapter eight, "Colonization and distribution of land" (pp. 169–87), Pina Polo discusses the control of public land and its use for colonization; the consuls played a crucial role supervising the distribution of *ager publicus* amongst colonists, either *viritim* or for the foundation of Roman or Latin *coloniae*. In the following chapter, "Appointment of a dictator" (pp. 188–91), the author is concerned with the technicalities pertaining to the naming of a dictator, an extraordinary measure in cases of emergency, which was always decided by the Senate but actually performed by a consul at the request of this body. The tenth chapter, "Consuls presiding over elections" (pp. 192–207), is concerned with the consuls' role in presiding over consular elections. The discussion focuses on a question first discussed by Lily Ross Taylor and Robert Broughton (*Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 19 [1949], 1–13), namely whether there were rules as to which one of the consuls should conduct the elections. Pina Polo's conclusion is that it was not the seniority of the consul, but rather the military situation in Italy and in the consular provinces that decided the matter each year. The last chapter of the first part of the book, "The consular year in the pre-Sullan age" (pp. 208–22), nicely sums up the typical activities of the consuls of the pre-Sullan period during their year in office.

The second part, entitled *The Consular Functions in the Post-Sullan Age (80–50)*, is constituted by four chapters, one of which is the formal ending of the whole volume. The

twelfth chapter, "The supposed *lex Cornelia de provinciis ordinandis* and the presence of consuls in Rome in the post-Sullan period" (pp. 225–48), is dedicated to a detailed study of an alleged reform of the consulship by Sulla. According to Mommsen, the dictator passed a law which put the administration of the provinces in the hands of promagistrates, obliging the consuls, along with the whole collegium of the praetors, to remain in Rome during their year in office. Pina Polo gives his full support to Adalberto Giovannini (*Consulare imperium*, Basel 1983), who in his view "finally dismantled Mommsen's thesis" (p. 227). He does recognize that the evidence suggests that the consuls of the post-Sullan period spent their year in office at Rome rather than setting out for their provinces in the beginning of the year, but he explains this new situation by reference to the recurring outbreaks of political unrest which is arguably a defining feature of the decades between the Gracchan period and the ascendancy of Sulla. According to Pina Polo the Senate increasingly preferred the consuls to remain in Rome "as an instrument of control against possibly seditious tribunes" (p. 247). Pina Polo is absolutely right in stressing that there is no evidence for a formal statute reforming the governance of Rome and the Roman realm overseas, but – whatever the cause (the possibility of a senatorial decree is mentioned (p. 247) – it is clear that Sulla's supremacy heralded a new era in the administration of the Roman state.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters, "Consular functions from the year 80 to 50" (pp. 249–315) and "The consular year in the post-Sullan period" (pp. 316–28), Pina Polo collects and discusses the evidence for the activities of the consuls after Sulla. The most important observation he makes here is that the main outcome of the consuls' presence in Rome during the entire year was that they engaged in day-to-day politics: "Without a doubt, one of the most significant changes from the pre-Sullan period was the greater importance that the consuls began to have in the legislative field" (p. 249).

At the end of the book, after the conclusion (pp. 329–34), there is an extensive and very good bibliography (pp. 335–57). Three indices – of subjects (pp. 358 f.), of ancient sources (pp. 360–74) as well as of ancient personal names (pp. 375–9) – add to the usefulness of the book as a research tool.

Kaj Sandberg

DAVID J. MATTINGLY: *Imperialism, Power, and Identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2011. ISBN 978-0-691-14605-8. XXIV, 342 pp., 38 halftones, 14 line illustrations, 15 tables, 17 maps. GBP 27.95, USD 39.95.

*Experiencing the Roman Empire* is not a monograph in its strictest sense; instead, it is a collection of studies all shedding light on the same theme, the impact of Rome's imperialism on its subject people. This aptly-named book is based on a series of invited lectures given at Tufts University in 2006. It is David Mattingly's personal drawing-together of three decades of research, reissued, updated and distilled in order to discuss the implications of the expansion of the Roman Empire and the new theory-influenced paradigms related to this. This is a modern take on the issue of utilising post-colonial studies and their explanatory power as a framework, executed by focusing on a series of case studies across the empire, specifically in the provinces. The underlying but not hidden agenda is Mattingly's self-expressed scepticism

about the supposed universal benefits of the Roman rule especially in the provinces and his quest to replace the Romanization paradigm with a more sophisticated explanatory model. The focus on the meaningfulness of analogies and similarities with modern empires and imperialism is also important.

Mattingly is an archaeologist who bases much of his research on his own fieldwork. He also uses epigraphical records and literary sources throughout the work – although normally by referring to modern literature rather than to the sources themselves and possibly not as extensively as one would wish. Some of the work included here has previously been published in articles and monographs, but some is unpublished previously and dealing with new, emerging issues. This and the fact that these studies have been originally presented as lectures is to some extent reflected in the contents of the book, as some of the "new" chapters read more like the setting out of a research agenda, whereas there are also chapters which are based on very thorough research and extensive fieldwork (Ch. 2, 6, 7, 8 and 9). The inevitable result is that while some parts of the book are very detailed, others are more general and vary in depth and style of approach.

All chapters have kept furnished with an extensive reference apparatus, and there is a bibliography that is up-to-date and contains virtually everything needed to illustrate the subjects discussed, this fact making the book a very useful tool for further research, as the author himself intended (p. xix).

The book is divided into four parts, (I) Imperialism and Colonialism, (II) Power, (III) Resources and (IV) Identity, reflecting Mattingly's chosen fields of approach and containing nine chapters in all. After an Introduction on a personal note (pp. xvii–xxiv), Part One, "Imperialism and Colonialism", starts with a chapter (Ch. 1 "From *Imperium* to Imperialism: Writing the Roman Empire", pp. 3–42) laying out the theoretical background of the work and charting out the debate on "imperialism", the traditional understanding of the Roman Empire as well as the problems with the orthodox paradigm of "Romanization". Ch. 2 ("From One Colonialism to Another: Imperialism and the Maghreb", pp. 43–72) studies the implications of the old paradigm of imperialism in relation to the archaeology of Roman Africa.

Part Two, "Power", focuses on the uses and dynamics of "power" in imperial decision-making. Ch. 3. ("Regime Change, Resistance, and Reconstruction: Imperialism Ancient and Modern", pp. 75–93) explores the Roman invasion of Britain in AD 43, its concept and morals, also in the light of modern British imperialism, whereas Ch. 4 ("Power, Sex and Empire", pp. 94–122) deals with the power asymmetries in sexual encounters.

Part Three, "Resources", studies the economic dynamics of the Empire. Ch. 5 ("Ruling Regions, Exploiting Resources", pp. 125–45) argues for a significant state intervention in imperial economy and underlines the behavioural consequences of an empire's efforts to exploit its subjects economically. In Ch. 6 ("Landscapes of Imperialism. Africa: A Landscape of Opportunity?", pp. 146–66) and in Ch. 7 ("Metals and Metalla: A Roman Copper-Mining Landscape in the Wadi Faynan, Jordan", pp. 167–201) two specific cases are presented, an imperial power fashioning a landscape and exploiting resources on a large scale, respectively.

Part Four, "Identity", begins with the seminal Ch. 8 ("Identity and Discrepancy", pp. 203–45), where Mattingly returns to the more theoretical issue of identities. According to Mattingly, the demographic, economic and social impact of the Empire, which requires much closer attention than is currently allowed for, was much less homogenous than commonly presented under the "Romanization" model to which Mattingly ascribes the old unilateral civilizing com-

ponents already defined by Francis Haverfield and which suffers from the historic weight of modern "imperialism". To replace this out-dated, and – to Mattingly – non-explanatory and hopelessly entangled paradigm ("A paradigm with so many different meanings is no paradigm at all", p. 39) Mattingly offers the concepts of discrepant experience and discrepant identity, terms derived from the work of Edward Said. Discrepancy, according to Mattingly, is to be understood not simply as a postcolonial opposition to participation and collaboration but as representing the full spectrum of different experiences of and reactions to the Empire. At the end of the chapter, specific examples of discrepant identities in Britain and in Roman Africa are studied. Finally, Ch. 9 ("Family Values: Art and Power at Ghirza in the Libyan Pre-desert", pp. 246–97) explores issues in readings of iconography and the significance of local identities in studying art in the Roman provinces.

The book ends with an Afterword ("Empire Experienced", pp. 269–76), extensive References (pp. 277–324) and an Index (pp. 325–42).

Mattingly has been criticized for an unnecessarily negative view of the implications of the Empire and for disregarding the research tradition (and results) of the previous two centuries predominantly focused on elites. While the focus of the book is without doubt on the setting of a new agenda, Mattingly counters this criticism and responds to some previous criticism by promising to incorporate the traditional elite-focused approach into a broad scheme of social analysis and not to abandon this approach in favour of an agenda that simply prioritizes resistance as a subject.

The text is very well structured, with ample definitions, introductions, subtitling and conclusions reiterating the main points. Mattingly is a good writer and his prose makes good reading, regardless of whether or not one is willing fully to share his new readings of the issues involved. The scholarship of this book is admirable and the points well argued. Mattingly may not be such a lonely front line soldier defending a new paradigm as he sometimes implies, but there is no denying that he is a central figure in the discussion that more and more pervades archaeological studies dealing with the understanding of the implications of Roman imperialism, whether we call this "Romanization" or "discrepant identities". This book is a passionate, thought-provoking and necessary statement in this debate.

*Pirjo Hamari*

KOSTAS BURASELIS: *Θεία δωρεά. Das göttlich-kaiserliche Geschenk. Studien zur Politik der Severer und zur Constitutio Antoniniana.* Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische and hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 18. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien 2007. ISBN 978-3-7001-3725-2. XII, 181 S. EUR 39.20.

This is the German translation – in my opinion a very good translation, by W. Schürmann – of a monograph originally published in Greek in 1989. The author is well-known for his work both on Hellenistic and Roman history and the topic is of great interest; seeing that books written in modern Greek do not necessarily receive the attention they may deserve, it is very good that the monograph is now available in one of the major scholarly languages. It is also to be observed that this book is not simply a translation of the original Greek version, but that the author has brought the text up to date with various addenda, especially with references to literature published after 1989, although he himself admits (p. IX) that he did not have the time "zu einer

vollständigen Neubearbeitung des Stoffes und zur Einarbeitung – I assume that "vollständigen" is to be supplied here, too – der beständig anwachsenden Literatur". It would be interesting to know if the author thought that a "complete revision" would have been desirable or even necessary; I personally think that even as such this an impressive study on an important topic.

Although the subtitle of the book defines its scope, I would assume that many readers would expect it to deal mainly with the *constitutio Antoniniana* (henceforth "CA"), and this impression could be corroborated by, e.g., the fact that, in his original preface (p. XI), the author mentions "Bürgerrechtspolitik" as the main object of study and that the first chapter ("Teil") is called "Einführende Bemerkungen zur Constitutio Antoniniana und zur Forschungsmethode". But although the CA and its consequences are in fact dealt with in great detail, much of the book is dedicated to an analysis of the development of the historical circumstances that led to the proclamation of the CA, the author disagreeing with those scholars who, perhaps following the ancient sources which do not have much to say on the subject, prefer to see the CA mainly as the result of a "whim" of Caracalla.

The fact that the author tries to analyse the *constitutio* as the result or the culmination of a historical process, or, more accurately, as the result of a determined policy of the Severans, means that instead of being just a study of the CA – a worthy subject in itself – this book becomes a very notable contribution to the period and the ideology of the Severans in general. No future account of the period can afford to ignore this study.

The "Einführende Bemerkungen" (cf. above), with interesting observations on the history of the study, and on the text, of the CA, ends (p. 13) with the statement that the CA deserves to be studied not just as a part of "Bürgerrechtspolitik" or as reflecting aspects "der sozio-ökonomischen Verhältnisse ihrer Zeit", but also as a document "des geistigen Hintergrunds der Severer sowie ... ihrer Regierungsphilosophie und der von ihnen praktizierten Politik", and that a study of the historical factors "als potentielle Rahmenelemente der Constitutio" did not exist. A study on these lines is what the author sets about doing, and in my opinion he does this with great success. In a spectacular display of erudition, the author manages to prove, if not definitively, at least very plausibly, that the CA, instead of being just a "whim" or a desperate attempt to make some money, was the result of a conscious policy of *aequitas* and "Egalisierung" as practiced by the Severans, at least in some details inspired by no lesser a person than Alexander the Great. The account offered by the author is based on a very thorough reading of all the available epigraphical, papyrological and literary sources (all listed on p. 175ff.), among whom he also reckons Curtius Rufus, who is assigned a Severan date (p. 36); this new dating will, however, perhaps not be accepted by all scholars.

The consequences of the CA are discussed in the latter part of the book. The onomastic consequences – the spread of Aurelii, etc. – are discussed on p. 94ff. (with an interesting list of persons referring in inscriptions to their pre-CA nomenclature on p. 108ff.), and "der faktische Inhalt" of the CA is studied on p. 120ff. In this part the author studies the consequences of the CA from the point of view of private law and criminal law – with the observation that the CA, by largely eliminating the dichotomy between citizens and *peregrini*, intensified (verschärften) the need for distinguishing between *honestiores* and *humiliores* (p. 133). The book concludes with an impressive examination of the relationship of the CA to taxation (p. 143ff.). To conclude, this is an important book on an important subject.

MALCOLM R. ERRINGTON: *Roman Imperial Policy from Julian to Theodosius*. Studies in the History of Greece and Rome. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill 2006. ISBN 0-8078-3038-0. XII, 336 pp. USD 45.

As the author himself states, since the magnum opus of A. H. M. Jones appeared in 1964, late antiquity in general has experienced a boom in studies, but relatively little further attention has been directed to the functioning of the state in the same period, perhaps on the assumption that Jones had said it all. For his generation, perhaps he did. But Errington's extremely valuable book shows to what extent new evidence and a fresh approach on, say, legislative matters, can lead to new insights. It must be said at once: we are dealing with an excellent work. It presents a detailed investigation of the government and machinery of the late Roman state between the death of Julian in AD 363 and that of Theodosius I in AD 395. This is the period where the author sees the first phase of the split of the empire into East and West in AD 364, when Valentinian and Valens took over their separate spheres, an event that paved the way for the empire's irreversible division between Honorius and Arcadius on the death of Theodosius I in 395. Apart from an introduction, seven chapters are divided between three main parts. In Part I, titled 'Actors and Events', E first deals with dynastic successions, and in the next part, the frontier sectors and their diverse threats (Gaul and the Rhine, Illyricum and the Danube, the Eastern frontier, Africa). Part II, 'East and West' is dedicated not only to the imperial government, but also to the regional nature of imperial legislation. The second chapter looks at Rome and its varying importance (Valentinian I as a powerful ruler could disregard it, whereas the weaker Valentinian II listened more to senatorial views), and the next looks at Constantinople, which emerges as a proper capital city during this period. Part III, 'Religion and the State' deals with the crucial questions of the development in the relationship of church and empire, with two separate chapters, one on Valentinian and Valens, and one on Theodosius.

One central thesis in E's narration is that imperial action was guided more by practicality than by ideology – but does he go too far in this? Similarly E defines Valens' orientation with regard to church policy as pragmatic. And of Theodosius he says (p. 258) that he let himself be swayed far more by considerations of power and the future of his dynasty than by his religious beliefs. E's main emphasis is a narrative approach; he only seldom grapples with previous scholarship. One could point to some gaps in the Bibliography, but they are insignificant. To sum up, this is a most valuable treatise on a crucial period of the Late Roman Empire.

*Heikki Solin*

*Res publica Veleiatium. Veleia, tra passato e futuro*. A cura di NICOLA CRINITI. Seconda edizione aggiornata. Monte Università Parma Editore, Parma 2006. ISBN 88-7847-019-8. IX, 380 pp. EUR 16.

Questo volume raccoglie alcuni testi stesi dai migliori conoscitori dell'Emilia occidentale antica. Si tratta della seconda edizione aggiornata del libro, nel frattempo giunto alla quinta edizione (MUP 2009), dedicato all'*ager Veleias*, un antico centro ligure, poi *municipium* romano. L'anima del progetto è Nicola Criniti, benemerito studioso del Veleiate (e di altri centri come Nursia) e autore, nel presente volume, di due importanti contributi, cioè "Oppidum

Veleiatium: storia e civiltà a Veleia", un ben documentato saggio di 73 pagine, corredato da una ricchissima nota bibliografica, nonché la terza edizione critica, rivista e arricchita, della famosa *Tabula alimentaria* veleiate (pp. 259-361), fornita anch'essa da una bibliografia aggiornata, e inoltre accompagnata da una versione italiana in parallelo. Gli altri testi, tutti seguiti da una nota bibliografica ragionata, sono i seguenti: G. Mainino: Veleia e il diritto; L. Lanza: Il centro urbano di Veleia; P. L. Dall'Aglio: L'uso del suolo nel Veleiate: il *saltus*; M. Cavalieri: Arte, committenza e società: il caso Veleia; T. Albasi – L. Magnani: Veleia: ricerca scientifica e memoria. Gli indici mi sembrano ben redatti. Il volume indubbiamente rimarrà lettura obbligatoria per chiunque intenda portare avanti uno studio su qualsiasi aspetto della storia di Veleia.

Mika Kajava

LUCRETIU MIHAILESCU-BÎRLIBA: *Les affranchis dans les provinces romaines de l'Illyricum*. Philippika. Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 12. Harrassowitz Verlag, Göttingen 2006. ISBN 987-3-447-05380-8. X, 370 pp. EUR 78.

L'ouvrage de Mihailescu-Bîrliba se compose de deux parties: une première, où sont abordées différentes questions concernant les affranchis, soit dans l'Empire romain en général, soit dans l'Illyricum (l'a. n'explique d'ailleurs nulle part l'idée qu'il se fait de l'extension du terme *Illyricum*, mais il utilise celui-ci dans un sens très large, comparable à celui qu'il revêt au Bas-Empire, désignant la région qui s'étend de la Dalmatie jusqu'au Pont-Euxin), suivie d'une étude onomastique et d'un catalogue prosopographique comptant 711 numéros. Les sources sont presque toutes épigraphiques. Il est donc possible d'établir la qualité de l'ouvrage en contrôlant les explications des inscriptions proposées par l'auteur. Prenons un exemple au hasard, le, n° 498 à la p. 281, provenant de Scarbantia en Pannonie Supérieure; selon l'a., il s'agit de la dalle funéraire d'une certaine (Pompeia) Arbania Pompeiae Fuscae l(iberta). Tout d'abord, on est étonné que l'a. ne cite l'inscription que d'après les *RIU*, alors qu'elle a été publiée par Mommsen dans le *CIL* III 4245 (les éditeurs des *RIU* n'ajoutent rien à son explication). Le texte de l'inscription, disparue et connue de Mommsen uniquement par des copies antérieures, a été publié par ce dernier comme suit:

P·POMPEIVS·P·F  
VOLT·COLONVS  
VIANA·VET·LEG·III  
F·F·AN·LXX·H·S·E  
T·F·I·ARB·POMPE  
IAE·FVSCAE·L.

L'a. en donne la version suivante: *P(ublius) Pompeius P(ublii) f(ilius) Volt(inia tribu) Colonus, vet(eranus) leg(ionis) III, an(norum) LXX, h(ic) s(itus) e(st), t(estamento) f(ieri) i(ussit), Arb(aniae) Pompeiae Fuscae l(ibertae)*. Il commence ses explications en disant "Contrairement à ce qui (sic !) pensent les éditeurs du (sic !) *RIU*, nous considérons qu'il s'agit d'une affranchie, et non de trois, puisque Pompeia est un gentilice, qui appartient non seulement au vétéran, mais aussi à Fusca, sa patronne". On est stupéfié devant de telles affirmations. La lecture du



texte n'offre pas la moindre difficulté, comme non plus son explication. Pour commencer, les éditeurs des *RIU* ne disent pas un traître mot de l'interprétation du texte. Pour ne relever que quelques détails, l'a. n'a pas compris que le légionnaire était originaire de Vienne (dont le nom est écrit *Viana*), dont les habitants étaient inscrits dans la Voltinia; la vérification de l'origine du personnage est importante pour l'histoire sociale, un sujet central pour l'a. Venons-en aux affranchies: Pompeia Arbania serait l'affranchie de Pompeia Fusca; en réalité, c'est tout le contraire. Pompeia Fusca est l'affranchie de P. Pompeius Colonus, dont la dalle a été posée *arb(itratu) Pompeiae Fuscae l(ibertae)*. *Arbania* est un nom fantôme, un caprice étrange de l'a.

Je suis désolé, ce cas n'est pas le seul ; mais il est inutile de continuer en énumérant d'autres exemples. Le cas analysé ci-dessus suffit pour montrer que l'a. manque d'une solide critique historique et philologique. La même chose vaut aussi pour l'exploitation des données onomastiques, comme le montrent les listes des cognomina faites selon l'appartenance linguistique du nom (pp. 130 ss. ; deux exemples seulement : à la p. 144, *Ionica* est enregistré comme un nom latin, mais il s'agit du grec Ἰωνική; à la p. 149 *Homuncio* est en revanche enregistré comme grec, bien qu'il s'agisse d'un bon nom latin, formé de l'appellatif *homuncio*). Et que dire encore de cas comme celui qui apparaît à la p. 227, où l'a. donne *Helpidutis* comme nominatif au lieu de *Helpidus* ; le même problème se répète à la p. 277, où le surnom *Nobilinis* est créé de toutes pièces et sa rareté discutée, alors que la femme en question s'appelait *Nobilis*.

Dans ces conditions, il n'y a pas de sens à continuer l'examen des chapitres précédant les listes onomastiques et le catalogue des inscriptions. Les matériaux intéressants qui forment le sujet du volume mériteraient un traitement fondé sur une solide explication des sources.

*Heikki Solin*

IOANA A. OLTEAN: *Dacia. Landscape, Colonization and Romanization*. Routledge, Abingdon – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-415-59482-0. XII, 248 pp. GBP 22.50.

Dacia, with its reputation of being a somewhat anomalous Roman province, has in the past been regarded as emblematic of many problems concerning the impact of the Empire in its society and landscape, but just as in the case of Britain (arguably another anomaly among the provinces), these problems are to a remarkable extent a creation of modern scholarship. And just as in Britain, whatever the archaeologists and classicists have managed to dig up from the soil or from the written sources, has until astonishingly recent times had to undergo the interpretative crucible of national debate where the "native" roots, substrata, and influence have been posited against "Romanisation" or some of its aliases. This all notwithstanding the fact that both "native traditions" and "Romanisation" are hardly self-evident or self-containing phenomena at all; the latter, in particular, has been extensively re-examined and to some extent dismantled as a straightforward explanatory device (for instance cf. Woolf's essential *Becoming Roman*, 1998). In her monograph on Dacia, Ioana Oltean, a specialist in Roman provincial archaeology and particularly its aerial methods, aims to take a comprehensive look into what the use of landscape in pre-Roman and Roman Dacia can tell us about the habitation, colonisation, and "Romanisation" in the area.

The Introduction sketches out both the current status and potential biases regarding Dacian studies, and comments upon the politicised nature of much of earlier scholarship regard-

ing the area of modern Romania. This is connected with one of the undeniable achievements of the monograph under review, namely that while being itself comparatively free from the interference of historicism and politicism of much of earlier studies of its field, it nonetheless manages to siphon a considerable amount of earlier Romanian archaeological research and transmit its crucial contents in a more approachable form. The archaeological methodology and the limitations of aerial survey are also fully covered. It may be pertinent to note, however, that not all of pre-Roman, or indeed even Roman, Dacia is covered by the book and its surveys; nearly the whole of Dacia Porolissensis northwards from around Potaissa is omitted. Chapter 2 gives an account of the physical topography of the Dacian heartland. Chapter 3 does the same regarding the area's history, setting off by combing the ancient sources for the Greeks' and Romans' knowledge about its inhabitants, even though substantial parts of this "knowledge" should be regarded as highly topical in nature. After a brief look into the Greek sources, the Roman written testimonies are used to structure the narrative up to the time of the Trajanic wars of conquest, which leads to the description of the provincial administration and the province's later history.

