

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XLIV

2010

ARCTOS

VOL. 44

ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. XLIV

HELSINKI 2010

ARCTOS – ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

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Publisher:

Klassillis-filologinen yhdistys – Klassisk-filologiska föreningen (The Classical Association of Finland), c/o Department of World Cultures, P.O. BOX 24 (Unioninkatu 40), FIN-00014 University of Helsinki, Finland.

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ISSN 0570–734–X

Helsinki
Layout by Maija Holappa

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MANIBUS

HANNU LAAKSONEN

UNIVERSITATIS TURKUENSIS ALUMNI

DE REBUS EPIGRAPHICIS

ET ANTIQUIS ET RECENTIORUM TEMPORUM

OPTIME MERITI

(1.6.1955–3.8.2010)

HARTS AND HEDGES: FURTHER ETYMOLOGIZING IN VIRGIL'S FIRST *ECLOGUE*¹

NEIL ADKIN

O'Hara's comprehensive treatment of etymologizing in the *Eclogues* opens with the admission that in this work he had only been able to find "comparatively few" examples.² It has however been argued recently that the beginning of the very first *Eclogue* is particularly dense in *jeux étymologiques* which have hitherto escaped notice.³ The aim of the present article is to show that the same *Eclogue* contains further etymologizing that has likewise defied identification. Of particular importance in this respect is a celebrated *adynaton* that occurs towards the end of the poem (*ecl.* 1,59–63).⁴ The opening distich of this *adynaton* reads: *ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi / et freta destituent nudos in litore piscis*. The idea of harts "in the air" is puzzling: in *adynata* such terrene animals are normally represented as simply living in the sea.⁵ Here *levis* is particularly difficult. Coleman for example cannot decide whether it means "fleet of foot" or "floating lightly".⁶ Pasqualetti finds the epithet problematical because there is nothing in the context

¹ Citation of Latin works follows the method of *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae: Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum*, Leipzig 1990².

² J. J. O'Hara, *True Names: Vergil and the Alexandrian Tradition of Etymological Wordplay*, Ann Arbor 1996, 243.

³ Cf. N. Adkin, "Etymologizing in Virgil, *Eclogue* 1,11–15", forthcoming in *AC* 80 (2011).

⁴ On this passage cf. most recently A. Loupiac, "Notula Vergiliana II: Les métamorphoses d'un *Adynaton*. Sur quelques vers des *Bucoliques* I et IX", *BAGB* (2006) 142–7. Here nothing is said about etymology.

⁵ Cf. I. M. Le M. Du Quesnay, "Vergil's First *Eclogue*", in F. Cairns (ed.), *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* III (ARCA 7), Liverpool 1981, 137. One might also refer to (e. g.) K. Löschhorn, "Zu Vergils *Eclogie* I", *BPhW* 39 (1919) 23, who remarks that "auch die kühnste Phantasie nicht gestattet, ... Hirsche eine Luftreise machen zu lassen".

⁶ R. Coleman, *Vergil: Eclogues*, Cambridge 1977, 85.

that has to do with "speed";⁷ he evidently dismisses out of hand the notion that the word could signify "floating lightly". It would seem that the solution to this crux is to be sought in etymology.

The Greek for *cervus* is ἔλαφος.⁸ The noun ἔλαφος was etymologized from ἐλαφρός.⁹ Ἐλαφρός in turn is regularly glossed as *levis*.¹⁰ *Levis* itself was etymologized from *levo*.¹¹ It may accordingly be supposed that here *levis* means "light": the term is being used as an etymological gloss on the Greek equivalent of *cervus*.¹² It would appear therefore that the odd choice of *aether* in this *adynaton* has been determined by etymology: it is etymologically appropriate for "light" harts to be "in the air". The same etymological considerations provide decisive evidence against the variant reading *in aequore*, which is wrongly preferred by some editors to *in aethere*:¹³ if harts belong etymologically in air, they have no business in water.

The sentence which immediately precedes this *adynaton* contains the following lines: *hinc tibi quae semper vicino ab limite saepes / Hyblaeis apibus florem depasta salicti / saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro* (53–55). This passage has been qualified as "locus difficillimus".¹⁴ Here *saepes* as subject is

⁷ O. Pasqualetti, "lēvis", in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* III, Rome 1987, 198.

⁸ Cf. G. Loewe – G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* VI, Leipzig 1899, 204 (s. v. *cervus*).

⁹ Cf. *Etym. magn.* 326,1f.: ἔλαφος: ... διὰ τὴν κουφότητα ... , ἐλαφρὴ τις οὔσα.

¹⁰ Cf. Loewe and Goetz (above n. 8) 639 (s. v. *levis*).

¹¹ Cf. N. Adkin, "Further Supplements to Marangoni's *Supplementum Etymologicum*: The Scholia to Persius and Juvenal", *BStudLat* 39 (2009) 177; Id., "More Additions to Maltby's *Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* and Marangoni's *Supplementum Etymologicum*: The Scholia to Lucan", *C&C* 5 (2010) 54f.

¹² *Leves* and *cervi* enclose the line. For such "framing" as an etymological marker cf. F. Cairns, "Ancient 'Etymology' and Tibullus: On the Classification of 'Etymologies' and on 'Etymological Markers'", *PCPhS* 42 (1996) 33 (= Id., *Papers on Roman Elegy 1969–2003* [Eikasmos, Studi 16], Bologna 2007, 317).

¹³ For bibliography cf. M. Geymonat, *P. Vergili Maronis opera*, Rome 2008², 6 and 707 (ad loc.).

¹⁴ So A. Forbiger, *P. Vergili Maronis opera* I, Leipzig 1872⁴, 13. In particular *semper* in the first of these lines has been found problematic: editors have attempted to eliminate the word by a variety of emendations (cf. Forbiger 14). It may however be noted that here *semper* at the strong 3rd-foot caesura is followed by *saepe* at the beginning of the line (55). In lines 7f. the replication of exactly the same pattern would seem to be an argument in support of *semper* in 53. Further parallels between lines 7f. and 53–55 will be examined below.

surprising.¹⁵ Similarly *saepe* requires an elucidatory gloss.¹⁶ It would in fact appear that Virgil is etymologizing *saepes* from *saepe*. Though neither Maltby nor Marangoni documents such a link,¹⁷ evidence for the connection can nonetheless be adduced: *saepe ... venit a nomine, quod est saepes vel a verbo saepio, i(dest) munio. saepes est munitio et dicitur, eo quod frequenter ligna vel virgae ibi ponuntur*.¹⁸ Virgil's *saepe* and *saepes* occupy the initial and final positions in their respective lines: the two words are merely separated by the participial phrase that fills the intervening line.¹⁹

Further evidence of Virgil's etymological intent would appear to be supplied by his use of *levis* immediately after *saepe*: *saepe levi ... susurro*. Here Pasqualetti finds *levis* problematic because Virgil does not apply this adjective to sound.²⁰ The same scholar was similarly troubled by Virgil's application of exactly the same epithet to *cervi* a mere four lines later (59): *ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi*.²¹ It is noteworthy that in both of these lines *levis* occupies precisely the same *sedes* before the trihemimeris and after the trochaic break in the first foot, where on each occasion this adjective follows a temporal adverb (*ante leves / saepe levi*).²² It was established above that in line 59 *levis*

¹⁵ Cf. Forbiger (above n. 14) 14: "Saepes, cui tribuitur a poeta, quod in soluta oratione apibus earumque susurro tribuendum erat, ad somnum te invitabit".

¹⁶ Cf. P. Burman, *P. Virgilio Maronis opera* I, Amsterdam 1746, 17: "*saepe*, id est, ubi vacabit et libebit".

¹⁷ R. Maltby, *A Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies* (ARCA 25), Leeds 1991; C. Marangoni, *Supplementum Etymologicum Latinum* I (Polymnia 8), Trieste 2007.

¹⁸ *Gramm. suppl.* 259,25–28. Modern scholarship corroborates the etymological link between *saepes* and *saepe*, whose basic meaning is "d'une façon serrée"; cf. A. Ernout – A. Meillet – J. André, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine: Histoire des mots*, Paris 1985⁴, 588 (s. v. *saepe*).

¹⁹ On the importance of these *sedes* in etymologizing cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317). Further attention is drawn to *saepe* by the similarly temporal adverb *semper*, which precedes it in the middle of line 53; both terms are also semantically and phonetically similar. It will be argued below that medial *semper* has the same function in line 7, where it likewise precedes initial *saepe*.

²⁰ Pasqualetti (above n. 7) 198.

²¹ Cf. n. 7 above.

²² The two lines are also marked by further correspondences: in each the bacchiac verb occurs immediately after the strong 3rd-foot caesura, while the noun qualified by *levis* stands in hyperbatically final *sedes*. It may accordingly be observed that the two nouns being etymologized (*cervi / saepes*) have both been placed in the same emphatically terminal position in the line.

means "light": there the adjective serves as an etymological gloss on the Greek for *cervus*. It would seem that in line 55 the same epithet is again being put to a similarly etymologizing use. This time *levis* serves as an antiphrastic gloss on the sense in which juxtapositional *saepe* is to be understood as the etymon of *saepes*: "heavy", "thick".²³ Virgil himself employs *levis* as the antonym of both *gravis* (*georg.* 2,254f.) and *pinguis* (*georg.* 2,92).²⁴

There would appear to be a further passage of the first *Eclogue* itself in which Virgil is propounding the same etymology. Exactly twenty lines before the passage just discussed (53–55) Virgil inserts the following tristich (33–35): *quamvis multa meis exiret victima saeptis, / pinguis et ingratae premeretur caseus urbi, / non umquam gravis aere domum mihi dextra redibat*. It might be thought that *meis exiret ... saeptis* is a rather odd way of saying that the animal was "taken to market to be sold for sacrifice".²⁵ Here *saepta* requires a gloss.²⁶ The epithet *pinguis* is also surprising.²⁷ *Pinguis* is further highlighted by postponement of *et*.²⁸ As a result *pinguis* occupies the same initial position in the line as *saepe* (55), while *saeptis* is placed in the same final *sedes* as *saepes* (53): thus *pinguis* and *saeptis* are directly juxtaposed.²⁹ It would seem that here too Virgil is advanc-

²³ For etymologizing κατ' ἀντίφρασιν in Virgil cf. O'Hara (above n. 2) 66. It may be noted that the present instance supplies further confirmation that in line 59 *levis* means "light", not "fleet".

²⁴ The final point may be made that Virgil would again appear to etymologize *saepes* from *saepe* at the start of his next work (*georg.* 1,269–74): *nulla / religio vetuit segeti praetendere saepem, / ... / ... ; / saepe oleo tardi costas agitator aselli / ... onerat*. Here *saepe* is surprising; cf. (e. g.) M. Erren, *P. Vergilius Maro, Georgica II: Kommentar*, Heidelberg 2003, 162 (ad loc.): "Das immer auf gelegentliche, einzeln motivierte Vorgänge bezogene Wort *saepe* wirkt hier geradezu als Verharmlosung, denn falls der Betrieb Öl nicht nur für den eigenen Bedarf produzierte, musste mehr verkauft werden als ab und zu einmal ein Krug auf dem Jahrmarkt". The oddness of *saepe* is evidently due to the etymologizing. As in *Eclogue* I, the final *sedes* in the line is occupied by *saepes*, which is again followed by *saepe* in similarly initial position.

²⁵ So T. E. Page, *P. Vergili Maronis Bucolica et Georgica*, London 1898, 96 (ad loc.).

²⁶ Cf. Serv. *ecl.* 1,33 (ad loc.): *saepta proprie sunt loca in campo Martio inclusa tabulatis, in quibus stans populus Romanus suffragia ferre consueverat. ... hoc loco saepta pro ovilibus posuit*. The *saepta* of this passage also has to be glossed by Philargyrius (*Verg. ecl.* 1,33 rec. I).

²⁷ Cf. (e. g.) W. Clausen, *A Commentary on Virgil, Eclogues*, Oxford 1994, 46 (ad loc.), who remarks that this application of *pinguis* to cheese is "virtually unique". Servius too is uncomfortable (*ecl.* 1,33 [ad loc.]: *sane "pinguis" melius ad victimam, quam ad caseum refertur*).

²⁸ Cf. Forbiger (above n. 14) 9 (ad loc.): "particula *et* uni vocabulo ... postponitur, ubi illud, quod praemittitur, vocabulum praecipuam vim habet".

²⁹ On these *loci* as etymological markers cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

ing his view that *saepes*³⁰ is to be etymologized from *saepe* connoting "thickness". This time however Virgil has "suppressed" the etymon *saepe*,³¹ which has here been replaced by the semantically equivalent *pinguis*.³²

Saepe is employed in this *Eclogue* with remarkable frequency. No fewer than three occurrences of this adverb are to be found in the poem's first twenty lines alone. Immediately after the etymological word-play mentioned at the start of the present article³³ *saepe* again stands in emphatically initial *sedes* (16f.): *saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset, / de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus*. Here *saepe* might be thought strange. It is proverbial that "lightning never strikes the same place twice".³⁴ In its note on the *saepe* of this passage the standard commentary in German accordingly remarks that "Vergil neigt zu Übertreibungen".³⁵ Servius moreover points out that the oaks in question are Jupiter's own trees:³⁶ hence Jupiter is being represented as striking his very same own oaks not just twice, but "often". Significantly *saepe* is omitted altogether from every one of the three most recent English translations of the *Eclogues*.³⁷

All of the afore-mentioned problems vanish if *saepe* is instead construed as the ablative singular of the noun *saepes*. The etymological link which Virgil establishes between adverb and noun naturally invites the reader to understand *saepe* in this way. Every single instance of *saepe* in this *Eclogue* can in fact be given such a construe.³⁸ The ambiguity which results was considered especially

³⁰ For the link between *saepes* and *saeptum* cf. (e. g.) Non. p. 41,1–3: *saepiunt ... dictum a saepibus ... ; unde et circumseptum dicitur*.

³¹ On such "suppression" cf. O'Hara (above n. 2) 79–82.

³² It may be observed that the next and closing line contains the phrase *gravis aere* immediately before the main caesura. Here *gravis* requires elucidation from Philargyrius: "*gravis*" *idest ponderosa* (*Verg. ecl.* 1,35 rec. II). In this connection it may therefore be significant that at the end of the previous paragraph the point was made that *gravis* as well as *pinguis* is used by Virgil as a counterterm of the *levis* which in line 55 glosses antiphrastically the directly antecedent *saepe*.

³³ Cf. n. 3 above.

³⁴ So J. Speake (ed.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Proverbs*, Oxford 2003⁴, 179.

³⁵ T. Ladewig – C. Schaper – P. Deuticke – P. Jahn, *Vergils Gedichte*, Dublin and Zurich 1973¹⁰, 3.

³⁶ *Serv. ecl.* 1,17 (ad loc.).

³⁷ Viz. B. H. Fowler, *Vergil's Eclogues*, Chapel Hill 1997, 1; D. Ferry, *The Eclogues of Virgil*, New York 2000, 3–5; L. Krisak, *Virgil's Eclogues*, Philadelphia 2010, 3.

³⁸ This point is an argument against the authenticity of the immediately succeeding verse (17a:

clever.³⁹ In the present case such a reading also yields excellent sense. A place which had been struck by lightning was enclosed with a *saepes*.⁴⁰ It was accordingly the *saepes* which constituted the "forewarning": *saepe ... praedicere*. Such an ablative regularly qualifies this verb.⁴¹

The next *saepe* occurs in the next sentence but one, which is separated from the sentence just discussed by a brief question consisting of only a single line. This time Tityrus states (19–21): *urbem quam dicunt Romam, Meliboeae, putavi / stultus ego huic nostrae similem, quo*⁴² *saepe solemus / pastores ovium teneros depellere fetus*. Once again *saepe* is problematic: here its use with *solemus* involves a pleonasm.⁴³ At the same time there is also a problem with the infinitive that depends on *solemus*: *teneros depellere fetus*. Coleman notes that here *depello* cannot mean "drive", because the lambs are "too tender to be driven to market".⁴⁴ He therefore takes the meaning to be "wean". This cannot however be the meaning either, since Clausen points out that in this sense *depello* is "always a perfect passive participle".⁴⁵ All these problems disappear if *saepe* is again understood as the ablative singular of *saepes*: *saepe ... depellere* accordingly means simply that the lambs are "made to leave the fold".⁴⁶ When so understood, Virgil's language

saepe sinistra cava dicebat ab ilice cornix), since this would be the only place in the poem where *saepe* could not be satisfactorily construed as a noun. This line is therefore wrongly defended by L. Herrmann, "Notes critiques sur les *Bucoliques* de Virgile", *Latomus* 2 (1938) 12.

³⁹ Cf. Cic. *de orat.* 2,253: *ambigua sunt in primis acuta*. At the same time it is tempting to see in such verbal prestidigitation a specimen of what was to lead Agrippa to characterize Virgil as a *novae cacozeliae repertor; non tumidae nec exilis, sed ex communibus verbis atque ideo latentis* (Don. *vita Verg.* ll. 181–83): both *saepe* and *saepes* are eminently *communia verba*. For two comparable instances which likewise involve etymologies cf. N. Adkin, "Virgilian Etymologizing: The Case of Acestes", *AC* 69 (2000) 205–7; Id., "More Yukky Virgil: *Aeneid* 2,410–15", *Hermes* 134 (2006) 398–406. For a conspectus of other attempts to understand Agrippa's statement cf. W. Görler, "*cacozelia*", in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* I, Rome 1984, 597.

⁴⁰ Cf. (e. g.) Sidon. *carm.* 9,193: *saeptum ... bidental*.

⁴¹ Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* X 2, 565, 34–48 (s. v. *praedico* 2).

⁴² *quoi* is preferred by Burman (above n. 16) 11 and Coleman (above n. 6) 43.

⁴³ Direct juxtaposition in conspicuously final *sedes* exacerbates the cacology. *Saepe* is again combined with *solere* at *georg.* 2,186f.: *qualem saepe cava montis convalle solemus / despicerere*. However it would appear that there too Virgil is engaging in etymological play, since in the previous line but one the same *sedes* as *saepe* is occupied by *pinguis*.

⁴⁴ Coleman (above n. 6) 77.

⁴⁵ Clausen (above n. 27) 42.

⁴⁶ For this well-attested sense of *depello* cf. *OLD* 518 (s. v. 5a: "compel to go away"; ib. "w.

here is exactly parallel to the afore-mentioned *exiret ... saeptis* of line 33.

In the present passage *depello* is directly juxtaposed with *tener* (*teneros depellere*). *Tener* is associated by Virgil with *tenere*, which he in turn associates with *saepes*.⁴⁷ In this connection it would seem pertinent to adduce a Virgilian text which combines all three of the terms at issue (*saepes, tenere, tener*): *texendae saepes etiam et pecus omne tenendum, / praecipue dum frons tenera* (*georg.* 2,371f.). Here both *tenere* and *tener* are highlighted by ambiguity.⁴⁸ While moreover *tenere* has been placed last in the line, *tener* is located immediately after the main caesura: these two *loci* are the most important of the etymological markers.⁴⁹ It would in fact seem that Virgil thought these two words were linked etymologically.⁵⁰ In this distich of the *Georgics* the proper sense of *tenendus* ("to be kept in") is accordingly expressed by *tenera*: because the foliage is "tender", it has etymologically "to be kept in" (*tenenda*). If such an etymological sense is also given to *tener* in the present passage of the first *Eclogue* (*saepe ... teneros depellere fetus*), it is natural to take *saepe* as referring *apo koinou* to both *teneros* (= *tenendos*) and the efficaciously juxtapositional *depellere*: whereas the lambs ought "to be kept in" the fold, they are instead "made to leave" it.⁵¹

abl."). For *saepes* as synonymous with *saeptum* (i. e. "fold") cf. (e. g.) *Synon. Cic.* p. 425,2: *caulae saepes septa*.

⁴⁷ Cf. Non. p. 41,1: *saepiunt significat tenent ... dictum a saepibus*. Here reference may be made to Virgil's own employment of *teneo* in line 31, where this verb occupies exactly the same emphatically final *sedes* as his notable use of *saeptis* in the very next line but one. A number of considerations would seem in fact to indicate that here Virgil has deliberately sought to link the two terms. Only three other occurrences of any form of *teneo* are to be found in the whole of the *Eclogues*. Use of this verb here was felt to require elucidation; cf. *Gloss.*^L I Ansil. TE 285 (*tenebat: inclusum retinebat*). There were in fact grounds for avoiding *teneo* in this line, since the *-tea te-* of *Galatea tenebat* comes near to breaking the rule *ne syllaba verbi prioris ultima et prima sequentis idem sonet* (Quint. *inst.* 9,4,41); cf. N. Adkin, "Further Virgilian Etymologizing: *Aeneid* 6,432f.", *AC* 71 (2002) 150 n. 12. Such cacophony is especially noticeable in the present case, where it occurs between penultimate and final word in both clause and verse; cf. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, Stuttgart 2008⁴, 475f. For the large number of available synonyms cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* X 2, 112, 77–84 (s. v. *possideo*).

⁴⁸ On *tenendum* cf. R. A. B. Mynors, *Virgil: Georgics*, Oxford 1990, 146 (ad loc.): "*tenendum*: equivalent to *retinendum* ... ; it means 'keep in' more often than, as here, 'keep out'". On *tenera* cf. R. F. Thomas, *Virgil: Georgics I*, Cambridge 1988, 224 (ad loc.), where the point is made that *frons tenera* "at first glance looks curiously as if it might refer to cattle". Here however *frons* must mean "foliage", not "forehead".

⁴⁹ Cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

⁵⁰ He was evidently right; cf. Ernout – Meillet – André (above n. 18) 684 (s. v. *tener*).

⁵¹ It may be noted that the section devoted to this sense of *depello* in *OLD* (5a) includes a text

The first occurrence of *saepe* in this *Eclogue* is found in Tityrus' foregoing speech, which is his first in the poem (7f.): *namque erit ille mihi semper deus, illius aram / saepe tener nostris ab ovilibus imbuet agnus*. Again *saepe* might strike the mind of a *grammaticus* as entailing a problem, which is due this time to the adverb's combination with *imbuere*.⁵² As in line 53, *saepe* is further emphasized by foregoing *semper*: in both passages this similarly temporal adverb of related sense and sound has been placed conspicuously at the main caesura.⁵³ In this first occurrence of *saepe* itself the adverb occupies the same prominently initial *sedes* as the *saepe* that glosses *saepes* in line 53 and as the *pinguis* that replaces "suppressed" *saepe* as the gloss on *saepitis* twenty lines earlier. A similarly glossatorial purpose would also seem to be served by this opening instance of *saepe*; however by a further case of "suppression" *saepes* has here been replaced by *ovilia*.⁵⁴

As in the last passage to be discussed (20f.), the lamb is again qualified as *tener*. This time however *tener* and *saepe* are directly juxtaposed: *saepe tener*. If *tener* is again given its etymological sense of *tenendus*, *saepe* itself can once again be understood as ablative singular of the etymologically related *saepes*: the lamb is "to be kept in the fold". Such a construe obviates the afore-mentioned problem of applying adverbial *saepe* to *imbuere*. The resultant sense is also highly appropriate: Du Quesnay concludes his own discussion of *tener* in this passage by observing that "in other words, the *agnus* will be kept in a state of ritual purity, presumably, then, in the fold".⁵⁵ Nominal as opposed to adverbial *saepe* also gen-

that similarly contrasts this verb with a form of *teneo* (Ulp. *dig.* 43,16,1,46). A final point may be made regarding the phrase *teneros ... fetus*, which is preceded by the dependent genitive *ovium*. For an attempt to solve the notorious crux at Hor. *epod.* 2,16 (*infirmas ovis*) by supposing that in this roughly contemporaneous passage Virgil's close friend is etymologizing *ovis* from ο(ὐ) (ῥ)ίς cf. N. Adkin, "Horace's Weak Sheep: Etymologizing in *Epode* 2,16", *InvLuc* 31 (2009) 7f.

⁵² Cf. Serv. *ecl.* 1,8 (ad loc.): *imbuere est proprie inchoare et initiare. nemo autem unam eandemque rem saepe inchoat*. This inconcinnity apropos of the first occurrence of *saepe* at the start of the *Eclogue* is evidently meant by the poet to signal to those who share with him the *grammaticus*' mind-set his own intention of playing with this word throughout the poem.

⁵³ It may also be noted that on each occasion *semper* is preceded by a dative pronoun (*mihi / tibi*) and followed by an anastrophic epithet with *ab* (*nostris ab ovilibus / vicino ab limite*).

⁵⁴ For the two terms as synonymous cf. nn. 26 and 30 above. This time the "suppression" concerns the word that is glossed (*saepes* replaced by *ovilia*) rather than the word that does the glossing (*saepe* replaced by *pinguis*).

⁵⁵ Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 109. In the same connection he remarks that *tener* "refers not so much to age as to the purity of the victim". Du Quesnay does not consider the etymology of *tener*.

erates an effective antithesis to the immediately preceding *aram*: the lamb that ought to be kept in the snug fold will instead die on the chill altar. Finally this reading also has a bearing on the interpretation of *ab* in *ab ovilibus*. Here Clausen compares Lucretius 2,51: *fulgorem ... ab auro*.⁵⁶ It would seem however more pertinent to compare instead *saepe ... depellere* and *exiret ... saeptis* in lines 20f. and 33 of this *Eclogue*. The *ab* in *ab ovilibus* would likewise appear to signify "motion away from": in all three passages the lamb is leaving the fold.

It will be appropriate to end this article by returning to the *adynaton* in the sentence after the one containing the first instance of *saepe* to be discussed above.⁵⁷ In this *adynaton* the opening line runs (59): *ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi*. At the beginning of the present article it was argued that *leves* merely etymologizes the Greek translation of *cervi*. Since therefore harts are by etymology "light", it is a mistake to suppose simply that the *adynaton* consists in the (etymologically) unsurprising circumstance that these creatures are *in aethere*.⁵⁸ The "usual" phrase in Latin is not *in aethere*, but the prosodically equivalent *in aere*.⁵⁹ Though *aether* is employed by Virgil on some sixty occasions, the present passage is the only time this word is used in the *Eclogues*. Here the phrase *in aethere* is directly juxtaposed with *pascentur*. The *aether* was however known to be *tenuissimus*.⁶⁰ This *aether* could accordingly offer a hart nothing whatever to eat. Here then is the actual *adynaton*: *pascentur in aethere cervi*.⁶¹

The next line of the *adynaton* reads (60): *et freta destituent nudos in litore piscis*. Here Du Quesnay detected an "apparent allusion to the etymology *pisces dicti, unde et pecus, a pascendo scilicet*".⁶² Du Quesnay himself gave no further attention to the "apparent" etymology, which is ignored in O'Hara's survey.⁶³ Closer investigation would however seem to be in order. Du Quesnay believed Virgil's point to be merely that the fish "will exchange habitats". Such was also

⁵⁶ Clausen (above n. 27) 39.

⁵⁷ Here too (55) *saepe* could theoretically be taken as a noun. If however the resultant collocation (*saepe levi*) is syntactically feasible, it is a semantic no-no, since a "thin hedge" (cf. *OLD* s. v. *levis* 7) is etymologically a contradiction in terms.

⁵⁸ As is assumed by (e. g.) Clausen (above n. 27) 54.

⁵⁹ Cf. Clausen (above n. 27) 54.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* I, 1150,11f. (s. v. *aether*).

⁶¹ Here therefore *aether* cannot simply be equated with *caelum*, as is done by (e. g.) H. Holtorf, *P. Vergilius Maro: Die grösseren Gedichte* I, Freiburg – Munich 1959, 135.

⁶² Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 137, referring to *Isid. orig.* 12,6,1.

⁶³ O'Hara (above n. 2) 244.

the view of Conington, who finds Virgil's language "not very happy, as there is nothing wonderful in the sea's throwing up the fish on the shore".⁶⁴ Conington accordingly takes Virgil's meaning to be that "fishes shall dwell on the land".⁶⁵ It would however seem possible to show that this is not in fact Virgil's point.

After the etymological play on *cervus* in the foregoing line it is natural to anticipate similar etymologizing of *piscis*, which occupies exactly the same final position, while *pascentur* itself is placed straight after the strong 3rd-foot caesura.⁶⁶ In the case of *cervus* the *adynaton* involved the inability to eat: the same is evidently true of *piscis*. The hart had nothing to eat *in aethere*. The same penultimate *sedes* in the next line is filled by the matching *in litore*.⁶⁷ A *litus* was proverbially infertile.⁶⁸ It is therefore impossible to eat *in litore*. The etymological *raison d'être* of a *piscis* is however to *pasci*. The collocation *in litore piscis* accordingly entails an etymological *adynaton*: fish without food cannot be their etymological selves. Here Virgil's language, so far from being "not very happy", is on the contrary piquantly felicitous.⁶⁹ Besides the linguistic issue the charge of unoriginality of content also turns out to be similarly unwarranted.⁷⁰

The second half of this *adynaton* consists of the following distich (61f.): *ante pererratis amborum finibus exul / aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim*. In these lines it is customary to assume that the *adynaton* consists merely in the shift of locations.⁷¹ It would however seem possible to show that here Vir-

⁶⁴ J. Conington – H. Nettleship – F. Haverfield, *The Works of Virgil* I, London 1898⁵, 31.

⁶⁵ Cf. (e. g.) R. D. Williams, *Virgil: The Eclogues and Georgics*, New York 1979, 94: "What Virgil means is that ... fish will live their lives on dry land".

⁶⁶ For the importance of both these *sedes* as etymological markers cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

⁶⁷ These two phrases are linked by both homoeocatacton and homoeoteleuton which involve respectively the first and last two letters.

⁶⁸ Cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* VII 2, 1538,72–76 with 1537,33–37 (s. v.).

⁶⁹ The effect is enhanced by the immediately antecedent *destituent nudos*, since the fishes' inability to feed is further aggravated by loss of natural environment (*nudos*) and by immobility; for this basic sense of *destituo*, which is a Virgilian hapax, cf. *OLD* 528 (s. v. 1a: "to ... fix [in a position]; to make fast"). This "motionlessness" accordingly forms a nifty contrast to the hyper-mobile volitation of the previous line.

⁷⁰ For this negative view cf. (e. g.) J. Michel, "Une allusion à la Paix de Brindes dans la première *Bucolique* (v. 59–66)?", *Latomus* 14 (1955) 448: "Ils (sc. v. 59f.) ne se distinguent pas par une particulière originalité". Regarding the same distich Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 137 speaks of "the commonplace nature of these lines".

⁷¹ So (e. g.) M. Bonamente, "Tigri", in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* V*, Rome 1990, 177: "a differ-

gil is being rather more subtle. Du Quesnay remarks that in *exul* at the end of the first line there is "apparently" an allusion to the etymology of "Parthian": *Scythico sermone exules "parthi" dicuntur*.⁷² Du Quesnay's suggestion is registered by O'Hara, who however prefaces it with a question mark.⁷³ None of the aforementioned scholars addresses the issue of Virgil's possible purpose in admitting this "apparent" piece of etymology. It may therefore be noted that the etymologizing of *Parthus* as *exul* at the start of the second half of this *adynaton* corresponds exactly to the etymologizing of *cervi* as *leves* at the start of the first half. The correlation also extends to structure, since each clause evinces precisely the same sequence of adjectival etymon of a foreign word (*leves* / *exul*), followed by a term denoting location (*aethere* / *Ararim*), followed in turn by the nominative noun that is being etymologized (*cervi* / *Parthus*). If moreover it is etymologically unremarkable for harts to be in the ether, from an etymological standpoint a Parthian in exile is similarly unsurprising. Since such an individual does not make a very good *adynaton*, where can the real "impossibility" lie this time?

In his note on *Ararim Parthus bibet* Heyne stated: "Reprehenduntur haec, et merito, tamquam aliena a pastorum memoria, nomina, nimisque longe petita".⁷⁴ The Arar in particular is problematical. Heyne continues with reference to the Arar's place in the verse as a whole (*aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim*): "Porro 'Germania' et 'Arar' sibi respondere debebant; hic vero Galliae fluvius est, qui in Rhodanum se immittit". The reader may well wonder why Virgil should have chosen a mere branch of the Rhône like the Saône in preference to one of the great rivers of Germany as a counterpart to Parthia's correspondingly great Tigris.⁷⁵ Wellesley exclaims: "It is ... with dismay that we deduce from line 62 ... that the poet supposed that the Saône was a German river. Such ignorance is intolerable in an educated Roman writing some dozen years after the

enza dei primi due (sc. paradossi; 59f.) ... il terzo trae la sua efficacia dalla distanza geografica fra Arar e T."

⁷² Isid. *orig.* 9,2,44, cited by Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 137 with n. 650, where the detection of this etymological reference in the present passage is credited to a verbal communication from J. McKeown.

⁷³ O'Hara (above n. 2) 244f.

⁷⁴ C. G. Heyne – G. P. E. Wagner, *P. Virgili Maronis opera* I, Leipzig – London 1830⁴, 73.

⁷⁵ For a handy conspectus of German potamonymy cf. (e. g.) Plin. *nat.* 4,100: *amnes clari in oceanum defluunt Guthalus* (= Oder?), *Visculus sive Vistla, Albis* (= Elbe), *Visurgis* (= Weser), *Amisis* (= Ems), *Rhenus, Mosa* (= Maas).

publication of Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*".⁷⁶ Wellesley accordingly proposed that *Ararim* should be emended to *Rhenum*.⁷⁷ Wellesley concludes: "The Arar was a singularly unhappy choice". Virgil must therefore have had a very good reason for making this choice. What can the reason have been?

Arere had already been used by Virgil for etymologizing purposes in *Eclogue* III, which is earlier than the present one.⁷⁸ There (*ecl.* 3,94–97) Virgil had taken a cue from Varro (*ling.* 5,98) in regarding *arere* as the etymon of *aries*.⁷⁹ It would seem that *arere* is again being exploited for etymological ends in the present passage of the first *Eclogue*: given the density of the etymologizing in these lines, another such *jeu étymologique* would be no surprise. The usual nominative of the hydronym in question is disyllabic *Arar*,⁸⁰ which is also the form employed by Caesar himself.⁸¹ The name Arar accordingly consists exclusively of the reduplicated stem of the verb *arere*.⁸² Derivation of Arar from *arere* was highly plausible, since by the date of the *Eclogues* this river was known to be *incredibili lenitate, ita ut oculis in utram partem fluat iudicari non possit*:⁸³ if the Arar did not appear to be moving at all, it was natural to think that like other stagnant bodies of water such a river could dry up altogether.⁸⁴ Virgil's point is accordingly the following: as the "light" hart cannot eat in the ether, because there is nothing to eat, so the "exiled" Parthian cannot drink from the Arar, because there is nothing to drink: this river is etymologically "dry" – twice over.⁸⁵ Drinking what is

⁷⁶ K. Wellesley, "Virgil's Araxes", *CPh* 63 (1968) 139. Wellesley continues: "Stylistically, the artful antithesis of the *adynaton* is spoiled and obscured by the introduction of a word that does not immediately and indisputably carry the connotation of 'Germany'".

⁷⁷ The Rhine is mentioned elsewhere in the *Eclogues* (10,47); cf. also the later mention at *Aen.* 8,727, where the previous verse refers to the Euphrates. For the earlier proposal to emend *Ararim* to the palaeographically easier *Albim* cf. Heyne – Wagner (above n. 74) 73.

⁷⁸ On the issue of relative chronology cf. Coleman (above n. 6) 14–21.

⁷⁹ Cf. N. Adkin, "Wet Rams: The Etymology of *aries* in Virgil", *WS* 122 (2009) 121–4.

⁸⁰ Cf. M. Ihm, "Arar", in *RE* II, Stuttgart 1896, 379: "Dies (sc. Arar) die allgemein übliche Form".

⁸¹ *Gall.* 1,12,1. For this work as Virgil's source cf. Michel (above n. 70) 452: "... le *Bellum Gallicum*, d'où Virgile a sans aucun doute tiré le nom de l'*Arar*".

⁸² As with *aries*, the quantity of the "a" is immaterial. On such indifference to vowel length in ancient etymologizing cf. O'Hara (above n. 2) 61f.

⁸³ *Caes. Gall.* 1,12,1.

⁸⁴ For Virgil's application of *arere* to a river cf. (e. g.) *Aen.* 3,350: *arentem ... rivum*.

⁸⁵ Ar-ar. Like *pascentur, bibet* is placed immediately after the main caesura: on this *sedes* as

doubly "dry" also makes a very good *adynaton*.

The final words of this *adynaton* are *Germania Tigrim*. It would appear possible to show that here too Virgil is etymologizing. If the Arar is not in fact a German river, there was no need to mention *Germania*. As with the potamonym, Virgil's choice of language would again seem to have been determined by etymological considerations. Varro etymologized *germanus* from *manans*.⁸⁶ A specifically Varronian etymology had already been exploited at the start of this *Eclogue*;⁸⁷ it would seem that in the present passage near the end of the same poem Virgil is again following Varro's cue in order to propose an etymology of *Germania*. The participle *manans* means "wet".⁸⁸ Such an etymon was highly appropriate for *Germania*, which was *multis impedita fluminibus ... et magna ex parte ... paludibus invia*.⁸⁹ "Wet" Germany makes a piquant contrast to "dry" Arar.⁹⁰ Again the etymology provides the *adynaton*: as "dry" Arar cannot be drunk, so "wet" Germany cannot drink.⁹¹

Virgil's *adynaton* ends with *Tigrim*. Here the Tigris is a surprising choice. The present reference to this river is "probablement la première mention dans la littérature latine".⁹² Virgil himself does not speak of this waterway in any other passage: elsewhere it is always the Euphrates that instead engages his interest.⁹³ It would be no surprise if this remarkable choice of Tigris here were once again due to a concern with etymology. Immediately after the etymologizing "dry-dry" (*Ar-ar*) and "wet" (*-man-*) it is natural to look for another etymological "wet" to match the foregoing dyad of "drys" and so provide the line with an appropriately etymologizing frame. If the Latin for "wet" is *manans*, the Greek equivalent is τὸ

an etymological marker cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

⁸⁶ Cf. Maltby (above n. 17) 258. For the identity of appellative *germanus* with the ethonym cf. (e. g.) Strab. 7 p. 290.

⁸⁷ Cf. N. Adkin (above n. 3).

⁸⁸ Cf. *OLD* 1074 (s. v. *mano* 3: "to be wet", where instances of the participle are given *passim*).

⁸⁹ So Mela 3,29.

⁹⁰ Such "wetness" can be more easily predicated of a country (*Germania*) than of a person (*Germanus*, which would match *Parthus*).

⁹¹ For *manare* used specifically "of liquids" cf. *OLD* 1074 (s. v. 1a). "Liquids" cannot drink, but only be drunk.

⁹² So Michel (above n. 70) 451.

⁹³ Cf. *georg.* 1,509; 4,561; *Aen.* 8,726. In the first of these texts the Euphrates is coupled with *Germania*, like the Tigris here. The last passage combines Euphrates with Rhine (727).

ὕγρὸν.⁹⁴ In ὕγρὸς the υ was undergoing a phonetic transformation into an ι.⁹⁵ The final vowel of the concomitant definite article would also tend to be obscured by synalepha before another vowel. The collocation τὸ ὕγρ- might accordingly have been heard as *tigr-*, which is the stem of the potamonym: evidently τὸ ὕγρ- is being proposed as the latter's etymon.⁹⁶ This interpretation of *Tigrim* means that the line is filled by four proper nouns (*aut Ararim Parthus bibet aut Germania Tigrim*), all of which are etymologized: such an etymological *schesis onomaton*⁹⁷ makes a very striking conclusion to this *adynaton*.

The foregoing analysis would seem to have shown that each of the four elements in Virgil's *adynaton* involves either drink (*bibere*) or food (*pasci*): this ingestive leitmotif invests the *adynaton* with a coherence which it might otherwise appear to lack. The other derivative of *pasci* besides *piscis* to be given by Isidore is *pecus*.⁹⁸ It will therefore be fitting to close with two passages of this *Eclogue* which seem to exploit this etymology. The first is the sentence immediately be-

⁹⁴ For the stock-phrase τὸ ὕγρὸν signifying "wet", "moisture" cf. *LSJ* 1843 (s. v. I 3). The meaning of *manare* is "i. q. madere, umidum esse" (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* VIII, 322,24; s. v.): ὕγρὸς is glossed as both *umidus* and *madidus* (cf. G. Loewe – G. Goetz, *Corpus glossariorum Latino-rum* VII, Leipzig 1901, 665; s. v. ὕγρὸς).

⁹⁵ For evidence that "Hellenistic υ had shifted from [u] in the direction of [i]" cf. E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Philadelphia 1940², 43.

⁹⁶ A further allusion to this etymology would seem to occur at *Aen.* 10,166 (*aequora Tigri*), which is the only other instance of Virgil's use of *Tigris* as a proper noun: there *Tigris* is the name of a ship. *Aequor* was etymologized from *aqua* (cf. Maltby [above n. 17] 14), which was in turn glossed as ὕγρὰ οὐσία (*Lyd. mens.* 4,46). For such direct juxtaposition (*aequora Tigri*) as an etymological marker cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317), where attention is also drawn to the importance of "the same *sedes* ... in lines separated by one ... line[s]". It is therefore noteworthy that in the next line but one (168) the same final *sedes* as *Tigri* should be occupied by *sagittae*, which is the other etymon of *Tigris* (cf. Maltby [above n. 17] 612). For such use of alternative etymologies cf. O'Hara (above n. 2) 92f. Virgil would also appear to be alluding to *sagitta* as the etymon of *tigris* at *Aen.* 6,802–05 and 11,577. Both texts are problematic: *Aen.* 6,802f. are athetized by P. H. Peerlkamp, *P. Virgilii Maronis Aeneidos libri I–VI*, Leiden 1843, 442, while in *Aen.* 11,577 *tigridis* has recently been qualified as "really quite difficult" by N. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 11: A Commentary* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 244), Leiden – Boston 2003, 336. The difficulties in both passages would seem to be removed by recognition of Virgil's etymological intent. All three texts of the *Aeneid* are dealt with by N. Adkin, "Virgil and the Etymology of 'Tiger'", forthcoming in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* XVI.

⁹⁷ For the figure cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* IX 2, 641,21–40 (s. v. *onoma* 2).

⁹⁸ Cf. n. 62 above. For additional evidence of this derivation of *pecus* cf. Maltby (above n. 17) 459.

fore the one containing the *jeu étymologique* on *saepes* discussed at the start of the present article: *quamvis lapis omnia nudus / limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco, / non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas / nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent* (47–50). Here *pecoris* stands immediately after the main caesura, while *pabula* and *pascua* each occupies the same penultimate *sedes* in adjacent lines.⁹⁹ Both *pabula* and *pascua* were likewise etymologized from *pasci*.¹⁰⁰ All three clauses in this sentence are accordingly linked by the same etymon. This correlation is a strong argument in favour of Du Quesnay's punctuation, which was adopted above.¹⁰¹ The other passage involving the etymology of *pecus* occurs at the very end of this *Eclogue*. Here *meae ... pecus, ite capellae* (74)¹⁰² is followed by *me pascente, capellae* (77). Opening *meae* matches similarly initial *me* by *derivatio*,¹⁰³ while vocative *capellae* occupies the same final position in each line. Both *pecus* and *pascente* begin the same fourth *biceps*.¹⁰⁴ The point of this elaborate parallelism is evidently to underline the etymology: *pecus a pascendo*.

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⁹⁹ On these *loci* as etymological markers cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Maltby (above n. 17) 145 (s. v. *compascuus*); 440 (s. v. *pabulum*). It may be noted that here *pascua* and *pabula* are prosodic equivalents enclosed by a spondaic noun at line-end and by a molossic verb opening the second hemistich.

¹⁰¹ Du Quesnay (above n. 5) 74. The usual punctuation of the whole passage is the following: *fortunate senex, ergo tua rura manebunt, / et tibi magna satis, quamvis lapis omnia nudus / limosoque palus obducat pascua iunco. / non insueta gravis temptabunt pabula fetas, / nec mala vicini pecoris contagia laedent* (46–50). Here the comma instead of a full stop before *quamvis* and the full stop instead of a comma after *iunco* link *quamvis ... iunco* to what precedes, not to what follows. In arguing for the other punctuation Du Quesnay himself fails to mention the crucial issue of etymology.

¹⁰² *Pecus* is enclosed by a species of *schema Cornelianum*.

¹⁰³ For the figure cf. Lausberg (above n. 47) 328f. For the genitive of the pronoun (*mei*) as the source of *meus* cf. N. Adkin, "Further Additions to Maltby's *Lexicon of Ancient Latin Etymologies: Priscian*", in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History XIII* (Coll. Latomus 301), Brussels 2006, 471.

¹⁰⁴ Here we accordingly have another instance of "the same *sedes* ... in lines separated by one or more lines"; cf. Cairns (above n. 12 [1996]) 33 (= Id. [above n. 12 (2007)] 317).

UN LITOTRITTICO ANTICO DELLA MEDICINA GRECA: IL *LITHOSPERMUM OFFICINALE*, O COLOMBINA

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1. Tra i tanti ingredienti che la medicina greca utilizzava contro i calcoli, c'è anche il λιθόσπερμον (o λιθόσπερμα). Questa pianta era designata da diverse denominazioni, piuttosto evocative: "unghia di aquila" (ἀετώνυχος o αἰετώνυχος),¹ "unghia esterna" (ἐξώνυχος),² "unghia di capra" (αἰγώνυχος)³ "grano di Zeus" (πυρὸς Διός),⁴ "Eraclea" (Ἡρακλεία),⁵ spiegata da Dioscoride con la forza del suo seme, "seme sottile" (λειόσπερμος).⁶ Gran parte di questi nomi è legata, com'è evidente, a Zeus e al suo potere: anche la denominazione che fa riferimento a Eracle allude in qualche modo a suo padre. Probabilmente, è proprio in virtù delle qualità ritenute prodigiose della pianta (come immaginava anche il farmacista di Anazarbo) che quest'ultima era avvicinata al padre degli dei, all'aquila che lo simboleggiava e al leone considerato il più forte degli animali allora conosciuti (si veda per quest'ultimo le denominazioni citate in nota 1, in particolare λεόντιον e λίθος λεοντική). È possibile ipotizzare che questi fitonimi fossero in parte dovuti anche all'impiego para-magico che della pianta si immagina possa essere stato fatto in ambienti vicini o comunque noti a Paolo Egineta (come si

¹ Questi ed altri termini sono attestati dal testo dei manoscritti R e V di Dioscoride (3,141), dove appaiono le denominazioni: λεόντιον, λίθος λεοντική, Γοργόνειος, Τανταλίτις, l'altre-menti attestato Διὸς πυρὸς. Interessante è che si dica che la pianta ha una sua denominazione in ambito romano (κολουμβίνα, termine equivalente, peraltro, a quello odierno) e dacio (γουολήτα).

² Diosc. 3,141.

³ Orib. 11 λ 11.

⁴ Diosc. 3,141; Orib. 11 λ 11.

⁵ Diosc. 3,141; PAeg. 7,3,11 la definisce al maschile.

⁶ PAeg. 7,3,11.

vedrà in seguito), anche se di questa utilizzazione non è rimasta nessuna traccia, ad es., nei *Papiri magici* o in altre fonti analoghe.

2. La descrizione di Dioscoride (3,141), ripetuta poi da Paolo Egineta (7,3,11) e da Oribasio (11 λ 11), è particolarmente corretta, fin nei suoi più piccoli particolari:⁷ φύλλα ἔχει ὅμοια ἐλαίας, μακρότερα δὲ καὶ πλατύτερα καὶ μαλακώτερα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πυθμένα ἐπὶ γῆς κείμενα, κλωνία δὲ ὀρθά, λεπτά, πάχος ὀξυσχοίνου, στερεά, ξυλώδη, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν ἄκρων δίχηλος ἔκφυσις καυλοειδής, ἔχουσα φύλλα μικρά, παρ' οἷς σπέρμα λιθῶδες, στρογγύλον, λευκόν, ὀρόβῳ μικρῶ ἴσον· φύεται ἐν τραχέσι τόποις καὶ ὑψηλοῖς.

- "ha foglie uguali all'olivo": in effetti, le foglie della colombina e dell'olivo sono lanceolate, intere, con margine intero, spesso revoluta ai bordi.⁸ In particolare, quest'ultima caratteristica,⁹ cioè il fatto di presentare il margine fogliare ripiegato, è un dettaglio che consente di riconoscere il *Lithospermum* rispetto ad altre piante ad esso simili. L'unica piccola differenza è che, mentre l'olivo presenta un picciolo corto, la colombina ha foglie sessili, cioè senza il sostegno di un peduncolo.
- "più grandi e larghe e soffici (delicate) anche quelle intorno alla radice poste sulla terra": in effetti, la pianta è dotata di gemme a livello della terra.
- "rami dritti, sottili, della grandezza del giunco marittimo, solidi, legnosi": la pianta è suffruticosa, cioè legnosa con rami erbacei fino alla base. Il fusto, infatti, si presenta come eretto e robusto, coperto da peli e ramificato.
- "sulle sue cime una germinazione con due chele (*sic*), simile ad uno stelo, avente piccole foglie": qui Dioscoride descrive lo stigma biforcuto, o bilobo, della pianta. Si tratta della parte terminale dello stelo, contenuta nel gineceo, la quale riceve il polline durante l'impollinazione. La formulazione (δίχηλος ἔκφυσις) è *sui generis*: i due termini utilizzati sono piuttosto di area anatomica, in particolare l'aggettivo δίχηλος, che non è stato possibile tradurre se non con "con due chele" (l'espressione mantiene perlomeno il significato originario, anche se

⁷ Si vedano le descrizioni in S. Pignatti, *Flora d'Italia*, Bologna 1982, II 397; K. Lauber – G. Wagner, *Flora Helvetica*, Berne 2007, I 818.

⁸ Per la descrizione moderna della colombina, si vedano: N. L. Britton – A. Brown, *An Illustrated Flora of the Northern United States, Canada and the British Possessions*, New York 1913, III 88; P. Zangheri, *Flora italica*, Padova 1976, I 533. Cfr. anche lo studio particolare di M. Sonnberger, *Aspekte der Reproduktionsbiologie des echten Steinsamen (Lithospermum officinale, Boraginaceae)*, Stuttgart 2002.

⁹ Diosc. 3,141; PAeg. 7,3,1.11; Orib. 11 λ 11. Dioscoride (4,133) ritiene che questo nome sia alternativo anche a ζφόνυχος.

nella maggior parte dei casi indica gli animali dotati di zoccolo diviso). Di ἔκφουσις, invece, è attestato un impiego in senso botanico, anche nello stesso Dioscoride (limitato, però, a 1,4,1), anche se in genere lo si interpreta come germoglio. Nel caso, è piuttosto facile che il termine indichi invece proprio lo stimma, vista anche la sua posizione apicale determinata con attenzione dal farmacista e botanico.

- "presso cui un seme pietroso, rotondo, bianco, uguale ad un piccola veccia": in effetti, il seme è simile ad una piccola pallina di porcellana bianca, tanto che era stata interpretata come una pietra (da cui il nome scientifico della pianta). Il termine tecnico che lo indica è tetrachenio: si tratta, cioè, di un frutto secco, diviso in quattro parti, con un pericarpo più o meno indurito, il quale appare all'esterno liscio e ovoidale, dotato di un colore bianco-madreperlaceo lucido.
- "nasce nei luoghi rocciosi e alti": la pianta, attualmente, nasce in verità per lo più in luoghi ombrosi, umidi e freschi e su terreni azotati. La divergenza tra questi dati può essere spiegata immaginando che il *Lithospermum* noto a Dioscoride fosse una varietà montana della pianta nota ai botanici moderni.

3. Droga antichissima, il cui primo attestato uso medico è databile addirittura all'età del bronzo,¹⁰ il *Lithospermum*, a parte l'impiego come litotrittico¹¹ sia per ciò che riguarda i calcoli vescicali¹² sia per ciò che riguarda quelli renali, era considerato dai Greci anche un diuretico.¹³

Il tipico preparato a base di *Lithospermum* è quello descritto da Dioscoride (3,141): è una pozione fatta col seme della pianta, sciolta in vino bianco¹⁴ e che serve a spezzare i calcoli e a stimolare l'urina.

Bisogna tuttavia osservare che rispetto ad altre piante e ingredienti di ricette esso appare soprattutto nella *summa* medicinale di Paolo Egineta, il quale non la trae, come spesso succede, da Galeno, il quale lo impiega rarissimamente (in realtà due volte, come uno dei molteplici ingredienti dell'antidoto detto ἑκατονταμίγματος, in *De antidotis* 14,156,¹⁵ e per i problemi urinari, in *Eupo-*

¹⁰ B. Baczyńska – M. Lityńska-Zajac, "Application of *Lithospermum officinale* L. in Early Bronze Age Medicine", *Vegetation History and Archaeobotany* 14:1 (2005) 77–80.

¹¹ Aet. 3,152; Ps. Gal. *Aff. ren.* 19,694.

¹² Aet. 11,10.

¹³ Aet. 11,10.

¹⁴ Cfr. anche *PAeg.* 7,3,11.

¹⁵ Si tratta di uno dei tre antidoti creati per Marco Aurelio, assieme alla galena o antidoto di Andromaco (composto da sessantaquattro elementi) e alla teriaca di Era.

rista 2,113,5), né queste ricette sono recuperate nei libri farmacologici di Orisbasio, là dove, come s'è visto, appare solamente la ricetta-base, quella con il semplice mescolamento in vino. Evidentemente, Paolo era al corrente, per averli usati personalmente, di vari preparati, oppure era costretto da alcune sue particolari esigenze a sperimentare più spesso litotrittici rispetto agli altri medici della tradizione:

- 7,11,48: si tratta di una posca (cioè una bevanda a base di acqua e aceto). Paolo consiglia di fare una miscela, in aceto, di alcune piante, tra cui il puleggio, la gomma di lentisco, il seme di sedano, la menta disseccata, il sale comune, il coriandolo... e naturalmente il *Lithospermum*. Il composto va lasciato al sole per qualche giorno e poi mescolato, nella quantità di due cotile, con un bollito di ceci neri, asparagi, radice di sedano e adianto. Il medico esorta a farne bere al malato, quando sta facendo un bagno caldo. Una variante segnalata ed equipollente è quella che fa mescolare le erbe triturate del primo elenco con una certa quantità di ossicrato, fatto naturalmente con gli stessi ingredienti del bollito. Paolo, dunque, attesta l'esistenza di due preparazioni della posca: mentre nella prima l'aceto va subito aggiunto, nella seconda è mescolato alla fine in forma di ossicrato. Non si tratta, sostanzialmente, di due ricette differenti, visto che gli ingredienti, molteplici, sono gli stessi, ma di due miscugli diversi (il primo dov'è presente il *Lithospermum*) che vanno a loro volta mescolati.
- 7,11,49: Paolo ha, nel suo repertorio farmacologico, addirittura un vino aromatizzato (κονδῖτος) litotrittico. Si tratta di un composto di pepe bianco, pianta sassifraga, nardo, migliarino, betonica, prezzemolo, "foglia", seme di ruta selvatica, miele, il tutto mescolato in vino di Ascalona.¹⁶ Il medico non descrive precisamente le operazioni necessarie alla creazione di questo preparato, poiché è ovvio che gli ingredienti dovessero essere tritati e messi in una quantità proporzionata di vino. Naturalmente, il preparato aveva un'origine orientale. Ascalona, infatti, è una città del Negev occidentale, attualmente nel distretto meridionale di Israele: famosa per il porto, fu fiorente fin dalla prima età del bronzo, quando era controllata dai Canaaniti. Il mondo occidentale la conosceva per via del rapporto che tutti ebbero con i mercanti fenici, che arrivarono a conquistarla prima dei Romani. Evidentemente, al tempo di Paolo, il commercio con la zona di Ascalona era ancora importante. Con i prodotti orientali, arrivavano, sembra di poter aggiungere, anche i preparati che con essi potevano essere usati in campo medico.

¹⁶ Sull'uso in ambito medico del vino di Ascalona, cfr. Ph. Mayerson, "The Use of Ascalon Wine in the Medical Writers of the Fourth to the Seventh Centuries", *IEJ* 43:2-3 (1993) 169; Ph. Mayerson, "An Additional Note on Ascalon Wine (P. Oxy. 1384)", *IEJ* 45:2-3 (1995) 190.

- 7,11,51–52: Paolo combina insieme una serie varia di prodotti anche dal profilo enigmatico, i quali, in taluni casi, possono perfino far pensare ad una ricetta magica:¹⁷ a parte l'ingrediente principale, le cicale, che danno il nome al preparato e che devono essere usate essiccate e private di testa, ali e zampe, il composto prevede, ad es., un particolare pesce cotto (il ῥάφισ), l'immancabile pianta sassifraga, il seme di altea, le spugne, il seme del paliuro, perfino il sangue di capro. Tra questi ingredienti, appare anche il *lithospermon*, che è invece il principale del successivo litotrittico renale (presente a 7,11,52), che prende appunto da questa pianta il suo nome e comprende la betonica, la pianta sassifraga, il prezzemolo, il pepe bianco e il miele.
- 7,11,54: Paolo accosta la colombina ad altri prodotti di sicura o presumibile origine orientale, come il tecolito (non a caso altrimenti definito "pietra giudaica"), il pepe (spesso negli autori ippocratici definito "persiano"), la cassia, la polvere di avorio, il legno di cardamomo, tra gli altri.
- Il fatto che molti ingredienti, talora perfino ripetuti da una ricetta all'altra, all'interno di preparati che presentavano anche il *Lithospermum* fossero di origine orientale fa presumere, con una certa sicurezza, che la medicina greca fosse debitrice a quella orientale per il suo uso e forse perfino per la conoscenza della pianta stessa. Non è improbabile che i Greci utilizzassero una variante specifica di *Lithospermum*, proveniente dalle regioni orientali del Mediterraneo, forse dalla zona dell'attuale Israele, da cui proveniva, ad es., sicuramente la famosa pietra giudaica, o tecolito. Si può ipotizzare, dunque, visto l'uso particolare e soprattutto ristretto del *Lithospermum* che questa specie, nota ai Greci solo di seconda mano, fosse, ad es., il *Lithospermum callosum*, un'altra pianta delle Boraginacee, tipica dell'*habitat* israeliano, caratterizzata in effetti da un fusto legnoso, piuttosto duro.

4. La medicina moderna è spesso incerta sull'impiego di questa pianta per via della presenza di alcuni componenti che possono essere pericolose (come l'alcaloide pirrolizidina, che danneggia il fegato e può causare emorragie interne).¹⁸ Il principio attivo principale è l'acido litospermico,¹⁹ contenuto nell'intera pianta

¹⁷ Cfr. n. 1.

¹⁸ Tra gli altri, S. Dharmananda, "Safety Issues Affecting Herbs: Pyrrolizidine Alkaloids", 2001, il cui contributo è raggiungibile online: <http://www.itmonline.org/arts/pas.htm>, segnala la presenza di alcaloidi pericolosi, seppure in una percentuale del 0,003%. Cfr. anche L. Krenn – H. Wiedenfeld – E. Roeder, "Pyrrolizidine Alkaloids from *Lithospermum officinale*", *Phytochemistry-Oxford* 37:1 (1994) 275–7.

¹⁹ G. Johnson – S. G. Sunderwirth – H. Gibian – A. W. Coulter – F. X. Gassner, "Lithospermum ruderale: Partial Characterization of the Principle Polyphenol Isolated from the Roots", *Phytochemistry* 2 (1963) 145–50; L. Horhammer – H. Wagner – H. König, "Constituents of

assieme ad altri costituenti, quali la rutina, la quercitina, alcuni minerali di calcio e silicio contenuti nei semi, alcuni fenoli e flavanoidi nelle parti aeree.²⁰

D'altra parte, studi scientifici ne hanno confermato la potenza in particolare nella regolarizzazione dell'eccesso ormonale ipofisiario, dunque nella cura dei disturbi della menopausa e come rimedio nelle dismenorree,²¹ tutte le parti della pianta presentano, del resto, proprietà ipoglicemizzanti.²² Pare che questo

Lithospermum ruderales", *Arzneimittel-Forschung* 14 (1964) 34–40; T. D. Bech, "Presence of Flavonoids in some Species of Lithospermum", *Farmatsevtichnyi zhurnal* 22 (1967) 58–62; Ch. J. Kelley – J. R. Mahajan – L. C. Brooks – L. A. Neubert – W. R. Breneman – M. Carmack, "Polyphenolic Acids of Lithospermum ruderales (Boraginaceae). I. Isolation and Structure Determination of Lithospermic Acid", *Journal of Organic Chemistry* 40:12 (1975) 1804–15.

²⁰ M. Axterer – C. Mueller – A. Dweck, "Natural Anti-Irritant Plants from Traditional Medical Systems", *Kosmetikjahrbuch* (2006) 5.

²¹ R. Nissim, *Natural Healing in Gynecology: a Manual for Women*, New York – London 1986, 62.

²² R. L. Noble – E. R. Plunkett – N. B. G. Taylor, "Factors Affecting the Control of the Pituitary Gland", *Recent Progress in Hormone Research* 5 (1950) 263–304; E. R. Plunkett – R. L. Noble, "The Effects of Injection of Lithospermum ruderales on the Endocrine Organs of the Rat", *Endocrinology* 49 (1951) 1–7; R. L. Noble – E. R. Plunkett – R. C. Graham, "Direct Inactivation of Gonadotrophin, Thyrotropin and Prolactin by Extracts of Lithospermum ruderales", *Federation Proceedings* 10 (1951) 97–8; R. L. Noble – E. R. Plunkett – R. C. Graham, "Direct Hormone Inactivation by Extracts of Lithospermum ruderales", *Journal of Endocrinology* 10 (1954) 212–27; R. C. Graham – R. L. Noble, "Comparison of the in vitro Activity of Various Species of Lithospermum and Other Plants to Inactivate Gonadotrophin", *Endocrinology* 56 (1955) 239–47; F. Kemper – A. Loesner, "Studies on the Preparation of Substances with Antihormonal Action from Lithospermum officinale", *Arzneimittel-Forschung* 7 (1957) 81–2; W. R. Breneman – M. Carmack – D. E. Overack – R. O. Creek – R. Shaw, "Inhibition of Anterior Pituitary Gonadotrophins and Oxytocin by Extracts of Lithospermum ruderales", *Endocrinology* 67 (1960) 583–96; G. Dhom – H. Wernze, "Zum Antithyreotropen und Antigonadotropen Wirkungsmechanismus von Lithospermum officinale", *Acta Endocrinologica* 43:2 (1963) 294–304; W. R. Breneman – F. J. Zeller, "Lithospermum Inhibition of Anterior Pituitary Hormone", *Biochemical and Biophysical Research Communications* 65 (1975) 1047–53; H. Sourgens, "Further Investigations on the Mechanism of Action of Freeze Dried Extracts of Lithospermum officinale L.", *Naun Schmied Archives of Pharmacology* 307 (suppl.) (1979) 301; H. Sourgens – H. Winterhoff – H. G. Gumbinger *et al.*, "Antihormonal Effects of Plant Extracts. TSH- and Prolactin-suppressing Properties of Lithospermum officinale and Other Plants", *Planta Medica* 45:2 (1982) 78–86; H. Winterhoff – H. Sourgens – F. H. Kemper, "Antihormonal Effects of Plant Extract. Pharmacodynamic Effects of Lithospermum Officinale on the Thyroid Gland of Rats; Comparison with the Effects of Iodide", *Hormone and Metabolic Research* 15:10 (1983) 503–7; M. Aufmkolk – J. C. Ingbar – S. M. Amir – H. Winterhoff – H. Sourgens – R. D. Hesch – S. H. Ingbar, "Inhibition by Certain Plant Extracts of the Binding and Adenylate Cyclase Stimulatory Effect of Bovine Thyrotropin in Human Thyroid

sia anche il motivo per cui le donne di alcune tribù di nativi americani usassero radici macerate di una specie di *Lithospermum* (quello detto *runderale*) come contraccettivo: esse, infatti, inducevano nelle pazienti una sterilità temporanea.²³ Esperimenti fatti su animali hanno confermato d'altra parte che anche il *Lithospermum officinale* può agire con la stessa funzione, anche se in modo blando;²⁴

Membranes", *Endocrinology* 115:2 (1984) 527–34; M. Aufmkolk – J. C. Ingbar – S. M. Amir – H. Winterhoff – H. Sourgens – R. D. Hesch – S. H. Ingbar, "Inhibition by certain Plant Extracts of the Binding and Adenylate Cyclase Stimulatory Effect of Bovine Thyrotropin in Human Thyroid Membrane", *Endocrinology* 116 (1984) 1677–86; M. Aufmkolk – J. C. Ingbar – K. Kubota – S. M. Amir – S. H. Ingbar, "Extracts and Auto-Oxidized Constituents of Certain Plants Inhibit the Receptor-Binding and the Biological Activity of Graves' Immunoglobulins", *Endocrinology* 116:5 (1985) 1687–93; H. Sourgens – H. Winterhoff – H. G. Gumbinger – F. H. Kemper, "Effects of *Lithospermum officinale* and Related Plants on Hypophyseal and Thyroid Hormones in the Rat", *Pharmaceutical Biology* 24:2 (1986) 53–63; M. Aufmkolk – J. Koehle – R.-D. Hesch – V. Cody, "Interaction of Rat Liver Iodothyronine Deiodinase. Interaction of Aurones with the Iodothyronine Ligand-Binding Site", *The Journal of Biological Chemistry* 261:25 (1986) 11623–30; H. Winterhoff – H. G. Gumbinger – H. Sourgens, "On the Antigonadotropic Activity of *Lithospermum*- and *Lycopus*-Species and some of their Phenolic Constituents", *Planta Medica* 54 (1988) 101–6; E. Yarnell – K. Abascal, "Botanical Medicine for Thyroid Regulation", *Alternative & Complementary Therapies* 12:3 (2006) 107–13.

²³ R. N. Chopra, *Glossary of Indian Medicinal Plants*, New Delhi 1956, 155; P. Train – J. R. Henrichs – W. A. Archer, *Medicinal Uses of Plants by American Tribes of Nevada*, Lawrence 1982, 68.

²⁴ E. M. Cranston, "The Effect of *Lithospermum ruderales* on the Estrous Cycle of Mice", *Journal of Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics* 83 (1945) 130–42; M. L. Drasher – P. A. Zahl, "The Effect of *Lithospermum* on the Mouse Estrous Cycle", *Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine* 63 (1946) 66–70; P. A. Zahl, "Some Characteristics of the Anti-estrous Factor in *Lithospermum*", *Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine* 67 (1948) 405–10; M. L. Drasher, "The Mechanism of Action of *Lithospermum ruderales*", *Endocrinology* 45 (1949) 120–8; E. R. Plunkett – R. V. Colpittis – R. L. Noble, "The Effect of *Lithospermum ruderales* on Oestrus Cycle of the Rat", *Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine* 73 (1950) 311–3; M. L. Drasher, "Further Observations on the Inhibition of the Production of Luteinizing Hormone by *Lithospermum*", *Endocrinology* 47 (1950) 399–413; F. R. Skelton – G. A. Grant, "Studies on Action of *Lithospermum ruderales*", *American Journal of Physiology* 161 (1951) 379–85; B. P. Wiesner – J. Yudkin, "Inhibition of Oestrus by Cultivated Gromwell", *Nature* 170 (1952) 274–5; R. E. Smith – W. R. Breneman – M. Carmack, "The Action of *Lithospermum* in Mice", *Indiana Academy of Sciences* 67 (1957) 312–5; F. J. Zeller – W. R. Breneman – M. Carmack, "The Action of *Lithospermum ruderales* on Ovulation in the Hen", *Poultry Science* 37 (1958) 455–9; F. Kemper, "Experimental Basis for the Therapeutic Use of *Lithospermum officinale* for Blocking of Anterior Pituitary Hormone", *Arzneimittel-Forschung* 9 (1959) 411–9; F. X. Gassner – M. L. Hopwood – W. Jochle – G. Johnson – S. G. Sunderwith, "Antifertility Activity of Oxidized Polyphenolic Acid from

di entrambi è sottolineata da più parti, peraltro, anche l'indicazione per alcune forme tumorali²⁵ e nella cura degli ipertiroidismi.²⁶

Quanto all'efficacia contro i calcoli renali, gli studi più recenti hanno dimostrato che l'antica credenza non era certamente senza basi, anche se i progressi della medicina moderna hanno consentito di trovare nuovi preparati, meno tossici e con le stesse proprietà.²⁷ Comunque, le terapie a base di colombina sono rimaste in auge perlomeno fino al secolo scorso.²⁸ Molti studiosi, in effetti, ancora

Lithospermum ruderales", *Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine* 114 (1963) 20–5; W. R. Breneman – F. J. Zeller – M. Carmack – Kelley, "In vivo Inhibition of Gonadotrophins and Thyrotropin in the Chick by Extracts of Lithospermum ruderales", *General and Comparative Endocrinology* 28 (1976) 24–32; H. Sourgens – H. Winterhoff – H. G. Gumbinger *et al.*, "Antihormonal Effects of Plant Extracts on Hypophyseal Hormones in the Rat", *Acta endocrinologica* Suppl. 234 (1980) 49; H. Winterhoff – H. G. Gumbinger – H. Sourgens – F. H. Kemper, "Zur Isolierung Antigonadotrop wirksamer Inhaltsstoffe aus verschiedenen Arten der Gattungen Lithospermum und Lycopus", *Planta Medica* 39 (1980) 245; F. J. Zeller – W. R. Breneman, "The in vivo Effect of Lithospermum ruderales on LHRH Activity in the Chick", *Contraception* 24:1 (1981) 77–81; W. R. Breneman – F. J. Zeller, "The Effect of Lithospermum on Thyroidal ³²P Uptake at Various Times of Injection", *Contraception* 27:6 (1983) 639–45; S. Stanosz, "Contraceptive Properties of Lithospermum officinale L. Grown under Different Agrotechnical Conditions", *Polski tygodnik lekarski* 34:50 (1979) 1971–2; E. Röder, "Medicinal Plants in Europe Containing Pyrrolizidine Alkaloids", *Pharmazie* 50 (1995) 87–8.

²⁵ E. M. Cranston – G. R. Kucera – J. J. Bittner, "Lithospermum ruderales and the Incidence of Mammary Tumors in Mice", *Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine* 75 (1950) 779–81; P. A. Zahl – A. Nowak, "Incidence of Spontaneous Mammary Tumors in Mice with Lithospermum-induced Diestrus", *Proceedings of the Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine* 77 (1951) 5–8.

²⁶ J. Kohrle – M. Aufmkolk – H. Winterhoff – H. Sourgens – H. G. Gumbinger, "Iodothyronine Deiodinases: Inhibition by Plant Extracts", *Acta Endocrinologica* Suppl. 16 (1981) 188–92; M. Aufmkolk – J. Kohrle – T. Kaminski – E. C. Jorgensen, "Flavonoids and Plant Pigments Inhibit Iodothyronine Deiodinases", *Acta Endocrinologica* Suppl. 240 (1981) 2–3; M. Aufmkolk – J. Kohrle – H. Gumbinger – H. Winterhoff – R. D. Hesch, "Antihormonal Effects of Plant Extracts and Secondary Metabolites of Plants", *Hormone and Metabolic Research* 16 (1984) 188–92; F. Brinker, "Inhibition of Endocrine Function by Botanical Agents. I. Boraginaceae and Labiatae", *Journal of Naturopathic Medicine* 1 (1990) 10–8.

²⁷ F. L. Naccari, *Flora veneta*, Venezia 1826, I–II 6–7; F. Grases – G. Melero – A. Costa-Bauza – R. Prieto – J. G. March, "Urolithiasis and Phytotherapy", *International Urology and Nephrology* 26:5 (1994) 507–11.

²⁸ H. W. Felter – J. U. Lloyd, *King's American Dispensatory*, Cincinnati 1905, 1198–9; N. Culpeper, *Culpeper's Complete Herbal: a Book of Natural Remedies for Ancient Ills*, London 1995, 121; E. White, *The History of English Cookery*, Totnes 2004, 159; D. E. Allen – G.

oggi lo considerano utile nella cura della litiasi biliare ed urinaria.²⁹ In omaggio alla tradizione antica, anche in età moderna la pianta è stata chiamata appunto "spezzapietre".

Probabilmente, le sue qualità litotrittiche sono dovute ad una sua generica capacità depurativa, legata ad alcune sue componenti: in effetti, si sostiene da più parti che questa pianta sia diuretica e contribuisca a purgare il sangue, tanto che le sue foglie servono a fare un té estremamente rinfrescante;³⁰ altri definiscono la colombina addirittura un buon antipiretico e la utilizzano perfino contro la gotta.³¹ In Asia, soprattutto nell'area cinese, è attestato l'uso di una varietà del *Lithospermum* sia come lenitivo e disinfiammante per la pelle sia come colorante della lana e della seta.³²

Più scientificamente sicuro è l'impiego del seme della pianta in campo oculistico, confermato anche dal fatto che nel linguaggio popolare essa è detta "erba da occhi": nel 1949 il medico Henri Legrand, che scriveva sulla rivista francese di fitoterapia,³³ ottenne risultati nel trattamento dei corpi estranei nell'occhio, mettendo un seme di *Lithospermum* sotto la palpebra.

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Hatfield, *Medicinal Plants in Folk Tradition*, Portland 2004, 206.

²⁹ A. Fiori, *Nuova flora analitica d'Italia*, Firenze 1923–29, 2, 272; G. Negri, *Erbario figurato*, Milano 1960, 300; L. Palma, *Le piante medicinali d'Italia*, Torino 1964, 418; S. Viola, *Piante medicinali e velenose della Flora italiana*, Torino 1964, 162; P. Gastaldo, *Compendio della flora officinale italiana*, Padova 1987, 304–5; Röder (n. 24), 87–8.

³⁰ A. E. Georgia, *A Manual of Weeds*, New York 1916, 339–41; J. P. Remington – H. C. Wood et al., *The Dispensatory of the United States of America*, Philadelphia 1918, 1281; A. Fiori, *Nuova flora analitica d'Italia*, Firenze 1923–29, 2, 272; J. C. Th. Uphof, *Dictionary of Economic Plants*, Weinheim 1959, 218; Negri (n. 29), 300; Palma (n. 29), 418; Viola (n. 29), 162; L. Pomini, *Erboristeria Italiana*, Torino 1973, 917–8; G. Usher, *A Dictionary of Plants Used by Man*, London 1974, 359; Gastaldo (n. 29), 304–5; S. Facciola, *Cornucopia – A Source Book of Edible Plants*, Vista (California) 1990, 51; J. Valnet, *Fitoterapia. Guarire con le piante*, Firenze 2005, 395.

³¹ Röder (n. 24), 87–8.

³² K. Haghbeen et al., "Lithospermum officinale Callus Produces Shikalkin", *Journal Biologia* 61:4 (2006) 463–7.

³³ "La Scrofulaire", *Revue de phytothérapie* 13 (1949) 381–3.

A NOTE ON PTOL. *HARM.* 102,6 DÜRING

MIGUEL BOBO DE LA PEÑA

Ptolemy develops his own views on the connection between harmonics and astrology, that is, his particular concept of the so-called "harmony of the spheres", throughout the second half of his *Harmonics'* third book.¹ More specifically, chapter 3,9 focuses on the parallelism of the concept "consonant" when applied both to musical intervals and to astrological aspects,² based on the common grounds astrology and harmonics share as mathematical disciplines.³ This is the similarity the author proposes:

Πάλιν δὲ καθάπερ αἱ τῶν μελῶν συμφωνίαι μέχρι τῆς εἰς τέσσαρα τομῆς ἴστανται διὰ τὸ τὴν μὲν μεγίστην καὶ δις διὰ πασῶν τετραπλάσιον ἔχειν τὸν μείζονα τοῦ ἐλάττονος, τὴν δὲ ἐλαχίστην καὶ διὰ τεσσάρων τὸν μείζονα ποιεῖν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἑαυτοῦ μέρει ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ ἐλάττονος, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὰς ἐν τῷ ζῳδιακῷ κατανενοημένας συμφώνους καὶ δραστικὰς στάσεις ἀπαρτίζουσιν οἱ μέχρι τῶν εἰς τέσσαρα τοῦ κύκλου μερισμοί⁴ (Ptol. *Harm.* 101,27–102,4).

¹ Ptolemy's *Harmonics* is quoted by number of page and line in Düring's edition: I. Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios*, Gothenburg 1930.

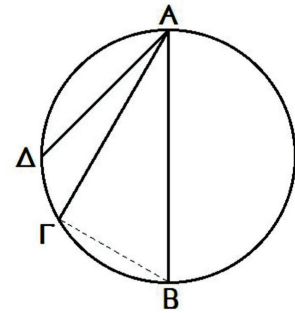
² On the astrological "aspects", cf. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque*, Paris 1899, 165–79. The technical Greek term for "aspect" is σχηματισμός, but here Ptolemy is using στάσις ("position", cf. LSJ s.v. B.I.2. b and c), which points at the underlying position of the planets maintaining a particular aspect.

³ Geometry, arithmetic, astrology and harmonics were called μαθήματα from the late 5th century BC onwards (cf. L. Zhmud, *The Origin of the History of Science in Classical Antiquity*, Berlin – New York 2006, 11–12); according to P. Tannery, *Recherches sur l'histoire de l'astronomie ancienne*, Paris 1893, 31, their constitution and distinction were traditionally ascribed to Pythagoras himself. Certainly, among the μαθήματα we find music (μουσικά) in Archytas (47B1 D–K), and harmonics (ἁρμονική), together with optics (ὀπτική), since at least Aristotle (*Ph.* 194a8, *Metaph.* 997b21), and of course in Ptolemy (*Harm.* 93,6–9, 95,1–2); also cf. Porph. in *Harm.* 23,13–22.

⁴ "And again, just as the consonances of melodies are established by sectioning into no more

The parallelism rests then on the basis that the divisions of the string to obtain the numerical ratios of the consonances do not need to go further than sectioning into four (equal) parts (μέχρι τῆς εἰς τέσσαρα τομῆς, 101,27–28)⁵ and, just the same, the astrological aspects can be displayed on a circumference by cutting it only into two, three or, at the most, four parts (οἱ μέχρι τῶν εἰς τέσσαρα τοῦ κύκλου μερισμοί, 102,3–4); and the proof of the latter assertion is as follows:

ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκθώμεθα κύκλον τὸν AB καὶ διέλωμεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου, οἷον τοῦ A, εἰς μὲν δύο ἴσα τῇ AB, εἰς δὲ τρία ἴσα τῇ AΓ, εἰς δὲ τέσσαρα ἴσα τῇ AΔ, εἰς δὲ ἕξ ἴσα τῇ ΓB, ἡ μὲν AB περιφέρεια ποιήσει τὴν διάμετρον στάσιν, ἡ δὲ AΔ τὴν τετράγωνον, ἡ δὲ AΓ τὴν τρίγωνον, ἡ δὲ ΓB τὴν ἑξάγωνον⁶ (Ptol. *Harm.* 102,4–8).



The whole passage contains, however, a number of inconsistencies, namely:

1. The statement in 102,2–4, according to which there is no need to go further than sectioning *into four parts*, is in direct conflict with its proof in 102,4–8, where the circle is also divided *into six equal parts* (εἰς δὲ ἕξ ἴσα τῇ ΓB, 102,6).
2. Moreover, the proof itself (102,4–8) demands all the divisions to be made *from the same point* (ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σημείου, 102,5) *exemplified by A* (οἷον τοῦ A, 102,5), whence the arcs AB, AΓ and AΔ arise; but the arc BΓ producing the division of the circle into six equal parts (102,6) *is not made from A*, as required.

than four parts (since the greatest consonance, the double octave [4:1], has a greater term quadruple than the shorter one, while the smallest, the fourth [4:3], has the greater exceeding the shorter by a fourth part of itself), in the same way also the positions which have been understood as consonant and active in the Zodiac are arrived at by partitioning the circle into no more than four parts".

⁵ This is true for the fourth (4:3), the fifth (3:2), the octave (2:1), the octave and a fifth (3:1) and the double octave (4:1); but it is not that clear for the octave and a fourth (8:3), which apparently needs sectioning into eight equal parts.

⁶ "Indeed, if we display the circle AB, and we divide it from the same point, A for instance, into two equal parts by means of the line AB, into three by AΓ, into four by AΔ, and into six by ΓB, then the arc of circumference AB will produce the diametric position, AΔ the quadrangular, AΓ the triangular, and ΓB the hexagonal".

These first remarks were already suggested by J. Wallis;⁷ but there are some more:

3. The division of the circle into six equal parts is, in fact, quite unnecessary to show the hexagonal position, since such is the position connecting points B and Γ, which had already stemmed from the divisions of the circle into two and three equal parts, respectively.
4. In addition, the arcs considered on the circle as displaying the ratios of the consonances (102,8–103,3) are again those starting from A, and neither the arc ΒΓ nor its length are taken into account.⁸
5. Finally, when the expected comparison between astrological aspects and musical consonances is set forth:

Τάσσοιτο δ' ἄν καὶ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἡ μὲν διὰ πέντε τῶν πρώτων συμφωνιῶν κατὰ τὴν τρίγωνον στάσιν, ἡ δὲ διὰ τεσσάρων κατὰ τὴν τετράγωνον καὶ ὁ τόνος κατὰ τὸ δωδεκατημόριον. διότι καὶ ὁ μὲν κύκλος πρὸς τὸ ΑΒ ἡμικύκλιον ποιεῖ τὸν διπλάσιον λόγον, τοῦτο δὲ πρὸς τὴν ΑΓ τοῦ τριγώνου περιφέρειαν ποιεῖ τὸν ἡμιόλιον,⁹ αὕτη δὲ πρὸς τὴν ΑΔ τοῦ τετραγώνου περιφέρειαν τὸν ἐπίτριτον, ὑπεροχὴ δ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ κατὰ τὸν τόνον ἡ ΓΔ περιφέρεια, δωδεκατημόριον περιέχουσα τοῦ κύκλου¹⁰ (Ptol. *Harm.* 103,5–12),

⁷ Also the *editio princeps*, J. Wallis, *Claudii Ptolemaei Harmonicorum libri tres*, Oxford 1682, has εἰς δὲ ἕξ ἴσα τῇ ΓΒ in the text at 252,20–21; but at 252 note g reads: *Forte tamen haec tota clausula* (εἰς δὲ ἕξ ἴσα, τῇ ΓΒ) *melius abesset, (adeoque quae mox sequitur ἡ δὲ ΓΒ τὴν ἑξάγωνον,) quippe ΒΓ recta, non est ab eodem A puncto ducta (...) proceditque sectio in plures quam quatuor partes*. The same can be seen in its reprint in J. Wallis, *Operum Mathematicorum* III, Oxford 1699, at 140,21 and 140 (note g). Unfortunately, all the manuscripts Wallis used for the edition, as it seems according to its critical apparatus, had the *clausula* he refers to, and so he kept it.

⁸ Indeed, once the length of the circumference (ABA) is assigned the value of 12 units ("for 12 is the first number to have a half, a third and a fourth part", 102,12–13; obviously, *there is no mention of its needing to have also a sixth part*, a mere consequence of its having half and third parts, exactly the same as the segment ΒΓ results from dividing the circle into two and three parts), the arcs previously described have the following lengths: $AB\Delta = 9u$ ("u" stands for "units" from now on), $AB\Gamma = 8u$, $AB = 6u$, $A\Delta\Gamma = 4u$, and $A\Delta = 3u$. As a result, the ratios of the consonances are displayed in the following way: $ABA/AB = AB\Gamma/AB = A\Gamma B/A\Delta = 2/1$, the octave; $ABA/AB\Gamma = AB\Delta/AB = AB/A\Gamma = 3/2$, the fifth; $ABA/AB\Delta = AB\Gamma/AB = A\Gamma/A\Delta = 4/3$, the fourth; $ABA/A\Gamma = AB\Delta/A\Delta = 3/1$, the octave and a fifth; $ABA/A\Delta = 4/1$, the double octave; $AB\Gamma/A\Delta = 8/3$, the octave and a fourth; and the (dissonant) tone, in its turn, is given by $AB\Delta/AB\Gamma = 9/8$.

⁹ The erratum ἡμικύκλιον (103,9) in the edition was corrected to ἡμιόλιον by Düring himself; cf. I. Düring, *Ptolemaios und Porphyrios über die Musik*, Gothenburg 1934, 18.

¹⁰ "On the other hand, and based on the same arcs, the fifth, among the first consonances, could

We again do not find the arc $\Gamma\Delta$ included here, in spite of the twelfth $\Gamma\Delta$, which does not start from the point A, being coupled with the dissonant interval of tone, by no means a consonance.

Thus, to sum up, the presence of the syntagma εἰς δὲ ἕξ ἴσα τῆ ΓB in 102,6 contradicts both the statement 102,2–4 and its proof in 102,4–8, while the arc ΓB herein is unnecessary, because it is redundant, and proves, in fact, to be unused to display the ratios of the consonances in 102,8–103,3, or to correspond with any one of them in 103,5–12.

Now, furthermore, the critical apparatus of Düring's edition shows that all the manuscripts of the m-stem,¹¹ the most reliable ones according to Düring himself,¹² lack that syntagma (εἰς δὲ ἕξ ἴσα τῆ ΓB , 102,6). This, in the light of the internal analysis of the passage we have just carried out, leads us to assert that the syntagma is, with no room for doubts, an interpolation and should then be secluded from the text. In my opinion, some copyist in the process of transmission of the work added it, in all likelihood, looking for symmetry in the conditional 102,4–8 between the apodosis (ἢ μὲν AB περιφέρεια ποιήσει τὴν διάμετρον στάσιν, ἢ δὲ $\text{A}\Delta$ τὴν τετράγωνον, ἢ δὲ $\text{A}\Gamma$ τὴν τρίγωνον, ἢ δὲ GB τὴν ἑξάγωνον)¹³ and a protasis (ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκθώμεθα κύκλον τὸν AB καὶ διέλωμεν αὐτὸν [...] εἰς μὲν δύο ἴσα τῆ AB , εἰς δὲ τρία ἴσα τῆ $\text{A}\Gamma$, εἰς δὲ τέσσαρα ἴσα τῆ $\text{A}\Delta$) which lacked the arc ΓB , and the result later became the model for the text, precisely on account of that symmetry. This is perfectly possible, if it happened early in the transmission of the f-stem; indeed, that of the g-stem is closely related to it, while that of the m-stem, which does not have the aforesaid syntagma, is quite independent of the other two, according to Düring's *stemma codicum*,¹⁴ whose draft, in its essential lines (I have kept to the main manuscripts), is as follows:

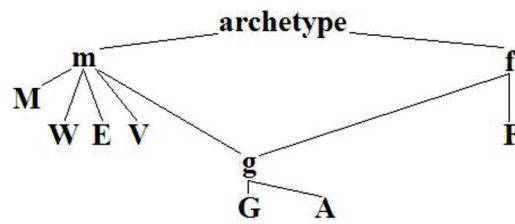
be arranged corresponding to the triangular position, the fourth to the quadrangular one and the tone to the twelfth; since the circle also makes the duple ratio with the semicircle AB , this makes the sesquialter with the arc $\text{A}\Gamma$ of the triangular position, this makes the sesquitercian with the arc $\text{A}\Delta$ of the quadrangular one, and the remainder between them is as well, corresponding to the tone, the arc $\Gamma\Delta$ ".

¹¹ With the single exception of V¹, and even this one only in the margin has εἰς δὲ ἕξ ἴσα τῆ ΓB .

¹² Cf. Düring (above n. 1), XLVII.

¹³ It seems unnecessary to seclude ἢ δὲ GB τὴν ἑξάγωνον (102,7), as suggested by Wallis (above n. 7), since it is not backed by the manuscripts (at least according to Düring's critical apparatus) and, besides, points Γ and B arise from other divisions and can perfectly show the hexagonal position, as we have already said.

¹⁴ Cf. Düring (above n. 1), LXIX.



All in all, the syntagma in question (εἰς δὲ ἕξ ἴσα τῆ ΓΒ, 102,6) is not only inconsistent with Ptolemy's text, but not even backed by the textual transmission of it. However, the critical commentaries of Düring's edition do not mention the point, and the modern translations of the *Harmonics* all retain the syntagma.¹⁵ In my opinion, it would be advisable to seclude it from the text in future translations and (especially) editions, so as to avoid the inconsistencies I have pointed out in the first part of this paper.

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¹⁵ Cf. Düring (above n. 9), 126; A. Barker, *Greek Musical Writings II*, Cambridge 1989, 381; J. Solomon, *Ptolemy Harmonics. Translation and Commentary* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 203), Leiden 2000, 155; M. Raffa, *La Scienza Armonica di Claudio Tolomeo*, Messina 2002, 221; P. Redondo Reyes, *La Harmónica de Claudio Ptolomeo: edición crítica con introducción, traducción y comentario*, Murcia 2002 (doctoral thesis, available on CD), keeps it both in his edition of Ptolemy's text (at 115,21) and hence in his translation (at 251).

ONOMASTICS, SOCIAL HISTORY AND ROMAN LEAD PIPES*

CHRISTER BRUUN

The enquiries in this paper stem from the examination of the names appearing in a few inscriptions on Roman lead pipes (*fistulae*). These texts all share a connection to social history because of what they tell us about the individuals (previously unknown or neglected), their families, or their occupations.

1. A *plumbarius* found in a manuscript in the Vatican Library

In one of the *Codices Lanciani* in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Vat. Lat. 13045*, there is a letter to the famous Roman archaeologist Rodolfo Lanciani from the equally famous expert on the Roman Campagna, Giuseppe Tomassetti, dated April 30, 1886 (words underlined as per original):¹

"Eccoti una primizia plumbaria
CHRONIVS FEC (palma) X

* This article was begun and partly written while I held a Fellowship at the Institute of Advanced Study at Durham University in the Fall of 2009, which is most gratefully acknowledged, as is the fact that my research has benefited greatly from a Standard Research Grant awarded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Further research was carried out with the help of a grant from the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut while enjoying ideal conditions at the Kommission für Alte Geschichte und Epigraphik in München. This research is connected to my work on the publication of the inscribed *fistulae* in the *Musei Vaticani*; my thanks for kind assistance as always to Giorgio Filippi. For useful comments on the content I am indebted to Mika Kajava, Olli Salomies, and Heikki Solin. I am grateful to Carl Hope for improving my English; all remaining errors are my own.

¹ M. Buonocore, *Appunti di topografia romana nei codici Lanciani della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana IV. Codici Vaticani Latini 13044, 13045*, Roma 2001, 206 (f. 245v).

sopra 2 fistule aquarie trovate 3 giorni or sono a S. Biagio, un 62 chil. incirca sull'Appia antica ... Le fistule suddette sono in gran numero (22 pezzi) ma soltanto due scritte, come sopra. Speriamo di trovarle con qualche nome di proprietario! Addio."

As far as I know, this lead pipe inscription (or stamp) has remained practically unnoticed in modern scholarship. The text is not mentioned in any of the volumes of the *CIL*. It is only referred to in Tomassetti's own *Campagna romana*, but in that work fewer details are given.²

The discovery made by Tomassetti in San Biagio, which is situated near Cisterna in southern Lazio, thus provides us with the name of a previously unknown *plumbarius* operating in *Latium adiectum*. The cognomen *Chronius* is Greek, and there are other instances of the name being used in, for instance, Rome. In case the stamp seen by Tomassetti was incomplete (which is impossible to verify), one might consider also the name *Polychronius*, which at least in Rome was much more common than *Chronius*.³ A *plumbarius* called Polychronius is known in Rome, but there is nothing to show that he would have been active in the region of Cisterna.⁴

The significance of the numeral X which accompanies the stamp is uncertain. It could conceivably refer to the size of the lead pipe. In his *De aquaeductu urbis Romae*, Sex. Iulius Frontinus mentions the *denaria* fistula, which is defined as having a diameter of ten quarters of a *digitus* (≈ 4.6 cm) (Frontin. *aq.* 43). Yet an inventory of all the known occurrences of numerals on Roman *fistulae* shows that in many cases the numeral in question cannot have any relationship to the size of the lead pipe.⁵ The numeral X is, however, one of those most commonly

² G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna II. Via Appia, Ardeatina e Aurelia*, Roma 1910–26 (repr. Sala Bolognese 1976), 393: "San Biagio, nel diverticolo moderno dell'Appia per Velletri, è un luogo degno di ricerche. Vi si trovano rovine di bagni. Io vi ho trovato 22 pezzi di fistole aquarie, due delle quali con la iscrizione CHRONIVS FEC."

³ See H. Solin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom. Ein Namenbuch*², Berlin – New York 2003, III 1117, for five instances of individuals called *Chronius*; and p. 1024 for 25 occurrences of *Polychronius*. The inverse index in Solin, *op. cit.*, shows that no other name ending in *-chronius* is known.

⁴ In 1895, west of the "chiostro" of the Lateran Basilica, a lead pipe was found carrying the stamp *d. n. Iuliae Mameae (!) A[-]*, and, "in parte aversa", *[-]lychronius Aug. lib. fec.* (*CIL* XV 7336).

⁵ See C. Bruun, *The Water Supply of Ancient Rome. A Study of Roman Imperial Administration*, Helsinki 1991, 44–8, for the then known evidence. A numeral could also indicate the order in which the lead pipes were produced, the weight of the piece, or the number of the conduit

occurring in Central Italy, with at least eleven attestations prior to this discovery,⁶ which makes it more probable that the *fistula* was indeed a *denaria*.⁷

2. A suspected inscribed *fistula* of value

At the end of the section on lead pipe stamps from Rome in *CIL* XV 2,1, Heinrich Dressel included those cases that were too fragmentary for him to make good sense of their meaning ("tituli fracti dubiae interpretationis, exempla male excepta", *CIL* XV 7694–7734). Later discoveries have, it seems, made it possible to "salvage" some of these stamps, such as the rather cryptic S T NEPTV E (*CIL* XV 7729), which, to complicate matters, appears in mirror writing (except for the first letter). As I have argued elsewhere, it is most likely that we here have the *plumbarius* L. Titius Neptunalis, known from a very different stamp found in recent years (on which see below).⁸

Another case deserving of attention appears in *CIL* XV 7708. It was first presented by Rodolfo Lanciani in 1885, and Dressel quotes the following passage from his report: "nei disterri di villa Ludovisi prosegue a scoprirsi la condottura plumbea col nome della proprietaria Dovia Ilarità da un lato, e dello stagnaio Evelpisto dall'altro".⁹ Lanciani apparently never published the stamps properly,

branching off from a water main, to name a few possibilities. Since collecting this material, I have become aware of a few other instances which, however, do not significantly change the picture. A valuable body of new evidence has been presented by A. Parma, "Le fistule del ninfeo", in F. Maniscalco, *Ninfei ed edifici marittimi severiani del Palatium imperiale di Baia*, Napoli 1997, 115–25, esp. 116–7.

⁶ Bruun (n. 5) 45–8: three instances are known from Rome, five from Ostia, and three from elsewhere in Central Italy.

⁷ Why the size would have been indicated on the *fistula* is another matter. Frontinus' rules were intended for the *cura aquarum* in Rome, which tried to regulate the private water grants in many ways. What the situation at San Biagio was is not known – did the region have a publicly funded water supply? – and we might well be dealing with a wholly private installation, in which case there cannot have been any official need to stamp the lead pipes. It is of course possible that one private individual was allowing another to tap his resources, which also would have necessitated the definition of the size of the *fistula*.

⁸ See C. Bruun, "Iscrizioni trascurate su fistule acquarie di Roma e dell'Italia Centrale", *RPAA* 64 (1991–92) [1995] 235–49, esp. 247, proposing the reading: *L(ucius) T(itius) Neptu(nalis) f(ecit)*, or *fe(cit)* with FE in nexus. The proposal is cited in *AE* 1993, 437.

⁹ See R. Lanciani, "Roma", *NSA* 1885, 341–4, esp. 341. Lanciani writes "prosegue", but he never reported on the initial stage of the discovery of this conduit. The *Notizie degli Scavi*

and thus Dressel gives the following inferred texts in square brackets:

[DOVIAE HILARITATIS] and [EVELPISTVS FEC] (*CIL* XV 7708)

He adds the following comment: "Sed alibi Lancianius huius fistulae non meminit et vereor ne error subsit, cum *Dovia Hilaritas* non aquae domina sed plumbaria occurrat in fistula n. 7557." Dressel was here referring to a lead pipe inscription which he published together with another one as *CIL* XV 7557 in the following way:

α) C VALIRI LAETI
in parte aversa
DOVIA HILARITAS FEC

β) C VALIRI LAETI

The lead pipe was said to originate "inter vias Labicanam et Latinam rep. in fundo *del Quadraro* a. 1780", and had apparently been seen in Rome "apud principem Praenestinum", though not by Dressel himself, but by Gaetano Marini, the remarkable eighteenth-century epigrapher who did so much for the collection of *instrumentum domesticum* inscriptions in and around Rome. Marini was a serious scholar and his observations are generally trustworthy, and thus there is no reason to doubt his report.¹⁰ Valerius Laetus was the owner of the lead pipe, while the manufacturer, or rather the owner of the enterprise that manufactured it, was named *Dovia Hilaritas*. Her *gentilicium* is "praeternaturally rare",¹¹ as

published monthly reports in those years, and this report was published under September. Lanciani had no report in the August fascicle, while in his July report he did mention the Villa Ludovisi excavations, but without any reference to the lead pipe (pp. 250–1).

¹⁰ Marini's observations were posthumously published as G. Marini, *Iscrizioni antiche doliari*, Roma 1884 (eds. G. B. De Rossi and H. Dressel), 516–7 no. 175–6. As pointed out by Dressel in his comment at *CIL* XV 7557 cited above, there is a typographical error in the printed work, which gives the *nomen* as *Doria*. He noted that the correct reading *Dovia* appears in *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 9110, as I have been able to verify (f. 195 no. 175). The right spelling of the name is found in R. Lanciani, *Le acque e gli acquedotti di Roma antica*, Roma 1975 (a reprint of his "Topografia di Roma antica. I comentarii di Frontino intorno le acque e gli acquedotti. Silloge epigrafica aquaria", *MemAccLinc* ser. III, 4 [1881] 215–616), 470 no. 338.

¹¹ As pointed out in C. Bruun, "Neue Forschungen zur Organisation der stadtrömischen Bleirohrherstellung im Lichte der *fistula*-Inschriften", *Specimina nova dissertationum ex instituto historico Universitatis Quinqueecclesiensis de Iano Pannonio nominatae* 8 (1992) [1994] 3–16, esp. 16. A new case, a legionary soldier *Dov. Fortunatus*, appears in *AE* 1993, 1364 from *Novae* in Bulgaria. No instance of the name *Dovius* appears in *CIL* VI, but two *Duvii* are mentioned in *CIL* VI 17081. There was a consul L. *Duvius* in 56 CE, as pointed

Ronald Syme might have said, but Lanciani's excavation report from 1885, which concerns a different zone of Rome, seems to verify Marini's reading. The Villa Ludovisi covered the area just inside the northern part of the city wall (a region where today streets like Via Veneto, Via Sardegna and Via Sicilia can be found), while the tenuta del Quadraro was situated well outside the walls south-east of the city, at the fourth milestone of the Via Latina.¹² Therefore we must be dealing with two different water conduits.

Yet, as we saw above, Dressel had his doubts, based on the fact that Lanciani considered Dovia Hilaritas to be the owner, while one Evelpistus appeared as the plumber. Whatever else one thinks of this discovery, Evelpistus ought to be added to the number of lead manufacturers in Rome. The *cognomen* appears once among the known *plumbarii* from Rome and Italy,¹³ in the person of T. Flavius Euhelpistus from Ardea (*CIL* XV 7788 = X 6768), but nothing indicates that we might be dealing with the same individual.

The function of Dovia Hilaritas remains to be dealt with. Three interpretations seem possible to me.

1. That Lanciani's report – that the name of Dovia Hilaritas appeared in the genitive – was mistaken and the name was in reality written in the nominative case, as in *CIL* XV 7557. Since there is no reason to doubt the presence of the *plumbarius* Evelpistus (apparently on the very same piece of lead piping), this would mean that we had stamps of two different manufacturers on the same *fistula*. This is not impossible, for it is known that more than one *plumbarius* could be involved in the manufacture of a lead conduit, and in a few cases one even finds two names apparently belonging to manufacturers or entrepreneurs on the same piece of lead piping.¹⁴
2. That Lanciani's report was correct, for it seems somewhat superficial to dismiss his eyewitness report. The Italian archaeologist was, after all, no

out by W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, Berlin 1904 (repr. w. additions by O. Salomies, Zürich – Hildesheim 1988), 90, 460; H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim 1988, 70; A. Mócsy, *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae*, Budapest 1983, 107.

¹² See P. Baccini Leotardi, "C. Valiri Laeti praedium", in A. La Regina *et al.* (eds.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae. Suburbium V*, Roma 2008, 233–4 and zone E4 on the map.

¹³ For an inventory of all the known *plumbarii* of Roman Italy, listed alphabetically according to their *cognomen*, see my "Cognomina plumbariorum", *Epigraphica* 72 (2010) 297–331.

¹⁴ From Ostia, there is *CIL* XIV 5309.33, on which see Bruun (n. 5) 89–90, while a more recent discovery comes from Ponte Galeria between Rome and Ostia, see *AE* 1995, 249 and C. Bruun, "Imperial procuratores and dispensatores: new discoveries", *Chiron* 19 (1999) 29–42, esp. 36–7.

stranger to inscriptions on *fistulae*, having published, some five years before, an impressive "silloge epigrafica acquaria" containing practically all the *fistula* stamps known at the time.¹⁵ Additionally, Lanciani was continually making discoveries of new inscribed *fistulae* during the 1880s. Thus, it seems reasonable to trust him and to conclude that the inscription really did read *Doviae Hilaritatis*. We can safely assume that in most cases a name in the genitive on a *fistula* indicates the owner of the conduit, and we also know that possession of a water grant in Rome was an imperial privilege. The unusual aspect here is that one would not normally consider it likely that a *plumbarius* was well enough connected to receive permission for a private conduit (although this may in part be an *argumentum e silentio*).¹⁶ The case would be practically unique in Rome, and furthermore one cannot point to any powerful relations of Dovia Hilaritas who may have assisted her. Her *gentilicium* is exceedingly rare and is not borne by any known person of distinction.

3. That the name of Dovia Hilaritas in the genitive refers not to the owner of the conduit but to the owner of a lead workshop, for which sometimes the term *officina* was used. There are many *fistula* stamps bearing formulae such as *ex officina illius* or *ille officinator fecit*.¹⁷ Painstaking investigations have revealed that in some cases the names of such entrepreneurs are used, in the genitive, without the explanatory term *ex officina*.¹⁸ This need not surprise modern scholars. In their neighbourhoods, these individuals were known and there was no risk that the name of a lead-working *officinator*, albeit unaccompanied by any defining term, could be mistaken for something else. Needless to say, the simple genitive indicates the manufacturer

¹⁵ Lanciani (n. 10) 423–501.

¹⁶ For the social stratification among those who benefited from a private water grant, see W. Eck, *Die Verwaltung des Römischen Reiches in der Hohen Kaiserzeit. Ausgewählte und erweiterte Beiträge* 2, Basel – Berlin 1998, 245–77: senators and especially ex-consuls seem to have been privileged. Yet I have always found it intriguing that many individuals are not identified and seem to be commoners. Some may have been owners of shops or businesses that had been allotted water, such as baths, for which see Bruun (n. 5) 72–6; C. Bruun, "Ownership of baths in Rome and the evidence from lead pipe installations", in J. De Laine – D. E. Johnson (eds.), *Roman Baths and Bathing 1: Bathing and Society* (JRA Suppl. 37), Ann Arbor 1999, 75–85 (though the evidence is less explicit than one would wish).

¹⁷ See Bruun (n. 5) 88–9, 355–6, and my "Roman Lead Working: the *officinae plumbariae*" (in preparation).

¹⁸ For the cases of the Roman *plumbarii* Roius Hilario and Popillius Hilario (the identical cognomina must be a coincidence, and they operated independently of each other), see C. Bruun, "Velia, Quirinale, Pincio: note su proprietari di *domus* e su *plumbarii*", *Arctos* 37 (2003) 27–48, esp. 36–43; Bruun (n. 5) 317. There is also the *plumbarius* Stallianus from Pompeii, on which see my "Stallianus, a plumber from Pompeii (and other remarks on Pompeian lead pipes)", forthcoming in *Phoenix*.

in many other sectors of Roman manufacture.¹⁹ Should this explanation be correct, we would still be dealing with the name of two manufacturers on the same piece of lead piping, that of the *officinatrix* Dovia Hilaritas and that of Evelpistus the *plumbarius*. Such a scenario is very rare but not impossible, and it seems to me the best solution if we give credence to Lanciani's report, as I think we should.

3. L. Titius Neptunalis and son once again

The suggested improvement of the cryptic fistula inscription S T NEPTV E (*CIL* XV 7729) mentioned above was inspired by the discovery of a new stamp near modern Alatri and published in 1987 as:²⁰

L TITIVS NEPTVNALIS PLVB
CONSVOFILIO FECIT (ramus)

The first publisher of the inscription, Maria Concetta Laurenti, interpreted the text as *L. Titius Neptunalis plu(m)barius con suo filio fecit*, "Titius Neptunalis made (the lead pipe) with his son". The first editor also mentioned, but rejected, an alternative interpretation, namely to read the second part as *Consuo filio fecit*, "he made it for his son Consuus". This reading seems more plausible to me, for reasons which I have presented in the past,²¹ although they do not seem to have convinced the editors of the *Supplementa Italica* fascicle in which the inscriptions from *Aletrium* were published about a dozen years ago.²² The present context may be suitable for bringing up the issue again, bolstering it with a few additional arguments.

Whichever interpretation one prefers, one will have to accept certain irregularities, as will presently become clear. Laurenti met the problem caused by

¹⁹ As already pointed out by Bruun (n. 5) 89 n. 54. Fish sauce amphorae and bronze vessels are only two of many such examples.

²⁰ M. C. Laurenti, "Brevi note su alcuni rinvenimenti a Monte Daielli di Alatri", *Archeologia Laziale* VIII, Roma 1987, 302–6. As shown by a photo (cf. n. 22 below), there is no interpunctuation or space between the words, which does not impact our understanding of the text except for the beginning of line 2, where on purpose I have not separated the words.

²¹ Bruun (n. 8) 243–7.

²² See L. Galli – G. L. Gregori, "Regio I. Latium et Campania. Aletrium", *SupplIt* 16, Roma 1998, 13–90, esp. 85–6 (with photo).

the preposition written *con* instead of *cum* by pointing to several cases of such "vulgar" Latin, for instance in the inscriptions from Rome.²³ Certainly *con* can be found in some cases in Rome, but there we are mostly dealing with common funerary inscriptions which abound in errors of many kinds, and which sometimes belong to later centuries, when the classical rules were losing their hold. Moreover, it seems to me that the process of cutting the stamp used to create the text on the *fistula* (in high relief) was somewhat different from scratching a text on a travertine plaque or the like. The commissioning and cutting of the die ought to have provided a better guarantee against typographical errors, and in particular as the letters were extremely neatly cut, as the photo in *SupplIt* shows (see n. 22). This is not a hasty job carried out by semi-competent workmen.

But can one therefore definitely exclude the use of the vulgar form *con*? Probably not; in my experience, although *fistula* stamps are largely formulaic, one never ceases to be surprised by the wording exhibited on new discoveries. Indeed, the stamp from Alatri contains several quite or almost unique features, and one ought to consider all of these before settling on any specific interpretation.

First of all, it is extremely unusual that a lead pipe stamp not intended for imperial use runs over two lines.²⁴ This indicates a certain wish for monumentality. Second, our text represents one of the very few known cases in which a Roman plumber uses the term *plumbarius* on a lead pipe to indicate his profession.²⁵ It was obviously unnecessary, as the verb *fecit*, which normally follows the plumber's name, already revealed the situation. Again, one may wonder if there is a particular reason behind this apparent flaunting of the profession of Titius Neptunalis, the main individual of the inscription.

²³ Laurenti (n. 20) 304.

²⁴ A survey of the roughly seven-hundred stamps published in *CIL XV*, with the addition of a few more recent finds, which should be a sufficiently representative collection, showed that while imperial stamps regularly run over two lines, very few others do so. In two cases we are dealing with stamps mentioning officials or concerned with official business: *CIL XV* 7808, 7892. Stamps of private owners, which then normally number more than one, run over two lines in: *CIL XV* 7393, 7414, 7476, 7487, 7504, 7518, 7517, 7536b, 7549, 7780, 7848a; *Epigraphica* 13 (1951) 22 no. 26 (owner + plumber), 23 nos. 33–4. A single *plumbarius* is mentioned on two very brief lines in *CIL XIV* 5309.8 from Ostia (the *fistula* is a gigantic water main). The closest parallel is perhaps *CIL XV* 7832 *Aurelius Alexander prox. ab / epistul. Lat. Digitius fecit*, although Aurelius Alexander may here appear in an official capacity, see Bruun (n. 5) 84–5.

²⁵ Another case is the stamp *ex off. Martini plumbari*, which appears in both *CIL XV* 7647 ("aet. labentis") and *XV* 7763. *Epigraphica* 13 (1951) 26 no. 49 presents a lead pipe stamp with the text *Domitianus plumb.*

A variety of other features in my mind speak strongly against the reading *con suo filio*. First, if "suo" is taken as a possessive pronoun, it is redundant. *Titius Neptunalis cum filio* is what one would expect to read, if we are dealing with a prepositional expression in the confined space of a *fistula* stamp.²⁶

Second, while one must acknowledge that in reality the possessive pronoun is commonly found joined to *filius* or *filia* in Latin inscriptions on stone, in the sequence *cum suo filio* the order is awkward. In Latin there was no definite rule about whether a possessive pronoun ought to precede or follow the main word,²⁷ but a survey of Latin inscriptions, which normally play a very minor role in the study of the language, shows that it was natural to place the possessive pronoun after the relation and to use expressions such as *cum filio suo*, *cum filia sua*, *cum coniuge suo/a*, and so on.

If one proceeds methodically through the cases listed in *CIL VI.7,4*, which lists the various forms and occurrences of the possessive pronoun *suus*, the first form of the possessive pronoun one encounters is *sua*. It turns out that only one case of "sua + family relation" can be found. Against this, there are 48 cases of "family relation + sua". This means that the word order allegedly present in the stamp from Alatri can be expected in only 2 % of such cases.²⁸ Moreover the only inverse case, the sequence *cum sua filia* in *CIL VI 36710*, which is parallel to the formula which has been suggested for the *fistula*, turns out to be a metric inscription, wherefore it lacks any relevance. Thus, there is no support in this sample for Laurenti's case.

A survey of "suo" (to take one more example) shows a similar picture. There are over 2,000 occurrences of *suo* on pp. 5498–5520 in *CIL VI.7,4*, among which one finds a mere fifteen cases of "suo + family relation".²⁹ Eight of these were of the type "suo co(n)iuge/i". Against this there are over 800 instances of "coniuge/i suo/suae".³⁰

²⁶ *Filius/a* or a plural form appear in three lead pipe stamps, each time without a possessive pronoun, see *CIL XV 7393, 7517, 7525*.

²⁷ See H. Menge, *Lehrbuch der lateinischen Syntax und Semantik* (völlig neu bearbeitet v. Th. Burkard – M. Schauer), Darmstadt 2000, 99–102. There is nothing on the place of the possessive pronoun in A. M. Devine – L. D. Stephens, *Latin Word Order. Structured Meaning and Information*, Oxford 2006.

²⁸ This point was made in Bruun (n. 8) 245, based on a survey of pp. 5418–21.

²⁹ These are: *alumnus*, *avunculus*, *collibertus*, *coniunx*, *contubernalis*, *filius*, *frater*, *nepos*, *pater*, *patronus*.

³⁰ Se *CIL VI.7,1* pp. 1211–20.

A survey focusing on *filius* and *filia* produces a similar result. There is no instance of "*suae filiae*" in *CIL* VI, but over 120 instances of "*filiae suae*".³¹ As for *filius*, there are some 230 instances of "*filio suo*", while the order "*suo filio*" appears only once.³² The relevant inscription, *CIL* VI 27445, is published in a way which reproduces the original layout on the stone (it was seen by the editor). This shows that in reality *suo* was written in between two lines, to the right of *filio*, indicating that the intended word order was in fact *filio suo*. One could continue this research, but I doubt that the picture would change.

Third, one may hold, despite this overwhelming evidence, that due to the addition of the preposition *cum*, the possessive pronoun behaves differently and is placed between *cum* and the term of relation. Therefore a final survey of sequences initiating with *cum* was conducted on the material in *CIL* VI. Six sequences of "*cum* + poss. pron. + relation" were found, against at least thirty containing the order "*cum* + relation + poss. pron."³³ The deviating cases refer to an *alumnus*, a *coniunx* (twice), a *nata* (poetic), *parentes*, and a *filia*, though the latter, as already mentioned, is a metric inscription and not relevant.

It must also be pointed out that the sequence "*cum suo/a* + " is quite common in connection with inanimate objects, as in *ara cum suis maceris* (*CIL* VI 1969) or *statua marmorea cum sua basi* (*CIL* VI 31151). Here we are clearly dealing with a different situation, a different concept of "belonging", one which Menge characterizes as "prägnante Bedeutung, die im Deutschen mit Ausdrücken wie ‚passend, gebührend, angemessen, berechtigt, gesetzlich, günstig, richtig, üblich, usw.' wiedergegeben wird".³⁴

Fourth, the reading "*cum suo filio*" is quite implausible also because this is not how manufacturers indicate cooperation. Normally, the copulative conjunction *et* is used, as in *PP. Novi Helius et Tyridas fecerun[t]* (*CIL* XV 7651).³⁵

³¹ See *CIL* VI.7,4 p. 5433 and *CIL* VI.7,2 pp. 2488–90, respectively.

³² See *CIL* VI.7,2 pp. 2511–14 and *CIL* VI.7,4 p. 5515, respectively.

³³ See the cases listed in *CIL* VI.7,1 pp. 1317–9 and 1327–8. In regular order one finds *filia*, *filius* or *fili* (ten times), *coniunx* (ten times), *cohaeredes* (twice), *compar* (twice). There are also four cases of *cum* + name + *filia sua* in *CIL* VI.7.2 p. 2478. The number of exceptions given in Bruun (n. 8) 245 is incorrect (too large). It may be added that cases where *cum* is written "*con*" are very few, as appears from *CIL* VI.7,1 p. 1163–4. The only relevant instance here is *con suo coiuge* in *CIL* VI 18542.

³⁴ Menge (n. 27), 100.

³⁵ The following fourteen instances constitute the examples of cooperation among *plumbarii* as recorded by means of a stamp in *CIL* XV. All but the last two cases are from Rome: *CIL* XV 7284 *fec. Martialis et Alexander ser.*; 7343B *Aur. Hilarus et Aur. Gaiane preb.*; XV 7411 *Aur.*

Finally, the son has no name in Laurenti's reading, which also makes no sense. Why refer to his contribution if he was not identified? To point to firms such as "Dombey and Son", of Charles Dickens fame, is anachronistic, and equally weak is the argument that the son may have had a name that was too long for the die. Even if the die had to be kept at 28 cm (it seems that Roman *plumbarii* rarely used stamps above one Roman *pes*, ca 30 cm, in length³⁶), it would still have been possible to fit in a name by removing some words that were not strictly speaking necessary, or, at any rate, less important than the name of the son.

The above arguments do not mean that Laurenti's view is impossible, but they make it seem quite unlikely. The alternate explanation is to read the text *Consuo filio fecit*. The omission of the *gentilicium* is obviously not a problem, as the father's family name was mentioned in the previous line, but the cognomen *Consus* is extremely rare; Kajanto listed only one occurrence.³⁷ The proper dative is, however, not *Consuo* but *Conso*, and thus even in this explanation one has to accept a certain irregularity. A mistake may have been made, influenced by the several cognomina ending in *-uus*, which obviously have a dative in *-uo*.

Yet, it will be obvious from the above argument that overall I prefer to read *Consuo filio fecit*. Such a statement of the son's privileged position (surprising in view of the fact that his father was a mere *plumbarius*) – for the son was influential enough to have secured a private water conduit for himself, or in any case wealthy enough to have the need for and the means to install one – would also fit in much better with the carefully crafted and almost "monumental" stamp.

Telesfori et Aelia Lucilla utrisque fecer.; XV 7472 *Veturia Polla et Asclepiades fec.*; XV 7532 *Sep. Procilla et Sep. Dativus fecc.*; XV 7546 *Aemiliorum Luci et Karici fecerunt*; XV 7605 *Aur. Cyminus et Hilarus pre[b.]*; XV 7607 *Aur. Hylas et Lucius soc.*; XV 7613 *Calp. Euphrosynus et Nicias fec.*; XV 7651 *PP. Novi Helius et Tyridas fecerun[t]*; XV 7684 *[-]i Felicianus et Felicissimus fec.*; XV 7689 *[-]us et Peregriana fecc.*; XV 7819 *... fec. Esychus et Hermeros ser.*; XV 7860 *Ti. Cl. Primit. et Corn. Chryser. fec.*

³⁶ See my "Uniformità e prassi quotidiana nella manifattura dei bolli per le fistule plumbee" (in preparation). The length of the stamp ("campo epigrafico") is given as 28 cm in Galli – Gregori (n. 22) 85.

³⁷ I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 216. The form *Consi* appears in *CIL IX 2845 = ILS 915* from Histonium in Samnium. Possibly the not uncommon *gentilicium Consius* may have been intended (*ibid.*, 14). O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen. Studien zur römischen Namengebung*, Helsinki 1987, 308, calls *Consus* in *CIL IX 2845* an "Individualcognomen".

4. Was there a Roman *plumbarius* called Ismal(ianus)?

Some individuals in Rome carried the Greek cognomen *Ismarus*, which probably was inspired by the city of Ismaros (sometimes Ismara) in Thrace, destroyed by Odysseus (Hom. *Od.* 9.140), but mentioned by Ovid, Propertius, Strabo, and Vergil because of, among other reasons, the good wine produced in the region.³⁸ Heikki Solin in his repertorium of Greek personal names in Rome registered altogether eleven instances of *Ismarus* among personal names derived from geographical ones.³⁹ One of them is in a slightly different form, however, namely *Ismalus* with an L in place of the R; his name appears on a lead pipe (*CIL* XV 7319). This is arguably no cause for concern, as spelling errors in Roman inscriptions are not uncommon. This is easy to verify just by reading through the lists of names in Solin's monumental work, which has the great virtue of quoting every name exactly as it appears in the original source.⁴⁰

Yet in the case of our Ismal(us) we are not dealing with a poorly executed funerary inscription, commissioned by a person who possibly was only semi-literate, and executed by a stonecutter having a similar (lack of) education – as is often the case when one encounters errors in spelling or grammar. On the contrary, Ismal(us) is mentioned in a lead pipe inscription which reads *Imp. Caes. Aureli Antonini et Aureli Veri / sub cura Caecili Dextriani pro(c.) Ismal. f(ecit)* (*CIL* XV 7319). This inscription or stamp adheres to a common pattern for imperial *fistulae*, in that it first cites the emperor(s) in the genitive case, followed by the name of an imperial official, here the procurator Caecilius Dextrianus, and followed by the name of the manufacturer, the *plumbarius*. Since the execution of the commission, including arrangements for the inscription (i.e. having an appropriate die cut) to appear on the lead pipe, was the business of the *plumbarius*, one might have expected that a certain care would have been taken in regard to the spelling of his own name. But apparently this was not the case (and errors are not unheard of in *fistula* inscriptions, although they are quite rare⁴¹).

³⁸ See *RE* IX.2 (1916) 2134–35: entries on "Ismara 1" (Vulic) and "Ismaros 3" (Oberhummer).

³⁹ Solin (n. 3) I 650.

⁴⁰ An excellent example can be found in Solin (n. 3) I 650, on the same page as the entry for *Ismarus*. The three instances of the name *Thraecida* are all spelled in different ways: *Thraecida*, *Traechida*, and *Trhaecida*.

⁴¹ One finds the word *officina* misspelled in several ways, such as *oficina* (*CIL* XV 7594, 7604), or *hoficina* (*CIL* XV 7611), but these are late texts. As for names, a survey of the inscriptions in *CIL* XV 7367–7567, which contain the names of the conduit owners and frequently also name a *plumbarius*, shows only a few rather predictable spelling errors: *Sebera* (7415),

Now, however, there is another instance of *Ismal(us)* to take into account. In 1984 an inscription which had been found in the 1950s during excavations in front of the Stazione Termini railway station (Piazza dei Cinquecento) was presented as *CXX Imp. Antonini Aug. Pii [sub cura] Caecili / Dextriani proc. Aug. Ismal[---]anus lib. fec.*⁴²

Until very recently, this inscription had gone virtually unnoticed in scholarship.⁴³ What is immediately apparent is the fact that the same procurator and the same *plumbarius* from the stamp we saw earlier appear here too.⁴⁴ Once again we find the name form *Ismal[-]*. The onomastic formula is longer on this stamp, though, because some letter(s) seem to be missing, after which comes the end of a name, *-anus*, followed by the status indicator *lib(ertus)* and by the abbreviated verb *fec.* From the given information it is difficult to judge how much is missing from the name of the plumber. Currently a maximum of thirty-one letters are present or can be restored in line 1, not counting the numeral *CXX* which was probably written separately and not included in the stamp.⁴⁵ In line 2, the same number of letters, thirty-one, can be read at present, but something is missing between *ISMAL* and *ANVS*. It is of course possible that the letter size was smaller in line 2 (the opposite is not possible, as the emperor's name appears in line 1), so that there was space for more letters. Yet one may compare the other stamp mentioning *Ismal.* (*CIL XV 7319*), cited above, on which there are thirty-three letters in line 1, while in line 2 there are thirty-two.

Cerboniae (7431), *Balentin[-]* (7455), *<H>ateri* (7461), *Bitalion*, *Hortesi*, and *Cartili<u>s* (7469), *Ponpei* (7475), *Fulbi* (7483), *Cetegill[-]* (7537), *Valiri* (7557, cf. above), *Umidiae* (7567). Additionally there are a few cases of E for AE. I am not counting as spelling errors the relatively frequent cases of the first declension genitive ending in *-es* or *-aes*, which I intend to discuss separately since this is more of a linguistic phenomenon.

⁴² R. Egidi, "Piazza dei Cinquecento", *BullCom* 89 (1984) 67–8, esp. 67. The number *CXX* was written in mirror writing.

⁴³ My attention was drawn to this text by Edoardo Gautier, whom I thank for an offprint; see E. Gautier de Cofiengo, "Il Quartiere di *Porta Viminalis*. Un contributo alla carta archeologica dell'Esquilino", *BullCom* 108 (2007) 221–45, esp. 230 n. 63. The text was not included in Bruun (n. 5) nor in any other of my studies of imperial procurators.

⁴⁴ I intend to discuss the procuratorship of Caecilius Dextrianus in another context.

⁴⁵ Among almost ninety stamps in *CIL XV* naming the emperor or, sometimes, a member of the imperial family (7262–7348), there are sixteen cases in which also a numeral is present. It is either not part of the imperial stamp or is written over two lines, see *CIL XV* 7268, 7280, 7284 (several different cases), 7287, 7295, 7297, 7302, 7309 (two cases), 7314, 7317, 7319, 7330, 7334, 7336, 7339 (?), 7341.

This evidence suggests that very few letters should be added in line 2 on our new stamp, and that the missing portion of the plumber's name was very short. Even if, contrary to usual practice, the numeral *CXX* had been included in the stamp and line 1 thus contained thirty-four letters, it is difficult to believe that line 2 named two *plumbarii*, as in *Ismal. [et -]anus fec.* At least five or six more letters ought then to be added, even for short cognomina such as *Maianus*, which would bring the letter total to thirty-six or thirty-seven at least. Therefore the ending *-anus* is likely to be either a second cognomen of the same plumber or the final part of one name. If the former, again the name has to be very short, *Livianus*, *Maianus*, *Seianus*, or the like. Furthermore, no freedman *plumbarius* currently known ever signed with two cognomina, wherefore this reconstruction seems improbable. It remains to suggest that *Ismal* and *anus* were parts of the same name, and the most natural solution seems to me to be *Ismal[i]anus*. One can therefore tentatively reconstruct the stamp in the following manner, with the numeral immediately preceding the main stamp:

CXX IMP ANTONINI AVG PII [SVB CVRA] CAECILI
DEXTRIANI PROC AVG ISMAL[I]ANVS LIB FEC

We may now dedicate some further attention to the plumber *Ismal(ianus)*, a freedman (quite possibly an imperial one), whose name, at least according to the current view, ought to have been spelled "*Ismarianus*". In view of the two different lead pipe stamps with the spelling *Ismal-*, however, it seems legitimate to ask whether this may not be the intended spelling after all (this argument is not affected by the fact that one imperial freedman bearing the cognomen *Ismarianus* is known⁴⁶). It is quite uncommon to find L written instead of R by mistake, at least to judge from the inscriptions in *CIL VI*.⁴⁷ What name might we, then, be dealing

⁴⁶ *CIL X 8059.33*, a *signaculum* of unknown provenance, contains the text *Amem[p]tus Aug. Ismarianus*, for which see H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser. Studien zu ihrer Nomenklatur*, Wiesbaden 1967, 318. It cannot be established from where his cognomen was derived, but there are two *Augusti liberti* with the name *Ismarus* during the Julio-Claudian dynasty, see *CIL VI 3980, 5194* with Solin (n. 3) I 650. They obviously have no connection to our *Ismal.*, who is much later, and either of them may have been a previous owner of the *Ismarus* in the *signaculum* (on the assumption that the emperor was among the heirs of his freedmen).

⁴⁷ See A. E. Gordon – S. J. Gordon, *CIL VI.6,3*, p. 277–8, for the cases in which L was written instead of another letter. Most commonly, L is written for E, I, or T (twenty or more cases each). In only five cases, in all of *CIL VI*, does L appear instead of R: twice in ordinary words (*CIL VI 2104 a17, 2120.29*), and three times in names (*CIL VI 4882 Ploplasteni, 11455 Alfocra[tion]*),

with? Perhaps the Old Testament name *Ishmael* or *Ismael*, given to Abraham's son with the slave woman Hagar and meaning "God will hear" (*Gen.* 16.11, 15). *Ismael* in fact is a name born by six individuals in the Old Testament.⁴⁸ While the use of this Semitic name cannot be documented in inscriptions from the western parts of the Roman empire, there are numerous instances of its use in Palestine and Egypt during the first and second centuries CE.⁴⁹ In addition, Abraham's son is said to have given origin to the tribe or people of the Ismaelites who settled to the south of Palestine, in regions where no traces of written language remain, and perhaps nothing was written at the time. That the name *Ismael* was not forgotten is shown also by the fact that he became an important figure for the Arabs, and the prophet Mohammed claimed descent from him.⁵⁰ One may hold that this name, if that is what we are dealing with in Rome, should properly be written *Ismael*-, yet this argument is not particularly strong since epigraphic evidence shows the many variations which Jewish names in particular exhibit.⁵¹

If the Jewish/Semitic nature of the name *Ismael(i)anus* is considered plausible, one must also ask how it came about that a plumber with this background is found working with an imperial work crew laying out *fistulae* in Rome. An im-

13472 *Clegorio*). There is little resemblance between L and R in Roman capitals, and they are quite different also when written in a cursive alphabet.

⁴⁸ For persons named *Ismael* in the Old Testament, see W. Smith – J. M. Fuller, *A Dictionary of the Bible* I.2, London 1893, 1475–80 (six individuals); O. Odelain – R. Séguineau (eds.), *Dictionnaire des noms propres de la Bible*, Paris 1978, 182–3, with five individuals (the name is mostly spelled *Yishmael*).

⁴⁹ In H. Solin, "Juden und Syrer im westlichen Teil der römischen Welt. Eine ethnisch-demographische Studie mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der sprachlichen Zustände", *ANRW* II 29.2, Berlin 1983, 587–789, 1222–49, esp. 758, the only name reminiscent of "*Ismael(-)*" is the female *Ismaimilla* in *CIL* XIII 3099 (Gallia Lugdunensis), dated to late antiquity. Neither the name nor any form of it appears in D. Noy, *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe* I. *Italy (excluding the city of Rome), Spain and Gaul*, Cambridge 1993. For an early instance in the Near East, see M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung*, Stuttgart 1928, 248 no. 766 (a seal). See above all T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* I. *Palestine 330 BCE – 200 CE*, Tübingen 2002, 177–9 (31 cases in the period 74 – 135 CE); T. Ilan, *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity* III. *The Western Diaspora 330 BCE – 650 CE*, Tübingen 2008, 133 (5 instances from Egypt, of which two from the second century CE).

⁵⁰ Thus Smith and Fuller (n. 48) 1477–8; L. F. Hartman – A. van den Born, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Bible*, New York – Toronto – London 1963, 1084–5: "Ismaelite beduins of the Negev".

⁵¹ One example are male "Sabbath" names, such as *Sabbatius*, the various spellings of which are shown and discussed by Noy (n. 49), 113, 212 (see nos. 68, 85, 126, 158).

portant addition to our knowledge is provided by the new stamp, which identifies Ismal(-) as a *libertus*, presumably an imperial freedman.⁵² Indeed if we read his cognomen as *Ismalianus*, this perhaps also explains the name, as it may indicate that the plumber had originally been the property of someone by the name of Ismalus, but subsequently, through donation or inheritance, ended up in imperial possession.⁵³ In such cases, an *agnomen* (an individual cognomen) was often created which referred to the previous owner.⁵⁴ This seems to me more plausible than the name *Isma(e)lianus* being given to an imperial slave straightout, since the *cognomina* in the so-called *familia Caesaris* are practically all Greek or Latin.⁵⁵

One last point: if the occurrence of the Semitic name *Ismalianus* seems unlikely, and if one wants to avoid the simple but unconvincing explanation of a die-cutter's error (repeated twice), one may consider this a case of impeded speech. "Lallation" is the term used in phonetics for the substitution of L for R, and should this be the case here, the plumber would in fact have called himself Ismalianus, though *Ismarianus* was intended originally.⁵⁶

5. The Sexti Flavii – from the depths of Roman society?

It is a truism that the Roman epigraphic record, rich as it may be in bare numbers, normally only provides information about the higher levels of society. Yet, due to certain particular circumstances, inscriptions may occasionally allow us to catch a glimpse of sections of Roman society that do not normally appear in our written sources.

As a starting point for the following considerations I take an observation once made by Attilio Degrassi in a study of the members of the *collegium* of *fabri tign(u)arii* in Rome: "Frequenti nei nomi dei magistri i gentilizi poco comuni *Isti-*

⁵² This seems normally to have been the case: see Bruun (n. 5) 351–2.

⁵³ Confiscation or sale are other possibilities, but one wonders if the slave would then have been given a name which referred to the previous owner.

⁵⁴ As in *Eglectus ser. Atimetianus* in the stamp *CIL XV 7289*. For over 350 imperial slaves or freedmen with an *agnomen* ending in *-anus* see Chantraine (n. 46) 295–344.

⁵⁵ See Chantraine (n. 46) 139, who found no difference comparing these to the names of private slaves and freedmen.

⁵⁶ The theory of "lallation" will only work for one of the three names cited in n. 47 above, *Ploplasteni*.

mennius, Aius, Abius, Fictorius, Dullius, Aedinius: evidentemente i *fabri tignarii*, come gli altri artigiani, appartenevano nella grande maggioranza a famiglie immigrate ...".⁵⁷ He thus offered as an explanation for the relative rarity of some of the names among the *fabri tignarii* their foreign origin. (It is not clear, however, if by "famiglie immigrate" he meant individuals who had come from other parts of the Italian peninsula, maybe only from as far away as somewhere in Central Italy, or if he meant immigration from much further away in the Mediterranean lands.) Other examples of unusual *gentilicia* among Roman artisans, which do not appear in the Roman elite, are not difficult to find, for instance *P. Deloreius*, *P. Hertorius*, or *L. Iegidius* in Arretine pottery stamps.⁵⁸

It also appears that lead pipe stamps can sometimes provide insights into sectors of Roman society that are normally denied us. This was certainly the outcome of an investigation of the individuals bearing the family name *Ostiensis* in Rome's harbour town Ostia, carried out a few year's ago.⁵⁹ Were it not for the lead pipe stamps, the picture of how the Ostienses were situated in Ostia's economic life would be fairly bleak. Yet in the lead manufacturing business *Ostiensis* is a name better represented than any other *gentilicium*, and while funerary inscriptions do provide some information about various Ostienses, the lead pipe stamps showed how a number of them were professionally occupied and revealed a reality that would otherwise have gone unnoticed.

In this section it is once again a lead pipe stamp which provides the inspiration for the discussion. From *Fulginiae* in Umbria (trib. Cornelia, near modern Foligno) the following text was reported in *CIL XI* by Bormann, who himself had studied the *fistula*:

AVGVSTAE AQVAE
ab altera (parte)
SEX FLAVIVS PHLOCALVS FECT
(*CIL XI* 7999)

⁵⁷ A. Degrassi, "Epigrafia romana – I. Roma (1937–46)", *Doxa* 2 (1949) 47–135 = *Scritti vari di antichità* I, Roma 1962, 315–413, esp. 379.

⁵⁸ See the index in A. Oxé – H. Comfort – Ph. Kenrick, *Corpus Vasorum Arretinorum. A Catalogue of the Signatures, Shapes and Chronology of Italian Sigillata*², Bonn 2000. None of these *gentilicia* are found in the index to *CIL VI*.

⁵⁹ For this and the following, see C. Bruun, "La familia publica di Ostia antica", in M. L. Caldelli – G. L. Gregori – S. Orlandi (eds.), *Epigrafia 2006* (Atti della XIV Rencontre sur l'épigraphie in onore di Silvio Panciera con altri contributi di colleghi, allievi e collaboratori), Roma 2008, 537–56.

Here we find an unusual combination of *praenomen* + *gentilicium*, namely Sextus Flavius. The vast numbers of individuals from the imperial period who carry imperial names such as Gaii or Tiberii Iulii, Titi Flavii or Marci Ulprii, are usually to be connected with the imperial freedmen and their descendants and freedmen, or with new citizens who for one reason or another had earned the *civitas Romana*. Such a background is likely also the reason for their success in life, such as it was, and the fact that they received a commemoration or appear in some other epigraphic document. Many other individuals bear *gentilicia* which belonged to powerful imperial or local families (for instance the Statilii in Rome or the Egrilii in Ostia). Although in these cases it is always possible that an individual belonged to a branch which had already separated from the dominant family during the Republic, one is generally entitled to suspect a connection, strong or weak, with the successful individuals bearing the family name in question.⁶⁰

It is also important to remember that during the imperial period the *praenomen* was still regularly in use during the first centuries, and while it often had an individual character during the first century CE (one son was given his father's *praenomen*, the others not), from the second century onwards the same paternal *praenomen* more regularly tended to be given to every son (scholars speak of an "inherited *praenomen*").⁶¹ It is against this very briefly sketched background that the case of the plumber Sex. Flavius Philocalus may be considered. What is known about Sexti Flavii in the Roman world? Is our plumber someone who plied his trade, apparently to some success, completely independently of the thousands of Titi Flavii who appear in countless inscriptions? Is he truly a representative of a perhaps large, unknown substratum? Or can one find a less well-known strand of Sexti Flavii, with which he may have some connection that could explain his relative success as a professional? Additionally, Bormann, the editor of *CIL* XI 7999, pointed out that the stamp belonged to a series of inscriptions which was thought not to be from Umbria originally, but to have been brought there from Rome. Is there any way to clarify this matter?

⁶⁰ Such a connection was suggested in Bruun (n. 11) 14–5, for the Roman *plumbarius* Sex. Marius Eros, in whose case the unusual combination Sextus Marius indicated connections to Spain. One must of course avoid using the term *gens* when dealing with the imperial period, as it has little meaning in a world where so many millions had Roman citizenship.

⁶¹ Salomies (n. 37) 378–88, with the *caveat* on p. 381 n. 105 that his analysis excludes descendants of freedmen and newly enfranchised foreigners (who likely were less prone to choosing a different *praenomen*).

No general investigation of the occurrences of the *nomen Flavium* is known to me,⁶² and indeed our sources may be thought to contain few surprises, so ubiquitous are the *duo nomina* "Titus Flavius". In the following, the results from a survey of Flavii in the indices of the ten most relevant volumes of the *CIL* are presented:⁶³

Table 1. The frequency of the various praenomina among bearers of the family name Flavius in chosen volumes of the *CIL* (II, III, V–VI, VIII–XII, XIV).

<i>CIL</i>	Sex.	L.	C.	M.	P.	Q.	Cn.	A.	Ti.	D.	Sp.	other	T.	total
II	2 = 5.6%	15	7	2	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	7 = 19.4%	36
III	1 = 0.5%	13	7	8	2	-	1	1	2	-	-	-	160 = 82%	195
V	- = 0%	4	11	10	7	5	2	-	1	5	1	-	16 = 25.8%	62
VI	6 ≈ 0.6%	52	33	32	24	22	8	10	4	3	1	-	860 = 81.5%	1,055
VIII	1 = 0.4%	13	17	16	11	10	1	-	-	-	-	-	161 = 68,2%	230
IX	3 = 5.1%	8	8	2	1	5	-	1	1	-	-	Sal.: 1	29 = 50%	59
X	- = 0%	9	11	8	4	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	88 = 69.8%	126
XI	1 = 1.3%	6	6	2	10	6	-	-	1			M': 1	44 = 57.1%	77
XII	1 = 2.8%	2	5	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	23 = 65.7%	35
XIV	7 = 5.0%	5	14	6	15	9	-	-	-	-	1	-	84 = 59.6%	141
Σ	22 = 1.1%	127	119	90	74	63	13	12	11	8	3	2	1,472 = 73,0%	2,016

⁶² There is H. Gallego Franco, *Nomina imperatoria. Onomástica imperial en la sociedad de las provincias romanas del alto y medio Danubio*, Valladolid 2001, 76–141 and 328–32, who traces all the Flavii in the provinces of Raetia, Noricum and Pannonia Superior, but his list shows no Sexti Flavii, and he does not record the *praenomina* of fathers or patrons, which means that for my purposes this material is incomplete.

⁶³ There are no Flavii at all in *CIL* IV, see the indices in Suppl. I–II. *CIL* I (Republican inscriptions), VII and XIII were not included, as both Britannia and Germania seem too distant to have much relevance for our discovery from Central Italy. There are no Sexti Flavii in the brick stamps from Rome, see H. Bloch, "Indices to the Roman brick-stamps published in volumes XV.1 of the *CIL* and LVI–LVII of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*", *HSCP* 58/59 (1948) 1–104; M. Steinby, *Indici complementari ai bolli doliari urbani (CIL XV,1)* (Acta IRF 11), Roma 1987. In collecting evidence for the *praenomina*, I have counted the *praenomina* that were part of the *tria nomina*, and also the names of fathers mentioned in an individual's filiation, as well as the names of patrons referred to by freedmen. The names of senators were excluded. I have tried to avoid counting any individual more than once, but the situation was not always clear; I have throughout relied on the index in question and not made controls of the actual texts. Due to such issues a new count would probably result in somewhat different figures, especially for the Titi Flavii; for the other *praenomina* the figures should change only minimally.

It turns out that *Sextus* is not the rarest *praenomen* found among individuals called Flavius; in Italy it is even rarer to encounter a Flavius carrying the *praenomen* *Gnaeus*, *Aulus*, *Tiberius*, *Decimus*, *Spurius*, or *Manius*. It is clear, however, that the popularity of these names are of a different magnitude than is the case with the five names *Lucius*, *Gaius*, *Marcus*, *Publius*, and *Quintus*. And then again, compared to these frequent five, *Titus* is in a league of its own, with the notable exception of Northern Italy and above all the Iberian Peninsula.⁶⁴

The total in the *CIL* indices amounts to 1,472 instances of *Titus Flavius* and 544 instances of another *praenomen* coupled with *Flavius*.⁶⁵ Of these other *praenomina*, twenty-two are *Sexti*, or some 1,1% of the total of 2,016 Flavian *praenomina*. To these cases can be added six other *Sexti* who have been published in the *l'Année épigraphique* (including the 2006 issue) after the *CIL* volumes appeared, three from Rome (*AE* 1946, 130; 1960, 28), two from *Minturnae* (*AE* 1989, 150), and one from *Venosa* (*AE* 2003, 445; early Augustan).

A next step ought to be to investigate whether our sources allow us to say anything in particular about the *Sexti Flavii*. Can any relationship be established between at least some of them, or should they be regarded as isolated phenomena that appeared independently of each other? As for the latter possibility, as previously mentioned it is the case that while Romans by the second century CE increasingly tended to inherit the *praenomen* of their father, during the late Republic and early Empire sons were commonly given different *praenomina*.⁶⁶ The following inscription from *Venosa* is a good example of this: *L. Sex. Flavies / Q. f. Pol(lia tribu) / in fro. p. XII / in agr. p. XIV* (*AE* 2003, 445).⁶⁷ Here we have the tomb of two *Flavii*, both enrolled in the *tribus Polllia* but neither carrying a cognomen. Their father was a *Quintus*, while one son was called *Lucius*, the other

⁶⁴ Salomies (n. 37) 311 remarks that on the Iberian peninsula, the six most common non-imperial *gentilicia* alone represented one quarter of the total; this may be another dimension of the unusual onomastic situation.

⁶⁵ For the present purpose, it did not seem meaningful to go beyond the *CIL* indices in investigating the overall occurrence of other Flavian *praenomina* besides *Sextus*. Just to offer a glimpse of the situation in other contexts: a survey of the material collected by A. B. Tataki, *The Roman Presence in Macedonia. Evidence from Personal Names* (Meletemata 46), Athens 2006, 220–32, gives the following result regarding the use of Flavian *praenomina*: *Titus* 46, *Gaius* 4, *Lucius* 4, *Tiberius* 3, *Quintus* 2 (I did not include inscriptions of Macedonians found outside the region). Here *Titus* represents 78 % of all instances of *praenomina*.

⁶⁶ See Salomies (n. 37), 378–88.

⁶⁷ See M. Chelotti, "Regio II. Apulia et Calabria. Venosa", *SupplIt* 20, Roma 2003, 11–334, esp. 212–3 no. 127.

Sextus. It is an early inscription (dated to the Augustan age by the editor), and the lack of a cognomen will have created an impetus to vary the *praenomen*.⁶⁸ We may in this text see the genesis of a line of Sexti Flavii. On the other hand, the *praenomen* could obviously also be inherited in this period, in any case by one son, as is shown by a more recently discovered text from Suio near *Minturnae*: [-Val]erius M. f. Paetus, Sex. Flavius Sex. f. / [-]vius L. f. theatrum aedificandum / [c]oeravere ex pecunia Martis HS 12,000 / [c]eterum pecuniam pagus Vescinus contulit (AE 1989, 150). In this text, again dating to the Augustan period and concerning a township called *pagus Vescinus* (somewhat upstream from *Minturnae* along the *Liris* river), we find the local notable Sex. Flavius Sex. f. engaged in overseeing the construction of a theatre.⁶⁹

The other inscriptions mentioning Sexti Flavii are of later date. Some of them are too fragmentary or too short to make much sense of.⁷⁰ Others are simple funerary inscriptions without any further useful information.⁷¹

It is almost exclusively from Ostia and Rome that we find inscriptions which contain more information, as in the Ostian *CIL* XIV 749, the epitaph of the child L. Calpurnius Helpidianus, erected by his father L. Calpurnius Eucharistus, with the remark *locus datus a Sex. Fl. Iustino*, which indicates a certain influ-

⁶⁸ Other cases showing the choice of a new *praenomen* include *CIL* VIII 2869 P. Flavius T. f. Clemens; IX 5584 T. Flavius Sal. f., and, among the numerous Flavii in *CIL* VI, only L. Flavius T. f. Quir. Secularis (!) (3520), T. Flavius Sp. f. Eutyches (18059), T. Flavius L. f. Cirpinus Expectatus (34839), and Ol(us) Flavius T. l. Antiochus (!) (38363). Overall, it is a fairly rare phenomenon in Rome, which is easily explained when the filiation contains the name *Spurius*. Further examples from the provinces are provided in Salomies (n. 37) 424, 427.

⁶⁹ There is a short comment on the text by L. M. Proietti in F. Coarelli (ed.), *Minturnae*, Roma 1989, 162–3 no. 35.

⁷⁰ *CIL* II 4367 from Tarraco is fragmentary and only records the name of [S]ex. Flavius [S]ex. [l.?] Plutus; *CIL* III 8191 from Scupi in Moesia Superior, is possibly a dedication mentioning a Sex. Fl. F[la]mina[lis]; *CIL* VI 1057 v.96 names the *vigil* S. Flavius Agathop(us), who also appears in the *laterculus* VI 1058 vi.25; *CIL* XII 4821 from Narbo: Sex Flavio [-] Fuficia Ae[-]. In *CIL* XIV 4928 one can barely make sense of the name [Se]x. Flaviu[s] but not much more.

⁷¹ From Rome come *CIL* VI 18105 Sex. Flavius Sex. l. / Hilarus / Furia (mulieris) l. Nice; 18145 Sex. Flavi / Nervae M[?]; 18405 (theta) Flavia Primigenia / Sex. Flavius Zmaragdus / Cn. Tetrinius Hilarus / fecit; 21109 Dis. Mani. / D. Laelio Aechioni / Sex. Flavius Ter- / tius f. b. m. There is also the North-African *CIL* VIII 220 from Cillium: D. M. / Sex. Fla/vio Fel/ici; *CIL* IX 3230 from Corfinium: Flaviae T. l. / Pergamioni / Sex. Flavius Primus uxori / p.; *CIL* IX 3467 from Peltuinum: Sex. Flavio / Sex. l. Tertio / Pescennediae / Daphnidi / Hilario patr. / et matri p.; and lastly, from Ostia, *CIL* XIV 1031 [-]et Heracli[-] qui vix. a. XII m. [-] / Sex. Fl. Flavianu[s] / filio dulcissimo [-], and XIV 1036 D. M. / Sex. Flavi / Secundi / Sextia Flora | coniugi / optimo.

ence on the part of Sex. Flavius Iustinus. Similarly, some power must have been wielded by Sex. Flavius Phe[-],⁷² as evident from the formula *locus concessus a Sex. Fla[vio] Phe[?]* in *CIL* XIV 1624, the epitaph of Sextia Panthia, erected by her husband Bellius Eutyches Sallustius. Similarly, one Sex. Flavius is involved in the transfer of property in the following inscription from Rome: *Postumia Myrias / hemit (!) m[on]umentum a Sex. Flav[i]o Heraclida / auctore L. Pituanii Primig[eni] / in quibus (!) fundo agitu[r] / itaque Postumia Myri[as] ded- / it L. Postumio Agatho[-] / conliberto suo indulgentis[simo] ...* (*AE* 1946, 130).⁷³ Sex. Flavius Heraclida seems to have reached a certain position in his community, as he was the *auctor* of the real estate owner Pituanus Primigenius.⁷⁴

A fragmentary dedicatory inscription from Ostia to a man who is also called a *patronus*, points to a Sex. Flavius in a prominent social context: *Sex. Fl. Sex. [f. ?] / Bellicio M[- - -] / primo omn[ium] prae- / textato vo[- - -] / patrono fo[- - -]* (*CIL* XIV 4649, a marble plaque).⁷⁵ There is no doubt that Sex. Flavius Bellicius was a man of some distinction. The inscription was erected in his honour, as the dative case shows, and he had accomplishments to be proud of, being *primus omnium praetextatus*, probably in some special context such as a specific action; Vaglieri suggested that Vo[icanus], the main deity of Ostia, was mentioned.⁷⁶

Finally, the most successful of all known Sexti Flavii is named in a funerary inscription found in a private collection located in the outskirts of Rome. It

⁷² This name is enigmatic, for Solin (n. 3) III 1403, comments that there are very few Greek male names beginning in *Phe-*. The names *Phemio* and/or *Phemius* are known in three instances only, see Solin, *ibid.*, I 571. *Phaedimus* is more common with twelve attestations, and could, as one can see in Solin, *ibid.*, I 570–1, also be spelled *Phedimus*.

⁷³ Published by A. Ferrua, "Analecta romana I. S. Sebastiano", *Epigraphica* 4 (1942) 41–68, esp. 63–64 no. 57. The inscription is dated to the second century CE by Solin (n. 3) II 776, 1124.

⁷⁴ Ferrua (n. 73) 63 correctly refers to Sex. Flavius Heraclida as "agente or amministratore di Pituanio". though without further discussion or references. The *OLD*, s.v. "auctor 1. the principal in a sale, vendor, seller" does not cite anything similar to what we have here, namely an *auctor* representing an individual person (in the genitive), but E. De Ruggiero, "Actor", *DizEpigr.* I (1895) 766–7, esp. 767 provides a perfect parallel in *CIL* IX 2827 lines 14–7: ... *inter P. Vaccium Vitulum auctorem Histoniensium fundi Herianici et Titiam Flaccillam proauctorem Tilli Sassi fundi Vellani*.

⁷⁵ First published by D. Vaglieri, "Varietà epigrafiche", *BullCom* 38 (1910) 322–35, esp. 331.

⁷⁶ Vaglieri (n. 75) 331. It would require too much space to discuss the career of Sex. Flavius Bellicius here; I will return to it in another work, dedicated to the municipal *praetextati*. I do not find the text discussed or even mentioned in S. Mrozek, "Primus omnium sur les inscriptions des municipes italiens", *Epigraphica* 33 (1971) 60–9.

likely comes from the vicinity of the capital: *D. M. Sex. Flavio Sex. f. Quir. Quieto p(rimi)p(ilo) leg. XX V(ictoriae) V(ictricis) misso cum exer(citu) in exp(editione) Maur(ica) ab imp. Antonino Aug., praef. classis Brit(annicae). Varinia Crispinilla coni(u)g(i) pientissimo et Fl. Vindex et Quietus fil. piissimi* (AE 1960, 28, from Casale della Spizzichina on the Via Cassia, some 14 km north of Rome⁷⁷). Here we find an *eques Romanus* who had advanced to a very high military rank and had taken part in significant military events during the reign of Antoninus Pius.⁷⁸ He is also the only Sextus Flavius of the post-Augustan period to display his tribe, which was the *tribus Quirina*, the tribe of the Flavian emperors. It happens to be the third-most common tribe in Ostia, after the *Voturia*, the *colonia's* own, and the *Palatina*, which was also very common.⁷⁹

It may be possible to identify certain trends in the material. The *nomen* Flavius had old traditions in the Roman republic, as pointed out by Olli Salomies, and persons using a variety of *praenomina* are found.⁸⁰ A very early example is the Cn. Flavius *scriba* who assisted the censor App. Claudius Caecus in his reforms in 312 BCE and held elected office in Rome (Liv. 9,46), though no later Cn. Flavius ever advanced to similar heights, as far as we know, and the representation of Gnaei Flavii in the epigraphic material is modest indeed (Tab. 1 above). In the imperial period, senators named Flavius can be found using a variety of *praenomina*: besides *Titus* also *Gaius*, *Lucius*, *Marcus*, *Quintus*, and *Publius*.⁸¹ These names are the most common ones in our table, after *Titus*, but this may be due not only to the impact of the senatorial families using and spreading these names, but may depend also on the fact that these were in general the most common Roman *praenomina*.⁸²

⁷⁷ For the location, see H. Comfort, "Some Inscriptions near Rome", *AJA* 64 (1960) 273–6, esp. 273.

⁷⁸ He is absent from the survey of Roman military campaigns against the Mauri in G. Alföldy, "Bellum Mauricum", *Chiron* 15 (1985) 87–105 = Idem, *Römische Heeresgeschichte*, Amsterdam 1987, 463–81 (with Addenda). In V. Rosenberger, 'Bella et expeditiones'. *Die antike Terminologie der Kriege Roms*, Stuttgart 1992, 100, the campaign is dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius, so already in Comfort (n. 77) 274, who first published the inscription, accompanied by a clear photo (= AE 1960, 28). See also H.-G. Pflaum, *Les carrières procuratoriennes équestres sous le Haut-Empire romain* III, Paris 1961, 978–80 no. 156 bis.

⁷⁹ Thus R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*², Oxford 1973, 190–1, 215.

⁸⁰ Salomies (n. 37) 248 n. 261.

⁸¹ See *PIR*² vol. III.

⁸² See the tables in Salomies (n. 37) 155, 158.

In the late Republic, the *gentilicium* Flavius was thus obviously not restricted to the region of Reate, the home of the future emperor Vespasian, and Sexti Flavii can be found particularly in southern Italy or in any case south of Rome, as shown by the inscriptions from Venosa and *Minturnae* cited above.

For the imperial period, there is little to say about the sporadic finds of Sexti Flavii outside of Ostia and Rome,⁸³ while these two neighbouring cities together account for 16 of the 28 attestations (in the *CIL* volumes and in the *AE*). In statistical terms, the proportion of Sexti among Flavii with a *praenomen* in Ostia is indeed well over the average, while in Rome the overall number of Flavii with a *praenomen* is so massive that the Sexti are still barely noticeable.

If one were to judge the situation merely based on these figures – but here one can talk only about a certain probability, nothing more – one would suggest that there were one or several families of Sexti Flavii thriving in Ostia and the neighbourhood of Rome's harbour town. In Ostia we find two Sexti Flavii who were wealthy enough to allot burial space to some fellow townspeople, while one Sex. Flavius was a *praetextatus* and was the recipient of an honorary inscription of some kind. One might even suggest that the most successful of all the Sexti Flavii, the high-ranking equestrian officer Sex. Flavius Sex. f. Quietus, had ties to Ostia, although this is but a loose hypothesis. His tombstone was apparently found in or near Rome, but one can agree with Hans-George Pflaum that this shows where he had settled, not necessarily his origin.⁸⁴ Quietus' tribe was the *Quirina*, the tribe of the Flavian dynasty. Yet also his father was called Sextus, and since Quietus was likely born around 100 CE (in order for him to hold a command in Mauretania in the 140s or early 150s⁸⁵), his father ought to have been born in the 70s CE. This family was evidently not enfranchised under the Flavian dynasty but constituted a separate line.

To return, finally, to the *plumbarius* Sex. Flavius Philocalus: this survey of Sexti Flavii in the Roman world does indeed support the doubts voiced by Bormann regarding the provenance of the *fistula* inscription. Judging, again, by probabilities, the plumber should have been active in Ostia or Rome. The unusual text on the lead pipe, *Augustae Aquae*, is not a hindrance for this, though it does not

⁸³ The low overall number of finds in *CIL* II and IX means that the percentages for those regions must be taken with some caution.

⁸⁴ Pflaum (n. 78) 980. He considered Sex. Flavius Quietus to be a self-made man who had advanced from the ranks ("sorti du rang").

⁸⁵ Rosenberger (n. 78) 99, dates the three *expeditiones* in Mauretania under Pius to the period from ca. 140 to ca. 155 CE.

necessarily contribute to the argument either. There were many *Aquae Augustae* in the Roman world; certainly several in Rome, while in Ostia the only known hydraulic feature with a similar "imperial" name is called the *Aqua Traiana*.⁸⁶

If the argument about an Ostian or Roman provenance for *CIL XI 7999* and *Sex. Flavius Philocalus* does not convince, one can at least conclude that having now established the great rarity of individuals called *Sextus Flavius* in the Roman world, and that persons with this name were particularly well represented in Ostia, another feature of the "onomastic profile" of Ostia has been identified.⁸⁷

Postscript

While in the process of reading the proofs, I was contacted by dott.ssa Anna Borzacchi from the university of Viterbo, who alerted me to a new lead pipe stamp she is in the process of studying.⁸⁸ The text mentions a *plumbarius* by the name of *Manturius Valentinus*. Here we are dealing with a very rare *gentilicium* indeed, which according to Solin and Salomies (n. 11) is known in only one instance previously, *CIL VI 38601* from Rome (a woman called *Manturia N[-]*, who appears in a common epitaph). This new discovery once again underlines that *instrumentum domesticum* inscriptions sometimes can reveal little known aspects of Roman society.

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⁸⁶ The most recent update on the occurrences of the name *Aqua Augusta* is in G. Alföldy, *Studi sull'epigrafia augustea e tiberiana di Roma*, Roma 1992, 61–2 n. 10 with earlier bibliography. On the *Aqua Traiana* at Ostia, see Bruun (n. 5) 285–6 (*CIL XIV 4326*). It is now clear that *Vespasian* built or restored an aqueduct in Ostia, see M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni – M. L. Caldelli – F. Zevi, *Épigraphie latine*, Paris 2006, no. 27, and M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni – M. L. Caldelli – F. Zevi, *Epigrafia latina. Ostia: cento iscrizioni in contesto*, Roma 2010, no. 27. We have no name for it, and the aqueduct might have been called *Aqua Augusta*.

⁸⁷ For the "onomastic profile" of Ostia, see O. Salomies, "People in Ostia. Some Onomastic Observations and Comparisons with Rome", in C. Bruun – A. Gallina Zevi (eds.), *Ostia e Portus nelle loro relazioni con Roma* (*Acta IRF 27*), Roma 2002, 135–59.

⁸⁸ Email of 18 December 2010. I am most grateful to dott.ssa Borzacchi for sharing this information with me.

THE STATUE OF HERACLES *PROMAKHOS* AT THEBES: A HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION*

MARGHERITA CARUCCI

Introduction

In the description of Thebes in Boeotia, Pausanias mentions a temple dedicated to Heracles. The Heracleion contained a marble statue of Heracles *Promakhos* made by the Thebans Xenocritus and Eubius and the colossal statues of Athena and Heracles made by Alcámenes; the pediment was decorated with the Twelve Labours of Heracles, which had been carved by Praxiteles; a gymnasium and a stadium were adjoining the temple.¹

The sculptural decoration of this sanctuary is neither described nor cursorily mentioned in other literary sources; moreover there is no archaeological evidence that may support Pausanias' information. Nevertheless, the passage contains some significant elements for the historical reconstruction of the cult statue of Heracles *Promakhos*.

Pausanias as source

The lack of evidence for the statue of Heracles *Promakhos* at Thebes in other literary sources raises the question as to whether Pausanias' *Periegesis* is a reliable

* The topic of this article was firstly discussed in my "tesi di laurea", *Promachoi. Tipi di Atena, Eracle, Ermes nella statuaria greca*, which I submitted to the Università degli Studi di Bari in the academic year 1999–2000. My supervisor, Prof. Luigi Todisco, published an article on the iconographic types of Athena, Heracles, and Hermes as promakhoi (L. Todisco, "Promachoi", *Ostraka* 9.2 (2000) 445–54). The present article will not focus on the pictorial representation of the promakhos-type: it is rather a revised and updated version of more historical issues, which had been analysed in my dissertation.

¹ Paus. 9,11,4.

source. The *Periegesis*, which is a kind of travel book about Greece in the second century AD, contains a large amount of information about the places that Pausanias visited: monuments, local anecdotes, peculiar rituals, variations of standard histories or myths, and names of artists that would have otherwise been forgotten or unknown. In spite of its high value for archaeologists and historians, the *Periegesis* has caused much discussion and controversial positions among past scholars about the use of this travel book. Some scholars, such as the philologist Wilamowitz, claimed that the *Periegesis* is a fantasy-cum-pastiche, written by a charlatan who did not visit most of the places that he described.² Some others praised the high value of the Greek work, which was used to stroll around the ruins in order to reconstruct the layout of the ancient towns.³ The complexity and the multiple uses of the *Periegesis* explain the richness and variety of nineteenth-century studies on the Greek work. In recent years, a more careful analysis of the *Periegesis* in terms of genre, author's literary aims, typology of the readers, and culture of the Greek East of the Roman Empire have contributed to emphasise Pausanias' high value.⁴ In fact, the progress of archaeological research and the larger amount of evidence show that in spite of its occasionally unwarranted inferences or mistakes, Pausanias' book may be a useful link between the scattered evidence and the whole ancient landscape, its religion, culture, and politics.

In the description of ancient sites, Pausanias seems not to use the same methodology: some public buildings are described at length while some others are mentioned only in passing. This apparent incoherence may be explained as the result of his selective process. In fact, as the writer's selection of the buildings worth recording includes only the monuments of the Classical period and particularly the ones that could be connected to some ancient stories, Pausanias had to rely on what local people remembered and on oral traditions of local history that had been adapted and manipulated throughout times. Thus in the description of the Heracleion at Thebes, the mention of the ancient wooden statue of Heracles

² U. von Wilamowitz, "Die Thucydides-Legende", *Hermes* 12 (1877) 326–67.

³ See, for instance, J. E. Harrison – M. de G. Verrall, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens, being a translation of a portion of the "Attica" of Pausanias by M. de G. Verrall, with introductory essay and archaeological commentary by J.E. Harrison*, London and New York 1890, viii.

⁴ See, for example, C. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1985; J. Akujärvi, *Interpretational Problems in Pausanias' Attika: I 18,1,6 and 9*, Stockholm 1999; S. E. Alcock – J. F. Cherry – J. Elsner (eds.), *Pausanias: Travel and Memory in Roman Greece*, Oxford 2001; W. Hutton, *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*, Cambridge 2005; M. Pretzler, *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece*, London 2007.

made by Daidalos is inserted because of its connection to a mythical story. It also gives the writer the opportunity to express his personal opinion ("the Thebans are of the opinion that ...and it appears to me that this was really the case"). The colossal statues of Athena and Heracles are also connected to an episode of Greek history: the statues were dedicated by Thrasybulus and the Athenians who had descended from Thebes to dissolve the government of the Thirty Tyrants. The description of the pedimental sculptures of the Twelve Labours with the omitted and replaced episodes serves to highlight Pausanias's taste for art. Pausanias concludes the description of the sanctuary complex with a cursory mention of a gymnasium and a stadium, which had been already cited by the poet Pindar in the fifth century BC.⁵ The whole passage is organised so that any reader has the perception that Pausanias is describing what he really saw in his tour to Thebes, though there is no archaeological evidence to support this impression.⁶

Notwithstanding, the use of Pausanias' passage as a trustworthy source raises a number of questions, which are to be analysed with the support of other sources, either literary or archaeological. Why was the cult statue of Heracles *Promakhos* dedicated to the temple in Thebes? Was it related to a specific episode of Theban history? Why was Heracles venerated as a *promakhos*? What value and meaning had the image of Heracles *Promakhos* for the inhabitants of Thebes?

The term *promakhos*

The term *promakhos*, that Pausanias introduced as epithet to Heracles is widely attested in Greek literature from archaic times to the tenth century AD.⁷ As a word composed of two elements (*pro* + *makhos*), it can be translated as "fighting before or in front", the "champion", or the "defender". In fact, the prefix *pro-* may indicate either location ("in front of, before") or priority of rank ("champion") or also type of action ("in defence of"); the second element *-makhos* refers to a war context, may it be the real combat between opposing armies or the metaphorical fight between ideas.

⁵ Pind. *Nem.* 4,19; *Isth.* 4,61.

⁶ For a discussion of archaeological evidence in Thebes along with the analysis of Pausanias' description, see S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes from the Bronze Age to Modern Times*, Princeton 1985.

⁷ There is record of more than 200 literary references to *promakhos* in both Stephanus, *TGL*, s.v. "*promakhos*", vol. VII, Graz 1954, column 1774, and in the digital version of the *TGL*, 2001.

In the plural use, the term *promakhoi* describes the heroes or the soldiers that fight in the front line. However, as the front position increases dramatically the chances of death, the *promakhoi* are the men mostly endowed with valour and courage. Local position and moral value are thus closely entwined in the same word *promakhoi*. While the plural use of the term emphasises the concept of *arete* as a necessary condition for the position in the front line, the singular form points to the defence as the reason for fighting. In both forms, however, the term *promakhos* is used when the political, social, and moral order is endangered and it describes the champion, a word that is to be intended in its double meaning as a stout fighter and a man of valour. In situations of danger, the *promakhos* fights in defence of the freedom of the group to which he belongs (city, country, community, or class)⁸ and of the ideals in which he believes.⁹

The singular form of *promakhos* is also attested in Greek literature as epithet of Hermes, Athena, and Heracles. Why were they worshipped as *promakhoi*? Why were they the only ones in the whole pantheon of Greek gods to be described as *promakhoi*?

Hermes *Promakhos*

The only reference to Hermes as *promakhos* appears in Pausanias' description of Tanagra in Boeotia.¹⁰ The Periegete says that the temple of Hermes *Promakhos* was established in memory of an episode during the war between Tanagra and Eretria. During the Eretrian attack of the Boeotian town by sea, Hermes led the ephebes to battle and the god himself in the guise of a youth armed with a strigil routed the enemies. Pausanias also tells us that inside the temple the remains of a tree were dedicated, because it was believed to be the tree at the foot of which Hermes had been reared. The literary passage does not mention any statue of the tutelary god as a *promakhos*. Because of Pausanias' method of handling information, it is difficult to ascertain whether the silence about the image of Hermes *Promakhos* is due to the writer's voluntary, yet inexplicable, omission or to the actual lack of a cult statue.

⁸ See, for instance, Plut. *Luc.* 38,2; *Anth. Pal.* 15,50, *ibid.* 16,62,106.

⁹ See, for example, Porphyrius, *Adversus Cristianos* 41,20; Romanus the Melodist, *Hymns* 63,12,1–4; Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon* 9,34,10.

¹⁰ Paus. 9,11,24.