The last three chapters constitute the most valuable part of the book. Chapter 4 is dedicated to the study of central Dacia's pre-Roman societal structure on the basis of settlement patterns and other archaeological evidence. Much of the structural evidence accessed through aerial photography appears broadly similar to the broader European Iron Age with individual homesteads and fortified hilltop structures, but Oltean finds new evidence and intriguing further routes of interpretation, particularly regarding the locally well-represented category of tower houses, which henceforth cannot be seen simply as having had a defensive purpose. Chapter 5 carries the examination of archaeological evidence on to the Roman period and uses this to tease out a history of settlement patterns, use of natural resources, and the relationship of all this with the social landscape of provincial Dacia. Finally, Chapter 6 takes a look at the "Romanisation" promised in the book's title, with eventually perhaps slightly less engagement with the current debate regarding the validity and proper semantics of that concept as might have been hoped for. Nonetheless, the well-structured earlier part of the monograph makes the treatment in the chapter appear entirely appropriate, and contributes meaningfully to the whole. Aerial photography throughout the book is obviously well represented and prominent, its bibliography is up-to-date, and the index helpful and meticulous.

As the Roman period in Dacia lasted only for some 170 years, less than in any other non-ephemeral province, there exists a definite danger (perhaps augmented by the famous Augustan dictum discouraging trans-Danubian expansion) of falling into an ahistorical and teleological fallacy that imagines the province as somehow destined to be just an episodic experiment or a failed imperial fancy. On the other hand, the sheer scale of archaeological remains of the provincial period have been interpreted as pointing toward a very decisive drive to incorporate the area into the Empire, and high investment into its settlements. The old notion of heavy Roman colonisation is, however, found by Oltean to be not quite as straightforward as previously has been supposed: the old re-populationist view has been partly based on the Imperial written sources, such as Cassius Dio 68,14,4 and Eutropius 8,6,2. The notion of the Dacian population being fundamentally restructured and partly superseded by immigrants from all over the Empire may to a large extent simply be based on a literary tradition arising in the context of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century. Needless to say, modern interpretations either resisting or endorsing "Romanisation" have muddled the picture further.

Oltean's comparisons between Dacia and other Roman provinces bring the study much-needed perspective, particularly as this is augmented with extensive comparison between pre-Roman and post-conquest patterns of the area. Despite the undeniable natural riches of Dacia, it seems that positing an analogy with Roman Britain could have some validity with regard to the *political* involvement of the area within the Empire: neither province has produced any conclusive evidence of native senators (Fishbourne Palace should not be regarded as testifying to the contrary). The prominent role of the army, on the other hand, compares well with the similar preponderance of military economies in the Roman Germanies. In whatever forms the Roman influence worked in Dacia, however, Oltean envisions the native Dacians responding to it on the whole enthusiastically, with no clear evidence for local resistance of either physical or ideological nature, and an ensuing swift integration of the province. This reasoning, of course, is based upon the notion that "Romanisation" was a conscious and concrete trend which could effectively be resisted or rejected, and which moreover both aimed and resulted in an "integration" of any given province to an increasingly homogeneous and centrally cohesive Empire. Yet some widespread markers of Roman provincial identity, such as epigraphic commemoration, do not seem to testify to any significant participation of Dacian "natives"; this remains a problem, though hardly a crucial one, in Oltean's vision of Roman Dacia.

If her results, such as finding evidence for an intermixture of continuity and change in provincial Dacia, seem at times to be rather predictable, it is not necessarily the result of self-affirming research hypotheses; though hardly revolutionary, such data needs to be spelled out at some point. Hence, and particularly when considering the past studies of Dacian archaeology of both pre-Roman and provincial periods, Oltean's book is a clear success even by the merit of its conception. The most interesting results may still stem from Oltean's view of the ways that the particular circumstances in Dacia affected the way Romans interacted with their province. According to her it was this, perhaps more than anything else – obviously together with the very short timespan of the Roman rule – that fundamentally explains the surprisingly vigorous evidence for a multifarious continuum of pre-Roman patterns. So we have a combination of provincial particularities conditioning a relatively uniform Roman approach towards their provinces: to disagree would be very difficult. The work's contribution for the field of landscape studies is naturally to be welcomed as well, as is the shift (of course symptomatic of much of Roman provincial archaeology today) away from the urban centres and towards the countryside.

*Antti Lampinen*

NICOLAE GUDEA – THOMAS LOBÜSCHER: *Dacia. Eine römische Provinz zwischen Karpaten und Schwarzem Meer*. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Orbis Provinciarum. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2006. ISBN 978-3-8053-3415-0. IV, 115 S. mit 37 Farb-, 14 SW- und 32 Strichabb. EUR 24.90.

Con questo volume la preziosa serie di Orbis provinciarum raggiunge la provincia romana di Dacia. Gli autori descrivono con competenza la storia e l'archeologia della regione a partire dai tempi preromani fino al ritiro romano sotto Aureliano e oltre. I temi maggiormente trattati riguardano il militare, l'economia, la demografia e la religione, e non poteva mancare un reso-

conto della romanizzazione (pp. 89 e sgg.) che in pratica significò urbanizzazione. Riguardo alla religione, la raccolta, di per sé utile, delle numerose testimonianze epigrafiche di divinità venerate nella provincia avrebbe approfittato da una più articolata contestualizzazione dei dati rispetto alla comunicazione religiosa, ai rituali locali e regionali, nonché al comportamento religioso dei soldati e di altri immigrati. Inoltre le diverse forme culturali e sociali osservabili all'interno del territorio provinciale meritavano di essere approfondite in modo da evitare l'impressione che si sia trattato di un'area culturalmente uniforme. Le illustrazioni sono ben scelte e la veste tipografica è di discreta qualità. Purtroppo sono rimaste nel testo alcune sviste irritanti. A p. 23, per esempio, il nome corretto di "Didius Terentius Scaurianus" (governatore nel 109/112 d. C.) è D(ecimus) Terentius Scaurianus, e "Lucius Grassus" (procuratore della Dacia Porolissensis nel 123 d. C.) deve essere sostituito da Livius Gratus.

*Mika Kajava*

ERICH S. GRUEN: *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*. Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2011. ISBN 978-0-691-14852-6. XIV, 415 pp. GBP 27.95.

Ancient perceptions and portrayals of barbarians have undeniably received much attention since the publication of *Le miroir d'Hérodote* by François Hartog (1980), *Le Barbare* by Yves-Albert Dauge (1981), and *Inventing the Barbarian* by Edith Hall (1989). Since those works, the Greco-Roman literary depictions of peoples labelled as "barbarian" have predominantly been treated either through their negative connotations, or through the traditional literary *topoi* that negotiated with what was "known" about the foreigners. This twofold viewpoint was exemplified in Paul Cartledge's *The Greeks. A portrait of self and others* (1993), and of course Benjamin Isaac's widely debated *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (2004). Professor Gruen, however, takes his cue from a slightly earlier, although similarly influential publication: the 1975 monograph *Alien Wisdom* by Arnaldo Momigliano, and its largely unprecedented view of Greeks as being perpetually inspired by their immediate and further-away neighbours. By focusing on constructions of collective identity that sought connections between ancient groups instead of highlighting differences, Gruen intends to present a corrective to what he sees as quasi-orthodoxy in recent scholarship. He does this with remarkable erudition, a broad basis in modern scholarship, and a consistent eye for bringing variation into a subject that has recently (with some remarkable exceptions) become a rather monotonous rehearsal of a "Greco-Roman *leyenda negra*".

Part One, "Impressions of the 'Other'" constitutes a selection of case studies on some well-known ancient sources. Operating from the start in a constructive mode, Gruen begins (Ch. 1-2) with the image of Persia in Greek imagination – a construct that is often cited as one of the fundamentals of the categorical Greek view of "barbarians", and furthermore a strong influence on the whole western tradition of Orientalism. There are no great surprises in the choice of source material: Aeschylus, Herodotus, visual representations, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, and the postulated attitude of Alexander provide the chapters' framework. Next, Egypt's ambivalent position in the Classical imagination is taken up (Ch. 3). As was the case with Persia, it is this very ambivalence within such an intertwined field of cultural encounter that makes it possible to find support for both exceptionally positive and exceptionally negative readings.

The predominance of the "alien wisdom" paradigm in connection with Egypt has been noted in a number of studies, and most cases do seem rather *ad hoc* constructions than any sustained prejudice; for instance, Gruen's interpretation of Juvenal's *Satire* 15 goes a long way towards rehabilitating that infamous piece.

From Egypt the study travels westward, with Ch. 4 being dedicated to the concept of *Punica fides*, which seems a slightly narrow way of examining the Phoenico-Carthaginian image in Greco-Roman literature. The inevitable attempt to negate the existence of a mid-Republican Roman "categorization of Carthaginians as chronic transgressors of treaties" is hampered by our meagre sources, while, elsewhere, the lack of "unequivocal consistency" (p. 133) cannot be used to argue for a non-existence of iconospheres, as they are seldom, if ever, unequivocally consistent. Overall, Gruen has a tendency to read instances of positively evaluated individuals (e.g. Moschus of Sidon) as indications of a wider absence of negative imagery, yet he on other occasions may demand from an author a "blanket condemnation" of negative attributes instead of being similarly content with individual negative assessments.

The Gauls are the subject of Ch. 5, with emphasis on Caesar's portrayal of them, but including some preliminary words on the extensive tradition of writing about Gauls that he inherited. In this chapter, Gruen unfortunately leaves unaddressed the variegated interpretative potential of the differing registers of describing the northerners: it could be argued that poetic or aetiological accounts would bequeath quite different sets of images to the subsequent tradition than would texts of philosophical, technical or ethnographic nature. If, for instance, Diodorus' Gallic passages are not interpreted (and attributed) more closely than they are here, they produce very slight evidence indeed. Likewise, Caesar's omission of magic (*later* associated with druids by Pliny) is irrelevant, for he would probably not have admitted such a supernatural element into his *Commentarii*, judging by his general avoidance of the supernatural. Neither should reports of shocking things be discounted as relevant evidence: an author catering to an audience "more interested in the striking than the subtle" does not invalidate the currency of an iconosphere – on the contrary.

Chapter 6 is devoted to the Germans as they are treated by Tacitus, with little attention paid to other contemporaries, which would have complicated the picture beyond Tacitus' own literary agenda. Tacitus is, famously, occupied with a complex moralizing project that sought its aims through irony among other techniques, but even so the effect that he strove for depended on some sort of shared "knowledge" of Germans – and as with all outgroups, this "knowledge" would surely have included negative connotations as well. Chapter 7 concerns Tacitus' alleged defamation of Jews, which obviously has attracted a lot of attention in the past, while Ch. 8 ("People of Color") examines a group which similarly have been easily seen as suffering discrimination in antiquity – partly on account of the treatment they have received more recently. Set behind the inevitable early modern and modern backdrop, both the Jewish and "Aethiopian" representations are relatively easily demonstrated as quite nuanced.

Part Two, "Connections with the 'Other'", breaks new ground with much less effort than Part One, where Gruen engages in a case-by-case debate with scholars such as Hall and Isaac among others. While Part Two suffers from occasional repetition, it nonetheless brings up many topics perhaps under-discussed since Momigliano, and makes a valuable addition to the understanding of the dynamics of cultural appropriation in antiquity, a subject which has even more recently been well served by *Tales of the Barbarians* by Greg Woolf (Wiley-Blackwell, 2011). To begin with, Chapter 9 deals with foundation legends; though perhaps underestimat-

ing (globally) the prevalence of myths of foreign descent, Gruen nonetheless makes several good points concerning the limited currency and effectiveness of myths of autochthony (he is very probably correct in imagining other Greeks to have been rather underwhelmed by the Athenians' pretensions). Pelasgians, the Trojan and Arcadian origins of Rome, and Israel's origin stories are treated extremely competently.

Ch. 10 examines fictitious kinships between Greeks and "Others", approaching the theme through such legendary figures as Perseus. Regarding this famous case, Gruen may be over-interpreting our evidence by envisioning the famous Persian claim for kinship between the Argives and Persians as much more than an *ad hoc* device of argumentation. Similarly, to interpret the "Greek *agones*" of Egyptian Chemmis in Hdt. 2,91, held reportedly in honor of Perseus, as genuine multiculturalism is not as uncontroversial as Gruen makes it sound: since Herodotus says that the Chemmitans are the only Egyptians to have such games, this would in all likelihood classify them as following a "Greek style" in his thought. The largely Hellenistic cases of mythical Athenian-Egyptian connections and the "legend of Nectanebos" are on the whole much more secure, and attest to a desire to forge links between the cultures. Chapter 11 looks at the theme of fictitious kinships regarding the Jews, while Ch. 12 already foreshadows the brief "Conclusions" section, recapitulating many of the earlier points of the book. Greco-Jewish and Greco-Phoenician constructions, the Jewish portrayals of the Gentiles, and the many forms of Roman adaptations and appropriations are all included, with an abundance of perceptive remarks regarding all.

*Rethinking the Other* and Benjamin Isaac's *Invention of Racism* have both been published by Princeton University Press – and the books contain many similarities. Both, for instance, proceed by combining historical developments with highlighted geographical foci, which generally works better than the cumbersome and abstract method of Dauge. Indeed, ideally they should be used as goal posts by subsequent students to the subject. Following either one by itself would result in a skewed viewpoint concerning the ancient perception about foreign groups, while ultimately the most interesting interpretations are almost sure to lie somewhere between these interconnected, indeed mirrored, studies.

What is slightly perplexing in *Rethinking the Other* is the frequency with which a "playful one-upmanship" is postulated as one of the main motives for authors of cultural commentary (e.g. Herodotus, Artapanus). Readings based on humor, upsetting the expectations of the audience, and ironic subversion of commonly held stereotypes (which apparently does not qualify as evidence for ethnic prejudice for Gruen) abound. Yet, particularly with fragmentary or incompletely transmitted sources, we have very little grounds for reconstructing the epistemic regime which such literary satire is imagined to subvert – something that does not come across consistently in the book. Certainly, "the ancient Mediterranean was a multicultural world" (p. 253), but, realistically speaking, multiculturalism has seldom meant the eradication of partisan or xenophobic stereotypes through the whole breadth of the population. As sympathetic as it might be to envision an overriding "relish in cultural difference" among the ancient literary elites, taking such a posture too far leads to a misleadingly general sanitization of our sources' ideologies. Despite this determined over-optimism, however, *Rethinking the Other* is an extremely valuable departure from a scholarly viewpoint that has threatened to become ossified of late, and as such is very worthwhile to everyone involved in the study of ancient conceptions of foreignness and belonging.

*Antti Lampinen*

*Greek and Roman Aesthetics*. Edited and translated by OLEG V. BYCHKOV – ANNE SHEPPARD. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-83928-0 (hb), 978-0-521-54792-5 (pb). XLII, 249 pp. GBP 55, USD 95 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 30.99 (pb).

*Greek and Roman Aesthetics* continues the Cambridge series of Texts in the History of Philosophy. The series aims to provide (mainly) undergraduates with central philosophical texts in English, ranging from Aristotle to Nietzsche. Consequently, *Greek and Roman Aesthetics* is a collection of passages from the greats – Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Augustine – supplemented by shorter passages from other authors. There is a brief introduction including a useful list of some, although by no means all, terms which are difficult to translate. All texts are presented in English only, with some footnotes on how a particular phrase is expressed in the original.

The texts themselves have been translated by Anne Sheppard (Greek) and Oleg V. Bychkov (Latin) into pleasant, easy-flowing English. Doubtless due to the target audience of the monograph, there are few notes on the language, and anyone with more than a passing interest in the topic but limited Greek and Latin is better off looking at the numerous translations and commentaries published on most of the passages. The footnotes explain both the background of each text as well as proper names and other references in the texts at a level useful for the student or those who are rusty on their Classics. Major issues with reconstructing the texts are similarly pointed out in the footnotes, although no specifics are delved into.

As a textbook, or perhaps rather a sourcebook, *Greek and Roman Aesthetics* is handy for building a lecture series around as well as providing students with up-to-date translations of the texts. Even the undergraduate would do well to remember, however, that the texts lack context – only select passages are included (although some, like Aristotle's *Poetics*, are quoted at greater length), and in rare cases passages are abridged – as well as the fact the selection is by no means a comprehensive one.

Elina M. Salminen

MARK JOYAL – IAIN MCDUGALL – J. C. YARDLEY: *Greek and Roman Education. A Sourcebook*. Routledge Sourcebooks for the Ancient World. Routledge, Abingdon 2008. ISBN 978-0-415-33807-3. XX, 292 pp. GBP 22.99.

There is an immense amount of written material on education, if taken in the wide sense, from the Greco-Roman world. The editors of *Greek and Roman Education: A Sourcebook* have thus undertaken a task of considerable difficulty.

The volume consists of ten chapters, the first six of which cover the Greek world from Homer to the Hellenistic period. Whereas chapters 7 through 9 focus on Republican and early Imperial Rome, the last chapter covers the period from the second century AD to the end of Antiquity. In all, the volume contains passages from almost one hundred different authors and thirty inscriptions or papyri. A small number of images illustrate the texts. Moreover, a useful short introduction (pp. XV–XX) guides the lay reader in how to read the different kinds of sources present in the volume. The texts are printed exclusively in English, but some Greek and Latin terms are included in transliteration.

The quality of the work is high: the sources are well chosen and the translations are accurate and fluent. All the translations are by the editors themselves, which is a decision that

deserves praise: having all these passages in contemporary English is an aid to teachers and scholars alike.

One could criticize the imbalance between the "Greek chapters" (1–6) and the "Roman chapters" (7–9) of the work, apparently due to the responsibility having been divided between different editors. In the Greek chapters, the scope is more comprehensive than in the discussion of the Roman education, as moral education is also included. In the latter part, the focus is on literate education. The editors could have considered including, for example, a passage from Seneca (not just on the *studia liberalia*, as on p. 207) or the first book of Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations*. It is of course easy to point out omissions, but the fact that Marcus Aurelius is missing illustrates a second point of criticism that could be made of the sourcebook: its chronological scope follows the traditional orientation of Classical studies, in which the abundant material from Late Antiquity receives little attention. Of the authors that most scholars consider Late Roman, an important omission comes to mind immediately, namely Martianus Capella, who had an immense but not immediate impact on literary education.

The volume concludes with a bibliography (which contains almost exclusively research written in English), a general index and an index of passages.

*Kalle Korhonen*

PHOEBÉ GIANNISI: *Récits des voies. Chant et cheminement en Grèce archaïque*. Préface de JESPER SVENBRO. Collection Horos. Éditions Jérôme Millon, Grenoble 2006. ISBN 2-84137-202-2. 190 pp. EUR 25.

Il lavoro di Giannisi, una versione rivista della sua tesi di dottorato (Lione II, 1994), esplora i rapporti reciproci tra cammino e canto, ossia tra la via costruita e la voce dei poeti, nella Grecia arcaica. Nella prima parte vengono illustrate in maniera suggestiva le memorie concrete e visuali provocate dai numerosi monumenti (*anathēmata, agalmata, sēmata*, ecc.) esposti lungo le vie d'accesso ai santuari quali quelli famosi di Samo, Didima, Delo e Ptoion. Nella seconda e terza parte, l'autrice mette in evidenza l'interazione, anche metaforica, tra la via e il canto nella letteratura greca, anticamente osservabile nell'uso ambiguo dei termini *oimos* e *oimē*, ma rintracciabile anche nelle memotecniche (cfr. "le vie della memoria") nonché nelle nozioni di passo, metro e ritmo, o ancora nelle genealogie, nei cataloghi e negli itinerari poetico-letterari. Il cammino umano, infatti, come bene si sottolinea, va considerato decisivo per la formazione della memoria e della lingua stessa. Insomma, un libro stimolante, scritto con stile e originalità. Deplorabile, però, l'assenza di un qualsiasi indice.

*Mika Kajava*

GABRIEL HERMAN: *Morality and Behaviour in Democratic Athens: A Social History*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006. ISBN 978-0-521-85021-6. XXI, 472 pp. GBP 60.

In this multidisciplinary study with highly ambitious aims, Gabriel Herman (H) is in search of an Athenian collective way of reacting during the period of democracy (508–322 BC). In



this endeavour, H employs concepts from the field of game theory, social anthropology and behavioural sciences: for example, "co-operation", "conflict", "exchange" and "reciprocity". He also employs an analytical tool called "the code of behaviour" which he defines as "a set of moral principles accepted and used by society or a particular group of people" (p. 15). Since "[...] moral principles and actual behaviour constitute a single inseparable whole" (p. 16), the code becomes observable in the actions of the people. This assumption carries difficulties with it: in my opinion, it is far from unproblematic to assume that moral principles coincide with actions.

H lists three alternative ways to react in a situation of conflict: "a head for an eye", "tit for tat", and "turning the other cheek" (pp. 2–12). His main argument is that the strategy of the Athenians in situations of conflict was to under-react rather than to over-react. He argues that the Athenians were peaceful, forgiving, just, honest, moderate and altruistic patriots capable of controlling their impulses. The prime example given of this *sôphrosynê* is the amnesty of 403 BC. Other examples include, for example, the willingness of the Athenians to nurse the plague victims.

At the core of this study lies the question of whether democratic Athens was a society where retaliation was an acceptable way of reacting. This question of democratic Athens as a "feuding society", as he calls it, seems to be a part of a debate between H and certain other scholars (H especially mentions David Cohen with frequency). The whole book seems to be mostly an answer to the opponents of H – he makes it clear that in his opinion, "Greek pessimism" (a too negative view on Athens, p. 85) has gained too much ground among the historians and that his own view is just the opposite.

The questions, concepts, and methodological issues are introduced in Chapter 1. Chapter 2 provides a general look at the norms and institutions of democratic Athens; the latter are taken to have reflected collective norms "almost perfectly" (p. 62). In Chapter 3, H discusses the difficulties of interpreting moral norms of antiquity. He accuses some modern historians of not keeping their own moral principles apart from those of the contemporary Athenians, calling this phenomenon "the fusion of moral norms" (p. 101). He states that the historians are acting unprofessionally as long as their interpretations differ: "Had they exercised their judgement more professionally, their accounts could not have been so wildly different" (p.101). It appears to me that H has an overly optimistic belief that there is only one truth that can be found by examining historical events by "objective" means. H, then, seems to view himself as a strictly logical natural scientist neither speculating nor making interpretations but merely observing and reporting objective data. This view occurs throughout the study.

In Chapter 4, H uses Thucydides and forensic oratory as his sources. He argues, persuasively, that since the law court speeches were presented in front of a jury consisting of ordinary citizens, they reveal what the shared ideals of the speechwriter and the jury were. In other words, by analysing the law court speeches we can find out what it was that the jury wanted to hear. I agree with this idea. But assuming that this is true, however, how do we know that these ideals actually coincided with reality? H passes over this question much too quickly, insisting that "everything we know about Athenian society militates against" the possibility that there might have been some double standards (p. 203). Instead, H refuses to believe that "[...] everybody paid lip-service to the 'official version', but nobody actually took a blind bit of notice of it" (p. 203). In my opinion, H is too quick to make this assumption.

Forensic oratory and Thucydides are the only sources that H accepts. He rejects both

drama and philosophy since these are too imaginative and general (p. 134). This has to do with H's ideal of objectivity mentioned above. He argues: "*Pace* Adkins, people on the stage do not *generally* behave as people do in real life. *Pace* Dover, they do not even *sometimes* behave as people do in real life" (p. 126). Though I can accept his exclusion of these sources, H is not critical enough with Thucydides.