Some scholars argue that the image of Hermes *Promakhos* appears on a coin minted at Tanagra under Trajan's rule.¹¹ The god is naked and holding a caduceus in his right hand and an unidentified object (perhaps a strigil) in his outstretched left hand; he is standing in contrapposto with his weight on his left foot and his head slightly inclined to the left. The Polyclitean type suggests that the image on the coin would reproduce a statue of the fifth century BC and more specifically the statue of Hermes *Promakhos* on display in his temple at Tanagra. However, the presence of a cult statue of the god is not attested in literary record nor is the image of Hermes as a fighter so popular in ancient art. It is, then, difficult to suggest a possible iconography of the god as a *promakhos*. Rather the analysis of Pausanias' passage along with archaeological evidence may hint at the meaning and function of Hermes *Promakhos* at Tanagra.

The local tale about the battle between Tanagrans and Eretrians with the appearance of Hermes *Promakhos* may refer to a real event. Herodotus reports that the Gephyraeans from Eretria moved to Tanagra, where they dwelt until their expulsion by the Boeotians and their flight into Athens.¹² The *Suda* also observes that the Gephyraeans moved to Tanagra, after they gave the caduceus to the leader and weapons to the young people left behind.¹³ The *Suda*'s report is very interesting, because the image of the commander armed with a caduceus and of the youths at war also appears in Pausanias' tale about Hermes *Promakhos*. As the caduceus is the typical accessory of Hermes and the god was especially venerated in Tanagra, perhaps this episode, which would have taken place during the migrations of people in Boeotia at the end of the Bronze Age, was later modified and adapted by the Tanagrans. The association of Hermes with youths and the motif of the appearance of the god in situations of danger appear again in two more cults of the god in Tanagra. Pausanias reports that, after Hermes averted a pestilence from the city by carrying a ram around the wall, Calamis carved the image of the god carrying a ram on his shoulder (Hermes *Kriophoros*) and during the festival of Hermes the most handsome ephebe went around the wall carrying a ram on his shoulder.¹⁴ The Scholiast to Lycophron tells of the temple of Hermes

¹¹ I. Imhoof-Blumer – P. Gardner, *Ancient Coins Illustrating Lost Masterpieces of Greek Art. A Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, Chicago 1964, 115 n.5, pl. X 13; J. C. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, London 1913², 90; G. Siebert, s.v. "Hermes", *LIMC V* (1990) 358 n. 856.

¹² Hdt. 5,57.

¹³ *Suda*, *Doru kerukeion*.

¹⁴ Paus. 9,22,1.

Leukos, which was built after a boy and a girl were sacrificed in accordance with an oracle, during the Eretrian attack.¹⁵ The Boeotian city then was provided with three temples in honour of its tutelary god.

As Pausanias mentions a *porticus* and a theatre nearby the temple of Hermes *Promakhos*, it is possible that the latter lay in the southern part of the citadel (Fig. 1). Here, in fact, old excavation reports mention remains of seats and of a *cavea*, which have been destroyed by the flood of the river Kerykios and by the building of an aqueduct in 1950.¹⁶ To the east of the supposed theatre are remains of a platform, a Corinthian capital of Roman times, and the base of a statue: perhaps they decorated the temple of Hermes *Promakhos*.¹⁷ The location of the temple seems to support and to emphasise the role of Hermes as a combatant in the front line or as a defender. The temple, in fact, lay in the upper part of Tanagra from which it was possible to control the residential area in the lower city and the main roads to Thebes (west), Chalcis (north) and Athens (east), while to the south the river Aisopus obstructed the passage from Attica into the Boeotian city because of its rushing stream.

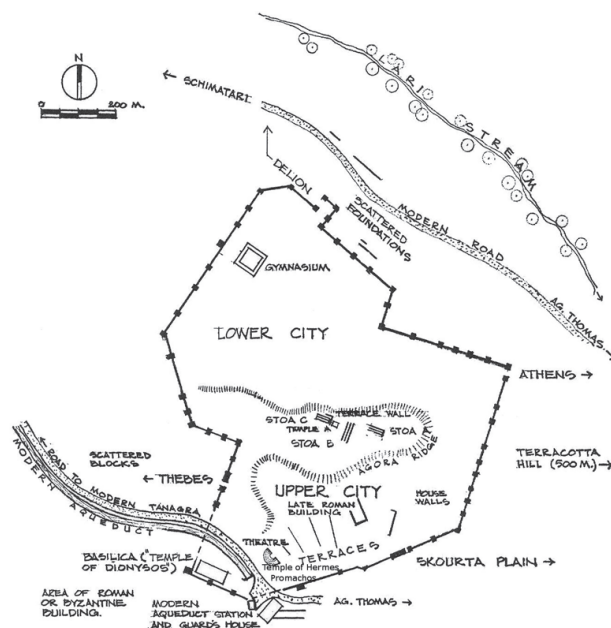


Fig. 1: Map of Tanagra, adapted from the map of D. W. Roller, "A New Map of Tanagra", *AJA* 78 (1974) 152–6: figure at p. 153.

¹⁵ Schol. Lycoph. *Alex.* 679.

¹⁶ D. W. Roller, "A New Map of Tanagra", *AJA* 78 (1974) 152–6: 155–6.

¹⁷ D.W. Roller, "Recent investigations at Grimàdha (Tanagra)" in J. M. Fossey (ed.) *Boeotia antiqua I. Papers on Recent Work in Boiotian Archaeology and History*, Amsterdam 1989, 129–63: 154.

Athena *Promakhos*

While the cult of Hermes *Promakhos* is attested only in Tanagra, the image of Athena as *promakhos* is strictly linked to the city of which the goddess was the patron par excellence, Athens.

Zosimus tells that the king of the Visigoths Alaric desisted from invading Athens, when he saw Athena *promakhos* walking along the wall as the goddess is represented in statuary, in armour and ready to attack those who oppose her. Before the walls the king also saw Achilles standing in a heroic posture as Homer describes the hero fighting furiously against Hector in revenge for the death of Patroclus.¹⁸ The image of Athena that defends her city occurs also in Alciphron, who prays Athena *promakhos* and *polioukhos* (who protects the city) to make him live and die in Athens.¹⁹ The two epithets complement each other, as the action of fighting for and defending (*promakhos*) the city guarantees the protection of the city itself (*polioukhos*). In the description of Athena *promakhos* as the goddess appears to Alaric, Zosimus reminds his readers of the statues representing Athena equipped with weapons and in the attitude of attack. This particular detail suggests the popularity of this iconographic type in ancient art: in fact, the image of Athena in fighting pose has appeared since the sixth century BC on a number of artistic media such as sculpture, pottery, and coins.²⁰ However, the identification of this iconographic type as *promakhos* is a modern convention that is not attested in any ancient source: the mention of Athena *Promakhos* with reference to the sculptural work by Pheidias occurs only in the Scholium to Demosthenes.²¹ The scholiast lists three images of the goddess on the Acropolis: the so-called Athena *Polias* for being the tutelary goddess of Athens; Athena *Promakhos*, which was made in bronze after the victory at Marathon; and Athena *Parthenos*, a chryselephantine statue erected after the victory at Salamis. The material (bronze) and the location (Acropolis) of the statue are significant details for the identification of the Athena *Promakhos* with the great bronze Athena by Pheidias, as it is referred

¹⁸ Zos. 5,6,1.

¹⁹ Alciph. *Letters* 3,15,4.

²⁰ The bibliography on the iconography of Athena as *promakhos* is huge. See, for example, H. G. Niemeyer, *Promachos. Untersuchungen zur Darstellung der bewaffneten Athena in archaischer Zeit*. Waldassen/Bayern 1960; J. Boardman, *Athenian Black Figure Vases*, London 1974, 167–77; L. Lacroix, *Les reproductions de statues sur les monnaies grecques. La statuaire archaïque et classique*. Liège 1949, 116–29, 281–6.

²¹ Schol. Dem. *Against Androtion* 22,13.

to in other literary sources.²²

Several attempts have been made to reconstruct the appearance of Athena *Promakhos* on the basis of coins, lamps and statues of Roman times along with a few miniatures in Byzantine manuscripts. However, none of the suggestions so far put forward as a copy or version of Athena *Promakhos* is convincing.²³ More interestingly, literary evidence allows us to reconstruct the context in which Athena *Promakhos* was dedicated. The battle of Marathon (490), which is associated to Athena *Promakhos* in some literary sources,²⁴ had important consequences for the Greek cities, since it marked the end of the first Persian invasion of Greece. The battle was a defining moment especially for Athens, which won in spite of the lack of external aids and the numerical advantage of the Persians. The young Athenian democracy became then the symbol of the whole Greece that always fights for its freedom.²⁵

The statue of Athena *Promakhos* was located on the Acropolis (Fig. 2), which was the most important religious centre of Athens. Any visitor approaching this area through the monumental gateway of the Propylaea would have immediately faced the great statue of Athena *Promakhos*, which stood to the left of the Erechtheion and to the right of the Parthenon.²⁶ The image of the goddess was thus placed between the most representative monuments of the Acropolis: the Erechtheion was built in honor of Erechtheus, the first king and re-founder of Athens; the Parthenon was the largest building dedicated to Athena as the tutelary goddess of the Greek city. The colossal image of Athena, which was visible

²² Dem. *On the false embassy* 428,272; Aristid. *Oration* 50,408,15; Paus. 1,28,2.

²³ For a discussion of the evidence relating to the Athena *Promakhos* and same conclusions, see B. Lundgreen, "A Methodological Enquiry: The Great Bronze of Athena by Pheidias", *JHS* 117 (1997) 190–7.

²⁴ Aristid. *In Defence of the Four* 218,9; Paus. 1,28,2; Schol. Dem. *Against Androtion* 22,13.

²⁵ Some other literary sources (Dem. *On the false embassy* 428,272; Schol. Arist. *Panatenaico* 187,20), by contrast, report that the statue of Athena *Promakhos* was dedicated after the Persian Wars. The generic reference to the Persian Wars does not allow us to relate the dedication to a specific event, as the wars may be seen concluded either with the Athenians victory by the river Eurymedon in Pamphilia (465) or with the Peace of Callias (445). However, the close association of the goddess with Athens, as it is often underscored in ancient literature and art, and the parallels with Hermes and Heracles as *promakhos* (which will be evident in the course of the present discussion) suggest that the statue of Athena *Promakhos* was dedicated in memory of an external attack to the city, like at Marathon.

²⁶ G. P. Stevens, "The Periclean Entrance Court of the Acropolis of Athens", *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 443–50; A. Linfert, "Athenen des Phidias", *MDAI(A)* 97 (1982) 57–77; B. Conticello et al., *Alla ricerca di Fidia*, Padova 1987, 160.

beyond the walls surrounding the Acropolis, would have appeared as a strong combatant ready to rise in the front line and to defend her city, as her epithet *promakhos* also emphasises.

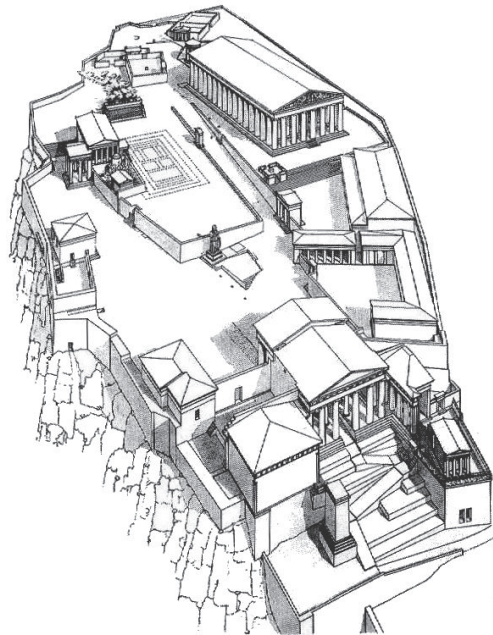


Fig. 2: Drawing of the Acropolis of Athens, from J. M. Camp, *The Archaeology of Athens*, New Haven and London 2001, fig. 241.

Heracles *Promakhos*

The analysis of literary and archaeological evidence for Hermes and Athena as *promakhoi* shows some similarities. Both gods held a special position in their cities (Hermes for Tanagra and Athena for Athens) and were honoured by them with a number of rituals and remarkable monuments. Both gods played the role as a guardian and protector of their cities in situations of danger: Hermes and Athena were celebrated as *promakhoi* respectively by the Tanagrarians after the Eretrian attack and by the Athenians after the Persian invasion. The temple of Hermes *Promakhos* and the statue of Athena *Promakhos* were both dedicated as a reminder of the divine help and human victory but also as a form of insurance that the gods will protect their people again in further difficult moments. Both monuments, in fact, stood in the upper part of the city from which the control over a large area was easy. The special relationship between the god and the city, the *aition* for *promakhos* linked to the motif of the war, and the location of the monuments in a strategic point of the urban area are the elements that recur for both Hermes *Promakhos* at Tanagra and Athena *Promakhos* at Athens. Do they also occur in the cult of Heracles *Promakhos* at Thebes?

According to the tradition, Heracles was conceived and born at Thebes,²⁷ where he spent his childhood and youth, leaving in order to perform the Labours. Because of his link to Thebes, the hero was especially worshipped by the Thebans, as the number of rituals and monuments dedicated to Heracles shows.²⁸ In his address to Philip II of Macedon in 344–346 BC, Isocrates says that the Thebans honor the founder of their race both by processions and by sacrifices, beyond all the other gods.²⁹ Because of his special relationship with Thebes, the hero promptly secures his presence and helps his natal city in situations of danger. For instance, when the ambassadors, who had been sent by the Orchomenians to demand tribute, arrived at Thebes, Heracles cut off their noses: as a reminder of that episode, the Thebans erected an open-air sanctuary to Heracles *Rhinocollustes* ("nose-clipper").³⁰ And when the king of Orchomenos, who felt insulted by this action, attacked Thebes, Heracles defeated the Orchomenians and imposed on them to pay twice the tax Thebes was obliged to pay. After his victory, the hero dedicated a lion of marble to the temple of Artemis *Eucleia*.³¹ These mythical stories probably reflect the conflict between the kingdom of the Mynies and the Thebes of Cadmus. Nevertheless, for the rest of antiquity, Heracles was identified with the Theban city.³²

This process of identification is particularly evident in the silver stater coins that Thebes issued in the years 446–426 BC.³³ The coins show the Boeotian shield (symbol of the Boeotian League) on the obverse and Heracles on the reverse. The hero is portrayed naked and youthful and in a variety of action poses, such as shooting an arrow, carrying off the Delphic tripod, stringing his bow; or

²⁷ The mythical tale of Heracles' birth is analysed by M. Rocchi, "Galinthias/Gale e la nascita di Herakles a Tebe", in P. A. Bernardini (ed.) *Presenza e funzione della città di Tebe nella cultura greca. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Urbino 7–9 luglio 1997)*, Pisa – Roma 2000, 83–98.

²⁸ The cult of Heracles at Thebes and the celebration of the Heracleia in the honour of the hero are discussed by A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia. 2. Herakles to Poseidon* (BICS Suppl. 38.2), London 1986, 14–30.

²⁹ Isocr. *Phil.* 32.

³⁰ Paus. 9,25,4.

³¹ Paus. 9,17,2.

³² For a brief summary of Theban history in the classical period, see P. Cartledge, *Ancient Greece: A History in Eleven Cities*, Oxford 2009, 131–41.

³³ E. Babelon, *Traité des Monnaies Grecques et Romaines*, Paris 1914, 225–36; B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics*, 2nd ed., London 1963, 70–2.

as an infant strangling snakes. These coins illustrating the Labours of Heracles seem appropriate to evoke the labours which Thebes had recently undergone.³⁴ Heracles killed his children – Thebes supported the Median cause in the Persian wars; to expiate his crime, Heracles was required to carry out the labours – after the Persian defeat, Thebes had to work hard for its material and moral restoration; Heracles was persecuted by the jealous Hera – Thebes suffered under the burden of Athens' jealousy. While the labours and achievements of Heracles symbolised Thebans' struggle and hope for freedom and prestige, the Athenians portrayed the hero as a glutton and buffoon as a way of expressing a similar opinion about the Thebans themselves. In 404 the Thebans gave refuge to Thrasybulus and those democratic Athenians who were forced into exile by the Thirty Tyrants. After the instauration of the democratic regime in Athens, the exiles dedicated the statues of Athena and Heracles by Alcamenes in the Heracleion of Thebes³⁵ as a visual expression of their gratitude to the Thebans for their help. The dedication of Athena, the tutelary goddess of Athens, and of Heracles, the national hero of Thebes, symbolised the reconciliation of the two cities.

The figure of Heracles is associated with a further episode of the Theban history. In the eve of the battle of Leuctra in 371 BC, the arms kept in the Heracleion had disappeared which indicated that Heracles himself had gone forth to the battle.³⁶ Polyaeus says that this was a stratagem used by the Theban commander Epameinondas to raise the spirits of his soldiers, who were alarmed by the superior numbers of the Spartan troops:

"He had arranged previously with the priests of Hercules to open the temple at night, take out the arms that lay there, clean them off and place them by the god's statue, and he and his temple-servants were to leave without saying anything to anyone. When the soldiers came with their officers to the temple, they saw the doors open, though none of the temple-servants was present, and they also saw the old arms, recently cleaned and shining, in front of the god's statue. They shouted and were filled with divine courage, just as if they had Hercules as their general in battle. So it turned out that, filled with courage, they defeated the 40,000."³⁷

³⁴ N. H. Demand, *Thebes in the Fifth Century: Heracles Resurgent*, Norfolk 1982, 2–3.

³⁵ Paus. 9,11,4.

³⁶ Xen. *Hell.* 6,4,7; Diod. 15,53; Cic. *div.* 1,74.

³⁷ Polyaeus, *Stratagems of war* 2,3,8, edited and translated by P. Krentz – E. L. Wheeler, vol. 1 (Books I–V), Chicago 1994, 159. The political and religious aspect of Epaminondas' strategy is analysed by M. Sordi, "Propaganda politica e senso religioso nell'azione di Epaminonda", in M. Sordi (ed.) *Propaganda e persuasione occulta nell'antichità*, (Contributi dell'Istituto di

Polyaenus tells us of weapons being laid before the god. The term *theos* in reference to Heracles is not surprising: because of his special link to Thebes, the hero was worshipped there as a god³⁸. However, since the earlier references to the same episode do not mention any god or statue of god, it is not clear whether Polyaenus was referring either to the statue of Heracles *Promakhos* as it was still visible in the temple at his time³⁹ or to the ancient wooden image of the hero made by Daidalos, which is mentioned by Pausanias, or else he has arbitrarily introduced this detail.

Nevertheless, what is more interesting is the number of similarities that this account shows with the tales about Hermes and Athena as *promakhoi*. Like Hermes, Heracles took his weapons and led his city's army to the battle and to the final defeat of the enemies;⁴⁰ like the Battle of Marathon for Athens, the Battle of Leuctra marked the start of a golden age of material prosperity and military power for Thebes.⁴¹ The Theban success mainly depended on the so-called Sacred Band (*hieros lochos*), a troop of 300 chosen soldiers who fought in the front line as *promakhoi*.⁴² It is then arguable that the Battle of Leuctra was the *aition* for the dedication of the statue of Heracles *Promakhos* at Thebes.

The erection of the statue may have been conveniently inserted in a program of redecoration of the ancient Heracleion, in these years of Theban hegemony. Pausanias, in fact, reports that the pediment of the temple was ornamented with the motifs of Heracles' Labours, which were carved by Praxiteles. The Periegete also mentions the names of the two Theban sculptors of the Heracles *Promakhos*, Xenocritus and Eubius. The activity of these two artists, which is not recorded in other sources, is dated to the years 370–330 BC in modern scholarship for reasons that are not grounded in any kind of certain evidence. The dedication of the

storia antica 2), Milano 1974, 45–53.

³⁸ Pindar describes Heracles as hero-god in *Nemea* 3,22.

³⁹ Polyaenus and Pausanias were almost contemporary. Polyaenus also wrote a book *On Thebes*, which has been lost.

⁴⁰ There are more similarities between Heracles at Thebes and Hermes at Tanagra: they were both born and reared in the Boeotian city where they were venerated as *promakhos* and they were also both described as ephebes.

⁴¹ J. Buckler, *The Theban Hegemony 371–362 B.C.*, Cambridge 1980.

⁴² G. Daverio Rocchi, "'Promachoi' ed 'epilektoi': ambivalenza e ambiguità della morte combattendo per la patria", in M. Sordi (ed.) *"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori": La morte in combattimento nell'antichità*, (Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica 16), Milano 1990, 13–36: 31–2.

Heracles *Promakhos* by the two Theban sculptors, in fact, is linked to the decoration of the pediment with sculptures carved by Praxiteles, whose career spanned from the 370s to the 340s.⁴³ However, the hypothesis that the statue of Heracles *Promakhos* was dedicated as a visual expression of the Thebans' gratitude for the hero's help in the battle of Leuctra may support the scholars' date of Xenocritus' and Eubius' activity in the fourth century BC.

The image of the hero as a foremost fighter and as a defender of the city was conveniently displayed in the Heracleion, which lay outside the Elektra gates to the south of the Cadmeia (Fig. 3).⁴⁴ The arrangement of the temple nearby the road leading to Athens and Plataea emphasised the protective role of the god-hero. The Heracleion adjoined to the east the temple of Apollo Ismenios whose entrance was decorated with the statues of Athena made by Skopas and of Hermes made by Pheidias: they were both named as *Pronaoi*.⁴⁵ Significantly, the two divinities who had been titled as *promakhos* in other cities are both associated as a group in Thebes as *pronaioi*. The epithet *pronaos*, in fact, refers to the arrangement of these images "before the temple", but it also underlines the role of the gods as guardians.⁴⁶ Thus the southern area outside the gates was defended and protected by three divinities (Heracles, Hermes, and Athena) for whom only there is record of their cult and/or representation as *promakhoi*.⁴⁷

⁴³ J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*, Leipzig 1868, 299 n. 1578; G. Lippold, *Die griechische Plastik: Handbuch der Archäologie*, III, 1, Berlin 1950, 248; G. Fogolari, s.v. "Eubios", *EAA*, vol. 3, Roma 1960, 512; P. Moreno, s.v. "Xenocritos", *EAA*, vol. 7, Roma 1966, 1234; Schachter 1986 (above n. 28) 23 note 3; L. Todisco, *Scultura greca del IV secolo. Maestri e scuole di statuaria tra classicità ed ellenismo*, Milano 1993, 44. A. Rumpf (s.v. "Xenocritos (5)", *RE IX A2*, 1967, column 1533) dates the Heracles *Promakhos* about the end of the fourth century BC, while C. Robert (s.v. "Eubios (7)", *RE*, VI, 1, 1907, column 851) is more cautiously talking of unknown period.

⁴⁴ Paus. 9,11,4; Pind. *Nem.* 4,19, *Isthm.* 4,61–2; Symeonoglou 1985 (above n. 6) 133. Pindar's odes contain many references to the Theban monuments as well as to the Heracleion: see R. Sevieri, "Cantare la città: tempo mitico e spazio urbano nell'Istmica 7 di Pindaro per Strepisade di Tebe", in P. A. Bernardini (ed.) *Presenza e funzione della città di Tebe nella cultura greca. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Urbino 7–9 luglio 1997)*, Pisa – Roma 2000, 179–92.

⁴⁵ Paus. 9,10,2.

⁴⁶ P. Cloché, *Thèbes de Béotie. Des origines à la conquête romaine*, Namur 1952, 188.

⁴⁷ B. Currie (*Pindar and the Cult of Heroes*, Oxford 2005, 213–14) suggests the possibility that Hector too was venerated as a *promakhos* at Thebes and in the Troad. The scholar mentions coins from the Troad which portray Hector in fighting pose and literary descriptions of the hero as a saviour. Currie's suggestion is interesting, but the title *promakhos* attached to Hector is not supported by any kind of evidence. I thank Prof. Mika Kajava for bringing this reference

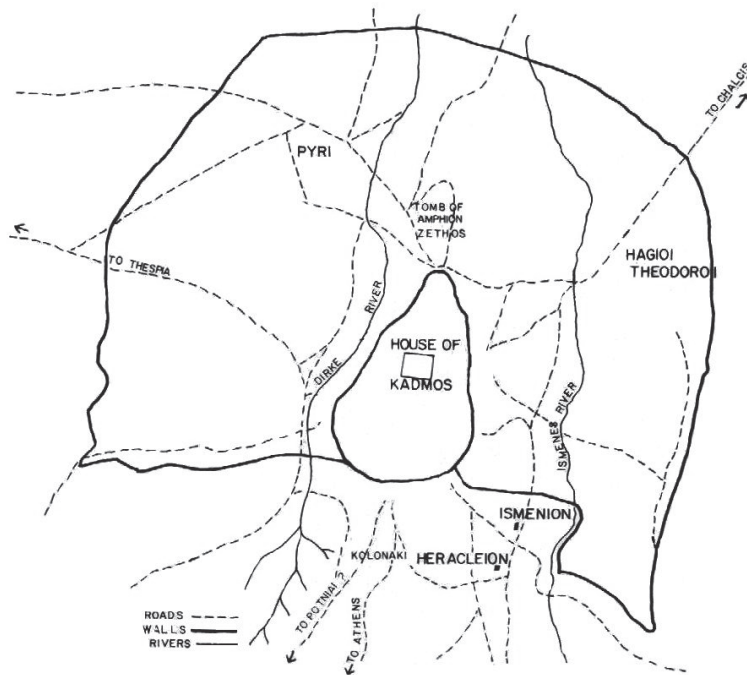


Fig. 3: Map of Thebes, adapted from the map of N. H. Demand, *Thebes in the Fifth Century: Heracles Resurgent*, Norfolk 1982, Fig. 2.

Conclusions

The analysis of textual sources and historical events suggests that the title *promakhos*, as it is used in literary record to describe Hermes at Tanagra, Athena at Athens, and that Heracles at Thebes was introduced later than the erection of Athena's and Heracles' statues and the building of the temple to Hermes.

In fact, in his descriptions of Heracles *Promakhos* at Thebes and Hermes *Promakhos* at Tanagra, Pausanias uses the words *kaloumenon*, *legousin* and *nomizousin* to signify the oral traditions and local beliefs on which the Periegete is drawing his account. Similarly, the reference to the statue of Athena *Promakhos*, which only appears in a late Scholium to Demosthenes, contains the verb *ekaleito* to indicate a late habitual practice of using that title. However, even in later times, the term *promakhos* kept its original meaning and association to fight and defence.

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**IOVII CORNVTI, AVXILIARII MILIARENSES EQVITES E HIBERI:
CORREZIONI TESTUALI ED ESEGETICHE
A TRE EPIGRAFI TARDOANTICHE DI MILITARI ROMANI**

MAURIZIO COLOMBO

1. L'epigrafe di Flavius Aemilianus a Nacolia

AE 1977, 806: In perpetuo sequolo securitatis post omnia. | Fl(auio) Aemiliano, duc(enario) e numerum Io(uiorum) Corn(utorum) sen(iorum). uixit | an(nos) XLVII, militauit stipendia XXVII, natus in Da|cia ciuit[a] – te Fla(ua) Singedonum. Donicum uixit | delequit qu[o]s [o]portet amicus nec inimico[s] cre|auit, cui ui[d]u[us in] sepulchrum iacet dulci|tudine et luce. Et tu, uiator; iter qui carper|is tuum, resista et relege bonis memoriae | memoria, quen fecerunt Aelianus et Aelius | filii ipsius. uiuate ualete superi felices, | ego autem in sedes eternas. Dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Constanti A(ugusti) | VIII et Iuliani c(on)s(ulatu).¹

La datazione consolare dell'epitaffio (356 d.C.) ci offre un prezioso termine di riferimento cronologico per l'interpretazione del testo; alla fine delle argomentazioni questa data acquisirà un valore finora insospettato tanto sul piano esegetico quanto a fini prosopografici. Il punto cruciale dell'iscrizione si trova alla r. 2 *e numerum Io(uiorum) Corn(utorum) sen(iorum)*, dove Thomas Drew-Bear, meritorio editore dell'epigrafe, esita tra gli scioglimenti *Io(uiorum)* e *Io(uianorum)*; la lezione *Io(uiorum)* e le conseguenti deduzioni di Drew-Bear sono state recepite acriticamente nella letteratura scientifica.² Ma sia Drew-Bear sia gli altri studiosi

¹ Th. Drew-Bear, "A Fourth-Century Latin Soldier's Epitaph at Nakolea", *HSCP* 81 (1977) 257–74, qui rilevanti soprattutto 267–74.

² Ibid. 272–73: ad esempio, M. P. Speidel, "Raising New Units for the Late Roman Army: *Auxilia Palatina*", *DOP* 50 (1996) 167–70 e Id., "The Four Earliest *Auxilia Palatina*", *REMA* 1, (2004), 135 e n. 10, dove invece esprime la sua preferenza per lo scioglimento *Io(uiani)*; H. Elton, *Warfare in Roman Europe, AD 350–425*, Oxford 1996, 95 e Id., "Military forces",

hanno curiosamente trascurato un problema fondamentale. L'abbreviazione *IO* per *IO(VII)* o *IO(VIANI)* non è mai attestata; i bolli laterizi della *I Iouia Scythica*, così come le epigrafi funebri di soldati appartenenti alla *legio comitatensis* e poi *palatina* degli *Iouiani*, sono molto eloquenti a questo proposito. L'agg. *IOVIVS* è normalmente abbreviato in *IOV* (*AE* 1989, 641 = 1990, 866) o *IOVI* (*AE* 1976, 636g–l), e l'agg. sostantivato *IOVIANI* in *IOV* (*CIL* III 10232) o *IOVIAN* (*AE* 2002, 538).³

Le lettere *o* e *q* sono praticamente uguali nell'iscrizione di Nacolia;⁴ quindi la fantomatica abbreviazione *IO* in realtà deve essere letta *IQ*, banale errore del lapicida per la consueta abbreviazione *EQ(VITVM)*, come giustamente congetturò Dietrich Hoffmann.⁵ Si noti che già Dario Bertolini aveva commesso un errore molto simile, identificando gli *equites Bracchiati (sen.)* di *CIL* V 8760 con presunti *Iouii Bracchiati*.⁶

La lezione *<E>Q(VITVM)* è corroborata da numerose iscrizioni, che attestano i seguenti fatti:⁷ 1) l'occorrenza del medesimo errore almeno in un altro caso;⁸ 2) l'uso ancora vigente dell'abbreviazione *eq.* per *equites*;⁹ 3) la frequente presenza dell'appellativo *equites* al primo posto del nome reggimentale;¹⁰ 4) l'in-

in Ph. Sabin – H. van Wees – M. Whitby (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare*, II, Cambridge 2007, 274; M. J. Nicasic, *Twilight of Empire. The Roman Army from the Reign of Diocletian until the Battle of Adrianople*, Amsterdam 1998, 26.

³ Cfr. anche *CIL* III 3231: *pro salute dd(ominorum) nn(ostrorum) Iouio(rum) et Herculio(rum) Augg(ustorum) nn(ostrorum)*.

⁴ Drew-Bear (sopra nt. 1) 258.

⁵ Ibid. 272 nt. 64. È opportuno osservare che Drew-Bear giustifica con un'argomentazione circolare la sua scelta: la lezione *Io(uii)* data la creazione del reparto al regno di Diocleziano, e l'esistenza "not inherently impossible" del reparto già sotto Diocleziano consiglia "to explain the text as it stands".

⁶ D. Bertolini, "Scavi concordiesi", *Bull. Inst.* (1875) 113 nr. 52 e 121: Drew-Bear e tutti gli studiosi nella sua scia sembrano ignorare tale precedente.

⁷ Il testo delle epigrafi tardoantiche di Concordia viene citato secondo l'edizione di G. Lettich, *Le iscrizioni sepolcrali tardoantiche di Concordia*, Trieste 1983 = *ISConcor*.

⁸ *RMD* V 378 intus tab. I: *IQVITIB(VS)*.

⁹ *CIL* V 4376; XIII 1848; *InscrAqu* II 2858; *AE* 1935, 171 e 1993, 1607. A questo proposito possiamo citare anche molti esempi dell'Alto Impero: *CIL* III 600. 793. 5212. 5924; V 875. 2162. 6478; VI 226. 1523. 3178. 3206. 3253. 32933; VIII 8796 = 18021 e 10629 = 16549; IX 996; X 3847; XI 712; XVI 75; *RIB* I 583; *AE* 1957, 341; 1983, 69; 2000, 555; 2004, 309.

¹⁰ *CIL* III 405. 5565. 14406a; V 4376. 8758. 8760. 8777; VIII 8490 e 9255; XIII 1848; *InscrAqu* II 2858; *AE* 1891, 106 = *ILCV* 504 = *ISConcor* 27; 1935, 171; 1984, 825; 1993, 1607.

cisione erronea di *I* al posto di *E*;¹¹ 5) l'errore inverso (*E* invece di *I*);¹² 6) l'incisione erronea di *O* al posto di *Q*;¹³ 7) l'errore inverso (*Q* invece di *O*).¹⁴

La stessa iscrizione di Flavius Aemilianus può contenere uno scambio di *I* con *E*; infatti la grafia *Singedonum* è uno ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in ambito epigrafico, dove incontriamo sempre le forme *Singidunum* e *Singidunenses*,¹⁵ e trova un riscontro puntuale (Σιγγηδόνον) soltanto in due passi di Procopio,¹⁶ che comunque altrove impiega sempre il toponimo Σιγγιδόνον.¹⁷ I testi contemporanei in lingua latina scrivono sempre *Singidunum*;¹⁸ troviamo questa forma sia nelle opere geografiche,¹⁹ sia in Marcellino e Iordanes, anche se due mss. dei *Getica* offrono la variante *Singidonum*.²⁰ Gli autori greci oscillano tra varie grafie:

¹¹ *CIL* V 6244: *iternam* (*ae > e*). 8738 = *ISConcor* 19: *omnim*. 8753 = *ISConcor* 50: *molistauirit*. 8758 = *ISConcor* 23: *apirire*. 8761 = *ISConcor* 41: *pricidentur* (*ae > e*: cfr. 8762: *precidentur* e 8768: *precidentur*). 8775 = *ISConcor* 79: *ia*; VI 3207: *equis*; XIII 3458: *equis in uixelatione*; *ILCV* 822 = *ISConcor* 8: *iacit*; *AE* 1890, 144 = *ILS* 2796 = *ILCV* 494 = *ISConcor* 44: *arginti* e 1912, 44 = *ILCV* 507: *centinarius*. Altri esempi in *ILS* III 2, pp. 820–821.

¹² *CIL* V 8764 = *ISConcor* 57: *enfer(at)*. 8768 = *ISConcor* 54: *milete e fesco*. 8770 = *ISConcor* 10: *prencipalis e dauet*. 8772 = *ISConcor* 75: *apere(re)*. 8776 = *ISConcor* 39: *bearcus*; XIII 3458 (v. nt. precedente); *AE* 1890, 144 = *ILS* 2796 = *ILCV* 494 = *ISConcor* 44: *de numero Herulurum seneorum e emet*; 1891, 105 = *ILS* 2805 = *ILCV* 522 = *ISConcor* 28: *bearcus*; 1890, 146 = *ILCV* 548 = *ISConcor* 45: *[ape]rere*. Altri esempi in *ILS* III 2, pp. 813–814. I casi citati per *E > I* e *I > E* sono sicuramente frutto di confusione grafica, poiché altre epigrafi, che furono incise nello stesso periodo e nella medesima provincia o località, presentano la grafia corretta. *Contra* V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, Paris 1981³, 36–37 e 135.

¹³ *CIL* III 14406a: *oui* (due volte) e *ouinonaginta < quinquaginta*; V 8758 = *ISConcor* 23: *cinoue*. 8760 = *ISConcor* 25: *ouis*. 8777 = *ISConcor* 29: *ou[i]* e *[i]n nu(mero) eoui(tum) VIII Dalm(atarum)*; VI 2787: *oui* e 32965: *aeouitum*; *AE* 1901, 150: *ouooue, undioue e denioue*; 2000, 1223: *Eouiti*.

¹⁴ *CIL* V 8758 = *ISConcor* 23: *uqu(erit) < uolu(erit)*; *AE* 1948, 148: *ex nomerqm Maurorum* e 1990, 211: *Volcaciq*.

¹⁵ *CIL* III 6328; *ILBulg* 366; *ILJug* III 2681.

¹⁶ Procop. *De aedif.* 4,5,12 e 16. Cfr. anche Σιγγηδόν di Menand. Prot. fig. 63 = *FHG* IV, 264–265 Müller.

¹⁷ Procop. *Vand.* 1,2,6; *Goth.* 1,15,27; 2,15,30; 3,33,13.

¹⁸ *Itin. Burdig.* 563,14; *C. Theod.* 10,15,2 e 11,30,28 (cfr. anche *C. Iust.* 4,19,21 e 9,20,12); *Not. Dign. Or.* 41,30. È opportuno precisare che l'*Itinerarium Burdigalense* spesso presenta le forme dei toponimi consuete alla lingua parlata: ad esempio, *Itin. Burdig.* 568, 4 *ciuitas Filopopuli* trova riscontro nell'agg. toponimico *Filopopulitanus/Filopopuletanus* di *CIL* VI 2601 e 2785.

¹⁹ *Itin. Anton. Aug.* 132,1; Iul. Honor. *Cosmogr.* 19 e 25 = *GLM*, 35 e 39 Riese; *Tab. Peut.* 7,1.

²⁰ Marcell. ad a. 441,3 = *Chron. Min.* II, 80 Mommsen; Iord. *Get.* 282.

Σινγίδουνον,²¹ Σεγγιδών,²² Σιγγιδών,²³ Σιγγιδώνον,²⁴ Σιγιδούνον.²⁵ Perciò la grafia **Singidonum* sarebbe stata normale nel 356 d.C. e risulterebbe accettabile; invece la forma *Singedonum* autorizza a sospettare fortemente un errore del lapicida.²⁶

Le epigrafi funerarie di militari tardoantichi a Concordia offrono numerosi dati a supporto della congettura qui presentata. Giova sottolineare un fatto fondamentale: quando si tratta di reparti equestri con omonimi nell'ambito degli *auxilia*, il sost. *equites* compare sempre.²⁷ Incontriamo addirittura una forma di ridondanza nel caso dei *Comites sagittarii sen.*, dove il nome stesso del reggimento sarebbe stato sufficiente a renderne certa l'identificazione quale *uexillatio equitum*.²⁸ Quando si tratta di unità omonime e l'appellativo *equites* manca, si può sostenere con ragionevole sicurezza che il reggimento menzionato è un *auxilium*.²⁹ Il solo nome dell'unità basta a dichiararne la natura equestre, quando

²¹ Ptol. *Geog.* 3,9,3.

²² Philostorg. 4,10 = *PG* LXV, 524.

²³ Socr. 1,27 e 2,12 = *PG* LXVII, 153 e 208.

²⁴ Soz. 3,12 = *PG* LXVII, 1064.

²⁵ Zos. 4,35,6.

²⁶ Drew-Bear (sopra nt. 1) 261 ovviamente trascura questa possibilità e tralascia di esaminare in maniera metodica tutte le forme attestate del toponimo.

²⁷ *CIL* V 8760 = *ISConcor* 25: *de numero equium Bracchiaiorum*; *AE* 1890, 145 = *ILCV* 514 = *ISConcor* 24: *de n(umero) Brac(chiatorum) sen(iorum) equit(um)* e 147 = *ILCV* 498 = *ISConcor* 26: *de Batauis equ(itibus) sen(ioribus)*. Cfr. anche D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum*, I, Düsseldorf 1969, 67 e II, Düsseldorf 1970, 22–3 ntt. 96 e 102.

²⁸ *CIL* V 8758 = *ISConcor* 23: *de equitum Comitis seni(orum) sagit(tariorum)*.

²⁹ *CIL* V 8740 = *ISConcor* 34: *numeri Bracchiatorum*. 8743 = *ISConcor* 36: *de num(ero) Bat(auorum) sen(iorum)*. 8752 = *ISConcor* 37: *de numero Bataorum seniorum*. 8759 = *ISConcor* 38: *de numero Batauorum sen(iorum)*. 8761 = *ISConcor* 41: *d(e) n(umero) Bataorum seniorum*. 8773 = *ISConcor* 40: *numeri Bataor(um) sen(iorum)*. 8776 = *ISConcor* 39: *de numero Bataorum seniorum*; *AE* 1891, 101 = *ILCV* 544 = *ISConcor* 35: *de numero Bataorum seniorum*. Sembra utile precisare che il *campidoctor* di *CIL* V 8773 = *ISConcor* 40 identifica sicuramente il reparto con un *auxilium*, dato che questo grado era assente nelle *uexillationes equitum*.

il reparto appartiene alle *scholae palatinae* e agli *equites Dalmatae*,³⁰ lo stesso talvolta accade anche altrove.³¹

L'unica eccezione potrebbe essere il *numerus Armigerorum*,³² infatti conosciamo cinque reggimenti denominati *Armigeri*, che potrebbero essere stati dislocati temporaneamente nella regione di Concordia: tre *legiones* (*Armigeri Propugnatores sen. e iun.*, *Armigeri Defensores sen.*)³³ e due *uexillationes comitatenses*, entrambe chiamate *equites Armigeri sen.*³⁴ Ma la bilancia pende leggermente a favore dell'identificazione con una delle tre *legiones* grazie a *CIL VIII 9255*; questa iscrizione, menzionando gli *equites Armigeri iun.*, sembra indicare che l'appellativo *equites* facesse parte integrante del nome reggimentale nelle *uexillationes equitum* denominate *Armigeri*.

Infine si osservi che in cinque iscrizioni, dove sono menzionati reparti equestri, il sost. *numerus* precede sempre l'appellativo *equites* (*CIL V 8760 e 8777 = ISConcor 25 e 29; CIL XIII 1848; InscrAqu II 2858; AE 1891, 106 = ILCV 504 = ISConcor 27*); la presenza di *numerus* davanti a *equites* anche in *CIL V 8758 = ISConcor 23* e la sua omissione per un mero accidente è un'ipotesi verosimile. Perciò la lezione <E>*Q(VITVM) CORN(VTORVM) SEN(IORVM)* appare essere plausibile sotto tutti gli aspetti, poiché è perfettamente compatibile con i tipi di errore riscontrati in altre epigrafi, rispetta la formula onomastica dei reparti equestri (l'appellativo *equites* collocato molto spesso al primo posto e talvolta preceduto da *numerus*) e distingue in maniera debita la *uexillatio* dall'omonimo *auxilium*.

Tale correzione trova sostegno indiretto in un passo di Ammiano Marcellino. Lo storiografo, narrando le incursioni degli Isauri nel 354 d.C., riferisce che

³⁰ *AE 1891, 104 = ILCV 497 = ISConcor 22: ex numero Armaturarum e 105 = ILS 2805 = ISConcor 28: ex numero Octaua Dalmatas* (ma cfr. *CIL V 8777 = ISConcor 29*); 2002, 539: *ex n(umero) Scutari[orum]*.

³¹ *CIL V 5823: ex numer(o) Dalmat(arum) Fort(ensium). 7000: num(eri) Dal(matarum) Diuit(ensium). 7001: n(umeri) Delm(atarum) Diuit(ensium); XIII 8331: ex numer(o) Gentil(ium); AE 1951, 30 = IK 27, 101: num(eri) Scut(ariorum)*. L'omissione dell'appellativo *equites* o del sost. *uexillatio* molto saltuariamente riguarda anche altri reggimenti con nomi altrettanto eloquenti: *Scutarii* (*CIL III 7465 e AE 1946, 42*), *Promoti* (*CIL XIII 8332 e IMS III 2, 53*), *Catafractarii* (*CIL XIII 3493 e 6238; AE 1912, 192 = IBulgarien 52*).

³² *CIL V 8747 = ISConcor 31*.

³³ *Not. Dign. Occ. 5,151 e 156 = 7,142–143; 5,227 = 7,80*. Mentre gli *Armigeri Defensores sen.* rimasero una *legio comitatensis*, gli *Armigeri Propugnatores sen. e iun.* erano *legiones comitatenses* poi promosse a *palatinae*.

³⁴ *Not. Dign. Occ. 6,54 e 66 = 7,173 e 184*.

l'intervento casuale di *equestres cohortes* li costrinse ad interrompere il saccheggio dei villaggi presso Laranda, città della *Lycaonia* meridionale, e a ritirarsi in *Isauria*;³⁵ nel lessico ammiano l'espressione *equestres cohortes* è uno dei sinonimi soliti sostituire il termine tecnico *uexillatio/uexillationes equitum* per amore di eleganza letteraria e di *uariatio*.³⁶ È molto probabile che una delle *uexillationes* nominate in quel passo debba essere identificata proprio con gli *equites Cornuti sen.* del *ducenarius* Flavius Aemilianus.

La presenza fortuita degli *equites Cornuti sen.* nei pressi di Laranda trova una spiegazione molto valida nella sequenza stessa dei fatti. La prima incursione degli Isauri aveva investito la *Lycaonia*; dopo essere stati respinti dai *pedites* dislocati nei *municipia* e *castella* della *Pisidia* orientale e della *Cappadocia* sudoccidentale,³⁷ essi avevano attaccato la *Pamphylia*. La guarnigione di Side impedì agli Isauri di varcare il fiume Melas; a quel punto essi tornarono in *Lycaonia* e giunsero nei pressi di Laranda.³⁸ Questa città si trovava al termine del tragitto più breve dalla *Phrygia* centrale alla *Lycaonia* meridionale.³⁹ Dopo che il primo attacco degli Isauri contro la *Lycaonia* era stato respinto dai reggimenti di fanteria prossimi alla regione, gli *equites Cornuti sen.* e almeno un'altra *uexillatio*

³⁵ Amm. 14,2,11–12.

³⁶ Sull'abituale idiosincrasia di Ammiano per i termini tecnici cfr. ora M. Colombo, "Alcune questioni ammiane", *RomBarb* 16 (1999) 44–58, soprattutto 51–3. Esaustiva trattazione della *uariatio* ammiana in H. Hagendahl, *Studia Ammiana*, Diss. Uppsala 1921, 99–138.

³⁷ È palmare che la frase di Amm. 14,2,5: *milites per municipia plurima, quae isdem conterminant, dispositos et castella* allude a unità di *comitatenses* (= *municipia*) e di *limitanei* (= *castella*) stanziati in prossimità della *Lycaonia* e dell'*Isauria* (= *isdem*, poiché erano state appena menzionate in 14,2,4). Il dato geografico, cioè la contiguità a entrambe le regioni, sembra localizzare le truppe coinvolte soltanto in *Pisidia* orientale e *Cappadocia* sudoccidentale; la *Phrygia* sudorientale e la *Galatia* meridionale confinavano con la sola *Lycaonia*, mentre la catena montuosa del Taurus era un grave ostacolo all'eventuale intervento di *pedites* dislocati nella *Cilicia* occidentale (ciò valeva anche in senso inverso, come dimostra Amm. 14,2,20: l'assedio di Seleucia ad Calycadnum è interrotto dal *comes Orientis* Nebridius, che muove le insegne da Antiochia).

³⁸ Amm. 14,2,4–11.

³⁹ R. J. A. Talbert (ed.), *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, Princeton – Oxford 2000, mappe 62–63 e 66: Nacolia – Mirus – Ipsus – Philomelium – Laodicea Combusta – Iconium – Lystra – Laranda, ovvero Nacolia – Amorium – Philomelium – Laodicea Combusta – Iconium – Lystra – Laranda. Sembra giusto puntualizzare che nel 354 d.C. gli *equites Cornuti sen.* potevano essere dislocati anche in un'altra località della *Phrygia* o in *Galatia*; sotto la dinastia teodosiana la *legio palatina* dei *Lancierii iun.* è attestata sia in due città della *Pisidia*, Iconium (*CIG* III 4004) e Laodicea Combusta (*MAMA* I 167 e 169), sia nella *Galatia* meridionale (*MAMA* I 306).

furono celermente mobilitati e inviati in *Lycaonia* al fine di rinforzarne ulteriormente la difesa; il loro arrivo nella regione di Laranda coincise fortunatamente con la seconda scorreria degli Isauri contro la *Lycaonia*.

Se ammettiamo che già alla morte di Costantino tutti i reparti *seniores* o la grande maggioranza di essi fossero dislocati in Occidente,⁴⁰ la presenza degli *equites Cornuti sen.* a Nacolia nel 356 d.C. può essere inquadrata nelle conseguenze secondarie della guerra civile tra Costanzo II e Magnenzio. I reggimenti *seniores*, che avevano militato agli ordini di Costantino II e di Costante, combatterono appunto per l'usurpatore; è assai verosimile che gli *equites Cornuti sen.* fossero appartenuti all'*exercitus praesentalis* di Costante, dal momento che per prestigio e anzianità essi occupavano una posizione assai elevata nella gerarchia delle *uexillationes comitatenses*.⁴¹ Costanzo II, dopo la fine delle ostilità, trasferì alcuni reparti del *tyrannus* in Oriente; ciò viene esplicitamente ricordato per due *auxilia* creati dal defunto usurpatore, i *Magnentiaci* e i *Decentiaci*, che nel 359 d.C. insieme ad altre cinque unità dei *comitatenses* (due *legiones*, due *auxilia* e la *pars maior* di una *uexillatio equitum*) rinforzarono i *limitanei* di Amida prima dell'attacco persiano.⁴² Questo provvedimento seguiva una prassi tradizionale: dopo la battaglia di ponte Milvio i soldati di Massenzio furono trasferiti da Costantino nelle province renane e in *Raetia II*.⁴³

Negli anni 354–357 d.C. Costanzo II era in Occidente, dove l'*exercitus praesentalis* prese parte a quattro campagne contro gli Alamanni Brisigavi, Lentienses e Iuthungi.⁴⁴ Se gli *equites Cornuti sen.* avessero prestato servizio

⁴⁰ Sulla controversa questione della bipartizione *seniores–iuniores* cfr. ora M. Colombo, "Constantinus rerum nouator: dal *comitatus* diocleziano ai *palatini* di Valentiniano I", *Klio* 90 (2008) 126–9 e 152–6: una datazione analoga già in Nicasie (sopra nt. 2) 34 e 38–41. Per le altre ipotesi v. nt. 81.

⁴¹ Le liste molto più tarde delle *uexillationes palatinae* sembrano indicare che il vertice originario delle *uexillationes comitatenses* fosse occupato in ordine discendente da *Comites sen.*, *equites Promoti sen.*, *equites Bataui sen.*, *equites Brachiati sen.* ed *equites Cornuti sen.* (*Not. Dign. Or.* 5,28; 6,28–29; *Occ.* 6,43–45 e 47–48). L'istituzione dei *palatini* sembra essere dovuta a Valentiniano I e risalire al 365 d.C.: Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer* I (sopra nt. 27) 396–404, soprattutto 396–7; Colombo, "Constantinus" (sopra nt. 40) 139–40.

⁴² *Amm.* 18,9,3–4.

⁴³ *Pan. Lat.* 12,21,2–3 Mynors: per l'esegesi dell'espressione *Rheno Danubioque praetendunt* cfr. ora M. Colombo, "Exempla strategici, simboli geografici ed *aquilae* in alcuni passi di Ammiano Marcellino", *Arctos* 40 (2006) 16.

⁴⁴ *Amm.* 14,10; 15,4; 16,12,15; 17,6. Cfr. anche M. Colombo, "Una revisione critica di *Amm.* 31. 10", *AAntHung* 47 (2007) 204 e Id., "La carriera militare di Valentiniano I. Studio letterario e documentario di prosopografia tardoantica", *Latomus* 68 (2009) 1004–5 n. 36.

nell'*exercitus praesentalis* di Costanzo II, la loro presenza in Asia Minore sarebbe stata totalmente priva di senso strategico; infatti un reparto scelto sarebbe stato sprecato in maniera assurda per banali compiti di guarnigione interna, mentre le necessità belliche avrebbero richiesto la sua partecipazione alle spedizioni in Occidente.⁴⁵ Ma la singolare situazione degli *equites Cornuti sen.* in realtà si adatta perfettamente a una dislocazione provvisoria per razionali esigenze di politica interna; la prudenza di Costanzo II era pienamente giustificata, poiché nel 355 d.C. l'*exercitus Gallicanus*, che era nato dall'*exercitus praesentalis* di Costante, appoggiò prontamente l'effimera usurpazione del *magister peditum praesentalis* Silvano.⁴⁶ Rispetto a *Magnentiaci* e *Decentiaci*, che erano ritenuti *fallaces et turbidi* ed erano stati stanziati nella *dioecesis Orientis*, la posizione degli *equites Cornuti sen.* era alquanto migliore; essi apparivano meno sospetti o si erano compromessi in misura minore, dato che presidiavano una città della *dioecesis Asia-na*.⁴⁷

L'emendazione e l'interpretazione dell'epigrafe proposte in questo studio comportano sostanziali miglioramenti delle nostre conoscenze sulla storia militare del IV secolo d.C. La storia degli *auxilia* e delle omonime *uexillationes* riconquista coerenza evolutiva e chiara articolazione, che da un lato riconducono la loro creazione direttamente a Costantino, dall'altro confutano le teorie ancora persistenti circa la presunta germanizzazione dell'esercito romano già al principio dell'età costantiniana. Egli partì dalle peculiari caratteristiche delle truppe a disposizione di Costanzo I e sfruttò abilmente il materiale umano della Gallia, per plasmare in maniera originale il proprio *comitatus*; esso grazie a Galli e Germani cisrenani, che irrobustirono con proprie unità la cavalleria leggera d'urto e conferirono maggiore peso alla fanteria leggera d'assalto, assunse caratteri distinti e innovativi rispetto alla tradizionale composizione dei *comitatus* tetrarchici.⁴⁸ La stessa presenza di un Meso in un reggimento appartenente alla cavalleria d'urto costantiniana, proprio per la data alta del suo arruolamento (ventisette *stipendia*, computati secondo il calcolo inclusivo dei Romani, ci portano al 330 d.C.), indica che i nuovi reparti si integrarono subito nell'apparato militare del Tardo Impero

⁴⁵ È utile rammentare che la terribile ecatombe di Mursa (Eutr. 10,12,1; *Epit. de Caes.* 42,4; Zos. 2,50,4–53,1; Zon. 13,8,13–17) non permetteva simili sprechi di truppe scelte.

⁴⁶ Amm. 15,5,15–31.

⁴⁷ Si noti incidentalmente che Nacolia ospitò anche i Greuthungi/Ostrogothi di Tribigildus: Philostorg. 11,8 = *PG LXV*, 604.

⁴⁸ Colombo, "*Constantinus*" (sopra nt. 40) 134–40 e 156–9.

anche a livello etnico; è utile ricordare che dal III secolo d.C. i provinciali danubiani e balcanici fornivano il nerbo delle legioni e della cavalleria scelta.⁴⁹

Anche tramite questa iscrizione la carriera militare di Valentiniano I può essere ricostruita in maniera alternativa alle tesi correnti.⁵⁰ Tralasciando gli altri aspetti della questione, più precisamente le manipolazioni narrative di Ammiano ai danni del futuro imperatore e le pie falsificazioni degli storiografi ecclesiastici per scopi edificanti, qui possiamo limitarci a dire che egli era un ufficiale di cavalleria, e nel biennio 356–357 d.C. fu al servizio di Giuliano *Caesar* sul fronte renano; il suo reggimento erano i Κουρνοῦδοι, che poi egli comandò anche nelle guerre danubiane di Costanzo II e durante la campagna mesopotamica di Giuliano. Il reparto di Valentiniano ora può essere sicuramente identificato con gli *equites Cornuti iun.*, dal momento che nel 356 d.C. gli omonimi *seniores* erano ancora dislocati in Asia Minore; è molto probabile che nel 353/354 d.C. essi furono temporaneamente prestati dall'*exercitus praesentalis* di Costanzo II all'*exercitus Gallicanus*, proprio per compensare il trasferimento precauzionale degli *equites Cornuti sen.* in Oriente.⁵¹ Poi nell'autunno 357/inverno 358 d.C. Giuliano *Caesar* restituì gli *equites Cornuti iun.* a Costanzo II, che allora stava preparando una serie di campagne contro i *Reitervölker* del medio Danubio, cioè Sarmati Liberi, Quadi e Sarmati Limigantes. Valentiniano, prima di essere promosso a *tribunus scholae II Scutariorum*, aveva già raggiunto il vertice gerarchico dei comandi reggimentali; infatti egli comandava una delle migliori e più prestigiose

⁴⁹ Drew-Bear (sopra nt. 1) 261–2 trascura totalmente la grande importanza dell'*origo* danubiana in relazione al tipo di reggimento e alla data dell'arruolamento: le osservazioni enunciate nel testo chiaramente valgono anche per chi preferisca la lezione *Io(uii)* o *Io(uiani)* e identifichi i *Cornuti sen.* di Flavius Aemilianus con un *auxilium*.

⁵⁰ A questo proposito cfr. ora Colombo, "Valentiniano" (sopra nt. 44) 997–1013.

⁵¹ Amm. 16,12,45 e 20,1,3 documenta il prestito di *comitatenses* da parte di Costanzo II all'*exercitus Gallicanus*. Nel primo brano i *Reges* abbinati ai *Bataui* sono sicuramente i *Regii* di *Not. Dign. Or.* 6,49 (v. anche nt. 79). I due *numeri Moesiacorum* del secondo passo sono associati a *Heruli* e *Bataui* sotto l'etichetta comune di *uelitare auxilium*; perciò essi o sono due *auxilia* così denominati (cfr. *Not. Dign. Or.* 40,24–25), che poi vennero distrutti in battaglia prima della *Notitia Dignitatum*, o devono essere identificati con *Constantiani* e *Constantiniani* (*Not. Dign. Or.* 5,52 e 6,52: cfr. *Not. Dign. Or.* 39,23 e 25–26; 40,20 e 26). Il caso dei *Primani* in Amm. 16,12,49 risulta essere più aleatorio, poiché essi trovano riscontro sia in *Not. Dign. Or.* 6,45 sia in *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,249 = 7,146; i *Primani* di Argentoratum, se fossero la legione orientale, potrebbero venire identificati con uno dei τέτταρες ἀριθμοὶ τῶν κρατίστων πεζῶν inviati da Giuliano a Costanzo II prima dell'inverno 360 d.C. (Iul. *Epist. ad Athen.* 280 D). Su questo passo cfr. Colombo, "Valentiniano" (sopra nt. 44) 1006 nt. 47.

uexillationes sia nell'ambito dell'*exercitus Gallicanus*, sia nell'*exercitus praesentalis* di Costanzo II e di Giuliano.

2. Due iscrizioni di Concordia

AE 1891, 103 = ILCV 395 = ISConcor 56: Fl(aui) Martidio p(rae)p(osito) auxiliariorum mill eoui[- -]um, qui militauit ann(os) XXXVIII. Fl(auius) Exuperantius | filius patri carissimo arcam conpara(uit) | et ordinauit [su-] is. si quis eam conticeriuit, | capitis periculum patia|tur.

CIL V 8745 = ISConcor 55: Sepulcrum meum conmodo | ciui(tatis) Con(cordiensium) r(euerentissimo) clero | Fl(auius) Diocles, ce|ntenarius n(umeri) Eborum ausiliun p(a)l(atinum), positus | in hac arca. si quis uoluerit se hic ponere, dab|it fisco auri pondo trea quem.⁵²

I nomi dei reggimenti menzionati nelle due epigrafi di Concordia finora hanno trovato soluzioni poco soddisfacenti. Il reparto della prima iscrizione viene normalmente letto *auxiliariorum mil<i>(arensium) e<q>ui[t]um*; gli *Ebores* della seconda sono stati ricondotti alla città iberica di Ebora o alla tribù belgica degli Eburones.⁵³ Entrambi i nomi reggimentali risultano ignoti alla *Notitia Dignitatum*. Dietrich Hoffmann da un lato ha proposto la lettura *auxiliariorum mil(itum) L<a>toui[c]um* per la prima unità,⁵⁴ dall'altro ripresenta e difende un'altra interpretazione di *Eborum*, che sarebbe la forma degradata di *<I>b<e>r(or)um* e corrisponderebbe appunto agli *Hiberi*, un *auxilium palatinum* dell'esercito orientale.⁵⁵

L'insolito agg. *miliarensis* (< *miliaria*), riferito ad una *cohors*, è documentato da un'epigrafe di Aquileia;⁵⁶ un'*ala II Miliarensis* compare in *Arabia*,⁵⁷ un *auxilium Miliarensium* è registrato in *Dacia ripensis*,⁵⁸ mentre i *milites Mili-*

⁵² L'espressione *ausiliun p(a)l(atinum)* deve essere ritenuta un nominativo di rubrica: J. B. Hofmann – A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*, München 1972², 27–9.

⁵³ Bertolini (sopra nt. 6) 121.

⁵⁴ D. Hoffmann, "Die spätrömischen Soldatengrabschriften von Concordia", *MH* 20 (1963) 52–6; Id., *Bewegungsheer* I (sopra nt. 27) 72–4.

⁵⁵ Hoffmann, "Soldatengrabschriften" (sopra nt. 54) 48–50. In tale senso già L. Lefort, "Cimetière chrétien de Julia Concordia", *RA* 31 (1876) 332–3, che comunque proponeva di leggere <d>(e) <I>b(er)orum au<x>ili<o> p(a)l(atino).

⁵⁶ *CIL V 898 = InscrAqu II 2802: [Au]rel(ius) Moca militauit in [cohorte] Claud(ia) miliarensis.*

⁵⁷ *Not. Dign. Or.* 37,28.

⁵⁸ *Not. Dign. Or.* 42,23.

renses appartengono alla guarnigione della *Thebais*.⁵⁹ Ma nessuna iscrizione finora documenta eventuali abbreviazioni dell'agg. *miliarensis*. La correzione *mil<i>* comunque può essere tranquillamente recepita, dato che altre due epigrafi di Concordia commettono l'errore inverso confondendo *L* con *I*.⁶⁰

Tre *alae miliariae* e altrettante *cohortes miliariae* sono sopravvissute fino al tempo della *Notitia Dignitatum* e sono ancora elencate come tali da quel documento;⁶¹ due sole *cohortes* sono definite *equitatae* nelle liste della *Notitia Dignitatum*.⁶² Però in nessun caso la *Notitia Dignitatum* riferisce gli agg. *miliaria* ed *equitata* alla medesima unità. Se qualcuno preferisce spiegare il testo epigrafico con correzioni minime, è necessario ipotizzare che questa iscrizione rappresenti l'unica testimonianza circa la sopravvivenza di una *cohors miliaria equitata* fino al IV secolo d.C. e la sua trasformazione in un reggimento di *auxilarii*; pertanto *mil<i>(arensium)* rappresenterebbe l'unica occorrenza dell'abbreviazione *mili(arensis)* e la lettura vulgata *e<q>ui[t]um* nasconderebbe un fraintendimento dell'abbreviazione *equit(atorum)* da parte del lapicida o del redattore.

Ma si rammenti che *auxilarii/auxiliares* ed *equites* sono due categorie ben distinte di truppe nel IV secolo d.C.; il nome *auxilarii* o *auxiliares* designa normalmente i soli *auxilia* degli *pseudocomitatenses* e dei *limitanei*, mentre il termine *equites* definisce la grande maggioranza delle *uexillationes equitum* appartenenti a tutte le classi (*ripenses* o *limitanei*, *comitatenses* e *palatini*). La forma *auxilarii* è usata sia per tre *numeri pseudocomitatenses* degli eserciti orientali,⁶³ sia per un *auxilium* appartenente ai *comitatenses* orientali ovvero ai *ripenses* danubiani,⁶⁴ mentre gli *auxilia* degli eserciti ducali in *Illyricum* orientale

⁵⁹ *Not. Dign. Or.* 31,35.

⁶⁰ *AE* 1891, 102 = *ILCV* 473 = *ISConcor* 32 (due volte); *ISConcor* 71. Scambi analoghi: *E* al posto di *F* (*CIL* V 8737 = *ISConcor* 46; *ILCV* 547 = *ISConcor* 33; *AE* 1891, 102 = *ILCV* 473 = *ISConcor* 32; *ISConcor* 71), *I* invece di *T* (*CIL* V 8758 = *ISConcor* 23 e 8760 = *ISConcor* 25), *E* al posto di *T* (*ISConcor* 71) e *F* invece di *L* (*ILCV* 815 = *ISConcor* 70). Anche l'aplografia di *ILCV* 822 = *ISConcor* 8: *EMERAT <FRAT>ER* si spiega facilmente attraverso la confusione tra *E* e *F*.

⁶¹ *Not. Dign. Or.* 34,32 e 36; 37,25 e 31; 38,29–30.

⁶² *Not. Dign. Or.* 34,43 e 38,36.

⁶³ *Not. Dign. Or.* 6,69; 7,51; 9,40.

⁶⁴ *BGU* I 316, rr. 8–9 registra la presenza di un νόμepos ἀύσιλ[ιαρίων] Κωνσταντινιακῶν ad Ascalona il 12 Ottobre 359 d.C.; questa unità viene normalmente identificata con l'*auxilium* **comitatense* e poi *palatinum* dei *Constantiani* (*Not. Dign. Or.* 5,52). Ma la presenza degli *auxiliares milites I, IV e V Constantiani* negli eserciti ducali di *Moesia II* e di *Scythia* (*Not.*

sono denominati globalmente *auxiliares*;⁶⁵ sotto Valentiniano I l'agg. o appellativo secondario *auxiliares* contraddistingue proprio un reggimento dei *limitanei* norici.⁶⁶ Un'epigrafe solitamente datata al 286/293 d.C., ma forse collocabile nel 367/375, esibisce l'abbreviazione *mill.* per *militum*;⁶⁷ altre epigrafi, compresa una rinvenuta a Concordia, adoperano l'abbreviazione *mili.* per i casi obliqui di *miles* e di *milites*.⁶⁸ La frequente confusione di *E* con *I* e di *I* con *E* negli esempi citati sopra autorizza la congettura *auxiliariorum mil<i>(itum) <I>oui[or]um*.⁶⁹

Un'iscrizione di Concordia nomina sicuramente l'*auxilium palatinum* degli *Iouii iun.*, ma li definisce semplicemente *milites*;⁷⁰ oltre agli *Iouii iun.*, tra le sepolture militari di Concordia i soli legionari degli *Iouiani* vengono denominati collettivamente *milites*.⁷¹ Anche altrove l'appellativo *milites* è applicato indistintamente tanto a *legiones palatinae* o *comitatenses* e *auxilia palatina* quanto a reggimenti dei *limitanei*;⁷² il grado di *praepositus* non risulta dirimente, visto che esso designa anche il comandante di una *uexillatio equitum comitatensis* e di due *legiones comitatenses*.⁷³

Se l'uso dell'agg. *auxilarii* ha valore discriminante, gli *auxilarii milites Iouii* erano un reparto omonimo degli *Iouii sen.* e *iun.*, ma appartenevano ai *ripenses*; la loro presenza a Concordia potrebbe risalire al *bellum Magnenticum*, quando i migliori reparti dei *limitanei* renani e britannici contribuirono in maniera sostanziosa all'armata campale dell'usurpatore.⁷⁴ Altrimenti gli *auxilarii mili-*

Dign. Or. 39,25–26 e 40,26) prova anche l'esistenza di *II, *III e *VI *Constantiani*; uno dei tre reggimenti poi distrutti o rinominati potrebbe corrispondere agli ἀστυλιάριοι Κωνσταντιακοί.

⁶⁵ *Not. Dign. Or.* 39,19; 40,18; 41,20–23; 42,22.

⁶⁶ *CIL* III 5670a: *milites auxiliares Lauriacenses*.

⁶⁷ *CIL* XIII 11543 = *AE* 2000, 1040. Però lo scioglimento dell'abbreviazione *lig.* in *Lig(urum)* è irricevibile; è assai probabile che *lig.* esibisca il solito errore di grafia *E > I* e debba essere letto *l<e>g(ionis)*.

⁶⁸ *CIL* V 8764 = *ISConcor* 57; VI 3149; VIII 3125; IX 3307; XI 1936; *ILJug* I 316f e III 3103; *MAMA* X 114; *OBuNjem* 81; *RIU* II 582; *AE* 1996, 653a; 1997, 456; 2003, 1841; 2004, 898.

⁶⁹ *V. ntt.* 11–12. Ma cfr. Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer* I (sopra nt. 27) 72–3, che scarta la lettura *auxiliariorum mill(itum) Ioui[or]um*.

⁷⁰ *CIL* V 8753 = *ISConcor* 50.

⁷¹ *AE* 1893, 122 = *ILCV* 551 = *ISConcor* 30.

⁷² *CIL* III 3370. 5670a. 7494; VI 32969; *ILS* 9216; *AE* 1909, 108; 1922, 71; 1976, 490.

⁷³ *Equites catafractarii Pictauenses* (*CIL* III 14406a), *I Martiorum* (v. nt. 114) e *Octa(ua) [August]anensium* o *Octa[uoaugust]anenses* (v. nt. 116).

⁷⁴ Colombo, "Constantinus" (sopra nt. 40) 142–3.

tes Iovii potrebbero essere un *auxilium* dei *ripenses* renani mobilitato e trasferito in Italia settentrionale da Stilicone;⁷⁵ poi esso, dopo che l'iscrizione di Concordia venne incisa, sarebbe stato promosso per necessità strategiche o meriti bellici ad *auxilium palatinum*, ricevendo il nuovo e coerente nome di *Iovii iun. Gallicani*.⁷⁶ Questa unità potrebbe anche essere identificata con uno dei due omonimi *auxilia palatina*, se fosse certo che alla fine degli anni 350 d.C. gli *auxilia* dei *comitatenses* impiegavano l'agg. *auxilarii* quale appellativo primario.⁷⁷

L'identificazione del *numerus Eborum* con gli *Hiberi* è strettamente legata al contesto storico e alla datazione (autunno 394–inverno 395 d.C.), che Hoffmann sostiene per tutte le sepolture militari di Concordia;⁷⁸ infatti gli *Hiberi* sono uno dei pilastri, su cui egli impernia la sua ricostruzione.⁷⁹ Una sola *arca*, in cui giaceva un *miles* del *numerus Bructerorum*, ha offerto lo spunto cronologico alle argomentazioni di Hoffmann, datando vagamente la sepoltura del defunto sotto un consolato congiunto di Arcadio e Onorio (394, 396 o 402 d.C.).⁸⁰ Ma proprio *AE* 1977, 806 ha confutato in maniera decisiva la teoria primaria di Hoffmann, che fonda anche la datazione delle epigrafi militari a Concordia sia sull'origine della bipartizione reggimentale *seniores–iuniores* nel 364 d.C., sia

⁷⁵ Claud. *Goth.* 419–429 allude sicuramente alla mobilitazione massiva dei *comitatenses* gallici, ma sembra fare riferimento anche ai *ripenses* renani.

⁷⁶ *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,212 = 7,76.

⁷⁷ V. nt. 64.

⁷⁸ Hoffmann, "Soldatengrabschriften" (sopra nt. 54) 25; id., *Bewegungsheer* I (sopra nt. 27) 83–111.

⁷⁹ Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer* I (sopra nt. 27) 85–6. Le altre basi dell'ipotesi cronologica ed interpretativa sono i *Bructeri* (v. nt. seguente), la *I Martia Victrix* (v. più avanti nel testo e nt. 101), la $\sigma\chi\omicron\lambda\eta \text{ Ἀρματούρω}$ <v> (v. più avanti nel testo e nt. 104) e i problematici *Regii* di *CIL* V 8764 = *ISConcor* 57, che la nuova lettura di Speidel, "Raising" (sopra nt. 2) 163–4 permette di identificare con l'omonima *legio comitatensis* di *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,229 = 7,32. Per quanto riguarda l'*auxilium *comitatense* e poi *palatinum* dei *Regii* (v. nt. 51), cfr. ora Colombo, "Constantinus" (sopra nt. 40) 154 nt. 254 e 156–7.

⁸⁰ *CIL* V 8768 = *ISConcor* 54. È evidente che la data consolare in sé, eliminato il supporto delle altre epigrafi, può essere riferita con pari o addirittura maggiore verosimiglianza al 396 ovvero al 402 d.C. Questa iscrizione in realtà prova soltanto che i *Bructeri* e altri reggimenti dell'*exercitus Gallicanus* combatterono contro Teodosio I al fiume Frigidus (394), ovvero furono temporaneamente trasferiti in Italia settentrionale per la spedizione peloponnesiaca di Stilicone (397) o per il *bellum Gothicum* (402 d.C.): ma questi fatti erano già abbondantemente documentati dalle fonti letterarie.

sulla successiva dislocazione di tutte le unità *seniores* in Occidente e di tutti i reparti *iuniores* in Oriente.⁸¹

Per giustificare l'equivalenza *Eborum* = *Hiberorum*, è necessario postulare la concomitanza di tre fattori: una mutazione fonetica o un errore grafico, un cambiamento morfologico, un errore grafico o una confusione fonetica: *Iberorum* > *Eberorum* > *Eberum* > *Eborum*. Tra tutte le epigrafi militari di Concordia il *numerus Eborum* sarebbe l'unico a presentare una tale concentrazione di devianze nel nome reggimentale; per quanto riguarda questo aspetto, anche il *numerus Brucherum* = *Bructerorum*, il caso certo di maggiore deformazione, arriva ad accumulare due soli fattori, cioè un errore grafico e un cambiamento morfologico. Inoltre proprio la forma *Bruc<t>erum* < *Bructerorum* dimostra che *Hiberorum* avrebbe dovuto generare **Iberum*. Tali considerazioni rendono l'identificazione del *numerus Eborum* con gli *Hiberi* molto improbabile.

La soluzione migliore può scaturire da una semplice osservazione. Soltanto questa iscrizione indica la categoria del reparto, specificando che esso era un *auxilium palatinum*; la lettera *N* forse non rappresenta la consueta abbreviazione di *n(umeri)*, ma fa parte integrante del nome reggimentale, che può essere restituito come *Ne<r>borum*:⁸² pare assai probabile che la somiglianza tra *R* e *B* (= *V*) abbia determinato l'aplografia.⁸³ Un'iscrizione di Concordia menziona sicuramente i *Sagittarii Neruii*.⁸⁴ Perciò qui abbiamo probabilmente una seconda epigrafe dei *Sagittarii Neruii*; la forma deviante *Neruum* invece del classico *Neruiorum* trova un significativo riscontro nel genitivo plurale *lanciarorum*.⁸⁵ Inoltre si noti che i manoscritti della *Notitia Dignitatum* offrono concordi la lezione *Neruum*

⁸¹ Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer* I (sopra nt. 27) 122–30 e 387–96. La medesima ipotesi è stata avanzata contemporaneamente e autonomamente da R. S. O. Tomlin, "Seniores–Iuniores in the Late-Roman Field Army", *AJPh* 93 (1972) 253–78 (soprattutto 264–6). La bipartizione sarebbe avvenuta dopo la battaglia di Mursa secondo R. Scharf, "Seniores–iuniores und die Heeresteilung des Jahres 364", *ZPE* 89 (1991) 265–72. Ma v. nt. 40.

⁸² La grafia *Nerbicus* è attestata in *CIL* III, p. 2209 (c. 19, r. 32) = *MAMA* VIII 425 = *I Aphrodisias* 231 (c. 19, r. 44).

⁸³ Tra le epigrafi di Concordia riscontriamo sia lo scambio di *R* con *B* (*CIL* V 8740 = *ILS* 2798 = *ILCV* 503 = *ISConcor* 34: *apebire*) sia l'errore inverso (*AE* 1891, 102 = *ILCV* 473 = *ISConcor* 32: *iirras* < *libras*). Cfr. anche *CIL* II 1964 (col. 3, r. 71): *licerit*; VI 32668: *coh(ortis) I pb(aetoriae)* e 37165: *pbo salute*; VIII 14365: *pbaesta[ns?]*; *ICUR* I 377 = 2771: *pbidie*; *AE* 1990, 211: *intebimque*.

⁸⁴ *CIL* V 8762 = *ISConcor* 53: *d(e) n(umero) Sagitariorum Ner(uiorum)*.

⁸⁵ *CIL* VI 32965 e *AE* 1998, 839a.

una volta su cinque occorrenze del genitivo plurale,⁸⁶ così come la lezione *Nerui* quattro volte su cinque occorrenze del nominativo plurale.⁸⁷

L'omissione dell'appellativo *Sagittarii*, debitamente registrato nell'altra iscrizione, viene compensata appunto dalla scrittura estesa dell'etnonimo e dall'anomala menzione della categoria. L'assenza dell'appellativo *Sagittarii* trova uno stretto parallelo; infatti un'iscrizione di Salona compie l'omissione inversa nominando un *numerus Sagittariorum*, che può essere identificato con uno dei due numeri *Sagittariorum* a disposizione del *comes Illyrici*, cioè i *Sagittarii Tungri* e i *Sagittarii uenatores*.⁸⁸

Un'ultima considerazione sui dati del testo epigrafico. Hoffmann considera il nome greco dell'ufficiale inferiore, Diocles, serio indizio circa l'origine orientale dell'unità.⁸⁹ Esso invece ha un riscontro illustre in una provincia occidentale; infatti il *cognomen* originario dell'imperatore Diocleziano, un Dalmata, sembra essere stato proprio Diocles.⁹⁰ Inoltre conosciamo Gaius Appuleius Diocles, *agitor* delle *factiones* circensi e nato in *Hispania*,⁹¹ più precisamente in *Lusitania*,⁹² Aurelius Diocles di Salona,⁹³ Titus Aurelius Diocles di Ampelum,⁹⁴ Titus Aemilius Diocles di Nemausus,⁹⁵ Expentanius Diocles di Arelate.⁹⁶

Le lezioni emendate *auxiliariorum mil<i>(tum) <I>oui[or]um* e *Ne<r>borum*, così come l'identificazione dei *Regii* con l'omonima *legio comitatensis*, migliorano sensibilmente la nostra prospettiva circa la datazione del sepolcreto militare a Concordia. L'epigrafe dei *Bructeri* menziona un consolato

⁸⁶ *Not. Dign. Occ.* 40,53.

⁸⁷ *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,170 e 211; 7,75 e 121.

⁸⁸ *AE* 1912, 44 = *ILCV* 507: *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,174 o 193 = 7,41 o 45. L'identificazione con uno dei due reggimenti è certa grazie al confronto di *ILS* 9481: Ἰουστῖνος τριβούχος Βαλεντινιανησίου (rinvenuta nei pressi di Salona) con *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,208 = 7,47: *Felices Valentinianenses*.

⁸⁹ Hoffmann, "Soldatengrabschriften" (sopra nt. 54) 49; Id., *Bewegungsheer* I (sopra nt. 27) 68.

⁹⁰ *Lact. e mort. pers.* 9,11; *Eutr.* 9,19,2; *epit. de Caes.* 39,1.

⁹¹ *CIL* XIV 2884.

⁹² *CIL* VI 10048.

⁹³ *CIL* III 14809.

⁹⁴ *CIL* III 1295 e *AE* 1991, 1344.

⁹⁵ *CIL* XII 3377.

⁹⁶ *CIL* XII 5813.

congiunto di Arcadio e Onorio; le due date del 396 e del 402 d.C. ora acquisiscono un peso molto maggiore, soprattutto alla luce della perfetta concordanza tra quattro sepolture di Concordia e Claudiano, che testimonia l'abbinamento di *Sagittarii Neruii* e *Leones sen.* nel 398 d.C.⁹⁷ Ma almeno cinque iscrizioni possono essere alquanto più antiche: esse riguardano *Scutarii* e *Armaturae*,⁹⁸ *Comites sagittarii sen.*,⁹⁹ *equites Catafractarii*,¹⁰⁰ *I Martia Victrix*.¹⁰¹

Dall'autunno 354 alla primavera 357 d.C. Costanzo II risiedé in Italia settentrionale.¹⁰² I suoi *Scutarii* avevano preso parte sia alla battaglia di Mursa, sia alla spedizione contro gli Alamanni Brisigavi,¹⁰³ nel 355 d.C. essi e la *schola Armaturarum* si distinsero in combattimento contro gli Alamanni Lentienses.¹⁰⁴ La formula onomastica di Concordia *numerus Scutariorum* e *numerus Armaturarum* trova riscontro nel *numerus Gentilium* di Colonia Agrippina e nel *numerus Scutariorum* di Prusias ad Hypium.¹⁰⁵

Per quanto concerne i *Comites sagittarii sen.*, è sufficiente dire che essi sono assenti nella *Notitia Dignitatum* e possono essere uno dei reparti occidentali, che vennero annientati a Mursa, ovvero uno dei reggimenti orientali, che furono distrutti nella battaglia di Adrianopoli;¹⁰⁶ la *pars maior* dei *Comites sagittarii*,

⁹⁷ *Leones sen.* a Concordia: *CIL* V 8755 = *ISConcor* 51 e *AE* 1890, 143 = *ILCV* 501 = *ISConcor* 52. *Claud. Gild.* 421–3, che abbina anche *Felices sen.* e *Inuicti sen.*: gli *Inuicti sen.* sono attestati in Italia (*CIL* XI 6289, Fanum Fortunae) e i due *auxilia* risultano appaiati nell'esercito del *comes Hispaniarum* (*Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,179 e 182 = 7,124–125).

⁹⁸ V. nt. 30.

⁹⁹ V. nt. 28.

¹⁰⁰ *AE* 1891, 106 = *ILCV* 504 = *ISConcor* 27.

¹⁰¹ *AE* 1891, 102 = *ILCV* 473 = *ISConcor* 32.

¹⁰² *Amm.* 14,10,16; 15,1,2. 3,1. 3,11. 4,13. 5,17. 8,1. 8,18; 16,7,2. *C. Theod.* 9,16,4; 11,16,8; 6,29,2. *Cons. Const.* ad a. 357,2 = *Chron. Min.* I, 239 Mommsen.

¹⁰³ *Zos.* 2,50,2–3 e *Amm.* 14,10,8.

¹⁰⁴ *Amm.* 15,4,9–10: i soli *Armaturae* vengono menzionati anche da *Amm.* 15,5,6. A questo proposito è pertinente aggiungere che nelle vicinanze di Concordia un ufficiale inferiore degli *Armaturae* fece incidere un'epigrafe votiva in greco (*ILS* 8883); l'uso della lingua greca appare pienamente ammissibile per uno *scholaris* di Costanzo II: *contra* Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer* I (sopra nt. 27) 67 e 86. La *schola Gentilium* di *ICI* XII 8 pare trovare riscontro in *Amm.* 15,5,6.

¹⁰⁵ V. nt. 31: cfr. anche *AE* 1961, 197 = *PLRE* I, p. 523: *inter Scutarios* e *IK* 27, 95: ἰς τοὺς σκουταρίους.

¹⁰⁶ Colombo, "Constantinus" (sopra nt. 40) 155. Inoltre v. nt. 45.

la quale con altre truppe dei *comitatenses* difese invano Amida nel 359 d.C.,¹⁰⁷ poteva appartenere a *Comites sagittarii iun.* o *Comites sagittarii Armenii*.¹⁰⁸ Se i *Comites sagittarii sen.*, proprio per la loro natura di arcieri scelti e per le peculiarità tecniche del *bellum Persicum*, avessero militato nell'*exercitus praesentalis* di Costanzo II, anche la loro presenza a Concordia si spiegherebbe con il *bellum Magnentiacum* e la successiva permanenza di Costanzo II in Occidente.

Le iscrizioni concernenti gli *equites Catafractarii* e la *I Martia Victrix* sono sicuramente anteriori agli anni 388–391 d.C., quando Teodosio I annetté l'*Illyricum* orientale con buona parte dell'*exercitus Illyricianus* e portò con sé in Oriente i migliori reparti dell'esercito occidentale,¹⁰⁹ comprese quasi tutte le *uexillationes equitum comitatenses* dei *cataphractarii*.¹¹⁰ I *cataphractarii* dei *comitatenses* occidentali sono bene attestati nelle epigrafi del IV secolo d.C.,¹¹¹ e Ammiano prova che almeno due *uexillationes* di *Cataphractarii* prestavano sicuramente servizio in Gallia tra il 357 e il 370 d.C.¹¹² Pare molto probabile che gli *equites Catafractarii* di Concordia debbano essere identificati con gli *equites Catafractarii sen.* di *CIL* XIII 1848 e con gli *equites Catafractarii <sen.>* di *Not. Dign. Or.* 6,35.¹¹³

Lo stesso nome della *I Martia Victrix* suggerisce una data anteriore sia al 371–372 d.C., quando la medesima legione era chiamata *I Martiorum*,¹¹⁴ sia alla *Notitia Dignitatum Orientis*, dove troviamo *Martii*, un'evidente derivazione del nome reggimentale in età valentiniana.¹¹⁵ La trasformazione onomastica *I Martia Victrix* > *I Martiorum* > *Martii* trova riscontro linguistico e cronologico nell'a-

¹⁰⁷ V. nt. 42.

¹⁰⁸ *Not. Dign. Or.* 5,30 e 6,31. La partecipazione dei *Comites sagittarii Armenii* alla battaglia di Mursa appare certa: Zos. 2,51,4.

¹⁰⁹ Colombo, "Constantinus" (sopra nt. 40) 150–2.

¹¹⁰ Gli eserciti orientali schieravano complessivamente dodici *uexillationes* di *cataphractarii* o *clibanarii*; il nome di tre reggimenti contiene un agg. toponimico, che indica l'originario acquartieramento in una *ciuitas* delle Gallie: *Not. Dign. Or.* 5,34: *equites catafractarii Biturigenses* (v. nt. 112); 6,36: *equites catafractarii Ambianenses* (= *CIL* XIII 3493: *numerus catafractariorum*, iscrizione rinvenuta ad Ambiani); 8,29: *equites catafractarii Albigenses*.

¹¹¹ *CIL* V 6784; XIII 1848. 3493. 6238.

¹¹² Amm. 16,2,5 (= 11,7. 12,22. 12,38. 12,63) e 28,5,6. Si noti che il dato geografico di Amm. 16,2,2–4 (Giuliano *Caesar* fa tappa ad Augustodunum) autorizza a identificare i *cataphractarii* di 16,2,5 con gli *equites catafractarii Biturigenses*.

¹¹³ Un punto di vista molto diverso in Hoffmann, *Bewegungsheer* I (sopra nt. 27) 17 e 69–72.

¹¹⁴ *CIL* III 3653 = *ILS* 775 e *AE* 2000, 1223 (371 d.C.); *RIU* III 804 (372 d.C.).

¹¹⁵ *Not. Dign. Or.* 9,32.

naloga evoluzione *VIII Augusta* > *Octa(ua)* [*August*]anensium o *Octa[uaugust]anenses*¹¹⁶ > *Octauani*.¹¹⁷ Inoltre l'epigrafe della *I Martia Victrix* esprime la durata della *militia* con il sost. *stipendia*, che compare soltanto in due iscrizioni di Concordia e irrobustisce il valore cronologico del dato onomastico.¹¹⁸

Una parte delle sepolture militari a Concordia può essere datata approssimativamente al periodo 337–375 d.C.; se qualcuno vuole collegare le iscrizioni più antiche ad un evento specifico, il *bellum Aquileiense* e il *bellum Magnenticum* sono le opzioni maggiormente credibili. Sembra comunque probabile che il sepolcreto militare si sia formato progressivamente attraverso l'accumulazione graduale delle tombe in un lungo arco di tempo, raggiungendo la fase finale sotto la reggenza di Stilicone.

Roma

¹¹⁶ *CIL* XIII 11538 = *ILS* 8949 (371 d.C.).

¹¹⁷ *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,153 = 7,28. *Claud. Gild.* 422: *dictaque ab Augusto legio* può alludere sia al vecchio nome della *legio comitatensis* (*Not. Dign. Occ.* 7,28) o *palatina* (*Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,153) sia agli *Augustei* di *Not. Dign. Occ.* 5,183.

¹¹⁸ L'altra epigrafe di Concordia con *stipendia* è *AE* 2002, 538 (*Iouiani*). Cfr. inoltre *CIL* VI 2787; *AE* 1976, 668; 1977, 791 e 806; 1984, 825; 2002, 1478.

**A LETTER OF MICHELE SCHIAVO
DESCRIBING A COIN OF DIDIA CLARA
(PALERMO, EIGHTEENTH CENTURY)**

ANTONINO CRISÀ

1. Introduction

This article examines a letter of Michele Schiavo (1705–1771) which describes a rare coin of Didia Clara (daughter of the Emperor Didius Julianus) he had recently acquired. The document, preserved at the Public Library (*Biblioteca Comunale*) of Palermo,¹ is worthy of study for several reasons. First of all, it is a significant direct account of Sicilian antiquarianism in the eighteenth century, in which Schiavo provides interesting information about his numismatic collecting methods and aims. Moreover, his consultation of Vaillant's numismatic monograph testifies to the use of specific bibliographical references among Sicilian antiquarians of the eighteenth century.²

Luigi Boglino (1850–1917), the custodian of the Public Library of Palermo at the end of the nineteenth century, published a brief description of this document. Boglino, a paleographer, attributed the manuscript to Michele Schiavo because he recognized the handwriting. Boglino's note seems to be the only bibliographical source about this document.³

¹ BCPA, Qq G 36, n. 34.

² R. Equizzi, *Palermo, San Martino delle Scale: la collezione archeologica. Storia della collezione e catalogo della ceramica*, Rome 2006; A. Crisà, "G. L. Castelli, principe di Torremuzza, numismatico ed antichista ad *Halaesa Archonidea*", *LANX* 2: 2 (2009) 116–49; A. Crisà, "Lettera di Girolamo Bonanno Chiaramonte su una moneta d'oro di Costantino IV (Caltagirone, 1745)", *RIN* 112 (2011) (forthcoming).

³ L. Boglino, *I manoscritti della Biblioteca Comunale di Palermo*, Palermo 1884–1900, I, 94: "Lettera sopra un'antica medaglia di *Didia Clara Aug.* – Ms. del sec. XVIII, di carattere di

Michele Schiavo, brother of Domenico (1719–1773),⁴ was born on 7 February 1705 in Palermo and he died on 1 December 1771. A learned prelate and an expert in ecclesiastical history, he was Provincial Inquisitor. He was elected canon of Palermo Cathedral in 1740 and afterwards he was bishop of Mazara del Vallo from 1766 to 1771. The most significant of Schiavo's books were *Dissertazione storico-dogmatica de subiectione Siciliae Patriarchae romano* (1733) and *Dissertazione storico-dogmatica della patria, santità e dotrina del pontefice S. Agatone* (1751). However, many of his works remain in manuscript; they were deposited at the Public Library of Palermo after his death, where they are still preserved.⁵

2. Description of the coin

There is no illustration of the coin of Didia Clara in Schiavo's letter.⁶ Instead, Schiavo expected that the addressee would be able to identify it from the specific bibliographical reference given in his letter (Fig. 1). Schiavo gave the reference to this coin from Jean Foy Vaillant's numismatic catalogue, *Numismata imperatorum romanorum praestantiora a Julio Caesare ad Posthumum et tyrannos*, first published in Paris in 1692 (Fig. 2). This was probably because that catalogue was owned by the addressee of the letter or, at least, because it was a popular text among the Sicilian collectors of the eighteenth century. The use of a numismatic monograph derived from the scholarship of French antiquarianism is not surpris-

Michele Schiavo, in-fog. Sta nel volume segnato Qq G 36, n. 34". The manuscript is realised on two façades. Unfortunately, the name of the addressee and date are not included.

⁴ Domenico Schiavo obtained a bachelor degree in civil law. A canon of Palermo Cathedral and a member of the *Accademia del Buon Gusto*, well known among Sicilian intellectuals of the eighteenth century, he was concerned with letters, archaeology and natural sciences. G. M. Mira, *Bibliografia siciliana ovvero gran dizionario bibliografico*, Palermo 1875–1881, II, 339–41; A. Pavolini, *Dizionario dei siciliani illustri*, Palermo 1939, 409; G. Giarrizzo, *Cultura e economia nella Sicilia del '700*, Caltanissetta 1992, 64, 68.

⁵ J. Levesque de Burigny, *Storia generale di Sicilia del Signor De Burigny, tradotta dal francese, illustrata con note, addizioni, tavole cronologiche, e continuata fino a' nostri giorni, dal signor Mariano Scasso e Borrello*, Palermo 1788, 114: the French historian mentions the monograph of Michele Schiavo, *De subiectione Siciliae Patriarchae* (1735); Mira (above n. 4) II, 341; Boglino (above n. 3) IV, 139–140; Pavolini (above n. 4) 409.

⁶ The design of the coin in Fig. 1, is drawn from the monograph of Vaillant (Fig. 2).

ing, because French culture was greatly appreciated in Sicilian intellectual and academic circles in the eighteenth century.⁷



Fig. 1: Coin of Didia Clara with standing Hilaritas (Æ).
From Vaillant (n. 10), 108.

It is clear that particular numismatic catalogues were widely accepted in certain geographical areas and historical periods. For example, Girolamo Chiaramonte Bonanno (1702–1759) used the monograph of J. Oisellius, *Thesaurus selectiorum numismatum antiquorum* (1677) in 1745, when he had to identify a gold coin of Constantine IV.⁸ Among Sicilian coin collectors of the first half of the nineteenth century, one of the most appreciated and widespread catalogues was the *Siciliae populorum urbium regum et quoque et tyrannorum veteres nummi Saracenorum epocham antecedentes* (1781). It was written by Gabriele Lancillotto Castelli (1727–1792), Prince of Torremuzza, and published ten years after the death of Schiavo. This monograph was owned and used by the ancient coin collector Enrico Pirajno (1809–1864) and some of his correspondents.⁹

It is possible to find the bibliographical reference given by Schiavo in Vaillant's *Numismata imperatorum romanorum praestantiora* (Figure 2). Jean Foy Vaillant (1632–1701) is rather important in the history of antiquarian studies of the seventeenth century, especially for his detailed numismatic catalogues. After he had first pursued the study of law, and then started a medical school, Vaillant,

⁷ L. Tomeucci, *Storia della Sicilia*, Messina 1955, 152–3; Giarrizzo (above n. 4) 9–58.

⁸ Crisà 2011 (above n. 2).

⁹ A. Crisà, "Lettera su alcune monete di Tindari", *Cronaca Numismatica* 201 (2007) 66–8; Crisà 2009 (above n. 2), 116–49; A. Crisà, "Lettera di Antonino Restivo Navarro al barone Enrico Pirajno di Mandralisca con due repertori numismatici", *RIN* 110 (2009) 521–32. Enrico Pirajno received two letters from Giuseppe Grosso Cacopardo and Antonino Restivo Navarro, who catalogued some coins with Castelli's *Siciliae populorum*.

who was already devoted to numismatics, met Colbert, the prime minister of the French King Louis XIV. Colbert financed Vaillant to travel in Italy and Greece and to buy coins for the royal collection. Vaillant received official acknowledgment for his numismatic research in 1702, when he became a member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.¹⁰

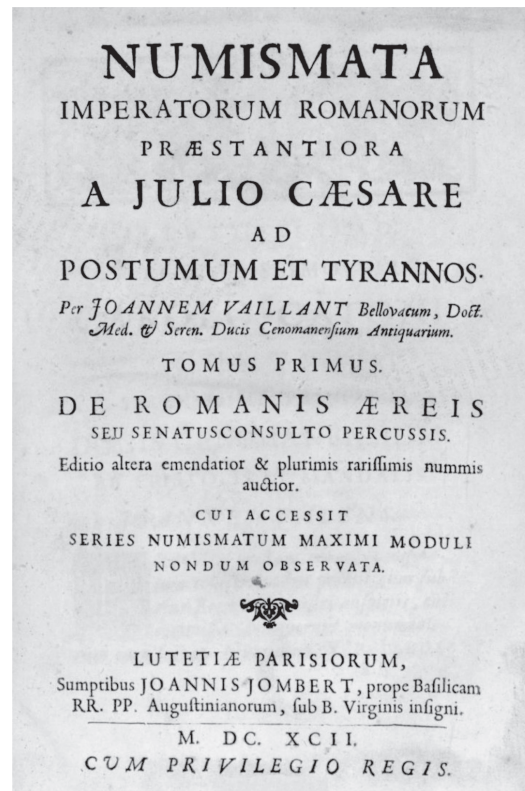


Fig. 2: Title page of *Numismata imperatorum Romanorum praestantiora* (1692) by J. F. Vaillant (n. 10).

Schiavo describes the coin of Didia Clara clearly. Firstly, the "medaglia di seconda grandezza" is examined for its physical characteristics. In fact, the author indicates the coin's size generically, according to the usual procedure of antiquar-

¹⁰ J. F. Vaillant, *Numismata imperatorum Romanorum praestantiora a Julio Caesare ad Postumum et tyrannos. De Romanis aereis seu senatusconsulto percussis. Editio altera emendatior et plurimis rarissimis nummis auctior, cui accessit series numismatum maximi moduli nondum observata*, Lutetiae Parisiorum 1692, 108. However, M. Schiavo wrote "f. 104". It is probably a compilation error or, alternatively, Schiavo used a different edition of the work. C. E. Dekesel, "Jean Foy-Vaillant (1632–1706): the antiquary of the King", in P. Berghaus, *Numismatische Literatur 1500–1864. Die Entwicklung der Methoden einer Wissenschaft*, Wiesbaden 1995, 47–56.

ian studies. Schiavo also analyses the coin's obverse, indicating the main elements which contribute to the identification of a coin of Didia Clara ("la testa di tal Principessa con attorno la legenda DIDIA CLARA AVG").

It is also interesting to note how the scholar uses one detail of Didia Clara's head in order to identify the coin, according to its size.¹¹ This comparison could derive from the monograph of Vaillant or alternatively from a direct examination of a similar coin, which perhaps Schiavo himself or another collector owned.

The figure on the reverse is clearly recognised by the scholar; it is a woman with a palm branch in her right hand and a *cornucopia* in her left hand ("una donna con ramo di palma nella destra, e col corno dell'abbondanza nella sinistra"). The reading of the legend is partial ("HILA ...E...P..."), because some portions are corroded, as probably are the letters S-C. However, according to the author, the complete legend is "*Hilaritas Temporum*".¹²

3. Identification of the coin

It is now necessary to hypothesise about the denomination of the coin, which Schiavo does not mention. In fact it is a *dupondius* or an *as* of Didia Clara (*RIC* n. 21)¹³ (Fig. 3), as we can infer from significant elements of its description.

¹¹ In fact, Schiavo writes: "[La medaglia] da quelle di prima grandezza si differisce alquanto nell'acconciatura de' capelli".

¹² Schiavo tries graphically to reconstruct the letters of the legend, which have partially survived the corrosion. He also uses some points, in order to indicate the gaps. However, the correct legend is HILAR TEMPOR S-C on the reverse of Didia Clara's coins (*Æ*) with *Hilaritas*. Since Schiavo was probably unable to find the last parts of the legend, he does not propose the abbreviated form, so he writes "*Hilaritas Temporum*".

¹³ Didius Julianus for Didia Clara, *Æ dupondius* or *as*, Rome 193 AD. Obv/DIDIA CLARA AV[G]; draped bust right; Rev/HILA[R] [T]E[M]P[OR] / [S-C]; *Hilaritas*, standing left with a long dress, holding a *cornucopia* in her left hand and a palm branch in her right hand; Vaillant (above n. 10), 108; F. A. Zaccaria, *Istituzione antiquario-numismatica, o sia introduzione allo studio delle antiche medaglie*, Venezia 1793, 321: Schiavo just mentions a coin of "second size"; J. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum veterum, conscripta a Josepho Eckhel, thesauro caesareo numorum, gemmarumque veterum, et rei antiquariae in Universitate Vindobonensi docendae praefecto. Pars II. De moneta Romanorum. Volumen VII. Continens numos imperatorios ab Antonino Pio usque ad imperium Diocletiani*, Vindobonae 1828, 151; V. N. Scotti, *Della rarità delle medaglie antiche di tutte le forme e di tutti i metalli divise in tre classi*, Roma 1838, 275; H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain, communément appelées médailles impériales*, Paris 1883, III, 403, n. 5; H. Mattingly – E. A.



Fig. 3: Didius Julianus for Didia Clara, Æ dupondius, Rome 193 AD. Obv/Draped bust right; Rev/Hilaritas standing (Ø 28 mm; 16.19 g). From Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, Dmitry Markov Coins & Medals, M&M Numismatics Ltd, The New York Sale XIV, Auction 10th January 2007, lot n. 327.

Marcus Severus Didius Julianus came to power after the murder of Pertinax on 28 March 193 AD and he was killed in June of the same year, while Septimius Severus marched towards Rome. During his short reign as emperor, Julianus struck coins in the mint of Rome for his wife Manlia Scantilla and his daughter Didia Clara. The coins were minted in gold (*aureus*), silver (*denarius*), *orichalcum* (*sestertius*, *dupondius*) and copper (*as*).¹⁴

First of all, we have to exclude the coin of Schiavo being of gold or silver, but it is certainly a bronze coin, because it is corroded ("quantunque il rimanente sia corroso [...]").¹⁵ Moreover, the numismatic catalogue of Vaillant, which is expressly used by Schiavo, is dedicated to the bronze Roman coins from Julius Caesar to Postumus. Finally, the author follows the eighteenth-century antiqua-

Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage. Vol. IV. Part I. Pertinax to Geta*, London 1936, 18, n. 21; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum. Volume V. Pertinax to Elagabalus*, Oxford 1950, 18, n. 41A; D. R. Sear, *Roman coins and their values*, London 1974, 175, n. 1622. We do not know if Michele Schiavo describes a *dupondius* or an *as*, because he does not provide sufficient information.

¹⁴ Eckhel (above n. 13) 147–51; Cohen (above n. 13) III, 398–403; Mattingly, Sydenham (above n. 13) 13–8; Mattingly (above n. 13) LXIX–LXXVI, 11–8; Sear (above n. 13) 174–5; E. Montenegro, *Monete imperiali romane: con valutazione e grado di rarità*, Turin 1988, 192–4.

¹⁵ M. Angelini – O. Colacicchi, "Pulitura e conservazione delle monete provenienti da scavo", *BNum* 44/45 (2005) 275–86 (277, 291–4): corrosion typically affects bronze coins.

rian tradition in indicating the size of the coin. The expression "di seconda grandezza" was especially used to refer to Roman bronze coins at that time.¹⁶

To this end, it is necessary to examine a page of Francesco Antonio Zaccaria's technical handbook, *Istituzione antiquario-numismatica, o sia introduzione allo studio delle antiche medaglie* (1772), in order to illustrate the measurement system of coin size, which was not yet based on the nineteenth-century Mionnet scale. The first edition of Zaccaria's monograph was published shortly after the death of Schiavo, but it was certainly consistent with the antiquarian and numismatic research methods of the second half of the eighteenth century.¹⁷

Zaccaria observed that the Roman Imperial bronze coins were divided into three categories, according to their diameter (first, second and third size). The "yellow bronze" of the first size was probably *orichalcum* (Or). The second and third size coins were struck with "mixed bronze" (*Æ*). He also specified that the dimension and relief of the emperor's head could be used to establish the coin size. As Zaccaria noted in his handbook, this numismatic scale was sometimes rather arbitrary, because it depended on the subjective evaluation of the coin collector. A similar system, which was used to indicate the size of bronze coins, was employed in the *Doctrina numorum* (1792–1798) by Joseph Eckhel and it was subsequently adopted in the numismatic handbook *Della rarità delle medaglie antiche di tutte le forme e di tutti i metalli divise in tre classi* (1838) by Natale Vincenzo Scotti.¹⁸

¹⁶ Zaccaria (above n. 13), 43: "Le medaglie Imperiali di bronzo, oltre i medaglioni or ora accennati si dividono in medaglie di prima grandezza, o di bronzo, di seconda grandezza, o di bronzo mezzano, e di terza grandezza, o di picciol bronzo. Quelle di prima grandezza fabbricate a Roma sono per lo più di bronzo giallo, e più raro è trovarne in bronzo misto; di quelle all'incontro di mezzana, e di terza grandezza se ne trovano nell'un bronzo, e nell'altro. La grossezza, e il rilievo della testa molto si considera nella disposizione di queste classi. [...] L'arbitrio, e l'inclinazione dell'antiquario in sì fatte cose ha molto luogo: né alcuno perciò gli moverà lite". The first edition of this monograph was published in 1772. Eckhel (above n. 13), 151: the author describes the bronze coins of Didia Clara with the expression "Aenei I., II., III. formae"; Scotti (above n. 13), 8: the scale is explained briefly in the introduction ("I. II. III. IV. Forma").

¹⁷ Francesco Antonio Zaccaria (born in Venice in 1714, died in Rome in 1795), scholar of the Jesuit order, devoted himself to preaching. He became librarian in Modena in 1745, where he replaced Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750). L. Ferrari, *Onomasticon. Repertorio biobibliografico degli scrittori italiani dal 1501 al 1850*, Milano 1947, 699; E. R. Caley, *Metrological Tables*, New York 1965.

¹⁸ Zaccaria (above n. 13) 43; Eckhel (above n. 13) 151; Scotti (above n. 13) 8.

In particular, coins of Didia Clara were considered rare by scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Vaillant, as quoted by Schiavo, wrote that "eius nummi primi moduli inter raros sedem obtinent; secundi nondum ab antiquitatis inspecta sunt" (1692). Zaccaria classified bronze coins of Didia Clara as rare (R) (1793). Eckhel and Scotti evaluated them at the fourth level of rarity ("II forma, RRRR") (1828, 1838).¹⁹

Unfortunately, Schiavo does not mention expressly where he acquired his coin, as collectors sometimes did in their letters in this period.²⁰ However, we can make some hypotheses about the purchase, based on contemporary records. The Sicilian coin collectors of the eighteenth century could buy their coins at antiquarian markets, supplied by excavations at several Sicilian archaeological sites where strict supervision of governmental authorities did not yet exist. Moreover, jewellers also sold ancient silver and gold coins.²¹

Sometimes collectors and scholars conducted their own excavations to search for archaeological and numismatic finds. For example, Gabriele Lancillotto Castelli, Prince of Torremuzza, worked at *Halaesa Archonidea* (Santa Maria delle Palate, Tusa, Messina), where he would conduct surface research or purchase coins and archaeological finds directly from his farmers. In fact, it was after the young Castelli purchased a coin hoard at *Halaesa* that he started to collect and study ancient coins.²²

4. Conclusions

The analysis of Schiavo's letter contributes to a better knowledge of the activities of eighteenth-century Sicilian antiquarians and coin collectors. At this point, it is necessary to review the contents of Schiavo's letter, in order to understand his

¹⁹ Vaillant (above n. 10) 108; Zaccaria (above n. 13) 321; Eckhel (above n. 13) 151; Scotti (above n. 13) 275.

²⁰ Crisà 2011 (above n. 2): since Girolamo Chiaramonte Bonanno did not indicate where he purchased his coin of Constantine IV, we can infer that "il reperimento della moneta [...] potrebbe essere avvenuto tramite una scoperta archeologica, un acquisto, oppure uno scambio con un altro collezionista".

²¹ Equizzi (above n. 2) 249–51: letter of Di Blasi to G. Rotolo Aragona, 3 February 1798 (a jeweller was selling some coins, which a thief had stolen from Tommaso Gandolfo); Crisà 2009 (above n. 2) 121.

²² Crisà 2009 (above n. 2) 120–1.

research method. First of all, the author recalls the purchase of the coin, which he has purchased for his collection ("il mio Medagliere à fatto un grande, e singolare acquisto"). Schiavo has chosen a well-preserved coin ("di perfettiss.^{ima} conservazione"), probably according to aesthetic standards.

Next, Schiavo examines the coin and he describes its obverse and reverse. This process is supported by his reading of Vaillant's monograph, which is useful for the correct identification of the coin. Schiavo confirms the coin's value and its antiquity ("questa mia medaglia, che è d'indubitata antichità"), and he realises he has come to own a coin of the daughter of Didius Julianus, according to Vaillant's catalogue. This is a most significant novelty for the unknown addressee of this letter, and Schiavo encourages him to communicate the discovery to other numismatists.

Finally, the destiny of Schiavo's coin is unknown. He certainly kept it in his collection ("il mio Medagliere") for a while after its purchase. After all, very little is known of Schiavo's collection, due to the lack of archival records. It is possible that the coin of Didia Clara was lost after his death.

5. Letter of Michele Schiavo²³

[1r] Amico Cariss(i)^{mo}

Catania

Essendo continuamente da Voi pressato a Comunicarvi qualche cosa di nuovo, che di utile, e diletto, essere possa al mondo letterario, inserendola nelle v(ost)re Memorie, per secondare il v(ost)ro genio, vi dico, che in questi giorni il mio Medagliere à fatto un grande, e singolare acquisto, che così mi giova chiamare la medaglia di seconda grandezza di Didia Clara, non ancora dagli Antiquarj osservata. Ella è di perfettiss.^{ima} conservazione nel diritto, in cui mostra la testa di tal Principessa con attorno la legenda DIDIA CLARA AVG. e da quelle di prima grandezza si differisce alquanto nell'acconciatura de' capelli; Nel rovescio o poi, come nelle grandi, si osserva una donna con ramo di palma nella destra, e col corno dell'abbondanza nella sinistra, e vi si leggono intorno le lettere HILA...E... P... Quantun-[1v]que il rimanente sia corroso, da queste lettere bastantemente comprendesi, doversi leggere, come nelle altre Hilaritas Temporum.

²³ This transcription respects the original text. These words are underlined in the manuscript: "Memorie"; "Hilaritas temporum"; "Numismata Imperatorum prestantiora f. 108" (see above n. 10); "eius nummi primi moduli inter raros sedem obtinent"; "secundi nondum ab antiquitatis inspecta sunt"; "Nummografi".

Questa mia medaglia, che è d'indubitata antichità, à seco tratto le meraviglie di quanto intendenti di tali studj l'anno osservato. Lo stesso Giovanni Vaillant in queste materie così eccellente, nel suo libro Numismata Imperatorum prestantiora f(oglio) 104. Fa sapere scrivendo della rarità delle medaglie di Didia Clara: eius nummi primi moduli inter raros sedem obtinent; secundi nondum ab antiquitatis inspecta sunt.

Credo, che sommo piacere proverete nell'essere il primo a comunicare questa notizia agli eruditi Nummografi, e credo ancora, che in risposta a questa mia mi assicurerete del v(ost)ro gradimento, siccome io vi assicuro, che sono, e sarò sempre. V(ost)ro.

University of Milan

L'IMAGE DES ROIS HELLÉNISTIQUES DANS L'ŒUVRE DE FLORUS*

GUILLAUME FLAMERIE DE LACHAPELLE

*Consules fiunt quotannis et noui proconsules:
solus aut rex aut poeta non quotannis nascitur*
("Des consuls, on en crée chaque année, et de nouveaux proconsuls:
Seul le roi ou le poète ne naît pas chaque année").¹

Ce distique malicieux semble suggérer, chez le poète Florus, qu'on s'accorde aujourd'hui à identifier avec l'historien du même nom,² une certaine fascination pour la figure royale: contrairement aux magistrats républicains, le monarque n'est pas chargé d'un mandat éphémère, destiné à expirer rapidement. Il incarne au contraire un pouvoir durable.³

Or, par la matière même qu'il s'est choisie – l'histoire romaine depuis sa fondation jusqu'à la défaite de Varus – l'épitomateur a dû rendre compte des agissements de nombreux souverains: il serait intéressant de savoir comment il l'a fait, et dans quelle mesure son approche reflète la mentalité et les modalités de gou-

* Nous suivons les textes et les traductions de la *Collection des Universités de France*.

¹ Flor. *carm.* 10.

² Pour les arguments les plus anciens, synthèse dans E. Malcovati, "Studi su Floro", *Athenaeum* 15 (1937) 80–2; récemment B. Baldwin "Four Problems with Florus", *Latomus* 47 (1988) 134–7; C. Di Giovine, *Flori Carmina. Introduzione, testo critico e commento*, Bologne 1988, 15–22; M. Hose, *Erneuerung der Vergangenheit. Die Historiker im Imperium Romanum von Florus bis Cassius Dio*, Munich – Stuttgart 1994, 53–4, puis 61; L. Bessone, *La storia epitomata. Introduzione a Floro*, Rome 1996, 132–50.

³ Pour une analyse plus détaillée de ce distique, cf. Di Giovine (*supra* n. 2) 120–1; L. Deschamps, "Subtil Florus ! ... ou le poète-roi", *REA* 91 (1989) 89–93.

vernement de l'époque à laquelle il écrit⁴ – sans doute à la fin du règne d'Hadrien ou au début de celui d'Antonin.⁵ Nous ne pouvons, dans les limites du présent article, traiter la question de façon exhaustive: les monarques se succèdent à un rythme trop élevé dans l'*Epitomé*, et recouvrent des réalités historiques trop disparates (rois romains, étrusques et latins de l'époque archaïque, roitelets barbares, souverains africains et orientaux clients de Rome...) pour se prêter à un examen complet. Nous avons donc choisi de ne retenir qu'un type de rois, qui fascina de longue date certains Romains tout en en révoltant la majorité:⁶ les monarques hellénistiques, lointains successeurs des diadoques.

⁴ Plusieurs recherches ont été menées en ce sens, sans aborder la question que nous nous proposons d'examiner ici: cf. e.g. A. Garzetti, "Floro e l'età adrianea", *Athenaeum* 42 (1964) 148–56 (diminution du rôle du Sénat, exaltation de la *tranquillitas* d'un empire apaisé par Hadrien, défense d'un certain conservatisme traditionaliste qui guida le *princeps*); P. Jal, "Nature et signification politique de l'ouvrage de Florus", *REL* 43 (1965) 358–83 (approbation de la politique extérieure d'Hadrien); F. Giordano, "Interferenze adrianeae in Floro", *Koinonia* 12 (1988) 115–28 (cf. *infra* [n. 9]); L. Havas, "Zum aussenpolitischen Hintergrund der Entstehung der *Epitome* des Florus", *ACD* 24 (1988) 57–60 (actions vigoureuses de Pompée en Orient reflétant la politique d'Antonin); id., "Les révoltes des esclaves: la critique des textes", *AAntHung* 33 (1990/92) 287–93 (dans sa description des révoltes serviles, Florus reflète la pensée de son temps, qui tend à considérer les esclaves comme des personnes, et non plus comme des choses).

⁵ On a longtemps privilégié l'époque d'Hadrien (Garzetti [*supra* n. 4]; Jal [*supra* n. 4]; id., *Florus. Œuvres, I–II*, Paris 1967, t. I, XLI–XLIII, puis CIV–CXI; B. Veneroni, "Quatenus, qua ratione res politicas et sociales Florus tractaverit", *Aevum* 48 (1974) 348; G. Brizzi, "Imitari coepit Annibalem [Flor. I, 22, 55]: apporti catoniani alla concezione storiografica di Floro?", *Latomus* 43 [1984] 424–31; Baldwin [*supra* n. 2] 139–42; Hose [*supra* n. 2] 56–61; A. R. Birley, *Hadrian, the Restless Emperor*, Londres – New York 1997, 333, n. 7; J. M. Alonso-Nuñez, "Floro y los historiadores contemporaneos", *ACD* 42 [2006] 117–8), mais, plus récemment, les partisans de l'époque du règne d'Antonin ont apporté des éléments intéressants à l'appui de leur thèse (L. Havas, "Zur Geschichtskonzeption des Florus", *Klio* 66 [1984] 590–8; id. 1988 [*supra* n. 4]; L. Bessone, "Ideologia e datazione della *Epitoma* di Floro", *GFF* 2 [1979] 38–43; id. [*supra* n. 2], suivi désormais par P. Jal, *Latomus* 58 [1999] 903); les hypothèses d'une rédaction sous Auguste (malgré l'ingénieuse reconstitution suggérée par K. A. Neuhausen, "Der überhörte 'Schwanengesang' der augusteischen Literatur: eine Rekonstruktion der Originalfassung [um 15 n. Chr.] des bisher dem 2. Jh. zugeordneten Geschichtswerkes des Florus", *ACD* 30 [1994] 149–207) ou sous Trajan (P. Zaccan, *Floro e Livio*, Padoue 1942, 69) doivent pour leur part être aujourd'hui abandonnées. – Nous envisagerons donc, au moment d'interpréter les données que nous aurons mises en évidence, les deux éventualités: rédaction sous Hadrien ou sous Antonin (cf. *infra* [p. 119–121]).

⁶ Cf. e.g., pour une période un peu antérieure à celle que nous examinons, E. Rawson, "Caesar's Heritage. Hellenistic Kings and their Roman Equals", *JRS* 65 (1975) 149–51; P. M. Martin, *L'Idée de royauté à Rome. Haine de la royauté et séductions monarchiques (du ive siècle av.*

Après avoir établi que Florus n'est pas foncièrement hostile au monde grec, nous constaterons que le tableau des rois hellénistiques qu'il donne à voir est particulièrement sombre, plus sombre encore que ne le sont ses sources probables. Nous nous demanderons finalement comment il faut interpréter ces passages, à la fois dans le cadre logique interne à l'*Epitomé* et dans ses rapports avec la scène politique contemporaine.

1. Un point de vue parfois favorable aux Grecs ...

Le point de départ de notre réflexion pourrait être une phrase concernant Tarquin l'Ancien, au début de l'*Epitomé*. Florus y met en avant les qualités que lui confèrent ses origines corinthiennes,⁷ lesquelles, par leur complémentarité avec les vertus romaines, produiront un heureux résultat (1,1,5,1):

[...] *quippe qui oriundus Corintho Graecum ingenium Italicis artibus miscuisset* (" [...] Originaire en effet de Corinthe, il avait ajouté ses qualités de Grec à ses talents d'Italien").

La nature de l'influence grecque sur le gouvernement de Tarquin l'Ancien n'est pas explicitement précisée, mais on peut imaginer que Florus a dans l'esprit certaines réformes constitutionnelles, domaine dans lequel les Romains reconnaissent un certain mérite aux Hellènes.⁸ Quoi qu'il en soit, on a vu dans cette appréciation favorable des origines grecques de Tarquin un reflet de l'ambiance philhellène régnant sous le règne d'Hadrien.⁹ L'hypothèse est assurément intéressante, et pourrait être corroborée par trois autres faits:

j.-c. au principat augustéen), Clermont-Ferrand 1994, 33–42; S. Houby-Nielsen, "Augustus and the Hellenistic Kings. A Note on Augustan Propaganda", dans *East and West. Cultural Relations in the Ancient World*, ed. T. Fischer-Hansen, Copenhagen 1988, 116–28; on trouvera aussi des informations intéressantes dans la préface et dans la bibliographie de I. Savall-Lestrade – I. Cogitore (éd.), *Des Rois au Prince. Pratiques du pouvoir monarchique dans l'Orient hellénistique et romain (IV^e siècle avant J.-C. – II^e siècle après J.-C.)*, Grenoble 2010.

⁷ La cité sera qualifiée de *Graeciae decus* en 1,32,1.

⁸ Que l'on songe par exemple à la députation envoyée à Athènes pour y étudier la législation locale, qui donnera lieu aux lois des douze tables.

⁹ Cf. en particulier Giordano (*supra* n. 4) 119–28, qui note que l'hostilité au Tarquin *peregrinus* que l'on trouve dans la version livienne (cf. aussi D.H. 1,41,3) est absente du passage de Florus; sur notre passage en particulier, cf. les p. 122–3. Il remarque aussi que, si Florus n'est pas le seul à signaler les qualités "helléniques" de Tarquin, il est le seul à en faire une raison

- En premier lieu, Pyrrhus, *clarissimus Graeciae rex* (1,13,1), reçoit un portrait plutôt flatteur en raison de son habileté militaire, de sa droiture et de sa clémence.¹⁰
- Ensuite, l'historien se scandalise du *facinus indignum* (1,32,1) que constitue la guerre faite à Corinthe, sans déclaration de guerre valable.¹¹
- Enfin, les Athéniens sont présentés sous un jour assez favorable: dignes suppliants quand ils sont accablés par Philippe de Macédoine (1,23,4–5), ils accueillent avec reconnaissance la libération romaine symbolisée par Flamininus, qui leur rend leur ancien statut (1,23,13). Alcibiade, pour sa part, est présenté comme un modèle militaire avec lequel les Romains doivent rivaliser (1,24,13), ce qui implique que l'on reconnaît certaines qualités au fougueux général grec. Tout cela traduit peut-être la bienveillance dont Hadrien fit montre à l'égard d'Athènes.¹²

Florus n'est donc pas viscéralement opposé au monde et à la culture grecs. Il n'en formule pas moins des critiques très vives à l'encontre des mœurs et des royautés hellénistiques.

2. ... mais résolument hostile aux monarques hellénistiques

Comme à son habitude, Florus ne trace pas de portrait complet des personnages qu'il évoque,¹³ et ne s'attarde guère sur des données biographiques: en adepte

éminente de son accession au trône (p. 126); il est à noter que, à l'image de Tarquin, Hadrien mêlait à son intérêt pour le monde grec un grand respect pour le passé italique de Rome (cf. W. Weber, "Hadrian", dans *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge 1936, 307–8). Sur le philhellénisme d'Hadrien, il suffira de citer SHA *Hadr.* 1,5: *Imbutusque inpensius Graecis studiis, ingenio eius sic ad ea declinante ut a nonnullis Graeculus diceretur* ("Il se dépensa à s'imprégner des lettres grecques vers lesquelles ses dispositions naturelles le portaient à tel point que d'aucuns l'appelaient le petit Grec"); cf. aussi St. Perowne, *Hadrian*, Londres 1960, 96–106; R. Syme, "Hadrian as Philhellene. Neglected Aspects", *BHAC* 19 (1982/83) 351–3.

¹⁰ Cf. C. Facchini Tosi, *Anneo Floro. Storia di Roma. La prima e la seconda età. Introduzione, testo e commento*, Bologne 1998, 298–9.

¹¹ En cela, d'ailleurs, Florus adopte une version plus sévère pour Rome que celle qui est généralement admise (cf. Jal 1967 [*supra* n. 5] t. I, 73, n. 3), laissant donc exceptionnellement de côté son entreprise de panégyriste.

¹² Cf. e.g. SHA *Hadr.* 13,1; D.C. 69,15,2; D. J. Geagan, "Roman Athens. Some Aspects of Life and Culture", *ANRW* II.7.1 (1979) 392–4; Birley (*supra* n. 5) 63–5, puis 182–3. On retiendra en revanche que, en une occasion (*epit.* 1,40,10), Florus blâme l'ingratitude des Athéniens.

¹³ Cf. déjà P. Monceaux, *Les Africains. Étude sur la littérature latine d'Afrique*, Paris 1894, 205: "S'il esquisse un portrait d'homme [...], c'est en quelques mots"; Jal 1967 (*supra* n. 5) t.

de la *brevitas* qui place le *populus Romanus* au centre de son œuvre, il aborde les rois étrangers seulement dans la mesure où ils concernent l'histoire romaine, c'est-à-dire, le plus souvent, à l'occasion des conflits. Aussi les caractéristiques essentielles des monarques hellénistiques se déduisent-elles de récits guerriers et non d'analyses psychologiques, morales ou politiques qu'aurait menées l'historien. Ces caractéristiques n'en sont pas moins révélatrices du peu d'estime que porte Florus à ces personnages. Les critiques se portent, pour l'essentiel, sur trois points.

2.1. L'inaptitude au combat

Le premier trait qui accable les monarques hellénistiques est leur profonde inaptitude au combat. Florus ne ménage pas alors les effets littéraires pour railler les vaincus: à propos de Philippe V de Macédoine, une redoutable anaphore de l'adverbe *bis*¹⁴ suffit à condamner le malheureux (1,23,9):

Bis uictus, bis fugatus rex, bis exutus castris [...] ("Leur roi ayant été deux fois vaincu, deux fois mis en fuite, deux fois dépouillé de son camp [...]).

L'historien prétend aussi que, lors de cette guerre, il suffit à Rome d'entrer dans le territoire ennemi pour remporter la victoire, et qu'il n'y eut au fond qu'une seule bataille – Cynoscéphales, laquelle, à vrai dire, ne mérite même pas ce terme selon Florus (1,23,11: *ne hoc iusto proelio*), ici plus sévère que la tradition dont il dépend.¹⁵ Quand il parle de Persée, il se montre plus expéditif encore, puisque la bataille de Pydna est tout bonnement omise, alors que Florus en avait sans doute connaissance à travers ses sources:¹⁶ on a l'impression que Persée se rend sans même avoir combattu.

I, XXXIX–XL.

¹⁴ Florus est ici tellement synthétique qu'on ne voit pas très bien à quoi il fait allusion exactement: cf. Bessone (*supra* n. 2) 189–90. La compression chronologique à laquelle il se livre lui permet en tout cas de rabaisser encore Philippe V.

¹⁵ Cf. Liv. 33,24; Bessone (*supra* n. 2) 190–1.

¹⁶ Cf. Liv. 44,36–42. Nous n'ignorons certes pas que certains savants, comme Bessone, "Ideologia..." (*supra* n. 5) 50–5; id. (*supra* n. 2) 197–221, estiment que Florus ne connaît le Padouan qu'indirectement, par une version abrégée, qui, éventuellement, avait elle-même passé sous silence l'affrontement de Pydna (le *De Viris illustribus*, autre avatar de la tradition livienne, ne parle d'ailleurs pas de Pydna), mais il nous semble plus probable, comme le pense P. Jal,

Antiochus III, d'emblée qualifié d'*ignauus* (1,24,4), est loin de posséder les qualités militaires qu'on pourrait attendre de la part d'un Séleucide, et qu'on lit dans certains passages de Tite-Live, qui lui reconnaît une réelle énergie.¹⁷ On retrouve une critique de cet amollissement oriental quand, parlant des Gallo-Grecs, Florus note que l'impétuosité naturelle des Gaulois s'est peu à peu avachie au contact d'une terre asiatique propice au relâchement (1,27,4):

Illa genuina feritas eorum Asiatica amoenitate mollita est ("Leur naturel féroce fut amolli par la douceur asiatique").

L'Égypte ptolémaïque, enfin, est qualifiée de nation "inapte à la guerre" (*inbellis*, 2,13,60). En somme, les monarques hellénistiques sont incapables de mener une guerre à bien.

Mais à l'incompétence militaire – qui, chez Florus, concerne aussi de nombreux roitelets barbares¹⁸ – s'ajoute un trait plus spécifique: la couardise.

2.2. La lâcheté

L'ironie dont Florus fait preuve à l'endroit d'Antiochus pour stigmatiser sa lâcheté se traduit par un emploi antiphrastique de l'adverbe *fortiter* (1,24,8):

Et maximus regum, contentus fortiter indixisse bellum, cum ingenti strepitu ac tumultu mouisset ex Asia, occupatis statim insulis Graeciaeque litoribus, otia et luxus quasi uictor agitabat ("Le plus grand des rois, se contentant courageusement d'avoir déclaré la guerre, après avoir, dans un fracas et un tumulte immenses, fait route hors d'Asie et occupé aussitôt les îles et les côtes de Grèce, y menait une vie de plaisir et d'indolence, comme s'il était vainqueur").

Florus ne s'arrête pas là. Le roi s'enfuit à la seule nouvelle de l'arrivée des Romains, sans combattre (1,24,10):

Latomus 58 (1999) 902–3 (avec références bibliographiques), que Florus a une connaissance directe de Tite-Live.

¹⁷ Liv. 35,42,1–5; 35,51,1–4; 36,5,1–2; 36,9,13–15, etc.

¹⁸ E.g. les Gaulois Brittomarus, Arioviste et Viridomarus en 1,20; l'Histrien Épulon, en 1,26,3; Orgiacontix en 1,21,5, etc...

Talem ergo regem iam luxuria sua debellatum Acilio Glabrione consule populus Romanus in insula adgressus ipso statim aduentus sui nuntio coegit ab insula fugere ("Tel était donc le roi, déjà vaincu par sa propre débauche, que le peuple romain, sous le consulat d'Acilius Glabrion, attaqua dans son île et força, à la seule annonce de son arrivée immédiate, à s'enfuir de l'île").

Certes, Tite-Live, se conformant par là à une tradition gréco-latine plus ancienne, présentait déjà Antiochus comme une sorte de *miles gloriosus* voluptueux,¹⁹ mais, une fois encore, Florus force ce trait jusqu'à la caricature: chez le Padouan, si Antiochus quitte Chalcis, c'est pour des raisons stratégiques et non par peur;²⁰ d'ailleurs, Tite-Live le montre aussi en train de monter courageusement au front à la tête de sa cavalerie à la bataille de Magnésie.²¹

Persée, tel que le décrit Florus, se conduit tout aussi lamentablement: en proie à une intense *trepidatio*, "il ordonna de jeter tout l'argent dans la mer, de peur qu'il ne fût perdu, et de brûler toute la flotte, de peur qu'elle ne fût incendiée" (1,28,6), écrit Florus dans un paradoxe aussi plaisant qu'injuste; plus tard, il est effrayé à l'arrivée de Paul-Émile (1,28,8).

Quant à Ptolémée, l'assassinat de Pompée et le complot contre César prouvent assez sa peureuse pusillanimité (2,13,55): il faut à cet égard signaler que Florus est notre seule source à ne pas préciser que le souverain lagide était un enfant, comme s'il s'agissait de stigmatiser plus encore son crime. Cléopâtre, elle, s'empresse de s'enfuir d'Actium (2,21,8).

Tout aussi caractéristique de la sphère hellénistique est l'amollissement consécutif au penchant pour le faste et la débauche.

2.3. Le goût pour le faste et l'apparat

Le thème du luxe hellénistique revient à plusieurs reprises. Antiochus III concentre sur sa personne les critiques à l'encontre des potentats orientaux se prélassant dans le *luxus* et l'*otium* (1,24,8): perdant la guerre à cause de sa propre *luxuria* (1,24,10), il aime à se délasser au son des flûtes et des lyres (1,24,9), et ses éléphants eux-mêmes semblent parader plus que combattre, avec les teintes

¹⁹ Cf. e.g. Liv. 36,11,2; J.-E. Bernard, *Le Portrait chez Tite-Live. Essai sur une écriture de l'histoire romaine*, Bruxelles 2000, 391–3.

²⁰ Liv. 36,15,1–3.

²¹ Liv. 37,42,7–8; autres témoignages de son courage dans Pol. 10,49,14; Plut. *Cat. mai.* 14,1.

éclatantes et luxueuses (or, pourpre, argent) qu'ils arborent (1,24,17).²² Lorsqu'il évoque des levées de jeunes gens et de jeunes filles avec qui le souverain convoie (1,24,9), Florus, une fois encore, va plus loin que ses sources putatives.²³ Quant à Persée, le triomphe que le peuple romain remporte sur lui donne l'occasion à l'historien d'énumérer les œuvres d'art que recélaient ses palais (1,28,13). Florus prend soin de préciser, enfin, que le cadavre de Ptolémée était protégé par une éclatante cuirasse d'or (2,13,60), alors même que l'historien est, en temps général, avare de renseignements sur les conditions dans lesquelles disparaissent les chefs ennemis.²⁴ L'évocation dédaigneuse des eunuques qui entourent Ptolémée (2,13,60) participe elle aussi de la vision stéréotypée et méprisante qu'on pouvait avoir à Rome des royaumes hellénistiques – que l'on songe seulement aux *Satires* de Juvénal, probablement contemporaines de Florus.²⁵ Antoine, d'ailleurs, succombera lui-même au *luxus* et à la *libido* qui caractérisent ces royaumes décadents (2,21,1), et qu'incarne si bien sa maîtresse Cléopâtre, décrite comme une vulgaire courtisane.

Tous ces fastes aveuglent les rois hellénistiques et les confortent dans l'illusion de leur puissance: alors qu'Antiochus se comporte comme un vainqueur avant même d'avoir livré combat (1,24,8), Persée place sa vanité dans son titre royal, dont il continue à se parer alors même que, suppliant réfugié sur une île isolée, il en est réduit à implorer la vie sauve auprès de Paul-Émile (1,28,10).

Incompétence militaire, couardise, amollissement: tels sont les trois défauts essentiels que l'on retrouve dans chacun des monarques hellénistiques mis en scène dans l'*Epitomé*. Dans l'évocation de chacun d'eux, Florus semble se montrer notablement plus dur que ses sources présumées.

²² Ils se distinguent en cela des éléphants commandés par de véritables hommes de guerre, comme Pyrrhus: entre des mains aussi expertes, ces animaux représentent un très grand danger pour les légions romaines (cf. 1,13,7).

²³ Nous renvoyons sur ce point à la démonstration de A. Mastrocinque, *Manipolazione della storia in età ellenistica: i Seleucidi e Roma*, Rome 1983, 142–3.

²⁴ Ce phénomène est dû au projet même de Florus, qui a pour héros le peuple romain; dans ces conditions, la vie et la mort des individus, romains ou étrangers, sont des éléments tout à fait secondaires, ainsi que l'a bien noté Hose (*supra* n. 2) 90, à propos des Romains (mais la réflexion pourrait être étendue aux étrangers): "Die Konzeption des Florus, den *populus Romanus* zum Helden der ersten Werkhälfte zu machen, führt zu einer Reduktion der Rolle römischer Feldherren, die als Gestalten ein entsprechend geringes Gewicht erhalten. So ist wenig Raum für die Darstellung der *clari ducum exitus*".

²⁵ Iuv. 15,1–13.

3. Essai d'interprétation

Florus se montre-t-il hostile aux monarchies hellénistiques uniquement en vertu d'une forme de tradition nationale, lui qui lut Caton l'Ancien, si critique face à la pénétration de l'hellénisme à Rome, et qui fut incontestablement inspiré par l'illustre Censeur?²⁶ L'appréciation flatteuse du *Graecum ingenium* de Tarquin l'Ancien et l'image globalement favorable d'Athènes interdisent de souscrire pleinement à une telle hypothèse. Reproduit-il des stéréotypes largement répandus dans la *communis opinio* romaine, qui fait des Grecs un peuple inapte au combat²⁷ et recherchant les plaisirs,²⁸ et des rois hellénistiques des personnages indignes?²⁹ Cette hypothèse contient certainement une part de vérité, mais il faut souligner que, dans l'évocation d'autres ethnies, l'épitomateur a été capable de s'affranchir des représentations convenues;³⁰ par ailleurs, comme nous l'avons montré, l'épitomateur est généralement plus sévère encore que ses sources: le choix de noircir ces rois hellénistiques ne saurait donc être anodin. S'amuse-t-il seulement à faire rire aux dépens de personnages grotesques en eux-mêmes? C'est une possibilité qu'on ne peut écarter, car notre historien est doté d'un humour grinçant indéniable,³¹ mais on peut aussi lire ces portraits à la lumière des convictions que Florus exprime lui-même avec régularité.

²⁶ Sur ce point commun entre Caton et Florus, et l'influence qu'il implique de la part du premier sur le second, cf. O. Rossbach, *L. Annaei Flori Epitomae libri II et P. Annii Flori fragmentum De Vergilio oratore an poeta*, Leipzig 1896, LI–LII; L. Bessone, "Alla riscoperta di Floro", *A&R* 39 (1994) 80. A. Nordh, "Virtus and Fortuna in Florus", *Eranos* 49 (1951) 111, a relevé que l'antilogie *Fortuna/virtus* était déjà présente chez Caton; Brizzi (*supra* n. 5), discerne lui aussi une influence de Caton sur Florus, en se plaçant dans une perspective un peu différente.

²⁷ Cf. N. K. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks*, Athènes 1974, 93–101.

²⁸ Cf. Petrochilos (*supra* n. 27) 45–6, puis 72–9.

²⁹ Pour les Lagides, on pourrait citer ainsi Auguste (Suet. *Aug.* 18,1), Diodore de Sicile (33,12,1), ou Lucain (la description de la cour au chant 8 de la *Pharsale* est édifiante); pour les Antigonides, Liv. 31,28,6; 31,30; 44,10,4, ou Sen. *contr.* 10,5, malmènent Philippe V; pour les Séleucides, Tite-Live, à la suite de Polybe, est fort négatif.

³⁰ Ainsi peut-on remarquer que les Hispaniques, loin d'être dépeints comme des sauvages arriérés, ce qui est le cas chez Tite-Live, reçoivent régulièrement des éloges pour leur droiture et leur courage: cf. Flor. *epit.* 1,33,15–7 (Viriate); 1,34,3–17 (guerre de Numance).

³¹ Cf. Jal 1967 (*supra* n. 5) t. I, LII; rappelons aussi que Florus écrivit des épigrammes.

3.1. L'illustration d'un thème central de l'*Epitomé*: les nations dégènèrent

Florus, au début de son *Epitomé*, compare la nation romaine à un organisme, qui, en tant que tel, connut en huit siècles l'enfance, la jeunesse, la maturité et une vieillesse déclinante.³² Loin d'être un simple jeu rhétorique, cette conception de la succession des âges irrigue toute la pensée de l'historien, et se retrouve donc aussi dans le cas des souverains hellénistiques, qui s'y prêtent particulièrement puisqu'ils appartiennent à des dynasties dont l'existence s'étend sur plusieurs siècles. Aussi le thème du déclin parcourt-il ces évocations de monarques: Philippe V est à la tête d'un peuple "qui prétendait jadis à la suprématie" (1,23,2: *adfectator quondam imperii populus*);³³ son fils Persée est également hanté par la grandeur passée de sa race au moment de déclencher la guerre contre les Romains (1,28,2), mais sa propre incompétence dénonce la déchéance nationale et dynastique de la Macédoine. Le royaume tombera au plus bas en portant sur le trône Andriscus, monarque d'opérette qui achève de discréditer les Antigonides (1,30,4).

Antiochus est un successeur inepte des Xerxès et des Darius (1,24,2). Sa prétention à récupérer une cité fondée par ses ancêtres contraste vivement avec sa propre nullité (1,24,7); aux Thermopyles, c'est-à-dire à l'endroit où les Spartiates résistèrent avec la dernière énergie aux forces perses, Antiochus se replie en toute hâte sans opposer aucune résistance (1,24,11). L'idée que les monarques hellénistiques présentent une dégénérescence par rapport aux Grecs antiques est certes commune à Rome,³⁴ mais elle sert ici sans doute à renforcer le leitmotiv de l'*Epitomé* selon lequel les nations naissent, croissent et dégènèrent. Cette idée apparaît avec d'autant plus de force que le déclin est grand: on peut donc y voir une des raisons pour lesquelles Florus exagère la vilénie des rois hellénistiques.

³² Flor. *epit. proem.* 4: *Si quis ergo populum Romanum quasi unum hominem consideret totamque eius aetatem percenseat, ut coeperit utque adoleuerit, ut quasi ad quandam iuuentae frugem peruenerit, ut postea uelut consenuerit, quattuor gradus processusque eius inueniet* ("Si l'on veut examiner le peuple romain comme un seul homme, examiner toute sa carrière, comment il a commencé et a grandi, comment il a, en quelque sorte, atteint la fleur de la jeunesse, on y relèvera quatre degrés ou étapes").

³³ Il convient cependant de signaler que l'idée est déjà présente chez Liv. 31,1,7.

³⁴ Cf. e.g. Cic. *ad Q. fr.* 1,1,16 (= CUF 30); Flac. 17; 62; H. Guite, "Cicero's Attitude to the Greeks", *G&R* 9 (1962) 144–50; Petrochilos (*supra* n. 27) 63–5; A. Henrichs, "Graecia capta: Roman Views of Greek Culture", *HSPH* 97 (1995) 259–61; J. Christes, "Rom und die Fremden: bildungsgeschichtliche Aspekte der Akkulturation", *Gymnasium* 104 (1997) 21–2.

3.2. Un contre-modèle pour le *princeps*?

On peut aussi penser que, comme on l'a conjecturé à propos de Suétone,³⁵ certaines remarques de Florus visent à infléchir la politique d'Hadrien lui-même – peut-être même à critiquer discrètement certains de ses travers:

- a. Sur le plan de la politique extérieure, la déchéance militaire de ces dynasties est peut-être un avertissement à Rome, qui ne doit pas se reposer sur ses lauriers: Hadrien, si peu enclin à la guerre³⁶ et à l'accroissement de l'empire,³⁷ doit reprendre l'œuvre énergique de Trajan, sans pour autant tomber dans une politique belliciste à outrance.³⁸ Les rois hellénistiques combinent agressivité (ils sont toujours présentés comme étant à l'origine des conflits) et incompétence au moment du combat. Or c'est précisément l'inverse que doit faire le chef d'État idéal aux yeux de Florus. À cet égard, les monarques hellénistiques constituent le pendant négatif des sept premiers rois de Rome, qui surent combattre à propos, utiliser leurs forces judicieusement et se consacrer à l'administration de l'État:³⁹ le bon dirigeant devra imiter les rois de Rome, mais se garder absolument du fâcheux précédent que représentent les rois hellénistiques.
- b. Du point de vue du gouvernement de Rome, peut-être l'historien met-il en garde contre le risque d'une dérive orientale du pouvoir. Florus nous a laissé une épigramme piquante qui raille le goût d'Hadrien (imité d'Alexandre le Grand ?) pour les voyages lointains,⁴⁰ et un autre poème invitant à vivre

³⁵ E.g. T. F. Carney, "How Suetonius' *Lives* reflect on Hadrian", *PACA* 11 (1968) 7–24.

³⁶ Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14,1.

³⁷ Cf. SHA *Hadr.* 9,1; Eutrop. 8,6,2; L. Havas, "Un pseudo-triomphe d'Hadrien aux frontières d'après Florus", *AAntHung* 40 (2000) 184, n. 15.

³⁸ Cf. Jal (*supra* n. 4).

³⁹ Cf. la récapitulation sur le règne de ces sept rois qu'effectue Florus en 1,2: pour ce qui concerne les quatre premiers, Romulus et Tullus surent accroître l'empire, Numa et Ancus le pacifier et l'administrer: Florus se plaît à souligner cette complémentarité entre rois guerriers et rois pacificateurs (cf. aussi 1,1,2,4 et les remarques de Facchini Tosi [*supra* n. 10] 149).

⁴⁰ Flor. *carm.* 1: *Ego nolo Caesar esse, ambulare per Britannos, <latitare per...>, Scythicas pati pruinas* ("Moi je ne veux pas être César, me promener chez les Bretons, [me cacher chez les ...], endurer les froids de Scythie"). Nous rejoignons les conclusions de L. Havas, "Florus et Hadrien", *AAntHung* 39 (1999) 137–45, sur la portée réelle de cette épigramme qui, derrière son apparence anodine, remet en cause la prétention d'Hadrien à passer, par ses lointains voyages, pour un nouvel Alexandre ainsi que son inertie, bien éloignée de l'activisme qui caractérisait les bons souverains (Romulus, Auguste, Trajan notamment); on pourrait même – mais la démonstration est plus difficile à étayer, parce qu'elle repose sur une reconstitution

comme un *ciuis Romanus* au lieu de se laisser séduire par des habitudes étrangères, particulièrement grecques (*Poem.* 8):

"*Sperne mores transmarinos, mille habent offucias.*

Ciue Romano per orbem nemo uiuit rectius.

Quippe malim unum Catonem quam trecentos Socratas."

Nemo non haec uera dicit; nemo non contra facit.

(" 'Méprise les mœurs d'outre-mer, elles ont mille tromperies,
Personne ne vit plus moralement sur terre qu'un citoyen romain,

Oui, j'aimerais mieux un seul Caton que trois cents Socrates.'

Chacun souscrit à ses propos: chacun se conduit à l'encontre").

Il est possible que cette pièce poétique attaque – ou, du moins, appelle à modérer – le philhellénisme caractéristique du règne d'Hadrien:⁴¹ la sagesse d'un Socrate, si grande soit-elle, vaut bien moins que la rectitude morale de Caton le Censeur.

Or l'*Epitomé* contient elle aussi, moins directement, des mises en garde contre l'attrait pour les mœurs grecques. Il serait peut-être hasardeux de rapprocher la complaisance railleuse avec laquelle Florus évoque les levées de jeunes garçons effectuées par Antiochus III à Eubée (1,24,9) de la dilection d'Hadrien pour les jeunes gens,⁴² mais, d'une façon générale, on sait que l'hédonisme est un péril qui menace Hadrien, prompt à se laisser aller aux délices d'une vie indolente, en particulier dans les dernières années de sa vie, quand il se retire dans sa villa de Tibur,⁴³ dans laquelle il fit inscrire des noms de lieux et de provinces illustres – le plus souvent orientales (grecques et égyptiennes) – et dont les fouilles ont permis de mettre au jour de nombreuses preuves de son penchant pour l'art égyptien ptolémaïque.⁴⁴

problématique du v. 3 – y voir une critique de l'incompétence militaire d'Hadrien (c'est ce que pense Havas [*supra* n. 37] 175–84): si l'on accepte cette interprétation, on pourrait alors lire dans la critique répétée de la faiblesse militaire des rois hellénistiques une attaque assez marquée contre Hadrien, qui, par bien des aspects, se prête à l'identification ainsi suggérée.

⁴¹ Cf. en ce sens Di Giovine (*supra* n. 2) 112. — Carney (*supra* n. 35) 13, n. 35, remarque que chez un confrère de Florus (Suétone), les allusions à l'hellénisme sont tout aussi négatives.

⁴² SHA *Hadr.* 4,5; 14,7; D.C. 69,11,3; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14,7. Carney (*supra* n. 35) 11–2, estime qu'on pourrait aussi trouver ce type de critiques voilées contre l'homosexualité d'Hadrien dans les *Vies* de Suétone.

⁴³ SHA *Hadr.* 14,9; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14,6.

⁴⁴ SHA *Hadr.* 26,5; cf. Birley (*supra* n. 5) 192–3; A. M. Reggiani, "Adriano e l'Egitto. Alle origini dell'egittomania a Villa Adriana", dans *Suggerioni egizie a Villa Adriana*, ed. B. Adembri, Milan 2006, 55–74. On a trouvé dans la villa d'Hadrien, entre autres signes de son

En outre, on sait que, par certains actes et d'après certaines émissions monétaires,⁴⁵ Hadrien eut tendance à poser en nouveau roi d'Égypte. On peut alors émettre l'hypothèse suivante: Florus lance un avertissement à un empereur parfois tenté par un règne à la grecque, en comptant sur l'indulgence que l'empereur montre de façon générale pour les lettrés, même un peu insolents.⁴⁶

Dans ce cadre interprétatif, le portrait peu flatteur d'Antoine, qui s'est abandonné aux charmes vénéneux de l'Orient, serait un précédent dont Hadrien doit à tout prix se démarquer (2,21,3):

Aureum in manu baculum, ad latus acinaces, purpurea uestis ingentibus obstricta gemmis: diadema deerat, ut regina rex et ipse frueretur ("Un sceptre d'or à la main, un cimenterre au côté, un vêtement de pourpre attaché par d'énormes pierres précieuses: il lui manquait le diadème pour que ce fût aussi en roi qu'il pût jouir d'une reine").

Nous avons jusqu'ici envisagé l'hypothèse d'une rédaction sous Hadrien. Si l'on considère à présent que l'*Epitomé* a été écrite au début du règne d'Antonin, il peut aussi s'agir pour Florus d'engager le nouveau *princeps* à prendre ses distances avec son prédécesseur: on retrouverait alors une tradition bien établie sous le Haut-Empire romain,⁴⁷ de critiquer (plus ou moins discrètement) l'empereur défunt – d'ailleurs passablement impopulaire à l'époque⁴⁸ – pour mettre en valeur le nouveau venu.

On remarquera d'ailleurs que, à l'inverse de ses sources, Florus laisse de côté des griefs qui auraient pu s'appliquer aux souverains hellénistiques, mais certainement pas à Hadrien, tels que l'impiété, comme s'il ne gardait que les reproches applicables conjointement aux rois hellénistiques et au successeur de Trajan.

Concluons. Florus n'est pas foncièrement hostile aux valeurs helléniques, et se montre plutôt respectueux des Grecs de l'époque classique; cependant, le ta-

goût pour l'art ptolémaïque, des statues égyptiennes de rois, des crocodiles, une Isis et un faucon.

⁴⁵ Cf. A. C. Levi, "Hadrian as King of Egypt", *NC* 8 (1948) 30–8; S. Follet, "Hadrien en Égypte et en Judée", *RPh* 42 (1968) 65–7, note aussi que lors de son second voyage en Égypte, Hadrien se comporta "tel un souverain hellénistique".

⁴⁶ Cf. à cet égard les justes remarques de Havas 1999 (*supra* n. 40) 144–5.

⁴⁷ Cf. E. S. Ramage, "Denigration of Predecessor under Claudius, Galba and Vespasian", *Historia* 32 (1983) 200–14.

⁴⁸ *SHA Hadr.* 25,7; *Aur. Vict. Caes.* 14,10; *D.C.* 70,1,2–3; *Eutrop.* 8,7,3.

bleau qu'il brosse des rois hellénistiques est particulièrement sombre. Trois traits se distinguent: l'inaptitude au combat, la lâcheté et le goût pour le luxe. Il s'agit, pour une bonne part, d'une conception stéréotypée largement répandue à Rome, mais Florus force le trait, par rapport à ses sources. En outre, l'insistance, dans une œuvre à caractère bref, sur des points secondaires et anecdotiques, amène à se demander comment il faut interpréter ces portraits au vitriol. Il nous semble qu'ils corroborent tout d'abord une conception profonde de Florus: les peuples sont des organismes vivants qui naissent, s'épanouissent et se flétrissent – les souverains dégénérés, lointains descendants des glorieux généraux d'Alexandre le Grand, relèvent visiblement du dernier stade. En allant plus loin, on peut même se demander si ces personnages ne dessinent pas, en creux, deux écueils qu'Hadrien, sous le règne duquel vécut Florus, ne sut pas toujours éviter: le relâchement dans le domaine militaire, d'une part; un certain goût, chez ce philhellène et égyptomane, pour les fastes royaux et pour les plaisirs, d'autre part.

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Φλεγυῶν AND THE PHLEGYANS, WITH A NOTE ON μόρφνος φλεγύας (HES. SC. 134)

MIKA KAJAVA

The Phlegyans (Φλεγύαι or Φλέγυες), a mythical and notoriously reckless Lapith people living in northern Thessaly, later in Boeotia, and eventually settling in Phocian Daulis,¹ are first attested in Hom. *Il.* 13,302, where they are called "great-hearted" (Φλεγύας μεγαλήτορας). Some interesting information about the Phlegyan people is provided by the ancient scholia (*Schol. Hom. Il.* 13,302 Erbse):

302 a. Φλεγύας μεγαλήτορας: οἱ μὲν Γυρτωνίους, b(BCE³) Τ οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας τὴν Δαυλίδα τῆς Φωκίδος, οὓς μεγαλήτορας τοῖον ἰδεῖν ὀρέκτας† φησὶ διὰ τὸ πεπορθηκέναι τὸν ἐν Πυθοῖ ναόν. καὶ Φερεκύδης (FGrHist 3, 41 d) δὲ ἱστορεῖ περὶ τῶν Φλεγυῶν· καὶ γὰρ αὐτὰς τὰς Θήβας ὑπ' Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου διὰ τοῦτο τετειχίσθαι, διὰ τὸ δέος τῶν Φλεγυῶν. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τὰς Θήβας ὑπ' αὐτῶν αἰρεθῆναι Εὐρυμάχου βασιλεύοντος, καὶ ἔρημον γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν μέχρι τῆς Κάδμου ἀφίξεως. ἐπὶ πλεῖον δὲ περὶ αὐτῶν διείλεκται Ἔφορος ἀποδεικνύς ὅτι τὴν Δαυλίδα καὶ οὐ τὴν Γυρτῶνα ᾤκησαν· ὅθεν καὶ παρὰ Φωκεῦσι τὸ ὑβρίζειν φλεγυῶν λέγεσθαι. ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα ἐν τῇ τριακοστῇ τῇ Δημοφίλου (FGrHist 70, 93). πάλαι δὲ διεφέροντο Φωκεῖς πρὸς Θεσσαλούς· διὸ καὶ τὰς Θερμοπύλας ᾤκησαν Φωκεῖς· εἴσοδον γὰρ ἔχουσιν ἀπὸ Θεσσαλίας. Τ
b. ἄλλως· Φλεγύαι ἔθνος βίαιον περὶ τὴν Γυρτῶνα, οἱ Θηβαίοις ἐπιχειρήσαντες ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος κατεταρταρώθησαν. Τ
{ἢ ἐ μετα} Φλεγύας μεγαλήτορας: Φλεγύαι Γόρτυναν κατοικοῦντες — διεφθάρησαν. | οὗτοι δὲ ἐνέπρησαν καὶ τὸν ἐν Δελφοῖς ναὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος. | ἢ ἱστορία παρὰ Φερεκύδει (FGrHist 3, 41 e). Α

¹ S. Eitrem, *RE* XX (1941), coll. 266–9 s.v. Phlegyas; J. Fontenrose, *Python. A Study of Delphic Myth and Its Origins*, Berkeley 1959, 25–7, 35–6, 41–2.

As may be gathered from the underlined passage, in Book 30 of his *History* (actually added by his son Demophilus), Ephorus of Cyme, writing in the fourth century BC, had affirmed that the Phocians used the verb φλεγυᾶν for ὑβρίζειν, evidently because of the insolent and outrageous behaviour of the Phlegyan people (Jacoby, *FGH* 70 F 93).²

Similar evidence is given by Eustathius of Thessalonica in his commentaries on the *Iliad* (vol. III, p. 474):

Ὅμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ Φλεγυαί, ὄμοροι τοῖς Ἐφύροις ὄντες ἢ κάτοικοι τῆς ἐν Φωκίδι Γυρτώνης ἢ περὶ τὴν Δαυλίδα τῆς Φωκίδος, ἀσεβεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ ληστρικοί, οἱ καὶ τὸν ἐν Πυθοῖ ναὸν ἐπόρθησαν. καὶ τὰς Θήβας δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν δέος τετειχίσθαι ὑπ' Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου φασίν. ὧν θανόντων ἀλῶναί τε πάλιν τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ Φλεγυῶν Εὐρυμάχου βασιλεύοντος καὶ ἔρημον μεῖναι αὐτὴν μέχρι Κάδμου. οὕτω δὲ ἦσαν βίαιοι καὶ ὑβρισταί, ὥστε καὶ τὸ ὑβρίζειν, φασί, δι' αὐτοὺς παρὰ Φωκεῦσι φλεγυᾶν λέγεσθαι. μῦθος δὲ ἐστὶ ταρταρωθῆναι αὐτοὺς ὑπ' Ἀπόλλωνος Θηβαίοις ἐπιχειροῦντας.

Not only does the Byzantine scholar refer to the Phlegyans as ἀσεβεῖς ἄνδρες καὶ ληστρικοί, but he also states that they were regarded as so violent and wanton (βίαιοι καὶ ὑβρισταί) that among the Phocians their name gave birth to the verb φλεγυᾶν = ὑβρίζειν, this latter information obviously going back (cf. φασί) to Ephorus/Demophilus (if not earlier). In these and various other versions concerning the recklessness of the Phlegyans, the same basic elements reoccur: they mercilessly ravaged and fought other peoples and gods alike. The most horrific crime that they committed was the attack and plundering of Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi (we also learn from writers that they burned the temple, though this is probably a play on their name deriving from the verb φλέγειν "burn"). According to some sources, it was rather Phlegyas, son of Ares and the eponymous ancestor of the Phlegyans, who was responsible for this sacrilegious act (note that his name may suggest a fire demon). However, other versions of the myth tell that Apollo succeeded in rescuing his temple, and it was believed that the god avenged the attacking Phlegyans and destroyed them (alternatively, though, it was said that the punishment took place in the aftermath of their attack on Thebes).³

² As for the corrupt phrase †οἶον ἰδεῖν ὀρέκτας† in ll. 2–3 of the scholia, Bekker attractively emended it to οἶονεῖ δεινορέκτας (accepted by Jacoby, *FGH* 3 F 41 d; 70 F 93). Erbse, app. cr.: "possis οἶονεῖ δεινῶν ῥέκτας".

³ For the sources (Antipater of Magnesia and others) representing the Phlegyans as offenders

Regarding the verb φλεγυῶν, it is naturally related to the name of the Phlegyan tribe, both deriving from φλεγ-υ-, i.e., the verbal stem φλεγ- (tr.) "burn, ignite", (intr.) "burn, flame, shine", followed by the suffix -υ. However, the verb is hardly denominative, as some ancient writers and many Phocians may have believed.⁴ A denominative from the name of Phlegyas and of his people would most probably have been either *φλεγυάζω or *φλεγυίζω, both endings (-άζω and -ίζω) being very well documented in similar contexts.⁵ One could even consider *φλεγυεύομαι (or *φλεγυεύω) from Φλεγυεύς (Steph. Byz. *ethn. s.v.* Φλεγύα, πόλις Βοιωτίας, ἀπὸ Φλεγύου τοῦ Ἄρεος καὶ Χρυσῆς παιδός. ὁ πολίτης Φλεγύας καὶ Φλεγυεύς; cf. αἰζωνεύομαι "to be slanderous like the people of [the Attic deme] Aexone" [< Αἰζωνεύς]; χαλκιδεύομαι "to be parsimonious like the inhabitants of Chalcis" [< Χαλκιδεύς]). The only verb in -άω in the list combined by Amado Rodríguez (n. 5) is the desiderative ἀθηνιάω "long to be in Athens", introduced by Lucian in a list of obsolete and odd words used by a mistaken *pseudologistes*,⁶ and the only denominative in -όω derived from a place name seems to be the factitive αἰγυπτιώω "to make (swarthy) like an Egyptian".⁷

There is, however, no reason to doubt the existence of the verb φλεγυάω. Though evidently a very rare word, this is a quite plausible formation whose use may not have been limited to the Phocians. Ephorus/Demophilus seem to report a more or less local belief according to which the verb was derived from the name of the Phlegyans, and this may, in fact, have increased its popularity and use among the Phocians. However, the verb, derived from φλέγω "burn", may well have been known elsewhere too, being probably used metaphorically for ardent

against Delphi, see N. Robertson, "The Myth of the First Sacred War", *CQ* 28 (1978) 52–3.

⁴ But cf. also P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, Paris 1980, 1209: "dénommatif" (no comments on this point in *DELG Suppl.*). H. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1970, 1022 and R. Beekes, *Greek Etymological Dictionary*, Leiden 2010, 1576 just report the equation φλεγυῶν = ὑβρίζειν in Ephorus as well as the violent reputation of the Phlegyan people.

⁵ For the evidence, see M. T. Amado Rodríguez, "Verbos denominativos derivados de gentilicios y topónimos", *Myrtia* 10 (1995) 67–103 (φλεγυῶν is not discussed); M. Kajava, "Cities and Courtesans", *Arctos* 41 (2007) 22–23, 27.

⁶ Luc. *Pseudol.* 24, with the following comment: "κακὸν κακῶς σε ὁ λόγιος Ἑρμῆς ἐπιτρέψειεν αὐτοῖς λόγοις. ποῦ γὰρ ταῦτα βιβλίων εὕρισκεις;" Cf. ἀθηναίζω "to be wise as Athena" (< Ἀθηνᾶ) or "to behave like an Athenian" (< Ἀθηναῖος).

⁷ *TGF* adesp. fr. 161 (the fragment, χρόαν δὲ τὴν σὴν ἥλιος λάμπων φλογὶ αἰγυπτιώσει, might possibly be from a comedy, see Kock, *CAF* III, p. 399). The standard verb was αἰγυπτιάζω "to be like an Egyptian", "speak Egyptian", "to be like Egypt" (i.e., under water).

anger, burning violence and similar moods compared to fire and burning (just as φλέγω and φλόξ are found in fighting scenes as well as in descriptions of ardent passion⁸). Such types of behaviour could easily be conceived of as including the ideas of insolence and outrageousness.

In particular, one may associate φλεγυάω with the rare adjective φλεγυρός "burning", "ardent", "vehement" (perhaps dissimilated from -υ-λόζ), as both are construed with the suffix -υ- and because the latter is attested in clearly metaphorical contexts. In a fragment of Cratinus' *Drapetides*, Lampon, a common target of Athenian political satire in the latter half of the fifth century BC, is ridiculed as follows (Cratin. fr. 62 K-A):

Λάμπωνα, τὸν οὐ βροτῶν
 ψῆφος δύναται φλεγυρὰ δείπνου φίλων ἀπείργειν.
 νῦν δ' αὖθις ἐρυγγάνει·
 βρύχει γὰρ ἅπαν τὸ παρόν, τρίγλη δὲ κἄν μάχοιτο.⁹

In a technical sense, βροτῶν ψῆφος may well refer to a public vote (which could have deprived Lampon of the right to dine in the Prytaneum), but the use of φλεγυρὰ as an attribute of ψῆφος may rather suggest that not even heated and vehement public opinion was enough to keep the gluttonous man away from dinner parties.¹⁰ Interestingly, the Cratinus fragment may be commented on by the first gloss in the Hesychian entry φλεγυρὰ· ὑβριστική· λαμπρά (from Diogenianus).¹¹ If this is so, the explanation may not be quite apt, but it all depends on the interpretation of the nature of the public *psephos*, whether it was just

⁸ For φλόξ in Homer, and its comparative free use in the *Iliad*, see J. B. Hainsworth, "No Flames in the Odyssey", *JHS* 78 (1958) 49–56.

⁹ J. M. Edmonds, *The Fragments of Attic Comedy* I, Leiden 1957, 41 (fr. 57–8), translates (and understands) as follows: "Lampon, whom no thunder-vote Of mortal men / Can stay, poor sinner, From a friend's dinner. // But now repletion sounds its note. He 's full agen, / All 's grist to his gullet — Yet he 'd fight for a mullet." Cf. E. Bakola, *Cratinus and the Art of Comedy*, Oxford 2010, 147.

¹⁰ Cf. Eupolis fr. 175 K-A [Κόλακες], of the flatterers of Callias, whom not even weapons could keep from flocking to dinner: οὐ πῦρ οὐδὲ σίδηρος / οὐδὲ χαλκὸς ἀπείργει / μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον. The chorus of flatterers, using military terms analogously to Cratinus' ψῆφος φλεγυρὰ, may here describe their own abilities, see I. C. Storey, *Eupolis. Poet of Old Comedy*, Oxford 2003, 191.

¹¹ Cratinus is suggested by Hansen and Cunningham in vol. IV, p. 166 of the new Hesychius edition (Berlin 2009). The Hsch. entry is recorded at Cratin. fr. 62 K-A (*PCG* IV, p. 153), as it already was in the collections of Meineke and Kock, respectively.

"vehement" or both "ardent" and "outrageous".¹² In any case, Hesychius (and his source) is obviously right to state that φλεγυρός also means "insolent" or "outrageous", and in saying this, he may well have had the villainous Phlegyans in mind (cf. the adjacent entries in Hsch.: Φλεγύαι· ἔθνος ὑβριστικὸν καὶ ἀσεβές; φλέγουσι· βλάπτουσι; φλεγυροῦ· βλαβεροῦ). The lexicographer clearly draws on a long tradition attested not only in Ephorus/Demophilus (and their sources¹³) but also in archaic poetry. Indeed, the Phlegyans are styled as *hybristai* as early as the sixth-century Homeric Hymn to Apollo (*Hymn. Hom. Apoll.* 277–80):

ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω ἔκιες ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον,
ἶξες δ' ἔς Φλεγύων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν ὑβριστάων,
οἱ Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάασκον
ἐν καλῇ βήσση Κηφισίδος ἐγγύθι λίμνης.¹⁴

What about, then, the Homeric epithet *μεγαλήτωρ*, characterizing the Phlegyans in Hom. *Il.* 13,302 (Φλεγύας μεγαλήτορας)? In his *RE* article (cit. n. 1, col. 267), Samson Eitrem argued that the tradition of violent and reckless Phlegyans must be post-Homeric, because otherwise they could not be called "great-hearted" in Homer. It is true that this generic attribute does not depict the Phlegyans as godless and violent, but neither does it contradict that tradition (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 3,8, where Phlegyas himself is *εὖιππος* "with fine horses". This surely does not exclude brutal manners).¹⁵

¹² Meineke fr. 43,1–2: "itaque ne ludibriis quidem et contumeliis Lamponem a conviviis prohiberi dicit"; Kock fr. 57–8: "ego neque quid ψῆφος φλεγυρά (pro φῆμις φλεγυρά) neque quid τρίγλη δὲ κἄν μάχοιτο significant intellego".

¹³ F. Pownall, *Lessons from the Past: The Moral Use of History in Fourth-Century Prose*, Ann Arbor 2004, Ch. 4.

¹⁴ "From there you went on, far-shooting Apollo, and reached the community of the Phlegyes, ruffians who lived there disregarding Zeus, in a pretty valley near the Cephisus Marshes" (transl. M. L. West, Loeb 2003). These lines belong to the Pythian part of the poem, perhaps recited at Delphi in 586 BC.

¹⁵ Φλ. *μεγαλήτορες*: R. Janko, *The Iliad. A Commentary, vol. IV: Books 13–16*, Cambridge 1992, 85. Regarding the Pindaric passage, one may wonder whether Phlegyas' name, suggesting burning and fire, had any significance to Pindar in his Third *Pythian*, describing the funeral pyre of Koronis, Phlegyas' daughter, as well as the snatching of the infant Asclepius from Koronis' burning body by Apollo. Pindar not only describes the rescue of Asclepius for future divinity, but also his death by Zeus' lightning leading to his apotheosis. The ode's central theme, immortalization by fire, is interestingly discussed by B. Currie, *Pindar and the Cult of Heroes*, Oxford 2005, Ch. 14 (esp. 360–3).

Regarding the second gloss (λαμπρά) in the abovementioned Hesychian entry φλεγυρά· ὑβριστική. λαμπρά, it might explain the epithet of a Muse in a lyric song in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, as it does in *Schol. Ar. Acharn.*: φλεγυρά· λαμπρά, φέγγουσα, λάμπουσα, ἢ θερμὴ διὰ τοὺς ἄνθρακας. ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχυρά.¹⁶ The chorus composed of charcoal burners invoke the Acharnian Muse to offer them inspiration for their song (*Ar. Acharn.* 665–6):

δεῦρο, Μοῦσ', ἐλθὲ φλεγυρὰ πυρὸς ἔ-
χουσα μένος ἔντονος Ἀχαρνική.