In Chapter 5, H more accurately defines the development of a conflict and gives examples of modern "feuding societies", comparing them with democratic Athens. Chapters 6 and 7 discuss violence. Some arguments appear rather obscure. For example, in Chapter 6, H argues that since it was quite rare to carry weapons in democratic Athens, the Athenians were not violent. He also states that since Athens was surrounded by walls, the Athenians must have felt safe (p. 204). It remains unanswered how safety actually correlated with the Athenians' sense of security. Chapter 7, then, sets its sights on the punitive institutions of the state and the violence exercised by the *dêmos*. According to H, the Athenians were allowed to exercise violence only when participating in the punishments conducted by the state, not as private persons (p. 412). This is, again, used to support the argument that the democratic Athenian strategy was not to over-react but to under-react.

In Chapter 8, H discusses the historical development of man. I found this theme of change in Athenian mentality most interesting, but unfortunately the issue is touched upon rather briefly. H argues that while private revenge was allowed for a Homeric hero, in democratic Athens it had been replaced by public punishment: "[...] executions had [...] come to be seen as a rational measure designed to protect the community against any recurrence of his anti-social behaviour." (p. 294). The author also maintains that the absence of torture just before the execution implies "a preference for minimising the victim's suffering" (p. 294) and that "Both methods [of torture: whipping and wheel] were calculated to inflict only such pain as would elicit the 'truth', while causing as little physical damage as possible." (p. 302). H thus argues that though torture actually took place in Athens, the Athenians were not willing to torture. The problem is that H grounds this argument on the assumption that the Athenian collective strategy in a situation of conflict was not to retaliate but to turn the other cheek. In other words, H seems to let his assumptions (that are already embedded in the analytical tool) predetermine the results.

Chapter 9 focuses on the divine and the mythological. Here H gives a list of certain deities that reflect the Athenian way of reacting. According to H, for example, the way to present Athena as a battle-avoiding settler of disputes (p. 405) proves that the Athenians were not revengeful and violent. In Chapter 10, H compares the Athenian strategy with a computer simulation that applies "Iterated Prisoner's Dilemma". This computer programme favours the player whose strategy is to retaliate only after having been offended twice. H concludes that this winning strategy, "tit for two tats", was also the strategy of the democratic Athenians (p. 402). He takes Socrates as an example of this tactic, arguing that the Athenians were milder versions of the absolute non-retaliation of Socrates (p. 407). One might argue, however, that the way that the Athenians treated Socrates is in contradiction with H's conclusions.

I quite like H's approach to Athenian history. I do not reject the possibility of applying behavioural sciences in ancient history. I am also ready to believe that there were collective "unwritten rules" in democratic Athens and that some kind of collective way of reacting might have existed. Nonetheless, I find H's analytical tool – "the code of behaviour" – too rigid. There should be more room for conflicting interests – in my opinion; one could admit that there were

some conflicting interests between the Athenians without having to call Athens a "feuding society". H also seems to be too uncritical, over-confident and defensive of his results, appearing to defend the Athenians of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BC from the attacks of "pessimistic" historians of the 21<sup>st</sup> century AD. However, H has worked on his subject thoroughly and, in my opinion, it is a good thing for a historian to question generally accepted truths. This book will not leave its readers cold and is sure to provoke discussion.

*Suvi Kuokkanen*

KAREN K. HERSCH: *The Roman Wedding. Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-19610-9 (hb), 978-0-521-12427-0 (pb). XII, 341 pp., 9 figs. GBP 55, USD 90 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 27.99 (pb).

In the past thirty years, the study of women's life in ancient society has produced a number of publications to which we can now add a new interesting and challenging book by Karen Hersch. Among the numerous aspects related to ancient women's life, the author has chosen to focus on the role that the bride played in the Roman wedding. It is certainly a major task, since any discussion on Roman women as brides must be necessarily based on the written sources which are, however, the product of the elite male. For her study the author has chosen a number of literary and antiquarian texts from the end of the Republic through the early Empire along with some iconographic examples of marriage scenes. The analysis of such evidence is carried out with the help of methodologies drawn from modern social studies, an approach that has been widely adopted in recent scholarship on the social dynamics in the ancient world.

The book includes five chapters, which are preceded by an introduction and followed by bibliography and illustrations. In Chapter 1, "The Laws of Humans and Gods", Hersch analyses the legal aspects of the Roman wedding, but she also considers the religious injunctions, as legal acts and religious rites were both necessary requirements for a legitimate marriage. In Chapters 2 and 3, the author discusses the stages of the wedding ceremony, which starts with the preparation of the bride and the activities that may have taken place in her house (Chapter 2: "At the House of the Bride"). It continues with the procession that accompanies the bride to her new house and the rituals performed there by the groom and the bride (Chapter 3: "To the Groom's House"). In Chapter 4, "Gods of the Roman Wedding", Hersch discusses which gods and goddesses were usually associated with the rituals of the Roman wedding. As Hersch correctly points out, the Roman wedding ceremony has been traditionally described in modern scholarship as an orderly arranged ritual. On the contrary, as the author emphasises, every ceremony was different, depending on the couple's social status, tastes, and religious devotion to specific gods. Hersch's thorough analysis of these different aspects along with the bibliographic references make her work very valuable and leaves room for others to explore further particulars of the Roman wedding ceremony.

The work ends with the conclusions in Chapter 5, where Hersch interestingly explains the apparent oddities of the Roman wedding ceremony as aspects shared by other Roman rites and celebrations, such as the assumption of the *toga virilis*, the funeral, and the triumph. Like these rites, the wedding ritual was a form of *rite de passage* for the bride, who had to experience separation, transition, and incorporation, on public display.

The ultimate goal of Hersch's work is a better understanding of women's role in Roman society. Hersch undoubtedly accomplishes her goal through a detailed analysis, which shows the importance and the significance of the Roman wedding ritual for a woman. However, as the author is well aware, research based on male texts does not allow us to explore better the thoughts and the feelings that accompanied the Roman bride during her wedding ceremony.

*Margherita Carucci*

GREG WOOLF: *Tales of the Barbarians: Ethnography and Empire in the Roman West*. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester – Malden 2011. ISBN 978-1-4051-6073-5. VIII, 167 pp. GBP 50, USD 89.95, EUR 60.

The year 2011 apparently witnessed something of a rediscovery of Arnaldo Momigliano's *Alien Wisdom* (1975). Recently, the insightful little book has not only inspired Erich S. Gruen to a study published earlier in the year by Princeton University Press (cf. above p. 235), but it moreover seems to have stimulated Greg Woolf as well – a scholar known for his studies regarding the Roman West. Another formative predecessor recognised by Woolf is the 1992 monograph *Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought* by James Romm, a very remarkable study that is rightly considered essential in its field. Considering this and Woolf's own earlier contributions from the oft-quoted *Becoming Roman* (1998) onwards, a rough outline of this new book could perhaps have been predicted. Even the concept of an ethnographical "middle ground" – a model developed in the field of North American colonial studies and applied in this book to Roman studies – featured prominently in Woolf's 2009 article "Cruptorix and his kind" (in *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity*, edited by T. Derks and N. Roymans, Amsterdam University Press).

The "middle ground", however, is no mere fad. Woolf's main point is that a creative process of "barbarian tales" grew in the recently subjugated provinces of the Roman West. Envisioned by Woolf as "exercises in cultural conservation", these tales mostly constitute a form of barbarian *interpretatio* based on the classical information and myth now available to them. What earlier has been seen as a largely one-sided process of Greeks and Romans imposing their own traditions and their constructed linkages upon their recent neighbours/allies/subjects, is cast in Woolf's approach as a more nuanced and bilateral exchange of interpretations (cf. Gruen 2011). After a short introduction situating the study within the wider field of research inspired by postcolonialist discourse, Chapter One ("Telling Tales on the Middle Ground") takes a look at the varieties and registers of information regarding the western barbarians during the Roman Republic and early Empire. Some terminological definitions are provided and several worthwhile remarks made on their use before the "middle ground" is brought along – to a large extent the most refreshing heuristic device in use throughout the book. The interpretation of the sources is done convincingly; for instance, Woolf provides a quite plausible explanation for the notably static nature of much of ancient ethnography in remarking that Pliny appears to derive ethnography from the geographic reality of the world itself. Combined with climatic explanation models this comes a long way in accounting for the curious "ethnographic stasis" and the "impossibility of new barbarians" remarked upon by, among others, Herwig Wolfram (1997, *The Roman Empire and its Germanic Peoples*, 37). The

subject of stasis and possible dissonance are again taken up in the extremely inspiring closure of the work (pp. 111–7).

Chapter Two ("Explaining the Barbarians") provides an outline of the epistemic regimes involved in the ordering and creation of "barbarographic" information, with Woolf quite rightly noting an ancient tolerance for a "plurality of paradigms" in accounts of barbarian ethnography. He suggests that since the different paradigms of ancient ethnography served different practical functions (which are examined in turn), a kind of "intellectual stalemate" was reached, in which the field (if such it can be called) became much more static than, say, ancient medicine or mathematics. Indeed, it would seem that the complementary ethnographical explanations were primarily used to bolster the prestige of any writer using them, and to anchor their account in the earlier tradition. First the genealogical, then the geographical explanations and their respective attraction to both writers and audiences are examined. Regarding the former subject, Woolf keeps a respectful distance from the "ethnogenesis" school (a rather welcome move); the latter subject is approached first through the almost mandatory *Airs, Waters, Places*, after which some interesting discrepancies between different authors (e.g. Pliny and Vitruvius) are highlighted within what is too often taken to be homogenous field of climatic determinism. Finally, the end of the chapter discusses ancient ethnographic explanations as *ad hoc* creations, and notes how rarely such explanations are contrasted with each other or creatively combined in the literature. Ancient ethnography emerges as a principally literary, not a scientific, pursuit that never even aspired to the status and coherence of, say, mathematics. Chapter Two could perhaps have benefited from Bardesanes' *Liber legum regionum* (e.g. 592 in Nau's edition), which contains an interesting discussion about the validity of astrological determinism in characterising population groups, including many westerners.

Chapter Three ("Ethnography and Empire") contextualises the imperial ethnography by considering possible imperial patronage and political uses for such information, with the rather familiar terrain of plundered libraries and Greek scholars flocking to the Roman elite giving way to less-discussed aspects, such as the discrepancy between Greek geo- and ethnography in its traditional, literary form, and the kinds of utilitarian information most needed (and provided) by the Roman elite in their running of provincial affairs. The real ethnographic import of the Roman Empire, according to Woolf, was generated by the fact that the empire made people move, and along with the movement of people moved the tales they had heard. Indeed, the rhetoric claiming that the empire had opened wide areas to enquiry is easy to attest, but the information, the narrative tropes, and barbarian ethnonyms all largely derive from the literary tradition, aptly characterised as "a bookworld that did not quite coincide with the territorial reach of Rome" (p. 79). The disciplining of ethnography and its uses within Roman literature find parallels in the broadly similar disciplining of paradoxography, examined toward the end of the chapter, while the relationship between propaganda and ethnography is covered as well. As could be anticipated, Woolf encounters very little evidence for practical use of received ethnographical knowledge among during the Late Republic and early Empire – although the contemporaries would hardly even have expected such.

The final part, Chapter Four, takes up some practical questions, such as how the new ethnographical "knowledge" was used in the Roman world, and how open to revision and change it was. The intuitive answer to the last point would quite naturally be "not very", particularly as Woolf presents several cases where ethnographic writing and ethnographic knowledge were far from commensurate. This has a great deal to do with the static and timeless mirage created by ethnographical register, which Woolf quite correctly links with the rhetorical

usefulness of having at hand a set of stock images regarding the margins of the world. His chosen examples demonstrate this very nicely when it comes to Imperial writings about Britain, an area that "never became domesticated" (p. 92) in literature because it had much more use the other way. Generally, the anachronistic material and the ensuing "threat to dissonance" could, one feels, be best explained by a context where the conventional mode of doing ethnography was predominantly a literary phenomenon rather than a basis for epistemic regime. Woolf, however, reluctant to endorse "such an austere position" (p. 113), suggests a potential new "middle ground" in the permeable transfer zone of the Rhenish borderland – always an extensively studied area – though doing so necessitates viewing Tacitus as a slightly more innocent and agenda-free transmitter of "barbarian tales" than usual (p. 104). The stratified and highly antiquarian nature of western ethnographical tradition is well demonstrated by Woolf's look into Ammianus' famous Gallic ethnography, followed by some extremely perceptive general remarks regarding the nature of the classical ethnographic tradition. Lastly, copious endnotes and a very commendable bibliography lend an appropriate amount of support to this insightful study. A short general index provides some essential guidance and suffices nicely in a work of such conciseness, particularly in conjunction with an index of the main source passages discussed.

Time and again this book brings up intriguing possibilities and excellent points, demonstrating the author's learning in his subject. Woolf uses the concept of "middle ground" cleverly in addressing old scenarios from a new angle, and in a study generally demonstrating the formulaic and uninformative nature of ancient ethnography, the results are remarkably constructive and optimistic. The literary matrix of tradition-bound ancient literature, however, differs from the original context of the term "middle ground" to such an extent that the applicability of the concept to ancient literature will need to be examined in even more detail in the future. In a vast majority of cases, it will be very difficult to prove conclusively that the "barbarian tales" would indeed have been born in the "middle ground" of provincial informants being suggestively interrogated by the Romans or Greeks – and even if they were, we are left with the question of who transmitted them into the literary tradition preserved by such bookish writers as Diodorus, Strabo, or Parthenius. The chronological horizon for many such "new" traditions to be transmitted from the field into the learned literary accounts appears curiously narrow, and it seems slightly mysterious how something close to travellers' tales would have managed to cross the socio-literary prestige gap so swiftly. Either we must accept improbably early dates for these nameless "barbarian *érudits*" (p. 89), or postulate an even more acute hunger for alien wisdom among the literati than Momigliano did.

*Antti Lampinen*

CRISTINA MAZZONI: *She-Wolf. The Story of a Roman Icon*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-19456-3 (hb), 978-0-521-14566-4 (pb). XIV, 282 pp. GBP 55, USD 85 (hb), GBP 16.99, USD 24.99 (pb).

Professor Cristina Mazzoni of the University of Vermont has written the first comprehensive study of the Roman she-wolf. This is a wide-ranging book in which this author illustrates various roles of the she-wolf by analyzing paintings, statues, maps, poetry, fiction, and historical narrative from antiquity to contemporary times.

The book is divided into three parts. In the first part, Mazzoni examines the bronze statue of the *Lupa Capitolina* itself: its background as well as its significance and influence through the ages. The second part of the book is an analysis of what has been written about the she-wolf. The third part concentrates on visual representations. Each of the parts is further divided chronologically (Antiquity; Middle Ages and Renaissance; modern and contemporary times), which makes the book well-structured.

The iconography and art-historical influence of the she-wolf in antiquity has previously been discussed comprehensively by Cécile Dulière (*Lupa Romana*, 1979) and Claudio Parisi Presicce (editor of the volume *Lupa Capitolina*, 2000). Mazzoni summarizes their results and integrates their conclusions with those of recent studies and her own analysis of the ancient literary sources and later representations of she-wolves. Some of Mazzoni's interdisciplinary viewpoints, focusing especially on various aspects of the she-wolf's motherhood, are a refreshing addition to more traditional interpretations of the she-wolf legend.

Mazzoni discusses the debate about the dating of the *Lupa Capitolina* launched in 2006 by Anna Maria Carruba's statement that the statue is of medieval origin. In addition to Carruba's arguments, Mazzoni presents more recent research that proves the Sardinian origin of the *Lupa's* metal and locates the clay used in the casting just north of Rome.

The book also studies various associations of the she-wolf, both positive and negative. For example, in the misogynistic writings of the early Church Fathers, the she-wolf often represented promiscuity. Conversely, many cities and city-states, from medieval Siena and Perugia to 20<sup>th</sup> century Romanian cities, have erected monuments of the she-wolf as a symbol of their Roman roots. In the mid-1800s, during the Italian unification, the she-wolf stood for the ultimate goal of the nationalists: Rome (then part of the Papal States) as the capital of unified Italy.

Unfortunately, Mazzoni neglects to cite the excellent thesis of Nadia Canu (*Le valenze del lupo nel mondo romano. Periodo arcaico ed età repubblicana*, 2006), with its broad analysis of the *Lupa's* anatomy and significance. Also, Mazzoni inconveniently refers to ancient authors with the page numbers of their translated works, instead of the abbreviations with section numbers, more commonly used by classical scholars.

The strength of Mazzoni's book is in its wide historical perspective, and especially in her general discussion of the significance, interpretation and influence of the Roman she-wolf after antiquity.

*She-Wolf. The Story of a Roman Icon* is a vividly written book, which skillfully combines diverse sources and standpoints into a coherent and readable study. The black-and-white photographs, some of which were taken by the author herself, support the text and illustrate the diversity of the visual representations of the she-wolf across the centuries.

Mika Rissanen

JEAN ROBERTS: *Routledge Philosophy Guidebook to Aristotle and the Politics*. Routledge, London – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-415-16576-1. VIII, 146 pp. GBP 15.99.

Jean Roberts's *Aristotle and the Politics* is a very good contribution to The Routledge Philosophy GuideBook series. The aim of this series is to introduce students to the classic works of philosophy, and Roberts's book achieves this aim in an exemplary fashion: it gives the reader

an accessible and congenial interpretation of Aristotle's *Politics* and sets it in a context in which this difficult and disorganized work can be duly understood.

Roberts's book is based on a certain understanding of Aristotle's ethical and political writings: her thesis is that ethics and politics constitute for Aristotle a single area of inquiry, rather than two separate areas. This means, as she argues, that at the most general level, ethics and politics "have the same aim, and are constituted by the same expertise" (pp. 5–6). They both discuss the good and happy life, though in a rather different way. While ethics centres on the question of "what is a good and happy life," politics views the good and happy life in light of an "individual's place in the political community" (ibid.).

Roberts elaborates on this thesis consistently throughout the book. She emphasises that for Aristotle, human beings cannot lead a virtuous and happy life in isolation: they can entertain their rational capacities only as part of a political community, and their virtues are defined as fundamentally social. Roberts's main thesis also manifests itself in the structure of the book. In the extensive Introduction (29 pages), she gives an account of the good life as it is presented in the *Nicomachean Ethics*, including happiness, the function argument, virtues, justice and friendship. In the subsequent three main chapters, "Ruling the household", "Justice", and "The scope and aims of political philosophy", she applies this framework to examining what she takes to be the key questions and arguments in the *Politics*.

Roberts's style is clear and lucid, and her arguments are for the most part sufficiently worked out for introductory purposes. Roberts uses a number of textual citations as starting points for interpretation and clarification. For example, when discussing Aristotle's account of the nature of the *polis* in the beginning of Chapter 2 (p. 32), she cites *Politics* 1252a1–7 and relates the terminology of inclusion and hierarchy that is used to characterise the relations between the aim of a *polis* and the aims of its parts to a respective usage in the beginning of the *Nicomachean Ethics* (without an exact reference, however). In the course of her discussion, she occasionally contrasts her understanding of Aristotle's view with some alternative views (most often Plato's), or with some alternative understandings of Aristotle's view. For example, in clarifying Aristotle's thesis that humans are naturally political, she goes into some detail concerning Hobbes's understanding of Aristotle, and argues that the difference between Aristotle's and Hobbes's views, respectively, lies in their distinct ways of understanding what constitutes human nature (pp. 38–9).

Aristotle's *Politics*, as Roberts correctly points out, is a difficult treatise both in terms of its form and in terms of its content. It is a merit of Roberts that she does not conceal these difficulties from the reader. In the Introduction (p. 24), she refers to a variety of textual incongruities, including the proper place of Books 7 and 8 which has puzzled many commentators. In discussing Aristotle's arguments, Roberts occasionally becomes very critical, as is the case when she reviews Aristotle's defence of the traditional hierarchies within the household, especially the relations between master and slave, and husband and wife. Aristotle's arguments for these relations are regrettably weak and biased, but even in these cases, Roberts makes an attempt at understanding the assumptions that gave rise to Aristotle's view. For example, in commenting on Aristotle's claim that women's capacity for deliberation is without authority (p. 53), she refers to *History of Animals* 608a21–b18 in which females are claimed, apparently as a biological fact, to be less spirited than males.

In addition to the details such as the discussion on slavery, the *Politics* is difficult also in its main argument. In general, the work envisages and argues for an ideal political community, an aristocratically ruled city-state, which was losing its ground as a realistic constitutional



alternative already in Aristotle's own lifetime. Aristotle could not, of course, foresee that there would be no return to the Greek *polis*, but this does not ease our inconvenience in learning that he came to see an essential link between an ideal community and an ideal human life: in his view, the best human life can only be realised in an aristocratic society. This raises a serious concern: does Aristotle have anything important to say to us who have, as a matter of fact, no prospect of living in such a society, and who, as a result, would wish to conceive of the best human life in slightly different terms?

Roberts admits that much of Aristotle's political philosophy is incompatible with our modern conceptions of freedom and equality by which we justify our democratic constitutions and institutions. In these matters, she concedes, we are not likely to benefit much from Aristotle's work. However, Roberts asks us in her concluding Chapter 5 to look at Aristotle's political thinking from a more general point of view. What, in her view, might be of interest to us is the variety of things Aristotle considered relevant to discuss, and the way in which he linked them to one another. According to Roberts, we cannot and should not embrace Aristotle's idea of happiness, or his idea of a political community aiming at a single end, in anything resembling its original form, but we should, and in fact do, have some conception of the good life and the way in which it is connected to the structure and functioning of our political and other communities. Roberts's (implicit) suggestion is, then, that a study of Aristotle might help us to clarify our conceptions concerning these matters. I think this is a rather fair and sympathetic attitude to an ancient philosopher.

Roberts masters her subject so admirably that there is little reason for complaint. Nevertheless, I should like to mention two points. Roberts remarks in the Preface (p. vi) that she does not use footnotes, "because given the aims of the project it seemed impossible to deal directly with the secondary literature without making the exposition hopelessly baroque." I think this is a clear overstatement, but the author consistently and, as I see it, unnecessarily, refrained from referring to the various interpretative lines in literature even in the main body of her text. As a result, the book is in a sense more readable, but in another sense, it is less understandable and sensitive in certain points. I do not think that these points were too numerous, but, for example, the discussion on the relations between the aim of the *polis* and the aim of the good person (pp. 32–8), or the relations between citizen virtue and human virtue (pp. 76–82) would have benefited from at least an overview of alternative interpretations. This said, I should like to point out that the other volumes in the same GuideBooks series also suffer from this type of defect, so we may perhaps blame the publisher for this dogmatic editorial decision.

My second critical point concerns the evidence Roberts uses. She claims to follow "the standard practice of taking the *Nicomachean Ethics* as the canonical text and ignoring the other", namely, the *Eudemean Ethics* (p. 28). This is well-founded to a great extent in an introductory work such as this, but it would have been illuminating to say something about the relations between the two works, and their differences in relation to the *Politics*, for example, the fact that only the *Nicomachean Ethics* discusses the relations between ethical inquiry and politics, and that only the *Nicomachean Ethics* argues for the superiority of the contemplative life over the political one. This would have put Roberts's main thesis in a broader context.

Mika Perälä

SUSAN D. COLLINS: *Aristotle and the Rediscovery of Citizenship*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006. ISBN 0-521-86046-6. X, 193 pp. GBP 45.00.

Liberal theories of citizenship typically arise from the intuition that justice and the good, the two fundamental notions involved in any adequate theory of citizenship, need to be defined in different terms. The idea is that the account of justice should not be based on any specific and comprehensive account of the good and, in particular, the good life, because otherwise it would be incompatible with one of the most deeply ingrained assumptions in the liberal approach, the assumption that there is no one way of living a good life, but many. Thus understood, the liberal pluralist faces the challenge to combine a sufficiently general account of justice with pluralism concerning values.

This kind of approach arouses a number of concerns. Susan D. Collins motivates her monograph *Aristotle and the Rediscovery of Citizenship* by focusing on two: firstly, how can a liberalist pluralist justify the alleged priority of justice to the good, and secondly, does the same person have an elaborate view, or a view at all, about civic education? Collins contends that the current attempts to answer these questions are in many respects unsatisfactory. She states in her Introduction (p. 2) that although Aristotle's account of citizenship is fundamentally different from modern accounts, it is "a source of insight for us precisely because it does *not* begin from liberal presuppositions" (italics hers).

An account can be "a source of insight" in many senses, of course, but Collins has something more specific in mind. In introducing her main arguments, she claims, for example, that "the *Nicomachean Ethics* (*NE*) offers an account of civic education that is superior to those currently available" (p. 3). This is, she continues, "first, because it acknowledges the authoritative role of the political community and the law with regard to education, and, second, because it clarifies how this education bears on the question of the good" (pp. 3–4). This is a bold, critical argument. I am sympathetic towards the claim that Aristotle's account is a substantial source of insight for us, and that it can help us to be aware of the defects and deficiencies in modern theories, but I had some doubts about her argument concerning the superiority of Aristotle's view. Which standard of superiority does Collins refer to? It is quite evident that Aristotle's view can be seen to be more advanced if the liberalists have overlooked the reasonable questions Collins asks in the light of Aristotle's texts. However, if we take into account the different presuppositions behind the different theories, it seems that the theories are meant to be answers to somewhat different questions. It follows that they are not easily (if at all) commensurable.

A critical attitude towards liberalist theory is a pervasive characteristic of Collins's book as a whole. This is reflected by the structure of the book: the first main chapter, "Liberal Citizenship and Aristotle's Ethics", is an extensive critique of the Kantian-Rawlsian liberalist tradition, and the subsequent five chapters give an alternative account that is based on Aristotle's discussion of the relevant topics in the *Nicomachean Ethics* and the *Politics*, including citizen virtue, justice, prudence, citizenship and political wit. The chapters on Aristotle are chiefly descriptive in nature. The author frequently cites the text in support of her overall interpretation, but she did not go into the scholarly debates on the details. Footnotes include useful references to commentaries and secondary literature.

In her Conclusion, Collins restates her main arguments and shows how Aristotle's view can enlighten us on certain difficulties inherent in the liberalist theories. She points out, for

example, that "Aristotle does more than challenge the liberal claim that the good is an open question" (p. 172). She continues: "He also compels us to explore a crucial dimension of citizenship that liberal individualism naturally obscures: the complex relation between the noble (*to kalon*) and the good" (ibid.). This is a powerful conclusion. At first reading, I was unable to tell how Collins wanted to use this conclusion, but on reflection, I discovered that there are basically two ways that are equally applicable to most of her discussion on Aristotle: first, a careful study of Aristotle's account can, by way of contrast, help us to identify certain problems in liberalism, and second, certain parts of Aristotle's account, if correctly understood, can help us to improve and modify the liberalist theory without abandoning the core liberalist commitments such as the view that the regime and the law cannot determine a correct way of living.

The evidence Collins examines is so extensive that a reader should not expect a detailed textual analysis of all passages. On certain points, however, a more closer analysis would have been helpful. I had some difficulties following, for example, her exposition of the particular justice that is related to the distribution and retribution of goods in *NE* 5,2 (pp. 77–80). Collins argued that "the deepest difficulty that Aristotle points to in his account of particular justice is the tension between moral virtue's orientation toward the common good and its requirements and activity as an independent end" (pp. 79–80). In support of this interpretation, she referred to *NE* 5,2, 1130b25–29 in which Aristotle states that we need to postpone our discussion on whether the education of the good man is a matter of politics or some other discipline. Aristotle adds that, perhaps, being a good man is not in every case the same as being a good citizen. In contrast to what Collins claims, the dissimilarity referred to need not indicate that there is a *tension* within moral virtue.

Another point in need of further clarification relates to Collins's argument that the virtue connected with political rule has, in Aristotle's view, a dual character (i.e. ruling and being ruled) (*Politics* 3,4, 1277b18–20), "which conflicts with Aristotle's initial insistence that the virtue of a good man is single and complete" (p. 127; reference to 1276b32–33). I failed to see how the two passages give rise to a conflict: is it because the virtue's being single is at variance with its being dual? As I see it, Aristotle's "single and complete" virtue refers here to the kind of justice he discusses in *NE* 5,2. Aristotle says there that the justice in question includes all virtues, and that it is complete because it can be exercised not only in relation to oneself, but also in relation to other people. This suggests that being a single virtue (i.e. justice) does not exclude being many virtues at the same time: one and the same virtue can be given different descriptions depending on how it is exercised.

Mika Perälä

EMILIE KUTASH: *Ten Gifts of the Demiurge. Proclus on Plato's Timaeus*. Bristol Classical Press, London – New York 2011. ISBN 978-0-7156-3854-5. X, 309 pp. GBP 50, USD 80.

Kutash's book is a summary and analysis of the arguments of Proclus' *Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, structured around the doctrine of the "ten gifts of the demiurge". According to Proclus (*In Tim.* 2,5,17–13, repeated *PT* 5 ch. 72), *Timaeus* teaches that the demiurgic god, producing the world, starts with bodies 1) making the world sensible by sight and touch, 2) unites bodies

in it through proportion and links, 3) makes it a whole composed of wholes, 4) gives it a spherical shape, 5) makes the world self-sufficient, 6) assigns to it a circular movement appropriate for intellect, 7) animates it by a divine soul and establishes itself as the father of all souls, 8) generates time by making world revolving, 9) establishes stars as sanctuaries for the gods who jointly produce the measurable year and 10) perfects the world filling it with the living beings who are images of the four basic forms of the intelligible world.

Some scholars have thought that Proclus is merely following Plato's lemmata, others see this particular doctrine as a means of summarizing in advance books three and perhaps also four of his huge commentary. Kutash opines that the notion of the ten gifts is the basic interpretive device through which Proclus' vast philosophical, theological and mythical material is ordered throughout the rest of the work: "... despite the constraint that the successive lemmata put on Proclus' priorities, a supervening structure to the Commentary does emerge and calibrate roughly with the progression of the ten gifts ... Since the ten gifts span the creation of the physical world and culminate with its completion, at least as far as this overriding theme is concerned, the five extant books form coherent and systematic treatment as a self-contained sequence." (p. 16).

Kutash aims to follow the structure of Proclus' exposition as far as possible. She provides first an introductory chapter, then a chapter on the historical circumstances of Proclus' school (that is, pagan intellectuals' condition in the Christian environment of the fifth century). Chapters 3–6 are exactly mapped to the respective "gifts" (1–4). Chapter 12 serves as conclusion. Chapters 7–11 do not, to my mind, always directly concern the doctrine of the gifts. The disposition enables the author to engage in a discussion of a number of topics current in Proclean studies. It is useless to try to enumerate all these topics here.

The major weakness of the book is a certain Anglo-Saxon research provincialism. There is no discussion of how the new English translation (of Tarrant et al., 2007–09) relates to that of Festugière (1966–68). An innocent reader would not even know from this book that there exists an alternative and the only complete modern translation of Proclus' commentary. Festugière is mentioned once in the index, and that turns to be a reference to Baltzly referring to Festugière. Proclus' *Commentary of the Republic* and Festugière's translation of it are included in the bibliography of primary sources, but never used for detailed exegesis. Beierwaltes, Trouillard, Segonds and Lernoould are mentioned, but mostly as ornaments and usually through works of authors writing in English.

Kutash uses the *Platonic Theology* also mainly through second-hand references. The reader expecting a comparison between the exposition of the ten gifts in the *Commentary on Timaeus* and Proclus' *magnum opus* remains disappointed.

It is a pity that the book actually ignores Alain Lernoould's substantial contribution where he gives an alternative assessment on the doctrine of the ten gifts. Thus this book does not provide a fully adequate depiction of the previous research. On the one hand, Lernoould's view would support Kutash's point of the presence of a coherent structure beyond Plato in the commentary. On the other hand, Lernoould argues that the series of the ten gifts is only a secondary division, being subordinated to the exposition of the tripartite demiurge and demiurgy (*Physique et Théologie. Lecture du Timée de Platon par Proclus*, 2001, especially pp. 87–91).

There are also some minor problems. The *index locorum* does not include all the passages referred to (e.g. p. 151, *In Tim.* 2,138,17–23). Some articles are mentioned, which are not found in the bibliography (e.g. note 44, p. 255 Edward Butler's article in *Dionysius* 23 [2005]).

The introduction repeats similar sentences over the very first paragraphs. In fact, the introduction would have been better without the first ten pages.

Reading this book has given me a more clear understanding of the decisive role which the famous pair of principles following immediately the One – Limit and Unlimited – plays in the commentary. This distinction is ubiquitously present in all Proclean reality, as Kutash rightly says, and it seems to be a leading principle structuring Proclus' metaphysics at the time of the composition of the commentary. From Kutash's treatment there emerges the impression that the henads do not have as high a profile in the commentary. Since henads also mediate between the One and Being, the question arises of the relation between the henads and the principles of Limit and Unlimited.

Kutash seems to subscribe to the view that Proclus' thought remained quite unitary throughout his whole career. However, in the *Platonic Theology* Limit and Unlimited seem to be the first henads, manifesting from the One. Proclus also introduced the intermediate classes of the gods, the noetic-noeric and hypercosmic-encosmic gods, which are not present in the *Commentary on Timaeus*. It may be possible to explain their absence in the *Elements of Theology* on the ground that the terse disposition of this extremely systematic work does not allow space for the intermediate classes. The prevailing role of the pair of principles without clarity on how they relate to the henads, and the absence of intermediaries in a work prone to proliferation of divine entities, and certainly free of the constraints of conceptual austerity characterizing *ET*, reveal relative the discrepancy between theologies of the commentary and *PT*. I think that we cannot avoid the conclusion that at the time of writing of the *Commentary on Timaeus* and probably *ET* as well, Proclus had not yet solved the question of the relationship between principles and henads, nor introduced intermediate classes of the gods. An in-depth discussion on these issues would perhaps have modified to some extent Kutash's opinion that Proclus' works are "contiguous rather than developmental in doctrine" (p. 7).

Another thought-provoking detail is Kutash's endeavor not only to demonstrate Proclus' significance for the "perennial questions" of philosophy, but also to untie Proclean knots with the aid of modern thought, sometimes sought from unexpected quarters. An example of this is how the author brings forth theories of Ignacio Matte Blanco regarding non-discursive thought. This is a bold move, as introducing psychoanalysis may cause some of the audience to recoil. Matte Blanco's thought on the unconscious, symmetry and asymmetry really seems to resemble Neoplatonist concepts. The author deserves thanks for introducing this theorist who is perhaps not so well known outside psychoanalysis and related studies.

I do not agree with the author on the incompatibility of philosophical monism and polytheistic theology. Although Kutash refers to Smith (p. 208) who pointed out some of the contrasting evidence, her concept of theurgy is basically in line with the traditional, standard view of primacy of theurgy in Proclus (derived mainly from Dodds, modified by Sheppard and most recently, with slightly different context, for example, by Rappe). In the question of non-discursive thinking her distinctions are not fine-grained enough, because she considers the issue on the 'mystical' level only, and does not take into account that thinking of the intellect could be already characterized with good reason as non-discursive, and that Proclus assumes different levels even in the hypernoetic 'thinking'. But if one cannot share these views, however, it should be said that they are clearly stated.

Kutash's attempt to demonstrate that Proclus' use of the verb ἐξαιρέω conveys a more radical notion of transcendence than what is expressed by ἐπέκεινα τοῦ ὄντος, does not con-

vince at the first reading, but is worth being taken into consideration (pp. 9, 13, 20, 108, 199, 249). Her discussion of Proclus' fear towards rebellious matter and disordered infinity is most interesting (especially pp. 12, 61–3, 111–2). One finds her emphasis of Proclus' emphasis regarding infinity in the One itself stimulating (especially pp. 231, 243–9).

All these and many other points make Kutash's book a rewarding read.

*Tuomo Lankila*

ANGELA KÜHR: *Als Kadmos nach Boiotien kam. Polis und Ethnos im Spiegel thebanischer Gründungsmythen*. Hermes Einzelschriften 98. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2006. ISBN 978-3-515-08984-5. 377 S. EUR 76.

Ecco un nuovo contributo sulla etnicità antica, un filo di ricerca questo che continua a fiorire sulla scia dei lavori di Jonathan Hall, Greg Woolf e altri. Il libro di Kühr si presenta con lo scopo di illustrare il rapporto tra *ethnos* (dei Beozii) e città (di Tebe). Dopo un capitolo introduttivo di stampo teoretico su "mito, identità e memoria", l'autrice offre uno sguardo ai testi più significativi riguardanti il territorio della Beozia (il Catalogo delle navi dell'*Iliade*, l'inno omerico ad Apollo, la descrizione nel IX libro di Strabone, e il libro IX di Pausania) per poi analizzare le storie (apparentemente contraddittorie) della fondazione di Tebe (da parte di Cadmo) e altri miti relativi alla città (Anfione e Zeto, i sette contro Tebe, Edipo, ecc.). Significativamente, Kühr considera la topografia tebana come un'espressione delle pretese locali nei confronti di più miti. Le origini tebane di Ercole, un eroe beozio e panellenico (pp. 167sgg.), per esempio, si manifestano concretamente attraverso un noto culto locale. Tutto sommato, un prezioso studio, anche se forse eccessivamente concentrato sulla città di Tebe e i suoi miti a scapito delle altre località beozie e le loro tradizioni che probabilmente una volta erano più importanti di quanto suggerito dalle fonti oggi disponibili.

*Mika Kajava*

SETH SCHWARTZ: *Were the Jews a Mediterranean Society? Reciprocity and Solidarity in Ancient Judaism*. Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2010. ISBN 978-0-691-14054-4. X, 212 pp. GBP 20.95, USD 29.95.

In this illuminating study, Seth Schwartz, a specialist of Classical Jewish Civilization, and known for his monographs *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE* (2004) and *Josephus and Judean Politics* (1990), seeks to answer the question he poses in the title.

Schwartz's book is divided into six carefully constructed chapters, plus two appendices in which the relevant texts that were too long to be included in the bulk of the chapters are to be found. Chapter 1 is entitled "Reciprocity and Solidarity" and deals with these concepts from a social-anthropological point of view. Chapter 2, "The Problem with Mediterraneanism", concerns the construction of "Mediterraneanism". Schwartz presents the scholarly history of this concept and argues for its continued usability today, but merely as a heuristic tool. These two chapters thus make up the theoretical framework of the study. The following three chap-

ters are case studies. Schwartz has chosen examples from three different eras of the Judaism of antiquity to illustrate the possible historical development of Jewish accommodation into "Mediterranean" values. Thus, chapter 3 is entitled "A God of Reciprocity: Torah and Social Relations in the Wisdom of Jesus ben Sira" and covers 34 pages. Schwartz refreshingly argues that the ideas expressed by Ben Sira (ca. 180 BCE), which theologians usually label as "common sense" advice, are actually often attempts to harmonize the commandments of Torah to the "Mediterranean" values especially of reciprocity and honor that are ultimately very alien to biblical (at least deuteronomistic) theology. In chapter 4, "Josephus: Honor, Memory, Benefaction" (29 pp.), Schwartz deals with Flavius Josephus' (37/38 – ca. 100 CE) accounts of Jewish reactions in particular to the practice of euergetism. Schwartz concludes that the fact that Jerusalem has no normal epigraphical culture is indeed mirrored in Josephus' accounts: the town had no normal euergetistic culture either, but an adapted one. The "good deeds" of the benefactors that were specifically approved by the inhabitants were not public buildings or the like, but rather such actions that could be viewed as expressions of the benefactors' Torah-based piety (e.g. feeding the poor). The memory of these benefactions was also best transmitted orally, as Josephus attests to in his almost Thucydidean formulations. Chapter 5, "Roman Values and the Palestinian Rabbis" (55 pp.) is an exceptionally fascinating survey into how the rabbis of the third and early fourth centuries might have perceived themselves as countercultural. Yet in other ways they seem to have adopted a Roman system of values, they only sought to adapt it according to their own needs and declare their own way superior to that of others. In chapter 6, finally, Schwartz answers his initial question "Were the Ancient Jews a Mediterranean Society?" in the affirmative: they were, but in an adapted way. In this concluding chapter, Schwartz makes the final connections between his three case studies and offers suggestions for further survey.

Schwartz's book is extremely interesting, and his ample remarks and critical discussion with other scholars in the footnotes very clearly indicate of a committed and intellectually curious scholar. The bibliography of the book includes more than three hundred items, roughly a third of which are from this century, but Schwartz does not hesitate to cite even very old works whenever he finds it appropriate. The three case studies dealing with Ben Sira, Josephus, and the rabbis are valuable pieces of scholarship. My only critical remarks concern the methodological framework.

It seems as if Schwartz has been compelled to label the phenomena he explores sweepingly as "Mediterranean" only because his inclusion of Ben Sira prevents him from using the otherwise more appropriate designation "Roman". This discomfort is actually visible also in the summary text on the dust-jacket of the book, and even somewhat in the treatment of Ben Sira: "In sum, Ben Sira here offers advice, based on a keen sense of its inherent danger, about the proper management of a social institution he did not yet have a name for but that following Roman precedent, we would call patronage" (p. 69). Thus, Schwartz's use of a concept called "Mediterranean", borrowed from social and anthropological sciences, appears to be too much an emergency solution to be entirely convincing even as a "heuristic tool". The history and development of certain cultural traits that are supposed to constitute this "Mediterraneanism" are not seriously addressed, which is nevertheless quite understandable in such a short survey.

This objection concerns above all the concept of "honor" which, I think, Schwartz does not define quite accurately. He admits that stories of wounded honor are present in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. *Gen.* 34), but he states that revenge is condemned, and the overall bias of the HB is

that honor is due to God only (p. 26). I think Schwartz does not properly address the issue about the possible meanings of "honor". I would argue that honor and shame are crucial ideas in the HB, but often in the more "primitive" meaning of personal or family integrity, often connected to sexual behavior (e.g. *Gen.* 9, 20–27; *Deut.* 22, 13–20; *Judges* 14 etc.). What Schwartz actually appears to mean by "honor" is the more "advanced" or "civilized" notion of fame or glory, resulting in deference which is due to certain persons by the means of their rank (age, wealth or public position). He is right in that the deuteronomistic utopian legislation largely denies this for humans, as it stresses the principal equality of all Israel(ite men). The bewildering thing is then that the social-anthropological notion of "Mediterraneanism" appears to define honor more in the primitive way, and the reader is thus left wondering whether this actually is not precisely the characteristic of especially the patriarchal narratives, even if Schwartz claims that honor is largely absent in the HB.

In sum, however, Schwartz's book is essential reading for specialists in Ben Sira, Josephus and rabbinic values, and useful reading for everyone interested in social-scientific approaches to antiquity. In a country like Finland, where the studies of Judaism and of classical antiquity have been largely separated, approaches like Schwartz's are much needed.

*Lotta Valve*

*Texte als Medium und Reflexion von Religion im römischen Reich.* Hrsg. von DOROTHEE ELM VON DER OSTEN – JÖRG RÜPKE – KATHARINA WALDNER. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge 14. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2006. ISBN 978-3-515-08641-7. 260 S. EUR 49.

Si tratta di una raccolta di contributi nata nel quadro del programma di ricerca dedicato a "Römische Reichsreligion und Provinzialreligion", diretto da Jörg Rüpke. Negli articoli pubblicati si studiano le modalità in cui la religione, soprattutto quella "pagana", è stata costruita e diffusa nella letteratura dei primi secoli dell'impero. Ecco i titoli: A. Barchiesi: Mobilità e religione nell'Eneide. Diaspora, culto, spazio, identità locali; H. Cancik: 'Götter einführen': ein myth-historisches Modell für die Diffusion von Religionen in Vergils Aeneis; U. Egelhaaf-Gaiser: Der triumphierende Leser: Die Siegesfeier von Amphipolis in der Geschichtserzählung des Livius; Chr. Auffarth: 'Euer Leib sei der Tempel des Herrn!' Religiöse Sprache bei Paulus; I. Henderson: Early Christianity, Textual Representation and Ritual Extension; K. Waldner: Die poetische Gerechtigkeit der Götter. Recht und Religion im griechischen Roman; S. Goldhill: Religion, Wissenschaftlichkeit und griechische Identität im römischen Kaiserreich; D. Elm von der Osten: Die Inszenierung des Betrugers und seiner Entlarvung. Divination und ihre Kritiker in Lukians Schrift 'Alexandros oder der Lügenprophet'; A. Bendlin: Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Mantik. Orakel im Medium von Handlung und Literatur in der Zeit der zweiten Sophistik; J. Rüpke: Literarische Darstellungen römischer Religion in christlicher Apologetik. Universal- und Lokalreligion bei Tertullian und Minucius Felix; H. Cancik: Wahrnehmung, Vermeidung, Entheiligung, Aneignung: Fremde Religionen bei Tertullian, im Talmud (AZ) und bei Eusebios; R. Haensch: Religion und Kulte im juristischen Schrifttum und in rechtsverbindlichen Verlautbarungen der Hohen Kaiserzeit.

Tra i testi inclusi, che destano tutti grande interesse, ho trovato particolarmente rilevanti quelli sulla posizione della religione nei dibattiti della Seconda Sofistica (Bendlin, Elm



von der Osten, Goldhill), in quanto essi fanno anche riflettere sul ruolo e valore di autori quali Luciano, Pausania e Plutarco come fonti per la comprensione della religione del tempo. Illuminanti anche i contributi di Auffarth e Henderson, nei quali si sottolineano i collegamenti, rispettivamente, tra alcune frasi espresse da Paolo e i rituali dei primi cristiani, con le tradizioni greco-romane.

Insomma, preziosa lettura per chiunque si occupi della vita religiosa romana dell'età imperiale. Il libro, nitidamente stampato, conclude con un Stellenregister. Ancor più utile lo avrebbe reso un index rerum.

Mika Kajava

*One God: Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire*. Edited by STEPHEN MITCHELL – PETER VAN NUFFELEN. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-19416-7. IX, 239 pp. GBP 55, USD 95.

*One God. Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire* introduces eight papers presented at the conference of the same name at the University of Exeter in 2006. Other papers from the same conference have been published in *Monotheism between Pagans and Christians in Late Antiquity*, also edited by Stephen Mitchell and Peter Van Nuffelen (Peeters 2010).

Both volumes continue the vigorous discussion instigated by the articles in *Pagan Monotheism in Late Antiquity* (eds. Polymnia Athanassiadi and Michael Frede, Oxford University Press 1999). The 1999 volume introduced the term "pagan monotheism", and one of the questions the writers of *One God* discuss is the usefulness of this term as a heuristic tool in analysing religious phenomena in Graeco-Roman paganism. By pagan monotheism the writers refer to monotheistic ideas that by the mid- and later third century CE had emerged as part of the pagan religious life of the Empire. Nonetheless, ideas of a single divine power had been a part of Greek philosophical speculations from the sixth century BCE onwards.