The image of poetry as fire is known from Pindar and elsewhere, but a "fiery" Muse is particularly appropriate in the present scene, as she is to "fire" the song comparable to the sparks bursting from the charcoal cooking fire (667–75):

οἶον ἐξ ἀνθράκων πρηνίνων
φέψαλος ἀνήλατ' ἐρε-
θίζόμενος οὐρία ῥιπίδι,
670 ἤνικ' ἄν ἐπανθρακίδες ὧσι παρακείμεναι,
οἱ δὲ Θασίαν ἀνακυκῶσι λιπαράμπυκα,
οἱ δὲ μάττωσιν, οὐ-
τω σοβαρὸν ἐλθὲ μέλος
ἔντονον ἀγροϊκότονον
675 ὡς ἐμὲ λαβοῦσα τὸν δημότην.¹⁷

But if the adjective λαμπρά in Hesychius was really meant to explain Aristophanes' φλεγυρά, it remains a somewhat faded term to do so, and the same concerns the scholiast's observations except, perhaps, for the closing remark ἀντὶ τοῦ ἰσχυρά (omitted in some mss.). In fact, unless simply explaining ἔντονος in line 666, the adj. ἰσχυρά appropriately serves to interpret the metaphorical use of φλεγυρά. One expects a rather strong expression to define the Muse's attribute, which, in Aristophanes, is first glossed with πυρὸς ἔχουσα μένος "with the power

¹⁶ Some mss. read φλέγουσα instead of φέγγουσα (thus also *Suda s.v.*, depending on the sch.). Note, further, the variant φλεγυρα· ενθερμος in *P.Oxy.* VI 856,78, republished in *Schol. Ar. Acharn.* p. ix (Wilson).

¹⁷ "Even as from the oaken coals / the spark files up when roused / by a fair wind from the fan, / what time the sprats / are lying by, / while some do stir / the Thasian pickle with its gleaming circlet, / and others knead the dough: / even so come thou, with a lusty song, a rigorous song, a country song, / to me thy fellow-demesman." (transl. A. H. Sommerstein, *The Comedies of Aristophanes*, vol. I, Warminster 1980). For the passage, see S. Douglas Olson, *Aristophanes: Acharnians*, Oxford 2002, 243–5.

of fire", then with ἔντονος "intense, vehement" (also 674, a plausible emendation for εὔτονον), and finally with the lively image of the cooking fire (667–9). If taken to mean "ardent" and "vehement" (and not just λαμπρά "bright", "brilliant", etc.), the adjective φλεγυρά also aptly fits the tone of the chorus' anxious complaint about the ruinous civic and political situation in Athens as well as the uncertain destiny of veteran citizens.

Summing up, the rare verb φλεγυῶν seems to have been used of "fiery" behaviour manifesting itself in a wide range of verbal or physical actions, and its semantic field may be compared to that of φλεγυρός. In some cases, the verb had clearly negative connotations, as is suggested by its equation to ὑβρίζειν. Because of the ancient tradition of casting the Phlegyans as stock villains, this use was held to be a Phocian feature, or indeed a local peculiarity. However, it would hardly have been surprising to encounter godless, brutal and insolent φλεγυῶντες in other parts of the Greek world as well.

Appendix: μόρφνος φλεγύας (Hes. Sc. 134)

Following the above considerations, it may be useful to offer a brief note on a passage in the early sixth-century pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield*, describing in detail the wondrous armour of Heracles. According to the poet, the hero's arrows (οἰστοί) had been manufactured as follows (Hes. Sc. 132–4):

πρόσθεν μὲν θάνατόν τ' εἶχον καὶ δάκρυσι μῦρον,
μέσσοι δὲ ξεστοὶ περιμήκεες, αὐτὰρ ὄπισθε
μόρφνοιο φλεγύαο καλυπτόμενοι πτερύγεσσιν.¹⁸

In other words, the back of the arrows was furnished with feathers of a bird styled as μόρφνος φλεγύας. The identity and appearance of this bird has caused perplexity since ancient times. What seems clear is that μόρφνος refers to an eagle, as in Hom. *Il.* 24,315–6: αὐτίκα δ' αἰετὸν ἦκε, τελειότατον πετεηνῶν, / μόρφνον θηρητῆρ', ὃν καὶ περκνὸν καλέουσι (of the messenger eagle sent down by Zeus to King Priam). Here the bird is further called περκνός "dusky, dark-coloured, spotted", a term interpreted as a noun (πέρκνος) by Aristarchus

¹⁸ "For in front they held death and trickled with tears, in the middle they were smooth, very long, and in back they were covered with the feathers of a fiery red eagle" (transl. G. W. Most, Loeb 2007). Date and authorship (a Theban or pro-Theban poet?): R. Janko, "The *Shield of Heracles* and the Legend of Cycnus", *CQ* 36 (1986) 38–47.

and Herodian, just as they regarded *μόρφνος* as a substantive.¹⁹ This latter word, originally an adjective, probably also suggests a "dark" colour (Suda *s.v.* *μορφνόν·σκοτεινόν*;²⁰ cf. Hom. *Il.* 21,252: *αἰετοῦ ... μέλανος*), though one may note that the eagle of the Priam episode, which, according to Aristotle, is called not only *πλάγγος* but also "duck-killer" and *μορφνός* (*sic*), is distinguished by him from the one called (by its colouring) *μελανάετος* and "hare-killer".²¹ It is hard not to associate *μόρφνος* / *μορφνός* with the rhyming *ὀρφνός* "dark, dusky, murk", and thus the interesting possibility exists that we are dealing with the amalgamation of *μόρυχος* "dark, obscure" and *ὀρφνός*.²² Moreover, if the original sense of *περκνός* was "dappled", "spotted" or "with dark patches", this term being frequently used of animals (birds, fishes, etc.),²³ it may be relevant to observe that *ὀρφνός* (and *ὀρφν-*) probably does not only mean "plain dark", but can also indicate a mix of dark colour tones, as observable, e.g., in twilight and nighttime conditions (*ὀρφναῖος* and *ὄρφη* were used especially of the dusk of evening and of the darkness of night). "Dappled darkness" might perhaps be further suggested by the derivative *ὀρφνινόν* (*χρῶμα*) in Pl. *Tim.* 68 c, meaning some sort of dark violet colour, a mix of black, red and white.²⁴ Whatever the etymology of *μόρφνος* may be, it is generally agreed that the word suggests "dark" and that

¹⁹ *Schol. Hom. Il.* 24,316a1 (*GG* III,1, p. 173). Cf. N. Richardson, *The Iliad. A Commentary*, vol. VI: *Books 21–24*, Cambridge 1993, 305–6, and especially A. Rengakos, "Lykophron als Homererklärer", *ZPE* 102 (1994) 126, who points out (n. 72) that *περκνός* was possibly treated as a noun also in Lyc. *Alex.* 260. Accentuation of *μόρφνος*: P. Probert, *Ancient Greek Accentuation. Synchronic Patterns, Frequency Effects, and Prehistory*, Oxford 2006, 356, 362–3.

²⁰ In Hsch. *s.v.* *μοριφόν·σκοτεινόν·μέλαν*, the entry perhaps has to be emended to *μορφνόν*.

²¹ Arist. *HA* 618 b 23–7. Suda *s.v.* explains *μορφνός* (*sic*) as a scavenger bird, apparently a vulture, feeding solely on carcasses: *μόνοι γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν ἀετῶν οὐ κυνηγοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ νεκροῖς σώμασι τρέφονται*.

²² *Pace* Chantraine (n. 4), 714: "Le fait que le mot rime avec *ὀρφνός* "sombre" n'explique rien", but cf. A. J. Van Windekens, *Dictionnaire étymologique complémentaire de la langue grecque*, Leuven 1986, 158, referring to *μόρυχος* (an epithet of Dionysus in Sicily as well as a personal name) and the comparative *μορυχώτερον* "more obscurely" (*v.l.* in Arist. *Metaph.* 987 a 10).

²³ Evidence in Beekes (n. 4), 1178. Cf. also Hsch. *περκνόν* [with a different full grade]·*ποικιλόχροον ἔλαφον*.

²⁴ "Dunkelpurpur", according to H. Dürbeck, *Zur Charakteristik der griechischen Farbenbezeichnungen*, Bonn 1977, 54 (p. 131: "dunkelviolet, fast schwarz"). *LSJ*: "brownish grey". Darkish clothes are sometimes defined as *ὀρφνινά* (e.g., *ἱμάτια*).

it was used especially in reference to the eagle, being also found, it seems, as an independent noun.

If the eagle of the ps.-Hesiodic passage is "darkish" in some respect (with dark spotted plumage?),²⁵ how, then, should the term φλεγύας be explained? This seems to be an adjective, though there is no unanimity on this issue either.²⁶ However, as the word is derived from φλέγω, there is a strong consensus that it refers to the bird's colouring ("fiery red, red-brown", "brun-rouge", "rot-braun", "rosso-fuoco", etc.), and this is how it has been explained since antiquity (Hsch. s.v. φλεγύας· ἀετὸς ξανθός, ὄξύς; Etym. Magn. s.v. φλεγύας: Ἔστιν ἀετὸς, ἀπὸ τοῦ φλέγειν καὶ λαμπρὸς εἶναι; similarly *Schol. Hes. Sc.* [Ioh. Ped.]). The compatibility of the eagle's darkness with its fiery red and dazzling (cf. ὄξύς in Hsch.) brightness suggested by φλεγύας may not be a problem, since perhaps μόρφνος generically indicates the darkish appearance of the bird without reference to any specific colour (cf. also n. 25), and on the other hand, if φλεγύας means "red-brown", it does not denote a particularly bright colour, being closer to "tawny".

However, even if the word φλεγύας might describe the eagle's colour, my impression is that it may have another (or additional?) meaning in Hes. *Sc.* 134. When eagles, hawks and similar birds appear in high poetry (similes or elsewhere), as they often do from Homer onwards, their colouring is usually a neutral issue not described in detail. The poets were much more interested in their lofty and wheeling flight and fast plunges, sometimes in their sharp sight or hooked beak. Homer once calls the eagle αἴθων "burning, fiery" (*Il.* 15,690), but even if this epithet usually means "tawny" in reference to animals (bulls, lions, oxen, horses etc.), here the eagle is not "fiery red", but simply, by way of simile, "fiery":

²⁵ Unless the "darkness" means that a wheeling eagle appears as dark or even black (Hom. *Il.* 21,252: μέλας) to those who look at it against the bright sky, cf. E. Handschur, *Die Farb- und Glanzwörter bei Homer und Hesiod, in den homerischen Hymnen und in den Fragmenten des epischen Kyklos*, Wien 1970, 199; Dürbeck (n. 24), 151.

²⁶ D'Arcy W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, London – Oxford 1936, 304: "a name or epithet of μόρφνος", referring to the possibility of the "lightning bird", perhaps in turn suggesting the *incendiaria avis* of Plin. *nat.* 10,36. However, Thompson rightly adds that "the whole matter is highly dubious and obscure." C. F. Russo, *Hesiodi Scutum*, Firenze 1950, 105 held φλ. as the name of an eagle species ("dal colore rosso fuoco"), similarly Handschur (n. 25), 198 (and cf. Suda s.v. φλεγύας· ὁ ἀετὸς; Ps.Zonar. *lex.* s.v. φλεγίας [sic]. ὄνομα ἀετοῦ). Regarding φλέξις, an isolated bird name in Ar. *Av.* 883 (-ιδι), all we can say is that it is derived from φλεγ-, cf. N. Dunbar, *Aristophanes. Birds*, Oxford 1995, 515: "It may or may not be connected with a bird-name φλεγύας (~ φλέγω, blaze, hence fiery-coloured?), glossed as ἀετὸς in ancient lexica."

Hector is about to bring fire to the Greek ships, just as the fiery eagle brings death to fowl.²⁷

Similarly, it seems that φλεγύας primarily associates with the eagle's ardent and fiery temper, its swiftness, and its superiority in strength. Such features would be well matched by the deadly arrows of Heracles. Covered in back with the feathers of a fiery μόρφνος, they project from the hero's bow, striking the enemy like an eagle swooping towards its prey. The colour of the feathers would probably have been an issue of minor significance.

Even though, according to the *Shield*, Heracles eventually did not use his bow to kill his opponent Cycnus, but with a long spear struck him in the neck beneath the chin, the "eagle's arrows" were surely a tremendous weapon. Their fatal, or even tragic, power interestingly appears in one of Aesop's *Fables*, telling about an eagle lethally shot by a shaft covered with his own feathers (τὸ βέλος ἰδὼν ἐπτερωμένον τοῖς οἰκείοις πτεροῖς):

An archer aimed at an eagle and let loose an arrow. The eagle was struck and as he turned and looked at the shaft which was tipped with his own feathers, he said, "Many are betrayed by the very things that they themselves have wrought."²⁸

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²⁷ Hom. *Il.* 15,690–4: ἀλλ' ὡς τ' ὀρνίθων πετεηνῶν αἰετὸς αἶθων / ἔθνος ἐφορμᾶται ποταμὸν πάρα βοσκομενάων / χηνῶν ἢ γεράνων ἢ κύκνων δουλιχοδείρων, / ὡς Ἴκτωρ ἴθυσε νεὸς κυανοπρόροιο / ἀντίος ἀΐξας; cf. Janko (n. 15), 303–4.

²⁸ Transl. L. Gibbs, *Aesop's Fables*, Oxford 2002, n. 43 (according to Aphthon. 32 = ed. Perry 276). The same motif, defined as a "Libyan tale", occurs in Achilles' speech in Aesch. *Myrm.* fr. 139 (*TGF*): ὦδ' ἐστὶ μύθων τῶν Λιβυστικῶν κλέος, / πληγέντ' ἀπράκτω τοξικῶ τὸν αἰετὸν / εἰπεῖν ἰδόντα μηχανὴν πτερώματος. / "Τάδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πτεροῖς / ἀλισκόμεσθα": by having lent Patroclus his armour and sending him out to his fatal fight against Hector, Achilles is like an eagle which, noticing that it has been struck by a shaft fitted with its own feathers, has caused its own disaster. The eagle's words (without the verb) were quoted by Ar. *Av.* 808.

NEUTRO PLURALE E FEMMINILE SINGOLARE: IL FATTORE GRAFICO NELL'INTERPRETAZIONE DELLE PECULIARITÀ DELLA DECLINAZIONE TARDOLATINA¹

TIMO KORAKIANGAS

Quello che vediamo quando guardiamo un qualunque testo latino a noi trasmesso è la facciata grafica che nasconde dietro a sé la lingua "reale", la lingua parlata all'epoca. Alcuni dei fenomeni anomali percepiti in quella facciata derivano in maniera più o meno diretta dalla lingua parlata, altri invece rappresentano le convenzioni – eventualmente malintese – della lingua scritta la cui distanza da quella parlata era diventata considerevole nel latino tardo. Indizi piuttosto diretti² si incontrano particolarmente nel caso degli scrittori che non avevano una padronanza profonda del registro scritto, mentre gli indizi indiretti si fanno rintracciare tramite le tendenze statistiche attestate nell'uso delle forme grafiche più pronte a riflettere il cambiamento linguistico supposto. Una delle grandi sfide per lo studio del latino tardo è, in primo luogo, discernere gli indizi diretti da quelli indiretti e, in secondo luogo, interpretare i dati sulle tendenze degli indizi indiretti in modo plausibile.

¹ Esprimo qui la mia viva gratitudine alla Dott.ssa Hilla Halla-aho e al Dott. Kalle Korhonen per la cortese lettura del mio testo e per gli utili consigli e suggerimenti. Inoltre ringrazio cordialmente Katriina Martikainen-Lauttamus e Rosalinda Altamore per aver corretto il mio italiano. Resta naturalmente mia la responsabilità per eventuali errori e inesattezze.

² Sono consapevole che lo scritto non può mai riflettere direttamente il parlato, ma mi riferisco ai casi come quello di una sottoscrizione in caratteri greci di un papiro ravennate: $\nu\alpha\gamma\upsilon\zeta\alpha\tau\rho\omicron$ (*P.Ital.* 20,83). È giustificato sostenere che la parola, intenzionata come trascrizione di *negotiator*, indichi fenomeni senza dubbio diffusi all'epoca, come la palatalizzazione dell'occlusiva dentale sorda davanti a /j/ e la desinenza tipica settentrionale <-atro> dei nomi d'agente, per menzionarne alcuni. A. Zamboni, "L'emergere dell'italiano: per un bilancio aggiornato", in J. Herman – A. Marinetti (a cura di.), *La preistoria dell'italiano*, Tübingen 2000, 243.

Nei suoi *Studien über die Sprache der langobardischen Gesetze* Bengt Löfstedt tratta tra l'altro la consuetudine degli scrittori tardolatini di attribuire la desinenza flessiva al sostantivo in virtù della rassomiglianza formale, cioè grafica.³ La consuetudine si spiega con la supposizione che fino ai tempi dei longobardi il sistema casuale si fosse già ridotto a nulla o quasi nel latino parlato in Italia. Quindi coloro che scrivevano dovevano imparare a memoria le regole della lingua scritta, quasi come quelle di una lingua straniera. Man mano che indeboliva la conoscenza teorica del latino, l'uso delle desinenze flessive diventava in un certo modo meccanico e sempre più incline agli errori di diverso tipo. Di conseguenza l'oggetto del presente studio sarà la lingua scritta, per quanto se ne possono a volte anche trarre deduzioni indirette riguardanti quella parlata.⁴

L'abbondanza della desinenza <-a> rispetto a <-e>

Uno dei casi presentati dal Löfstedt è collegato alle proporzioni delle grafie incorrette di accusativi singolari delle tre prime declinazioni: nell'Editto di Rotari le desinenze incorrette senza <-m> finale sono particolarmente frequenti nella I declinazione (51 % <-a> pro <-am>). La mia intenzione è studiare qui le desinenze in -a delle I e II declinazioni e la loro supposta confusione nel latino tardo alla luce dell'evidenza statistica delle grafie attestate in alcuni corpora tardolatini non letterari. Il neutro singolare in -um della II declinazione, se pur molto importante per la sua tenace conservazione nel latino scritto tardivo (ad es. nei Papiri ravennati, v. la nota 15), verrà solo sfiorato, perché il fenomeno è stato praticamente esaurito dagli altri studiosi come ad esempio dal Löfstedt. Il punto di riferimento

³ B. Löfstedt, *Studien über die Sprache der langobardischen Gesetze*, Stockholm 1961. Nel capitolo *Morphologisches und Syntaktisches*, il Löfstedt concentra la sua attenzione sulla più antica delle leggi longobarde, il cosiddetto Editto di Rotari, emanato nel 643 e conservato in un manoscritto del fine secolo VII, *Codex Sangallensis* 730.

⁴ Ci si avveda che la morfologia era considerata parte dell'ortografia presso i grammatici tardolatini, "perché [le desinenze nominali] non avevano quasi mai alcuna relazione diretta con la normale lingua parlata" (R. Wright, "Latino e Romano: Bonifazio e il Papa Gregorio II", in J. Herman – A. Marinetti (a cura di), *La preistoria dell'italiano*, Tübingen 2000, 226–7). Accortisi che per formare frasi del tutto comprensibili scrivere la desinenza nominale non era necessario – almeno nei casi non ambigui – gli scrittori avranno pensato che nella lingua scritta esistesse una riserva delle desinenze flessionali (classiche) che si sarebbero dovute impiegare in modo adeguato ma, in caso di mancata competenza linguistica, le utilizzavano semplicemente in base alla rassomiglianza formale o ad altri malintesi.

costante per il mio studio saranno i Papiri ravennati, un corpus di 59 documenti privati redatti nell'Italia tardo-antica e alto-medievale durante il periodo dal 433 al 750 ca. La maggior parte delle carte risalgono comunque al VI secolo.⁵

Nei Papiri ravennati <-a> incorretta si trova nel 21 % dei casi al complemento oggetto femminile singolare della I declinazione. I maschili e i femminili della III declinazione presentano invece <-e> incorretta nel 10 % dei casi.⁶ L'omissione di <-m> finale risulta più frequente nella I declinazione che nella III declinazione. In effetti la stessa tendenza è da percepire – e in modo più perspicuo – anche negli altri corpora tardolatini italiani finora esaminati e qui posti a confronto nella tabella sottostante. È vero che l'*Anonymus Valesianus II* non è un testo documentario ma un'anonima cronaca teodericiana; è comunque uno dei rari testi prodotti nell'Italia contemporanea, sui quali esistono analisi quantitative. Approfitterò inoltre dello studio di Robert L. e Frieda N. Politzer sulla lingua del Codice diplomatico longobardo nonché dei risultati acquisiti da Giuliana Fiorentino su un campione di 94 carte del Codice diplomatico cavense. Anche nelle iscrizioni pompeiane appare una certa propensione in favore di <-a>, il che si spiegherà tuttavia partendo da altre premesse (v. più avanti).⁷

⁵ Come edizione di base mi servono i due volumi *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700* (1955 e 1982), redatti da Jan-Olof Tjäder. Lo stesso studioso rieditò i papiri più tardi anche nelle *Chartae Latinae Antiquiores* ove le trascrizioni tuttavia rimasero praticamente invariate.

⁶ Anche se gli studiosi sembrano in generale trattare nelle loro statistiche indiscriminatamente tutte le parti del discorso nominali, finii per utilizzare per i miei scopi soltanto i sostantivi includendo però gli aggettivi e i participi indubbiamente sostantivati (ad es. *gesta, praesens* o locuzioni formali come *mobile et immobile seseque moventibus*) e così respingendo tutte le forme nominali i cui morfemi "segnagenera" si determinano tramite una concordanza puramente grammaticale con le altre parti della frase. Quindi oltre a tutti gli aggettivi, i participi e i numerali attributivi, vennero esclusi dal calcolo i pronomi sia aggettivali che sostantivati, come ad es. *suosque omnes*.

⁷ *Anonymus Valesianus II*: J. N. Adams, *The Text and Language of a Vulgar Latin Chronicle (Anonymus Valesianus II)*, London 1976, 51; Editto di Rotari: Löfstedt (sopra nt. 3) 226; carte longobarde: F. N. Politzer – R. L. Politzer, *Romance Trends in 7th and 8th Century Latin Documents*, Chapel Hill 1953, 16 e 22; carte cavensi: G. Fiorentino, "Aspetti della morfosintassi nominale nelle carte cavensi del IX secolo", *AGI* 79 (1994) 38. Le percentuali della Fiorentino si basano sulla classificazione delle forme attestate in quelle "latine", "romanze" e "altre". I Politzer trattano insieme le desineze <-o> e <-u>. Oltre ai testi incorporati alla tabella, l'abbondanza di <-a> si osserva anche in parecchi testi della Gallia merovingica (L. F. Sas, *The Noun Declension System in Merovingian Latin*, Paris 1937, 501 e 515) e ad esempio nel Codice Diplomatico Amalfitano, datato al X secolo (R. Sornicola, "Nominal Inflection and Grammatical Relations in Tenth-Century Legal Documents from the South of Italy (Codex

testo	datazione approssimativa	le percentuali delle desinenze acc. incorrette (%) e le quantità assolute delle desinenze acc. (tra []) nelle tre primi declinazioni					
		I decl. -a		III decl. -e		II decl. -o*	
Anonymus Valesianus II	prima metà sec. VI	40 %	[47]	6 %	[53]	20 %	[97]
Papiri ravennati	433–750 ca.	21 %	[76]	10 %	[177]	20 %	[35]
L'Editto di Rotari	ultima metà sec. VII	51 %	[209]	12 %	[226]	25 %	[157]
Carte longobarde	720–774	76 %	[1847]	55 %	[833]	–	–
Carte cavensi	792–899	71 %	–	29 %	–	27 %	–

*) Solo i maschili.

Purtroppo le percentuali dei cinque corpora non sono del tutto comparabili a causa dei dissimili principi applicati alla raccolta delle desinenze. Si noti inoltre che nella tabella sono trattati insieme i complementi oggetto diretto e quelli delle preposizioni. Questa procedura infausta è dovuta al fatto che non sono disponibili i dati specificati né per l'*Anonymus Valesianus II* né per le carte longobarde e cavensi – un difetto piuttosto deplorabile, giacché in occasione delle reggenze preposizionali bisognerebbe sempre tenere conto di numerosi fattori, come la confusione delle preposizioni accompagnate dall'accusativo e di quelle accompagnate dall'ablativo.⁸ Per di più i Politzer non distinguono tra i maschili e i neutri della II declinazione e la Fiorentino fornisce solo le percentuali delle desinenze incorrette, ma non rivela le quantità assolute totali delle desinenze accusative sia corrette che incorrette. Le percentuali dei Papiri ravennati indicano la situazione senza *P.Ital.* 8, un lungo inventario di eredità (*breve de diversas species*) scritto nel 564 in un latino abbastanza "substandard", che a mio avviso non dovrebbe essere giustapposto alle carte redatte generalmente in maniera più o meno classicizzante.⁹

Diplomaticus Amalfitanus)", in R. Wright (ed.) *Latin vulgaire – latin tardif VIII*, Hildesheim 2008, 514–5).

⁸ Proprio nei Papiri ravennati gli oggetti accompagnati dalle preposizioni si comportano molto diversamente da quelli retti dai verbi. Quindi se le due categorie sono trattate insieme, si possono perdere informazioni preziose. In questo caso la percentuale di <-a> resta comunque più grande della percentuale di <-e>, anche se sono osservati solo i complementi oggetto: <-a> 14 %, <-e> 5 %, <-o> 11 %. Lo stesso vale anche per l'Editto di Rotari: <-a> 48 %, <-e> 12 %, <-o> 18 %. L'invasione dell'accusativo nel territorio dell'ablativo nelle reggenze preposizionali, v. V. Väänänen, *Introduction au latin vulgaire*, Paris 1981, 112.

⁹ Questo per dire che non distingo sistematicamente le "parti di formulario" dei papiri dalle "parti libere" del dispositivo (termini utilizzati da F. Sabatini) come proposto da molti studiosi. Vedi F. Sabatini, "Esigenze di realismo e dislocazione morfologica in testi preromanzi", *RCCM*

Come constatato, in tutti i corpora presentati nella tabella la percentuale della desinenza accusativa incorretta in *-a* è più grande di quella della desinenza incorretta in *-e*. Nella letteratura scientifica sembrano figurare due modi di interpretare l'abbondanza di *<-a>* rispetto a *<-e>*: l'uno, applicatosi essenzialmente ai testi precoci e sostenuto ad esempio dal Väänänen (1966), spiega il fenomeno in base all'ipotesi bicasuale, discussa più avanti; l'altro, proposto dal Löfstedt soprattutto per il materiale tardolatino, lo interpreta per mezzo delle tendenze grafiche – spiegazione potenziata dall'Adams (1976). Nei paragrafi seguenti tratterò ambedue i modi appena citati e fornirò il mio proprio contributo all'ipotesi posteriore, cioè grafica.

È evidente che la confusione tra *<-a>* e *<-am>* e tra *<-e>* ed *<-em>* rispettivamente si spiega con la caduta di *<-m>* finale non più pronunciata, la sistematica differenza quantitativa tra le percentuali delle forme accusative in *<-a>* e in *<-e>* invece no.¹⁰ Secondo il Löfstedt il fenomeno fu causato dalla fusione fra il

7 (1965) 975–6; particolarmente per quanto riguarda i documenti longobardi, v. P. Larson, *Gli elementi volgari nelle carte del "Codice diplomatico longobardo"*, tesi inedita 1988, 142–5 e P. Larson, "Tra linguistica e fonti diplomatiche: quello che le carte dicono e non dicono", in J. Herman – A. Marinetti (a cura di), *La preistoria dell'italiano*, Tübingen 2000, 152–3; G. Sanga – S. Baggio, "Sul volgare in età longobarda", in E. Banfi *et al.* (eds.), *Italia settentrionale: crocevia di idiomi romanzi*, Tübingen 1995, 250. Dal punto di vista comunicativo, v. H. Lüdtke, "Die Entstehung romanischer Schriftsprachen", *VR* 23 (1964) 7. A mio avviso distinguere le due parti non è tanto essenziale nei Papiri ravennati, scritti interamente in modo assai classico, quanto sarà nelle carte più tarde come le carte longobarde in cui la differenza tra le parti di formulario e di dispositivo è appariscente. Siccome l'inventario di *P.Ital.* 8 è l'unico brano notevole a differire considerevolmente dal livello normale dei Papiri ravennati (gli devono l'85 % di *<-a>* e il 70 % di *<-e>* dei complementi oggetto diretto), ritengo sufficiente presentare le percentuali del corpus senza il papiro in questione. (Se *P.Ital.* 8 fosse incluso, i valori sarebbero *<-a>* 48 %, *<-e>* 17 %, *<-o>* 43 %. Quindi rimarrebbe la disparità delle percentuali tra *<-a>* ed *<-e>*.) Riguardo a *P.Ital.* 8, v. C. M. Carlton, *A Linguistic Analysis of a Collection of Late Latin Documents Composed in Ravenna between A.D. 445–700*, The Hague, Paris 1973, 84 e 138; l'inventario di eredità più in dettaglio, v. Sabatini (sopra) 977–82; J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700: Papyri 1–28*, Lund 1955, 427–36; sulle sezioni giuridiche dei Papiri ravennati, v. S. Lazard, "Cas et prépositions dans les écrits documentaires d'Italie et de France entre le VI^e et le X^e s.", in P. Ramat – E. Roma (a cura di), *Sintassi storica* (Pubblicazioni della Società linguistica italiana 39), Roma 1998, 177. Per esigenze di uniformità, escludo dal calcolo anche le sottoscrizioni delle carte concentrandomi esclusivamente sui testi scritti dagli scribi stessi. Sull'alta qualità del latino dei Papiri ravennati, v. Fiorentino (sopra nt. 7) 31 e S. Lazard, "Indices de la langue parlée à Ravenne au VI^e siècle à travers le témoignage des chartes", in G. Hilty (ed.), *Actes du XX^e Congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes 2*, Tübingen 1993, 391.

¹⁰ */-m/* finale si sarà spenta molto presto nella lingua parlata quotidiana avendo, però,

nominativo-accusativo del neutro plurale collettivo della II declinazione e quello del femminile singolare della I declinazione: le due desinenze <-a> e <-am> si sarebbero confuse nella mente degli scrittori, in quanto la differenza morfosintattica delle uscite non era più sentita.¹¹ Siccome il neutro plurale non aveva mai avuto /-m/, il modo di scrivere la desinenza senza <-m> sarebbe stato applicato anche alle altre desinenze contenenti l'elemento /a/. Che l'evoluzione fosse andata così e non vice versa, cioè il fatto che non si trovano quasi mai delle <-m> aggiuntive nei neutri plurali, risulterebbe dal motivo che era più facile dimenticare <-m> finale non pronunciata che ricordarla. Nella III declinazione naturalmente non vi sarebbero state tendenze simili, perché non esistevano desinenze concorrenti per la desinenza <-em> (eccetto l'ablativo abbastanza raro in -e della stessa declinazione). Pertanto nella III declinazione sono più piccole le percentuali delle desinenze incorrette accusative <-e>, che secondo la teoria del Löfstedt sono errori causati unicamente dalla confusione fonetica semplice, non dall'interferenza di alcun'altra desinenza flessiva come nella I declinazione.¹²

Il Löfstedt non chiarisce tuttavia come pensa sia accaduta la confusione. Una confusione di forme singolari e plurali può sembrare strana, ma si deve prendere in considerazione che sia il femminile singolare, sia il neutro plurale spesso rappresentano concetti i cui significati possono essere interpretati come singolari (ad es. *folia* 'foglie; fogliame'). Quindi tutti i sostantivi che si presentano neutri nel latino classico ma femminili singolari nei testi tardolatini o nelle lingue romanze, vennero rianalizzati come femminili perché, in quanto collettivi, furono interpretati come singolari e perché la loro desinenza /-a/ li collegò al femminile, ad esempio lat. n. *folia* > it. f. *foglia*. Invece quei neutri del latino classico che di solito non si presentavano al plurale collettivo finirono maschili singolari, ad esempio lat. n. *vinum* > it. m. *vino*.¹³ Utilizzando metodi quantitativi si osservano

possibilmente nasalizzato la vocale precedente prima della sua scomparsa. Nel latino classico /-m/ finale sarà successivamente stata restituita nel linguaggio elevato. Nell'epoca tarda sembra invece estremamente improbabile supporre una conservazione delle vocali nasali. Vedi M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, 225–6; Väänänen (sopra nt. 8) 66; Carlton (sopra nt. 9) 135; cfr. Quint. *inst.* 9,4,40.

¹¹ Nei femminili della I declinazione l'elemento /a/ è in realtà la vocale tematica, mentre nei neutri plurali della II declinazione si tratta della desinenza flessionale (anzi derivativa, come vogliono alcuni studiosi) in /a/. Queste categorie diverse si possono confondere in un sistema che si fonda in primo luogo sulla rassomiglianza formale delle desinenze.

¹² Löfstedt (sopra nt. 3) 228.

¹³ Si suppone che i plurali collettivi dei neutri in <-a> delle lingue indoeuropee derivino da un'indipendente categoria morfologica collettiva in *-h₂ della lingua protoindoeuropea (J.

indizi degli stadi iniziali di tale sviluppo, il che mi pare provare che il neutro fin allora era completamente sparito nel parlato e che restava in "vita" solo nella lingua scritta. Agli scrittori abbastanza colti, come gli scribi dei Papiri ravennati, sembra rimanesse tuttavia una conoscenza più o meno passiva del neutro:¹⁴ sapevano ancora che nello scritto esistevano neutri e che i neutri plurali uscivano proprio in <-a>, non in <-am>. Per di più sapevano che il neutro singolare della II declinazione usciva in <-um>, un fatto attestato, per quanto riguarda testi tardolatini di vari generi, dal Löfstedt e da parecchi altri studiosi; non fanno eccezione i Papiri ravennati.¹⁵ L'Adams accetta i principi dell'esegesi del Löfstedt, ma apparentemente dopo una breve esitazione.¹⁶

Tutti i neutri che di solito si impiegano al plurale (collettivo) erano dunque nella lingua parlata in pratica equipollenti ai femminili (singolari). Pertanto gli ex-neutri plurali (*arma*) che si incontrano nei casi molto rari del tipo *armam alterius tollere* (*edict. Roth. 308*, ms. Sangallense) in realtà non vanno considerati "femminilizzati", bensì rappresentano la stessa confusione delle due classi in <-a>. Giacché si suppone che nel parlato la categoria neutra non sia più esistita, è incorretto parlare meccanicamente del cambiamento dei generi, se pur fino a pochi decenni fa si sarebbe detto con tutta calma che i neutri plurali erano "cambiati" in femminili singolari. Quindi <-m> aggiuntiva è ancora un'altra svista di natura grafica, non una prova della femminilizzazione.¹⁷

Clackson, *Indo-European Linguistics: An Introduction*, Cambridge 2007, 101–3; cfr. I. Schön, *Neutrum und Kollektivum: Das Morphem -a im Lateinischen und Romanischen*, Innsbruck 1971, 32–8).

¹⁴ La confusione dei generi si manifesta solo di rado nel livello lessicale nei Papiri ravennati. L'unico ex-neutro che sembra aver adottato la morfologia femminile è l'accusativo plurale *authenticas* (*sic!*) derivato manifestamente dal nominativo singolare *authenticum* "documento originale". Non vi sono neanche molti ex-neutri con desinenze ovviamente maschili: *Belliianus senatusconsultus* (= *Velleianum senatusconsultum*); *qui spatius* (= *spatium*); *labellos* (= *labella*) e forse *arbos* (= *arva*), *cocliars* (= *cochlearia*), *puteales* (= *putealia*).

¹⁵ La stabilità del neutro come un fenomeno letterario è illustrata nei Papiri ravennati dalla conservazione al nominativo (nel 96 %) e all'accusativo (nel 97 % dei complementi oggetto) e dall'invasione all'ablativo (nell'11 %) di <-um> dei neutri della II declinazione. Al maschile, in cui non vi sono impedimenti alla diffusione di <-o>, la desinenza <-um> si trova nel 79 % dei complementi oggetto e nel 2 % degli ablativi. Cfr. Löfstedt (sopra nt. 3) 226, 228–31; Adams (sopra nt. 7) 51–3. Riguardo alle carte merovingiche, v. Sas (sopra nt. 7) 147–8, 160–1.

¹⁶ Adams (sopra nt. 7) 51–4.

¹⁷ Non è necessariamente ipercorrettismo: probabilmente <-m> non fu prodotta intenzionalmente dopo un'approfondita riflessione linguistica. Su <-m> aggiuntiva negli ablativi, v. più avanti.

Conservazione di <-am> nei femminili caratterizzati dal tratto [+Umano]?

Il Löfstedt presenta un argomento supplementare per la sua teoria asserendo che <-am> si conservi con maggiore tenacia nei sostantivi denotanti persone (ovvero [+Animato +Umano]), giacché non sarebbe facile confondere persone con neutri plurali (tipicamente [–Animato –Umano]). L'interpretazione si basa comunque solamente sull'Editto di Rotari in cui la desinenza incorretta <-a> si presenta nel 27 % dei 76 complementi oggetto femminili denotanti referenti personali. È impossibile verificare il fenomeno negli altri corpora studiati a causa dei metodi applicati incompatibili: non si possono distinguere antroponomi da nomi comuni con referenti personali né da altri nomi propri, ad esempio da toponimi. I Politzer trattano insieme tutti i nomi propri delle carte longobarde, e i loro risultati concordano male con quelli del Löfstedt: solo uno (il 3 % ca.) dei 39 accusativi femminili singolari porta la desinenza corretta <-am>.¹⁸ Sono dell'opinione che perché sia credibile l'interpretazione del Löfstedt, le carte longobarde dei Politzer debbano contenere più desinenze in -am. Sarà infatti plausibile presumere che nel numero dei 39 nomi propri si trovino abbastanza nomi che denotano referenti personali e che, se ci si fida del Löfstedt, dovrebbero pertanto mantenere la desinenza <-am>. Nei Papiri ravennati vi sono solo sette femminili della I declinazione denotanti persone dei quali cinque (l'80 % ca.) escono in <-am>.¹⁹ Il totale delle occorrenze rimane troppo modesto per rendere possibile un confronto ragionevole. Sugli altri corpora le statistiche purtroppo non esistono.

Di conseguenza non sono sicuro se sia lecito concludere che, se gli scribi non avessero saputo più distinguere il neutro dal femminile per quel che riguarda le desinenze, sarebbero stati in grado di mantenere <-m> meglio nei sostantivi (originariamente femminili) caratterizzati dai tratti [+Animato +Umano] che nei sostantivi (originariamente neutri) caratterizzati dal tratto [–Animato]. In tal caso avrebbero dovuto comprendere anche il carattere semantico del neutro, il che significherebbe una comprensione profonda della categoria neutra, una comprensione che andrebbe ben al di là del livello formale morfologico. Il comportamento del neutro tardolatino tuttavia parla contro tale comprensione.²⁰ Se si trattasse

¹⁸ Politzer – Politzer (sopra nt. 7) 16–7.

¹⁹ I complementi oggetto e i complementi delle preposizioni sono trattati insieme. Oltre ai casi *adversus s(upra)s(crip)ta Germana* e *ad coniugem Martyria*, gli altri fanno parte del formulario: due volte *personam*, tre volte *in personam*.

²⁰ Se gli scrittori del latino tardo avessero conosciuto la semantica del neutro, sarebbe supponibile che quei sostantivi originariamente neutri che si trovano sul fondo della gerarchia

esclusivamente dei nomi propri, la spiegazione sarebbe più credibile, poiché i nomi propri in linea di massima sono facilmente considerati una categoria separata.²¹ Il Löfstedt comunque tratta insieme *tutti* i sostantivi denotanti persone. Tutto sommato l'argomentazione mi sembra abbastanza discutibile, in quanto non ha una giustificazione teorica sufficiente né un appoggio incontestabile da parte dei corpora – eccetto l'Editto di Rotari. In generale sono dell'opinione che una teoria di tipo grafico non possa essere direttamente appoggiata da spiegazioni di tipo semantico. Il ruolo della collettività nel confondersi delle <-a> del neutro plurale e femminile singolare è un'altra cosa: si tratta di un processo semantico di lunga durata che una volta completato rese possibile il livellamento grafico. L'interpretazione basata sul tratto [+Umano] presume al contrario che la semantica del neutro sia stata conosciuta anche dopo esser divenuta completa la confusione delle due desinenze in <-a>.

Un'ulteriore testimonianza in favore della teoria confusionale: la scarsità di <-am> all'ablativo

In quel che segue, introduco un altro e a mio parere più convincente argomento in favore della teoria sopra presentata che spiega l'abbondanza di <-a> rispetto alla quantità di <-e> in virtù delle tendenze grafiche. È un argomento di per sé semplice

di animatezza si mantengano tenacemente neutri, mentre i casi limite sarebbero più inclini a "maschilizzarsi" nei testi; non è così, però. Ad esempio nessuno dei 73 ex-neutri che hanno adottato la morfologia maschile nell'Oribasio latino, una compilazione medica greca tradotta in latino nel V secolo, ha un referente che potrebbe essere descritto con il tratto [+Animato] (H. Mørland, *Die lateinischen Oribasiusübersetzungen*, Osloae 1932, 64–67). Sarà ancora un'altra indicazione della competenza teorica che definiva l'uso del neutro nel latino tardo scritto.

²¹ Così ad esempio nelle carte spagnole medievali in cui la desinenza <-us> si diffonde in quasi tutto il paradigma di certi antroponomi della II declinazione. Vedi J. Bastardas Parera, *Particularidades sintácticas del latín medieval (Cartularios Españoles de los siglos VIII al XI)*, Barcelona, Madrid 1953, 23–4 e 29–31; cfr. Löfstedt (sopra nt. 3) 216. Sarà logico che i sostantivi si cristallizzino nella forma in cui sono più utilizzati: nel caso dei nomi propri la forma è quella del nominativo, perché i nomi propri, caratterizzati prototipicamente dai tratti [+Umano +Agentivo], si presentano per lo più nel ruolo semantico Agente, cioè si adoperano in funzione dei soggetti. D'altro canto i nomi propri delle carte longobarde dei Politzer conservano il nominativo più male dei nomi comuni: propri <-a> 97 %, <-us> 47 %, nom. della III decl. 38 %; comuni <-a> 92 %, <-us> 73 %, nom. della III decl. 64 %. Anche la desinenza accusativa corretta si conserva male, e non solo nella I declinazione: <-am> 3 %; <-um> 22 % contro <-o/-u> 58 % contro <-us> 9 %; <-em> 22 % contro <-e/-i> 57 %. La supremazia di <-a> risulta evidente nella I declinazione.

che per qualche motivo sembra essere sfuggito agli studiosi fino ad ora: si tratta della desinenza incorretta <-am> all'ablativo della I declinazione. Ad esempio nei 15 ablativi indipendenti (non governati dalle preposizioni) dei Papiri ravennati <-am> non si trova mai, mentre i maschili e i femminili della III declinazione presentano <-em> nel 10 % dei 139 casi in totale. Riguardo agli altri corpora italiani, i dati sono disponibili soltanto dalle carte longobarde: <-am> 4 %, <-em> 20 %. Che entrambe le percentuali siano più grandi nelle carte longobarde, risulta evidentemente dal fatto che i Politzer trattano gli ablativi indipendenti e quelli con preposizioni sempre insieme. Si rammenti che nel latino tardo l'accusativo si diffuse anche nelle reggenze preposizionali originariamente riservate all'ablativo. Se gli ablativi indipendenti e quelli governati da preposizioni sono mescolati nei Papiri ravennati, le percentuali crescono: <-am> 10 %, <-em> 16 %.

La differenza quantitativa tra le due percentuali sembra sistematica, di modo che la spiegazione è a mio avviso ancora stavolta l'influenza di <-a> del nominativo-accusativo del neutro plurale; nella III declinazione non si vede una propensione corrispondente. Siccome <-m> non aveva mai fatto parte del neutro plurale, veniva solo di rado scritta erroneamente – o ipercorrettamente – nell'ablativo dei sostantivi contenenti l'elemento /a/ (un insieme di femminili singolari ed ex-neutri plurali collettivi). Ci si renda comunque conto che per quel che riguarda l'ablativo, la scomparsa generale di /m/ finale e la risultante tendenza a trascurare <-m> nello scritto mantengono apparentemente classiche le forme dell'ablativo nelle I e II declinazioni.

L'ipotesi bicasuale contro l'ipotesi grafica

L'altro dei due modi sopra accennati di spiegare la percentuale di <-a> all'accusativo è supporre un sistema bicasuale simile a quello del francese antico ove il cas sujet e il cas régime rimasero per motivi fonetici separati tra loro nelle II (/us/ contro /o/, scritta <-um -o>) e III (nei parisillabi /s/ contro /e/, scritta <-em -e>; negli imparisillabi desinenza nominativa variabile contro /e/, scritta <-em -e>, più i cambiamenti del tema) declinazioni, mentre si confusero in un'unica forma in <-a> nella I declinazione a causa della scomparsa di /m/ finale.²² Nel suo

²² Nel francese antico le desinenze sono rispettivamente -s contro Ø al singolare della II declinazione e -s/Ø contro Ø o ad es. -eor contro -ere negli imparisillabi originali al singolare della III declinazione. Per i dettagli, v. C. Buridant, *Grammaire nouvelle de l'ancien français*, Paris 2000, 63–9.

studio *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes* il Väänänen vuole spiegare l'abbondanza di <-a> da lui dimostrata nelle iscrizioni pompeiane per mezzo di una flessione bicasuale del genere appena descritto. Ad esempio *CIL* IV 5380 presenta un elenco contenente sia le forme femminili *halica*, *bubella* (= *halicam*, *bubellam*) che le forme maschili *botellum*, *casium* (= *caseum*), *pisciculum*. Come detto, il Väänänen sembra aver pensato che questi "cas régimes" risultino dalla distinzione di caso soggetto e caso obliquo esistente nei nomi singolari nella lingua parlata del 1° secolo d.C.²³ Riguardo all'iscrizione *cretaria fecisti* [--] *salsamentaria fecisti* [--] *laguncularia nunc facis* (*CIL* IV 10150) dice tuttavia che lo scrittore avrà confuso il femminile con il neutro plurale!²⁴

Il sistema casuale coerente e davvero funzionale sarà deceduto abbastanza presto nel latino dell'Italia centro-meridionale. Al contrario sembra giustificato supporre che la flessione bicasuale si sia conservata ancora al plurale ma non più al singolare nell'Italia settentrionale all'epoca dei Papiri ravennati.²⁵ Quindi la spiegazione basata sull'esistenza della flessione bicasuale nei sostantivi singolari può essere applicata anche teoricamente solo ai testi precoci, come le iscrizioni pompeiane (prima del 79 d.C.) e forse le lettere di Claudio Terenziano (primo II sec. d.C.) che provengono dall'Egitto, però, ma non ai testi tardolatini. In effetti la spiegazione bicasuale del Väänänen viene annullata, anche per quanto riguarda i testi più antichi, dal fatto che il caso oggetto non deve necessariamente uscire in /m/, poiché le desinenze in /o/ ed /e/ (più la possibile trasformazione del tema) sono sufficienti a distinguere il caso oggetto dal caso soggetto rispettivamente nelle II e III declinazioni.²⁶ E infatti è così come stanno le cose nel francese antico.

²³ V. Väänänen, *Le latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Berlin 1966, 71–77. Nel 1981 il Väänänen adotta però l'interpretazione grafica per la conservazione di <-um> (Väänänen [sopra nt. 8] 66).

²⁴ Väänänen (sopra nt. 23) 73.

²⁵ Zamboni (sopra nt. 2) 243–4 propone – senza prendere posizione su una vicenda così controversa come la formazione dei plurali italiani – in base a Sabatini (sopra nt. 9) 979–82, che le desinenze singolari delle tre principali declinazioni siano state /-a -o -e/ nell'Italia settentrionale, cioè a caso unico valido per tutte le funzioni sintattiche, mentre i plurali della II e probabilmente della III declinazione abbiano conservato la distinzione tra il cas sujet e il cas régime: /-i/ contro /-os/ ed /-es/ o /-i/ contro /-es/. Un tale sistema incompleto e frammentario non poté più essere funzionale nel livello sintattico, bensì le funzioni sintattiche dovettero essere identificabili sulla base dei fattori come la valenza verbale, l'ordine delle parole e il contesto in generale. La flessione del francese antico rappresenta un sistema altrettanto ridondante, v. Buridant (sopra nt. 22) 74–80.

²⁶ J. N. Adams, *The Vulgar Latin of the letters of Claudius Terentianus*, Manchester 1977, 24.

La spiegazione bicasuale del Väänänen non concorda neppure con gli altri dati. Se <-m> finale si scrivesse al maschile nella II declinazione per il motivo che i casi soggetto e oggetto si sarebbero mantenuti formalmente separati l'uno dall'altro, lo stesso dovrebbe valere anche per la III declinazione, perché la marcatura differente permetterebbe la distinzione delle funzioni sintattiche principali anche lì. Di conseguenza <-m> finale dovrebbe essere considerevolmente più frequente che nella I declinazione non solo nella II declinazione, ma anche nella III declinazione e le percentuali di <-em> della III declinazione sarebbero di stesse proporzioni che quelle di <-um> al maschile della II declinazione. Non sembra essere così nelle lettere di Claudio Terenziano indagate dall'Adams nelle quali la percentuale di <-e> (25 % ca.) non differisce notevolmente dalla percentuale di <-a> (30 % ca.) e non può essere comparata con la percentuale molto bassa di <-u> (10 % ca.) per i motivi che saranno chiariti in quel che segue.²⁷ Sfortunatamente per il momento non esiste un'analisi quantitativa sulle iscrizioni pompeiane.

Quindi anche se è del tutto possibile supporre una specie di sistema flessionale per il materiale precoce, alla luce dei fatti finora presentati, postulare tale sistema non è, però, necessario per lo scopo presente.²⁸ Come constata l'Adams riguardo alle lettere di Claudio Terenziano, l'esegesi può essere anche questa volta di tipo grafico. Tanto nelle lettere di Claudio Terenziano, quanto nelle iscrizioni pompeiane la desinenza <-u> si fa abbastanza rara rispetto alla desinenza corretta <-um> (contrariamente ai testi tardi in cui domina <-o>). Nel latino così precoce l'apertura di /ũ/ in /o/ non sarà ancora accaduta.²⁹ Gli scrittori avranno pensato che una parola della II declinazione non potesse uscire in grafema <-u>, perché tali forme non esistevano nello scritto, ma che una parola della I declinazione potesse invece ben uscire in <-a> che si presentava al nominativo singolare della I declinazione e al nominativo-accusativo del neutro plurale. Quindi gli scrittori dei testi precoci preferivano scrivere <-um> invece di <-u>, sebbene <-m> finale indubbiamente non si pronunciasse più neppure in quell'età. Più tardi quando /ũ/ si aprì in /o/, la grafia <-o> si poté generalizzare, poiché forme in <-o> si presen-

²⁷ Adams (sopra nt. 26) 23–4. Si notino inoltre i relativamente scarsi numeri assoluti delle occorrenze in Claudio Terenziano: <-a> e <-am> insieme 38 volte, <-e> ed <-em> insieme 32 volte, <-u> e <-um/-om> insieme 79 volte.

²⁸ Per studiare il sistema casuale si dovrebbero esaminare le funzioni sintattiche, il che ricade al di fuori dello scopo di questo articolo.

²⁹ Adams (sopra nt. 26) 9–10; Väänänen (sopra nt. 8) 36–7.

tavano già anticamente nella lingua scritta, cfr. il dativo e l'ablativo singolari della II declinazione.³⁰

Questa mi pare un'interpretazione ragionevole di tipo grafico che è sufficiente a spiegare perché nei testi precoci le percentuali di <-a> sono più grandi delle percentuali di <-u> e perché la percentuale di <-o> aumenta nei corpora tardolatini. A mio avviso è inoltre accettabile pensare che così si spieghi una parte delle desinenze accusative <-a> ed <-e> anche nei testi tardi. Non si può trascurare però che malgrado tutto serve anche l'ipotesi confusionale sopra discussa di femminile singolare e neutro plurale per spiegare la differenza quantitativa sistematica delle percentuali di <-a> e di <-e>, la quale si potrebbe vedere in teoria anche nelle lettere di Claudio Terenziano – la variazione tra neutro plurale e femminile singolare è un fenomeno antichissimo che si trova già in Plauto ed Ennio (ad es. *caementae pro caementi, ramenta pro ramentum*).³¹ In ogni caso le considerazioni precedenti ricordano che i testi latini precoci e quelli tardivi non possono essere necessariamente esaminati secondo gli stessi criteri e che una qualsiasi desinenza può essere influenzata simultaneamente da diversi fattori – il che viene facilmente dimenticato nell'analisi quantitativa. L'analisi quantitativa sembra rigorosa ed esatta ma non produce risultati da sé stessa – i risultati nascono solo attraverso il processo interpretativo dello studioso come in tutta l'attività scientifica.

Nel complesso l'esegesi di tipo grafico sembra essere la migliore: congiungendo le diverse spiegazioni di tipo grafico si riesce non solo a osservare tutti i dati, ma anche a evitare supposizioni non provate o anacronistiche. Tutto quello che fu osservato nei testi si situa al livello della lingua scritta e della conoscenza linguistica teorica da parte degli scrittori. Rende tuttavia possibile anche alcune deduzioni sulle realtà linguistiche retrostanti: almeno il fatto che il neutro non poté più esistere nella lingua parlata all'epoca dei Papiri ravennati.

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³⁰ Adams (sopra nt. 26) 24–5. Che il fenomeno sia di natura grafica, viene rafforzato dall'osservazione che in alcuni testi abbastanza colti l'accusativo in <-u> si trova non di rado nei sostantivi della IV declinazione ma quasi mai in quelli della II declinazione, mentre ad esempio nelle iscrizioni, scritte in genere in una lingua ortograficamente meno regolare, <-u> si presenta quasi altrettanto spesso sia nella II che nella IV declinazione. Gli scrittori colti sapevano dunque distinguere tra la II e la IV declinazione. Vedi Löfstedt (sopra nt. 3) 117–8.

³¹ Väänänen (sopra nt. 8) 102.

HYPERNOETIC COGNITION AND THE SCOPE OF THEURGY IN PROCLUS

TUOMO LANKILA

Introduction

The discussion on Proclus' attitude to theurgy has in the best of cases, noted, but failed to give proper consideration to his view on theurgy's "upper limit" which he puts forth in the *Commentary on Plato's Cratylus*.¹ The current notion of ubiquitous theurgy in Proclus equates a supposed "higher theurgy" with the soul's hypernoetic activity through "the flower of the intellect".² However, Proclus de-

¹ Fundamental passages are *In Crat.* 71 and 113. Anne Sheppard was first in Proclean scholarship to give serious thoughts to these passages in her very influential article, A. Sheppard, "Proclus' Attitude to Theurgy", *CQ* 32 (1982) 212–24. However, she does not hold them anomalous in terms of the established interpretation of two theurgies. On the contrary, Sheppard considers them to support her move from the two-theurgy model into a model of three theurgies in Proclus. The activity of the flower of the intellect is, for Sheppard, the third mode of theurgy. The argument is based on an interpretation of the doctrine of enthusiasm of Proclus' teacher Syrianus, which has come down to us in Hermias' commentary on Plato's *Phaedrus* where neither "the flower of the intellect" nor "theurgy" is explicitly mentioned. Sheppard systematically equates Hermias' telestic and erotic madness with theurgy. The problem of the scope of theurgy is not commented on in the notes of recent translations of Proclus' commentary (F. Romano, *Proclo. Lezioni sul "Cratilo" di Platone*, Roma 1989; J. M. Alvarez – A. Gabilondo – J. M. Garcia, *Proclus. Lecturas del Crátulo de Platón*, Madrid 1999; B. Duvick, *Proclus. On Plato Cratylus*. London 2007). R. Sorabji's collection of the texts includes *In Crat.* 71 and *In Crat.* 113, but unfortunately only in part so that as the "the flower of the intellect" does not yet come into focus, R. Sorabji (ed.), *The philosophy of the commentators, 200–600 AD*, I, London 2004, 385–6. R. M. van den Berg, *Proclus' Commentary on the Cratylus in Context*, Leiden 2008 touches upon the issue by mentioning the first passage, but not the latter.

² Varied solutions have been proposed for locating theurgy in Proclus' soteriological program. According to E. R. Dodds (*Proclus. The Elements of Theology*, Oxford [1933, 1963] and "Theurgy. Appendix II" in *The Greeks and the Irrational*, Los Angeles 1951, 283–311) the

nies just this association in *In Cratylum*. Other evidence that is available does not contradict the position taken in this work. A comprehensive and close reading of Proclus shows that for him the soul's hypernoetic activity begins only after the activity of theurgy has already concluded.

Proclus' concept of hypernoetic cognition

In order to clarify how Proclus relates hypernoetic cognition to theurgy, let us begin by trying to briefly describe the nature of this highest mode of cognition accessible to the human soul. I use the word cognition here as a generic term comprehending all modes of knowing, which Neoplatonism supposes that the human soul contains, including paradoxical superignorance, which concern the divine beyond (above) being and its lower counterpart, dim guesswork regarding the matter beyond (below) forms.³ A basic tenet of the whole Neoplatonic tradition

concept of the soul's ascent in Proclus is thoroughly theurgical, and for Dodds theurgical meant the same as occult and magic. Hans Lewy saw (H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy. Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire*. Nouvelle édition, Paris 1978 [orig. Cairo 1956, but Lewy's contribution was actually already written before 1945]) theurgy and philosophy as two different methods aiming at the same goal. For L. J. Rosán, *The Philosophy of Proclus. The Final Phase of Ancient Thought*, New York 1949, theurgy is present in the Proclean project but in two different forms, as a ritual-magical "lower" theurgy and a "higher" theurgy which operates with non-ritualistic symbols. According to A. C. Lloyd "unification with the unparticipated One, is beyond the scope of intellectual virtue and accomplished by theurgy", A. C. Lloyd, "Athenian and Alexandrian Neoplatonism", in A. H. Armstrong (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, Cambridge 1967, 312. Jean Trouillard thought that the theology of negations call forth theurgy as a mediating element between contemplation and mystical union (Trouillard's intervention in the discussion in O. Reverdin (ed.), *De Jamblique a Proclus* [Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique XXI], Genève 1975, 101). According to Anne Sheppard (1982, note above) besides ritualistic practice, Proclus has two different kinds of non-ritualistic theurgies, the first of which reaches to the noeric realm and the second achieves unity with the One. Carine Van Lieferinge (*La théurgie. Des Oracles Chaldaïques à Proclus*, Liège 1998) adopts Sheppard's opinion with some qualifications. Robert M. van den Berg declares his allegiance, with minor reservations, to Sheppard's three-theurgy model (*Proclus' Hymns*, Leiden 2001) and it seems that his dedicated reading of the *Commentary on Cratylus* (2008, note above) does not modify that position. Sara Rappe (S. Rappe, *Reading Neoplatonism. Non-discursive Thinking in the Texts of Plotinus, Proclus, and Damascius*, Cambridge 2000, chapter 8) offers the most theurgic reading of Neoplatonism: for her even the magnum opus of Proclus, the *Platonic Theology*, is essentially a theurgic text.

³ For Proclus the One and the matter are related with dissimilar similarity (κατὰ τὴν ἀνόμοιον ὁμοιότητα) as both of them are infinite, unknown and formless, but matter is non-being as a

is correspondence between the levels of reality and the faculties of the soul. The genuine modes of knowledge recognized by Neoplatonic epistemology are intellectual intuition (νοῦς), discursive reason (διάνοια, λόγος), opinion (δόξα) and sensation (αἴσθησις).⁴ Proclus sees discursive reason as a better part of the normal cognitive state of the human soul and that is why the human being is defined

worse way (κατὰ τὸ χειρόν) in the mode of privation (κατὰ τὴν στέρησιν), the One is non-being as a better way (κατὰ τὸ κρείττον), by pre-eminence (ὑπεροχή) as non-being, which is a necessary ground for the existence of beings; see *In Alc.* 189,15–18; *In Parm.* 1075,33–1076,14.

⁴ Hermias sketched concisely the Neoplatonic view on the hierarchy of the soul's cognitive faculties in *In Phaedr.* 19,4: πέντε εἰσὶν αἱ γνωστικαὶ δυνάμεις τῆς ψυχῆς νοῦς, διάνοια, δόξα, φαντασία καὶ αἴσθησις· τούτων μέσον ἢ δόξα. Proclus brings forth the same epistemological view in many varied formulations; for example *Eclogae de philosophia Chaldaica* 2,1, where the "soul's depth" is analyzed as constituted by three levels ("Ψυχῆς βάθος" τὰς τριπλᾶς αὐτῆς γνωστικὰς δυνάμεις φησί, νοεράς, διανοητικὰς, δοξαστικὰς). He does not always stick to exactly the same terminology and the varied distinctions between and within the levels depend on different exegetical needs in his reading of Plato. Thus, for instance, he introduces the discursive level in *Inst. Theol.* prop. 123 between δόξα and νόσις as ἐπιστήμη and διάνοια, *In Tim.* III 54,14 he uses for it the terms διάνοια and λόγος, stressing with the first for its synthetic, concept-building or reflexive, aspect and with the latter the calculating aspect. The apprehension of the object of knowledge is modalized so that the gods and the hypernoetic cognition peculiar to them knows the object "in a unitary way" (ἡνωμένως), intellect "totally" (ὀλικῶς), discursive reason "universally" (καθολικῶς), the imagination "figuratively" (μορφωτικῶς) and sensation "passively" (παθητικῶς). *In Tim.* I 352,18. Thus we can analyze different modes as a chain of pairs, where terms stand not as contraries, but within the relation of more perfect and imperfect (ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ὁ λόγος μετὰ τὴν νόσιν ὡς ἐλάττων νοῦς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἡ δόξα πρὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὡς λογικὴ αἴσθησις, *In Tim.* I 251,15–16, and also as triadic structures where the third term is a kind of shadow of the first, as in the relationship of intellect, discursive reason and the imagination, where the last one is called "schematic intellect" and analogously like bronze to gold, *In Crat.* 129,7 (Pasquali 25). Proclus treatise of *In Alc.* 135,21–136,10 is particularly important for understanding the psychological underpinnings of his epistemology because here he is trying to build a synthesis of two Platonic sources inspiring a Neoplatonist theorizing about the soul; Plato's view on the different "states" of the soul as distinct cognitive modes (*Rep.* 511e) and his classical three-part model. Proclus also deals with the issue explicitly in a series of dedicated treatises in *In Remp.* (I 213,8–235,22) including an especially interesting passage (235, 12–16) on the faculties as copies of each others (imagination as a copy of intellect, etc). *In Alc.* Proclus reads these Platonic items through familiar Neoplatonic cyclic schema of unfolding causality (μονή-πρόοδος-ἐπιστροφή) here giving to the intellect the role of the remaining, as opinion and imagination (this time he calls their area by which the soul goes downwards towards the world of becoming "imagination and soul's indetermined movement" (διὰ φαντασίας καὶ ἀορίστου τινὸς κινήσεως) represent here a moment of procession, and discursive thinking a moment of return, converting the soul again towards intelligible.

as rational.⁵ Nevertheless, in everyday life we are mostly acting on the basis of lower part, unfounded belief or the opinative faculty aided by sense perception. If the One beyond being is somehow to be apprehended, then the soul must have in itself a trace of this ultimate ground of reality as a oneness of its own essence, and thanks to its presence the soul is able to rise above (ὑπέρ) the simple and universal intuitions of the intellect (νοῦς).⁶ To Plotinus this hypernoetic device of soul was "loving intellect", a higher aspect or state of intellect,⁷ but later Neoplatonists

⁵ Being rational, the discursive soul is the existential property of a human being *qua* human, as "oneness" is for a god, *In Parm.* 1069,8–12: Ὡς γὰρ ὁ κυρίως ἄνθρωπος κατὰ ψυχὴν, οὕτως ὁ κυρίως θεὸς κατὰ τὸ ἓν· ἐκάτερον γὰρ κυριώτατον τῶν συμπληρούντων ἐκάτερον· κατὰ δὲ τὸ κυριώτατον ἕκαστον ὑφέστηκε τῶν πάντων. In his exegesis of Plato's first Alcibiades Proclus interprets the soul or human self αὐτὸ a Platonic tripartite soul (ἡ τριμερὴς τῆς ψυχῆς), but the soul in itself (αὐτὸ τὸ αὐτό) as a rational soul (ἡ λογικὴ ψυχὴ). Each individual human is a unique singular soul (Platonic αὐτὸ τὸ αὐτό ἕκαστον, Proclus' τὸ ἄτομον) living in or using a human body. See fragment 11 *In Alc.*, A. Ph. Segonds, *Proclus. Sur le premier Alcibiade de Platon II*, Paris 1986, 374–5 and Segonds' note 460.

⁶ Introducing the issue of hypernoesis in the *Platonic Theology* (I ch. 3), Proclus argues that all of the reality is also in the human mind "in psychic mode" (16,16–18: Πάντα γὰρ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν ἡμῖν ψυχικῶς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὰ πάντα γινώσκουν πεφύκαμεν, ἀνεγείροντες τὰς ἐν ἡμῖν δυνάμεις καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας τῶν ὄλων) and there should also be a faculty or a part of the soul corresponding to the One and Ineffable (15,15–21: Λείπεται οὖν, εἴπερ ἐστὶ καὶ ὁπωσοῦν τὸ θεῖον γνωστόν, τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς ὑπάρξει καταληπτόν ὑπάρχειν καὶ διὰ ταύτης γνωρίζεσθαι καθ' ὅσον δυνατόν. Τῷ γὰρ ὁμοίῳ πανταχοῦ φαμέν τὰ ὅμοια γινώσκεσθαι· τῇ μὲν αἰσθήσει δηλαδὴ τὸ αἰσθητόν, τῇ δὲ δόξῃ τὸ δοξαστόν, τῇ δὲ διανοίᾳ τὸ διανοητόν, τῷ δὲ νῷ τὸ νοητόν, ὥστε καὶ τῷ ἐνὶ τὸ ἐνικώτατον καὶ τῷ ἀρρήτῳ τὸ ἄρρητον). This passage could even be read in the sense that "the One" and "the Ineffable" are separate concepts and thus the psychic devices connected to them also could be separated. In the *Commentary on the Chaldean Oracles* he definitely posits two hyperintellective faculties. In separating the One and the Ineffable and the psychic faculties in contact with them, in these places Proclus anticipates Damascius.

⁷ The fundamental passage for Plotinus' view is *Enn.* 6,7,35 on the witless, loving intellect, intoxicated by nectar (19–27): Καὶ τὸν νοῦν τοίνυν τὴν μὲν ἔχειν δύναμιν εἰς τὸ νοεῖν, ἣ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ βλέπει, τὴν δὲ, ἣ τὰ ἐπέκεινα αὐτοῦ ἐπιβολῇ τινι καὶ παραδοχῇ, καθ' ἣν καὶ πρότερον ἑώρα μόνον καὶ ὄρων ὑστερον καὶ νοῦν ἔσχε καὶ ἓν ἐστὶ. Καὶ ἔστιν ἐκείνη μὲν ἡ θεὰ νοῦ ἔμφορος, αὕτη δὲ νοῦς ἐρῶν, ὅταν ἄφρων γένηται μεθυσθεὶς τοῦ νέκταρος· τότε ἐρῶν γίνεται ἀπλωθεὶς εἰς εὐπάθειαν τῷ κόρῳ· καὶ ἔστιν αὐτῷ μεθύειν βέλτιον ἢ σεμνοτέρῳ εἶναι τοιαύτης μέθης. Plotinus' explanation of the soul's highest state is based on the *similia similibus* theory: Οὐδὲ ψυχὴ τοίνυν, ὅτι μὴδὲ ζῆ ἐκεῖνο, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τὸ ζῆν. Οὐδὲ νοῦς, ὅτι μὴδὲ νοεῖ· ὁμοιοῦσθαι γὰρ δεῖ. Νοεῖ δὲ οὐδ' ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι οὐδὲ νοεῖ. For a detailed exposition of the Plotinian theory of the two states of the Intellects and this passage especially see, for example, P. Hadot, *Plotin ou la simplicité du regard*, Paris 1997, 93–7, J. Bussanich, *The One and Its Relation to Intellect in Plotinus*, Leiden 1988, 172–200.

conceived of it rather as a special faculty of the soul.⁸

To such a faculty Proclus refers with names such as "the one of the soul" (τὸ ἓν τῆς ψυχῆς), "the flower of our essence" (ἄνθος τῆς οὐσίας ἐμῶν), "the flower of the intellect" (ἄνθος τοῦ νοῦ), "the flower of the soul" (ἄνθος τῆς ψυχῆς), or (νόθος νοῦς) "spurious (bastard) intellect".⁹ The last one is introduced in an intriguing passage of the *Commentary on the Timaeus*, and I take it as an example here, because it illustrates well the doctrine of hypernoetic knowledge and is inspired by a perhaps surprising Platonic context using terms less familiar than the usual flower metaphors.¹⁰ Proclus analyses firstly legitimate modes of knowledge as two opposite pairs; the higher one constituted by intellection and discursive reason and the lower by opinion and sensation, and then continues:¹¹

⁸ A good recent review of the doctrinal history of this topic is J. Dillon, "The One of the Soul and the 'Flower of the Intellect'. Models of Hyper-intellection in Later Neoplatonism", in J. Dillon – M.-É. Zovko (eds.) *Platonism and Forms of Intelligence*, Berlin 2008, 247–57.

⁹ The relevant passages are *In Alc.* 245,6–248, 24, *De Prov.* 4,171,2, *De Prov.* 32,2, *De Prov.* 140, *In Crat.* 47, *In Crat.* 113, *In Parm.* 957,40–958, *In Parm.* 1046,2–1047,31, *In Parm.* 1071,19–1072,18, *In Parm.* 1080,36–1081,11, *In Parm.* 1082,6–10, *In Tim.* I 472,12 (schol.), *In Tim.* III 14,6, *Theol. Plat.* I 15,17–21, *Theol. Plat.* I 66,26–67,8, *Eclogae* 4,209,7–211,15.

¹⁰ David Runia and Michael Share discuss this passage briefly in three pertinent notes in their recent translation of it, *Proclus. Commentary on Plato's Timaeus*, ed. and trans. by D. T. Runia – M. Share, Cambridge 2008, 103. To the best of my knowledge Thomas Whittaker is the only modern scholar who has noticed the equivalence between "bastard intelligence" and "flower of the intellect", T. Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, Cambridge 1961 (reprint of 1918), 271. In his footnote he points out an unknown Byzantine as a predecessor for himself: "The scholiast has an admiring note: τίς οὐκ ἄν σε θαυμάσειε καὶ χάριτας μεγάλας ἐς αἰὲ μνησεται, φίλε Πρόκλε. νοῦν νόθον λέγει τὸ ἓν καὶ οἶον ἄνθος τῆς ψυχῆς", 257–8 (n. 2). Jean-Marc Narbonne quotes Proclus' passage pointing out Proclus' source in Plato's concept of *χώρα* apprehend by bastard reason and calling Proclus' text "à vrai dire magnifique", J-M. Narbonne, "Le savoir d'un-delà du savoir chez Plotin", in T. Kobusch – M. Erler (eds.), *Metaphysik und Religion. Zur Signatur des Spätantiken Denkens* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 160), Leipzig 2002, 481.

¹¹ *In Tim.* I 257,30–258,8: ὡσπερ δὴ καὶ τῶν μὲν ἄνω δύο τὸ χεῖρον λαβόν, οἶον τὸν λόγον, καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὸν νόθον λόγον, τῶν δὲ κάτω τὴν αἴσθησιν καὶ ποιήσας αὐτὴν αἴσθησιν ἀναίσθητον ἔξεις, πῶς οἶεται γινώσκεσθαι τὴν ὕλην ὁ Πλάτων, νόθῳ λόγῳ καὶ αἰσθήσει ἀναίσθητῳ. καὶ ἀνάλογον ἐφ' ἐκατέρων τὸ κρεῖττον λαβόν καὶ ποιήσας νόθον κατὰ τὸ κρεῖττον ἔξεις πῶς τὸ ἔν γνωστόν· νῶ γὰρ νόθῳ καὶ δόξῃ νόθῃ, διὸ καὶ οὐχ ἀπλοῦν κυρίως καὶ οὐκ ἀπ' αἰτίας γνωστόν· νόθῳ δ' οὖν, διότι κρεῖττόνως καθ' ἐκάτερον· δόξα γὰρ οὐκ ἀπ' αἰτίας γινώσκει, καὶ ἐκεῖνο οὐκ ἀπ' αἰτίας γνωστόν, ἀλλὰ τῷ μὴ ἔχειν αἰτίαν· καὶ νοῦς τὸ ἀπλοῦν γινώσκει, νόθος δὲ νοῦς ἐκεῖνο, διότι κρεῖττόνως τοῦ νοεῖν. τὸ οὖν κρεῖσσον νόθον ἐστὶν ὡς πρὸς τὸν νοῦν, ὡς καὶ ἐκεῖνο τοῦ ἀπλοῦν εἶναι κρεῖσσον, οἶον τὸ τῷ νῶ τῷ ὄντι νοητὸν καὶ ᾧ ὁ νοῦς ὁμόγνητος, ἀλλ' οὐ νόθος. ἐκεῖνο οὖν νοεῖ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ νῶ, τοῦτο

As you pick from the pair above the less valued thing, which is the logos, and make it a bastard logos (unauthentic logos) and from the pair below senseperception and make it a sensation which is not perceptible, we will see how Plato believes the matter to be known, that is by a bastard logos and an imperceptible perception. And now you can take in an analogous manner the better parts of the pairs and make bastards according to the better and you will see how the One is knowable. It will be known by bastard intellect and bastard opinion, since it (the One) will not be known as something primarily simple and knowable from a cause. It is known in a bastard way because it is superior to both. The opinative faculty does not know from a cause and that [the One] is not knowable from a cause. The intellect knows the simple but this intellect is bastard because it knows the way better than intellection. So the bastard is better than the intellect, because that object of knowledge is better than simple being, which is the intelligible object for the real intellect and to which object the intellect proper is a member of the same family, but the bastard is not. The intellect thinks that (object) by that which is its non-intellect that is the one in it as far it (intellect) is (also) god.

The opposition of the illegitimate mode of knowledge to the authentic is an issue already dealt by the Presocratics. For them the issue was opposition between knowledge acquired from sense perception and knowledge gained through reasoning.¹² Plato, however, did not connect dark knowledge to sense-perception but to the way of apprehending something which lies behind it. In *Timaeus* (52b) he argues that there also exists, besides the level of reality which reason contemplates and the other one which is perceptible by the senses, third level: "and a third Kind is an ever-existing Place (τὸ τῆς χώρας αἰεί), which admits not of destruction, and provides room for all things that have birth, itself being apprehensible by a kind of bastard reasoning with the aid of non-sensation (ἀντὸ δὲ μετ' ἀναισθησίας ἀπτόν λογισμῶ τινι νόθῳ), barely an object of belief." (tr. W. R. M. Lamb)

Plotinus (*Enn.* 2,4,10) replaces the Platonic place (χώρα) by matter (ύλη) in his interpretation of this passage. Using the *similia similibus* principle as an explanation of the relationship between the cognitive powers and the object of cognition, Plotinus posits that only indeterminateness itself in the soul could ap-

δὲ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ ἔν, καθὸ καὶ ἔστι θεός. All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

¹² Gregory Vlastos, for example, reconstructs Democritus' view "... when knowledge is nothing more than the cumulative sequence of such external impacts – and in that sense the child of chance - then it is 'bastard knowledge'. Only when fathered upon our senses by the soul's inherent power to move itself in the 'subtler' inquiry of reason, is it 'genuine knowledge'", G. Vlastos, "Ethics and Physics in Democritus", *The Philosophical Review* 55:1 (1946) 57.

prehend matter.¹³ In his exegesis Proclus, applying the Neoplatonic principle of mean terms, divides the area characterized by Plato's opposition between intelligible and genesis, realms apprehended by reason and opinion, into four different levels, which are being (intelligible), being-becoming, becoming-being and becoming. Each of them is apprehended by the respective faculty among the authentic modes of cognition.

The correspondence between a special type of cognition and its object could be interpreted in Neoplatonic epistemology from two different angles, resulting in views which may be called the "modality and reification" approaches. The first one considers that the agents' quality determines the quality of the content of each type of knowledge. Thus different types of knowledge are modalized views on the same object. This view is possibly dominant in Plotinus and always present in the Later Neoplatonism as well. However, there is an alternative, more reified reading, according to which every type of knowledge in effect has or constitutes a specific object appropriate to it. This leads to a conclusion that opinion, discursive thinking, and intellection do not differ according to their perfection but have dissimilar objects in the strictest sense because of this object's level in the ontological hierarchy.¹⁴ Most often Proclus seems to apply the modal principle, but he too has passages leaning towards a reification point of view.¹⁵

¹³ *Enn.* 2,4,10,1–11: "How can I conceive matter without quantity? How do you conceive it without quality? What could be such an intuitive thought, a concept of understanding or apprehension? It is the indetermination itself. Since similar apprehends similar, the indeterminate knows the indeterminate. A definition could be determined around this indeterminate, but the way lies through indefiniteness. Since all knowledge is attained by reason and thought, here reason tells us about matter, but desiring to be intellection it is not intellection, but more non-intellection. Rather, it forms about matter a phantasm, an illegitimate representation which comes from the other and is not from what is true, an image composed with some other principle. Perhaps this is why Plato says that Matter is apprehended by bastard reasoning", (Stephen MacKenna's translation modified).

¹⁴ Damascius transforms this tendency of Neoplatonic epistemology into an explicit theory. *De Princ.* II 149,13–17: Τὶ δὲ οὖν ἡ γνῶσις; ἄρα περιουγασμὸς καὶ οἶον προπομπεία φωτὸς ἐν τῷ γνωστικῷ τοῦ γνωστοῦ; καὶ γὰρ ἡ αἴσθησις κατὰ τὸ αἴσθημα, καὶ ἡ φαντασία κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὑφίσταται, καὶ ἡ δόξασις καὶ ἡ διανόησις ἢ μὲν κατὰ τὸ διανόημα, ἢ δὲ κατὰ τὸ δόξασμα: καθόλου τοίνυν ἡ γνῶσις κατὰ τὸ <γνώσμα>, εἰ οἶόν τε φάναι. See Cosmin Andron's enlightening article, "Damascius on Knowledge and its Object", *Rhizai. A Journal for Ancient Philosophy and Science* 1 (2004) 107–24. I think that Andron is right, at least when it comes to Damascius that he "seems to understand all the faculties of the mind in an analogous manner to sense perception. The difference between the different faculties would be due to the nature of the object, i.e. its place in the ontological hierarchy", 109.

¹⁵ See, for instance, *In Eucl.* 10–11, where instead of perception and opinion, he speaks about

The genuine modes from senseperception to intellection are all dealing the procession of Being (which is a matter of ontology) and have in this a common object which is radically different from the area of the One (dealt with theoretically by henology and henadology) for its abundant power and the realm of matter for its total privation (which is reflected only by the mind's dim conjectures about quasi-existence). Proclus renders Plato's formulation of "bastard reasoning with the aid of non-sensation" as "by bastard logos and imperceptible perception" (νόθῳ λόγῳ καὶ αἰσθήσει ἀναισθήτῳ). This, for Proclus, is the lower bastard mode, composed of the lowest terms of the two pairs of the authentic modes. It has the same function as "bastard reasoning" has in Plato and Plotinus; that is, apprehending matter outside of forms. Proclus innovation is the higher of the spurious modes, "bastard intellection and bastard opinion" (νόθος νοῦς καὶ δόξα νόθη). This is the faculty for apprehending the One.

Instead of Plato's three levels Proclus posits six-levels in his exegesis.¹⁶ Or are there even more? There are some grounds to argue rather for an eight-level model. "And" in the expression like "bastard intellection and bastard opinion" could also be interpreted to referring to two different things. If we have four levels in the area of definiteness, why not also in the area of indeterminateness? In his other and later works Proclus certainly also makes distinctions between the levels of the soul's faculties which apprehend henads and the One. That is why I see Proclus' νόθος νοῦς as an incipient form of his later concept of "the flower of the intellect". It should be noted that in the last phrases of the quoted passage Proclus describes only νόθος νοῦς. We can with confidence see in it "the flower of the intellect" because Proclus' words are almost the same as those used in the *Parmenides Commentary*: "For its part where it (the intellect) is not in itself intellect, the intellect is god, and for its part which is not god, it is intellect in the god in it. The divine intellect, which is whole, is intellective essence, which has its own summit and unity and knows itself as far as it is intellective, but being inebriated on nectar, as someone says, it generates the totality of cognition in so far as it is the flower of intellect and a super-essential henad".¹⁷ The other one, if it really is a separate faculty, νόθη δόξα, is not characterized more closely here, but

conjecture and faith.

¹⁶ See also *In Parm.* 644,4–645,6–8.

¹⁷ *In Parm.* 1047,16–24: Τῷ οὖν ἑαυτοῦ μὴ νῶ θεός ἐστιν ὁ νοῦς· καὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ μὴ θεῷ νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ ἐν αὐτῷ θεός· καὶ ὁ θεῖος νοῦς, τὸ ὅλον, οὐσία νοερὰ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἀκρότητος καὶ τῆς οἰκείας ἐστὶν ἐνότητος, ἑαυτὴν μὲν γινώσκουσα καθόσον νοερὰ, μεθύουσα δὲ, ὡς τίς φησι, τῷ νέκταρι, καὶ ὅλην γεννῶσα τὴν γνῶσιν, καθόσον ἐστὶν ἄνθος τοῦ νοῦ καὶ ὑπερούσιος ἑνάς.

it could represent the supreme "flower of the whole soul" known in other works by Proclus.

When Proclus discusses on the flower of the intellect he is still using terms like thinking, albeit thinking above intellection. Bastard opinion fits well with the context when expressions of thinking and seeing are left behind for the metaphors linked to lower sensations and especially for the haptic images. The image of matter as an inverted One emerges naturally from his famous rule or law of causation, which says that primordial causes have more effects and constitute levels of realities out of the sight of the secondary causes. In the same way the most elementary modes of cognition cover a larger area of reality than the more developed modes. The intellect is simple and knows the causes of real being, while opinion is inherently plural and does not know the causes. But the merits which the intellect has at the level of knowledge concerning Being are faults at the superessential level. On the other hand, the demerits of the opinion concerning Being mirror the excellence which the divine, "henadic" level has in its relation to the intelligible. As the flower of the intellect or bastard intellect reaches the highest summit of the Being and the henads in it with a kind of supra-intellectual intellection, the flower of the whole soul "touches" the One and conceives by this touch an ineffable notion of the ultimate ground of reality.