In the research of monotheistic tendencies, there has been a gap between scholarly approaches that have concentrated on ritual and those that have taken philosophical conceptions as their starting point. The gap is understandable: most of the evidence for monotheistic tendencies is derived from literary and philosophical sources whereas it is difficult to find unambiguous documentary evidence of pagan monotheistic cults. In their introduction to *One God*, editors Mitchell and Van Nuffelen insist that it is necessary to define monotheism not only as an intellectual construct of ancient philosophers, but also as a religious phenomenon arising from the religious experience of "normal" people. Therefore, the main emphasis of the volume is on monotheism as a religious phenomenon in its social context.

Van Nuffelen sets the agenda in discussing pagan monotheism as a religious phenomenon. He aims at deconstructing the distinction between belief and ritual traditionally drawn in the research of Greek and Roman religion. As Van Nuffelen points out – following John Scheid's *Quand croire c'est faire* (2005) – questions of belief and theology had their important part in Greek and Roman religion. In ritual there is presupposed theology involved since it is impossible to have a ritual without the cognitive element. During the Roman Empire, monotheistic ideas in paganism became a religious phenomenon in the sense that they were not restricted to the literary and philosophical elite. Van Nuffelen distinguishes three factors for this

change: the close interaction between philosophy and religion, the expansion of new religions and the increased relations between Judaism, Christianity and paganism.

John North asks whether pagan monotheism is a concept that would have been comprehensible to ancient Greeks and Romans and that they could have used to express their religious beliefs. As North points out, for pagan writers there was no opposition between the propositions about one or many gods (as there is for modern observers). North connects the development of monotheism in Late Antiquity with the competition between various religious groups in the Roman Empire and the consequent change in religious identity that was based on membership of a specific religious group. North outlines the religious transformation as driven by an increased level of religious commitment which for its part stirred the need for clear criteria of membership and even clarified verbal formulations of the beliefs of a group. This led to requirements to overlook all divinities other than those allowed by the group. Thus, North convincingly interprets the spread of monotheistic tendencies as an outcome of the overall religious situation of the Roman Empire. Neither more nor less, for it would be misleading to imagine that the rise of monotheism was the most significant element in the religious transformation in the late Roman Empire.

Michael Frede outlines tendencies towards monotheism in Greek philosophy, introducing a number of ancient thinkers – Antisthenes, Chrysippus and Galen – who developed a conception of a single transcendent deity. Frede maintains that, for instance, Stoics should be regarded as monotheists since they believed in a single deity. Stoic philosophers called some other beings "gods", too, but these were called "gods" in a sense which was not incompatible with Stoic monotheism. Frede appositely shakes up the prejudices of modern researchers who do not regard Greek philosophical monotheism as presupposing "just not the right kind of god to qualify them as monotheists", which is usually taken to be the kind of deity that modern Christianity accepts.

Alfons Fürst moves the discussion on monotheism onto the level of politics and authority, analysing the two ancient debates between pagan and Christian thinkers, the one between Origen and Celsus and the other between Augustine and Platonists. Both debates show a consensus on the supreme deity between the disputants. Augustine, for instance, worried not about the terms used for describing the divine or the number of deities, but about the worship of the deity. Thus Augustine drew the difference between himself and Platonists in regard to religious practice. According to Fürst, these debates were not confrontations of polytheism and monotheism but battles of religious authority. Thus the dispute between Celsus and Origen circled around ideas of social and political order.

In modern discussions, monotheism has often also represented religious fundamentalism and bigotry. Christoph Marksches takes part in the recent debate in Germany on the intolerance of monotheism, referring to the so-called Mosaic distinction outlined by Jan Assmann in his *Mosaische Unterscheidung oder der Preis des Monotheismus* (2003). Marksches questions Assmann's structural division between primary and secondary forms of religion that is roughly the same as that between polytheism and monotheism. Secondary forms of religion distinguish between true and false gods as well as true and false doctrines. Consequently they are exclusive, intolerant and repressive of religious deviation. In his criticism of Assmann, Marksches makes an appropriate move, in shifting the discussion from the level of abstractions onto the level of people and religion as practised in concrete historical and social contexts. It is the detection of ancient people practising their religions that really matters.

Markschies asks who the monotheists were and goes on analysing the "one god" (*heis theos*) acclamations in inscriptions in the Late Antique Near East.

Angelos Chaniotis maintains that the concept of worshipping only one god is unhelpful for comprehending Graeco-Roman paganism. Instead, he proposes a new term "megatheism", that he defines as "a designation of an expression of god, represented one particular god as somehow superior to others, and was expressed through oral performances (praise, acclamations, hymns) accompanying, but not replacing, ritual actions" (p. 113). Chaniotis connects the increased inclination of worshippers to depict their deity as the "greatest" with the competition between cities and communities. He reminds us that the field of religion in the Roman Empire was competitive and by no means peaceful. Chaniotis points out that the shared vocabulary in regard to the divine ought not to be taken self-evidently as confirmation for either homogeneous concepts or syncretism. On the contrary, homogeneous language may have emerged from competition and emulation.

Nicole Belayche analyses various ritual expressions and epithets acclaiming the superiority of a deity (the *heis theos* acclamations among them). She reads these acclamations and epithets (such as *heis* and *megas*) not as monotheistic but as conveying the worshippers' enthusiasm for the superior powers of their favourite deity. Both Belayche and Chaniotis maintain that most of the documentary material evidence for pagan cult ought to be interpreted from a polytheistic perspective: monotheistic interpretations would be anachronistic. As Belayche states, these attestations are "evidence for a different sort of religious communication and a new way of articulating the presence of divine beings in the world" (p. 146), here clearly challenging the position of Stephen Mitchell who regards a group of these acclamations as relating to the cult of Theos Hypsistos with monotheistic features.

In his article, Mitchell defends his hypothesis on the worship of Theos Hypsistos (already presented in *Pagan Monotheism*, 1999) and introduces further epigraphic documentation to enhance his views. He proposes that the term *Hypsistos* in inscriptions is a term with a firm theological connotation. In addition to the epigraphic evidence, Mitchell's hypothesis of the cult is based on the four Greek fourth- and fifth-century Christian writers who mention the worshippers of Theos Hypsistos. In Mitchell's opinion, the cult as a "soft monotheism" provides a remarkable parallel to contemporary Christianity.

*One God* consists of intriguing, well structured and masterfully argued articles. These bring forth the religious life of the Roman Empire in its striking diversity of which the ideas of superior and minor gods were just one part. The phenomenon of pronouncements about a single deity existing alongside the evidence of religious devotion to many gods which appears as a paradox to modern observers is precisely what makes Graeco-Roman Antiquity so fascinating. While *Pagan Monotheism* in 1999 opened the topic for discussion, *One God* deepens and widens the perspective, stimulating scholars to further investigation. A similarly nuanced analysis of Christian polytheism would be most welcome.

Maijastina Kahlos

ZSUZSANNA VÁRHELYI: *The Religion of Senators in the Roman Empire. Power and the Beyond*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-89724-2. XII, 267 pp. GBP 55, USD 95.

Zsuzsanna Várhelyi's book on the religion of senators from Augustus to Severus Alexander contributes to the scholarly discussion on the religious transformations during the early Roman Empire. The author partly continues, partly challenges and modifies the insight of religious variety and individual creativity of the imperial period modelled by Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price (in *Religions of Rome*, 1998). According to their view, in the religious crisis in the late Republic, the civic embeddedness of religion could no longer control over an ever-growing religious diversity and this led to a marketplace of less socially embedded religious choices in the imperial era.

Várhelyi's major claim is that, whereas the new rule of Augustus made ample use of religion to legitimize his supremacy, senators in turn aimed at negotiating their own power in religious terms. Therefore, religion had a new and prominent role in the processes of settling power relations between the emperor and the senate in the early Empire. Várhelyi argues that senators had an active part in participating in imperial rule in which the emperor and senators both cooperated and competed in claiming power. Várhelyi explicates as her goal to identify "normative trends *and* variations within them": for the senatorial religion "participates in promoting normative social order but can also change and challenge it" (p. 15).

Várhelyi innovatively combines the methods of prosopography and the observations of microhistory. As she remarks, the large-scale generalizations of historical research often tend to misrepresent the intricacies of human life. Instead of the macrostructures, microhistorians concentrate in the sphere of the individual.

Várhelyi introduces detailed analysis on the different aspects of senatorial religion in Chapters 1–6. The chapters are divided into three parts that discuss the senators as a group (part I), the interaction between religious and political powers (part II) and the conceptual aspects (such as religious knowledge) of senatorial religion (part III).

In Chapter 1, Várhelyi proposes that the senate maintained a strong *ordo* identity (*contra* earlier research that emphasized the limited capacity of senators to form a group with power in the imperial period). She stresses the collective religious identity of senators that was based on established senatorial expertise and authority in religious matters. Moreover, while new senators have often been considered potential candidates in importing elements that challenged traditional religiosity, Várhelyi argues that new senators were not religious innovators; rather as *homines novi* they not only accepted the traditional ideals and attitudes of the old aristocracy, but were even keen promoters of these ideals. There is no evidence to suggest that new senators undertook any strange rituals to honour non-Romanized or non-Hellenized deities; instead senators' religious engagements seem to have followed Graeco-Roman terms. Várhelyi also argues for the senate as a body with religious authority. Even though the religious activities of the senate (such as decrees on sacrifices and temple buildings) might have been only formalities, they continued throughout, from Augustus to the fourth century.

Chapter 2 surveys senatorial priesthoods that have usually been considered almost secular magistracies. Acknowledging the increasing professionalization of senatorial priesthoods, Várhelyi draws the attention to the social experience of being a senatorial priest. She points out that membership in a priestly college provided a senator with additional resources in preserving power across generations. Várhelyi also discusses less formal social events such as the ad hoc gatherings of friends around the sickbed of fellow senators, arguing that shared health concerns in religious terms indicate the importance and self-understanding of the peer group of senators.

Chapters 3 and 4, discussing the intersections of religion and power in Rome, Italy and the provinces respectively, show that non-priestly magistrates (most notably consuls and praetors) during the Empire were invested with religious authority, clearly following the example of the new power of the emperors. Magistrates in Rome, Italy and the provinces held highly ritualized roles with strong religious associations. One example is the close connection between the cult of Hercules and urban praetors. Outside Rome, in Italy and in the provinces, a senatorial officeholder took the role as the prime sacrificer and benefactor, and this position of a magistrate invested a senator with religious authority in a manner similar to the emperor's position. In the provinces, senatorial magistrates engaged with local religious life, such as imperial celebrations including sacrifices and dinners and arbitration in religious matters. Senatorial officeholders had a significant role in the public cults of provinces which is attested in copious dedications to the emperors and their families as well as building projects under their patronage. Senatorial officeholders in fact stood in for the emperors in the local religious life in the provinces.

Chapter 5 aims at elucidating the conceptual background to senatorial religion. Várhelyi draws attention to the increasing role of philosophical discourses in promulgating a "theology" that partly substituted earlier religious narratives with the discourse of virtues, especially that of imperial Stoicism. Várhelyi uses "theology" in inverted commas because, as in the Republic, there were no foundational or central theological doctrines involved in Roman religion during the Empire. Nonetheless, from the late Republic onwards, there was an increasing engagement with religious questions among the upper classes. Várhelyi maintains that senators played a significant role in shaping the religious life of their time, challenging a number of earlier top-down accounts in which senators are seen as trying to keep up values separate from the emperor.

In Chapter 6, Várhelyi demonstrates the senatorial impact on a number of aspects of imperial religion. Senators were less interested, for instance, in challenging the divinity of the deceased emperor than in picking up similar forms of imperial religion and contributing to them. Furthermore, senators not only copied forms of imperial religion, but also contributed to them, by applying forms of their own cult practices to the cult of the imperial family. One example of these applications that Várhelyi analyses is the worship of the *genius* of a senatorial family. Private *genius* worship of the *paterfamilias* had existed for centuries before the rule of emperors. The acceptance of *genius* worship in the imperial religion was thus based on the more general cult of the *genius* of the *paterfamilias*. The cult of the living emperor's *genius* was accepted after the title *pater patriae* was bestowed on Claudius in 42 CE. Várhelyi also discusses the inscriptions of senators with the formula *pro salute* which she takes as supporting the complex connections between senatorial and imperial religion. The earliest *pro salute* inscriptions of senators appeared in the late 60s CE, coinciding with the development of the concept of *salus Augusti*, the personal health of the emperor that was connected with public welfare.

*The Religion of Senators in the Roman Empire* is a well structured and harmonious work. Várhelyi uses a vast wealth of Roman inscriptions, combining it capably with literary evidence. Her social historical analysis is solid and concise and her emphasis on "imperial" and "senatorial" powers not as opposites but rather as existing in a dynamic connection is compelling.

Maijastina Kahlos

NINA MEKACHER: *Die vestalischen Jungfrauen in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Rom. Palilia 15. Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, Wiesbaden 2006. ISBN 978-3-89500-499-5. 272 S. EUR 45.

Lo studio di Mekacher offre un ricco panorama delle diversissime fonti disponibili sulle Vestali romane dei primi tre secoli imperiali. I materiali (letterari, documentari, numismatici, archeologici) sono analizzati e discussi da numerosi punti di vista. Risultano particolarmente interessanti le considerazioni giuridiche sulla scelta della Vestale (prima eletta a sorte da un gruppo di venti fanciulle, poi candidata da sola e approvata dal senato imperiale). Nella sua discussione dei ben noti doveri rituali delle Vestali (Cap. III), l'autrice osserva che a volte, per varie ragioni pratiche, essi venivano delegati al personale subalterno. L'analisi prosopografica (Cap. IV) consente di focalizzare attenzione ai limiti di età delle Vestali e ai periodi di servizio da loro prestati (in media 25 anni), nonché alle quote percentuali delle Vestali note rispettivamente nei primi tre secoli: sarebbero a noi note tre quarti delle Vestali effettivamente esistite nel I sec. d. C., solo 10% di quelle del II secolo, mentre per il III secolo la percentuale sarebbe intorno al 50%. Viene inoltre trattata la rappresentazione (e autorappresentazione) delle Vestali, che non solo si manifesta su rilievi imperiali o nelle dediche erette all'interno dell'Atrium Vestae, ma anche attraverso il loro prominente ruolo sociale, caratterizzato da vari privilegi e illustrato dai soliti rapporti con la casa imperiale.

Nonostante le intensive ricerche sulle Vestali nel recente passato, dal lavoro di Mekacher emerge un autorevole e innovativo contributo alla migliore comprensione di quello che erano e di quello che facevano le Vestali romane.

*Mika Kajava*

*Sanctuaires, pratiques cultuelles et territoires civiques dans l'Occident romain*. Édité par MONIQUE DONDIN-PAYRE – MARIE-THÉRÈSE RAEPSAET-CHARLIER. ULB, Séminaire d'Histoire romaine et d'Épigraphie latine. Le Livre Timperman, Bruxelles 2006. ISBN 90-77723-45-5. 514 pp. 93 cartes et ill. EUR 50.

In questo volume si continuano gli studi francofoni da tempo coordinati dalle due curatrici sui vari aspetti storico-culturali delle parti occidentali dell'impero romano (romanizzazione, urbanizzazione, ecc.). Questa volta la messa a fuoco è sui santuari e culti. I capitoli sono divisi in tre sezioni tematiche dedicate, rispettivamente, ai modelli di funzionamento dei santuari civici nell'Occidente (con esempi "introduttivi" provenienti, sorprendentemente, da Corinto, Ostia, Mérida e Britannia), all'analisi di un numero di santuari recentemente scavati (in alcune parti delle Gallie e delle Germanie), nonché ai culti praticati nei santuari occidentali (rituali, sacrifici, partecipanti, ecc.). Ecco il contenuto: Introduzione (con, anche, brevi osservazioni sull'onomastica e sui criteri di datazione delle epigrafi religiose, seguite da una bibliografia generale). – Prima parte: L. Gillot: Sanctuaires et territoire civique, le cas de Corinthe. L'apport conceptuel et méthodologique du monde grec classique; Fr. Van Haepere: Interventions de Rome dans les cultes et sanctuaires de son port, Ostie; B. Goffaux: Formes d'organisation des cultes dans la *Colonia Augusta Emerita* (Lusitania); G. Van Havre: Religion et municipalisation en Bretagne romaine. – Seconda parte: W. Van Andringa: Un grand sanctuaire de la cité

des Séquanes: Villards d'Héria; M. Dondin-Payre: Sanctuaires publics et territoires civiques: réflexions à partir de l'exemple du Bois l'Abbé (cité des Ambiens); B. Debatty: *Marti, Volcano et sanctissimae Vestae sacrum*. Le sanctuaire suburbain de la Motte du Ciar près de Sens (cité des Sénons); E. Gillet – N. Paridaens – L. Demarez: Le sanctuaire de Blicquy - " Ville d'Anderlecht " (prov. Hainaut, Belgique). – Terza parte: V. Rey-Vodoz: Offrandes et rituels votifs dans les sanctuaires de Gaule romaine; T. Derks: Le grand sanctuaire de Lenus Mars à Trèves et ses dédicaces privées : une réinterprétation; E. Deniaux: Les dédicants du trésor du sanctuaire de Berthouville (cité des *Lexovii*); J. Scheid: Les dévotions en Germanie inférieure : divinités, lieux de culte, fidèles, M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier: Les dévots dans les lieux de culte de Germanie supérieure et la géographie sacrée de la province. – Conclusioni: J. Scheid: Paysage religieux et romanisation. Quelques réflexions en guise de conclusion.

I santuari considerati sono prevalentemente quelli "grandi", o suburbani o situati in campagna, e quindi sono omessi i santuari urbani. Tale esclusione risulta alquanto problematica, in quanto il ruolo e le funzioni dei santuari urbani potevano essere del tutto simili a quelli dei luoghi di culto suburbani. Rimane inoltre discutibile la categoria di "grand sanctuaires", dato che i culti, pubblici o privati, potevano svolgersi in vari tipi di santuari, grandi o meno, e in diverse località, o all'interno o nei pressi delle città.

I materiali epigrafici e onomastici sono analizzati e documentati con grande competenza e rigore, e lo stesso vale per i contributi più propriamente archeologici. Anche gli indici sono redatti in maniera esemplare. D'altra parte, i risultati raggiunti, di per sé ricchissimi e di grande interesse, non sembra che offrano considerevoli novità rispetto a quanto già noto per la panoramica generale della religione e dei culti nei territori occidentali romani.

Mika Kajava

EFTYCHIA STAVRIANOPOULOU: *"Gruppenbild mit Dame". Untersuchungen zur rechtlichen und sozialen Stellung der Frau auf den Kykladen im Hellenismus und in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien (HABES), Band 42. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2006. ISBN 3-515-08404-5. 375 S. EUR 48.

Si tratta di una versione leggermente elaborata di una Habilitationsschrift all'Università di Heidelberg (2003), dedicata al ruolo e alla posizione giuridico-sociale delle donne nelle Cicladi nei periodi ellenistico e romano. Contrariamente a quanto forse ci si aspetterebbe dal titolo (omonimo, del resto, a quello del romanzo di Heinrich Böll del 1971), il libro non mette a fuoco materiali archeologici o iconografici, bensì utilizza solamente fonti scritte, letterarie e soprattutto epigrafiche. Sono tre i temi principali: donna e diritto, donna e proprietà, donna e il pubblico. Nella prima parte si analizzano le questioni relative al matrimonio, alla dote e all'eredità, mentre la seconda studia le varie attività finanziarie effettuate dalle donne: prestiti d'affari, locazione di terreno e possesso di schiavi. L'ultima sezione si occupa delle liturgie imposte alle donne nonché degli uffici da loro detenuti (quali *archeine/archis*, *stefaneforos*, *strategos*, pp. 217-25). Sono inoltre discussi i vari rapporti di famiglia ricordati nelle epigrafi dedicate a donne o in quelle erette da loro stesse. Dall'analisi si evince che le donne insulari dei ceti superiori erano spesso coinvolte in attività economiche, politiche e religiose, tutte più o meno pubbliche. Dall'altro canto, si osserva che tali situazioni di solito dipendevano dal sup-

porto della propria famiglia, in particolare da quello dei parenti di sesso maschile. È interessante notare con l'autrice che l'arrivo dell'influenza romana comportò la graduale scomparsa della relativa autonomia della donna in favore della più marcata presenza della coppia o della famiglia. Con questo sviluppo sembrerebbe coincidere la riemergenza della tradizionale figura femminile come madre e coniuge amorevole.

I materiali sono studiati con meticolosa attenzione e rigore analitico, e lo stesso vale per la documentazione delle fonti, epigrafiche e letterarie, che vengono presentate in maniera esemplare. Purtroppo la bibliografia non è aggiornata rispetto a ciò che è stato pubblicato dopo il 2002.

*Mika Kajava*

*Quantifying the Roman Economy. Methods and Problems.* Edited by ALAN BOWMAN – ANDREW WILSON. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009. ISBN 978-0-19-956259-6. XVIII, 256 pp. GBP 68, USD 120.

The Roman economy was discussed heatedly in the 1970's followed by a phase of low interest, but in the last decade a renewed interest has emerged – perhaps inspired by our own world more and more revolving around the economy? New discoveries and new approaches have been sought out in a project at Oxford University directed by the two editors of this volume, Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson. The idea is to try to identify and compare quantifiable bodies of archaeological and documentary evidence and analyze some major areas of ancient economy such as population, urbanization, agriculture, trade, commerce, mining and coinage. It is hoped that variation in time and space could be observed and that common indicators with economies of other periods and cultures could be found and that the Roman economy could be compared to economies of other societies in other times and places.

The book at hand is the first publication by the project and records the papers and discussions of the project's first conference held in 2006. The main topics of the project – urbanization, demography in the rural areas, agriculture, trade, coinage and standard of living – are discussed in six sections of the volume following a lengthy introduction by Bowman and Wilson. For each topic, a point of view is presented by one distinguished researcher in the field and this is followed by a response or two by other, equally distinguished, scholars. In the first two parts, Elio Lo Cascio and Roger Bagnall discuss the degree of urbanization in the Roman world and Willem Jongman, Elizabeth Fentress and David Mattingly try to estimate the number of inhabitants in the countryside. Fentress makes a comparison of demographical calculations from two survey projects; Albegna valley in Tuscany and the island of Jerba off the coast of Tunisia. Egyptian agriculture is dealt by Alan Bowman and Roger Bagnall. Andrew Wilson discusses trade based on shipwrecks, marble, amphorae and other pottery. The responses are written by Michael Fulford and William Harris. Matthew Ponting writes about methods for the study of Roman silver coinage as well as gives some preliminary results of his project. The other two scholars to discuss coinage are Bruce Hitchner and Christopher Howgego. In the last part, Dominic Rathbone, Robert C. Allen and Walter Scheidel discuss earnings, prices and standard of living in the Roman world.

Most of the chapters jump right into the middle of the topic with very little introduc-



tion and this book is certainly not intended for beginners. But for those already familiar with the main topics will find relatively little new data or ideas. Personally, the most interesting part was the last section on the standard of living and particularly the chapter by Allen whose comparison of wages and prices in Diocletian's Price Edict to early modern cities around the world is thought-provoking. It is hopefully also indicative of the kind of cross-cultural comparisons that Bowman and Wilson call for in their introduction and which will be the final results of the project.

The progress of the project can be followed on their website (<http://oxrep.classics.ox.ac.uk/new/index.php>). One of the aims of the project is to collect data and try and encourage other scholars to contribute to these collections with their own work. The beginnings of three databases on Roman mines, wine and olive presses and Karanis tax records can be browsed online. The fourth database on Roman shipwrecks is not yet public. The problems of data collection and representation are apparent – a lot of work hours and preferably professionals to do the job are necessary for the end result to be understandable and reliable. In addition, creating a working database structure is not easy. It is to be hoped that the embryos available now will grow into functioning entities that would persuade other scholars to submit their data in order to create the data collections envisioned by the project directors.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

ALFRED MICHAEL HIRT: *Imperial Mines and Quarries in the Roman World. Organizational Aspects 27 BC–AD 235*. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2010. ISBN 978-0-19-957287-8. XIV, 551 pp. GBP 80, USD 120.

Mining and quarrying metals and stone were important activities in the Roman world and we know amazingly little of them. Plenty of extraction sites are known archaeologically from all over the Roman Empire. Extraction processes, trade and use of the raw materials have also been explored to a certain extent. The ownership and administration of the mines and quarries are, however, not so well known. They are usually discussed regionally regarding particular geographical areas, but a synthetic view of the whole empire has not been attempted. One of the reasons for this lack of synthetic work is probably the staggering amount of material and the huge geographical range, which makes handling the whole very challenging. Hirt has admirably attacked the topic in the doctoral dissertation from which this book has been developed.

The rather thick volume is organized into seven main chapters. After the brief introduction, Chapter 2 gives a short overview of the imperial quarries and mines, and their geological and geographical peculiarities. Then Hirt turns to outlining the extent and ownership of various regional, imperial mining/quarrying districts. The fourth and fifth chapters respectively discuss the evidence for the imperial officials responsible for extractive operations and the involvement of the Roman army in them. Chapter 6 delves deeper into the responsibilities and tasks of all officials involved. Before concluding the book with the discussion of the role of the emperor and possible imperial bureaus governing extractive operations, Hirt takes a look at the role and activities of private partners in imperial mines and quarries. The book ends in a long appendix listing 1283 quarry inscriptions. Hirt has managed to write most of the chapters in such a way

that the discussion remains interesting and vibrant – however, some of the chapters in the central part do suffer from long lists of evidence thinly disguised as academic prose.

Hirt's results accentuate the problems related to the lacunose evidence as well as the unreliability of the Roman epigraphic habit – hardly anything was ever recorded in inscriptions in a systematic manner. And even if such documents would have been produced, only a small part of them would have survived for us to study. Another very important aspect is the local and regional nature of the Roman administration: little evidence for centralized administration or even imperial policies regarding public extractive operations could be found. The general administrative organization of each province, the geographical and geological realities of each quarry and mine resulted in varying solutions in different areas. The revenue produced by the extractive operations was important for the emperor as shown by the many officials and the resources allocated to them, but the high number of private entrepreneurs involved shows that the imperial involvement was intended to be kept at a minimum whenever possible. In addition, it becomes clear that for example quarrying most marbles was not done for revenue, but rather as a display of imperial wealth and power.

Studying administration and bureaucracy might seem a boring topic to many, but Hirt also manages to showcase the practical problems which needed to be solved by individual officials – for instance, who had to deal with acquiring all the donkeys needed in the Egyptian marble quarries. The overall view of the various levels of administration from the day-to-day work in the quarries all the way to the corridors of imperial power in Rome is fascinating.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

ANN C. GUNTER: *Greek Art and the Orient*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-83257-1 (hb). XIV, 257 pp. GBP 50, USD 85.

Ann C. Gunter's *Greek Art and the Orient* is an ambitious take on the somewhat exhausted topic of the "Orientalising" period in Greek art. The monograph insists on offering no easy answers, and instead draws on a range of theories and scholarship to show what a multifaceted and complicated issue the transfer of art can be. Although material is drawn from different parts of the greater Mediterranean, the focus is on Assyria, the most powerful empire in the area during the 8<sup>th</sup> century BC.

Gunter starts off – and in fact concludes – by deconstructing oppositions such as "East" and "West" or "Greek" and "Oriental" as well as the homogeneity that existed within Assyria itself. "Art and 'Assyrianization' along the Imperial Frontiers" provides examples of both the standardization of art - for example Syrian and Lebanese ceramics in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC – and deviations from set standards – "provincial" style seals as serving local needs rather than being mere poor imitations. "Conceptual Geographies and Frameworks" points out the flaws of using Homer to extrapolate ancient divisions and oppositions, or perhaps rather how he has been misinterpreted and simplified, and suggests the "Orientalising" period is a product of drawing parallels between 19<sup>th</sup>-century interactions between Europe and the Far East, and antiquity. While the aforementioned chapter debunks the existence of Eastern versus Western, "Defining and Interpreting Styles" does the same in terms of art, emphasizing how difficult it is to correlate style and ethnicity. After that, the focus returns to interactions within the Assyrian empire:

"Imperial Ideologies and Modes of Appropriation" discusses the range of ways artefacts and artisans could travel, not only through trade but as gifts, booty, and royal propaganda.

*Greek Art and the Orient* is almost too much of a good thing. The monograph is so densely packed with theory, overviews of scholarship, and alternate explanations that the reader struggles to process it all, much less summarize it into a short review. Gunter offers more questions than answers, and the cynic might say the only conclusion the monograph reaches is that we can conclude very little. Mainly, Gunter seems to argue against the title of the monograph itself: she makes a case for a cultural sphere covering the entire eastern Mediterranean and points out the paradox of contrasting two parts of the same whole.

Despite being a demanding read, the work is worth the effort, particularly for those already familiar with the basics of art-historical theory and Assyria. The reader might be frustrated by how *Greek Art and the Orient* keeps diving into finer and finer distinctions – the fine nuances make it very difficult to get enough leverage to say anything on the topic – but no one can deny Gunter's discussion is thoughtful and learned. The reader is left wishing Gunter would elaborate on how the distinctions she draws would have been perceived in antiquity, but perhaps that is a topic for a different day and a different monograph.

*Elina M. Salminen*

MICHAEL SQUIRE: *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-75601-3. XXVI, 516 pp., 25 plates, 142 ill. GBP 75, USD 120.

This well-researched book focuses on a hotly debated topic which has interested scholars since antiquity: the relation between the visual and verbal spheres. With a mastery of a huge bibliography, Squire contests the traditional logocentrism, which dominates the modern study of ancient art and literature, and suggests new methodologies for both viewing and reading.

The book is divided into three parts. In Part 1, Squire locates the origins of the modern modes of viewing and reading images in the Lutheran Reformation and in the famous 1766 essay on Laocoon by G. E. Lessing. In fact, while Lutheran ideas about the importance of the text for unlocking the meaning of an image laid the foundation for the origin of logocentrism, the influence of Lessing's *Laocoon* reinforced the theory whereby texts and images work independently. The result was the imposition of Lutheran assumptions and Lessing's ideas about images and words onto Graeco-Roman culture, regardless of the fact that ancient viewers and readers may have had a different experience of, and approach to, visuality and verballity. Squire argues against this set of methodological assumptions and attempts to show how "visual and verbal realms are interpenetrative, intertwined and interdependent" (p. 145) with the analysis of some examples of Greek and Roman objects and monuments bearing ephrastic texts (funerary reliefs, symposium vases, domestic mosaics, and the wall-paintings of the Casa degli Epigrammi). However, there is some doubt whether the discussion, which often repeats what other scholars have already written about those examples and rarely includes the author's personal viewpoint, does successfully sketch "a different mode of approaching visual and verbal relations in the Graeco-Roman world" (p. 11).

In Parts II and III, Squire looks in more detail at four specific case studies for a broader

discussion of the symbiosis between ancient visual and verbal cultures. Chapters 3 and 4 are concerned with images and texts combined in a single visual field, while Chapters 5 and 6 deal with texts and images that are not physically bound, but are nevertheless related to each other. In the discussion of the sculptural groups in the Imperial grotto at Sperlonga (Chapter 3) and of the paintings in the cryptoporticus of the House of Propertius in Assisi (Chapter 4), as examples of images physically combined to texts, Squire interestingly shows how the combination of words and images allowed the viewer-reader to experience different modes of combined visual and verbal response. The author then moves on to analyse how the visual and verbal influence and intersect with each other, even when they are not juxtaposed within a single visual field, with two specific case studies: the myth of Polyphemus and Galatea (Chapter 5) and the tradition of still-life (Chapter 6). These two chapters surely form the most interesting and innovative part of Squire's work, as they outline a different mode of approaching the visual and verbal in the Graeco-Roman world. The author, in fact, shows with a number of specific examples how the analysis of images in association with texts and of the texts in association with images reveals a close interpenetration of visual and verbal media, which leads viewers and readers through a variety of different interpretative possibilities. This two-way model of interaction is surely more dynamic and intellectually stimulating than the traditional approach to ancient images, which are seen as an illustrative reproduction of literary descriptions, when there are detailed correspondences between the two media, or as working independently from the verbal, when this correspondence of minutiae is lacking.

There is no doubt that Squire's book provides an interesting interpretative framework for the analysis of the interpenetration between images and text and suggests a variety of different ways for bridging the "gulf between words and images" (p.431). As the author correctly suggests, one of the possible modes of analysis could put more emphasis on the viewing contexts and the viewers themselves, but that "would have required a separate book" (p. 432). Nevertheless, the absence of the ancient viewer-reader throughout Squire's book is noticeable and makes one wonder why the author discusses material evidence of a specific culture without reflecting on its users. The author might have restricted the number of chosen examples and let the ancient viewer direct the modern gaze by putting more emphasis on the questions related to the social status of the ancient viewer-reader, her/his level of literacy and ability to grasp correspondences between the visual representation and the literary description of the same topic, and her/his way of viewing and reading within the spatial limits of the physical context in which those images were put on display. Without the insertion of the ancient viewer-reader into the discussion, the book appears mostly concerned with the construction of a set of methodologies for interpretations that serves only the modern viewer-reader.

These criticisms notwithstanding, Squire's book is rich in insight and suggests a number of topics that will be hopefully explored in future research.

*Margherita Carucci*

DIMITRA ANDRIANOU: *The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-76087-4. XXIV, 213 pp. 29 b/w ill., 2 plans. GBP 45, USD 80, EUR 51.90.

Dimitra Andrianou's monograph *The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs* delivers exactly what the title suggests but with one necessary specification that should be voiced upfront: the book focuses almost entirely on the late Classical and especially the Hellenistic period. If that is the timeframe the reader is interested in, the publication is an excellent handbook with some interesting tangents into matters such as Hellenistic beliefs concerning the afterlife and the symbolism behind furniture assemblages found in tombs.

The book had its beginnings in Andrianou's doctoral dissertation and this shows – but in a good way. The monograph is clearly structured, with each section containing a summary of the literary, visual and archaeological evidence and a catalogue of relevant artefacts with references. Thanks to this, *The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs* can function as a handbook in addition to making for interesting reading. Sources and scholarship are discussed at the beginning, and lists of furniture and furnishings given to sanctuaries are attached in the appendices. The chapter on furniture is divided by type: seats, bed-couches, tables, containers, cupboards and shelves. The section on furnishings correspondingly covers bedclothes, valances, curtains, rugs and mats, and weaving equipment. The two final chapters are thematic: they discuss furniture donated to sanctuaries and mentioned in treasure lists, and the role of luxury in both life and death in Macedonia.

Andrianou runs through the evidence critically and carefully, making the most of meagre evidence without speculating. Much of the archaeological evidence comes from tombs at Vergina or elsewhere in Macedonia. Whenever detailed excavation reports have been available, she has scanned through them for things such as specific locations and positioning of artefacts. These details become relevant when discussing evidence for looms or shelves, for example; artefacts found lined up or clustered can indicate the way they would have been positioned originally. Such details can be a rare find in relatively generalist publications but all the more welcome for it. Correspondingly, Andrianou points out shortcomings with on-site documentation – a poignant reminder to archaeologists complaining about over-documentation.

*The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs* is an excellent summary of sources on Hellenistic furniture and furnishings for the specialized scholar or an introduction into the topic for the more general reader. Its conciseness is both a strength and a weakness. Brief discussion sections at the ends of the chapters touch on a variety of topics: furniture as evidence for a more open *oikos* than has traditionally been thought; how difficult it is to deduce prestige based on materials (in Athens, wood may have been more precious than marble due to availability); whether furniture dedications were used by priests or not (Andrianou suggests they often were); and how elaborate tombs in Macedonia might indicate Orphic beliefs regarding the afterlife. These are all topics that would be worth exploring at greater length; as it is, the ideas come across as afterthoughts that do not always tie in with the main narrative. Andrianou points out several avenues for future research and one can hope she herself will explore some of them. As it is, *The Furniture and Furnishings of Ancient Greek Houses and Tombs* stands as a useful monograph and a promising start to a career that will hopefully produce work that will be of interest to everyone researching furniture, domestic matters, or Macedonia.

*Elina M. Salminen*

FLORIAN STILP: *Die Jacobsthal-Reliefs. Konturierte Tonreliefs aus dem Griechenland der Frühklassik*. Rivista di Archeologia Suppl. 29. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2006. ISBN 88-7689-211-7. XII, 284 pp., 1 fig., 86 tavv. EUR 248.

L'oggetto del lavoro di Stilp è un gruppo di 153 rilievi (oltre a un numero di pezzi falsi) a contorno in argilla prodotti nel mondo ellenofono nella prima metà del V secolo a. C. (ma, stranamente, non dopo). Tra i risultati più significativi raggiunti dall'autore vanno ricordati non solo una migliore comprensione della tecnica di fabbricazione dei rilievi ma anche la loro suddivisione in gruppi provenienti da diverse botteghe. Infatti, l'analisi dello stile e della iconografia hanno permesso all'autore di ipotizzare per il materiale una provenienza non solo da Melo ma anche da Atene e dintorni, Egina, da luoghi più remoti quali Naucrati e Olbia, come pure da varie località di Sicilia e Magna Grecia. Giustamente, quindi, i rilievi, conosciuti finora come "Melici", vengono qui ribattezzati "di Jacobsthal" per rendere omaggio al loro più stimato studioso, Paul Jacobsthal, che fu espulso dalla Germania per le sue origini ebraiche.

Dalla dettagliata indagine tecnica si evince che i rilievi, utilizzati sia come corredo nelle tombe sia come doni votivi nei santuari (e probabilmente anche come decorazioni in ambito privato), potevano essere appesi a una parete o appoggiati verso un qualche supporto. Molto stimolante l'analisi delle numerose e suggestive tematiche rappresentate sui rilievi. La qualità delle illustrazioni risulta ottima.

*Mika Kajava*

MAX KUNZE: *Griechische und römische Bronzen. Meisterwerke antiker Bronzen und Metallarbeiten aus der Sammlung Borowski*, Bd. 1. Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, Ruppolding – Mainz 2007. ISBN 978-3-938646-06-9. 328 S. mit 447 Abb. EUR 80.

Kunze's *Griechische und römische Bronzen* is a catalogue of the Greek and Roman bronze artefacts in the Borowski Collection of the late Elie Borowski. The bronzes, although representing only a small part of the extensive collection now in the process of being published, still include some remarkable items such as the second-century BC triton group (Tritongruppe). The material dates from Middle Minoan III (1700 BC) to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD and even later, with the Minoan, Mycenaean and Geometric material perhaps being of most interest. Although the vast majority of the artefacts are bronzes, there are some silver items as well. There is a separate section for definite and probable forgeries, with explanations on why they are not thought to be originals; these conclusions are further supported by spectroanalytical evidence (see below).

The catalogue is well-written with plenty of attention to detail. Each artefact is described in terms of measurements, condition, dating, iconography and references. The careful descriptions make up for what some of the photos lack in detail, bronze being notoriously difficult to photograph. As is so common in collections such as this, provenance is rarely known, depriving us of the context of the artefacts. Josef Riederer analysed 95 artefacts using atomic absorption spectroscopy. The catalogue contains tables of his results – that is, the chemical components of the artefacts – but not many conclusions regarding production techniques are drawn.

*Griechische und römische Bronzen* makes for a good reference catalogue with artefacts ranging from vessels to figurines and spanning two millennia. One laments the issue of prov-

enance and the resulting lack of conclusions to be drawn from the material, but the reader can take comfort in the fact the artefacts have at least now been carefully documented and can be compared with material for which we do have an archaeological context.

*Elina M. Salminen*

*Akten des Symposiums des Sarkophag-Corpus 2001, Marburg, 2.-7. Juli 2001.* Hrsg. von GUNTRAM KOCH. DAI, Sarkophag-Studien 3. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007. ISBN 978-3-8053-3501-0. XII, 354 S., 32 Abb., 120 Taf. EUR 98.50.

TANER KORKUT: *Girlanden-Ostotheken aus Kalkstein in Pamphylien und Kilikien. Untersuchungen zu Typologie, Ikonographie und Chronologie.* DAI, Sarkophag-Studien 4. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2006. ISBN 978-3-8053-3563-8. IX, 129 S., 38 Abb., 64 Taf. EUR 69.50.

FAHRI IŞIK: *Girlanden-Sarkophage aus Aphrodisias.* Mit einem Beitrag zu den Inschriften von JOYCE M. REYNOLDS – CHARLOTTE ROUECHÉ. DAI, Sarkophag-Studien 5. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2007. ISBN 978-3-8053-3729-8. XVI, 202 S., 112 Taf. EUR 94.

Il volume curato da Guntram Koch continua le antiche e preziose tradizioni del "Sarkophag-Corpus" dell'Istituto Archeologico Germanico, risalente al 1870, nel quadro del quale, dal 1970, si organizzano simposi internazionali a Marburgo, sede dello stesso Corpus. I presenti Atti dell'evento del 2001 includono 39 contributi scritti da specialisti di più nazionalità, con temi che riguardano diversi materiali, di varie epoche e da moltissime regioni (ma soprattutto Roma, Atene e Asia Minore), trattando, tra l'altro, gli aspetti iconografici e iconologici relativi alla decorazione dei sarcofagi, la loro produzione nell'area mediterranea, il commercio di esportazione e importazione, nonché i valori religiosi e storico-culturali che si univano ai sarcofagi. La veste tipografica è ottima, cosa che non sorprende nel caso di Zabern. Ecco un paio di osservazioni sulle epigrafi: p. 94 (Sapelli): il nome del defunto non è AOPUS IOAÑ IS; va letto *hic iacet corpus Ioannis* (seguito da una C e non da un'A). – Pp. 263–4 (Stefanidou-Tiveriou): si poteva fare un riferimento a IG X 2, 1 573 e 573bis; riguardo al Korragos del n. 573bis = Tav. 80,3, si tratta del dedicante, e quindi non è suo il sarcofago). – Pp. 313–5 (Tuluk): le due iscrizioni efesie dovevano essere pubblicate in maniera professionale (adesso i testi disegnati non corrispondono bene a quelli dati in maiuscolo, e inoltre le iscrizioni appena si leggono dalle foto).

Nel quarto volume delle "Sarkophag-Studien", Taner Korkut si concentra sulle ostoteche a ghirlanda in calcare, ossia sarcofagi di dimensioni miniaturistiche, destinate a raccogliere o le ossa o le ceneri dei defunti, provenienti da Panfilia e dalle parti occidentali della Cilicia Tracheia e databili nell'arco di tempo compreso tra l'età tardo-ellenistica e il II/III sec. d. C. La maggior parte dei 251 oggetti analizzati sono custoditi nei musei locali, tuttavia le loro condizioni di ritrovamento sono praticamente ignote. Infatti solo per le ostoteche di Side è possibile stabilire la provenienza da una e stessa necropoli. La classificazione delle decorazioni presentata da Korkut si basa soprattutto sull'analisi del motivo della ghirlanda e sulla tipologia dei coperchi. Viene inoltre studiata la resa della rappresentazione dei defunti (tipicamente in forma di busto)

nonché di qualche figura mitologica. Alcune delle ostoteche sono iscritte, ma i testi vengono dati solo in maiuscolo e senza commento. Per esempio, il n. 18 (Museo di Adana, Tav. 54, 3): ΛΟΥΝΙΣΔΙΣ/ΙΑΝΒΙΟΥΛΑ/ΜΟΤΗΣ, andrebbe letto così (con nell'ultima riga un'omega): Λουνις δις / Ίανβίου Λα/μότης (a meno che il nome del defunto sia <Σ>λουνις, attestato almeno in Pisidia). La documentazione fotografica delle ostoteche risulta esemplare.

Nel bel libro di Işik ("Sarkophag-Studien" vol. 5), corredato da illustrazioni di alta qualità, sono raccolti 215 sarcofagi a ghirlanda, integri e frammentari, provenienti da Afrodizia e pubblicati prima del 1993 (si noti che il Nachwort dell'autore risale all'ormai lontano 1998). I materiali sono divisi in due tipi di sarcofagi, influenzati rispettivamente da modelli efesiaci ("Ephesian-Aphrodisian") e urbani ("Roman-Aphrodisian"), entrambi a loro volta cronologicamente suddivisi in tre gruppi distinti. Işik riesce a concludere che, col passare del tempo, la produzione locale dei sarcofagi divenne sempre più autonoma, tanto da giustificare l'esistenza di una serie di forme particolarmente tipiche di Afrodizia. Mentre in genere la discussione risulta di un professionista qualificato, con ottima conoscenza di cambiamenti stilistici e di tassonomie, avrebbero meritato più attenzione alcuni aspetti di carattere storico-religioso e archeologico, soprattutto i contesti socio-culturali in cui i sarcofagi venivano prodotti e poi successivamente esposti. Tali soggetti vengono discussi nell'Appendice dei 44 sarcofagi iscritti, curata da Reynolds e Roueché, ma al lettore avrebbe maggiormente giovato una più marcata integrazione nel testo di Isik dei risultati giunti dalle discussioni epigrafiche.

*Mika Kajava*

R. R. R. SMITH: *Roman Portrait Statuary from Aphrodisias*. With SHEILA DILLON – CHRISTOPHER H. HALLETT – JULIA LENAGHAN – JULIE VAN VOORHIS. Aphrodisias 2. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz 2006. ISBN 978-3-8053-3527-0. XIV, 338 pp., 27 figs., 163 b/w pls. EUR 76.80.

Questo prezioso volume costituisce il corpus complessivo delle statue-ritratto di Afrodizia, moltissime delle quali finora inedite, databili nell'arco di tempo compreso tra il I sec. a. C. e il III sec. d. C. La prima parte dell'opera, scritta da Smith stesso, è un autorevole resoconto del ruolo e del significato delle statue onorifiche nella cultura locale, in cui vengono illustrati più fattori di carattere archeologico, economico, politico e tecnico, o di costume, tutti in qualche modo correlati alla produzione e all'esposizione dei monumenti nell'ambito civico. La sezione si conclude con un'utilissima appendice epigrafica dedicata agli onorandi (di n. 274), cioè a tutti coloro che sono noti per essere stati onorati con statue ad Afrodizia in età imperiale. Il poderoso Catalogo, elaborato da Smith insieme con i suoi collaboratori, è composto da quattro sezioni tipologiche: statue (nn. 1–108: togate, armate, nude, vestite d'imation, femminili), busti (nn. 109–57), teste ritratto staccate (nn. 158–220), ritratti in rilievo (su stele e sarcofagi). Tutte le presentazioni e i commenti sono di eccellente qualità. Alcune piccole osservazioni di carattere epigrafico: N. 14: la terza lettera del nome di Apollonio risulta un'omega. ΑΣΤΗΡ è veramente "a kind of *cognomen*"? (la lettura del resto non è accertabile sulla foto). – N. 80: l'editrice ha probabilmente ragione nel riferire la statua a Livia (dopo la morte di Augusto), ma qui occorre un riferimento al lavoro di U. Hahn, *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses und ihre Ehrungen im gr. Osten*, ecc. (1994), pp. 43–4. – N. 107: sorprende che gli editori siano riusciti a decifrare (anche se "very tentatively") ben 11 lettere da una vecchia foto di poca



qualità (del 1904–05). – N. 110: interessante, ma non sicura, la proposta d'integrazione per il nome dell'artista. – N. 150: che i primi caratteri visibili del testo siano la terminazione di un patronimico mi pare discutibile.