Proclus' concept of theurgy

A Neoplatonist philosopher knows that at the level of the universal and divine Intellect absolute identity prevails with the intelligizing subject and content of its thought. But human thought has no immediate access to the eternal forms contained in the Intellect; it keeps only preconceptual innate images of them and has to express them through the temporal and consecutive labor of discursive reason. As far as philosophy is related to the divine it cannot disregard mythology and theurgy. Both of them could offer to the human soul an enlarged field of vision, without, however, replacing reason. Their symbolic operations resonate rather with the imagination.¹⁸

Proclus also uses the term theurgy in plural, for instance in *In Crat.* 176,11, but this concerns different modes of worship, and thus it is not relevant for the

¹⁸ For Proclus' views on imagination, see especially *In Eucl.* 52,20–53,1. The best study known to me is J. Trouillard, *La mystagogie de Proclus*, Paris 1982, 44–51. See also, among others, E. A. Moutsopoulos, *Les structures de l'imaginaire dans la philosophie de Proclus*, Paris 1985; Rappe (n. 2) 131–2.

theory of scales in the soul's ascent. In all Proclus mentions theurgy 51 times in his writings. Considering the evidence as a whole, one has to conclude that in his usage theurgy stands for a generic term of cultic practice where communicating with the gods is realized through divinely given symbols.¹⁹ Such a view is also shared in the writings of the persons who could be counted as belonging within Proclus' sphere of influence. One of these is Dionysius the Areopagite,²⁰ and another such author is John Lydus, who calls even Julius Caesar a theurge wanting to find an adequate rendition for the Greek audience of the meaning of the sacred title of *pontifex maximus*.²¹ "Divine works", used in Pseudo-Dionysian studies, would be an apt translation and Trouillard's "un symbolisme opératoire destinée à éveiller la présence divine" an appropriate definition.²²

Proclus' statement in the *Platonic Theology* may be a good starting point for more a detailed inquiry. The context of the passage is Proclus' treatment of the formation of the divine names. "Our science of theology" produces each name as an image, like a statue of a god. Proclus introduces theurgy for the sake of comparison:

¹⁹ The relevant passages where Proclus speaks explicitly about theurgy are the following: *Eclogae*, fr. 3, *In Alc.* 52,5–53,10; 92,4–15; 150,9–13, *In Crat.* sections 52, 71, 113, 122, 174, 176, 179, *In Eucl.* 136,28–139,1, *In Remp.* I 37,3–22; I 39,10–20; I 91,18–92,9; I 128,4–23; I 151,24–152,12; II 123,9–124,8; II 143,22–28 (in the context of the mystical doctrine of the sign of Helios in the soul), II 154,11–155,15; II 220,10–24; II 241,19–243,22 (divine epiphany), *In Tim.* I 214,2–4; I 274,9–18; I 317,17–318,20; II 254,26–257,8; III 25,18–26,15; III 27,3–15; III 40,17–41,3; III 42,30–43,15; III 63,19–26; III 80,5–21; III 124,20–125,4; III 131,30–132,4; III 157,22–158,3; *Theol. Plat.* I 112,1–113,10 (the famous *locus classicus*), I 124,21–125,2; IV 30,18–19 (theurgic burial), IV 101,1–15 (in the context of harmony between theurgists and Plato). These passages deal with such diverse topics as divine oracles and epiphanies and Chaldean theurgists' opinions on theology, cosmology, astronomy etc., but the only place where hypernoetic cognition and theurgy are brought to discussion at the same time is *In Crat.* 113, which testifies to Proclus' opinion that "the flower of the intellect" functions beyond the area of theurgical activity.

²⁰ With 47 mentions he is the second most theurgical writer after Proclus in ancient literature. For examples of the Christian use of the word theurgy, meaning both their own and pagan "sacraments", see John of Damascus (*Homilia in transfigurationem salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi*, 18–21) and Cyril of Alexandria, *Commentarius in Isaiam prophetam* 932,45–53.

²¹ John Lydus, *De mensibus* 102,7: ὁ τοίνυν Καῖσαρ οὐ τύχη μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερωσύνη κοσμούμενος – καὶ γὰρ πόνטיפεξ ἦν, οἶονεὶ γεφυραῖος ἀρχιερεὺς ἢ θεουργός.

²² J. Trouillard, *L'Un et l'Ame selon Proclus*, Paris 1972, 175.

As theurgy through certain symbols invokes the generous kindness of the gods to illuminate divine statues produced artificially by humans, at the same way the intellectual science of divine things also reveals the hidden essence of the gods with distinctions and combinations of sounds.²³

Theology "reveals", it is interested in language and its goal is to express the divine essence in scientific concepts. Theurgy "invokes"; it acts symbolically, and its goal is to bring out divine illumination. A passage from the *Commentary on the Cratylus* could be read as a direct continuation of this. We get to know that theurgy does not work only with concrete things like statues but also with language and especially divine names. Imitating divine symbols, "theurgy too produces them through uttered, though inarticulate, expressions".²⁴ Thus, theurgy's is not the same thing that, for instance, telestic art, consecration of divine images, but telestic art— at least, in its highest, or genuine forms, functions "theurgically". And the difference between (scientific) theology and theurgy is not that the former is concerned with language, and the latter not, but that theology relates to signification, theurgy to experience beyond discourse.²⁵

Theurgy as a practice is inherently unintelligible. Its task is to represent and invoke divine illumination with varied material figures functioning as ineffable

²³ *Theol. Plat.* I 124,25–125,2: καὶ ὡσπερ ἡ θεουργία διὰ δὴ τινῶν συμβόλων εἰς τὴν τῶν τεχνητῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἔλλαμψιν προκαλεῖται τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἄφθονον ἀγαθότητα, κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ δὲ καὶ ἡ νοερὰ τῶν θείων ἐπιστήμη συνθέσει καὶ διαιρέσει τῶν ἡχῶν ἐκφαίνει τὴν ἀποκεκρυμμένην οὐσίαν τῶν θεῶν.

²⁴ *In Crat.* 71,65–68: τοιαῦτα δ' ἐστὶν τὰ καλούμενα σύμβολα τῶν θεῶν μονοειδῆ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοτέροις ὄντα διακόσμοις, πολυειδῆ δ' ἐν τοῖς καταδεεστέροις· ἃ καὶ ἡ θεουργία μιμουμένη δι' ἐκφωνήσεων μὲν, ἀδιαρθρῶ των δέ, αὐτὰ προφέρεται.

²⁵ The passages of the *Platonic Theology* and the *Commentary on the Cratylus* discussed above are in the focus of van den Berg's critique of Rappe in his discussion of the status of the theory of divine names in Proclus and Rappe's claim that the *Platonic Theology* is a theurgic text: van den Berg (n. 1) 144 n 26. I think that Rappe comes out with elegance from the blind alley of "deformation theory". Rappe does not try to reconcile Proclus' rationalist and religious side with the sophisticated theories of "higher theurgy", but instead in her interpretation theurgy seems to absorb philosophy in Proclus. Thus she comes very close to the position of Dodds; however, this does not lead her to a negative assessment of Proclus, because her task is to study the interpretative and textual strategies of the Later Neoplatonism in the light of deep knowledge of modern philosophy and literary theories, and not to estimate to what extent Proclus, soaked with "magic", deviates from the Plotinian path. Stimulating and innovative as Rappe's interpretations are, her exegesis is nevertheless defective regarding our topic as she ignores Proclus' discussion of the limit of theurgy.

symbols of the gods.²⁶ These symbols are opaque to the human mind; they do their work, as such, by themselves. They are not a matter for explanation, they are for use. The intellectual science of theology, on the other hand, strives to be as intelligible as possible. It works with dialectic, using combinations and division. Thus the highest part of philosophy functions as a parallel to theurgy, revealing the secret essence of the gods.

Theurgy is a quasi-synonym for the hieratic art, rather overlapping than identical. Theurgy is surely not a plain synonym of initiation or mantic, but these could be seen as parts of common art and in this way specific theurgies. The Later Neoplatonism also applies its concept of serialized totality to hierarchies of beings, as well as to articulation of the arts and sciences. Telestic could be identical to theurgy and a part of it in the sense that theurgy is the root of the series precontaining its more or less familiar derivatives.²⁷ In the same way as mathematicians always apply some branch of mathematics, the practitioners in different branches of the hieratic arts apply different theurgies related to distinct gods, mysteries, ethnic and other traditions etc. Proclus shows that dialectics is the capstone and the unifying bond between the mathematical sciences,²⁸ while a similar capstone and bond in the varied hieratic arts is the doctrine of operative divine signs.

Proclus gives the appellation of theurgists only to such people in whom an understanding of these symbols is most fully incarnated by the grace of divine revelation. Although the Neoplatonists themselves performed theurgical acts and they recognized as valid many species of hieratic art in different religious contexts, with the term "theurges" Proclus himself seems always to refer only to

²⁶ *In Eucl.* 138,10–15: ... ἡ θεουργία τὰς ιδιότητας ἀποτυπουμένη τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ἀγάλμασιν ἄλλα ἄλλοις περιβάλλει σχήματα.

²⁷ Dominic O'Meara explains the problem of the parts of political philosophy in a treatise by an unknown author of the 6th century in similar way: "Both authors (Pseudo-Dionysius and the anonymous writer under consideration) express a fundamental theory of Neoplatonic metaphysics, the theory of series of terms in which the first member of the series precontains and produces the other members of the series. This type of series, dubbed a 'P-series' by A. C. Lloyd, is to be found, for example, in Proclus' *Elements of Theology* (prop. 18–9), cf. Lloyd 1990, 76–8. In the case of the anonymous dialogue, this means that kingship or kingly science is both a part of, and identical to, political philosophy: it is a part of political philosophy, because there are other parts, such as military science; it *is* political philosophy, because it precontains, as the highest part and source of all political knowledge, the other parts.", D. O'Meara, "The Justinianic Dialogue: *On Political Science* and its Neoplatonic Sources", in K. Ierodiakonou (ed.), *Byzantine Philosophy and its Ancient Sources*, Oxford 2002, 54.

²⁸ *In Eucl.* 42,11 (θριγγχὸν τῶν μαθημάτων, from *Rep.* 534e), 43,22 (τὸν σύνδεσμον τῶν μαθημάτων).

the Chaldeans, who, at the time of Marcus (Aurelius), received revelation from the gods in the form of famous the Oracles.²⁹ When Proclus tells us something about specific Chaldean matters beyond quoting the *Chaldean Oracles* as direct utterances of the gods, he most often deals with the theological opinions of the original theurgists and rarely about rituals. Perhaps the only specific Chaldean practice mentioned by him is the famous theurgic burial, which seems to imitate the Platonic myth of *Phaedrus*.³⁰

The original Chaldean theurgists were not primarily "founders" of some new phenomenon, which was "integrated into" Neoplatonism as an "irrational element". Their teaching has a strong appeal to Neoplatonist for three reasons. First, they offered for the use of philosophers already reading Plato theologically a body of theological truths, revealed by the gods themselves in historical time and not in some distant past. Second they coined an apt neologism for describing the practical side of religion as divine works (θεουργία) in opposition to discourse on things divine (θεολογία). And third, what seems to impress the Neoplatonists most in the theoretical legacy of the original Chaldean theurgy is their doctrine according to which authentic religious activity is mediated by the operating divine symbols (συνθήματα, σύμβολα) found in all levels of reality. The capability to find, know, and use these mystical signs is the characteristic of a real theurge, a master of the hieratic art.³¹

²⁹ *In Crat.* 122,4: καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ Μάρκου γενομένοις θεουργοῖς οἱ θεοὶ καὶ νοητὰς καὶ νοερὰς τάξεις ἐκφαίνοντες, ὀνόματα τῶν θείων διακόσμων ἐξαγγελτικὰ τῆς ιδιότητος αὐτῶν παραδεδώκασιν, also *In Remp.* II 123,12–13 καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἐπὶ Μάρκου θεουργοῖς ἐκδέδοται πίστιν ἐναργῆ πορίζει τοῦ λόγου. The historicity of this revelation may have had strong value for Proclus, not least as a counterweight for the comparable claims of Christians.

³⁰ *Theol. Plat.* IV 30,1: Ἐν τῇ μυστικωτάτῃ τῶν τελετῶν, κελεύουν οἱ θεουργοὶ θάπτειν τὸ σῶμα πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς. This could imitate the charioteer's head which rises temporarily to the vision of the supercelestial place in *Phaedrus* and also has a connection to the curious idea of the human as an "inverted" and "celestial plant" whose head is rooted in the intelligible (see Festugière's translation of the final part of *In Tim.* which has survived in Arabic, A. J. Festugière, *Proclus. Commentaire sur le Timée* V, Paris 1968, 244) as henads are rooted in the One like trees (*In Parm.* 1050,12). Both images would strengthen the Neoplatonist fondness for "flower" terminology.

³¹ Σύμβολον could even mean scientific concepts for Proclus at times, but it is very often used in a mystical and religious context. Σύνθημα rarely appears outside this context. Its mystical uses originate from the *Chaldean Oracles* and it was introduced into Neoplatonism as a technical term by Iamblichus. Its usage is also common among other representatives of the Later Neoplatonism (Damascius, Dionysius Areopagite), but none uses it as profusely as Proclus (117 times). Proclus' use of the terms for symbolic relations forms a continuum moving from the most transparent term, image (eikon), to, the more opaque synthema through symbol.

Hyperintellection has common ground with theurgy in the sense that it too is based on the working of the *συνθήματα*. As the soul contains in its *νοεροὶ λόγοι* (reason-principles) images of the noetic forms (*νοειρὰ εἶδη*) which are paradigms for the divine Demiurge for its action,³² it also contains divine symbols (*θεῖοι συμβόλοι*) participating in all divine signs (*πάντων μὲν μετέχει τῶν συνθημάτων*) which are derived from the One and the divine henads ("unities", the highest superessential and hypernoetic gods).³³ For Proclus such devices of the soul as "the flower of the intellect" and "the flower of the whole soul" etc., how many of them are, and however they are termed, are also divine symbols.³⁴

Eikōn (image or copy) functions on the basis of similarity, it is a more or less immediate representative of its archetype (paradigm), to which it refers. Thus the domain of an image is that of a rational understanding of different levels of ontological forms. A symbol is not an arbitrary and conventional signifier for Proclus, but, rather a means rendering an invisible content visible in an enigmatic way, revealing by veiling, at times with an outward appearance exactly opposite to the meaning of what is signified. The appropriate domain for a symbol is mythology. *Synthema* is totally beyond human understanding; it is the derived presence of supraessential, supraintellectual, henadic and godlike things. For a theory of symbolism in Proclus see J. Dillon, "Image, Symbol and Analogy: Three Basic Concepts of the Neoplatonic Allegorical Exegesis", in J. M. Dillon, *Golden Chain. Studies in the Development of Platonism and Christianity*, London 1991, 247–63; J. A. Coulter, *The Literary Microcosm. Theories of the interpretation of the Later Neoplatonism*, Leiden 1976; J. Trouillard, "Le symbolisme chez Proclus", *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 7 (1981) 287–308; L. Cardullo, *Il Linguaggio del Simbolo in Proclo. Analisi filosofico-semantiche dei termini symbolon/eikōn/synthēma nel Commentario alla Repubblica*, Catania 1985.

³² *Dianoia* expresses discursively in its concepts these *logoi*, which it knows as projections from the soul's intellectual essence. For Proclus' theory of discursive reason see, D. Gregory MacIsaac, *The Soul and discursive reason in the Philosophy of Proclus*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Notre Dame 2001.

³³ See *Eclogae*, fr. 5. É. des Places in his edition of the fragments, as an appendix to the *Oracles chaldaïques*, Paris 1971, 206–12, has *ιερωὶν λόγων* (fr. 5,15), Jahn has adopted an alternative reading of the manuscripts, which Sheppard also follows (note 1 above) reading with *νοεροὶ λόγοι*. This is more in accordance with Proclus' expected use and with the *εἰκόνες μὲν τῶν νοερωῶν οὐσιῶν* a little later.

³⁴ *In Remp.* I, p. 177,18–23: Proclus calls the equivalent of the "flower of the intellect" an ineffable symbol of the gods' unitary hypostasis in the soul: *συνάπτεται τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ ζῆ τὴν ἐκείνοις συγγενεστάτην καὶ δι' ὁμοιότητος ἄκρας ἠνωμένην ζωὴν, οὐχ ἑαυτῆς οὐσαν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων, ὑπερ δραμοῦσα μὲν τὸν ἑαυτῆς νοῦν, ἀνεγείρασα δὲ τὸ ἄρρητον σύνθημα τῆς τῶν θεῶν ἐνιαίας ὑποστάσεως καὶ συνάψασα τῷ ὁμοίῳ τὸ ὅμοιον, τῷ ἐκεῖ φωτὶ τὸ ἑαυτῆς φῶς, τῷ ὑπὲρ οὐσίαν πᾶσαν καὶ ζωὴν ἐνὶ τὸ ἐνοειδέστατον τὴν τῆς οἰκείας οὐσίας τε καὶ ζωῆς. Similarly *Theol. Plat.* II 56,5–57,3 (below) and *In Tim.* I 210,11–14: *πάντ' οὖν καὶ μένει καὶ ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ταύτην λαβόντα παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ διττὰ συνθήματα κατ' οὐσίαν ὑποδεξάμενα, τὰ μὲν ὅπως ἂν ἐκεῖ μένη, τὰ δὲ ὅπως ἂν**

They represent in the human psychic structure the illumination from the highest gods. This is how he comes to his peculiar late Neoplatonic answer to the question of what the soul ultimately is: "We are images of the intellectual essences and statues of unknowable signs" (καὶ ἐσμὲν εἰκόνες μὲν τῶν νοερῶν οὐσιῶν, ἀγάλματα τὰ δὲ τῶν ἀγνώστων συνθημάτων).³⁵

Ineffable signs constitute a network of reciprocal sympathy pervading the whole cosmos. At all levels entities try to identify with the highest signs present in them. This means deification as far as it is possible for entities at each level. For instance, according to Proclus, sunflower has been stamped with the symbol of the sun and belongs to a divine series which leads up to Helios as a cosmic god. A plant's conversion towards the sun and its imitation of the sun by its physical shape is for Proclus philosophically speaking an instance of metaphysical conversion, but it is also an act of worship at the vegetal level.³⁶ Proclus thinks that not only demons and angels, but even the Intellect itself and the highest gods, are pursuing contact with the first uncaused cause, renouncing their own nature in their desire to be identical with the sign of the primordial thing. In their ascent they abandon their own characteristic properties which define them as distinct beings and thus not-one (in the sense of existence different to the One itself) and they reach their purest unity in themselves, that which in their nature is a trace of supreme non-being (the one in them). We find one of the Proclus' most impressive formulations of this view in the second part of the *Platonic Theology*:³⁷

ἐπιστρέφη προελθόντα, where the symbol of return corresponds to "the flower of the intellect" and the symbol of remaining to "the flower of the whole soul".

³⁵ *Eclogae* (= *Chald. Phil.*) fr. 5,7–8.

³⁶ See especially Πρόκλου περὶ τῆς καθ' Ἑλληνας ἱερατικῆς τέχνης., ed. J. Bidez, *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, vol. 6, Brussels 1928, 148–51.

³⁷ *Theol. Plat.* II 56,5–57,3: Καὶ οὐ τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν μόνον καθαρεύειν προσήκει τῶν ἑαυτῆς συστοίχων ἐν τῇ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἐνώσει καὶ κοινωνίᾳ πάντων τῶν ἑαυτῆς πλήθους ἔξω καταλείπουσαν, καὶ τὴν ὑπαρξίν τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀνεγείρουσαν μύσασαν, φησί, προσάγειν αὐτὴν τῷ πάντων βασιλεῖ καὶ μετέχειν τοῦ φωτός, ὡς αὐτῇ θεμιτόν· ἀλλὰ καὶ νοῦς πρὸ ἡμῶν καὶ πάντα τὰ θεῖα ταῖς ἀκροτάταις ἐνώσεσιν ἑαυτῶν καὶ τοῖς ὑπερουσίοις πυρσοῖς καὶ ταῖς ὑπάρξεσι ταῖς πρώταις ἦνονται τῷ πρώτῳ καὶ μετέχουσιν ἀεὶ τῆς ἐκεῖθεν πληρώσεως· οὐχ ἥπερ οὖν εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ἡ τῶν ἑαυτοῖς συγγενῶν ἐξήρηται, πρὸς τὴν μίαν ἀρχὴν συννεύουσι. Πᾶσι γὰρ ἐνέσπειρεν ὁ τῶν ὅλων αἴτιος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ παντελοῦς ὑπεροχῆς συνθήματα, καὶ διὰ τούτων περὶ ἑαυτὸν ἴδρυσε τὰ πάντα, καὶ πάρεστιν ἀρρήτως πᾶσιν ἀφ' ὅλων ἐξηρημένος. Ἐκαστον οὖν εἰς τὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ φύσεως ἄρρητον εἰσδυόμενον εὐρίσκει τὸ σύμβολον τοῦ πάντων Πατρός· καὶ σέβεται πάντα κατὰ φύσιν ἐκεῖνον, καὶ διὰ τοῦ προσήκοντος αὐτῷ μυστικοῦ συνθήματος ἐνίζεται τὴν οἰκείαν φύσιν ἀποδυόμενα, καὶ μόνον εἶναι τὸ ἐκεῖνου σύνθημα σπεύδοντα καὶ μόνου μετέχειν ἐκεῖνου, πόθῳ τῆς

"And not only should the human soul purify itself from things appropriate to its own level in the union and community with the first principle leaving out all its multiplicity and awakening its true existence, with "closed eyes" as it is said, and to approach the "king of all things" and to participate in its light, as far as that it is allowed, but also, before us, the intellect and all divine in their highest unions and supraessential flames, join with the first principle and participate eternally in the plenitude therefrom. Thus, they unite with the unique first principle, not through what they are, but on the contrary, through that which transcends their own nature. In effect, the cause of the universe "has sown in all things" signs of its absolute superiority, and through them established around itself all things and is present in all in an ineffable way, though its is transcendent to all. Thus each entity returning into itself finds from its own nature the symbol of the Father of all things and everything worships him according to its own nature, and unites with him through appropriate mystical signs, stripping its own nature and wanting only to be one with its own sign and participate in that with the desire of unknown nature and the source of good. And having finally raised itself to this original cause, each thing becomes calm and free from the pains of childbirth and love, which all things naturally have for unknowable, ineffable, imparticipable and overabundant goodness."³⁸

Thus we also see a form of theurgy, the drive towards unity using physical motion, shapes, and figures, at levels lower than the human, and on the other hand a form of unification as a result of purification and hypernoesis at the superhuman levels too.

That hyperintellection and theurgy are both related to the doctrine of mystical signs has, of course, been an important justification for modern interpretations which assume the existence of the the higher, non-ritualistic theurgy in Proclus. As the awakening of the hyperintellective faculties of the soul is the highest point of the soul's ascent toward the divine, so their activity is undeniably the ultimate anagogic or mystagogic stage described in his theory. But theurgy does not enter here.³⁹ Proclus himself never calls the activity of the hypernoetic faculties a form

ἀγνώστου φύσεως καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πηγῆς· καὶ μέχρι ταύτης ἀναδραμόντα τῆς αἰτίας ἐν γαλήνῃ γίνεται καὶ τῶν ὀδίνων λήγει καὶ τοῦ ἔρωτος, ὃν ἔχει τὰ πάντα κατὰ φύσιν, τῆς ἀγνώστου καὶ ἀρρήτου καὶ ἀμεθέκτου καὶ ὑπερπλήρους ἀγαθότητος.

³⁸ Similarly, as Proclus describes the highest possible identification with the One's sign in the soul as a state of peace and quiet, Plotinus depicts the ultimate result of his vision, *Enn.* 6,9,11,21–25: Τὸ δὲ ἴσως ἦν οὐ θέαμα, ἀλλὰ ἄλλος τρόπος τοῦ ἰδεῖν, ἕκστασις καὶ ἄπλωσις καὶ ἐπίδοσις αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔφεσις πρὸς ἀφήν καὶ στάσις καὶ περινόησις πρὸς ἐφαρμογήν, εἶπερ τις τὸ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ θεάσεται.

³⁹ Concluding her 1982 article (note 1 above) Sheppard says "Proclus still thinks of the final

of theurgy. Theurgical worship of the gods is, for him, a recommended, surely loved, and probably even necessary bit of the salvific path as a living experience of authentic religion, but it does not awaken the hypernoetic faculties. These are triggered by contemplation exhausting itself in negative theology.

The problem of the primacy of theurgy

Whether theurgy or philosophy is more important to Proclus' soteriology is an issue closely tied to the question of the plurality of theurgies, but cannot be exhaustively dealt with in this contribution.⁴⁰ Let us, however, note that an interpretation which gives primacy to theurgy is generally built on three repeatedly quoted *loci classici* from Damascius, Iamblichus, and Proclus. Damascius' statement⁴¹ is used in order to demonstrate the Iamblichean turn in Neoplatonism, Iamblichus' *passus* is used to crystallize the meaning of this turn, and Proclus' passage to prove that Proclus is in full agreement with Iamblichus.

union as a 'Plotinian' mystical experience, not as some magically induced trance. He describes it as a kind of theurgy because its theoretical basis is of the same kind as the theoretical basis of theurgy: the 'one in the soul' is a σύμβολον, of the transcendent One", 224. With this we come to the crux of the question: Proclus never describes the awakening of the one in the soul as a kind of theurgy. To suppose that he is implying so in other places is hardly defensible if he explicitly denies this, as he does, in *In Cratylum*. The most important Plotinian passages on assumed mystical experiences are *Enn.* 5,8,22–23; 6,9,4,24–30; 6,5,4,18; 6,7,40,2; 6,9,9,47–58. The first two are also evidence of the Plotinian roots of Proclus' theory of "the flower of the intellect".

⁴⁰ The thesis of the primacy of theurgy seems to get apparent support from the fact that the Athenian school held the theurgical virtues to be the highest, Marinus *Vita Procli*, ch. 26–33. On the other hand, Proclus often presents a complete path of the ascent without a word about theurgy, for example in *Theol. Plat.* I 14,5–17,7 and II 61,19–64–65,26. Both passages concern the question of the grounds of theological knowledge and they relativize even the idea of the Plotinian style mystical ecstasy as an ultimate interest of the Later Neoplatonism, because Proclus, admitting the entheistic vision of the One as a supreme experience of the human soul, emphasizes its transitoriness and puts a focus on redescent, which offers to discursive reason notions to cope with the things that are seen to reveal the properties of the divine classes as far as this is possible in scientific theology.

⁴¹ Damascius in L. G. Westerink, *The Greek commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, vol. 2, Amsterdam 1977, section 172, 1–4: "Ὅτι οἱ μὲν τὴν φιλοσοφίαν προτιμῶσιν, ὡς Πορφύριος καὶ Πλωτῖνος καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ φιλόσοφοι οἱ δὲ τὴν ἱερατικὴν, ὡς Ἰάμβλιχος καὶ Συριανὸς καὶ Πρόκλος καὶ οἱ ἱερατικοὶ πάντες.

Two considerations should be taken into account of reading Damascius' testimony which relativize its message. First, recent studies have convincingly argued that Plotinus was not totally without interest in ritualistic forms of religion.⁴² Second, Damascius' statement should also be interpreted in its proper context. No doubt the Iamblichean turn marks a major reorientation in the doctrinal history of Neoplatonism. It could also be explained with the changing environment of the Neoplatonist schools. Plotinus could ignore Christianity, which was surely known to him, but the Later Neoplatonism was engaged in an active struggle for the defense of traditional religion and naturally placed a greater emphasis on things hieratic. What Damascius is doing is to have recourse to a familiar rhetorical device in doctrinal dispute, presenting himself as the vindicator of the right balance.⁴³ Thus he introduces tension in his predecessors' views and demonstrates how his own version of Neoplatonism transcends them and is, of course, in full accord with Plato.

A famous passage of Iamblichus⁴⁴ has often been read through the lenses

⁴² See, for instance, Z. Mazur, "Unio Magica: Part II Plotinus, Theurgy, and the Question of Ritual", *Dionysius* 22 (2004) 29–55.

⁴³ Damascius continues immediately: ὁ δὲ Πλάτων τὰς ἐκατέρωθεν συνηγορίας ἐννοήσας πολλὰς οὐσας εἰς μίαν αὐτὰς συνήγαγεν ἀλήθειαν, τὸν φιλόσοφον 'Βάκχον' ὀνομάζων· καὶ γὰρ ὁ χωρίσας ἑαυτὸν τῆς γενέσεως εἰ τεθείη μέσος εἰς ταῦτ' ἄξει τῷ ἑτέρῳ τὸν ἕτερον. πλὴν δῆλός ἐστιν ὅμως τῷ Βάκχῳ σεμνύνων τὸν φιλόσοφον, ὡς θεῷ τὸν νοῦν ἢ τῷ ἀπορρήτῳ φωτὶ τὸ ῥητόν. The simile of Plato as a Bacchic philosopher is used by Proclus to eulogize the whole Neoplatonic tradition from Plotinus to Syrianus, *Theol. Plat.* I, 6,24–7,9.

⁴⁴ *De myst.* 2,11,96,11–97,19: Ἐστω μὲν γὰρ ἡ ἄγνοια καὶ ἀπάτη πλημμέλεια καὶ ἀσέβεια, οὐ μὴν διὰ τοῦτο ψευδῆ ποιεῖ καὶ τὰ οἰκείως τοῖς θεοῖς προσφερόμενα καὶ τὰ θεῖα ἔργα, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔννοια συνάπτει τοῖς θεοῖς τοὺς θεουργοὺς· ἐπεὶ τί ἐκώλυε τοὺς θεωρητικῶς φιλοσοφοῦντας ἔχειν τὴν θεουργικὴν ἔνωσην πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς; νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔχει τό γε ἀληθές οὕτως· ἀλλ' ἢ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἀρρήτων καὶ ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν νόησιν θεοπρεπῶς ἐνεργουμένων τελεσιουργία ἢ τε τῶν νοουμένων τοῖς θεοῖς μόνον συμβόλων ἀφθέγκτων δύνამεις ἐντίθησι τὴν θεουργικὴν ἔνωσην. Διόπερ οὐδὲ τῷ νοεῖν αὐτὰ ἐνεργοῦμεν· ἔσται γὰρ οὕτω νοερά αὐτῶν ἢ ἐνέργεια καὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν ἐνδιδομένη· τὸ δ' οὐδέτερόν ἐστιν ἀληθές. Καὶ γὰρ μὴ νοούντων ἡμῶν αὐτὰ τὰ συνθήματα ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν δρᾷ τὸ οἰκείον ἔργον, καὶ ἢ τῶν θεῶν, πρὸς οὓς ἀνήκει ταῦτα, ἄρρητος δύναμις αὐτῇ ἀφ' ἑαυτῆς ἐπιγιγνώσκει τὰς οἰκείας εἰκόνας, ἀλλ' οὐ τῷ διεγείρεσθαι ὑπὸ τῆς ἡμετέρας νοήσεως· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχει φύσιν τὰ περιέχοντα ὑπὸ τῶν περιεχομένων οὐδὲ τὰ τέλεια ὑπὸ τῶν ἀτελῶν οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν μερῶν τὰ ὅλα ἀνακινεῖσθαι. Ὅθεν δὴ οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἡμετέρων νοήσεων προηγουμένως τὰ θεῖα αἴτια προκαλεῖται εἰς ἐνέργειαν· ἀλλὰ ταύτας μὲν καὶ τὰς ὅλας τῆς ψυχῆς ἀρίστας διαθέσεις καὶ τὴν περὶ ἡμᾶς καθαρότητα ὡς συναίτια ἄττα προὑποκεῖσθαι χρή, τὰ δ' ὡς κυρίως ἐγείροντα τὴν θεῖαν βούλησιν αὐτὰ τὰ θεῖα ἐστὶ συνθήματα· καὶ οὕτω τὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτὰ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν ἀνακινεῖται, ὑπ' οὐδενὸς τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων ἐνδεχόμενά τινα εἰς ἑαυτὰ ἀρχὴν τῆς οἰκειᾶς ἐνεργείας.

of degeneration theory; that is, arguing for an interpretation in which the Later Neoplatonism, tainted by magic and occultism, deforms the pure philosophical heritage of Plotinus.⁴⁵ This view has been contested with the results of the revival of interest in Iamblichus from the early 70's (and which has not been exhausted ever since then) and deformation theory is definitely not in fashion in Neoplatonic studies nowadays, even if it still haunts more general reflections on the history of Greek philosophy.

In order to draw a more nuanced picture of the relationship between Iamblichus and Proclus' view on theurgy, Proclus' treatise on the harmony between Chaldean and Plato's teachings (*Theol. Plat.* IV 27,6-31,16) is important. Proclus seems to echo⁴⁶ the structure and vocabulary of this famous Iamblichean *locus classicus*. Iamblichus says that we have:

theurgic unity, which is not accomplished by thinking, but using divine signs together with the best and purest states of soul, and then the divine will give from itself the desired unity.

Proclus replaces Iamblichean theurgic unity by initiation, saying that it

is not accomplished by thinking and reasoning, but the silence beyond and higher of all modes of cognition given by faith, which establish us and the universal soul into the ineffable and unknown class of the gods.

I think that we have too much parallelism between these statements not to assume that Proclus is, on the one hand, expressing his basic agreement with Iamblichus and, on the other hand trying to be more precise than him. Iamblichus' intention in the context of the controversy with Porphyry is to shed light on the question of what is really happening in the cultic intercourse between humans and gods. Proclus wants to support Iamblichus' position and at the same time relate it to the theological findings of the post-Iamblichean Athenian school. Both emphasize that what is happening will not happen by thinking, Proclus' formulation being

⁴⁵ E. R. Dodds' verdict is a classic piece of "deformation theory": "With that the whole basis of the Plotinian intellectual mysticism is rejected, and the door stands open to all those superstitions of the lower culture which Plotinus had condemned in that noble apology for Hellenism, the treatise *Against the Gnostics*", "Introduction" in his *Proclus. The Elements of Theology*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1933, xx.

⁴⁶ *Theol. Plat.* IV 31,10–16: Οὐ γὰρ διὰ νοήσεως οὐδὲ διὰ κρίσεως ὅλως ἢ μύησις, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐνιαίας καὶ πάσης γνωστικῆς ἐνεργείας κρείττονος σιγῆς, ἣν ἡ πίστις ἐνδίδωσιν, ἐν τῷ ἀρρήτῳ καὶ ἀγνώστῳ <γένει> τῶν θεῶν ἰδρύουσα τὰς τε ὅλας ψυχὰς καὶ τὰς ἡμετέρας.

more pedantic as he would like to underline that we are really not transcending only discursive thinking but also intellectual intuition. Acting agents are general divine signs in Iamblichus, for Proclus the most uniform silence above all forms of knowing, formulations which mean for him divine signs at the highest level of the human psychic structure, the one in the soul in its double manifestations of the flower of the intellect and flower of the whole soul. The soul's purest and best states could, of course, be embryonic modes of the same concept already found in Iamblichus. Proclus' replacement of the Iamblichean "theurgic unity" by initiation and specifying the final state as the soul's entering into contact with the specific divine class means that he will emphasize that there could never be unity with the soul and the One in the sense of identification. Proclus also speaks about faith and we know that for him this means, in the theory of the classes of gods, the same as contact (συναφή) and unity (ἔνωσις).⁴⁷ An important point is that when Proclus is speaking about the soul's changing states in the ascent he is also telling us something about the properties and levels of the divine hierarchy.

I will not go here in any detailed exegesis of Proclus' much discussed *locus classicus*⁴⁸ in the first part of the *Platonic Theology*, which surely still remains worthy of a dedicated study.⁴⁹ Given the limits and aims of this contribution, it is

⁴⁷ *Theol. Plat.* I, 112,1–3. In Proclus' treatise on prayer (*In Tim.*), συναφή and unity ἔνωσις are introduced as the highest level accessible by the soul – mediated by approach (ἐμπέλαισις). I think that Werner Beierwaltes is right in relating the moment of συναφή to "the flower of intellect" interpreted here as a σύνθημα of the return (ἐπιστροφή) to the One, W. Beierwaltes, *Proklos. Grundzüge seiner Metaphysik*, Frankfurt 1965, 318, which implies for me that ἔνωσις corresponds with the "the flower of the whole soul", the trace of the One in the soul and as such σύνθημα of remaining (μονή).

⁴⁸ *Theol. Plat.* I 112,24–113,10: "Ἴν' οὖν συνελόντες εἵπωμεν, τρία μὲν ἐστὶ τὰ πληρωτικὰ ταῦτα τῶν θείων, διὰ πάντων χωροῦντα τῶν κρείττωνων γενῶν, ἀγαθότης, σοφία, κάλλος· τρία δὲ αὖ καὶ τῶν πληρουμένων συναγωγὰ, δεύτερα μὲν ἐκείνων, διήκοντα δὲ εἰς πάσας τὰς θείας διακοσμήσεις, πίστις καὶ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἔρωσ. Σφύζεται δὲ πάντα διὰ τούτων καὶ συνάπτεται ταῖς πρωτουργοῖς αἰτίαις, τὰ μὲν διὰ τῆς ἐρωτικῆς μανίας, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς θείας φιλοσοφίας, τὰ δὲ διὰ τῆς θεουργικῆς δυνάμεως, ἢ κρείττων ἐστὶν ἀπάσης ἀνθρωπίνης σωφροσύνης καὶ ἐπιστήμης, συλλαβοῦσα τὰ τε τῆς μαντικῆς ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰς τῆς τελεσιουργικῆς καθαρτικὰς δυνάμεις καὶ πάντα ἀπλῶς τὰ τῆς ἐνθέου κατακωχῆς ἐνεργήματα.

⁴⁹ Philippe Hoffmann offers an excellent treatment of this Proclean issue and its later history in his "La triade chaldaïque ἔρωσ, ἀλήθεια, πίστις: De Proclus a Simplicius", in A. Ph Segonds – C. Steel (eds.), *Proclus et la Théologie platonicienne*, Paris 2000, 469–89. Another recent promising attempt at an in-depth exegesis of this Proclean *locus* is C. Tornau, "Der Eros und das Gute bei Plotin und Proklos", in M. Perkams – R. M. Piccione (eds.) *Proklos. Methode, Seelenlehre, Metaphysik*, Leiden 2006, 201–29. It should be noted that similar concept of

enough to say that this text undeniably brings the chain formed by the good, faith and theurgic power into the first place. The superiority of theurgic power to human wisdom could be understood in such a way that a thing where the divine is immediately present has, quite naturally for any kind of religious thought, a higher rank than a thing which has to go through the soul's channels and the limited capacities of the human mind. In the same way a person in whom theurgic virtue is incarnated could be considered holy and thus more noble than a practitioner of the purely theoretical virtues. This text is often quoted in isolation but immediately after it Proclus says that he will return to the theme later at a better time and more appropriate place.⁵⁰ This promise refers precisely to the above-mentioned treatise on the agreement of Plato and Chaldean theurgists in the fourth part of the *Platonic Theology*. This treatment hardly counts as evidence for the primacy of theurgy but accords with the interpretation where theurgy and philosophy are two paths leading towards the same goal, the first one, external, going through the divine signs offered by nature and the whole cosmos, and the second one, internal, conducting its way through psychic circuitry. Touching the henads and the One by hyperintellection is the consummation of both.

The evidence of the *Commentary on the Cratylus*

In his *Commentary on the Cratylus* Proclus defines the location of theurgy in the ascent of the soul more clearly and exactly than anywhere else in his writings. Proclus mentions a class of gods which is the first to be named and continues:⁵¹

"... and before that every class is in silence and secret and could be known only by intellection, and for that reason all telestics acting theurgically ascend to this class and because of this Orpheus also says that this class is the first to be named by the other gods."

metarational faith, which is seen as testifying mainly to the influence of the *Chaldean Oracles* on the Later Neoplatonism, is to be found in Plotinus, *Enn.* 5,3,17,28–32, as Hoffman points out, 469.

⁵⁰ *Theol. Plat.* I 113,12: Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων τάχ' ἂν καὶ εἰσαῦθις ἐγκαίροτερον διέλθοιμεν.

⁵¹ *In Crat.* 71,98–101 (33 Pasquali): τὰ δὲ πρὸ αὐτῆς σιγώμενα πάντα καὶ κρύφια νοήσει μόνον γνωστὰ ἦν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἡ τελεστική πᾶσα μέχρι ταύτης ἄνεισι τῆς τάξεως ἐνεργοῦσα θεουργικῶς, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ὀρφεὺς πρώτην ταύτην ὀνόματι φησιν ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων καλεῖσθαι θεῶν·

Proclus regards the mode of telestic activity (consecration, initiation) as being theurgic which is to be understood as an activity based on working with signs and symbols. The border which telestics cannot cross is the ultimate limit of the area of the articulation of revealed divine names. These names as symbols are ritualistic utterances; we do not need to take account of their sense, because meanings belong to the area of intellective activity, not of theurgic. A third and very interesting point is that Proclus, who was in the not-so-distant past, often seen as a supporter of irrationalism and superstition, says here that "thinking" goes over a border which theurgy cannot pass. Νόησις is normally a term for intuitive thought for Proclus. Thus it could mean here contemplation or its culmination, when the intellectual summit transcends itself, that is, the activity of the flower of the intellect.⁵² But it is not excluded that it represents here discursive thinking in the process of redescending, in a *post festum* mode of descent, when reason tries using analogies to conceive of hypernoetic realities which it has seen during the ascent and having undergone the experience of entheastic union.⁵³ Whatever is the role of noesis here, this passage gives clear evidence that for Proclus the ultimate experience of contact with the One does not equate with theurgy.

The passage just considered perhaps still leaves for debate as to whether we have found the ultimate limit of theurgy in Proclus' system or if there is even higher theurgy in addition to operating by revealed names. This question seems to be resolved beyond any doubt in a subsequent passage from the same commentary:⁵⁴

⁵² Compare this to Proclus' discussion in the *Platonic Theology* and the *Commentary of the Chaldean Oracles* on "silence" and "unity beyond silence", which are two moments of the hypernoetic cognition and characterized as faculties of the soul in its different "flowers".

⁵³ On the moments of ascent and redescent after the experience of unity see, for instance, *Theol. Plat.* I 15,1–16,6. Perhaps the mystical experience as such is not the prevalent topic for Neoplatonists in their philosophizing? If Plotinus' interest lies in the Intellect, for Proclus the issue of redescending is particularly important, because it is ground for the purpose that is dearest to him, that is, the development of scientific theology as a theory of the classes of the gods.

⁵⁴ *In Crat.* 113,1–25 (Pasquali 65): τὸν οὖν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον, ἐφ' ὃν καὶ ὁ Οὐρανὸς ἀνατείνει τὴν ἑαυτοῦ νοερὰν ζώην, οἱ μὲν ἀρρήτοις χαρακτηρίζουσι συμβόλοις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ὀνομάσαντες ἄγνωστον ἀπέλιπον, μήτ' εἶδος αὐτοῦ μήτε σχῆμα καὶ μορφήν εἰπεῖν ἐξισχύσαντες· ἀνωτέρω δ' ἔτι καὶ τούτου προελθόντες τὸ πέρασ τῶν νοητῶν θεῶν μόνον ὀνόματι δηλῶσαι δεδύνηνται, τὰ δ' ἐπέκεινα δι' ἀναλογίας μόνης, ἄρρητα ὄντα καὶ ἄληπτα, σημαίνουσιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς νοητοῖς τῶν θεῶν μόνος ὁ θεὸς οὗτος, ὁ συγκλείων τὸν πατρικὸν διάκοσμον, εἶναι λέγεται παρὰ τοῖς σοφοῖς ὀνομαστός, καὶ ἡ θεωργία μέχρι ταύτης ἄνεισι τῆς τάξεως. ἐπεὶ τοίνυν τὰ πρὸ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ τοιαύτην

The supracelestial place towards which Ouranos also extends its own intellectual life is characterized by others with ineffable symbols but others, calling it unknowable, leave it as such as they are incapable of saying its form, schema or figure. But going to still higher upper realms from here, they have been capable of designating by name only the lowest limit of the intelligible gods, but things beyond they designate only by analogy because these are ineffable and incomprehensible. Thus among the intelligible gods only this god, who is closing the fatherly order, is said to be nameable by men of wisdom and the theurgy ascends up to this class. Since the things before Ouranos have got a superiority of the uniform hypostasis such that they are at the same time speakable and ineffable, pronounceable or unpronounceable, knowable and unknowable for their familiarity with the One, reasonably Socrates, acting with good sense, suspends discussion of these since it is totally impossible to comprehend by names the mode of existence of these things and some kind of admirable activity is required to distinguish what is completely speakable and ineffable in existence or power in these things. That is why Socrates makes memory responsible; this is not because he would not believe in myths which put some most primordial causes beyond Ouranos or that he would consider these unworthy of mentioning (on the contrary, in the *Phaedrus* he celebrates the supracelestial place), but because it is impossible to remember or know the most primary beings by imagination, opinion or discursive reason. Our condition permits us to join them by the flower of the intellect and by the mode of existence of our essence. And through these we get a sensation of their unknown nature.

This passage shows that according to Proclus theurgy rises to a certain divine class, obviously to the last term of the intelligible triad (the supracelestial place being the first subtriad of the noetic-noeric triad⁵⁵) and the hypernoetic devices

ἔλαχεν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἐνοειδοῦς ὑποστάσεως, ὡς τὰ μὲν εἶναι ῥητὰ τε ἅμα καὶ ἄρρητα καὶ φθεγκτὰ καὶ ἀφθεγκτὰ καὶ γνωστὰ καὶ ἄγνωστα διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ ἐν συγγένειαν, εἰκότως ὁ Σωκράτης ἐπέχει τὸν περὶ ἐκείνων λόγον, ὡς καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων οὐ πάντη καταδράττεσθαι τῆς ὑπάρξεως αὐτῶν δυναμένων, καὶ ὅλως τοῦ διακρίνεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνων ὑπάρξεως ἢ δυνάμεως τό τε ῥητὸν καὶ τὸ ἄρρητον θαυμαστῆς τινος δεομένου πραγματείας. αἰτιᾶται γοῦν τὴν μνήμην, οὐ τοῖς μύθοις ἀπιστῶν τοῖς ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ τιθεμένοις τινὰς πρεσβυτέρας αἰτίας καὶ οὐδὲν μνήμης ἀξίους αὐτοὺς νομίζων (αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐν Φαίδρῳ τὸν ὑπερουράνιον τόπον ἀνυμνεῖ), ἀλλ' ὅτι μνημονευτὰ καὶ διὰ φαντασίας ἢ δόξης ἢ διανοίας γνωστὰ τὰ πρότιστα τῶν ὄντων οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο· τῷ γὰρ ἄνθει τοῦ νοῦ καὶ τῇ ὑπάρξει τῆς οὐσίας ἡμῶν αὐτοῖς συνάπτεσθαι πεφύκαμεν. καὶ τῆς ἀγνώστου φύσεως αὐτῶν αἴσθησιν δι' ἐκείνων λαμβάνομεν.

⁵⁵ This is definitely the view of the mature Proclus of the *Platonic Theology*. Other works may reflect a stage where he has not yet developed his final theory of the noetic-noeric triad or, more probably, that his scope of exposition does not need to deal with the "transitory" and "linking"

begin their activity only after this point. In his *Commentary on the Chaldean Oracles* Proclus explicitly posits two different devices of hyperintellection. His mentions in the other works, referred to above, point to the same division and it is also introduced here if we see "the flower of the Intellect" and "the mode of existence of our essence" as two different faculties. I think that the latter is the same as "the flower of the whole soul" in the fragments of the Proclean commentary on the *Chaldaean Oracles* and "bastard opinion" in the *Commentary on the Timaeus*. It is fascinating to note that Proclus here characterizes as "sensation" what these loftiest faculties of the soul finally give. This, of course, is not the same as sense perception, but perception on the hypernoetic level. With this we came back to the idea of mirroring the highest with the lowest, forcefully expressed in the passage of *In Tim* considered at the beginning of this contribution.

Conclusion

To the best of my knowledge Proclus does not speak explicitly anywhere about the "higher theurgy" or describe the activity of the supra-intellectual flowers as theurgy. On the contrary we have seen that he *expressis verbis* says just the opposite and this happens, furthermore, in the sole place where he himself explicitly raises the question about the relationship between theurgy and hypernoetic cognition. In examining ancient ideas, we should not abandon a clear-cut distinction already made by an author under study and impose on him a more rough-grained concept, which is what including hypernoesis in the sphere of theurgy means. Hypernoetic activity transcends theurgy as much as discursive thinking and intellection proper. Proclus draws a very clear dividing line separating the heights reached by both theurgy and philosophy and the hypernoetic state of the soul, which he describes as admirable, silent contemplation of the divine henads in the noetic summit referring to the One beyond.

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triads (such a triad at the lower level of the classes of the gods is the hypercosmic-encosmic triad).

OSSERVAZIONI SUL TESTO DI PROCOPIO DI GAZA

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La recentissima pubblicazione degli *Opuscula rhetorica et oratoria* di Procopio di Gaza¹ mi dà occasione di avanzare alcune nuove proposte rispetto al testo teubneriano. Prima di fare questo, è tuttavia opportuno esprimere la più sincera gratitudine a Eugenio Amato, il quale raccoglie per la prima volta insieme questi testi,² finora per lo più difficilmente reperibili e mai riuniti. Inoltre lo studioso italiano ha corredato il testo, oltrech  dell'apparato critico, dell'*apparatus fontium et locorum similium*.

P. 16,10–19A.: λέγουσι δ' οὖν ἄμφω, εἴ πω ἐγὼ φωνῆς ὄρνίθων ἀκοῦσαι δεινός, ὡς Ἄττικάι παρθένοι καὶ παῖδες Πανδίουνος [...] ἐφθόνησε [scil.: ὁ Τηρεύς] αὐτῇ καὶ φωνῆς, καὶ οὐδὲ γλῶτταν ἀφῆκε τῇ κόρῃ. ἀλλ' ἦσαν αὐτῇ χεῖρες δεινὰ μιμεῖσθαι παθήματα. καὶ γράφει τὴν ὕβριν, καὶ σιγῶσης ἐδείκνυτο. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς Πανδιον<ίδ>ος φόνον (Ἴτυν αὐτὸν καλοῦσιν οἱ ποιηταί· ὃν διεῖλε³ μὲν ἡ μήτηρ, προὔκειτο δὲ παρανόμῳ πατρὶ παράνομος εὐωχία καὶ μετήγαγεν αὐτὰς εἰς ὄρνις ὁ δαίμων) ἐγὼ μὲν σιγήσομαι, αἱ δὲ ὄρνιθες ἄδουσιν ἰδοῦσαι. L'episodio qui trattato da Procopio   dei pi  celebri, la violenza cio  usata da Tereo alla cognata Filomela, la successiva vendetta di Procne con l'uccisione di Iti e la trasformazione delle due sorelle e di Tereo in uccelli. Problematico   εἴ πω ἐγὼ (anche per lo iato); si legga εἴ πω<ς> ἐγὼ. La sintassi

¹ Procopius Gazaeus, *Opuscula rhetorica et oratoria*, omnia primum collegit edidit apparatu critico instruxit E. Amato adiuvante G. Ventrella, Berolini et Novi Eboraci 2009.

² Di alcuni di essi esistono buoni commenti, degli opuscoli 8 (H. Diels, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza* [Abh. der k. Preuss. Akad.] 1917), 9 (*Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza. Des Prokopios von Gaza ΕΚΦΡΑCΙC ΕΙΚΟΝΟC*. Herausgg. und erkl. von P. Friedländer, Città del Vaticano 1939), 10 (Procopio di Gaza, *Panegirico per l'imperatore Anastasio*, a cura di G. Martino, Napoli 2005).

³ Io credo debba essere accolto ἀνεῖλε del Mai.

del periodo τοῦ δὲ παιδός ... ἰδοῦσαι quale postulata da Amato non mi persuade, poiché καὶ μετήγαγεν ... δαίμων non si lega a quello che precede all'interno della parentesi (Ἴτυν ... δαίμων), tanto più che anche αὐτάς (che si riferisce evidentemente a Procne e a Filomela) si giustifica solo se il lettore ha ancora in mente il brano che termina con ἐδείκνυτο, mentre non trova referenti nel pezzo compreso nella parentesi. Io leggerei: τοῦ δὲ παιδός Πανδιον<ίδ>ος φόνον (Ἴτυν αὐτὸν καλοῦσιν οἱ ποιηταί· ὃν ἀνεῖλε μὲν ἢ μήτηρ, προὔκειτο δὲ παρανόμῳ πατρὶ παράνομος εὐωχία) καὶ <ὡς> μετήγαγεν αὐτάς εἰς ὄρνις ὁ δαίμων, ἐγὼ μὲν σιγήσομαι, supponendo cioè una caduta di ὡς, il quale si confondeva con καί,⁴ onde poteva facilmente cadere per aplografia. Per una struttura simile a quella da me postulata, con un verbo (nel nostro caso σιγήσομαι / ἄδουσιν) che regge un accusativo e una completiva, cfr. p. 64,95–96A. (ὄθεν δὲ τοῦ Ὑπνου τὸ ταχὺ λανθάνον καὶ ὡς κλέπτει τὸν νοῦν καὶ κατασύρει τὰ βλέφαρα δηλῶν ὁ ζωγράφος). Altro non lieve problema è posto da ἰδοῦσαι; cosa in effetti gli uccelli "vedano" quando cantano la fine delle Pandionidi non si vede, e Mai aveva intelligentemente proposto di emendare ἰδοῦσαι in ἰδοὺ δέ, interpungendo dopo ἄδουσιν; tuttavia il senso d'una tale allocuzione al lettore non mi risulta chiara. Io sospetto che ἰδοῦσαι sia nato da assimilazione con ἄδουσιν; forse ἰούζουσαι?

P. 17,20–25A.: Καὶ ποιμὴν εἰς νομὴν ἐξάγει τὸ ποιμνιον "ῥῆρῃ ἐν εἰαρινῇ, ὅτε <τε> γλάγος ἄγγεα δεύει", τὴν δὲ σύριγγα (ἐχθρὸς γὰρ ὁ χειμῶν μοθσικῆ καὶ ἐκρέματο), ταύτην δὲ καθελὼν αὐτὸς μὲν ἄδει τὸ ἔαρ ἢ Πᾶνα τάχα τὸν νόμιον. κἂν ἄρνιον ἢ τι πεπλανημένον, γνωρίζει τις τὴν ῥῆρῃ καὶ πρὸς τὴν σύνομον ἀγέλην ἐπείγεται δρόμῳ. Il ritorno della primavera fa sì che i pastori riprendano a suonare la zampogna. Chi sia il τις soggetto di γνωρίζει non si vede; è d'altra parte evidente che il soggetto di tale verbo (e di ἐπείγεται) è ἄρνιον. Se è così bisognerà scrivere γνωρίζει τε τὴν ῥῆρῃ.

P. 19,51–53A.: Ῥόδα δὲ ἃ φαίνουσιν αἱ κάλυκες, ἐδρέψαντο [scil.: αἱ παρθέναι] μὲν ἐκ λειμώνων αὐτά, δεσμὸν δὲ πρὸς ὄρμον ἀψάμενοι, εἰς μέσα στέρνα τὴν εὐωδίαν κ[ατέχου]σιν. Quest'ultimo termine si legge con grande difficoltà nel *Vaticanus* e la lettura non sembra certa.⁵ Io mi aspetterei καταχέουσιν (cfr. e. g. Pl. *Resp.* 398 a μύρον κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς καταχέαντες).

⁴ Cfr. a proposito del testo di Xenoph. Eph. 3,3,4 C. M. Lucarini, "Osservazioni sulle nuove edizioni teubneriane di Caritone di Afrodisiade e Senofonte efesio e sul nuovo Pap. Oxyr. 4761", *Maia* 69 (2007) 70.

⁵ Addirittura Garzya-Loenertz (Procopi Gazaei, *Epistulae et declamationes*, Ettal 1963) scrivono καλύπτουσιν *nulla mire lacuna indicata* (Amato)!

P. 20,1–4A.: ὁ δὲ Ἄρης (δεινὸν γὰρ ποθοῦντι προτιμώμενος ἐραστής) ἐπὶ γε τῷ μειρακίῳ πάνυ ζηλωτικός. καὶ ἦν ὅλος Ἄρης, προσλαχὼν τῇ φύσει τὸν ἔρωτα. Procopio sta qui trattando il mito di Adone, uno dei suoi argomenti preferiti. Crea difficoltà ὅλος. Forse va corretto in ο<ὐ>λος (cfr. *Il.* 5,461,717, altri omerismi son presenti in questi *opuscula rhetorica*); cfr. anche p. 42,15–43,2A., ove, sempre a proposito della morte di Adone, Procopio dice di Ares: δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ θεός· βλοσυρὸν ὄρα, πρὸς αἶμα κέχηνε, ποθουμένην ὄψιν ἐλεεῖν οὐκ εἰδώς.

P. 21,2–22,12A.: Ἄλλ' ἐπεὶ χειμῶν ἐκποδὼν καὶ νέφη [...] φέρε δὴ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὥσπερ τινὰ χειμῶνα λόγων τὴν σιωπὴν διαλύσωμεν· δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἶη, εἰ χελιδόνες μὲν τῆδε κάκεισε τὸν ἀέρα περιφοιτῶσαι ἄδουσιν, οἶμαι τὸ ἔαρ οἶον ἄδειν ἐθέλουσαι, παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ γένοιτο ἀτιμότεραι τῶν ὀρνέων αἱ Μοῦσαι. ἐπεὶ καὶ οἱ κύκνοι νῦν ἐκ τῆς ὥρας εἰς μνήμην ἔρχονται τῆς ὁδοῦς [...], καὶ τῷ Ζεφύρῳ τὸ πτερόν ἐπιτρέψαντες ὑμνοῦσί τε τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τῆς μουσικῆς ὑπομιμνήσκουσι λύρας· κάκεινος ἥδιστα μὲν τούτων ἀκούει. L'arrivo della primavera produce il canto delle rondini e di cigni e sarebbe grave (δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἶη), se noi uomini (ἡμεῖς) non sciogliessimo il silenzio (τὴν σιωπὴν διαλύσωμεν). Non intendo la frase παρ' ἡμῖν δὲ γένοιτο ἀτιμότεραι τῶν ὀρνέων αἱ Μοῦσαι. Il significato letterale sembra "presso noi uomini fossero meno onorate le Muse degli uccelli" ma il contesto richiederebbe "le Muse fossero meno onorate presso noi uomini che presso gli uccelli" (che richiederebbe qualcosa del tipo ἀτιμότεραι ἢ παρ' ὄρνισιν αἱ Μοῦσαι). Io credo che τῶν ὀρνέων vada espunto senza esitazioni.

P. 24, 46–50A.: Ἐγὼ δέ [...] ἦεν πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος ἐπικλινούσης ἡμέρας. καὶ ἔξω τείχους γενόμενος ἐπ' ἑμαυτὸν ἐμπορεύομαι, ἄλση τε φέρων καὶ δένδρα. καὶ τῆδε κάκεισε τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πλανώμενος, εἰς μνήμην ἀφικόμην Σωκράτους. Il periodo così stampato è del tutto insensato; sulla giusta linea s'era messo il Boissonade, che aveva proposto ἐπ' ἑμαυτοῦ (cfr. *LSJ* s. v. ἐπὶ A I 2 c); tale correzione andrà accolta e dopo ἐπ' ἑμαυτοῦ bisognerà porre un'interpunzione leggera e intendere ἐμπορεύομαι come verbo transitivo avente per oggetti ἄλση e δένδρα.⁶ A φέρων andrà attribuito un significato intransitivo e andrà congiunto con ἐμπορεύομαι, di cui sarà un rafforzativo (cfr. *LSJ* s. v. φέρω X 2; Herod. 8,87,2; Polyb. 1,17,8).

P. 24,54–55A.: πλάτανος δὲ καὶ δένδρον παραπεφύκει, καὶ τὴν σκιὰν αὐτοῖς ἀπετέλουν. Il riferimento è alla celeberrima scena iniziale del *Phaedrus*; δένδρον da solo non credo possa stare, poiché anche la πλάτανος è un

⁶ Cfr. *VT Gen.* 34,21: Οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὗτοι εἰρωνικοί εἰσιν μεθ' ἡμῶν οἰκείτωσαν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐμπορεύεσθωσαν αὐτήν.

δένδρον. Platone parla d'una ἄγνος; forse πλάτανος δὲ καὶ <ἄλλο> δένδρον παραπεφύκει?

P. 26,89–90A.: μὴ τοι λόγος ὡς λευκὸν ὑπάρχον τὸ ρόδον τὴν νῦν ιδέα ἐντεῦθεν προσέλαβεν. Forse ἦν τοι λόγος?

P. 34,25–30A.: οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐτοίμως οὐ πόδας κινεῖν, οὐ χεῖρας εἰς δέον ἐκτείνειν, οὐ καλάμοις ἐμπνεῖν, οὐκ αὐλοὺς ἐναρμόζεσθαι. καὶ καθεύδειν ἔδει καὶ δι' ἡμέρας, ἐγκαταδύντα τοῖς θρέμμασι, καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐρίοις παραμυθούμενον, οὐδὲν δὲ Μούσης ἠκούετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ χελιδῶν ἢ λάλος ἐκάθευδεν, οἶμαι. Non ritengo possibile l'uso di παραμυθούμενον senza un complemento oggetto. Si integri παραμυθούμενον <ἐμαυτόν> (a parlare è infatti un pastore che sta parlando di se stesso): cfr. 36,53A.; 39,18A.; ib. 28A.; ib. 32A.; 41, 58A.; 42,5–6A.; 46,15A.; 73,341A.; 77,447A.

P. 39,26–40,34A.: ἐπέκειτο γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὸς ζημίαν φέρουσά τι καινότερον. καὶ "δεῖ μοι –φησὶν– ἐσθῆτος παραμυθουμένης τὴν ὥραν." παρέσχον (ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἠβουλόμην). ἢ δὲ πάλιν ἦν γυνή, πάλιν τὴν ζημίαν ἐπέκτεινε. καὶ ἦδε φησὶν "ἢ τοῦ δεῖνος κόσμῳ περιλάμπει χρυσῶ" καὶ "δεῖ με τῶν παραπλησίων τυχεῖν" ἐγὼ δὲ πρὸς ταύτην "μὴ καὶ τοῦτο, γύναι, παραμυθεῖται τὴν ὥραν;" εἰ δὲ παρεῖδον αἰτοῦσαν "ἄτιμος ἐγώ" πολλάκις ἐβόα, καὶ "λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐμοὶ παρὰ σοῦ" καὶ ἦν ἀνάγκη καὶ δι' ἡμέρας ζυγομαχεῖν. Siamo all'interno della ἠθοποιία ἐμπόρου θαλαττίου, il quale qui lamenta la prodigalità della moglie, che gli fa sempre spendere tutto quello che lui ha guadagnato durante i viaggi per mare. Ha creato problemi ἦδε, che Mai stampava ἢ δέ, Garzya-Loenertz ἢ δέ. Forse bisogna scrivere καὶ ἦδη φησὶν: ἦδη enfatizzerebbe così il breve intervallo di tempo trascorso rispetto alle precedenti richieste (per un avverbio di tempo cui segue immediatamente un *verbum dicendi* cfr. *infra* l. 33 πολλάκις ἐβόα). Inoltre, non mi pare sensato λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐμοὶ παρὰ σοῦ; già Boissonade aveva avvertito la difficoltà e aveva proposto λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ παρὰ σοῦ. Io propongo λόγος οὐδεὶς ἐμοῦ παρὰ σοί, ipotizzando che siano state invertite le desinenze del genitivo e del dativo. In effetti, un dativo pare proprio necessario: cfr. p. 44,47–48A. (ἐκείνου καὶ θεῶν ἦττητο ὄψις παρ' ἐμοί); 45,57–58A. (καὶ κόσμου μοι λόγος ὑπῆρχεν οὐδεὶς).

P. 46,9–15A.: εἶθε τοῦτο συνήβη πρὸ τῆς ἡμῶν πρεσβείας τὸ θήραμα. νῦν δὲ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀτυχία καὶ λόγοι. Ὁ δὲ σοφὸς οὐκ ἔπεισεν Ὀδυσσεύς. Αἴας ὑπερώφη μετὰ τοῦ γένους καὶ τοῦ Διός. ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτης ἐγώ (οὐ γὰρ ἔχω λέγειν διδάσκαλος) ἐπὶ τούτοις εἰπεῖν οὐδὲν ἔσχον πιθανόν, οὐ πολιάν, οὐ λόγους, οὐ δάκρυα. Siamo qui all'interno della ἠθοποιία Φοίνικος, il quale lamenta l'inutilità del tentativo, fatto da lui Aiace e Odisseo, di persuadere Achille a tornare in battaglia. Poco chiaro è λόγοι; forse ψόγοι? Inoltre, del tutto intol-

lerabile mi pare εἶπειν, poiché la *πολιά* e i *δάκρυα* non possono in alcun modo riferirglisi; credo dunque che εἶπειν vada espunto.

P. 50,8–51,15A.: Ἄλλοι μὲν ἄλλα ὁρώντων, καὶ εἴ γε βούλοιντο λέγοιεν, οἱ μὲν Αἰγύπτου πυραμίδας οἷα δὴ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἀδόμενα, ὁ δὲ τις ἐπιδημῶν Βαβυλῶνι Βῆλ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἴδοι καὶ ἕτερον ἐφ' ἑτέρῳ ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄλλῳ πύργους ὀκτώ. ὁμῶς δὲ παραλαβέτω τὸν Ἥφαιστον καὶ θεῶν οἴκουσ ἀὐτῷ παρεχέτω δημιουργεῖν, τοὺς "Ἥφαιστος ἐποίησε ἰδυίησι πρᾶπιδεσσι", καὶ "ἀμφιγύην" εἶναι λεγέτω τὸν αὐτὸν θεόν, μόγων ἀεὶ καὶ προσεδρείας τὴν αὐτοῦ τέχνην δεομένην εἰδῶς. È questo l'inizio della ἔκφρασις ὠρολογίου e Procopio contrappone le meraviglie vedute e descritte da altri a quella che sta per descrivere lui ora. Amato accetta qui ὁμῶς di Diels per ὁμῶς del *Vaticanus*, mentre Boissonade aveva proposto ἄλλος. Ecco la traduzione di Diels: "Mag der eine dies, der andere jenes Wunder betrachten und, wenn er Lust hat, beschreiben: die einen Ägyptens Pyramiden, wie ja die ägyptischen Wunder gepriesen zu werden pflegen: ein anderer mag bei seinem Aufenthalt in Babylon den Tempel des Bal Zeus und einen Turm über den andern acht Stockwerk hoch geschichtet in Augenschein nehmen. Ebenso mag er Hephaistos heranziehen und ihm Gelegenheit geben, die Götterpaläste zu errichten..." Eppure a me pare che παραλαβέτω debba avere un soggetto diverso da quelli presenti nel periodo che termina con ὀκτώ; in considerazione di questo, fra la congettura di Diels e quella di Boissonade, quella del filologo francese mi pare senza dubbio migliore. Io credo tuttavia che esista una soluzione ancora migliore, correggere cioè ὁμῶς in Ὅμηρος: in effetti, come già Diels e Amato hanno ben riconosciuto, Procopio allude qui a dei passi omerici, nei quali si attribuisce a Efesto la costruzione delle case degli dèi (*Il.* 1,608; 20,10–12⁷). Sarà dunque proprio Ὅμηρος il termine da restaurare (cfr. *infra* *Il.* 23–24: Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μῦθος τε ἦν ἐμοὶ καὶ λόγος ἐδόκει, καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐτύφα τῇ τέχνῃ λέγων, parole che si riferiscono proprio al passo che inizia dopo ὀκτώ).

P. 51,23–24A.: Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν μῦθος τε ἦν ἐμοὶ καὶ λόγος ἐδόκει, καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐτύφα τῇ τέχνῃ λέγων ἐπ' ἀδείας ἃ μήτε ἦν μήτ' ἐγένετο πώποτε. Diels proponeva dubitativamente τρυφᾶν τῇ τέχνῃ. Certo, un infinito che si leghi a ἐδόκει sarebbe più elegante dell'imperfetto dei manoscritti; in questo caso, mi pare, la paleografia suggerirebbe piuttosto ἐντρυφᾶν. Nessuna di queste due congetture dovrebbe tuttavia essere accolta a testo.

⁷ Bene ha fatto Amato a dire esplicitamente che *Od.* 7,92, richiamato dal Diels, non ha nulla a che vedere col nostro passo, il quale presuppone soltanto i due passi iliadici citati. Diels, che non aveva individuato il secondo, era ricorso al passo di *Od.*, ma a torto.

P. 52,27–34A.: νικᾶ γὰρ λόγον ἢ θεὰ ἀμηχανοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ πρὸς ὅτι δέοι φερομένη ἐς πάντα· μεταπηδᾶ γὰρ ἄνω καὶ κάτω καὶ πάντα βλέπει ἐθέλει, εἶτα θάπτον ἤπερ ἔδει μεθισταμένη τῆς ἐφ' ἐκάστω τοιούτων ἀκριβείας ἐκπίπτει· οἶδα τοῦτο παθών. οὔτε γὰρ τοῖς πρώτοις ἐνεκαρτέρουν ἐπιθυμία τῶν ἄλλων, τά τε δεύτερα πρὶν ἔχειν ὡς ἔδει, ἐπὶ θεῶν ἀνεχώρουν ἑτέραν. καὶ ἦσαν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλιγμοί. La vista di Procopio saltava da una parte all'altra dell'orologio, senza che egli riuscisse a darle un ordine. Così Diels traduce la seconda parte del brano: "Ich weiss das aus eigener Erfahrung. Ich blieb nicht bei dem ersten stehen, weil es mich gelüstete, das übrige zu betrachten und, ehe ich das zweite gehörig begriffen hatte, ging ich zur weiteren Betrachtung über. Da wirbelten mir die Augen". Come possa ἀνεχώρουν significare "übergehen", non riesco a capire. Tuttavia, il significato richiesto dal contesto è proprio quello di "übergehen", non quello di ἀναχωρεῖν. Si legga ἐπὶ θεῶν ἐχώρουν: la genesi dell'errore è assai semplice, se noi supponiamo che –αν di θεῶν abbia prodotto per geminazione quello di ἀνεχώρουν.

P. 53,41–44A.: ὁ μαρμάρων πτυχίς τῶν κιόνων τὰ μέσα συνέχουσα, ὀξέων πασσάλων αὐτοῖς ἐμπεπηγῶτων σιδήρου, κώλυμα τοῦτο τῶν εἶ τις προπετῆς καὶ ὑπερβῆναι φιλονεικεῖ. L'articolo ὁ non compare nell'edizione di Diels; se esso deve comparire, bisognerà comunque restaurare la forma ἡ, poiché πτυχίς non può certo essere maschile. Cosa significhi τῶν εἶ τις non riesco a intendere. Propongo κώλυμα τελειότατον εἶ τις...

P. 55,78–80A.: χρυσᾶ ἐλάφω ἐπεφύκει τὰ κέρα, καὶ γέγονεν Ἡρακλεῖ, ἀλλὰ μὴν ὄρνιθες ἐλύπουν τὴν καρδίαν καὶ ἔργον ἦσαν τοῦ τόξου. Procopio sta qui parlando delle imprese di Ercole, in particolare della cattura della cerva e dell'uccisione degli uccelli di Stinfalo. Ecco la traduzione di Diels: "*Einem Hirschen wuchs ein goldnes Geweih. Auch dies ward Herakles zur Beute. Vögel wollten nun gar sein Herz betrüben. Sie wurden seines Bogens Beute*". Può γέγονεν Ἡρακλεῖ significare "ward Herakles zur Beute"? Se ne può almeno dubitare, ma trovare un termine da integrare dopo γέγονεν non è semplice; viene in mente θήρα ("preda", termine caro a Procopio), perfetto sia stilisticamente sia paleograficamente, ma che introduce uno sgradevole (quantunque non impossibile) iato. Forse, tale termine andrebbe integrato prima di γέγονεν. Sospetti gravi li crea anche καρδίαν, poiché Ercole non era in alcun modo disturbato dagli uccelli di Stinfalo, ma fu lui che li andò a cercare per ucciderli. Congetturo ὄρνιθες ἐλύπουν τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν καὶ ἔργον. Stinfalo era in Arcadia e gli uccelli erano ἀνδροφάγοι (cfr. Paus. 8,22,4). Cfr. *infra* l. 82 Αὐγείαν κόπρος ἐλύπει (anche qui non era Ercole direttamente a subire la λύπη).

P. 58,137–139A.: Οϊκέτης δέ τις ἀκούσας λουτροῦ φέρει παρασκευὴν τῷ δεσπότη, ὡς εἰκός, ἤδη τῶν ὄψων ἡτοιμασμένων. ἃ δὴ φέρων ἄλλος ἐξ ἀγορᾶς ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας ἐπείγεται. Già Diels osservava la difficoltà di ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας (perché inserire la menzione del mattino nella descrizione d'una scena serale?) e suggeriva ἀρχομένης ἡμέρας <ἐώνημένα>. Forse è più semplice scrivere ἀρχομένης ἐσπέρας.

P. 66,131–133A.: Ἐταῖρος δέ τις αὐτοῦ προνοῶν καὶ τὸν ἐκ τοῦ διαστήναι τὸν δεσπότην κίνδυνον αὐτῷ ὑφορώμενος καὶ μᾶλλον, εἴ τι δυσχερὲς ἐφιζάνον ἐκ τῆς τούτου ῥαθυμίας ἀποσκεδάσει τὸν ὕπνον. Per intendere la descrizione è sempre opportuno avere sotto gli occhi la *Tafel* XI dell'edizione del Friedländer. Qui si sta parlando di due servitori di Teseo; quest'ultimo si è addormentato e anche il servo che dovrebbe sorvegliare, affinché non accada nulla di sgradevole durante il sonno del padrone, è caduto preda del sonno. Dunque un suo ἑταῖρος è preoccupato e τὸν ἐκ τοῦ διαστήναι τὸν δεσπότην κίνδυνον αὐτῷ ὑφορώμενος. Difficile è intendere διαστήναι. Friedländer traduce: "Einer seiner Gefährten denkt fürsorglich an ihn, er sieht die Gefahr, die ihm von der Ungnade des Herrn droht, und will ihm den Schlaf verscheuchen". A me sembra invece che la preoccupazione dell' ἑταῖρος sia che Teseo si svegli, tanto più se questo dovesse avvenire a causa della ῥαθυμία del servo che si è addormentato. Che διαστήναι vada emendato in δια<να>στήναι ("alzarsi", "svegliarsi")?

P. 67,170–172A.: Ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο πέπονθα; τῇ τοῦ ζωγράφου τέχνη πεπλάνημαι καὶ ζῆν ταῦτα⁸ νενόμικα καὶ λανθάνειν τὴν θέαν, ὅτι πέφυκε γράμματα. Mi pare che bisogni leggere καὶ λανθάνει τὴν θέαν, che è azione parallela a quella espressa da νενόμικα, non da esso dipendente.

P. 71,268–272A.: τοιγαροῦν καὶ διαβαίνει τοῖς ποσὶν ἐδραΐαν βάσιν διδοὺς τῇ πληγῇ καὶ ὡσπερ τι θηρίον τὴν ἀσελγῆ λογιζόμενος, τὰς μὲν κύνας παρ' αὐτὴν λεάνας χειρὶ παρασοβεῖ καὶ ἐφέλκεται, δεξιᾷ δὲ πρὸς τοῦπίσω διανιστάμενος, κατὰ νότου τείνας τὸ ῥόπαλον, ὅλω σώματι πρὸς τὴν πληγὴν καταφέρεται. È qui descritta la crudelissima pena inflitta alla serva che aveva aiutato Fedra a rivelare il proprio amore per Ippolito. Non intendo λεάνας e ancor meno la spiegazione del Friedländer (p. 61), per cui qui starebbe bene il verbo λεαίνειν.⁹ Forse λειᾷ χειρὶ παρασοβεῖ καὶ ἐφέλκεται?

⁸ Non credo si debba accogliere, come invece ha fatto Amato, la congettura ταῦτά (R. Cantarella, *RFIC* 68 [1941] 62) in luogo di ταῦτα.

⁹ Così traduce Friedländer: "Wie gegen ein Stück Wild hetzt und zerrt er die Hunde gegen das Weih, indem er sie mit der Hand anleitet". E commenta: "παρασοβεῖ καὶ ἐφέλκεται geht auf das verschiedene Betragen der Hunde (§ 25), das erste auf den angriffslustigen, das zweite auf

P. 72,304–307A.: ἡ πού με οἶεσθε τοὺς οἰκέτας λέγειν τοὺς ὀπισθεν ἀνέχοντας τὰ δοράτια, ὧν τοὺς ἵππους ἢ τέχνη δι' Ἰππολύτου καὶ Δάφνης καλύψασα, τοῖς ἰχνίοις μελαινομένοις τὸν ἕνα μόνον ἐπέδειξε. È assolutamente incomprensibile τοῖς ἰχνίοις; il passo è ben tradotto dal Friedländer: "Ihr glaubt wohl, dass ich die Diener meine, die im Hintergrunde die Jagdspiesse in die Höhe halten. Ihre Pferde hat die Kunst durch Hippolytos und Daphne verdeckt und lässt nur ein einziges mit beschatteten Schenkeln sehen". Ma come può ἰχνίον significare "Schenkel"? Si legga τοῖς ἰσχίοις μελαινομένοις τὸν ἕνα μόνον ἐπέδειξε (cfr. e. g. Pl. *Phaedr.* 254c).

P. 73,343–346A.: οὐπω γὰρ πρὸς ἄκραν ἀναδραμόντες, ἀλλ' ἀνιόντες ἔτι κατὰ μικρὸν ἀναφαίνονται, εἰς ὀμφαλὸν ἔτι καὶ λαγόνα κρυπτόμενοι· καὶ ὅσον ἦσαν ὁδοῦ, τοσοῦτον λείπει πρὸς θέαν τοῦ σώματος. Procopio sta qui parlando di un gruppo di persone poste talmente in alto nella pittura, che egli sta descrivendo, che una parte del loro corpo ne è rimasta fuori. Credo si debba leggere καὶ ὅσον ἦσαν ὁδοῦ: il verbo è cioè εἶμι, non εἰμί (cfr. *LSJ* s. v. εἶμι II 2).

P. 81,18–21A.: ὅλη δὲ πόλις ἀνθ' ὧν εἶ πάσχει πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν κινεῖται δικαίαν, καὶ καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρα λέγειν οὐχ ἱκανὸν ἡγουμένη τὸν χρόνον, κοινῇ πάντες ψήφω τῇ τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀρκοῦνται φωνῇ. È ovvio che bisogna integrare καὶ <τῷ> καθ' ἕκαστον ἄνδρα λέγειν.

P. 94,305–308A.: αἱ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων γυναῖκες, ὄνειδος ἀναγκαῖον λαχοῦσαι τὸν βίον, οὐδὲ τὸ δυστυχεῖν ἐπ' ἀδείας ἐκέκτηντο, ἀλλ' ὄνιον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν τοῦ σώματος ὕβριν, καὶ τοῦ μὴ σωφρονεῖν μισθὸς κατεβάλλετο. Procopio sta qui lamentando la pressione fiscale praticata dai predecessori dell'imperatore Anastasio: nemmeno le prostitute potevano sfuggirvi! ἀδείας non è impossibile, ma più esatto sarebbe ἀτελείας (cfr. p. 95,338–339A.).

P. 96,351–357A.: Ἐτέρα δέ τις παντελῶς πρὸς τὸναντίον ἀπένευσε θεά. Non è accettabile l'aoristo ἀπένευσε. Si corregga ἀπένευε (cfr. tutti gli imperfetti che circondano il nostro passo).

P. 97,373.: αὕτη τῶν ὑδάτων ἐνδεία μετὰ τῶν οἰκητόρων καὶ τοὺς πανταχόθεν ὄντας ἐλύπει. Procopio sta qui probabilmente parlando della città di Ierapoli di Siria, la quale era povera d'acqua e invece ricca di visitatori, finché Anastasio non fece costruire un acquedotto. L'intollerabile ὄντας è stato corretto in <παρ>όντας da Brinkmann; io suggerisco <ἐλθ>όντας.

P. 98,404–407A.: τοῦτον ἢ θάλαττα κατὰ νότου προσβαλοῦσα καὶ γυμνοῦσα κατ' ὀλίγον τῶν προβλημάτων, πλησίον ἤδη γενομένη, διέσειέ τε

den zurückbleibenden. Der ist also an der Leine, und wenn dieser, dann wohl auch der andere. λαίπειν wird also ausdrücken, dass der Diener sie seinem Willen gefügig macht."

καὶ μικροῦ δεῖν καθεῖλεν εἰς ἔδαφος. Procopio sta qui parlando della torre di Faro presso Alessandria d'Egitto, la quale giaceva in cattive condizioni prima che Anastasio la restaurasse. È assolutamente necessario emendare προσβαλοῦσα in προσβάλλ<λ>ουσα, poiché l'azione delle onde è continuata nel tempo, come fanno ben intendere sia il presente γυμνοῦσα sia κατ' ὀλίγον; cfr. anche p. 23,29–31A.; p. 73,340–341A. (τοῖς κλάδοις καὶ τῇ σκιᾷ παραμυθεῖται τὸν ταῖς ἀκτῖσι βαλλόμενον).

P. 110, Στίχων Ὀμηρικῶν μεταφράσεις, fr. 2A:¹⁰ Ποθῶ πολέμιον ἢ βαλεῖν ἢ πεσεῖν ἐπειγόμενον, ναὶ μὰ τὴν Μοῖραν, ἣν καὶ φεύγων πάντως ἀλώσομαι. δῶμεν γὰρ ὡς οὐ δεῖ λαμπρὸν γενέσθαι μαχόμενον· οὐκ ἐνοχλήσει γῆρας ἀπειθῆ; δραπετήν μάχης ἀθάνατον οὐκ οἶδα γενόμενον. A me pare che il periodo δῶμεν γὰρ ὡς οὐ δεῖ λαμπρὸν γενέσθαι μαχόμενον significhi: "Supponiamo che io in battaglia non divenga λαμπρός come dovrei". Se è così, δῶμεν andrà emendato in θῶμεν (cfr. Stephanus, *ThGL* s. v. τίθημι coll. 2171–2172).