*Mika Kajava*

GABRIELE CIFANI: *L'architettura romana arcaica. Edilizia e società tra Monarchia e Repubblica*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-8265-444-3. 402 pp., 271 ill. b/n. EUR 200.

Roman architecture is a topic that has been discussed for as long as classical studies have been conducted and it might seem unlikely that anything new could be said on the subject. However, the situation today, in my opinion, is such that there is a great need for all sorts of new studies on this topic. New archaeological discoveries and new points of view keep changing our perceptions and, every now and then, new syntheses should be written. Gabriele Cifani's work on Roman Archaic architecture is a welcome addition to this long continuum of studies, as it not only catalogues some of the most important evidence but also manages to draw more general conclusions on the relationship of architecture and society during the Archaic era.

The book is divided into four parts starting with a fairly long research history. The extensive catalogue of buildings from Rome and its surroundings covers most of the pages. The third part discusses details of building materials and techniques and the last section is on the relationship between buildings and society. The volume is well-illustrated throughout and although many of the maps are reproductions, Cifani has redrawn many with his own interpretations added. Cifani's long dedication to the topic is illustrated in the results as well as made explicit in the preface: he started studying Archaic architecture already in the early 1990's in his *tesi di laurea*. Considering his long experience, I would have perhaps expected an even longer analytical and interpretative section than what is presented.

The catalogue is arranged in two parts: the first covers the city of Rome and the second the surroundings of the city, particularly on the left bank of the Tiber all the way to Fidenae, Ficulea and Gabii, although some sites from the right bank are also included. The division is based on the traditional division between Latin and Etruscan spheres of influence and the lower Tiber valley was probably closer to the Roman culture than the Veientine present further upriver. Comparative material from the areas outside the study area is naturally introduced and discussed. A great majority of the entries in the Roman part of the catalogue are on the urban fortifications and the rest contain temples and votive deposits, as well as the houses found on the northern slopes of the Palatine hill and many water installations. The sites outside Rome feature some urban centers with fortifications and temples, but the majority of the finds are related to collecting and storing of water. The rural area features also more houses than Rome. Only a few tombs are featured.

The third part on the building materials and technique is fairly brief. The materials used in the Archaic period are virtually the same as in the later times: a variety of tuff from the area of the city as well as from the surroundings. The traditional evolutionary idea of starting with the softest stones and proceeding towards harder material with more developed methods later can hopefully now be finally abandoned. The section concerning building tech-

nique concentrates on *opus quadratum* or building with ashlar which is also perhaps the most likely to be preserved. In many buildings the ashlar are the foundations and little is known of how the walls were built, but combinations of wooden frames filled with stone and/or clay are suggested based on the scanty evidence. Comparative finds for this chapter might have been sought from a little farther south from Lazio, as Archaic Pompeii is being studied with great intensity at the moment and many interesting parallels on use of materials and building techniques emerge.

The last section (p. 253–337) is arranged according to building types: fortifications, domestic architecture, temples, roads and water installations. The development of the building technique and building forms from the Iron Age into the Archaic seems to be quite rapid and as so often with archaeological material, the possible developmental stages are missing. Domestic architecture is a good example of this: the fairly modest and round hut, *capanna*, made with wood, clay and little stone is replaced by rectangular houses during the Archaic period. The models for the development of the Italic atrium house have been found in the east, but they could also be partly domestic – e.g., the slightly earlier palatial structures found in both Etruria (Murlo, Acquarossa) as well as in Latium (Satricum). There are plenty of examples from both central areas and assigning the "invention" to either one is futile. What would have been interesting to see is perhaps a discussion of how the architecture changed from round to rectangular.

Another interesting topic is the beginning of dispersed settlement in Central Italy during the Archaic period (p. 283–7). Various surveys have shown that in the earlier periods, habitation was confined to small and large centers, but the Archaic is marked by a fairly dense and widely dispersed rural settlement in the Roman region and in Southern Etruria. This coincides with growth in the urban centers. At the same time, various infrastructures, such as roads and drainage of wet areas, are being constructed. Partly the reason seems to be increased population leading into intensification of land use. Literary sources indicate reorganization of land ownership, allocation of land to citizens as well as establishment of rustic tribes for voting and taxation purposes. It is difficult to know whether these reforms were the cause or the result of the dispersed settlement. The brief discussion of Archaic agriculture (p. 286–7) might have benefited from consideration of palynological evidence available, but at least osteological and botanical studies were discussed.

Syntheses such as Cifani's work are still rare and one can only hope that similar collections of evidence and discussions from other periods will appear in future.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

EVA-MARIA LACKNER: *Republikanische Fora*. Biering & Brinkmann, München 2008. ISBN 978-3-930609-55-0. 397 S. EUR 148.

Die Autorin dieses bemerkenswerten Buches ist Archäologin. Es stellt aber eine glückliche Symbiose verschiedener Disziplinen dar. Es gab bisher keine umfassende Untersuchung zur Archäologie, Urbanistik und Geschichte der römischen republikanischen Fora. Der vorliegende Band erfüllt diese Lücke in einer ausgezeichneten Weise. Er besteht aus zwei Hauptteilen. Der erste Teil bietet einen alphabetisch angelegten Katalog der in der republikanischen Zeit

gegründeten latinischen und römischen Kolonien, mit einer Fülle von Information zu Gründungsdatum, Status, Vorgängerbesiedlung, Lage und Verkehrsverbindungen der betreffenden Kolonie. Es sind 66 Städte, von denen 10 ältere latinische, 28 neuere, seit 338 gegründete latinische, und 28 römische Kolonien. Municipia (als erstes wurde Tusculum 381 ins römische Bürgerrecht einverleibt) und die *civitates foederatae* bleiben außerhalb der Untersuchung, was ein gutes Recht der Verf. ist. Es sei allerdings bemerkt, dass in der Praxis, besonders in der späteren republikanischen Periode, alle städtischen Formen ähnliche Züge aufweisen (und die Städte der letztgenannten Kategorie standen, besonders in Gebieten nahe Rom, wie in Südlatium, zu Rom in einem ähnlichen Verhältnis wie die übrigen). Die ausführlichen Beschreibungen werden am Ende des Buches durch detaillierte und informationsreiche Stadtpläne begleitet.

Der zweite Teil der Untersuchung besteht aus einer Analyse der von der Verf. gesammelten Informationen. Die archäologischen Reste werden sorgfältig mit dem historischen Kontext verbunden. Im ersten Kapitel werden die historischen Aspekte der Kolonisation und des Städtebaus behandelt. Der historische Befund in diesem Zusammenhang ist von grosser Wichtigkeit. Wie aus der von der Verf. ausgeführten Analyse hervorgeht, gibt es Unterschiede in der urbanistischen Anlage zwischen den latinischen und römischen Kolonien. Man erinnere sich jedoch, dass die Bedeutung der latinischen Kolonien ständig abnimmt, von denen nach 180 v. Chr. kaum mehr neue gegründet wurden (die aus Rom geschickten Kolonisten waren unwillig, ihr römisches Bürgerrecht zu verlieren). In diesen dem historischen Kontext gewidmeten Seiten gibt es neben guten und feinen Bemerkungen auch einiges zu beanstanden. So werden für latinische Kolonien die *Iiviri* als oberste Magistrate angenommen, in vielen Fällen gehören die diesbezüglichen Zeugnisse aber in die Kaiserzeit, besonders wenn die betreffenden Städte später (römische) Kolonien geworden sind (dieser Ansatz wiederholt sich oft im Katalogteil). Und erst recht ist es nicht zulässig zu sagen, dass die Mehrzahl der latinischen Kolonien *III-Iviri* an ihrer Spitze gehabt hätten (219). Der *Quattuorvirat* in diesen Städten wurde eingeführt, nachdem sie vom kolonialen Status in den des *Municipiums* kraft der *Lex Iulia* 89 v. Chr. übergingen; das Amt des *IIIvir* hat nichts mit der kolonialen Verfassung zu tun. "Der *Quattuorvirat* wird auf den *munizipalen* Status aus dem 1. Jh. v. Chr. zurückgeführt" schreibt Verf. 219 etwas irreführend, denn die Städte sind *de facto* *Municipia* geworden.

Im zweiten Kapitel, "Urbanistik" betitelt, zeigt Verf. ihre Stärke und erzielt gute neue Ergebnisse. Die verschiedenen von ihr geschaffenen Kategorien wie "Mischtypus" oder "Zwischentypus" könnten vom ersten Blick etwas schematisch anmuten, sie scheinen aber der historischen Entwicklung zu entsprechen. – Danach bespricht Verf. das Problem der *Arx* und des kapitolinischen Kultes. Die politischen Aspekte des Kultes der kapitolinischen *Trias* werden überzeugend analysiert. – Das letzte Kapitel ist der Ausgestaltung der *Fora* gewidmet. Ein wichtiges Ergebnis ist, dass sich latinische und römische Kolonien im 2. Jh. angleichen, was auch zu erwarten war. – Der Band rundet mit einer Bibliographie, Karten und *Indices* ab.

Wir haben es mit einem hervorragenden Werk zu tun. Es ist der Verf. gelungen, für einen schwierigen Themenkomplex eine feste Grundlage für die weitere Forschung zu legen und manche fruchtbare Anregung zu geben.

Lackner hat eine immense Dokumentation gesammelt und kritisch gesichtet. Es nimmt nicht Wunder, dass hier und da Präzisierungen und Anregungen angeführt werden können. Ich schließe mit ein paar kleineren Bemerkungen zum Katalogteil: In dem gut geschriebenen und konzisen Abschnitt über *Antium* ist bei den historischen Daten zu bemerken, dass Einwohner der Stadt in die *Tribus Quirina* erst seit *Nero* eingeschrieben bezeugt sind und in der repub-

likanischen Zeit, der allein das Werk gewidmet ist, der Voturia gehörten. Desgleichen kennen wir Duoviri nur aus der Kaiserzeit, womit nicht gesagt werden soll, dass Antium früher keine Duoviri gehabt hätte. – Das Meiste, was in der Behandlung der vorrömischen Phase gesagt wird, gehört in die Zeit nach 338; und muss man sich wirklich damit abfinden, dass "unbekannt ist wo die Bürgerkolonie lag". – Die Küstenstraße, die spätere via Severiana, lief möglicherweise näher der Küstenlinie, wenn der von Lanciani bei Arco Muto gesehene Meilenstein von Antoninus Pius, wie das Fragment wohl zu deuten ist, von dort stammt. – Zur Hafensituation sei hinzugefügt, dass auch in Astura sich ein Hafen befand, der wohl nicht ganz bedeutungslos war. – Zur Literatur noch *Atlante storico-ambientale. Anzio e Nettuno*, a cura di G. Caneva e C. M. Travaglini, Roma 2003.

Zu Ardea, das 422 latinische Kolonie wurde (das als Alternative präsentierte Datum von 434 beruht auf einem Missverständnis): die Zeugnisse des Duovirats sind aus der Kaiserzeit und besagen nichts zum Titel der obersten Beamten der latinischen Kolonie. Und Verf. meint, mit Hinweis auf Kornemanns Kolonieartikel in *RE*, dass Ardea in sullanischer Zeit erneut Kolonie geworden sei; aber dieser beruft sich unvorsichtig auf Mommsens bekannten Hermes-Aufsatz von 1883, während Mommsen sich vorsichtig ausdrückt (in der Einleitung zu Ardea in *CIL X* sagt er kein Sterbenswörtchen von einer sullanischen Kolonie) und hätte besser Ardea nicht für eine sullanische Kolonie genommen, denn die Zeugnisse des kolonialen Status sind spät, aus dem 2./ 3. Jh., außer *CIL X 6766*, welche Inschrift etwas früher ist, vom Ende 1. / Anfang 2. Jh. (die Angabe des *Lib. col. imp. Hadrianus censuit* ist ohne Gewähr). – Das große Werk *Ardea. Il deposito votivo di Casarinaccio*, a cura di F. Di Mario (2005) und die Monographie von Di Mario, *Ardea, la terra dei Rutuli tra mito e archeologia alle radici della romanità* (2007) konnten wohl nicht mehr herangezogen werden.

Velitrae: Erwähnung hätten verdient die Meddices der Tabula Veliterna aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr. Dass die Scaptia die hauptsächliche Tribus der Einwohner von Velitrae gewesen sein soll, bleibt offen (s. z. B. *Le tribù romane* [2010] 77. 175).

Einige Kleinigkeiten. Da Verf. bestrebt ist, lateinische Formen von Städtenamen zu gebrauchen, sollte sie auch Circeii statt Circei und Tarquinius statt Tarquinia (215) schreiben. Vaahtera, nicht Vaathera 220 Anm. 53. Im bibliographischen Verzeichnis fehlt M. Miller, *Befestigungsanlagen in Italien vom 8. bis 3. Jh.* (1995), worauf öfters hingewiesen wird. Ferner vermisste ich den Band *Atti del convegno int. "Nomen Latinum"*, Eutopia 1995, wo einige für das Thema wichtige Beiträge enthalten sind.

Heikki Solin

Geoff W. Adams: *Rome and the Social Role of Élite Villas in its Suburbs*. BAR IS 1760. Archaeopress, Oxford 2008. ISBN 978-1-4073-0249-2. XIV, 153 pp. GBP 30.

In 2006, Geoff W. Adams published his dissertation on suburban villas in Campania and two years later this volume discussing the villas in the suburbs of Rome appeared. The first volume introduced the analytical tools applied also in the second book: the central idea is to analyze the amount of entertainment space in relation to the whole ground area of the villa. The aim is then to draw conclusions on the type of the villa and the intentions of its owner regarding the function of the building. The *villa suburbana* is separated as a particular type of villa,

present in the surroundings of cities and intended to enhance the social status of its owner by affording varying possibilities for entertaining guests. Although the existence of a special *villa suburbana* can be questioned (see, e.g., my review of Adams' 2006 volume in *Arctos* 41 [2007], online [http://pro.tsv.fi/kfy/arctos/reviews/41/Review\\_41\\_\(Viitanen\\_190-194\).pdf](http://pro.tsv.fi/kfy/arctos/reviews/41/Review_41_(Viitanen_190-194).pdf)), the idea of applying the method to the ruins found in the surroundings of Rome, the real *suburbium*, is interesting.

The book is divided into an introduction and six chapters followed by plates featuring the ground plans of all the studied buildings. Chapter 1 introduces the key concepts and briefly discusses the terminology. The following four chapters discuss the villas and they are divided based on typology and topography: the coastal area close to Rome, hinterland of Rome, both private and imperial residences in Rome and, lastly, imperial estates in the *suburbium*. The last chapter contains the conclusions. Like its predecessor, the book would have required better editing – e.g., most of the books referred to in the beginning of Chapter 3 are missing from the bibliography. The methodological criticisms of the 2006 volume on the Campanian villas also apply here and will not be repeated. Instead, the archaeological material will be discussed: it forms the basis for the entire study and problems in its treatment and understanding are significant for the results.

Analysis of use of space requires a lot from the archaeological remains: it would be good to know most of the ground plan of the building as well as something of the decorative elements. Only in very few lucky cases are the contents of the rooms, such as furniture and other artifacts used or stored in it, known. The Campanian villas usually fulfill the two first requirements: the ground plans are well known, the walls survive often even to ceiling height and the decorative apparatus is generally well-documented. In the surroundings of Rome, however, only the ground plan is usually known sufficiently. The walls have often been razed to the ground and the decorative materials have disappeared more or less completely. Even recognizing some of the main elements of Roman architecture, such as the atrium or the peristyle, is often difficult, if not impossible.

Adams has chosen some 40 villas with sufficiently well-known ground plans for his analysis. The selection of villas could have been larger, had Adams studied the publications on the archaeology of the surroundings of Rome slightly better – the work of Thomas Ashby in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is most certainly not the most recent work conducted in the area. Consulting, e.g., Marina De Franceschini's catalogue on one hundred excavated villas in the area of the modern *Comune di Roma (Ville dell'Agro Romano. Monografie della Carta dell'Agro Romano 2, 2005)* would have offered a great deal of new information and a better basis for the study. The comparative material concerning the urban *domus* is also very limited – few private houses have been sufficiently studied in Rome – but the existence of Ostia seems to have been forgotten.

The central task of attribution of entertainment function – although regarded as only "potential" – is based almost solely on the ground plans. The decorative elements are not discussed even when they are available. Moreover, analysis of the six elements for recognizing a *villa suburbana* (p. 19: location at 40 km distance from Rome for access to the city, well-appointed facilities, large domestic features, entertainment rooms, some agricultural aspects, a pleasant view) would have required also a more complete analysis of the building, including topography, decoration and finds. In the end, the analysis is in most cases limited to recognition

of entertainment spaces and calculation of their proportion compared to the whole surface area, and the five other elements have been ignored.

Taking into consideration the location and the topography of the buildings would have benefited the classification of some of the sites. The villa at Anguillara Sabazia (villa 10), for instance, is regarded as an inland coastal villa. It is indeed close to the Lago di Bracciano, but in no way connected to the lake, as it is located several kilometers from the rim of the crater and the lakeshore. In fact, the famous semicircular portico opens southeast, away from the lake, towards the spring of Acqua Claudia, (e.g., online photographs in [http://www.acquaclaudia.it/acqua\\_claudia\\_la\\_villa.php](http://www.acquaclaudia.it/acqua_claudia_la_villa.php)). Its classification as a coastal villa is consequently not very accurate. A closer look at maps would also have revealed that Domitian's vast Albanum in the Alban Hills (villa 38) does face the Lago di Albano, but a sea view discussed is not possible from the buildings shown in Adams' plan as they are all located below the rim of the crater facing the lake.

The importance of taking into consideration the decorative elements is revealed by the analysis of the villa of the Volusii Saturnini at Lucus Feroniae (villa 17). Adams' plans and information on the villa is from the 1970's and 1980's and thus misses all the more recent work on the villa (listed, e.g., in the appropriate entry in De Franceschini 2005, villa 99). The richly decorated areas are concentrated around the small atrium (room 11 in Adams), but the large peristyle west of it is in fact decorated very modestly and regarded as part of the service quarters despite the family *lararium*. Even a quite complete looking ground plan can be deceptive if all the known elements are not taken into consideration.

The most serious problem in Adams' architectural analyses is, however, considering rooms inside villa platforms, *substructiones*, as living quarters. Many of the villas in the surroundings of Rome have been built over one or more artificial platforms thus creating flat surfaces for the actual buildings. In most cases, these platforms have been preserved, but not the actual villas built on them. The ground plans thus feature galleries and rooms inside the perimeter walls of the platform which were most commonly used as storage space and service routes. They are dark apart from possibly some galleries along the perimeter which could have functioned as walking spaces for the owners. The ground plans also often feature vast empty spaces in their central parts, which is probably either an unknown part of the villa or then the hill slope where the villa was built. Adams mentions sometimes that the spaces he is analyzing have been previously determined as substructures, but he chooses to ignore this and confidently assigns entertainment function to the various large spaces encountered in the plan. These include at least villas 19, 26 and 33 as well as the imperial palace of Domus Tiberiana in Rome.

This list of problematic analyses of architecture could be continued with many others. The poor understanding of the archaeological material makes it impossible to evaluate the results – if imaginary attributions of use of space are many times the basis of the statistical analysis, the results cannot be regarded as reliable. This book is a good reminder that thorough groundwork is the solid basis for all research and that understanding one's material is difficult, but necessary for obtaining good results.

*Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

*Ariminum. Storia e archeologia. Atti della Giornata di Studio su Ariminum, un laboratorio archeologico.* A cura di CRISTINA RAVARA MONTEBELLI. ΑΔΡΙΑΣ 2. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2006. ISBN 978-88-8265-375-7. 250 pp., ill. b/n. EUR 125.

*Ariminum. Storia e archeologia 2. Atti della Giornata di Studio su Ariminum, Un laboratorio archeologico/2.* A cura di LORENZO BRACCESI – CRISTINA RAVARA MONTEBELLI. ΑΔΡΙΑΣ 5. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-8265-471-9. 192 pp., 54 ill. b/n. EUR 100.

Nei due volumi vengono pubblicati gli atti di due giornate di studio dal titolo "Ariminum" svoltesi a Rimini, rispettivamente, nel 2004 e nel 2007. I materiali e le tematiche trattati, tutti interessanti, riflettono i recenti sviluppi degli studi riminesi, mettendo in particolare evidenza la ricchezza delle fonti e il grande numero di discipline necessarie per la loro analisi: archeologia, architettura, archivistica, epigrafia, numismatica, prosopografia, storia dell'arte, topografia, ecc. Risulta particolarmente interessante il contributo nel primo volume di Minak e Braccesi sui *pocola*, come pure quello di Braccesi e Vaglio sulla possibilità di un culto riminese di Ecate, ciò che costituirebbe testimonianza di un'eventuale presenza egineta in Rimini preromana. Di difficile lettura, però, il testo dipinto sull'orlo di uno dei *pocola* (p. 46, fig. 2).

Mika Kajava

MANLIO LILLI: *Velletri. Carta Archeologica. Velletri - Le Castella (IGM 150 II SO-158 IV NE)*. Bibliotheca Archaeologica 43. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-8265-486-3. 1340 pp. EUR 675.

Writing and publishing archaeological field reports is a time-honored practice without which much other research would not be possible. However, one sometimes wonders if some other methods would be more effective than the traditional book in the web-based world. The use of the internet and public databases could make the material available to a much wider audience, consisting of both scholars and of the general public, than publications on paper. Manlio Lilli's impressive volume includes the archaeological remains in and around the ancient town of *Velitrae* (modern Velletri). Its form is an adaptation of the volumes of the *Forma Italiae* series. Lilli's own survey work forms the basis, which is enhanced with archival and previously published data.

The structure of the work follows the *Forma Italiae* series: a brief introduction is followed by chapters on geology, research history, cartography, literary sources, settlement history and roadways. These are followed by a massive catalogue of sites. Unlike the *Forma Italiae*, the volume by Lilli includes a chapter on material culture, in which 20,000 fragments of pottery found in the survey are summarily presented. The book is concluded by several indexes listing sources, place names, collections as well as other analytical categories. The last index could have been split into two: one for the personal names and another for archaeological materials. This would have made the index easier to use.

Some of the editorial decisions concerning the first part of the book are hard to understand. The footnotes often list data included in the catalogue. For example, when the site

locations are analyzed with references to altitude, the site names, numbers and altitudes are listed. Another example is the chapter on material culture where the number, type and location (again with name and number of site) of each type of pottery have been listed. This is naturally intended to help the reader to find the relevant data, but for the most part it only creates very long (even several pages) footnotes interrupting the text that add very little to what can be found elsewhere in the book. In addition, the data provided by tables and diagrams is often repeated verbatim in the text, which makes the text rather descriptive and tedious to read and the illustrations virtually unnecessary.

Given that the work is essentially an archaeological survey, the emphasis of the work is on the archaeology of *Velitrae*, but as is common in survey reports there is a chapter on the history of the town. The discussion of the history of the town in Roman times is based on previous scholars (pp. 73–82) and it is used to a certain extent in the analysis of settlement history. Furthermore, there is a section on the *gentes* of *Velitrae* (pp. 86–143), which reaches the limits of absurdity. The discussion of each *nomen gentile* is illustrated with numerous attestations of the same name from all across the Roman world. This could be useful if used exclusively for the rarely attested names, but now it brings to mind some epigraphical *corpora* of the 17<sup>th</sup> or the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in which all the known, say, *Octavii*, were listed.

The book is massive in size: over 1300 pages and 1785 sites. Not unlike many other works of its kind, it is not intended to be read from cover to cover, but rather to be used as a source book for extracting relevant information for different kinds of research. However, the quantity of the material makes it somewhat difficult to use the volume. Browsing through all of the sites in search of, for example, find locations with cisterns or Dressel 1 amphorae takes up a lot of time. However, all this is possible with the help of the analytical index. The list for entries with amphora pieces is very long and checking all the sites for any particular type of amphora would also be laborious. In a database, or at least in a catalogue in a digital form, such a search would be much faster and easier. We used the index in order to look for all the lead pipes. Most of them have been found a long time ago and they have been published or reported before Lilli's volume. In this particular case, it was disappointing to realize that not all the data available in the original publications had been reproduced. If this also applies to other types of previously published material, the readers are advised to check the sources to make sure.

In all, Lilli's work is an extremely valuable survey of archaeological materials from *Velitrae*. Even though the data in connection to the old sites is not always complete, the level of detail in the description of the sites Lilli himself has found is much higher than in the usual Italian survey publications. The book will certainly be used as a source for many studies from now on. One can only hope that it will soon be available in digital form.

*Kalle Korhonen – Eeva-Maria Viitanen*

CARLO EBANISTA: *La tomba di S. Felice nel santuario di Cimitile. A cinquant'anni dalla scoperta*. Coemeterium 4. LER Editrice, Napoli 2006. ISBN 88-8264-424-3. 239 pp. EUR 20.

L'anniversario della scoperta della tomba di S. Felice, nella basilica di Cimitile, è l'argomento centrale del volume di Carlo Ebanista, promotore già in precedenza di alcuni saggi relativi allo scavo e allo studio delle evidenze monumentali del complesso paleocristiano. L'autore si



avvale di questa ricorrenza per fare il punto sulle scoperte archeologiche e i risultati scientifici acquisiti nel corso di decenni, all'indomani dei primi importanti ritrovamenti. La sepoltura del santo, la conseguente monumentalizzazione del sito e l'attività evergetica intrapresa dai vescovi nolani sono i punti focali della discussione.

In un capitolo introduttivo l'autore ci informa della figura del presbitero Felice attraverso la testimonianza delle opere di Paolino di Nola. Nella *Vita* del martire sono celebrati i suoi momenti salienti. D'origine nolana, Felice amministrò la chiesa locale durante le persecuzioni cristiane. Non è chiarito però l'anno della sua morte, aspetto fondamentale intorno a cui verte la cronologia del sepolcro. La sua fine, assegnata con prudenza dagli studiosi moderni alla seconda metà del III secolo d. C., e la costruzione del monumento funebre rimasero pertanto avvolti dalla penombra fino agli scorsi decenni. Il carne 18, scritto da Paolino al principio del 400 d. C., rimandava difatti ad una sepoltura in aperta campagna, senza fornire informazioni precise circa la tipologia tombale.

Pur in mancanza di una documentazione precisa relativa alle fasi di scavo del monumento, spetta all'architetto Gino Chierici la scoperta della tomba del martire nolano, nel 1954–55, al di sotto dell'altare della chiesa omonima. Lo sterro, realizzato attraverso un foro nell'altare, permise il recupero di uno scheletro, identificato poi con quello di un uomo di circa quarant'anni, con il cranio ancora ricoperto di capelli neri. Attraverso la scoperta del Chierici fu possibile provare che il martire cristiano era stato sepolto in una fossa terragna, con orientamento est-ovest, all'interno di un'area impiegata come necropoli sia dai pagani che dai cristiani.

La conferma del valore del ritrovamento arrivò relativamente tardi. Il Chierici, per quanto avesse intuito l'importanza della sua scoperta, presentò poco dopo alla comunità scientifica dati dubbi sulla paternità della sepoltura. Solo lo studio delle stratigrafie murarie ha permesso successivamente di indicare le fasi di costruzione della fossa in rapporto ad alcune tombe limitrofe, realizzate posteriormente come sepolture *ad sanctos*.

L'analisi del sepolcro è a questo proposito piuttosto dettagliata. In una prima fase, la copertura del sepolcro venne ricavata con un piano di laterizi molto spessi, mentre l'interno fu rivestito con frammenti marmorei di riuso. Ad una seconda fase di monumentalizzazione risalirebbe l'operazione di abbellimento della copertura con un rilievo marmoreo di reimpiego, impiegato come lastra di chiusura, e l'inserimento di un vaso, in marmo, all'interno della fossa per favorire una più adeguata venerazione del santo. La lastra marmorea a girali vegetali, originariamente impiegata su un altare funerario della prima età imperiale, subì a quest'epoca un forte intervento di rilavorazione, come conferma il taglio nella parte inferiore, realizzato per consentire la chiusura della tomba, di dimensioni minori. In conseguenza del suo riuso fu ribassata la superficie mediana attraverso la scultura di una figurina a rilievo, il cd. Buon Pastore. Nel marmo furono praticati due fori, i *foramina*, descritti in un altro carne di Paolino relativo alla ricognizione della tomba del santo, attraverso cui i fedeli somministravano incenso e profumi, secondo un rito in uso in ambito pagano.

Quanto detto è riportato in alcuni capitoli, non sempre di agevole lettura a causa del richiamo obbligato ai numeri delle unità stratigrafiche delle singole componenti indagate. Ne viene fuori un quadro piuttosto articolato, anche se ben curato nella ricerca d'archivio e nella restituzione grafica in pianta.

Si passa ad esaminare successivamente il complesso monumentale della primitiva basilica d'età tardo-costantiniana con particolare attenzione alle componenti architettoniche. A causa delle complesse stratificazioni murarie, la basilica di S. Felice con la bella edicola

mosaicata consente di avere solo una visione in filigrana delle sue fasi architettoniche, articolate tra le maglie della tarda antichità fino al medioevo. D'estremo interesse, il recinto della tomba del santo realizzato con transenne marmoree di riuso, iscritte, sormontate da un altare sul modello dei complessi urbani di V secolo d. C.

Non è superfluo sottolineare come l'impiego dei modelli architettonici urbani venne contrassegnato dall'uso privilegiato dei marmi, appositamente lavorati (come una coppia di pregevoli colonne in marmo di Aquitania sormontati da capitelli figurati realizzati *ex novo*) e altri di riuso, in particolare basi, colonne, capitelli, iscrizioni e lastre marmoree di rivestimento recuperate, sin dalle prime fasi edilizie, dai monumenti forensi e dalle necropoli di Nola. Un intero fregio in marmo con cataste di armi, pregiati rivestimenti con girali d'acanto e meandri, preziosi vasi e un'urna dovevano formare l'arredo e la suppellettile del nuovo tempio cristiano.

La fama, di cui il santuario di Cimitile godeva, dovette attirare molti fedeli ed autorità almeno fino al Cinquecento, come conferma la citazione del luogo di culto nel *De Nola* di Ambrogio Leone, edito nel 1514, in riferimento all'*ara magna quadrataque*, certamente l'altare medievale della chiesa di S. Felice.

Nei capitoli finali, sono particolarmente interessanti i riferimenti agli interventi di restauro sei-settecenteschi; per quanto a volte invasivi, confermano la venerazione dell'area in un periodo in cui era ormai andata totalmente perduta la memoria della tomba del santo.

Le prime ricerche sistematiche, iniziate con gli scavi diretti dal Chierici al principio del secolo scorso, hanno avuto quindi il merito di fare luce sulle conoscenze fino ad allora ferme ai contributi degli eruditi locali. Di un certo interesse è a questo proposito il capitolo VII, in cui si prova a ripercorrere l'intervento di scavo condotto dall'architetto tra il 1933 e il 1955 attraverso alcuni documenti, riprodotti in appendice insieme ad una serie di foto di archivio relative alla scoperta del sepolcro (come è noto il prezioso taccuino di appunti del Chierici fu trasferito in Germania e ad oggi è oggetto di studio nelle università locali).

Come si è detto, compito preliminare dell'autore è stato quello di ripercorrere gli scavi passati al fine di esaminare interamente la storia del monumento alla luce delle nuove indagini.

A questo proposito, per quanto a volte si evince un tono leggermente polemico dell'autore nei confronti di chi ancora detiene la documentazione di scavo, il testo riesce a riconnettere parte degli interventi operati nel sito con le nuove indagini. Ci si augura di avere presto la disponibilità dei vecchi documenti di scavo allo scopo di fornire ulteriori risposte ai problemi connessi alla complessa stratificazione del celebre monumento e della sua tomba.

*Angela Palmentieri*

*La Lupa Capitolina. Nuove prospettive di studio. Incontro-dibattito in occasione della pubblicazione del volume di ANNA MARIA CARRUBA, La Lupa Capitolina: un bronzo medievale. A cura di GILDA BARTOLONI. Supplementi e Monografie della Rivista "Archeologia Classica" 5 – n.s. 2. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2010. ISBN 978-88-8265-580-8. 206 pp. EUR 100.*

MARIA R.-ALFÖLDI – EDILBERTO FORMIGLI – JOHANNES FRIED: *Die römische Wölfin / The Lupa Romana. Ein antikes Monument stürzt von seinem Sockel / An antique monument falls from her pedestal.* Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2011. ISBN 978-3-515-09876-2. 161 S., 43 s/w Abb., 4 farb. Abb. EUR 48.

In 2006, the Italian art historian Anna Maria Carruba challenged the traditional dating of the Capitoline Wolf, *Lupa Capitolina*. Carruba, supported by the etruscologist Adriano La Regina, claimed the bronze statue to be medieval, on the basis of the analysis of its casting technique. Since then, the debate about the dating has been vivacious.

The volume *La Lupa Capitolina, Nuove prospettive di studio*, edited by Gilda Bartoloni, is based on the academic conference held at the university "La Sapienza" in Rome on 28 February 2008. Experts on Roman history, Etruscan, Roman and medieval art history, geology, chemistry and conservation were invited in order to present and discuss their research on the Lupa. In the volume, there are 12 articles, some devoted to technical, and some to historical-iconographic analysis. In addition, there is an excellent introduction by Bartoloni.

In his article "La storia della tecnologia dei grandi bronzi" (pp. 15–24), Edilberto Formigli supports the medieval dating. According to Formigli, the finishing touch of the *Lupa Capitolina* is similar to medieval, not to ancient bronzes. Furthermore, as there are no known examples of lost-wax casting in one piece of sculptures of this size in Antiquity, the traditional dating seems improbable.

On the contrary, Claudio Giardino ("Aspetti archeometallurgici", pp. 25–36), discussing the evidence from an archaeometallurgic point of view, considers the sculpture to be ancient. Giardino offers comparative examples of ancient single-piece casting of the same size as the *Lupa*, proving that the knowledge and the technique existed already in the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Giardino also notes that it is easier to cast a quadruped animal with a simple geometrical composition than a human figure. The analysis of the bronze alloy indicates significant similarities with the alloy of Etruscan bronzes, where the amount of lead (5% in the *Lupa*) is higher than in the medieval bronze alloys. Giardino also presents the isotope analysis of the lead, concluding that its origin must be from the mine of Calabona, in northwestern Sardinia. The Calabona quarry went out of use already in Antiquity, which also supports the traditional dating of the Capitoline Wolf.

In their summaries, Gianni Lombardi ("Lo studio dei residui di terra di fusione", pp. 37–8) and Marco Martini ("La datazione della terra di fusione", pp. 39–41) conclude that the soil used in the casting originated from the valley of Tiber, between Rome and Orvieto, and that the thermoluminescence dating of the soil has given very contradictory results. However, the first results of the TL dating seem to rule out the traditional Etruscan dating.

Maurizio Sannibale ("Per un approccio calibrato all'esame tecnologico", pp. 43–63) closes the series of technically orientated articles, focusing mainly on the details of the surface of the sculpture. Even though some finishing techniques, such as filing, were uncommon for ancient bronzes, Sannibale assumes the *Lupa* to originate from Antiquity. However, he disagrees with the traditional dating to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE. According to Sannibale, the *Lupa* was made in the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, as a substitution for an archaic sculpture. As for this dating, it is worth remembering Livy's mention (Liv. 10,23,11) of the Ogulnii brothers erecting a statue of the she-wolf with Romulus and Remus near the cave of Lupercal in 296 BCE.

In the first article of the historical-iconographic part of the book, Andrea Carandini ("L'opinione di uno studioso di Roma antica", pp. 67–72) gives credit to Carruba for her essay that has compelled scholars to rethink their views. However, Carandini does not share Carruba's opinion about the dating. He points out that the limited material of the late archaic bronzes cannot be used as a solid argument for the absence of casting in one piece in Antiquity. Caran-

dini strongly objects to Carruba's view of the *Lupa* as an "unnatural" composition. He indicates irrefutable anatomic parallels with *Canis lupus* and the Capitoline wolf, basing his views on Nadia Canu's work *Le valenze del lupo nel mondo romano* (2006). As for the stylistic details, Carandini notes that there is little in common between the *Lupa* and the medieval bronzes.

Giovanni Colonna ("Un monumento romano dell'inizio della repubblica", pp. 73–110) makes an extensive stylistic analysis comparing the Capitoline Wolf with Etruscan and oriental sculptures. According to Colonna, the casting of the *Lupa* was technically possible already in Antiquity. The lock ornaments of the fur have striking similarities with objects of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE Etruscan and oriental art. Colonna's hypothesis is that the bronzist responsible for the casting was of Ionian origin, importing stylistic and technical influences via Sardinia to central Italy at the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, after the treaty between the Carthaginians (who ruled Sardinia) and the Romans in 509 BCE.

Lellia Cracco Ruggini ("L'opinione di uno storico", pp. 111–6) specifies two different traditions in the depicting of wolves in the ancient Rome: the maternal she-wolf and the ferocious totemic wolf. Cracco Ruggini meritoriously notes that both of these aspects can be seen in the *Lupa Capitolina*.

Eugenio La Rocca ("Una questione di stile", pp. 117–50) shares Colonna's opinion about the oriental influences on the style of the *Lupa Capitolina*. He considers the results of the technical analyses to be too contradictory. La Rocca observes ornamental similarities of the sculpture with Etruscan, Greek and oriental art, and notes that analogous elements cannot be found in medieval ornamentation. He concludes that the Capitoline Wolf is stylistically late archaic, supporting the traditional dating of the work (480–470 BCE).

The article by Anna Mura Sommella ("Contributo alla lettura dell'opera", pp. 151–74) examines some stylistic elements of the sculpture (composition, fur ornamentation, eyes) in comparison with the 7<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE Etruscan and Magno-Greek art. She regards the sculpture as a masterpiece of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century, assuming the work to be an *agalma* for some sanctuary (Lupercal, one might suggest) of the newly born Roman Republic.

Claudio Parisi Presicce, the director of the Capitoline Museums, was the editor of the comprehensive study and exhibition catalog *La Lupa Capitolina* in 2000. Now ("Un'opera bronzea di stile severo", pp. 175–98) he gives a detailed overview on the structure of the *Lupa* and compares the stylistic aspects of the sculpture with some ancient parallels. The outcome of the analysis can be seen in the heading, as Parisi Presicce plausibly connects the *Lupa* with the Etruscan bronze tradition of the early 5<sup>th</sup> century. Technically, as both thermoluminescence and radiocarbon analyses have given contradictory, and partially even impossible, results (the TL dating ranging between 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE and 15<sup>th</sup> century CE; the radiocarbon dating between 100 and 1155 CE), and as the casting technique was not unknown in Antiquity, there is no need to rule out the traditional dating. As for the later history of the sculpture, Parisi Presicce offers a hypothesis that Pope Gelasius I removed the *Lupa* from the Lupercal into the Lateran Palace in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, when he suppressed the cult of the Lupercalia.

The book is concluded by Francesco Roncalli's article "Volontà d'arte, stile e *téchne*" (pp. 199–206), where the author emphasizes the individual role and the freedom of the artist, and regards the Capitoline Wolf as a unique masterpiece.

As for the ultimate question, whether the Capitoline Wolf is ancient or medieval, the book does not give a certain answer. Scholars disagree about the existence of lost-wax casting in one piece during Antiquity. Carruba's theory of the medieval dating was based chiefly on

the absence of the Etruscan parallels of the same size. However, as Mura Sommella notes, this is an unsatisfactory *argumentum ex silentio*, and as claimed by Colonna and Parisi Presicce, contemporaneous parallels can be found in Greece and in the Middle East.

The results of the thermoluminescence and radiocarbon testing seem to favor the medieval dating, even though, as remarked by, e.g., Martini, their use in the dating of a bronze sculpture (analyzing the soil used in the casting) is much more complex than for ceramics, for example. On the other hand, the chemical analysis of the metal, reported by Giardino, supports the traditional ancient dating.

In the iconographic analysis, the medieval origin gets little support. The *Lupa Capitolina* seems to have firm connections with the Etruscan bronze traditions of the 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BCE, spiced with oriental influences. As an interesting hypothesis to combine the ancient art tradition with the contradictory results of technical analysis, La Rocca wonders whether the Capitoline Wolf could be a pedantic medieval copy of an archaic sculpture. However, even La Rocca himself is very dubious of the idea, questioning whether someone could have had all the technical and artistic skills to create a facsimile.

Giving no certain answer for the question about the *Lupa's* dating does not mean in the slightest that *La Lupa Capitolina, Nuove prospettive di studio* has failed in its purpose. The volume gives a great example of a fruitful interdisciplinary discussion, being a solid base for further interpretations of the enchanting icon of Rome.

The discussion goes on in the bilingual volume *Die römische Wölfin / The Lupa Romana*. The book comprises three articles, all supporting the theory of the medieval dating of the Capitoline Wolf.

Edilberto Formigli's article "Die Lupa Capitolina: zur Geschichte der Großbronzen / The Lupa Capitolina: On the History of Techniques of Monumental Bronze Sculptures" (S. 15–25 / pp. 27–33) is mostly based on the author's aforementioned article in *La Lupa Capitolina*.

Maria R.-Alföldi, in her article "Die Schicksale der Lupa Romana: ihr möglicher Weg nach Konstantinopel und ihr Ende 1204 / The Fate of the Lupa Romana: Its Possible Route to Constantinople and Its End in 1204" (S. 35–75 / pp. 77–104) attempts to reconstruct the phases of the Roman bronze wolf-figure mentioned by Cicero and Livy. In her hypothesis, the she-wolf statue was taken to Carthage by the Vandals in 455 and transported to Constantinople by Belisarius in 533 to be erected on the hippodrome. The alleged traces of the *Lupa Romana* end with the siege of Constantinople in 1204. However, as we know that there was more than one statue of the she-wolf in Rome, as admitted by R.-Alföldi herself, it remains only weakly proven that the sculpture mentioned by the Constantinopolitan author Niketas Choniates in 1204 is identical with the one mentioned by Livy a dozen centuries earlier. The suggestion made by R.-Alföldi is possible, but quite conjectural.

Johannes Fried "Die Rückkehr der Wölfin: Hypothesen zur Lupa Capitolina im Mittelalter / The She-Wolf Comes Back: Hypotheses on the Lupa Capitolina in the Middle Ages" (S. 107–37 / pp. 139–61) has a common starting point with R.-Alföldi. The author univocally rules out the Etruscan origin of the *Lupa Capitolina* and discusses the birth of the statue in 12<sup>th</sup> century Rome. According to his hypothesis, the sculpture was ordered by the counts of Tusculum, a group of noblemen who identified themselves with the noble families of ancient Rome.

*Die römische Wölfin / The Lupa Romana* introduces interesting theories. However, they are (with the exception of the article of Formigli) fundamentally tied with Carruba's assumption of the medieval origin of the *Lupa*. Because of this, the book does not come close to the

more conversational and open-minded spirit of *La Lupa Capitolina*. The debate about the dating and the context of the *Lupa* does not seem to be closed.

Mika Rissanen

MARGARETA STAUB GIEROW: *Pompejanische Kopien aus Dänemark*. Studi della Soprintendenza Archeologica di Pompei 24. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-8265-440-5. 308 pp. EUR 230.

This is an important catalogue of the copies of Pompeian wall paintings in the collection of the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts (Det Kongelige Danske Kunstakademi). Many other Pompeian themes are also included: mosaics, street views, furniture, plans of individual houses and larger areas etc. It was architects who made the copies and donated them to the academy's collection. The only certain exception was Georg Hilker, who was a decorator and one of the academy's teachers. The number of these drawings is astonishingly large. The published copies can be studied in the "Danmarks Kunstbibliotek" and ordered through its database, but the details of the collection are not clearly mentioned in the book. In Denmark, there are also other Pompeian copies that are not included in this publication.

The general introduction discusses the copying of Pompeian wall paintings, e.g., how it was officially controlled and prohibited, and later done extensively by artists and architects of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. There is also some background information on the modern interest towards the drawings, water colours and sketch books the architects drew during these study trips: some exhibitions and publications of the 1980's and 1990's are mentioned. Staub Gierow also discusses the methods and sources she has used. She mentions the problems that a modern scholar with deficient or even false information faces when studying these copies. She gives basic information on the artists mainly by using the *Dansk kunstnerleksikon*, but has also herself looked for some information, e.g., on O. Levinsen and L. Winstrup.

The main body of the study is the catalogue of drawings. The numbers go up to 386 items but some sketches are also indicated by using the letters a and b. The descriptions are easy to follow, the basic publications for additional information, e.g., *Pompei. Pitture e Mosaici*, are listed. In many cases the author has written at length about wall paintings, other discussions are sometimes quite short. To give an example, Nr. 279 in the catalogue (IX 3, 5.24, House of Marcus Lucretius) is a drawing with a view towards the garden with statues: the description of the statues is quoted from old sources (A. Mau's *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* and A. Maiuri's guidebook of 1958) where not all the statues are listed.

The greatest value of the book comes from the condition of the wall paintings in Pompeii today. For scholars it is important to see wall paintings as they looked in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Staub Gierow has been able locate many copies herself. In Pompeii today, some walls have completely lost their paintings and all the information has to be collected from old publications. E.g., the wall painting copied by H. Holm (Nr. 1 in the catalogue) has now almost completely vanished. It had almost vanished even in 1979 when the photograph published in *Pompei. Pitture e Mosaici* was taken, so the identification of the origin of the painting must be done by using descriptions by W. Helbig and Mau. In this case, the caption in the drawing does not give a more exact location than "Pompeii". On the other hand, some drawings indicate a vague loca-

tion, as is the case with Nr. 3 which is a detail from the "Bankierens hus", clearly meaning the house of Caecilius Iucundus. On the other hand, many are indicated very precisely. The book is easy to use if readers want to study certain wall paintings: there is a topographical index and the topographical order is used in the catalogue. Sometimes the location of the subject of the illustration can be fairly securely identified, but at the end of the book there are drawings which could not be located even after Staub Gierow's research. Nr. 145 is an example of a case where the location of a first style wall is identified with reasonable certainty. The drawing is by M. Nyrop and is given in his list of Pompeian drawings only under the title "Pompeian walls". Nr. 386 is an unlocated first style wall. In its description the order of coloured blocks in the lower row is given in a confusing way.

The layout of the book is quite beautiful. The pictures (as is usual in this kind of study) are mostly well printed. The fact that pictures and texts may be far away from each other means the book is not always easy to use. There are some misprints as well.

Staub Gierow also hints at the forthcoming publication of Pompeian copies collected in the Swedish National Museum. In Finland, we have some Pompeian drawings as well, a few of which have been published. There is also quite a short book about the Nordic architects in Italy (F. Mangione, *Viaggi a sud. Gli architetti nordici e l'Italia*, Napoli 2002), this topic being also dealt with in many articles. In *Pompejanische Kopien aus Dänemark* a list of sketches by Nyrop is completely published, providing the topics of his copies made in Pompeii. There would have been more information available on Nyrop's journey to Italy in 1881–1883 that could have been used here. The list is now published only to show that Nyrop did not know what he had painted.

Staub Gierow clearly has extensive knowledge of Pompeian wall paintings. In the end, it is easy to say that her study of Pompeian copies in Denmark fulfils its main aim well: to give more information on Pompeii, on wall paintings, on their details and location.

*Ilkka Kuivalainen*

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