P. 114, fr. 4A. (= *Florilegium Marcianum* 168 ~ *Florilegium Ioannis Georgidae monachi* 537 O.¹¹): Ἴοὺ καὶ φεῦ, ὅσα τε δειλοῖσι βροτοῖσι πῆματά τε καὶ πάθη Μοιρῶν φέρουσι ἀμήχανα νήματα. Credo che bisogni emendare βροτοῖσι ῥήματά τε καὶ πάθη, sia perché Ἴοὺ καὶ φεῦ sono espressioni di dolore, che Procopio voleva probabilmente accostare ad altre espressioni di dolore causate agli uomini dai Μοιρῶν νήματα (cfr. ὅσα τε), sia perché l'espressione πῆματά τε καὶ πάθη risulta davvero sovraccarica. Cfr. inoltre il fr. 6A.: Ὅτε καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἢ διάνοια πρὸς οἶκτον ὀρᾷ ἰκετείας φθέγγεται ῥήματα. Al termine πάθη darei qui il significato di "modo di esprimersi patetico" (cfr. *LSJ* s. v. πάθος V).¹²

P. 116, fr. 13A. (= *Florilegium Marcianum* 270 a O.): Ὀφθαλμῶν βολαὶ ψυχῆς ἦθος εὐφραίνουσιν. Esercitare l'arte congetturale su frammenti brevi e privi di contesto è sempre difficile. Tuttavia sarebbe assai attraente correggere il debole εὐφραίνουσιν in ἐμφραίνουσιν (cfr. e. g. Plut. *Cat.* 7 οἱ τῷ λόγῳ πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ προσώπῳ, καθάπερ ἔνιοι νομίζουσι, τῶν ἀνθρώπων φαμὲν ἐμφραίνεσθαι τὸ ἦθος).

¹⁰ La μετάφρασις si riferisce a *Il.* 12,322–8: cfr. H. Rabe, "Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften", *RhM* n. F. 63 (1908) 515–6, nota 2.

¹¹ P. Odorico, *Il prato e l'ape. Il sapere sentenzioso del monaco Giovanni*, Wien 1986. Alcuni fragmenta incertae sedis sono stati verisimilmente attribuiti, *anna Monodia Antiochiae* da A. Corcella, cfr. p. XVIII, n. 29 dell' ed Amato.

¹² Si osservi la variante ὀνόματα (per πῆματα) del *Flor. Marc.*: il copista s'è probabilmente accorto (a causa di ὅσα τε) che occorre qualcosa che indicasse altre espressioni di dolore, quali appunto ἰού e φεῦ.

P. 120, fr. 33A (= *Suid.* α 4378, 2A.¹³): Τινὸς τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐπάλλξεσιν ἀμυνομένων εὐστοχώτατα ἀφιέντος τὸν ἄτρακτον ἀνήρηται βλαβεῖς. L'azione del morire ferito è successiva a quella del lancio dell' ἄτρακτος e ἀφιέντος andrà dunque corretto in ἀφέντος.

P. 121, fr. 35A. (= *Suid.* π 715,3–4A.): Κατὰ δὴ τινα προφορὰν ἀσθέντα καὶ παρωδηθέντα ἢ περὶ ταῦτα μουσομανία τοῖς ἄστροις ἐπέψαυε. Sembra che μουσομανία sia il soggetto e le cose ἀσθέντα καὶ παρωδηθέντα il complemento oggetto; non capisco però ἐπέψαυε. Che sia una corruzione di ἐπέγραψε? Cfr. p. 48,31–32A. (καὶ τοῖς τοῦ παιδὸς ἐπεγραφόμεν καλοῖς); ib. 36A. (ἐγὼ καὶ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἐπεγραφόμεν). In questo modo ἄστρον avrebbe il significato di "cosa, opera sublime, brillante" (cfr. *LSJ* s. v. ἄστρον II) e il testo potrebbe essere così inteso: "queste (composizioni),¹⁴ cantate e parodiate in una certa recitazione, l'ammirazione entusiastica,¹⁵ che circonda questo tipo di produzione letteraria, le ha catalogate fra le cose più sublimi".

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¹³ *Suidae lexicon* ed. A. Adler, voll. 5, Lipsiae 1928–1938.

¹⁴ È il complemento oggetto.

¹⁵ È il soggetto.

DECUS ITALIAE VIRGO
VIRGIL'S CAMILLA AND THE FORMATION OF *ROMANITAS*

ELINA PYY

Introduction

In this paper I will discuss the representation of Camilla, a Volscian warrior- maiden who takes part in the war between Aeneas' men and the Italians in the later part of the *Aeneid*. Camilla is introduced to the reader for the first time at the end of Book 7, when she brings her Volscan cavalry to fight on the Italian side against the Trojan refugees. Virgil uses Camilla to close the catalogue of Turnus' allies, and portrays her as a stunning and astonishing warrior-queen, famous for her speed and marvelled at by Italian mothers and youths alike.¹ After her first appearance, Camilla disappears from the narrative, and does not show up again until the Book 11, in which she is a crucial character. The author depicts Camilla as conceiving the battle plan with Turnus, and describes in detail her skilful and fearless behaviour in battle.² The book is brought to an end with Camilla's fall, and the subsequent chaos and retreat of the Italian forces.³

Camilla's character is not an easily categorisable one. Indeed, her personage includes various contradictory and ambiguous qualities that are likely to evoke confusion. One of these is her relationship with her people and the tension between her two roles – a solitary child of nature and a respectable war-commander. In Book 11, Diana narrates the story of Camilla's childhood, identifying her as the only child of King Metabus, an exiled tyrant of the ancient town of Privernum. According to the *dea*, after Metabus had fled from the city with baby Camilla,

¹ Verg. *Aen.* 7,803–17.

² Verg. *Aen.* 11,498–521; 11,648–724.

³ Verg. *Aen.* 11,768–915.

he isolated himself from human society and settled in the wilderness with his daughter, whom he had dedicated to Diana. Virgil shows Camilla adopting the roles of huntress and warrior in her early childhood. Her lifestyle appears savage and uncivilized. She is said to have been nurtured with the milk of wild horses, and Virgil mentions no contact with surrounding civilizations.⁴

There is an intriguing contrast between Camilla's appearance in the story of her childhood and the role she adopts when entering the war as commander of the Volscian cavalry. Although Virgil explicitly mentions in 11,568–572 that Camilla was raised in the wilderness, as no city welcomed Metabus and his daughter, at the end of Book 7 she is depicted as sovereign leader of the Volscian troops, and as a warrior-queen highly identified with her people. Without further explanation, a savage hermit and daughter of a hated tyrant is transformed into a plenipotentiary member of society and the self-evident leader of her people.

The relationship between Camilla and the Volsci is not the only controversial quality of the character. A further confusing issue is the warrior-queen's ambiguous gender-identity. In his description of Camilla, Virgil utilises Greco-Roman amazon myths, and the fascinating archetype of *bellatrix virgo*, perpetually emphasising the tension caused by the mingling of gender roles. Camilla's femininity is alternately stressed and concealed, and her efforts to adopt the male role of a warrior are described as an exhausting, ongoing personal battle. The warrior-maiden is alternatively depicted as proudly highlighting her gender, while at other times ashamed of womanhood that exposes her to ridicule.⁵ Gender, as both an essentialist and constructivist issue, is highlighted by Camilla's inner struggle with her masculine and feminine characteristics. Besides being a merciless warrior, she is depicted as a desirable daughter-in-law for Etruscan mothers.⁶ Also, after detailing her disinclination for pursuits such as spinning and weaving, Virgil states that Camilla's feminine interest in luxurious spoils of war is her fatal weakness.⁷ Altogether, Camilla's controversial personage, due both to her ethnic identification and her gender identity, make her one of the most ambiguous characters in Virgil's epic.

In this paper, I attempt to study Camilla focusing on the two contentious aspects of her nature mentioned above, and in the context of Roman identity and

⁴ For the story in its entirety, see Verg. *Aen.* 11,532–96.

⁵ See Verg. *Aen.* 11,686–89; 11,705–11.

⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 11,581–84.

⁷ Verg. *Aen.* 7,805–6; 11,780–82.

the value system of the Augustan era. The role of Camilla has not been one of the more popular themes pertaining to the study of the *Aeneid*, and, to my knowledge, little comprehensive analysis exists about the significance of the character. It is somewhat surprising that Camilla's role and purpose in Virgil's epic has aroused comparatively little interest among classical scholars. In studies concerning the *Aeneid* and its versatile personages, the warrior-maiden has been largely overshadowed by other characters. The probable reason for this may be precisely that the ambiguous and contradictory nature of Camilla makes her difficult to understand and even more challenging to define and place in the overall composition of epic tradition.

Nevertheless, Camilla's complexity and obscurity is the very reason further study is worthwhile. Since the character can be considered confusing, provocative, and even unnecessary to the basic storyline of the *Aeneid*, there must be a valid reason why the author decided to introduce her to his contemporary Roman audience. Understanding why Virgil included the Italian warrior-queen in his patriotic epic masterpiece could provide new insight into the values and intentions of the author, and help us to further comprehend the social background that the *Aeneid* reflects.

I do not intend to scrutinize the character of Camilla exclusively here. I will, for the most part, bypass discussion about the origins of the Virgilian Camilla-story and its mythological and cultic connections, for both of these themes have been perceptively examined before.⁸ My emphasis will be on Camilla's ethnicity, her social characteristics and her connection to the Roman historical and political issues reflected in the *Aeneid*. The terms "social" and "political" are somewhat problematic, for their meaning may vary greatly according to the

⁸ The role of Diana in the Camilla-story and the relationship between the *dea* and her protégée has been thoroughly examined by G. Arrigoni in her monography *Camilla, amazzone e sacerdotessa di Diana*, Milano 1982. In her work, Arrigoni has also scrutinized the possible background and historicity of the Diana-cult in the *Aeneid*. Camilla's devotion to religion from her childhood onwards and her relation to Diana has been shortly discussed by O. Schönberger – E. Cantarella – M. Wilhelm: O. Schönberger, "Camilla", *A&A* 12 (1966) 180–8; E. Cantarella, *Passato prossimo: Donne romane da Tacita a Sulpicia*, Milano 1996; M. Wilhelm, "Venus, Diana, Dido and Camilla in the Aeneid", *Vergilius* 33 (1987) 43–8. The formation of the Camilla tale has been comprehensively discussed by N. Horsfall, who considers the character Virgil's invention: N. Horsfall, "Camilla, o i limiti dell'invenzione", *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 31–51. Another perspective on the formation of the story, its Volscian origins and later Romanisation can be found in Arrigoni (above) 65–115. Other useful general studies on the character of Camilla, see e.g. T. Köves-Zulauf, "Camilla", *Gymnasium* 85 (1978) 182–205 and 408–36; A. Brill, *Die Gestalt der Camilla bei Vergil*, Diss. Heidelberg 1972.

discussion and the cultural context. In the Roman society of the Augustan era, the concepts of political, social, military and cultic overlapped significantly, and it is therefore worthwhile to define more clearly the meaning of these terms. In this paper, I use these terms in order to refer to activity and interest shown by an individual towards the larger community, its functions and development. In the case of Camilla, the social and the political are rather naturally placed in context of warfare, for that is the channel through which her interest and activity in the common cause are expressed. Participation in military campaigns and the effort to impact on the development of the community are therefore the main factors that define my perception of these terms.

I intend to examine how Virgil represents Camilla's social consciousness and ethnic identity. What are Camilla's motives for participating in war against the Trojan exiles? What does her identification as a Volscian or an Italian warrior-queen signify? What is her contribution to the main theme of the *Aeneid*, that of the formation of Rome and Roman identity? These are questions that have not been comprehensively studied before and by putting them under scrutiny, I wish to illuminate the obscure character of Camilla as well as focus on the means through which Virgil dealt with the Roman value system and identity.

When studying the value aspects of the narrative and the representations of epic heroism, I will emphasise a gender-sensitive point of view. Camilla's character offers an excellent opportunity to examine how the roles of men and women are defined in Virgil's epic. What opportunities for heroic action are available for women or men? How do male and female heroisms complement each other in Virgil's narrative? What kind of message does the representation of epic heroism offer to Virgil's contemporary Roman audience? These questions, when studied in respect to Roman history and political environment, are likely to reveal some intriguing qualities about the concept of gender in Augustan Rome and its manifestation in epic narrative.

From private to political: Camilla's social transition

Let me first discuss briefly the characteristics of Camilla. Huntress of Diana, solitary inhabitant of the woods, outsider to civilization and yet a queen-like warrior- maiden – historians and philologists have analysed Camilla's personality from multiple perspectives without achieving unanimity. She has been accused of vanity and violence and yet admired for her ferocity and courage. Her solitary and quiet way of life and her furious love of war have been a combination too com-

plex for many. Very often scholars have tried to compare her to other characters of the *Aeneid* – Dido and Turnus in particular – and thus attempted to understand her multi-faceted nature.⁹

These kinds of comparisons, however, seem forced and unfruitful. Instead of trying to fit her into predefined models, one should accept that Camilla really is an unprecedented character, not only in the *Aeneid*, but to epic as a whole. Her personage is unique in nature, and comparisons to other characters only seem to increase these difficulties. T. Becker notes perceptively that, in a way, Camilla's contradictory nature expresses the ambiguity of the *Aeneid* itself, and her character reflects the uneasiness of Virgil's epic.¹⁰ As with life itself, poetry is not without complication, and personages are not one-dimensional. Camilla's incongruity mimics Virgilian epic, which in turn mimics the complexity of life. She is purposefully troublesome to understand, and remains so. If anything, her paradoxical nature increases her fascination.

In earlier studies, Camilla has almost unanimously been portrayed as a highly apolitical character. The idea of her as a solitary child of nature, rejecting civilisation runs very deep. However, this apolitical image is not something Virgil makes explicit. Instead, this particular view of Camilla seems to be based mainly on interpretations made by scholars in the 1950's and 1960's that have been left unquestioned even in most of more recent studies.¹¹

It is probable that the idea of Camilla as uncivilised and indifferent towards society stems largely from her close relationship with Diana. After all, Virgil's Diana is a rather non-political *dea*, the mistress of wilderness and nature, who has little to do with conflicts of human beings. In Book 11, Diana expresses her

⁹ Comparisons made between Camilla and Dido, see, e.g., J. Reed, *Virgil's gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*, Princeton 2007, 83–4; and between Camilla and Turnus, S. Small, "Virgil, Dante and Camilla" *CJ* 54 (1958/59) 295–301, p. 298 in particular.

¹⁰ T. Becker, "Ambiguity and the female warrior: Vergil's Camilla", *Electronic Antiquity* 4:1 (1997) 1–12. On Camilla's contradictory nature, p. 1–2 in particular.

¹¹ This kind of standpoint is prominent in studies of e.g. Small (above n. 9) and T. Rosenmeyer, "Virgil and Heroism: Aeneid XI", *CJ* 55 (1960) 159–64. Small has been the most abrupt by stating that Camilla inherited from her father, the expelled tyrant Metabus, a complete inability to adapt to society. According to Small, Camilla rejects civilisation because she is repulsed by interaction with other people and male domination over females, which was intrinsic to any society. Becker, too, has stated that by rejecting traditional female duties, such as wool-making, Camilla sets herself outside the boundaries of civilized society. Becker (above n. 10) 5; Small (above n. 9) 296. See also G. West, "Chloereus and Camilla", *Vergilius* 31 (1985) 22–9, p. 25 in particular.

disappointment over Camilla's decision to go to war: *Graditur bellum ad crudele Camilla / o uirgo, et nostris nequiquam cingitur armis* (11,535–536), and *uellem haud correpta fuisset / militia tali conata lacessere Teucros* (11,584–585).¹² The apolitical nature of Diana has often led researchers to the conclusion that, as her devoted worshipper, Camilla could also not be interested in social or political issues.

It must be stressed that this is not the only way of interpreting the above lines. In fact, G. Arrigoni has suggested that the political nature of Camilla is manifested in her decision to take part in war against the wishes of Diana. She changes her role from a *venatrix Dianae* to that of a Volscian warrior-queen, and, therefore, is indeed *politiké*.¹³ I would concur with Arrigoni's interpretation and could indeed take it a little further by suggesting that participation in war against the Trojan exiles is actually a state of transition for Camilla, from apolitical to political. The problem of examining Camilla's socio-political nature hitherto has been the inability to recognise two different phases of her life – phases that actually seem to contradict each other. In her youth, hunting in the wilderness, Camilla indeed isolated herself from civilisation. Gathering her own troops and leading them to battle as an ally of the Latin forces, however, marks the end of this pastoral, peace-loving phase and signals the birth of a new, politically conscious and socially active Camilla.

This change can be observed even in her outer appearance, a matter Virgil depicts vividly and in some detail. When Diana tells the story of Camilla's youth, she describes her as wearing only the skin of a tiger instead of a golden headband and a woollen cloak, the costume suitable for an Italian maiden.¹⁴ However, when Camilla makes her *grande entrée* at the end of Book 7, she is shown to be royal and civilised in every way, a respected commander of Italian cavalry. Her outer appearance strengthens this image, for instead of wearing the fur of a wild animal she is now dressed like a *regina*, with a golden hair buckle and a purple

¹² All quotations from the *Aeneid* are from R. A. B. Mynors' *P. Vergili Maroni Opera*, Oxford 1969.

¹³ Arrigoni (above n. 8) 20. Arrigoni states that Camilla's prohibition against taking part in war is actually rather unique. This feature of the story cannot be identified with Camilla's assumed models in Greek tradition, amazon princesses Penthesileia and Hippolyte. Arrigoni (above n. 8) 102. For a brief summary on Camilla's literary models, see, e.g., Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 11: A Commentary* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 244), Leiden 2003, on 11,535–96. Also, Arrigoni on Camilla in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, Roma 1984.

¹⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 11,576–77: *Pro crinali auro, pro longae tegmine pallae / tigridis exuivae per dorsum a uertice pendent.*

cloak that is, indeed, referred to as royal.¹⁵ Her outfit is, in fact, strikingly similar to that of queen Dido in Book 4.¹⁶ Even Virgil's choice of words in describing Camilla after she enters the war reinforces this transition from her earlier lifestyle. She is no longer represented purely as the virginal huntress of her youth, but as *regina* (11,499; 11,703; 11,801), *domina* (11,805), *bellatrix* (11,805), and *victrix* (11,764). These are all expressions that clearly imply her newly adopted socio-political role.¹⁷

Volscian and Italian: Camilla's ethnic identity

Further to her transformation into a queen and commander, Camilla is depicted as tightly committed to her home region of Italy, and, in a way, even identifiable with it. Turnus, when admiring the warrior-maiden's eagerness for battle, intriguingly calls her *decus Italiae virgo*, "a maiden, pride of Italy" (11,508). Earlier, he enlivens the morale of the soldiers by reminding them they have Camilla on their side.¹⁸ Camilla is thus represented as a guiding star of the Italian forces, necessary to their success and an inspiration to other warriors. She appears as an exemplary leader who somehow seems to incarnate the spirit of the motley group of Italian peoples.

The idea of Camilla as an ethnic symbol has been acknowledged by scholars before. G. West has suggested that Virgil invented Camilla to "symbolise at once the best and worst of primitive Italy". G. Williams, too, has considered Camilla as an ideal Italian who incarnates the counter side of the Trojans.¹⁹ Indeed,

¹⁵ Verg. *Aen.* 7,814–17: *regius ostro / uelet honos leuis umeros, ut fibula crinem / auro internectat, Lyciam ut gerat ipsa pharetram / et pastoraalem praefixa cuspide myrtum.*

¹⁶ Verg. *Aen.* 4,138–39: *pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum, / aurea purpuream subnectit fibula uestem.*

¹⁷ Note also the verb *aduenit*, used to express Camilla's entrance to the scene. On 7,803, Horsfall perceptively notes the term as "good military language". Horsfall also draws attention to the description of Camilla as *proelia uirgo / dura pati*, on 7,806–7. He suggests that, contrary to usual assumptions, *dura* should be understood as referring to the *uirgo* herself, instead of to *proelia*. If so, the description seems significant: as Horsfall notes, *dura* is an adjective *par excellence* of the Italic warrior. Horsfall, *Virgil, Aeneid 7: A Commentary* (Mnemosyne Suppl. 198), Leiden 2000., ad loc.

¹⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 11,432: *est et Volscorum egregia de gente Camilla / agmen agens equitum et florentis aere cateruas.*

¹⁹ West (above n. 11) 22, 25; G. Williams, *Techniques and Ideas in the Aeneid*, Yale 1983, 19.

Camilla's character includes various qualities that, in the minds of Virgil's contemporary Roman readers, could be connected with primitive Italian peoples. Her untameable savagery, her close connection with nature and rustic practice of religion, her violent nature and her battle-endurance could all be considered characteristics that, in the Roman mindset, were more or less attributed to the primitive past of Italy. Camilla's romantic yet controversial role as a female warrior makes her an excellent character through which to articulate the idealised, prejudiced, and patronising views Romans held towards Italy. In a way, she seems to embody Virgil's literary version of the Roman practice of visually presenting defeated peoples and nations through female personifications.

Amongst Italian peoples, there is one group in particular with which Camilla is identified, namely the Volsci. The extent to which Camilla is characterised by Virgil as a representative of her own *gens*, is an interesting and difficult question. According to Arrigoni, the admiration Camilla attains in her first appearance is due primarily to her position as a Volscian queen.²⁰ Even though Arrigoni does not explain her viewpoint further, I find this interpretation very probable and worthy of further discussion. It can be considered significant that within the initial line in which Camilla appears she is described as *Volsca de gente* (7,803). This is the first thing the reader learns about her. Later, in Book 11, her Volscian background is referred to three times, with each occasion emphasising her position as leader of her people.²¹ Moreover, when Diana foresees Camilla's fall in the battle, she determinately promises to claim her body and weapons in order to restore them to her fatherland: *post ego nube caua miserandae corpus et arma / inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam* (11,593–594). Since Camilla's fall takes place by the walls of Laurentum, *patria* must be understood as an indication of a more specific place than Italy as a whole – namely, the Volscian territory from which she had come to war. Throughout the story Virgil makes the effort to remind the reader of Camilla's identification as, not only Italian, but more particularly a Volscian queen and leader.

It is noteworthy that the Volsci were known as an accomplished and resilient warrior people amongst the Italians. Several battles against them during the 4th and 5th centuries B.C. were wearing for Roman forces and severely disrupted Rome's first imperialistic endeavours. Therefore, the fact that Virgil includes the Volsci in his story, through identification with a fierce and resilient warrior-queen, seems a deliberate and significant statement. N. Horsfall has considered Camilla's

²⁰ Arrigoni (above n. 8) 28–29.

²¹ Verg. *Aen.* 11,432; 11,498; 11,800–801.

identification as Volscian natural, and assumed that due to the proximity of the Volscian territory and the long tradition of their military value, it would have been somewhat strange if Virgil had excluded them from his war narrative.²² This conclusion seems well justified. However, it is probable that to Virgil and his contemporary readers, Camilla's ethnic identity had still deeper meaning. The author was undoubtedly well aware of the associations that his mentioning of the Volsci would evoke in his Roman audience. The identification of Camilla as a Volscian instantly implies her magnificence as a warrior and foreshadows the peril she would cause to Aeneas' quest and the formation of Rome. From this point of view, Virgil's choice for Camilla's *gens* seems reasonable. In terms of dangerous enemies, the Volsci must have been one of the best known among Virgil's readers, and thus Camilla's role as a Volscian was an efficient way to remind them of the weary struggle that was required in order to unify Italy under the Roman rule. This is a masterful expression of Virgil's ability to deal with a wide range of Roman history in a subtle and metaphorical way.

As any well-versed Roman would perceive, Camilla's identification as Volscian does not only denote her ferocity, but also, and more crucially, her doom. The warrior queen's ethnic identity seems salient in terms of her tragic death and its metaphorical significance. According to T. Rosenmeyer, the plot of the *Aeneid* as a Roman national epic requires that "the Volsci must be neutralised: Camilla must go".²³ However, I find this idea disputable in so far as it suggests that through Camilla, Virgil attempted to wipe the Volsci off the stage altogether. After all, the emergence of the peoples is an idea of major importance in the *Aeneid*, and it is perceivable that Virgil endeavours to see something beneficial in all the peoples and ethnic groups that ultimately forged Roman society.

I would rather propose that through the death of the warrior-queen Virgil eliminates the Volsci as an independent people and, in a way, renders them harmless. Camilla as a strong leader represents the Volscian, and in a broader sense, Italian, peril and independence that stands in the way of the Roman mission. Her destruction figuratively breaks the spine of the headstrong warrior peoples and makes their assimilation to the Roman nation and subsequent oppression under Roman rule possible. It is noteworthy that Camilla's fall is depicted as her inevitable fate even before the battle has begun. Her death is a preordained destiny, a price that has to be paid for the unified Italy and the establishment of the Roman order. The expansion of the Empire and the assimilation of surrounding peoples

²² Horsfall (above n. 8) 43–4.

²³ Rosenmeyer (above n. 11) 161.

are depicted as resulting in an organised and functional society – first in Aeneas' rule, and ultimately in Augustus' balanced and newly-unified society. The significance of Camilla's character in the formation of Rome and *romanitas* is revealed in this sophisticated metaphorical play. Her importance to the political issues present in the *Aeneid* is highlighted as she forgoes her isolated lifestyle and becomes a social agent and a representative of her people.

Blood-lust, patriotism, personal ambition: Camilla's motives for war

Concerning Camilla's participation in war as a sign of a new, politicised phase in her life, the question remains, what makes her take this crucial step? Why does a Volscan wild child forsake her protected, uncivilised way of life and gather a cavalry of her own in order to support one suitor against another in the betrothal quarrel of Laurentum? What does she fight for?

The usual answer among scholars has emphasised Camilla's uncivilised nature: she goes to war out of pure love of violence. This theory is prominent in older studies that tend to highlight the negative qualities of Camilla's personality: savageness, blood-lust and greed. For example, S. Small has explained Camilla's participation in war by her *amor telorum* (11,583), describing her as "symbolically bound to the spear by Metabus in her infancy".²⁴ This idea is present in some of the more recent studies as well. Williams, for example, has stated that when it came to fighting, Camilla must have had "little motivation on her part other than the blood-lust itself".²⁵

These kinds of statements are eminently questionable, for they seem to build on the tradition of ethical judgement of Camilla's behaviour in battle. The cruelty with which she attacks her victims has often been condemned as bestial and unethical, when, in fact, it is no more brutal than that of other warriors in the *Aeneid*. In fact, Virgil's portrayal of Camilla in battle is entirely consistent with the epic genre and its formula. Camilla's mockery of her adversaries and Virgil's

²⁴ Small (above n. 9) 296. When narrating the story of Metabus' flight, Diana mentions that when he arrived at the stream Amasenus, and was not able to swim across the river with an infant on his arm, he tied his daughter to his spear, and hurled her over the river. Verg. *Aen.* 11,547–66.

²⁵ Williams (above n. 19) 19. Horsfall, too, lays stress on Camilla's love of arms. He considers *aeternum telorum et virginitatis amorem* a "massive and memorable pairing – A hint that C.'s love for the hunt (and thus potentially for war) is quite on a level with her devotion to Diana". Horsfall (above n.13) 11,583.

metaphors of a wild beast hunting prey not only run parallel to Virgil's own narrative – they are, in fact, Homeric. The same kinds of representations are applied to many other warriors in the *Aeneid*, even in Book 11.²⁶

Therefore there is insufficient proof for blaming Camilla's blood-lust alone for her participation in war. What other explanations, then, can be found? I propose that one significant component is her seeking of personal glory and success. Rather than going to war because she loves violence itself, she goes because she loves the power and stature it gives her. In 11,655–658, Virgil tells us that Camilla had herself selected the best warrior-maidens to assist her in war and peace – that is to say, in battle and in hunt. The reader is left with the impression that she is, indeed, a huntress appreciated for her skills, who has a high standing among her own people. War against the Trojan exiles gives Camilla the chance to lead not only her own maidens and the Volscian cavalry, but also supplemental Latin troops donated in her command by Turnus. To the tyrant's daughter, who has in her infancy been robbed of her position, this must be deeply significant. In 11,502–506, Camilla indeed demands permission from Turnus to be the first to lead her troops against the allies of Aeneas, and even suggests that he himself should stay behind, defending the walls. This kind of behaviour illustrates the importance of personal glory as motivation for her actions, and the impression is supported by the emphasis she places upon her own name and fame when slaughtering an enemy: *nomen tamen haud leue partum / manibus hoc referes, telo cecidisse Camillae* (11,688–689).

More noble and altruistic explanations for Camilla's actions have been proposed, however. Becker and O. Schönberger have, to some extent, considered a pure love of homeland as significant motivation for Camilla. Becker goes so far as to consider Camilla as a supreme *exemplum* of Latin patriotism: he believes that a true love of the country drives her actions.²⁷ Arrigoni has also proposed, that despite its pejorative connotations, the word *horrenda*, that Virgil uses for Camilla when she volunteers to be the first to face the horrors of war, is not meant to be degrading but actually refers to the purity of Camilla's intentions. *Horrenda*

²⁶ See, for example, Virgil's description of Tarchon in battle, only few lines after the metaphor concerning Camilla: Verg. *Aen.* 11,751–59. For Homeric models, see e.g. *Il.* 22,139–42; 21,493–5.

²⁷ Becker (above n. 10) 7; Schönberger (above n. 8) 188.

virgo is, according to Arrigoni, an admirable patriotic warrior, whose devotion gives rise to outrage.²⁸

These theories of Camilla's devotion to the Italian cause are largely based on two lines in the *Aeneid*. At the end of Book 11, when Laurentum is taken over by chaos after the death of Camilla, Virgil intriguingly depicts matrons of the city as taking part in war. He shows them throwing wooden poles down the walls and seeking noble death, since *monstrat amor uerus patriae, ut uidere Camillam*.²⁹ The whole passage is extremely confusing and various studies have not led scholars to an unanimous interpretation.³⁰ It seems undeniable that the example of Camilla's courageous fight indeed works as an inspiration to the matrons of Laurentum. In the hour of desperation, they forsake their traditional roles as *matronae* and follow the example of a ferocious warrior-maiden. There is no doubt that the motives of these women are sincerely patriotic. One cannot, however, apply this logic to scrutinise the motives of Camilla herself. The bravery of her fighting and the tragedy of her death naturally create an impression of devoted patriotism. Her fascinating character alone and mere participation in war are likely to inspire devotion in others. Even so, the warrior-maiden's strong impact on others is, to my mind, not sufficient evidence of her own patriotism.

Fortunately, there are further sources of information. In Book 11 of the *Aeneid*, there is another passage that seems far more relevant and that, to my knowledge, has not been thoroughly discussed before. When Camilla lies wounded on the ground, she gives a short dying speech, as is befitting of a great warrior. What is especially noteworthy is that this whole speech – her last chance to sum up her life or leave a memory of herself – consists almost completely of a message to Turnus. Camilla pleads to her sister in arms, Acca: *effuge et haec Turno mandata nouissima prefer: / succedat pugnae Troianosque arceat urbe* (11,825–826).³¹ It is strikingly significant that her last wish is of a purely military nature. When Camilla can feel death approaching, she focuses all her thoughts on what really

²⁸ Verg. *Aen.* 11,507; Arrigoni (above n. 8) 32. Further discussion on the intriguing expression about Camilla, see Köves-Zulauf (above n. 8) 191–3.

²⁹ Verg. *Aen.* 11,891–5.

³⁰ About the passage, its significance in the narrative and its possible parallels in Greek literature, see Arrigoni (above n. 8) 118–24.

³¹ Horsfall considers the structure and nature of Camilla's speech, stating that "this balanced brevity reveals a warrior in command of her situation and loyal to her leader until the very end". Horsfall (above n. 13) 11,825. See also Horsfall on 11,823, as he shortly discusses Homeric models for the speech.

matters: the resistance against the Trojans and the preservation of Italy as it has been. Based on this passage, I would not consider it an exaggeration to state that at the moment of her death the development of Camilla's social and political consciousness achieves its culmination. In her story, one can perceive a growth from an isolated child of nature into a glory-seeking, ferocious amazon, and ultimately, into a patriotic warrior-queen concerned for her homeland and her people. Her story, full of psychological sensitivity and artistic outlook, represents an initiation and transformation from private to political.

What lies behind: Camilla as a reflection of the Roman past

It is worthwhile to inquire as to why this story is told. What were Virgil's reasons for creating this complex and controversial character? It is important to note that one explanation might simply be the artistic valour Camilla's fascinating personage brings to the story. Even though the political overtones that partially direct the storyline are indisputably apparent in the *Aeneid*, one should also remember to honour the poem as an independent literary work guided by artistic ambitions. The contradictory image of a maiden performing the epic deeds of men is a matter that itself increases the fascination of Virgil's description of war. Camilla's gender heightens the tragedy of her violent death and renders the story even more moving. Her dialectical nature provides the story with an exotic touch and increases the reader's interest in the character.

Nevertheless, it is undeniable that when discussing Camilla in respect to *Romanitas*, the study of political overtones cannot be completely bypassed. To understand the purpose and function of Camilla in Virgil's overall narrative, one should, at least, try to examine the part which a Volscian warrior-maiden plays in the basic theme of the *Aeneid*, the formation of Roman identity. I have briefly discussed Camilla's ethnic identification as an ideal Italian and Volscian, and the possible reactions the association may have evoked in Virgil's contemporary Roman audience. I will now take under scrutiny the other ambiguous characteristic of Camilla, her contradictory gender roles. It is worthwhile to pay some attention to Virgil's construction of male and female social roles, and to an understanding of them in the Augustan era, in order to ruminate on how the conception of *Romanitas* is reflected in or constructed by Virgil's epic narrative.

It seems evident that the formation of Camilla's identity is closely connected to the conception of Roman identity. According to B. Boyd, the character of Camilla as a war-loving female warrior is closely tied to an ethnographical

interest in specialities, features that are alien and even diverse to Roman behaviour.³² This tendency to highlight exotic characteristics of alien peoples has strong origins in classical Greek literature, and it usually works as a means to define the identity of a viewer through comparison with the exotic Other. It is noteworthy that when first introduced, Camilla is depicted by Virgil as an object of amazement to Italian matrons and youths: she is marvelled (*miratur* 7,813) as something unforeseen and different.³³ It is likely that by placing emphasis on the warrior-maiden's peculiarity, Virgil addresses Roman readers of his own time: this is something we could never be, something unthinkable for Roman of the Augustan age. The confusion Camilla evokes in the Trojans and the Italians is relatable to that of Virgil's readers, and through those feelings both Aeneas' allies and contemporary Roman readers separate themselves from what she stands for. Through the Other they define themselves.

In order to understand the characteristics and phenomena Camilla embodies in the overall picture of the *Aeneid*, it is necessary to dig a little deeper into an analysis of the Roman value system behind Virgil's narrative. Value issues and their connections to contemporary Roman society are, indeed, strikingly apparent in the description of war in Books 10–12. Preceding the horrors of war, Virgil depicts the peaceful arrival of the Trojans to the Laurentum and the alliance between Aeneas and Latinus. In a moving and frustrating way, the author is then able to depict a chain of events that turn the peaceful alliance into tragic bloodshed. This portrayal seems to work as a means of reminding the reader that the war between the Trojans and the Latins is, in fact, a civil war, fought between two peoples who should be friends and allies. Through destructive conflict between Aeneas' men and the Latins, Virgil includes in his epic the theme of civil war and its attendant misery, a subject that is visible already in the *Bucolica* and the *Georgica*. Sufferings brought about by Roman Civil Wars, and the final restoration of peace by Octavian, have obvious parallels in the last three books of the *Aeneid*. Here, Aeneas is the one to finally bring the killing to an end and thus begin a new,

³² B. Boyd, "Virgil's Camilla and the Traditions of Catalogue and Ecphrasis", *AJPh* 113 (1992) 213–34. On an ethnographical approach to Camilla's otherness: see esp. p. 218–9 in particular.

³³ Arrigoni has drawn attention to how in her first appearance, Camilla is defined specifically as "antifrase rispetto alla dama romana, anche augustea, idealizzata come filatrice e come una Minerva domestica". Arrigoni (above n. 13), 628. Horsfall emphasises the significance of *prospectat euntem*, suggesting the fact that "the crowd watches from a distance is perhaps a measure of their awe and respect". Horsfall (above n. 17) 7,813. This seems likely; however, it also appears that the awe and excitement is mixed with fear of the unknown, which also partly explains the distance.

happier era for all who wish to align themselves with him. This is a highly noticeable allusion that has been widely studied and discussed elsewhere.

What has not been discussed, however, is the role of Camilla and the perspective of gender in this context. It is most intriguing that in a bloody, tragic depiction of raging civil war, there is a female commander present. Furthermore, it is not just any commander but an apparently crazy, blood-thirsty *dira*,³⁴ untameable as nature and unnatural as an exotic amazon. Considering the obvious parallels between the war in the *Aeneid* and Roman Civil Wars, how is the presence of Camilla explained?

I suggest that the character of Camilla is, in a sense, created to emphasise the inhumanity and abnormality of war itself. It highlights civil war as the most tragic of all wars, because it wrests people from their traditional roles. It makes friends and allies turn against each other, and it even drives women to participate in the horrors of battle. Virgil's Camilla can be seen as a textbook example of a product of a chaotic world, a creature that in a peaceful society never should – or could – exist.

Considering Camilla from this point of view, it is important to stress that she does not only have models and predecessors in ancient Greco-Roman literary tradition, but also in the time that Virgil's narrative most reflects – the Roman Civil Wars. The significant political and social role that high-class matrons obtained during the late Republic has often been explained through references to confused political circumstances. The *entrée* of Roman women to the socio-political scene is noticeably reflected in the politically active female characters of the *Aeneid*. The most prominent political woman in the narrative is, of course, Dido, Queen of Carthage. Themes of nationality and gender in the Dido episode, her position as a strong-willed foreign queen, and the peril she presents to the Roman mission, have often evoked comparison with Cleopatra, the most famous and infamous woman of the Civil Wars.

What about Camilla then? Even though there is no record of female warriors dating back to the Roman Civil Wars – apart from Mark Antony's wife Fulvia, who is said to have girded herself with a sword and commanded the troops in the Perusine war³⁵ – clear resemblances to the late Republic are still detectable in Camilla's character. These allusions are more general and subtle than in

³⁴ Virgil explicitly refers to Camilla as *dira pestis* in Verg. *Aen.* 11,792.

³⁵ Dio 48,10,3–4. Fulvia's meddling with the war was noted by Velleius Paterculus, Plutarch, and Appian, as well, but contemporary representations of her have been preserved merely in works of Cicero. See, e.g., Cic. *Phil.* 3,4; 5,11; 5,22; 6,2,4; 13,18.

the case of Dido, for they seem not to reflect any specific person, but rather the larger blurring of gender structures during the late Republic. The most crucial factor is the politicising process within Camilla's personality. Her transformation from a non-social and moderate servant of Diana into a socially conscious, glory-seeking and even patriotic agent can be considered a reflection of the changing role of late Republican women. Through Camilla's character, Virgil emphasises the abnormal state of a society that drives women to transform from *domiseda* to public and political. The representation of a woman in the masculine context of politics and power is a characteristic that appears both in Virgilian epic and in Roman historiography. In depictions of Dido and Camilla, as well as in those of Cleopatra and Fulvia, a reader can sense a topos of a fatal *dux femina*, a traditionally un-Roman phenomenon closely linked to the decline of society and the chaotic political situation.

If one considers Camilla as an embodiment of a distorted state of affairs, her tragic downfall could be seen as an allusion to the restoration of order. Through the death of a warrior-maiden, the chaos is ultimately conquered and settled down by Roman *virtus*, *pietas* and *humilitas*, values cherished by Aeneas and his men. Here, one can sense echoes of the moral programme of the Augustan era. Camilla's death represents the elimination of perverted gender-roles, and symbolises the restoration of social order and traditional female roles. She must go, for there is no place for her among Roman maidens. Whether the society of Aeneas or that of Augustus is to come, there is only room for Lavinias in Rome. Camilla's character responds to the need of a post-crisis society to define its values and its self-image. She is the Other who sets limits for the appropriate role of Roman women, and for the approvable development of society.

Hero or heroine: Camilla as a representative of epic virtues

It may be surprising, when examined through this context that Virgil, in spite of everything, seems to be very fond of Camilla. He depicts her as a fearless fighter, *interrita* (11,711), an admirably brave leader of her troops and an exceptionally skilled warrior. This kind of characterisation leaves the impression that, despite her role as a representative of horrors of war and distorted gender structures, to Virgil, Camilla denotes something valuable as well – good old-fashioned epic heroism. This is naturally somehow curious, since Camilla's heroism seems to be of a strictly masculine nature. She is an incarnation of an ideal warrior, an

embodiment of masculine virtues appreciated in a war-commander: fearlessness, self-sacrifice and physical power.³⁶

It is natural that these kinds of virtues have a crucial and obvious role in epic narrative of war. It is still difficult to understand why Virgil has attempted to represent them so strongly through a female warrior. The answer may well be that he wished to be able to depict the downfall of these values as well. It is striking that in Camilla's appearance in the battle, there is one single, yet fatal moment of weakness. Only moments before her fall, obsessed by the luxurious outfit of Cybele's priest Chloereus, Camilla is presented as irrationally chasing him, thus forgetting the overall battle and forsaking her duties as a commander of her troops. It is especially noteworthy that even though the gathering of spoils is a well-known epic tradition of men, Virgil deliberately chooses to refer to Camilla's weakness as feminine; he states that *unum ex omni certamine pugnae / caeca sequebatur totumque incauta per agmen / femineo praedae et spoliolum ardebat amore* (11,780–783).

It has been widely discussed as to whether the gathering of spoils is justifiably considered feminine, but it could be argued that the inaccuracy of an expression is not really the point one should focus on.³⁷ An issue of greater importance is the author's deliberate choice of words. After consistently depicting Camilla as a highly asexual, even masculine, character, this is the moment Virgil finally refers to her as *femina*. Schönberger has perceptively noted that when Camilla begins her chase after Chloereus, the terms connected to her before, *virgo* and *bellatrix*, are replaced by *femina* and *venatrix*.³⁸ I consider this extremely significant in that it is precisely at her moment of weakness that Camilla is represented as a woman and as a huntress. This is a turning point in which an asexual warrior-maiden finally becomes a representative of her gender and her uncivilised past. Her role

³⁶ It is noteworthy that the manifestation of male virtues in a virginal female warrior was by no means an uncommon or unprecedented phenomenon in the Roman tradition. On the contrary, this kind of combination was most familiar to Virgil's contemporary readers, not only because of the amazonmyths but mainly because of one of the most important deities of the public state cult, the virginal warrior-goddess Minerva. It seems that as Virgil describes Camilla's social and political awakening, he gradually alienates her from the archetype of Artemis-Diana and brings her closer to the less isolated, politically more active Athene-Minerva type. Thus, the highlighting of Camilla's male virtues can also be considered a part of this process, as her appearance in battle echoes the characteristics of the virginal warrior goddess.

³⁷ On the epic tradition of taking spoils and the feminine nature of Camilla's desire, see Becker (above n. 10) 7; Rosenmeyer (above n. 11) 161; and West (above n. 11) 24–5.

³⁸ Schönberger (above n. 8) 186.

as a soldier and a man is destroyed by her quintessential role as a woman and a huntress. At this moment she loses the higher state of mind she had achieved when entering war. She is, again, de-politicised.

With her fatal failure to be political, to fulfil her role as warrior and commander, Camilla indicates the validity of traditional gender structures. Virgil uses her error and downfall to imply that male and female heroisms require very different qualities. Women cannot be expected to abide by the same heroic code as men: in the end, feminine weakness will overcome.

I contend it is the moment of her death that Camilla finally adopts a role that, based on values of Virgilian epic, is suitable to her. When she falls gracefully off her horse and onto the ground, she turns from huntress into prey. This is when Virgil's portrayal of her becomes very sensitive, as is befitting to the poetic theme of *virgo moritura*. In two lines he alters the reader's whole conception of Camilla: *labitur exsanguis, labuntur frigida leto / lumina, purpureus quondam color ora reliquit* (11,818–819). For the first time in the entire poem, the unbreakable warrior-queen is a girl, fragile and vulnerable in essence.

In his essay "Vergil on killing virgins," D. Fowler has studied the rhetoric of sexuality in the *Aeneid*. He suggests that Camilla's femininity is expressed in the passage of her death through metaphors referring to defloration and suckling.³⁹ Fowler has emphasised the perversity of Camilla becoming figuratively a bride and a mother only at the moment of her death. He considers these allusions a judgement towards her abnormal way of life, a reminder that, instead of entering war, she should have stayed at home to fulfil her traditional role.⁴⁰ Unlike Fowler, I do not perceive any kind of moralistic overtone in Virgil's depiction. I would argue that rather than judgement, deep grief and sorrow can be sensed in the representation of Camilla's death. Highlighting feminine qualities implies that the loss of a great warrior is now complemented by the loss of a potential wife and mother. Thus, the tragic nature of war is once again emphasised.

It has been widely debated among scholars whether or not Camilla's death is truly heroic according to traditions of epic. Rosenmeyer for example has con-

³⁹ Fowler refers to a line in which the spear is described as penetrating in Camilla's breast, figuratively drinking her blood, Verg. *Aen.* 11,803–804: *hasta sub exsertam donec perlata papillam / haesit virgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem*. D. Fowler, "Vergil on killing virgins", in M. Whitby – P. Hardie – M. Whitby (eds.), *Homo viator: Classical essays for John Bramble*, Bristol 1987, 187–98.

⁴⁰ Fowler (above n. 39) 196.

sidered the death scene as fitting to the epic conventions of a warrior's passing.⁴¹ According to Small, however, there is no true greatness in the fall of Camilla, because she achieves no understanding of the purpose of her death. Small has stated that Camilla dies for Italy (that is, in order to make the new Italy possible) but without ever knowing it herself, and without understanding the significance of her sacrifice.⁴²

One could claim that the same charge could be applied to the indisputably heroic death of Turnus. It is likely that he never knew the significance of his sacrifice or, at the moment of his death, understood the inevitability of Aeneas' mission. I am not convinced that this kind of enlightenment is necessarily required of an epic hero. Perhaps more pertinent factors are a resilient struggle against forthcoming death, dignity at the moment of passing and the significance of the death in a broader, political context. These conditions Camilla fulfils as well as any warrior in the *Aeneid*.

When discussing Camilla's death, Arrigoni has appropriately regarded her passing as *tristis mors* – unjust, physically violent and described in detail.⁴³ This is an intriguing standpoint I would like to take further by comparing it to a few parallels in Greco-Roman literature and tradition. I am here inclined to stress Camilla's resemblances not only to the archetype of an amazon and a warrior-queen, but also to that of a tragic *virgo moritura* of Athenian drama and Roman literature. I sense in Camilla's tragic passing away parallels with the representation of Iphigeneia in Euripides' *Iphigeneia at Aulis*, in Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* and in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as well as with the depiction of Polyxena by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*. Besides these examples from Greek mythology, Virgil's narrative seems to draw on allusions to Roman tradition. In a certain fashion, Livy's narrative about Lucretia and Verginia in represents an apparent continuum to the tragic women of Greek tradition.⁴⁴ In all of these representations the defining

⁴¹ In fact, Rosenmeyer considers that the purpose of the passage is to highlight Camilla's heroic nature and greatness as a warrior. Rosenmeyer (above n. 11) 163. See also Horsfall, who considers Camilla's death designed after the manner of Patroclus' in the *Iliad*. Horsfall (above n. 13) 11,794–835.

⁴² Small (above n. 9) 300.

⁴³ Arrigoni (above n. 8) 55–63.

⁴⁴ Eur. *IA* 1540–80; Liv. 3,48,5–6; Lucr. 1,80–101; Ov. *met.* 13,441–80; 12,24–38. Violent deaths of tragic women in Greco-Roman tradition is a theme that has evoked a good deal of intriguing discussion. One of the more recent studies dealing with the subject is H. P. Foley's *Female Acts in Greek Tragedy*, Princeton 2001. Among earlier studies, N. Loraux's *Come uccidere tragicamente una donna* (orig. *Façons tragiques de tuer une femme*, 1985), Bari

qualities of the death of a woman – injustice, inevitability and violent manner – are as apparent as they are in Virgil's narrative of Camilla.

Another common characteristic between these stories seems to be the rhetoric of *corpus*. A tragic virgin's death and moments preceding it are usually depicted in detail with explicit descriptions of the maiden's outer appearance. Body parts that are considered feminine or virginal warrant attention: references to pure, beautiful necks and breasts being most prevalent.⁴⁵ Common topos of unspoiled, or noble, blood is also a matter worthy of attention: this reference is made by Euripides about Iphigeneia, as well as by Ovid about both Iphigeneia and Polyxena.⁴⁶ The theme of blood is present in Livy's narrative about Lucretia too. Even though Lucretia's blood can not be depicted as virginal, it is still described as pure and chaste, as Brutus refers to Lucretia's *castissimum – sanguinem* (1,59,1).

It is especially noteworthy that these are all themes that are also clearly present in Camilla's death. Virgil describes in detail Arruns' spear penetrating Camilla's breast and drinking her virginal blood: *hasta sub exsertam donec perlata papillam / haesit uirgineumque alte bibit acta cruorem*. (11,803–804). Later at the moment of her death Virgil calls attention to Camilla's lapsing neck: *tum frigida toto / paulatim exsoluit se corpore, lentaque colla / et captum leto posuit caput* (11,828–829). Thus, Camilla's death, through the composition and the choice of words, is linked to the Greco-Roman literary tradition of *virgo moritura*.

It could be contended that the most important characteristic that defines the deaths of these women is the political nature of the incidents and the ensuing consequences for their respective communities. Iphigeneia's death is necessary in order to bring Agamemnon's men into the Trojan War. Verginia and Lucretia are unaware of the consequences of giving their lives, but their deaths ultimately result in the breaking up of Roman political order and the formation of a new regime. Virgilian Camilla unquestionably claims her status as part of this tradition. Her death at the end of Book 11 begins the countdown to the ultimate defeat of

1988, has been most useful for my examination of parallels with the Camilla-story, p. 33–50 in particular.

⁴⁵ Eur. *IA* 1560; 1574; 1579; Liv. 1,58,10–12; Ov. *met.* 13,459; 13,478.

⁴⁶ Euripides on Iphigeneia: Eur. *IA* 1574; 1595; Ovid on Iphigeneia: Ov. *met.* 12,28–34; and on Polyxena: Ov. *met.* 13,457; 13,469.

the Italian side and the establishment of Aeneas' regime. It is, as Schönberger has put it, a turning point towards the Italians' catastrophe.⁴⁷

I suggest that in her tragically conventional death, Camilla ultimately fulfils a heroic role appropriate for a woman in classical literature. She dies, as a virgin, for noble motives, bringing about the ultimate transformation of the society. Her death, even though she herself is unaware of it, ultimately ensures social order and harmony. It is perceivable that Camilla's death, as well as her personality, allows Virgil to play with different themes of epic and again bring together conventions from earlier traditions and literature.

Most striking is the way in which Virgil uses Camilla's death to express both masculine and feminine heroism at the same time. I have previously referred to Small's contention that Camilla's death is not, in a proper sense, a tragic passing – apparently neither that of a hero nor that of a heroine.⁴⁸ I hope to have supplied enough evidence to support my statement that it is actually both. Camilla's death combines the passing of a great warrior with that of a tragic, self-sacrificing maiden. This kind of mingling of gender roles is unprecedented in earlier and unexpressed in later epic. Through Camilla's virtuous death, Virgil illustrates male and female heroism concretely complementing each other – as an allegory of the society for which Camilla is sacrificed. In Virgil's narrative, male and female melt into one for the well-being of the community. He emphasises traditional gender roles as a natural and desirable phenomenon, but that does not imply the enshrinement of one over the other. The complementary nature of male and female virtues is, instead, the basis on which society is built – that of Aeneas as well as that of Augustus. I would emphasise that this idea is the fundamental message in any reading of the *Aeneid* from a gender-sensitive perspective. This message is most visible in the gender-confused, contradictory character of Camilla.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have attempted to scrutinise the enigmatic character of Camilla in its social and political contexts. I will conclude that, based on my theory of transition, Camilla is not, in fact, a purely political or non-political character. She is powerfully both, as her inner savagery conflicts with the expectations set on

⁴⁷ Schönberger (above n. 8) 188. About Camilla's death and its significance to the outcome of war, see also Becker (above n. 10) 2, and Williams (above n. 19) 70.

⁴⁸ Small (above n. 9) 300.

her by the surrounding society. Her transformation from uncivilised to political is shown in her participation in war against the Trojan exiles. This transformation is powerfully expressed by her outer appearance as well as by the politically charged terms that Virgil uses to describe her. Instead of an isolated child of nature, she is depicted as an Italian queen, a representation of primitive Italy and an incarnation of the Volscian power.

Camilla, however, is not entirely capable of social heroism. No matter how virtuously she attempts to fulfil her masculine role as a war commander, she cannot deny the *femina* and *venatrix* inside her. This incapability for political thinking makes her forsake her heroic role and thus brings about both her own doom, and that of the Italian cause. When Camilla gives in to personal passion, to desire for treasure and spoils, she is again depoliticised.

However, Virgil spares Camilla shame and, before her death, allows her achieve the final stage of her social transition. In her dying speech, Camilla expresses her worry for the outcome of war and the future of her homeland, indicating that her quintessential state of mind is not only political, but also patriotic. She has overcome the lust for personal glory that drove her actions before, and become truly *politiké* in the noblest classical manner.

Thus, Virgil's Camilla-story is a complex and intriguing tale of the formation of social consciousness. From a gender-sensitive point of view, it is also a subtle allusion to the period that is so essential to Virgil's work – the late Republic and the Civil Wars. Through Camilla's character, Virgil represents a distorted and chaotic society and its declining effects on traditional gender roles. Virgilian Camilla is, at the same time, the Other, through which the Romans define their values, and a severe threat to that value system. Her elimination is necessary, as it stands for the restoration of order and traditional social roles. Camilla's fall represents the taming of the savage Volscian and Italian resistance under the Roman order, and the nullification of perversely public and active female roles under traditional gender structures. Thus, both the formation of Rome and the restoration of Roman values are subtly reflected in her life and death.

The emphasis Virgil places upon the traditional gender system is noticeable throughout Camilla's story. Camilla's pursuit of male heroism, her fatal failure, and the final adaptation of a virtuous female death seem consistent with a message that male and female heroism, are, indeed, of a very different nature, and not to be confused. They are, however, complementary to each other, and together they form the basis on which society is built. This idea is beautifully represented in Camilla's death scene which combines the conventions of male and female heroism. Camilla is both a hero and a heroine, and through her, Virgil

demonstrates the harmony of male and female virtues. It is somewhat paradoxical that a character that once represented a threat to society and to traditional Roman gender structures, can also be depicted as an allegory of that society, and of its most valued virtues. The complexity of Camilla's character is, indeed, a masterful indication of Virgil's artistic ability and the subtlety with which he moulds the Roman value system into a fascinating and independent literary narrative.

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AEDILICIUS, CONSULARIS, DUUMVIRALIS
AND SIMILAR TITLES IN LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

OLLI SALOMIES

Alongside Latin titles such as *consul* or *praetor* there normally exist terms derived, with the use of different suffixes, from the names of these titles; corresponding to *consul* or *praetor*, we thus find *consularis* and *praetorius*. These terms exist both as adjectives (e.g., *consularis dignitas* or *familia praetoria*) or as nouns; as nouns they are used to indicate that someone had held an office in the past (this is why the derived titles exist mainly in the case of offices which were held for a limited time), *consularis* thus being translatable as "ex-consul", *praetorius* as "ex-praetor" (the adjectives can, of course, also be used in this way if combined with expressions such as *vir*).

Terms of this type are common when reference is made to categories of persons having the rank of ex-consul or ex-praetor, etc. (e.g., Cic. *p. red. ad Quir.* 17: *omnes consulares, omnes praetorios*) and in literary sources when reference is made to individuals with a certain rank (e.g., *Cato censorius*; Cic. *Catil.* 1,4: *M. Fulvius consularis*, to be contrasted with *L. Opimius consul* in the same paragraph; the reader thus learns that Opimius held the consulship at the moment to which the story refers whereas Fulvius had held the consulate previously). But if one moves from literary sources to inscriptions, one observes that different habits obtain. In inscriptions, titles are given in the form *consul* or *praetor* (or *aedilis*, etc.) also in the case where the person mentioned had in fact already held the office, this happening both in the case where only one office is mentioned (e.g., *Ser. Sulpicius Ser. f. Galba co(n)s(ul)* in the funerary inscription of Galba, the consul of (probably) 108 BC, *CIL* VI 31617 = *ILS* 863) and in the case where an office is referred to as an element of this person's career (e.g., *L. Munatius ... Plancus co(n)s(ul), cens(or), imp(erator) iter(um)*, etc. in the funerary inscription of Plan-

cus, consul in 42 and censor in 22 BC, *CIL* X 6087 = *ILS* 886).¹ It is of course true that the titles are normally abbreviated, but I think that we can consider it as absolutely certain that one has to understand *co(n)s(ul)* and *cens(or)*, not *co(n)s(ularis)* and *cens(orius)*, in the instances quoted above and in similar cases from the Republican and (normally) in those of the imperial period (this is also shown by some inscriptions in which the titles are not abbreviated, for instance, in the funerary inscription of the Augustan senator P. Paquius Scaeva *CIL* IX 2845 = *ILS* 915, where we find *quaestor*, etc.).

However, it is also true that, from the early imperial period onwards, one begins to observe expressions of the type *consularis* being introduced into epigraphy in personal titles referring to individuals,² and this phenomenon will be the object of this article. I shall also deal with municipal titles of this type but shall start with an overview of expressions referring to senatorial offices, of which the most important and most common is *consularis*, an expression which has the special distinction of having ended up as a title of its own with a special meaning in late Antiquity (cf. *consularis Campaniae*, etc.) and, moreover, usefully from my point of view, of having secured the interest of H.-G. Pflaum and of other scholars.³ To sum up what Pflaum says and concentrating on points of interest from my point of view, the author starts by observing that the earliest known epigraphical attestation of *consularis* applied to an individual is *AE* 1935, 169 from Ephesus (= *I. Ephesos* 4123), *C. Stertinius C. Stertini Maximi consularis l(ibertus) Orpex*, Stertinius Maximus having been consul in AD 23 (*PIR*² S 908). The next inscription quoted by Pflaum is *AE* 1964, 35 from Pisidian Antioch (which also offers an attestation of *(senator) praetorius*), *Iuliae Agrippinae Iuli Paulli senatoris pre-*

¹ The inscription *L. Licinius L. f. Crassus consularis, orator* (*CIL* VI 41026), referring to the consul of 95 BC, is from the imperial period.

² The use of *consularis* in references to categories of persons (in expressions of the type *adlectus inter consulares*) is another matter and not of interest here. Note that there are also some other ways of expressing the fact that a person had held an office in the past; cf., e.g., *Iviratu ... functus* (below n. 29), *curatura functo* (F. Bérard, in *Rites funéraires à Lugdunum* [2009] 105 no. 2; for the phrase *omnibus honoribus functus* cf. L. Wierschowski, *ZPE* 64 [1986] 287–94). But the most important way of indicating service in the past is, at least if one has an eye on later developments, surely the construction with *ex* (*ex consule ordinario*, etc.), on which see *TLL* V 2, 1102, 10ff.; V. Väänänen, *Recherches et récréations latino-romanes* (1981) 177–88.

³ H.-G. Pflaum, "Titulature et rang social sous le Haut-Empire", in *Recherches sur les structures sociales dans l'antiquité classique* (1970) 159–85, at p. 166–77. For the articles of M. Christol and B. Rémy, see nn. 5 and 6.

tori (sic) ... *fil(iae), uxor(i) Servi Corneli Dolabellae Pompei Marcelli pat[ris] consular[is], flaminis] Quir[inalis]*; the approximate date is established by the fact that Dolabella (*PIR*² C 1350) was consul in AD 113. A list of further second- and third-century instances of the use *consularis* as the title indicating the rank of an individual follows. Pflaum then goes on to the use, attested from about the middle of the second century onwards,⁴ of the expression *consularis* in the sense "governor" both as a generic term (in *beneficiarius consularis*, etc.) and as applied to individual governors (in *co(n)s(ularis) III Daciarum*, etc.).⁵ His exposition ends with a list of examples of the expression *vir consularis* used to indicate the consular rank of a senator, attested from the earlier third century onwards.⁶

One could add a number of instances to all of Pflaum's lists, but let me point out here only the existence of some other early attestations. From Tarraco, there is *CIL* II 4129 = *RIT* 137 as reconstructed recently by G. Alföldy (*AE* 2006, 693), [*Caninia Galla L. Canini] Galli XVvir(i) [sacris faciundis, consu]laris filia, [L. Canini Galli VIIvi]ri epulonum, [consularis neptis, C. Antoni] consularis [proneptis]*, an inscription which may still be of Augustan date as the father of

⁴ In literary sources we find earlier attestations, as Tacitus already uses *consularis* in this way (*TLL* IV 572, 54ff.). As for Greek inscriptions, ὑπατικός is attested from the time of Trajan onwards, for this title is applied, in addition to the normal title πρεσβευτῆς Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστράτηγος, to C. Claudius Severus, legate of Arabia, in an inscription of AD 115 (*Gerasa* [1938] no. 56/57), cf. Rémy (see next n.) 311 (for *P. Mich.* VIII 466, see Rémy 311f. n. 3). For other instances from the first half of the second century note, e.g., *AE* 1971, 437 = *SEG* 30, 159 (Athens), Λ. Φλ. Ἀρριανὸ[ν] ὑπατικὸν, φιλό[σο]φον (Arrian was consul around 129); *IG* II/III² 4208, Λ. Οὔει[ψτανὸν] Μεσσάλα[ν] Οὔειψτανοῦ Μεσ[σάλα] ὑπατικο[ῦ] υἱόν (apparently the son of Vipstanus Messalla cos. 115). On the other hand, it is surely a mistake to restore Πόπλιον Μέμμιον Ῥήγλον [ὑπατικὸν, πρεσβευ]τὴν Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ etc. in *IG* II/III² 4174 (cf. ὕπατον in other inscriptions in honour of this man, *FD* III 1, 532; *IG* IV 1² 667 + 669 = W. Peek, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros* (1969) no. 290).

⁵ *Recherches* p. 169ff. Examples of the latter use of *consularis* are cited from Dacia, Britain, Germania Superior and Inferior, Pannonia and Lower Moesia, but one could of course add other provinces as well (e.g., "Numidia"). On the use of *consularis* (and ὑπατικός) in praetorian provinces, see B. Rémy, *Latomus* 45 (1986) 311–38, who shows that governors in these provinces were referred to as *consulares* only if they had held the consulate *in absentia* when in the province or if they were at least designated consuls (but *consularis* in *beneficiarius consularis* might in some cases refer to men of only praetorian status: p. 326).

⁶ *Recherches* p. 174f. Pflaum's list also includes instances of *consularis memoriae vir* (on which, see now M. Christol, *ZPE* 163 [2007] 276–80, who points out that this expression is attested from about AD 200 onwards) and of *consularis femina* (*CIL* IX 6414b = *ILS* 1166; add, e.g., *CIL* VIII 8993 = *ILS* 1200; *ILAfr.* 414, and note *I. Central Pisidia* 45 from Cremna, *c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(eminae) consular(i)*).

Galla (*PIR*² C 390) held the consulate in 2 BC; *CIL* XIV 178 = *AE* 2007, 282 (Ostia), [*L. V*]olusius *L. f. Celer [qui] et Ancharius ex domo Roma* (Roma seems an addition) [*Vol*]usi Saturnini consularis will be about contemporary, as we seem to be dealing with the consul of 12 BC.⁷

What emerges from all this is that beginning with the Augustan period, the title *co(n)s(ul)* is, if referring to persons who were in fact ex-consuls, in some cases, and later more often, replaced in inscriptions with *consularis*, no doubt following the usage of normal speech and writing. This is also clear from the fact that *consularis* is in the beginning used only in contexts in which a less formal style is used (as in the enumeration of the ancestors of Caninia Galla, above) and in which the term is used alone or perhaps combined with a priesthood (as, again, in the inscription of Caninia Galla). It is only with time that one observes *consularis* being introduced in a more formal context, namely as an element of the *cursus*; this seems to be attested from about the time of Caracalla onwards.⁸ From about the reign of Severus Alexander onwards, men referred to as *consulares* are joined by men appearing in inscriptions as *viri consulares*;⁹ the appearance of this

⁷ For some second-century examples not quoted by Pflaum, note *CIL* VIII 24586 = *ILS* 4462a, *pronepoti Memmi Senecionis consularis* (in AD 99, *PIR*² M 457); *CIL* VI 1344, *D. M. Q. Antoni Cassi Cassiani consularis* (*PIR*² A 819); *CIL* XI 1431 = *Inscr. It.* VII 1, 122 (Pisae), *Sabinus ... nepos Prif(erni) Paeti cons(ularis)* (apparently the consul of AD 146, *PIR*² P 939), *filius Iul(ii) Lucani pr(a)et(orii)*; *AE* 2004, 467 from Iuvavum, [---]sidio Vinc(?)[---], *co]nsulari, pro[---, pa]trono* (dated to the later second century by M. Buonocore in *Epigrafia di confine* [2004] 291–5); *AE* 1997, 482 (Casuentum in Umbria). (As for *CIL* IX 1121 from Aeclanum, *Betitio Pio Maximilliano co(n)sulari* [---], a date in the early Severan period is proposed for this inscription by G. Camodeca in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* II [1982] 132, but to me the inscription seems of later date).

⁸ Pflaum p. 169, referring to nos. 8, 9, 11, 13 and 15 on his list on p. 168. Cf. now also G. Camodeca, in M. L. Caldelli et al. (eds.), *Epigrafia 2006. Atti della XIV^e rencontre sur l'épigraphie in onore di Silvio Panciera* (2008) 940f. For an example, note *CIL* XIV 3900 = *ILS* 1182 = *Inscr. It.* IV 1, 102 (Tibur), *consulari, sodali Augustali, comiti Imp. Severi Alexandri Aug., cur(ator) r(ei) p(ublicae) Lanivino(r)um II, procos. prov. Africae*, etc.

⁹ To the instances cited by Pflaum on p. 174f. and Camodeca (n. 8) 941 n. 14 add, e.g., *CIL*² II 7, 274; *ILAlg.* I 1287. For an interesting inscription not noted by Pflaum or Camodeca, observe *EE* IX 593 cf. p. 706 (= *ILS* 8979, but without the corrected reading of *EE* IX on p. 706, *c.] v., cur(ator)* from Lavinium, [*L. V*]alerio Claud(ia) [*Maximo*] Acilio Priscillian[o c.] *v., cur(ator) Laur(entium) Labi[natium, comiti Augg(ustorum)] nn(ostrorum) inter XX co(n)s(ulares)* (in AD 238), [*cur(ator) alvei Ti]beris riparum [cloacarum] quae (sic) sacrae [urbis, cons]ulari ordinar(io)* (in AD 233), [*praet(ori) tut]elari, quaest(ori) / [urb(ano) ...]*, where I am quite sure that *viro* (or *v(iro)*) should be added in the lacuna before *cons]ulari*. As for the date of the appearance in inscriptions of *vir consularis*, note that according to M. Christol, *ZPE* 163

combination is, as observed by Pflaum,¹⁰ undoubtedly influenced by the title *vir clarissimus*,¹¹ which had established itself by the second half of the second century, and which made clear that the person in question belonged to the senatorial order but did not specify the exact rank of the person within the *ordo senatorius*. From the later second century onwards, one observes other titles being combined with *vir*, e.g., *vir praetorius* or, in a municipal context, *vir duumviralis* (cf. below).

As I am also interested in other titles expressing the fact that an office had been held previously, this will be enough of *consularis*, which is a complicated topic also because *consularis* is often abbreviated "cos.", making it often uncertain whether "consul" or "consularis" is meant.¹²

As for *praetorius*,¹³ this title is also attested from the earliest empire onwards, but *praetorius* differs from *consularis* in that one of its earliest attestations most notably seems to be within a *cursus*, namely in in the acephalous inscription from Rusguniae in Mauretania Caesariensis known only from a 19th-century copy, *CIL VIII 9247*, [---] *quaestori, tribun[o p]lebi, legato Alfidi Sabini proco(n) - s(ulis) Siciliae, praetorio, legato M'*. (VE the copy) *Lepidi proco(n)s(ulis) Asiae*. As Lepidus was proconsul of Asia in 21/22,¹⁴ it follows that this inscription must be dated to the early years of Tiberius. However, in view of the early date and of the fact that *praetorio* is not the last office (when it could be interpreted as indicating the man's rank at the time when the inscription was inscribed), I cannot help assuming that *praetorio* might be a mistake and that the intended wording may in fact have been *praetori*.¹⁵ Be that as it may, an inscription which is clearly earlyish from the sanctuary at Samothrace, *CIL III 7372* = N. Dimitrova, *Theoroi*

[2007] 279 n. 24, *Perpetuus cons(ularis) vir* in *CIL IX 6414b* = *ILS 1166* is not the consul of AD 237 (Pflaum and others) but his father, consul around AD 200.

¹⁰ *Recherches* p. 173, 175f.

¹¹ Observe the combination of both in *CIL VIII 7012* = *ILS 1235* = *ILAlg. II 589* (AD 340–350), *clarissimo atque consulari viro* and in *CIL VIII 7013* = *ILS 1236* = *ILAlg. II 590*, *v(iro) c(larissimo) et consulari*. Cf. the cases cited by Camodeca (n. 8) 941 n. 16.

¹² Note that Pflaum understands *cos.* in *CIL V 3338* = *ILS 1031* as "*cos(ularis)*" in his article cited above (p. 168), but as "*cos(ulis)*" in his *Carrières procuratoriennes équestres* (1960/61) 160; *cos.* in *CIL II 4124* = *RIT 142* is interpreted as "*co(n)s(ularis)*" by G. Alföldy in *RIT*, but as "*co(n)s(ulis)*" in *PIR*² M 59.

¹³ Cf. H. Solin, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 179; *TLL* X 2, 1969, 35ff., 1970, 14ff.

¹⁴ B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* I (1984) 210 no. 29.

¹⁵ However, no doubts are registered, e.g., in *PIR*¹ Incerti no. 3.

and *Initiates in Samothrace* (2008) no. 88 (now lost) mentioning a certain [---] *Rufus praetorius*, [*myst*]es *pius* seems to be of about the same date, as this person is likely to be identical with T. Trebellenus Rufus (*PIR*² T 308) of whom we learn from Tacitus that he was in AD 18 the *tutor* to the children of Cotys, king of Thracia (Tac. *ann.* 3,38,3), a position from which one could probably fairly easily visit Samothrace.

To move on to the second century, the next time we find *praetorius* applied to an individual is in an inscription already quoted above, with the *terminus post quem* AD 113, from Pisidian Antioch *AE* 1964, 35, where *pr(a)etorius* is combined with *senator*. The funerary inscription from Interamna Lirenas, *AE* 1969/70, 93 = 1987, 240,¹⁶ *L. Valerio Saturnino praetorio opti(mo) patri filia Brocchilla [---]* also seems to date from the earlier 2nd century. From the time of Antoninus Pius (between 141 and 161) there is *CIL* IX 5428 = *ILS* 5652 (Falerio), set up by *Antonia Cn. fil. Picentina C. C[---] Secundi (PIR*² C 3) *praetori, patron[fi colo]niae (uxor)*. The inscriptions *CIL* XI 1431 = *Inscr. It.* VII 1, 122 (Pisae, with the mention of *Iul(ius) Lucanus pret(orius)*), quoted in n. 7, and *CIL* V 1875 = F. Broilo, *Iscrizioni lapidarie latine del museo nazionale Concordiese* I (1980) no. 18 (Concordia),¹⁷ *T. Desticio T. f. Cl. Iubae (PIR*² D 54) *c(larissimo) v(iro), praetorio ordo Concord(iensium) patrono*, are from the later 2nd century, and about the same goes for *CIL* II 1262 = *CILA* II 3, 915 from near Hispalis, where we find *praetorius* once again as part of a *cursus*: *M. Accenna M. f. Gal. Helvius Agrippa (PIR*² H 65) *praetorius, trib(unus) pleb(is), leg(atus) provinciae Africae ... item quaestori (sic) provinciae Africae, IIIviro capitali (sic), trib(unus) ... vixit annis*, etc.¹⁸

As in the case of *consularis*, one observes, in the earlier third century, *praetorius* being attached to *vir*: *CIL* VIII 7054 = *ILAlg.* II 641 (Cirta), *matri ... Naevillae c(larissimae) m(emoriae) f(eminae), nuptae Fulvio Faustino praetorio viro (PIR*² F 538; also mentioned in *CIL* VIII 7055. 7056 = *ILAlg.* II 639. 640),

¹⁶ The only epigraphical instance of *praetorius* in the category "apponitur nomini proprio" cited in the *TLL* (X 2, 1070, 26ff.).

¹⁷ According to Broilo (p. 52), Iuba might have been a knight adlected *inter praetorios*.

¹⁸ According to H. Solin, *ZPE* 66 (1986) 179, who may have had an eye on the datives which follow, *praetorius* might be a mistake; but inscribing datives by mistake in a context in which the dative is normally the default case is not quite the same thing as inscribing a nominative and other scholars have not expressed any doubt about the reading (e.g., A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanorromanos* I [1990] 27ff. no. 1; B. E. Thomasson, *Fasti Africani* [1996] 118 no. 59; cf. *PIR*: "praetorius obiit").

aviae ... Celsinae c(larissimae) f(eminae), nuptae Geminio Modesto praetorio viro (PIR² G 150). The rest of the examples of *praetorius* are later.¹⁹

With these observations on *praetorius*, the section on senatorial titles is about to be concluded, since in the two attestations of *tribunicius*, one may assume that the expression is to be interpreted as referring to an *adlectio inter tribunicios*, not a tribunate held previously,²⁰ and the same goes for an attestation of *quaestorius*.²¹ Only in the inscription CIL II 1270 = CILA II 4, 1034 quoted in n. 19, *quaestorius* seems to refer to an office held actually, but this is a text which has been lost and the interpretation of which remains uncertain.

Taking into account later developments, there are also two late-antique epigraphical instances of *pr(a)esidialis* applied to a person; the mid-fourth-century *tabula patronatus* from Thamugadi AE 1913, 25 = ILS 9510 is addressed Elio Iuliano (PLRE I Iulianus 22) *fl(amini) p(er)p(etuo) pr(a)esidali*. According to J. Carcopino, *Rev. Afr.* 57 (1913) 170–2, *fl. pp.* and *presidialis* belong together, *pr(a)esidialis* somehow indicating the sphere of the *flamen's* operations, i.e. the province (which, of course, was governed by a *praeses*); but Dessau in his commentary on ILS 9510 assumes that Iulianus had been "praeses provinciae alicuius", and the same view is taken in PLRE and by C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire* II (1981) 452ff. who also refers to other scholars (and who says that Iulianus is a honorary *praeses*). That this is the correct interpretation is shown by CIL XIII 1796 = ILCV 89 from Lugdunum, where we

¹⁹ CIL II 1270 = CILA II 4, 1034 (Baetica), [---] *quaestorio* [---] *praetorio* [---] (cf. PIR² C 1283; end of the 3rd century); ILS 4012 (Madauros) [G]eze(i)o Largo c. v ... *prae[t]orio viro, ex consula[ri B]yzacena* etc. ("M IV", PLRE I Maternianus). The fact that *praetoricus* is sometimes used in the same sense as *praetorius* (see TLL X 2, 1067, 57ff.; M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* [1959] 6; for the grammarian Caper's opinion on this formation, see below n. 23) takes one's thoughts to *P. Caelius Victor Pretoricus* in CIL VIII 346 (Ammaedara); but I. Kajanto (*The Latin Cognomina* [1965] 317) is surely correct in interpreting *Pr(a)etoricus* here as a cognomen.

²⁰ This is clearly the case in AE 1999, 968 (Tarraco), *L. Fulvio ... Numisiano Tarrac(onensi) c(larissimo) v(iro), tribunicio allecto in amplissimum ordinem [[ab Imp. ... Commodo]]* (cf. J. López Vilar, *AEA* 72 [1999] 282), and the same may well go for CIL VIII 11332 = ILS 6836 (Sufetula), *L. Caelio Plautio Catullino c. v. tribunicio, curator rei publicae* etc. (PIR² C 139; cf. F. Jacques, *Les curateurs des cités dans l'occident romain* [1983] 189, considering an *adlectio inter tribunicios* as an alternative).

²¹ CIL VIII 21451 (Gunugu in Mauretania Caesariensis), *C. Fulcinio Fabio Maximo Optato c. v. quaestorio trib(uno) plebis praet(ori)* etc. (for the interpretation of *quaestorius* as *adlectus inter quaestorios*, see PIR² F 514; G. Alföldy, *Fasti Hispanienses* [1969] 179f.).

find a certain *Aelianus, filius Pauli* (*PLRE* II Aelianus 5) *vir praesidialis* (sic) ... *cives Remus*.²²

Let us now move on to the municipal and (in some cases) provincial level. As with senators, we observe that also in this context titles referring to offices held in the past make their appearance in imperial inscriptions, some of these titles becoming fairly common by the third century. Some of them are attested from the Julio-Claudian period onwards (it was observed above that the term *consularis* is found applied to individuals in inscriptions from the time of Augustus onwards), some only later. At the municipal and the provincial level, there were also priesthoods which were held only for a certain time, and thus we find at this level various titles referring to priesthoods held in the past. What strikes one is that in the case of some offices, there existed two (or, in the case of *flamen*, three) different versions of the title indicating service in the past, this no doubt reflecting the fact that these titles originated in everyday speech and were only later introduced into "official" diction.

In the following overview of what we find in inscriptions, my aim is to start with what seems to be the earliest (or at least an early) attestation and then to move on to offer observations on the diffusion of the title in question.

Quaestorius (cf. below *quaestoricus*).²³ The earliest attestation of this title applied to a former *quaestor* seems to be *CIL* III 5092 = 11654 (from the "Vallis Lavantina" in Noricum), *M. Longinio Vero quaestorio et Porciae C. fil. Ritumarae coniugi filiae fecer(unt)* (dated by G. Alföldy, *Noricum* [1974] to "c. A.D. 100"). The other instances, from Britain, Pannonia Inferior and Africa, all seem approximately Severan or later.²⁴ In *IL Afr.* 165 from Ammaedara, *quaestorius* is combined with *vir* (*decurio col(oniae) Ammaed(arensium), vir quaestorius*).

²² Cf. the article on *praesidialis* (also *-dialis*) in *TLL* X 2, 876–7. For *praesidialis* as a noun referring to an *ex-praeses*, see *Amm.* 22,14,4; 29,1,6; *Symm. epist.* 4,70,1: *Bonosos praesidali viro*.

²³ *quaestorius* is of course well attested both as a noun and as an adjective; *quaestoricus*, obviously formed on the analogy of *aedilicius* etc. (cf. M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* [1959] 6; this means that the *i* must have been short; "*quaestōricus*" in *OLD* is a mistake) and criticized by the grammarian Caper (*GL* VII 101 *vir praetorius et quaestorius, non praetoricus aut quaestoricus dicendum*), is otherwise attested only in inscriptions. As a term referring to a category of persons with quaestorian rank, one finds it in the *album* of Canusium, *CIL* IX 338 = *ILS* 6121; as an adjective it is attested in *CIL* VIII 7105 = *IL Alg.* II 683 (Cirta, *qua[e]storiae potestatis*).

²⁴ *RIB* 933 (*Fl(avio) Martio sen(atori) in c(ivitate?) Carvetior(um), questorio*) (but this inscription may belong to a fourth-century military context, cf. the commentary); Pannonia

Quaestoricus (cf. n. 23). There seem to be seven examples of this title, from Germania Inferior, Dacia and Africa; they all give the impression of being rather late.²⁵

Aedilicius.²⁶ The earliest dated attestation of *aedilicius* as the title of a former *aedilis* is (as far as I can see) *AE* 1971, 367 = *IDR* III 3 245 from Germisara in Dacia, with the mention of the emperors Marcus and Verus (AD 161/169: *praef(ectus) q(uin)q(uennalis) pro Imp. Antonino et Vero Augg., aedilic(ius), dec(urio)*). But the inscription from Regium Lepidum, unfortunately now lost, *CIL* XI 972 = *ILS* 6670 (*Cn. Bienus L. f. Pol. Broccus Vviral(is), aedilicius, Ilvir Regio Lepido*) gives the impression of being much earlier; in fact, a date in the first century seems likely. In any case, this title is much more common than *quaestorius*, the number of instances I have been able to trace being about 75. The other inscriptions mentioning *aedilicii* with a date of sorts are from between

Inferior: *AE* 1980, 725 (*Cibalae, dec(urio) col(oniae) Cibal(ensium), quaestorius*); *AE* 1982, 807 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 304 (*dec. col. Aq(uincensium), questorius*); from Africa: *CIL* VIII 829 = 12348; 23085 = *ILS* 6815; *IL Afr.* 165. Whether one should read *Ael(io) Candido que[storio ---]* in *AE* 2003, 1376 = *RIU* Suppl. 111 remains uncertain. Note that I have taken into account only those cases in which *quaestorius* is written out in full; but in fact it seems more than probable that the abbreviations *q.* and *quaest.* should, in many cases, be interpreted as representing *quaestorius* rather than *quaestor*, especially when these abbreviations appear alongside titles which do refer to offices held in the past; cf. below n. 114.

²⁵ Germania Inferior: 17. *BRGK* (1927) 306 = *AE* 1926, 128 (*Vetera, dec(urioni) c(oloniae) U(lpiae) T(raianae), qu[ae]storio, Ilvir[o]*); Dacia: *AE* 1957, 334 = *IDR* II 357 (*dec(urioni), quaestoric(io), aedilic(io) col. Romul(ensis)*); *IDR* III 1, 140; Africa: *CIL* VIII 12354 = *ILS* 6826 (*quaestoricio, Ilviralicio*); the rest are from the city of Giufi: *CIL* VIII 859 = 12376; *CIL* VIII 862 = 12382 = *ILS* 6821 (probably *q(uaestoricus)* rather than *q(uaestorius)*); *AE* 2003, 1985.

²⁶ For *aedilicius* both as a noun and as an adjective (in *aedilicia potestas*, etc.) see *TLL* I 927f.; cf. M. Leumann, *Kleine Schriften* (1959) 5. Note that, in the following, only cases in which *aedilicius* is written out in full are considered; for cases where it seems more than probable that the abbreviations *aed.* and *aedil.* stand for *aedilicius* rather than *aedilis*, see below n. 114.

the years 193 and 395/408.²⁷ Persons referred to as *aedilicii* are found in Italy,²⁸ Hispania Tarraconensis,²⁹ Germania Inferior,³⁰ *Alpes Maritimae* and *Poeninae*,³¹ Noricum (six instances), Pannonia Superior,³² Pannonia Inferior (many instances), Dacia (many instances), Moesia Superior,³³ Moesia Inferior,³⁴ Africa (more than 25 instances), Numidia (nine instances), Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana.³⁵ The expression *aedilicius* (combined with *duoviralicus*) *vir* is perhaps attested in *CIL* VIII 12260 = *ILCV* 310 = *ILTun.* 675.³⁶ An *aedilicius bis* is attested in Nicopolis ad Istrum (n. 34).³⁷ In inscriptions from the city of Giufi in Africa, we

²⁷ AD 193: *CIL* III 10398 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 54; *AE* 2003, 1420 (both from Pannonia Inferior); the other attestations with a date: *CIL* VIII 9024; *IL Afr.* 451; *IDR* III 2, 124 (Dacia); *IDR* III 5, 225 (Dacia; the inscriptions which precede all have a Severan date); *AE* 1934, 118 (Aquincum, AD 228); *CIL* VIII 826 (AD 230); *AE* 2003, 1414 = 2006, 1096 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 250); *AE* 2003, 1416 = 2006, 1097 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 252); *CIL* III 10440 = *ILS* 3742 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 268 (AD 259); *AE* 2006, 1762 (Africa, AD 265); *AE* 2003, 1418 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 271); *CIL* VIII 25836 = *ILS* 8926 = *I. Bardo* 389 (AD 275/6); *AE* 2003, 1420 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 284). The fourth century is represented only by an inscription of AD 352 from Germania Inferior (n. 30) and by *AE* 1914, 57 = *IL Afr.* 276 (Thuburbo Maius, an inscription in honour of [---]inius Salvianus *edilicius, p(atronus) a(lmae) K(arthaginis)* from AD 395/408) and by the Christian inscription *CIL* VIII 12260 = *ILCV* 310 = *ILTun.* 675 (two men with the title *edilicius et duoviralicus vir*).

²⁸ Cf. above; and (from a much later period) *CIL* IX 2775 (Bovianum Vetus), *M. Cufio Marcel(lo) aedilicio M. Cufius Rufillus fratri*.

²⁹ *CIL* II 3711 = *ILS* 6959 = C. Veny, *Corpus de las inscripciones baleáricas* (1965) 123: *aedilicius, ter Ilviratu in insula functus* (note the combination of two styles in indicating that the offices had been held in the past).

³⁰ Five examples, one of the from AD 352 (cf. below at n. 73).

³¹ *CIL* V 7919 = G. Laguerre, *Inscriptions antiques de Nice-Cimiez* (1975) 67b; *AE* 1988, 856.

³² *AE* 1965, 294 = *RIU* 139 (Savaria).

³³ *CIL* III 8088 (*ILS* 7176), 8090, 8205 (= *IMS* VI 67); *AE* 1952, 195 = *IL Jug.* III 1370.

³⁴ *AE* 1991, 1376.

³⁵ Caesariensis: *CIL* VIII 9024, 9664; Tingitana: *IAM* II 431, 446.

³⁶ *Manilius Faustianus ... edilicius et duoviralicus vir h(onestus) pius ... Manilius Fortunatianus edilicius et duoviralicus vir honestus pius ...*; but it seems probable that *vir* goes with *honestus* rather than with *edilicius et duoviralicus*. Cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 79; *Phil.* 8,24 *hominem aedilicium*; *HA Max. Balb.* 10,1 *quaestorios, aedilicios, tribunicios etiam viros*; *Oros.* 5,22,4 *viros ... praetorios ... aedilicios*.

³⁷ In the inscription quoted in n. 29, *ter* certainly goes with *Ilviratu ... functus*, not with *aedilicius*.

find *aediles* being referred to as sons of *aedilicii* (*CIL* VIII 858 = *ILS* 5073; *CIL* VIII 859 = 12376).

Iivralis (***duoviralis***, ***duumviralis***; cf. below *Iivralicius*).³⁸ The earliest dated attestation seems to be *AE* 2001, 1918 of AD 45/46 from Pisidian Antioch (*Ti. Claudio Caisari Aug. Germanico ... G. Caristianus Fronto Caisianus Iullus duumviralis III, pontifex*); but because of the mention of a man without a cognomen, *AE* 1989, 341m from Catina in Sicily may be even earlier.³⁹ There are exactly dated attestations from the reign of Nerva and AD 157/158 (see n. 39) and several from between the reign of Commodus and AD 284.⁴⁰ Persons referred to as *Iivrales* are attested in Sicily,⁴¹ Hispania Tarraconensis and Lusitania,⁴² Gallia Narbonensis,⁴³ Aquitania (*CIL* XIII 1391, [---duumvi]ral(is), aug(ur) [---]),

³⁸ For *Iivralis* used as an adjective or as a noun indicating rank cf. *TLL* V 1, 2315f. Note that here, too (as in the case of *quaestorius* and *aedilicius*), I only consider cases in which *Iivralis* is written out in full (or abbreviated *Iivira.*, *Iivral.*). But the abbreviation *Iivir.* could also be used for *Iivralis* or *Iivralicius*, cf. *CIL* VIII 883 = 12386 = *ILS* 6816, where we must, because of *quinquennialicio*, surely understand *aed(ilicio)*, *Iivir(ali)*, *quinquennialicio* rather than *aed(ili)*, *Iivir(ali)*; cf. below n. 114.

³⁹ *Grattia C.f. Paulla uxor C. Ofilli, mater C. Ofill[i] Veri duumviralium* etc.; *ILAlg.* I 2064b from Madauros ([---]nius [---] f. [Quir]ina Honoratus [---]anus Iivi[r]a[li]s) is from the time of Nerva, *AE* 1993, 1617 = *Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (1999) 15 (*mandatu Sex. Corneli Quirina Taurini Iivral(is)*) from 157/158 (B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidium* 2 [2009] 133 no. 34:032 a; for a later instance from the same city, see *CIL* III 12082 = *ILS* 7206 = *The Greek and Latin Inscriptions of Caesarea Maritima* (1999) 3, *M. Fl(avium) Agrippam pontif(icem), Iivral(em) col(oniae) ... Caesareae, oratorem*). There are several other attestations of *Iivralis* which seem to date from the second century (e.g., *CIL* II 4468 = *ILS* 6949 = *IRC* II 32 from Aeso in Hispania Tarraconensis; note that according to G. Fabre, M. Mayer and I. Rodà in *IRC*, the man is not an ex-duovir but someone who had received the "honours du duumvirat").

⁴⁰ *CIL* VIII 12039 = *ILS* 6812 (the same man appears in an inscription of 183/185); *AE* 1957, 294 = *ILBulg.* 17 (Moesia Inferior; the *legio I Italica* is called *Severiana*); *AE* 1973, 437 = *RIU* VI 1501 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 213); *CIL* III 6170 = *ILS* 468 = *ISM* V 151 (Moesia Inferior, AD 218/222); *CIL* VIII 2620 (AD 222/235); *CIL* VIII 826 (AD 232); *CIL* III 10440 = *ILS* 3742 = *Tituli Aquincenses* 268 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 259); *AE* 2003, 1420 (Pannonia Inferior, AD 284).

⁴¹ See n. 39 (*AE* 1989, 341m from Catina).

⁴² Tarraconensis: n. 39; Lusitania: *I. Conventus Pacensis* 305; *AE* 1952, 117 = L. García Iglesias, *Epigrafía Romana de Augusta Emerita* (1997) 145 (*L. Antestio Persico ... Iivrali, pont(ifici) perpetuo*).

⁴³ *CIL* VI 36835 (*Numini deae Vienna ex d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) M. Nigidius Paternus Iivral(is)*). The inscription is from Rome, but Nigidius Paternus probably uses a formulation

Gallia Lugdunensis,⁴⁴ Germania Inferior,⁴⁵ Britain (*AE* 2000, 809 = *RIB* 3046), *Alpes Maritimae* and *Poeninae*,⁴⁶ Pannonia Superior (*CIL* III 3936 = *ILS* 7116 = *AIJ* 500), Pannonia Inferior (at least eight instances),⁴⁷ Dacia (more than 20 instances),⁴⁸ Moesia Superior,⁴⁹ Moesia Inferior (more than ten instances),⁵⁰ Galatia (cf. above), Syria Palaestina (n. 39), Africa (more than ten instances),⁵¹ Numidia (more than five instances),⁵² Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana.⁵³ In some of the instances, we find persons called *Iivirales bis* or even *ter*.⁵⁴ In *AE*

which would have been correct in Vienna.

⁴⁴ *CIL* XI 716 (Bononia), *P. Vettio Perenni Carnutino ex provincia Lugdunensi dumviri, sacerdot(al)i?*. The titles are, I think, to be referred to Gaul rather than to Bononia (thus M. Dondin-Payre, in Ead. – M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier, *Cités, municipes, colonies* [1999] 162).

⁴⁵ *BRGK* 40, 1959, 228 (Cologne); *BRGK* 27, 1937, 162 = *AE* 1931, 20 (Bonn: *Tib. Claudius [I]ustus Iiviralis, [sa]cerdotalis [c(oloniae) C(laudiae)] A(rae) A(grippinensis)*); dated "après 150" by W. van Andringa, in M. Dondin-Payre – M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier (eds.), *Cités, municipes, colonies* [1999] 446). For the inscription of AD 352 from Tolbiacum (Zülpich), see below at n. 73.

⁴⁶ *Alpes Maritimae* (Vintium): *CIL* XII 18b (*Cremonio Albucio decur(ioni) Vint(iensium), Iivirali, sacerdotali et omnibus honoribus functo*); *ILGN* 1 (*C. Fla(vius) Secundus ... Iiviralis et sacerdot(alis)*). – *Alpes Poeninae*: *CIL* XII 140 = *I. Schweiz* 257; *ILS* 4685 = *I. Schweiz* 278 (*T. Vinelius Vegetinus Iiviral(is)*); this inscription gives the impression of not being very late); *AE* 1988, 856 (*L. Sentio Secundo aedilicio, Iivirali*); *AE* 1988, 867b (*Condiu[s] Paternu[s] flamen, Iiviralis*).

⁴⁷ E.g., *CIL* III 3438 = *ILS* 7254 = *Tituli Aquincenses* 126 (*Cl(audius) Pompeius Faustus dec(urio) col. Aq(uincensium), aedil(icius), Iiviral(is)*).

⁴⁸ E.g., *CIL* III 1209 = *ILS* 7147 = *IDR* III 5, 2, 443 (Apulum) *P. Ael. P. fil. Pap. Strenuo eq(uo) p(ublico) sacerdot(i) arae Aug(usti), auguri et Iiviral(i) col. Sarm(izegetusae), augur(i) col. Apul(ensis), dec(urioni) col. Drob(etensis)*.

⁴⁹ *CIL* III 1672 = *ILJug.* III 1488 (*dec(urioni) m(unicipii) Ma(rgensis), Iivirali*); *AE* 1979, 520 cf. 1983, 867 (*bis Iiviralis*); *ILJug.* III 1420.

⁵⁰ E.g., *CIL* III 7560 = *ISM* II 244 (Tomoi; *C. Arrius Quintianus bis duumviralis et augur mun(icipii) Troesmens(is)*).

⁵¹ E.g., *CIL* VIII 4888 = *ILAlg.* I 1344 (*C. Iulius ... Thallianus dec(urio), aedil(icius), Iiviralis*).

⁵² E.g., *ILAlg.* I 2145 (Madauros), father *fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), bis Iiviralis*, son *fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), Iivi[ral]is*. For Madauros cf. also *Apul. apol. 24: patrem habui loco principis Iiviralem cunctis honoribus perfunctum*.

⁵³ Caesariensis: *CIL* VIII 20706 (*L. An[n]io Maximo ... aedili, q(uaestori), flaminicio [du]umviraliqu(ue)*). Tingitana: *IAM* II 250. 435. 446 (*dec(urioni), aedilicio, Iivirali*).

⁵⁴ In Pisidian Antioch in AD 45/46: see above; *AE* 1979, 520 = 1983, 867 (above n. 49); *CIL* III 6170 = *ILS* 468 = *ISM* V 151 (AD 218/222: *bis duumviral(is)*); *CIL* III 7560 = *ISM* II 244

1992, 1800 (Abbir in Africa; cf. n. 102) a certain Cn. Apertius L. fil. Gaetulicus is referred to as *duoviralis vir*. In *CIL* III 14214,6 (Tropaeum Traiani in Moesia inferior) the father is *duumviralis*, the son *duumvir*.

Iiviralicus (***duoviralicus***, ***duumviralicus***; cf. above *Iiviralis*).⁵⁵ Found once in Augustine (*cur. mort.* 12,15, *curialis pauper, vix illius loci duumviralicus*), this expression is attested as an adjective in Philippi (*CIL* III 650, *honoratus ... ornamentis ... Iiviralicis*) and as a noun referring to the category of former *duoviri* in Canusium in 223 and in the fourth century in Thamugadi.⁵⁶ As a personal title, it seems to be found only in the African provinces and once in Dalmatia (?).⁵⁷ The earliest dated attestation seems to be in an inscription from Curubis in Africa from about the time of Marcus because of the mention of *divus Pius* (*ILS* 9407 = *IL Afr.* 320 = *ILTun.* 839 = *I. Bardo* 373, *fl(amini) perp(etuo), Iiviralic(io) et curator(i) alimentorum*). The other dated instances are from the period between the Severans and about AD 380.⁵⁸ There are more than twenty attestations from Africa, about ten from Numidia and three from Caesarea in Mauretania.⁵⁹ Concerning the exact meaning of the term *Iiviralicus*, let me ob-

(above n. 50); *CIL* III 12473 (*bis Iiviralis*); *CIL* III 14211,2 = *ILBulg.* 16 (*Iivirali iter(um)*); *ILAlg.* I 2145 (*bis Iiviralis*). Four of the instances are from Moesia Inferior.

⁵⁵ Cf. *TLL* V 1, 2315, 25–52.

⁵⁶ Canusium: n. 23; *CIL* VIII 2403 cf. 17824 = *ILS* 6122 (Thamugadi, from the time of Valentinian). It is not clear to me why one should read *Iivir(aliciis)* (thus *TLL* V 1, 2315, 50; *Inscr. It.*) rather than *Iivir(alibus)* in the inscription from Eburum, *CIL* X 451 = *Inscr. It.* III 1, 5 cf. *AE* 1989, 187.

⁵⁷ *CIL* III 1502 = 14610, *Aurel(ius) Augustianus dec(urio), duumviralicus m(unicipii) Cel()* (this inscription comes from a place in Dalmatia, but the *municipium* might in fact belong to Moesia Superior, cf. *ILJug.* I 77).

⁵⁸ *CIL* VIII 9353 = 20985 (Severus and Caracalla); *CIL* VIII 2741 = 18126 (a similar text *AE* 1987, 1067; from the years 202/205 because of the mention of the legate Claudius Gallus, cf. B.E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum* I² [2009] p. 167 n. 40:057) *CIL* VIII 10980 = 20983 (Caracalla); *CIL* VIII 10620 = *ILTun.* 1416 = M. Khanoussi – L. Maurin (eds.), *Dougga. Fragments d'histoire* (2000) no. 62 (Gallienus); *CIL* VIII 25836 = *ILS* 8926 = *I. Bardo* I 389 (Tacitus). Inscriptions from the later fourth century from Lambaesis in Numidia: *AE* 1917/18, 58; *AE* 1987, 1062 cf. 2003, 1889 (from the 360s); *CIL* VIII 18328 = *ILS* 5520 (between 379 and 383). In Calama (Numidia) in 376/7: *CIL* VIII 17519 = *ILAlg.* I 257 (for the interpretation [*duumvir*]alic[io], see C. Lepelley, *Les cités de l'Afrique romaine au Bas-Empire* I [1979] 154f. no. 31). Note also the Christian inscription from somewhere in (the province of) Africa, *CIL* VIII 12260 = *ILCV* 310 = *ILTun.* 675; *AE* 1961, 200 (Vina in Africa, *decurioni, aedi[l]i(cio), q(uaestori(cio), duoviralicio*) may perhaps also be assigned to the earlier fourth century.

⁵⁹ *CIL* VIII 9353 = 20985; *CIL* VIII 9398 = 20984; *CIL* VIII 10980 = 20983.

serve that nothing seems to point to the conclusion that the term could mean anything other than "former *Iivir*", *Iiviralicus* thus being just a variant of *Iiviralis*. That *Iiviralicus* does not, or at least not necessarily, refer, e.g., to someone who had only been adlected to the category of former *Iiviri* is clear from inscriptions in which *Iiviralicii* are described as having held a duovirate.⁶⁰ But it cannot be concealed that there is an inscription from Lepcis which has a mention of both a *duoviralicus* and of a *duoviralis*.⁶¹ However, one wonders if this has any significance and, if it has, what the significance might be. In any case, one can perhaps assume that the use of either *Iiviralis* or *Iiviralicus* may have depended on local custom. One finds only *Iivirales* in Africa, e.g., in Abbir, Bulla Regia, Sufetula and Thubursicu Numidarum, in Numidia in Thamugadi, and in the cities of the Mauretaniae other than Caesarea; on the other hand, one finds only *Iiviralicii* in Africa, e.g., in Ammaedara, Calama, Carthage, Mactar, Thugga, Uchi, Ureu, Uthina and Vina, in Numidia, e.g., in Cuicul and Thamugadi, and in Caesarea in Mauretania. However, the numbers of inscriptions are normally small (in many cases, we have only one relevant text from each city), and so things remain fairly uncertain, especially as there are some cities in the inscriptions of which one finds both *Iivirales* and *Iiviralicii*. In this category, we have at least Curubis (?),⁶² Municipium Turcetanum,⁶³ in Numidia Lambaesis⁶⁴ and Madauros.⁶⁵

⁶⁰ CIL VIII 863 (Giufi: *C. Gemnius ... Felix Iiviralicus ob honorem aedilitatis intermissae et Iiviratus sui*; no doubt, about the same wording in CIL VIII 862 = 12382 = ILS 6821); CIL VIII 4418 (Lambiridi in Numidia: *L. An[t]is[t]ius Antoninus duumviralicus mun(icipii) Lambiridi[t(ani)] in honorem civium suorum quod in se ... duumviratum contulissent* etc.).

⁶¹ IRT 579: (...) *Clementillae Aemili Arriani Caeciliani duoviralicis, pontif(icis) filiae ... Gallus eq. R. pontifex duoviralis* etc.

⁶² CIL VIII 24101 (*[a]ed(ilicio), Iivir(a)l[i]*; but the reading seems a bit uncertain); ILS 9407 (see above at n. 58).

⁶³ *Iiviralicii*: CIL VIII 829 = 12348; CIL VIII 12354 = ILS 6826; *Iiviralis*: CIL VIII 826 (*aedilicio, Iivirali*).

⁶⁴ *Iiviralicii*: CIL VIII 2677; 3301 and instances from the later fourth century (above n. 58). *Iiviralis*: CIL VIII 18241 = ILS 6847a. In CIL VIII 2620, the interpretation of the abbreviation *Iivira*. (thus according to the photo) is uncertain.

⁶⁵ *Iiviralicii*: ILS I 2052a; *Iivirales*: ILS I 2145. In ILS I 2064b and 2131, it is uncertain which of the two titles is meant.

IIIviralis.⁶⁶ This title seems to be attested only in three inscriptions from Dacia⁶⁷ and in one from Raetia.⁶⁸ The instances do not seem to date from before the Severans.

Quinquennialicius.⁶⁹ Interestingly, this title is attested only in Italy and in the African provinces. The earliest dated example is *CIL* VIII 16530 = *ILAlg.* I 3032 (Theveste) from the time of Commodus; however, *CIL* XI 6225 = *ILS* 5679 = *I. Fano* 5 (*T. Varius T. f. Pol. Rufinus Geganius Facundus Vibius Marcellinus equo publ(ico), quinquennialic(ius)* etc.) is said by R. Bernardelli Calavalle in *I. Fano* to be from the end of the 1st century (in my view, the inscription could, however, be somewhat later). In addition to this inscription, the title is apparently also attested in Italy in Fabrateria Vetus (*CIL* X 5654, [*C.*] *Fl(avio) C. f. Procu-leiano quinq(uennialicio) viro* (approxomately Severan; I do not think that the interpretation should be simply *quinq(uenniali) viro*) and, in the context of local *collegia*, in Ostia.⁷⁰ The rest of the instances, most of them leaving the impression of being about Severan or a bit later, but two being from the fourth century, come from the African provinces.⁷¹ The term *quinquennialicius vir* is found in the inscription from Fabrateria referred to above and in *CIL* VIII 20872 from Tipasa

⁶⁶ For *IIIviralis* used as an adjective or as a noun indicating rank cf. *CIL* VI 466 (= 32309 + 32472) = *ILS* 1930 *viator IIIviralis, IIIviralis*; *CIL* IX 2629 = *ILS* 5419, [*IIIvi*]r *i(ure) d(icundo) pro cena IIIvi[rali]*; *quattuorviralis potestas* (only in Carmo in Baetica, *CIL* II 1380 [*ILS* 5080a], 5120).

⁶⁷ *CIL* III 985 = *IDR* III 5, 1, 19 (*M. Ulp(ius) Valens IIIviralis munic(ipii) Sept(im)i Apul(ensis)*) and *AE* 1992, 1485 (Apulum); *CIL* III 7678 (Potaissa).

⁶⁸ *CIL* III 5825 = *ILB* 136 (Augusta Vindelicorum: *C. Iulianius Iulius dec(urio) mun(icipii), IIIviralis*).

⁶⁹ As an adjective and as a noun indicating rank, *quinquennialicius* is attested in a number of inscriptions, but mainly abbreviated (*qq.*, *quinq.*, etc.); for the adjective, note (to quote only inscriptions in which the title is written out in full), *praef(ecto) Germanic[i] Caesaris quinquennialici iuris* (*CIL* IX 3044 = *ILS* 2689 cf. *AE* 1986, 221]), *quinquennialicia potestas* (*EE* VIII 819 = *ILS* 6527 from Teate Marrucinatorum) and [*ornamenta* (?) *quinq[ue]nnalicia* (*CIL* III 376 = *I. Parion* 14). For the noun, cf. the *album* of Canusium (above n. 23), with a list of *quinquennialicii*; *CIL* VIII 262 = 11430 = *ILS* 6835, *inter quinq[ue]nnalicio adlecto*; cf. also *CIL* XI 7591 (Castrum Novum) and *Suppl. It.* I Ferentinum 6 = *AE* 1982, 308, apparently mentioning *quinquennialici(i)* among dedicators of statues.

⁷⁰ *CIL* XIV 246, 5374, 5380 = *AE* 1987, 197, etc.

⁷¹ In Africa: *CIL* VIII 883 = 12386 = *ILS* 6816 (*decurioni Karthag(ine), aed(ilicio), Ilvir(alicio), quinquennialicio*); *CIL* VIII 16406 = *ILS* 4471 = *ILTun.* 1564 (*aedilic(ius), quinq(uennialicius), sacerd(os) dei Ditis*); *ILAlg.* I 1363 (*Q. Vetidi Iuvenalis quinquennialici filius*). Numidia: *CIL* VIII 16530 = *ILAlg.* I 3032; *ILAlg.* II 7949/50 (fourth century); *AE* 1987, 1083 (fourth century,

in Mauretania Caesariensis (*L. Saedio Octavio Felic[i] vet(erano), quinquennalicio viro Octavia Africana patri*).

Before moving on to priesthoods, let me point out the attestation in an inscription of AD 352, in many ways striking, from Tolbiacum (Zülpich) west of Cologne of the term *curatoricius*: *CIL XIII 7918 = ILS 7069: D. M. Masclinio Materno dec(urioni) c(oloniae) A(grippinensis), aedilicio, dumvirali (sic), curatoricio, sacerdotali et ex comitibus*.⁷²

Se(x)viralis. The inscription from Regium Lepidum, unfortunately now lost, *CIL XI 972 = ILS 6670 (Cn. Bienus L. f. Pol. Broccus VViral(is), aedilicius, Ivir Regio Lepido)*, already quoted above (at n. 27) and assigned there to the first century, must be the earliest attestation. The rest of the attestations, of which there are only four and which seem to date from the later second century or from the Severan period, come from Baetica, Tarraconensis, Aquitania and Germania Inferior;⁷³ interestingly, in the inscription cited in n. 73 from Aquae Granni in the last-mentioned province, a former *sevir* of Cologne adds that the sexvirate pertains to *Augusti* but calls himself not *Augustalis* but *Augustorum*.

Sacerdotalis.⁷⁴ The earliest attestation of this title (the exact significance of which in each case cannot be taken under consideration here) must be *AE*

[*curante ---*] *quinquennalicio, fl(amine) [p(er)p(etuo)]*. Mauretania Caesariensis: *CIL VIII 20872*.

⁷² Note the combination of the type ending in *-alis* or *-icius* with the more modern type *ex + ablative*.

⁷³ *CIL II 1473 = II² 5, 1164 = CILA II 3, 689 (Astigi), P. Numerius Martialis Astigitanus seviralis signum Panthei ... fieri ... iussit; RIT 420: M. Iunio Celso VVirali, honoribus functo etc.; CIL XIII 586 (Burdigala): M. Sulpicius Primulus Turiassonesis seviral(is); 17. BRGK (1927) no. 262 (Aquae Granni), M. Fucissius Secunddus (sic) sexviralis Augustorum c(oloniae) C(laudiae) A(rae) A(grippinensium)* (this inscription is dated to the later second or the earlier third century by W. Eck, *Köln in römischer Zeit* [2004] 346, to the second or third century by W. Spickermann, *Germania Inferior* [Religion der römischen Provinzen 3, 2008] 94 n. 96).

⁷⁴ As an adjective, *sacerdotalis* is attested for the first time in literary sources in Velleius (*a nobilissimis ac sacerdotalibus viris* 2,124,4) and then in Pliny the Younger (*proximis sacerdotalibus ludis, ep.* 7,24,6). There are later instances in Tertullian and in late antiquity (e.g., *collegia sacerdotalia, HA Comm.* 12,1). As for inscriptions, the earliest instance may well be *CIL VI 9044 = ILS 7355* mentioning a freedman of Augustus (or possibly Caligula) and referring to *sacerdotales decuriones* (i.e., decurions with the rank of *sacerdotales*) of a *collegium*; the *publicus sacerdotalis* (sic) in *CIL VI 2332 = ILS 4991* is clearly also earlyish. For other instances, note *libri sacerdotales CIL VI 8878 = ILS 1685; ornamenta sacerdotalia CIL VI 8955; CIL III 499 = I. Patras 4 (ornam(entis) [sace]rdotal(ibus)); I. Patras 129; Corinth VIII 2, 168; 3, 192; I. Alexandria Troas 39, 74, 135; CIL III 7429 = ILS 1465 = ILBulg. 20;*

1964, 1 = *ILJug.* 944A (*Turus Longini f. dec(urio) et sacerdotali(s)*) from Varvaria in Dalmatia, no doubt from the early imperial period.⁷⁵ The earliest exactly dated instance seems to be *ILAlg.* II 3, 7942 of AD 161/169 from Cuicul in Numidia mentioning a certain *Q. Iulifus --- sacer]dotalis provin[ciae Africae]*. By this time, the expression *sacerdotalis* had begun to be often used to refer to the provincial priesthood in particular, especially in Pannonia Superior and in the African provinces. The other dated attestations come from the period between Commodus and the 380s,⁷⁶ but there are African inscriptions which must be even later.⁷⁷ As for the geographic distribution of the *sacerdotes*, one finds that there

honor(es) sacerdotalis (-les) *AE* 1954, 165 = 1982, 267 (Capena, referring to a female *sacerdos Cereris*); *CIL* XIII 11047 = *ILA Pétrucores* 18. For *sacerdotalis* as a noun indicating the rank of a category of persons, note *CIL* VI 10348; *adlectus inter sacerdotes* *CIL* X 7518 = *ILS* 6764 (Sulci in Sardinia, clearly not very late); *CIL* III 4178 = 10919 = *RIU* 45 (Savaria, the *sacer]dota]l(es)* setting up a statue of Trajan in AD 103/111; *CIL* VIII 10569 = 14394 (Vaga in Africa, the *sacerdotes* building something in AD 197); *EE* IX 593 (cf. p. 706) and 594 (= *ILS* 8979 and 6185), ca. mid-third-century inscriptions from Lavinium mentioning *sacerdotes et populus* as setting up honorific inscriptions (for Lavinium cf. also *AE* 1998, 282 which also mentions *consacerdotes*, an expression not in *TLL*); *Cod. Theod.* 12, 5,2 (*sacerdotes et flamines perpetuos atque etiam duumvirales ... innumes esse praecipimus*). The *album* of Thamugadi (n. 57) also includes a category of *sacerdotes*. Cf. also *Aurel(ius) Audentius ... e sacer(dotalibus) provinci(ae)* *CIL* III 3485 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 286.

⁷⁵ G. Alföldy, *Bevölkerung und Gesellschaft der römischen Provinz Dalmatien* (1965) 86.

⁷⁶ *CIL* VIII 4600 (referring to offices held in Poetovio in Pannonia Superior), *M. Valerio Maximiano M. Valeri Maximiani q(uin)q(uennalis)* (or *-nnalicii?*), *sacerdotalis fil(io)* (AD 183/185); *IRT* 397 (Lepcis, a *sacerdotalis provinciae Africae* in AD 197/209; note a possible *sac(er)d(otalis) prov(inciae) Sard(iniae)* in apparently 211 in *CIL* X 7917 cf. *AE* 1997, 753); *AE* 1968, 422 = 1983, 766 (a *sacerdotalis p(rovinciae) P(annoniae) s(uperioris)* in Karnuntum in 219); *AE* 1998, 282 (Lavinium, a *v. e.*, *sacerdotalis* in 227/228); *CIL* III 3936 = 10820 = *ILS* 7116 = *AIJ* 500 (a female *sacerdotalis* in Pannonia Superior in 238); *AE* 1922, 23 (Sitifis in Mauretania Caesariensis in 261 [?]). In the fourth century, we find *sacerdotes* in *CIL* X 4559 (Trebula Balliensis, from the time of Constantine: *L. Alfio Fannio Primo ... sacer(otali) viro*), in *CIL* XIII 7918 = *ILS* 7069 (cf. above at n. 73), and in the African provinces: *CIL* VIII 27 = 11025 = *ILTun.* 11 = *ILS* 787; *CIL* VIII 7014 = *ILAlg.* II 591 = *ILS* 758; *CIL* VIII 7034 = *ILAlg.* II 619 = *ILS* 5789; *CIL* VIII 7035 = *ILAlg.* II 621; *ILAlg.* II 620. There are also some inscriptions of *sacerdotes* in *IRT* which do not have an exact date but because of their wording, must be from the fourth century (at least 578, 588).

⁷⁷ African inscriptions apparently not earlier than the fifth century: *AE* 1972, 691 (Ammaedara, *Astius Dinamius [sacer]dotalis provin[ciae] Africe*); *CIL* VIII 8348 = *ILAlg.* II 3, 8296 = *ILCV* 392 (Cuicul in Numidia, *Tulius Adeodatus sacerdotalis*). For the date, cf. A. Chastagnol – N. Duval, in J. Tréheux (ed.), *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à W. Seston* (1974) 88ff. (*ILAlg.* II 3, 8296, with facsimile), 100ff. (*AE* 1972, 691, with photo); Lepelley, op. cit. (n.

are attestations from Italy (see n. 76), Sardinia (n. 76), Gallia Lugdunensis,⁷⁸ Gallia Belgica,⁷⁹ Germania Inferior,⁸⁰ Germania Superior,⁸¹ *Alpes Maritimae*,⁸² Raetia,⁸³ Dalmatia,⁸⁴ Pannonia Superior (about 10 instances),⁸⁵ Pannonia Inferior (at least 5 instances), Dacia,⁸⁶ Moesia Inferior (*CIL* III 12428 = *ILBulg.* 410), Africa (more than ten instances),⁸⁷ Numidia,⁸⁸ Mauretania Caesariensis (n. 76). The combination *vir sacerdotalis* is attested in Moguntiacum (*CIL* XIII 7064) and, in the time of Constantine, in Trebula Balliensis in Italy (n. 75: *sacerdotalis vir*).

Flaminalis. This title seems to be attested only in inscriptions (*TLL* VI 1, 861, 50ff.: "qui flamonio municipali vel provinciali functus est");⁸⁹ the earliest example is surely *CIL* V 5132 = M. Vavassori, *Le antiche lapidi di Bergamo*

58) I [1979] 368 (cf. p. 362ff. on *sacerdotes* in general, with references on p. 364 n. 149 to mentions of African *sacerdotes* in the *Codex Theodosianus* at the end of the fourth and in the early fifth century).

⁷⁸ *CIL* XIII 1632. One also wonders whether one should not read *P. Vettio Perenni Carnutino ex provincia Lugdunensi dumvirali, sacerdot(ali)* (rather than *sacerdot(i)*) in *CIL* XI 716 (but W. van Andringa, in M. Dondin-Payre – M.-Th. Raepsaet-Charlier [eds.], *Cités, municipes, colonies* [1999] 443 prefers *sacerdot(i)*).

⁷⁹ *CIL* VI 29692; *AE* 1929, 173.

⁸⁰ *CIL* XIII 8244 = *ILS* 3384; *AE* 1931, 20 = *BRGK* 27, 1937, 98 no. 162

⁸¹ *CIL* XIII 6705 (= *ILS* 7080), 7064.

⁸² *CIL* XII 18b; *ILGN* 1; probably also *AE* 2000, 850, all these inscriptions being from Vintium (Vence).

⁸³ *CIL* III 5826; 5827 = *ILS* 7109 (a female).

⁸⁴ *AE* 1964, 1 = *ILJug.* 944A (see above); *CIL* III 6344 = 8310.

⁸⁵ *CIL* III 3936 = 10820 = *ILS* 7116 = *AIJ* 500 of 238 referring to a woman.

⁸⁶ *CIL* III 7962 = *ILS* 7130 = *IDR* III 2, 353; *CIL* III 7688; *AE* 2006, 1178; probably also *CIL* III 1207 = *IDR* III 5, 483.

⁸⁷ E.g., *CIL* VIII 1827 = 16472 = *ILTun.* 1647 (Althiburus), *fl(amen) p(er)p(etuus), sacerdotal(is) prov(inciae) / Afric(ae)*; cf. next note.

⁸⁸ Attested apparently only in the fourth century and only in Cirta (*ILAlg.* II 591. 619. 620. 621); the earlier *sacerdotes* appearing in inscriptions from Numidia (officially a part of the province of Africa until Severus) are *sacerdotes provinciae Africae* (*ILAlg.* II 3, 7903. 7942. 8296; *CIL* VIII 2343 = *ILS* 6840; *AE* 1979, 670).

⁸⁹ For *flaminalis* as an adjective referring to persons belonging to a certain category, see *CIL* II 4248 = *ILS* 6937 = *RIT* 333, *statuam inter flaminales viros positam*. Other instances of the adjective: *CIL* II 4523 = *IRC* IV 55 (*honores flaminales*); *CILA* II 2, 358 = *AE* 1983, 521 (Italia, *corona(m) ... flaminal(em)*). For *Flaminalis* as a cognomen cf. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (1965) 318.

(1994) no. 29 from Bergomum, *L. Blandius C. f. Vot. IIIIIvir et Augustalis et flaminialis*, an early date, probably before Claudius, being indicated by the absence of a cognomen. It must, however, be noted that *et flaminialis* is a later addition. In addition to this early instance, the title is attested in Italy in Terventum⁹⁰ and Peltuinum.⁹¹ Otherwise, *flaminialis* is attested as a personal title in Baetica,⁹² Africa⁹³ and Mauretania Caesariensis,⁹⁴ a province which offers us (see n. 94) not only a *flaminialis vir* but also (quite strikingly) a *flaminialis vir p(er)p(etuus)*, that is (if the interpretation *p(er)p(etuus)* is correct), a *flamen perpetuus* (holder of a priesthood normally held for life) for some reason (or perhaps rather erroneously) referred to as having held the title earlier.⁹⁵

Flaminicius and **flaminicus**.⁹⁶ The earliest attestation is perhaps *CIL* XII 140 = G. Walser, *Römische Inschriften in der Schweiz* III (1980) no. 257 from modern Sion in the Alpes Poeninae, perhaps, because of *v(ivus) f(ecit)*, from the earlier second century: *M. Floreius Ingenuus IIviral(is), flaminicus*.⁹⁷ This title is also attested in Carales in Sardinia (*CIL* X 7602, an uncertain case; either *flaminicius* or *flaminicus*) and, in the form *flaminicius*, in Aquincum and in Mauretania Caesariensis.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ *CIL* IX 2597, *L. Lucretius L. f. Volt. Cordus IIvir quinq(uennalis), flaminialis*.

⁹¹ *CIL* IX 3437 = *ILS* 5063 = *EAOR* III 35 (dated by Buonocore in *EAOR* III to the mid-second century), *C. Pausculano C. f. Quir(ina) Maximo aedili quinq(uennali), praef(ecto) iuris dic(undi), quaestori alim(entorum), flaminiali Aug(ustali)*.

⁹² Person referred to as *flaminales provinciae Baeticae* in *CIL* II 983 = *ILS* 6904 = A. M. Canto, *Epigrafía Romana de la Beturia céltica* (1997) 113; *CIL* II² 7, 297 = Canto 35a; *CILA* II 2, 343 = *AE* 1982, 520 (note that in this inscription, *flaminialis provin[ciae] Baeticae* is contrasted with *flamen perpetuus divi Traiani*).

⁹³ *ILAfr.* 426 = *I. Bardo* 444 (Utica); *ILTun.* 1081 (Carthage).

⁹⁴ *AE* 1898, 99 (*Sex. Marci Marciani flaminiali<s> viri p(er)p(etui)*); 1937, 57; 1958, 134 ([--] *filio Q(uirina) Valenti flaminiali viro, sacerdoti urbis Romae, patrono provinciae*).

⁹⁵ This is the only instance of this kind I have been able to find.

⁹⁶ Cf. *TLL* VI 1, 864, 44ff. For *flaminicus* as an adjective cf. Festus p. 65 L.; *CIL* II 2344 = II² 7, 799 (*peracto honore flaminico*).

⁹⁷ However, Walser thinks that *flaminicus* may indicate not that Ingenuus had been a *flamen* but that he was the husband of a *flaminica* (mentioned in the same inscription).

⁹⁸ *Tituli Aquincenses* I 32 and 347 (the same man; 32: *dec(urio) m(unicipii) Aq(uincensium), IIvir q(uin)q(uennalis), flaminicius*). Mauretania: *CIL* VIII 20706 (Rusippisir), *L. An[n]io Maximo ... equiti Ro[m]ano, aedili, q(uaestori), flaminicio, [du]m(virali)q(ue) (sic?) ... Modest[us] patri ... , IIvirum (partitive equivalent to the nominative) q(uin)q(uennalis), flaminic(ius)*.

Flamoni.⁹⁹ This title is attested only in Madauros in Numidia (*ILAlg.* I 2147 and 2148), the two instances (both with the combination *flamoni*, *aedilicius*) not giving the impression of being pre-Severan.

Pontificalis. Attested as a personal title only in Acinipo in Baetica (*CIL* II 1348, 1349 cf. *HEp* 1, 475). Both examples can perhaps be dated to the earlier second century.¹⁰⁰

Cerealicus. This expression, otherwise attested only once as an adjective and once as a noun referring to the category of persons who had been *Cereales*,¹⁰¹ is now attested as a personal title in the inscription from Abbir in Africa, *AE* 1992, 1800, where we find a certain *Cn. Apertius L. fil. Gaetulicus duoviralis vir, Cerealicus splendidissimae col(oniae) Karthaginis*.¹⁰²

This overview of the material may suitably be concluded with the observation that titles of a similar nature can be found in Greek inscriptions. In addition to ὑπατικός = *consularis* (cf. above n. 4), which is, of course, common, one also finds στρατηγικός = *praetorius*. This title is attested not only as the only title in second-century inscriptions from Olympia and Crete¹⁰³ but also, most strikingly, within a senatorial cursus from Cyrene from the time of Trajan.¹⁰⁴ Among titles referring to non-senators, note ἐπίτροπικός (from ἐπίτροπος = *procurator*;

⁹⁹ Cf. *TLL* VI 1, 876, 50ff. As an adjective, *flamoni* seems to be attested only in *ILGN* 573 = *ILS* 6969 (*[flamoni] ornament[is] honorato*, referring to honours held in Sicilian cities).

¹⁰⁰ 1348 (*M. Mario M. f. M. n. Quir. Frontoni pontificali, Ilvir(o)* etc.) is, according to R. Wiegels, *Die Tribusinschriften des römischen Hispanien* (1985) 12, "kaum vor dem 2. Jh."

¹⁰¹ *TLL* Onom. II 345, 71–5, with a reference to *ludi Cerealicii* in the calendar of Philocalus and to *CIL* VIII 16417 = A. Beschtaouch, *Mustitana. Recueil des nouvelles inscriptions de Mustis* (1968) no. 14 (*AE* 1968, 609): *[o]b cuius dedicatione ... epulum curiis et Caerealicis exhibuerunt* ("a offert un banquet aux curies et (au collègue) des Cerealicii" Beschtaouch). For the *Cereales* in Africa, see, e.g., J. B. Rives, *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage* (1995) 159.

¹⁰² Note that this inscription has not yet been edited; the text given in the *AE* is based on the rendering of the inscription's contents by the future editor, A. Beschtaouch, in which the datives seem to have been replaced by the nominative.

¹⁰³ *I. Olympia* 236 cf. *SEG* 53/1, 435, [Λούκιος Μινίκιος] Νατᾶλις στρατηγικός (the future consul of AD 139 [*PIR*² M 620] setting up a *quadriga* having, as ex-praetor, won the chariot race in 129); *IC* IV 296 = *ILS* 8834a = *IGR* I 969, Μ. Ῥώσκιον Κυρείνα Λοῦπον Μουρήναν, Μ. Μουρήνα στρατηγικοῦ υἱόν (apparently from the later second century).

¹⁰⁴ *AE* 1960, 199 = *SEG* 18, 744, Π. Σήστιος Πωλλίων (priest of Apollo in Cyrene in AD 111) ... συνκλητικὸς καὶ ταμίας Ῥώμης, ἀγ[ορα]νόμος κορούλης, στρατηγικός, πρ[εσβε]υτὴς καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Κρήτ[ης καὶ] Κυρήνης. One wonders, though, whether we could not be dealing with a mistake or miscomprehension.

procuratorius is not attested as a noun) in an inscription from Ephesos from the time of Severus Alexander¹⁰⁵ and ἀγορανομικός and ἀρχοντικός in an inscription from Naples.¹⁰⁶

However, let us return to the Latin material and proceed to some concluding observations, concentrating on the non-senatorial titles. First of all, the impression one gets from the material as presented above is that titles referring to offices held in the past are not altogether uncommon in some provinces – e.g., in Pannonia Inferior, Dacia and in the African provinces – whereas there are provinces in which this type is only rarely found. Thus, there do not seem to be many examples from, e.g., Dalmatia and from the Gallic provinces and from Germania Superior, and what there is seems to consist mainly of a handful of *sacerdotes*.¹⁰⁷ There is also not much from the Spanish provinces.¹⁰⁸ However, it seems obvious that what we are dealing with here is not really a question belonging to the sphere of geography but rather one belonging to the sphere of chronology since from the material presented above, it appears clearly that titles of the type *aedilicius* and *Iiviralis* become more common only during the latter half of the second century and that the main period when they are attested is that between the Severans and the later third century. Whereas in this period inscriptions likely to include attestations of the said titles pretty much dry out in many parts of the empire, in some provinces of the Balkans, especially in Pannonia Inferior and Dacia, and in the African provinces (with perhaps the exception of Mauretania Tingitana) it is exactly this period in which inscriptions, and especially inscriptions of relevance here, seem to be most numerous. We may thus conclude this section by observing that if one is likely to find inscriptions with titles of the type *duoviralis* in the Balkans and in Africa rather than in Spain and in Gaul, it is because in the

¹⁰⁵ *I. Ephesos* 3049, Γ. Ἰούλιον Φίλιππον ἐπιτροπικόν, πατέρα Ἰουλίου Φιλίππου τοῦ κρατίστου λογιστοῦ etc.

¹⁰⁶ *IG XIV* 756a = *IGI Napoli I* 34, Κομινίαι Πλουτογενεΐαι ... γυναικὶ Πακκίου Καλήδου ἀρχοντικοῦ καὶ μητρὶ Πακκίου Καληδιανοῦ ἀγορανομικοῦ. There is also ἐπαρχικός (e.g., *SEG* 37, 500), but this term is known only as a Byzantine title.

¹⁰⁷ Only *sacerdotes* are attested in Gallia Belgica and Germania Superior, and the only *dumviralis* pertaining to Gallia Lugdunensis is attested in an inscription from Bononia (n. 44); in addition to the two *sacerdotes* attested in Dalmatia (n. 84) there is only one *dumviralicius* who seems to belong not to Dalmatia but to Moesia Superior (n. 57).

¹⁰⁸ And in Baetica, for example, only titles referring to earlier priesthoods seem to be attested: in addition to provincial *flaminales*, we have there two *pontificales* from a single city (above at n. 100) and one *seviralis* (n. 73).

latter areas, inscriptions in general tend to concentrate in periods earlier than the proliferation of the said titles.

Speaking of chronology, it may be noted here that although the titles of the type *Iiviralis* clearly became more common only in the later second century, one observes in the case of many of them occasional early attestations. We thus find the *VIviral(is)*, *aedilicius* Cn. Bienus L. f. Pol. Broccus in Regium Lepidum in an inscription which must be from the first century, a *duumviralis III* in an inscription from Pisidian Antioch dated 45/46, a *flaminalis* in Bergomum and a *dumviralis* in Catina who do not have cognomina, and a first-century *sacerdotalis* in Dalmatia. (The situation is thus more or less the same as in the case of the senatorial titles *consularis* and *praetorius*, which become common later, but of which there is the odd Augustan instance foreshadowing future developments.) The few early examples cannot, however, obscure the fact that it is the later second and the third century when the titles under discussion are mainly attested. This is well illustrated by those cases which have at least an approximate date (and of course it is true that those inscriptions which cannot be furnished with a date are also normally clearly from about the same period). In the case of *aedilicius*, there are about 15 dated instances between the years 161/169 and 395/408; in addition to two early attestations, *duumviraes* are attested in eight inscriptions between the time of Commodus and 284; *duumviralicii* are attested in six inscriptions dated between Marcus Aurelius and 275/276, but are also found in the fourth century; for *quinquennialicii*, attested also in the fourth century, the only earlier attestation is from the time of Commodus, and the only exactly dated *quaestorius* can be found in an inscription of AD 259 (n. 23). In the case of *sacerdotalis*, found also in the fourth century, the eight earlier attestations date from between 161/169 and 261 (?).

The expressions *aedilicius*, *Iiviralicus*, *quinquennialicius* and *sacerdotalis* survive, used as personal titles, into the fourth century, *aedilicius*, *Iiviralicus* and *quinquennialicius* only in the African provinces and mainly in Numidia. The transformation of the epigraphical culture in Late Antiquity is well illustrated by the fact that, in this period, these titles are mainly attested in building inscriptions in the phrase *curante* followed by name and title in the ablative.¹⁰⁹ As for *sacerdotalis*, which at least in Africa invariably referred to the provincial priesthood,

¹⁰⁹ Thus *AE* 1917/18, 58; 1987, 1062; *CIL* VIII 18328 = *ILS* 5520 and (probably) *CIL* VIII 17519 = *ILAlg.* I 257 (*duoviralicii*); *ILAlg.* II 3, 7949/50; *AE* 1987, 1083 (*quinquennialicii*). Only *AE* 1914, 57 = *IL Afr.* 276 from Thuburbo Maius, in honour of [---]inius Salvianus *edilicius*, is an honorific inscription (for *aediles* and *aedilicii* in this period, cf. Lepelley, op. cit. (n. 58) I [1979] 164f.).

there are isolated attestations in the fourth century from Italy and from Cologne, and many attestations from the African provinces (above n. 77).

The titles of the type *aedilicius, duumviralis*, etc. often appear as the only title applied to a person (e.g., *M. Cufio Marcel(lo) aedilicio* in *CIL* IX 2775 or *Quintinae Magnillae ... Ant(onius) Rufus Iviral(is) col(oniae)* in *CIL* III 1491 = *IDR* III 2, 440), but these titles of course often also appear in combination with other titles, either titles which refer to offices (or priesthoods, etc.) held permanently, or at least for a longer time, such as *decurio*¹¹⁰ or titles referring to offices held only for a limited time. In the latter case, a combination of two or more titles referring to offices held in the past (e.g., *aedilicius + Iviralicus* in *CIL* VIII 17043 = *ILAlg.* I 573 and in many other African inscriptions) obviously presents no problems of interpretation. But there are also cases in which titles of the type *aedilicius, duumviralis*, etc. appear, or at least seem to appear, combined with a title referring to an office actually held or which at least does not imply that the office had been held in the past (e.g., *aedilis, Ivir*). If the title of the latter type refers to an office that is higher than that of the type *aedilicius*, there is, of course, no problem; if we find two *aedilici, Iviri col(oniae) Aquincens(ium)* (*AE* 2003, 1097),¹¹¹ we gather that the men had been aediles but actually held the duovirate. But what about the case that an earlier office is expressed by a title of the type *aedilis, quaestor*, a later one by a title of the type *Iviralis Iviralicus*? This is obviously an unlikely scenario and the fact is that if one disregards those inscriptions in which some of the titles have been abbreviated in a way that makes their interpretation uncertain (e.g., *CIL* VIII 2620, *q., aedil., Ivira(lis)* – but see below and n. 112), the result is that this scenario is (apparently) attested only in the following inscriptions:

- *CIL* III 10440 = *ILS* 3742 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 268 (AD 259), *C. Iul(io) Victorini* (sic) *eq(uo) p(ublico) aedili, Ivirali*;
- *AE* 1961, 200 (Vina in Africa) *Aurel(io) [F]lavio decurioni, aedi[l]i, q., duoviralicio*;¹¹²
- *CIL* VIII 20706 (Rusippir in Mauretania Caesariensis), *L. An[n]io Maximo ... aedili, q., flaminicio, [du]umviraliq(ue)*;

¹¹⁰ For example *decurio + aedilicius* (e.g., *CIL* III 3456 from Aquincum) and *decurio + Iviralis* (e.g., *IDR* III 2, 113 from Sarmizegetusa) are fairly frequent combinations.

¹¹¹ *AE* 2003, 1414 and 1418 (with *Iviri* written out) and *CIL* VIII 26617 (*[aed]ilicio, Iviro*) are similar cases.

¹¹² According to Lepelley (n. 58), I (1979), 152f. no. 1 (with the proposed date of middle or end of the third century), one should understand "*aedilis, q(uaestor)*".

However, in view of the fact that it seems more than unlikely that a man would be referred to as both *aedilis* and as a former *IIvir*, and, on the other hand, of the many inscriptions in which *aedilicii* appear alongside *IIvirales*, *IIviralicii* and others, my conclusion is that one has to interpret *aedili* in the above inscriptions as an abbreviation, *aedili(cio)*; and this is exactly what the editors of *Tituli Aquincenses* do in the case of the first inscription ("*aedili(cio)*, *IIvirali*"). In the same way, I think that all abbreviations of the type *q.* (in two of the inscriptions quoted above), *quaest.*, *aed.*, *aedil.* should be understood as representing not *quaestor* and *aedilis* but *quaestori(cius)* and *aedilicius*, if accompanied by a title of the type *IIviralis* referring to a higher office.¹¹³

In the case of many of the titles discussed above, the title is also attested in combination with *vir*, this recalling the appearance of the expression *vir consularis* in the early third century (above at n. 6). We thus find a *vir quaestorius* (*IL Afr.* 165), *duoviralis vir* (*AE* 1992, 1800 (Abbir in Africa), *quinquennialicius vir* (*CIL* X 5654 from Fabrateria; *CIL* VIII 20872 from Tipasa in Mauretania Caesariensis), *vir sacerdotalis* or *sacerdotalis vir* (*CIL* X 4559 from Trebula Balensis from the time of Constantine; *CIL* XIII 7064, from Moguntiacum), and a *flaminalis vir* (n. 94). Except for the inscription from Trebula from the fourth century, these inscriptions all seem approximately Severan or a bit later; my impression is, then, that the influence of the type *vir consularis* on these titles must be considered most probable.

Let us conclude with *IIvirales* etc. furnished with the numeral *bis* or even *ter*. One would *a priori* expect duovirs and others who had held a certain office more than once to call themselves *IIvir* (etc.) *bis* or *ter* or, if the second or third duovirate was held at the very moment an inscription was set up, *IIvir iterum* or *tertium*. But in fact we do also find the type *IIviralis bis* or *ter*, which is a striking formulation but which must have been meant to indicate that a man belonged to the category of those men who in the past had held the office twice or even three times. The only known *duumviralis III* is attested in the inscription *AE* 2001, 1918 of AD 45/6 from Pisidian Antioch (above at n. 38) which, because of its early date and its provenance, clearly does not belong to the same category as the other examples which are about Severan or a bit later and for the most part

¹¹³ This affects inscriptions like *CIL* III 10440 = *ILS* 3742 = *Tituli Aquincenses* I 268 (AD 259; surely *q(uaestorio)*, *IIvirali*); *CIL* VIII 862 = 12382 = *ILS* 6821 (*q(uaestori(cio))*, *IIviral(i)*); *CIL* VIII 883 = 12386 = *ILS* 6816 (*decurioni Karthag(ine)*, *aed(ilicio)*, *IIvir(ali)*, *quinquennialicio*); *CIL* VIII 2620 (no doubt *q(uaestori(cius))*, *aedil(icius)*, *IIvira(lis)*) *CIL* VIII 12453 = 24101 (understand [*a*]ed(ilicio); *CIL* VIII 12126 (*decurio ...*, [*ae*]dil(icius), *q(uaestori(cius))*, *IIviralis*); *CIL* VIII 27420 (*aedil(icius)*); *AE* 1962, 184 (not *aedil(i)* but *aedil(icio)*), etc.

come from the province of Moesia Inferior.¹¹⁴ From this province, we have an *aedilicius bis* in *AE* 1991, 1376 (Nicopolis ad Istrum) and *bis duumvirales* in *CIL* III 6170 = *ILS* 468 = *ISM* V 151 (Troesmis, AD 218/222), *CIL* III 7560 = *ISM* II 244 (Tomi), *CIL* III 12473 (*bis Iiviral(is)*, Tropaeum Traiani), *CIL* III 14211, 2, = *ILBulg.* 16 (Oescus, *Iivirali iterum*). From the rest of the Roman world, there seem to be certain examples only from Moesia Superior (*AE* 1979, 520 cf. 1983, 867, *bis Iiviralis*) and from Madauros in Numidia (*ILAlg.* I 2145, *bis Iiviralis*).¹¹⁵ The singularity of the combination of *bis* or *ter* with a title of the type *Iiviralis* is illustrated by the fact that I seem to be able to find parallels for this in literary sources only in the *Historia Augusta* and only in passages in which the numeral is either a mistake or pure invention.¹¹⁶

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¹¹⁴ The editors of the inscription from Pisidian Antioch, M. Christol – Th. Drew-Bear – M. Taşlıalan, *Tyche* 16 (2001) 1–20, may not have noticed the oddity of the expression *duumviralis III*, for there seems to be nothing on it in the commentary.

¹¹⁵ In this inscription, a *fl(amen) p(erp(etuus), Iivi[ral]is* is the son of a *fl(amen) p(erp(etuus), bis Iiviralis*. – In those cases in which the title is abbreviated (e.g., *IRT* 578, *Gemino v(iro) p(erfectissimo) ... bis Iivir.*) I think it is preferable to assume that we are dealing with *Iiviri* rather than with *Iivirales*.

¹¹⁶ *Sev.* 1,5, *bis iam consulari*; *Tyr. trig.* 33, *tertio consularis ... quarto aedilicius, tertio quaestorius*.

ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

HEIKKI SOLIN

CCLIX. WEITERE LATEINISCHE COGNOMINA

Neue Namen und kein Ende.¹

Absens m.: Kajanto 289 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1979, 208 (Volsinii) *Sex. Nonius Absens*; *ILAlg* I 2201 (Madauros) *L. Fotidius L. f. Pol. Absens*.

Abundiola: Kajanto 281 mit einem Beleg aus Ammaedara (jetzt *ICHaidra* 115). Von dort stammt auch ein weiterer: *ICHaidra* 110.

Abundius: Kajanto 281 mit drei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 23769a *Abundio* (wohl Dativ); *ILS* 9294 (Thamugadi, 4. Jh.); *AE* 1966, 568 (Sitifis, christl.).

Acer: Kajanto 267 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1975, 350 (Asculum, Freigelassener); 1995, 522 (Dertosa).

! *Acidus*: Kajanto 265 mit einem sicheren Beleg aus der Baetica. Der Name ist aber öfters, besonders der Frauename *Acida*, in den hispanischen Provinzen belegt (J. M. Abascal Palazón, *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania*, Murcia 1994, 257) und kann epichorisches Namengut vertreten.

Aequalis: Kajanto 289 mit zehn Belegen. Dazu *NSc* 1923, 360 (Rom, Freigelassener); *AE* 1966, 75 (Larinum, Freigelassener); *EE* VIII 124 (Teate Marrucinorum); *AE* 1945, 50 = 1983, 416 (Bononia, Freigelassener); *Inscr. It.* X 5, 355 (Brixia, Freigelassener); *I. Prusa ad Olympum* 173.

¹ Mein herzlicher Dank geht an Wolfgang Günther und Peter Kruschwitz, die meinen deutschen Ausdruck verbessert haben, Marco Buonocore, der bei Recherchen der Handschriften der BAV behilflich war. Ferner habe ich Denis Feissel, Angelo Nicosia und Claudio Zaccaria für verschiedene Hinweise zu danken.

Zu den hier gebrauchten Zeichen vgl. H. Solin – O. Salomies, *Repertorium nominum gentilium et cognominum Latinorum*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 1994² (hier *Rep.* abgekürzt), 475. Kajanto bedeutet Kajantos *Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965.

Agrippinianus: *AE* 2007, 1612–1613 (Berytus, 211 n. Chr.) *M. Lucilius Agrippinianus v(ir) e(gregius), proc(urator) dd. nn. principum* Augg. Öfters belegt in Rom als Agnomen kaiserlicher Sklaven: *CIL* VI 15616.24164. 33737. 36911; vgl. dazu H. Chantraine, *Freigelassene und Sklaven im Dienst der römischen Kaiser*, Wiesbaden 1967, 297f.

Albula: Kajanto 227 mit drei Belegen, alle aus Afrika. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 216 mit vier weiteren Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 23 Asisium 63 (*AE* 2007, 512) eine Propertia, 2. Jh;² *ILAlg* II 9568; *ILCV* 3640 (Thamugadi).

Amabilianus: Kajanto 282 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 9624; *ILAlg* I 158 (Tenelium) *Lucius Arrius Amabilianus flamen perpetuus*.

Amica: Kajanto 305 mit zwei Belegen (*CIL* VI 20365; *ICUR* 2904), die aber auf einen zusammenschumpfen, denn die zwei Inschriften sind identisch. Vidman im Cognominaindex verzeichnet einen weiteren Beleg aus *CIL* VI 17110, der aber fragmentarisch ist: *Egnatiae Amic[---]*, wo aber auch etwa *Amicalis Amicia* vorliegen könnten. Ferner *CIL* II² 14, 64 (Valentia) *Iulia Amica*; *ILBulg* 367 (Schnur eines Soldaten der legio I Italica). Problematisch bleibt *AE* 2007, 597 (Aquileia) in fragmentarischem Kontext, wobei auch *amica* verstanden werden könnte; doch anhand des Wortlauts und aufgrund des von G. Vergone, *Le epigrafi lapidarie del Museo paleocristiano di Monastero (Aquileia)*, Trieste 2007, Nr. 104 publizierten Photos würde ich für einen Namen plädieren (und *amica*, zudem im Nominativ, ist passend in altchristlichen Grabinschriften einfacher Leute). – Die Seltenheit dieses Frauennamens mag auffallen, denn der Männername *Amicus* war überaus üblich.

Ampla: Kajanto 274 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VI 36472. Den Männernamen *Amplus* belegt er zweimal. Dazu noch ein unsicheres Zeugnis aus Pompeji: *CIL* IV 7534 *Amplus alumnus Tiburs*; schon die Lesung ist problematisch, und auch wenn da *AMPLVS* stünde, könnte es auch Appellativ sein.³

Angulata: Kajanto 245 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* V 1633 vgl. *AE* 2001, 1006 (Aquileia, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) eine *Aurelia*. – Zu *Angulatus* (Kajanto 245. *Arctos* 40 [2006] 132) sei noch angemerkt, dass – wie schon vermutet worden ist – epichorisches Substrat vorliegen kann; auch die zwei stadtrömischen Belege gehören Soldaten norischer Herkunft.

² Die Editorin möchte nach dem Cognomen *Sex. [l.]* ergänzen, was vollends unsicher bleibt; außerdem wäre die Stellung der Angabe des Patronus ungewöhnlich.

³ Vidman, *SIRIS* 490 lässt die Deutung offen, während Bricault, *RICIS* 2, 605 Nr. 504/0214 *Amplus* als Namen auffasst (seine Auflösung *Tibur(tinu)s* ist abzuweisen).

Ansilla(?): *AE* 2007, 1122 (Dalmatien). Die Lesung wird mit Fragezeichen versehen, die Bildung ist möglich, Suffixableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Ansius*, vgl. *Ansio* aus Rom (*CIL* VI 5858; Lesung und Deutung stehen fest, vgl. *Arctos* 17 (1983) 88 = H. Solin, *Analecta Epigraphica* 1970–1997, Roma 1998, 177).

Antiqua: Kajanto 288 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1978, 437 (Valentia in Hisp. cit.) *Iunia L. f. Antiqua* (Sohn *Antiquos*). Der entsprechende Männername ist üblicher.

Antoniana: Kajanto 140 mit zwei Belegen (die Zahl der Belege scheint aber höher zu sein). Dazu *ICUR* 24946; *Suppl. It.* 15 Ateste 204 (Freigelassene, zweites Cognomen, Trägerin wohl Ex–Sklavin eines Antonius oder einer Antonia); *IAM* 2, 452; 524 vgl. *Suppl.*; 562 vgl. *Suppl. Caecilia*; 591 *Gabinia*; *AE* 2007, 1425 (Aphrodisias, 2./3. Jh.); F. K. Dörner, *Bericht über eine Reise in Bithynien* (1952) 55, 142; *I. Klaudiu polis* 34 [Ἄν]τωνιανή (wenn nicht etwa *Catoniana*). Dagegen ist *Antonianus* üblich.

Apricus: Kajanto 288 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ILAquit Santons* 25.

Aptianus: *ILAlg* II 9862 C. *Licinius Apt[i]anus*.

Aquinas: Kajanto 181 registriert den Namen einmal aus *CIL* VI 35471; es bleibt jedoch unsicher, ob dort ein Cognomen vorliegt. Der Text lautet *Olus Hirtius Hilarus, Bassa Aquinas*. In fr. p. XV, in ag. p. XX. Bei diesem Wortlaut würde man *Aquinas* eher für Herkunftsangabe der Bassa halten (wenn *Aquinas* nicht den Namen einer dritten Person darstellt). Dagegen ist es als Sklavename im Territorium von Aquinum oder in angrenzenden Gebieten bisher zweimal belegt. Das erste Zeugnis ist ein Stempel im Fuß eines Bechers, gefunden im Bereich des Amphitheaters von Cartagena: L. Pedroni – J. Pérez Ballester – A. Nicosia, "Aquinum, Rullius y Caesius. A proposito de algunas estampillas sobre vasos tardorepublicanos", *Mastia. Revista del Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Cartagena* 4 (2005) 16, 18 (Photo), 24 vgl. auch P. A. Gianfrotta, "I vasetti di Rullius, di Caesius e la porpora di Aquinum", *Spigolature aquinati. Studi storico-archeologici su Aquino e il suo territorio. Atti della giornata di studio – Aquino, 19 maggio 2007*, a cura di A. Nicosia e G. Ceraudo, Aquino 2007, 49–58 (*AE* 2007, 335) mit dem Text *Aquinas M. Caesi M. s(ervus)*. Ein anderer Stempel im Boden des Fußes einer Olpe, gefunden im Gebiet von Sessa Aurunca (G. Tommasini, *Bollettino Aurunco* 11 [1933] 146f) lautet *Aquinas C. Ruli* (falsch verstanden vom Editor). Beide Stempel dürften aus aquinatischen Werkstätten stammen und ans Ende der republikanischen Zeit datierbar sein. Dass die zwei Patroni ihren Sklaven den Namen *Aquinas* zugelegt haben, ist der spätrepublikanischen Sklavennamengebung nicht fremd. Der erste Stempel enthält noch ein interessantes Detail: Im Namen des Herrn wird sein Vorname wiederholt, erklärlich als eine

Art Kontamination zwischen der alten Gewohnheit, den Vornamen des Herrn nach seinem Gentilnamen zu stellen, und der neuen, seit der augusteischen Zeit herrschenden, sich der normalen Folge in der Nomenklatur des Herrn Vorname + Gentile zu bedienen.⁴ Der Stempel kann die Unsicherheit der Übergangsperiode widerspiegeln, die eine oder die andere Formel zu wählen.

Aspera: Kajanto 265 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 18460 *Aspra*; *CIL* IV 8071 *Aspra*. Der Männernamen *Asper* war üblicherweise in Gebrauch.

Asprilla: Kajanto 265 mit einem Beleg aus Philippi. Dazu aus der Nachbarschaft *IG X 2, 1, 386a Hostia C. f. Asprilla*.

Atrox: Kajanto 265 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 174. Dazu *ILTun* 464 = *ILBardo* 42 (Ammaedara).

Audacius: Kajanto 268 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 21836 [*Au*]dacio (das ist der ganze Text; Ergänzung plausibel; vgl. *Arctos* 33 [1999] 194 Nr. 52).

Auspex: Kajanto 318 mit sechs Belegen (davon zwei senatorisch). Dazu *IRB* 650. 2100, derselbe 2104.

Auspicalis: Kajanto 318 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1974, 17 (Rom) *C. Tarquitius Auspicalis*; *ICUR* 23907 *Aemilius Auspicalis*.

Auspicata: Kajanto mit einem Beleg. Dazu 27. *BRGK* 43 (Trier, 2./ 3. Jh.) *Apronia Auspicata*.

Auspiciatus: Kajanto 272 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *PIR*² S 359 *L. Sempronius Merula Auspicatus*, Suffektkonsul 121; *RIB* 645 [= *CIL* VII 234] (Eburacum) *P. Maesius Auspicatus*; *RIU* 18 (Savaria) *L. Satrius Auspicatus*; *I. Side* (*IK* 44) 73 Σέξιτιος Αὐσπικᾶτος (lokaler Beamter); *P. Turner* 22 (Side) Λ. Κλαύδιος Αὐσπικᾶτος (Demiurg des Jahres 142 n. Chr. in Side).

Auspicius: Kajanto 318 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 16086a; *AE* 2003, 1250–1 (Castrum Rauracense); *AE* 1982, 670i (Britannien); *I. Ephesos* 1821 Αὐσπικίου παῖς.

Beata: Kajanto 272 mit fünf Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *ICUR* 23109. 27394; *ILTun* 1511 (Thugga) *Gabinia Beata*.

Beatianus: *CIL* VIII fünfmal. Kajanto verzeichnet die Belege irrtümlich unter **Beatinus*, der nicht existiert.

Beatus: Kajanto 272 mit vier Belegen, von denen zwei christlich. Dazu *ICUR* 11131 (400 oder 405 n. Chr.). 17728 (ob Name?). 27482; *IL Afr* 27 = *ILTun* 57 *Lurius Beatus*.

⁴ Dazu vgl. A. Oxé, "Zur älteren Nomenklatur der römischen Sklaven", *RhM* N. F. 59 (1904) 108–40; ferner G. Vitucci, *Diz. Epigr.* IV 909f.

Bibula: Kajanto 271 mit einem Beleg aus Iuv. 6,142 (fiktiv?). Dazu *SEG* II 883 (Nubien, 6. Jh.) Βιβούλη (hierher gehörig?).

Bibulus: Kajanto 270 mit vier Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 41 (2007) 91. Dazu noch *CIL* VI 4257. 38666 (doch kann es sich in beiden Fällen um einen Freigelassenen bzw. Sklaven eines senatorischen Bibulus handeln).

Bonicus: Kajanto 275 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Mourir à Dougga* 1553 = 1555 (2. Jh.) *C. Granius Bonicus*.

Bonina: *ICUR* 15366.

Boninus: Kajanto 275 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* IX 6222 = *JIWE* I 88 (Venusia, jüdisch).

Bonitta: Kajanto 275 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *ILAlg* II 5160 (Thibilis).

Brutianus: Kajanto 264 mit einem Beleg aus Martial. Dazu *CIL* VI 1686 (322 n. Chr.) *C. Mucius Brutianus Faustinus Antonianus v.e.* (aus Zama Regia); *ILAlg* II 9112 (Castellum Arsacalitanum) *Q. Aelius Brutianus sacerdos Caelestis*.

Brutillus: Kajanto 264 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XII 5692, 1.

!**Brutulus:** Kajanto 264 ist ein Praenomen.

Calendia: *AE* 2007, 997 (Treviri, christl., 5. Jh.). *Kalendia*. Der entsprechende Männername *Kalendius* war schon bekannt; Kajanto 219 verzeichnet davon drei Belege (von denen einer unsicher bleibt).

Calidianus: Kajanto 143 mit einem Beleg aus republikanischer Zeit (ein Calidius, von einem Cosconius adoptiert). *Rep.*² 498. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 193. Dazu *AE* 1974, 193 (Puteoli, 2. Jh.) *Patulcius Calidianus*.

Calidus: Kajanto 268 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *AE* 1992, 561 (HisPELLUM) *L. Messius Calidus*.

Carissimus: Kajanto 284 mit vier mehr oder weniger sicheren Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 14726 *Ulpia Kara Ulpio Kariss<i>mo patri*.

Carosus: Kajanto 284 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 18571; *AE* 1991, 1283 = 1992, 1339 (Noricum).

Casperianus: *Rep.*² 498. Dazu *AE* 2007, 1782 (86 n. Chr.) *Q. Fabius Casperianus s(es)q(ui)pl(ici)arius*; *SEG* XXXVIII 1091 (Amisos in Pontus, 129/130 n. Chr.) Κασπεριανός.

Cavianus: *AE* 2007, 893 (Susa, 2./ 3. Jh.) *Pinarius Cavianus*; *ILD* 108 (Sucidava, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Aur. Cavianus*. Aus dem Gentilnamen *Cavius*. Oder ist das *Gavianus*?

Clamosa: Kajanto 269 mit einem Beleg aus Trier. Dazu *AE* 1996, 1095 (Trier, 3. Jh.) *Callosia Clamosa*.

Claranus: Kajanto 278 mit sechs Belegen, hauptsächlich aus Hispanien. Dazu noch *I. Conventus Pacensis* 220 *C. Servilius Claranus*. Aus Griechenland *SEG* XXXI 639 (Makedonien, 2./3. Jh.) Π. Ἄλλιος Κλαρανώς.

Clariana: Kajanto 279 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *CIL* XIII 2076 (Lugudunum) *Gesatia Clari[a]n[a]*.

Clarilla: Kajanto 279 mit drei Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 217. Dazu *AE* 2007, 400 (Puteoli, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); *I. Conventus Pacensis* 256 *Cocceia Clarilla*.

Clarina: Kajanto 279 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1990, 87 (Rom); *CIL* II² 7, 388 (Corduba) *Iunia T. l. Clarina*. 929. 930 (Iulipa) *Cantia C. l. Clarina*.

Clarinus: Kajanto 279 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *InscrLatAstorga* 55 (Asturica) *Clarinus Clari f.*; *InscrLatGraecRep* 29 (Andros) *Fl(avius) Clarinus* Prätorianer.

Clarissima: Kajanto 279 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 17748. 18593; *Inscr. It.* X 2, 183 (Parentium, ca. 560).

Clarosa: *ILAlg* II 2866 (Celtianis) *Iulia C. f. Clarosa*. Den Männernamen *Clarosus* belegt Kajanto 279 einmal (Rom, christl.).

Cognita: Kajanto 278 mit zwei Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 194. Dazu *AE* 1980, 326 (Brundisium) *Birria Cognit[a]*, eine *nutrix*.

Cognitus: Kajanto 278 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 194. 37 (2003) 175. 39 (2005) 163. Dazu *AE* 1998, 634 (Eporedia) *C. Victorius Cognitus*; *HEp* 6, 195 (Emerita) *Cognit[us?]*. Üblich in Griechenland; außer den *Arctos* 35–39 angeführten Namensträgern sind mir bekannt: *IG* II² 2235 (zweimal, 3. Jh.). 2361 (3. Jh.). 11040 (2. Jh.); *I. Olympia* 85. 86 (2. Hälfte des 1. Jh.); *IG* VII 105 (Megaris). 1777 (Thespiiai, 1. Jh.); *IG* XII Suppl. 690 (Lesbos, 1. Jh.) Τ. Σίρτιος; *IGRR* IV 1101 (Kos, 1. Jh.); *I. Smyrna* 594 (124 n. Chr.).

Comitatus: *Rep.* 316. Dazu *SEG* XXVI 790 (Byzantion, 6. Jh.).

Copia: Kajanto 281 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *AE* 1995 1201 (Celesia) *[Ael]ia Copia*.

Copiola: Kajanto 281 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 195 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 6021 (Freigelassene). 23205 (Freigelassene). 23498. 33970 (Freigelassene); *AE* 1994, 529 (Vibinum, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Minia Copiola*; *CIL* VIII 13326 (Carthago).

Copiosus: Kajanto 281 mit vier Belegen. Dazu L. Chioffi, *Museo Provinciale Campano di Capua. La raccolta epigrafica*, Capua 2005, 142 Nr. 160 (Capua, um Christi Geburt) *Cn. Staius Copiosus*.

Cupido: Kajanto 266 mit einem Beleg für den Männernamen und einem Beleg für den Frauennamen.⁵ Dazu als Frauennamen *CIL* VI 5314; *AE* 1981, 212a

⁵ Ebilia Cupido in *CIL* VI 36854 ist nicht sicher als Freigelassene zu erweisen, wie Kajanto

(Atina in Latium, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); als Männername *CIL* VI 10206 III (ein *retiarius*). Auszuscheiden hat die von A. Ferrua publizierte Marmortafel aus Rom *RPAA* 50 (1977–1978 [1980]) 302 *Herculi Cupido*; wie Ferrua einleuchtend dargelegt hat, ist die Inschrift eine Fälschung. Die Inschrift auch in *AE* 1980, 176 (aber die Editoren haben Ferruas Bemerkungen missverstanden und nicht bemerkt, dass es sich um eine Fälschung handelt).

Cupidus: Kajanto 266 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* XV 8303 *C. Ploti Cupidi*.

Delicatus: Kajanto 270 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 196. Dazu *NSc* 1919, 305 Nr. 27 *Delicatus ser. Caes.*; *ICUR* 22958.

Derisor: Kajanto 269 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ILBelg* 106; *BCTH* 1925, 287 (Madauros, ca. 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *M. Vitruvius Derisor*.

Dignianus: Kajanto 280 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1978, 582 (Raetia); 1994, 1421 (Sirmium, 230 n. Chr.) *Ael. Dignianus b.f.cos*.

Dignitas: Kajanto 280 mit neun Belegen (davon fünf christlich). Dazu *AE* 1981, 147 (Rom) *Sempronia Dignitas*; *ICUR* 14182. 14183. 15516. 20894; N. Mancini, *Allifae* (2005) 60 (Freigelassene); *Inscr. It.* X 3, 21 (Caprae, 3. Jh.).

Dives: Kajanto 281 mit zwei Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *I. Bölcske* 12 (282 n. Chr.) *Cl. Di(v)es*, *Ilvir* in Aquincum.

Domnus: Kajanto 362 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 164–168 mit einer ausführlichen Übersicht. Dazu noch *AE* 2007, 1560 (1./ 2. Jh.) aus Kappadokien.

Dubia: Kajanto 271 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *ILGN* 540 *Dubia Senilis f.*; *ILNarb* IV 121 (Apta) *Dubia C. f.* (ob diese epichorisch sind?); *ILAlg* II 3642 (Castellum Tidditanorum) *Annia P. f. Quirina Dubia*.

Dubius: Kajanto 271 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Inscr. It.* X 5, 384; *HEp* 11, 202 (Gades) *Sex. Iulius Dubius* (kaum epichorisch, wie mitunter vermutet worden ist).

Durus: Kajanto 266 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ILJug* 608 *Gav(ius) Durus*.

**Edulus* Kajanto 269 aus *AE* 1937, 159 besser aus der lateinischen Onymie zu streichen; vorliegt gr. *Hedylus* (s. mein griechisches Namenbuch 948).

Electa: *ILCV* 1967 Bb (Rom, Heilige); *ICUR* 14205; *ILTun* 1125 = *IFun-ChrCarthage* II 69 (der ganze Text lautet [---] *Electa domino*; der onomastische Charakter steht nicht ganz fest, doch scheint es sich um einen Namen zu handeln). Kajanto 275 kennt nur den Männernamen *Electus* (mit einem Beleg).⁶

geltend macht.

⁶ *CIL* VI 38866a führt nicht *Electus* an, wie Vidman im Cognominaindex von *CIL* VI, S. 249

Eminens: Kajanto 275 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIAIb* 133 (Dyrrachium) *Belliciano Eminentis*.

Exsuper: Kajanto 277 mit einem unsicheren Beleg. Jetzt sichergestellt durch *AE* 2006, 842 (Belgica).

Exsuperans: Kajanto 277 mit drei Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *AE* 1928, 36 (Numidien).

!*Fallax*: Kajanto 267 aus *CIL* IV 1604 (verschollen); die ganze Existenz des Namens steht auf dem Spiel, denn die Lesung des Graffitos ist sehr unsicher, vielleicht hieß der pompejanische Lebewann eher *Falyx* (= *Phalyx*), wenn der Schreiber nicht scherzhaft an einen betrügerischen Menschen anzuspähen im Sinn hatte.

Famulus: Kajanto 323 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *Epigraphica* 3 (1941) 96 = *AE* 1945, 52 = 1976, 210 (Bononia) *M. Tullius M. l. Famulus colorat(or)*; *Suppl. It.* 23 Asisium 59 (1. Jh. n. Chr.).

Fastus: Kajanto 219 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2007, 400 (Puteoli, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Es erhebt sich die Frage, ob in einem Teil der Belege eher *Faustus* vorliegen mag; man könnte sich etwa fragen, ob z. B. *Fastinianus*, von Kajanto aus Marini Vat. zitiert (jetzt *ICUR* 12458), nicht eher als *Faustinianus* aufzufassen sei; vgl. auch *JlWE* I 65 (Venusia) τάρφος Φαστίνης. Das ist möglich, obschon an sich ein Cognomen *Fastus* gut möglich ist.

!*Faustanus*: Kajanto 272 mit einem unsicheren Beleg aus *CIL* II 5638; er hält die Lesung für suspekt und vermutet einen Nexus von I, A und N (also wäre der Name *Faustianus*). Hübner in *CIL* liest *Faustanus*. Der Stein existiert noch, und anhand des guten, von G. Pereira Menaut, *Corpus de inscripciones romanas de Galicia*, Santiago 1991, Nr. 76 lese ich ohne Zögern *Faustinus*. Doch die Form *Faustanus* scheint in einer anderen Inschrift aus der Tarraconensis vorzuliegen: in *IRC* IV 261 (Barcino) hat der Stein tatsächlich FAVSTANO, was die Editoren in *Faust<i>ano* ändern.

Faustiana: Kajanto 272 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* II² 5, 11 *Bebia Faustiana Ilubariensia*; *AE* 2000, 1776 (Castellum Tidditanorum, christl.) *Turia Faustiana*. Der Männernamen *Faustianus* war üblich.

Faustula: Kajanto 272 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XIV 1104 (Ostia) *Hereia. l. Faustu[la]*; *AE* 1967, 646 (Tipasa, christl.).

Faustus: Kajanto 272 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 14246; *Mourir à Dougga* 333.

Favor als Frauennamen: Kajanto 285 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *NSc* 1914, 393 Nr. 73 (Rom, 1. Jh. n. Chr., Freigelassene).

Favorina: Kajanto 285 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1999, 361 (Rom, christl.) Dat. *Faurine*; *RIT* 243 *Iulia Favorina*.

Fa(v)osa: Kajanto 284 mit fünf Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *AE* 1972, 719 (Sitifis). *ILAlg* II 4749. 5242. 5252.

Fecunda: Kajanto 285 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg* I 2555 (Madauros) *Iulia Fecunda*.

Feliciosa: Kajanto 273 mit zwei Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu noch *ILAlg* II 9533 (Castellum Phuensium) *Iulia Feliciosa*.

Felicius: Kajanto 273 mit zwei Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu noch *ILAlg* II 1140 (Cirta).

Felicus: Kajanto 273 mit drei Belegen (doch ist die Zahl der Belege allein im afrikanischen Band VIII erheblich höher). Dazu *ILAlg* II 5231. 7116. 7502. *BCTH* 1946–1949, 237 (Thamugadi).

Ferocilla: Kajanto 268 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *MZ* 92–93 (1997) 239 (Mogontiacum, 3. Jh. Mutter *Numisia* und Tochter); *ILJug* 2128 (Salona, 3. Jh.) *Aurelia Ferocill[a]*.

Fervida: Kajanto 268 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *Corinth* VIII 3, 286 *Marcia Ferv[ida]*.

Fortunia: Kajanto 273 mit sechs Belegen (davon vier christlich). Dazu *ICUR* 18823. 23954; *AE* 1999, 336 (Rom, christl.); *EE* IX 938 *Tusidiae Fortuniae SI* (nicht einwandfrei überliefert); *CIL* X 4488 (Capua, 371 n. Chr.).

Fortunio: Kajanto 273 mit neun Belegen (davon sechs aus Rom). Dazu *AE* 1994, 254 (Rom); 1996, 262 (Rom); *CIL* III 2216 (Dalmatien); *ILCV* 931 a (Carthago) *Fortunio e(pis)c(o)p(u)s*.

Frequentianus: Kajanto 289 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1994, 1414 (Sirmium, 209 n. Chr.) *P. Ael. Frequentianus b.f.cos. leg. II Adiut.*; *AE* 2002, 1124 (Nevidunum) *Frequentian(us?)*.

Frequentinus: *Arctos* 32 (1998) 241. Dazu *IG* XIV 618 = *IGI* Rregion 9 Φρε[κουεντ]εῖνος (Ergänzung plausibel).

Frontosus: Kajanto 268 mit einem Beleg (523/525 n. Chr.). Dazu Sotgiu 118 = *ILCV* 4564.

Frugifer: Kajanto 285 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *NSc* 1927, 333 Nr. 8 (Puteoli, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *M. Caecilio Frugifero*.

Fucentius: Kajanto 187 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 15145 Φουκέντιος.

Fulgentia: Kajanto 287 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 18833.

Fulgentius: Kajanto 287 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 11908. 17829. 18836k; *ICI* VI 2 (Ocriculum); *AE* 1974, 342 (Aquileia) *Licinius Fulgenti(us)* Soldat, aus Noricum; *CILA* II 912b (Basilippo, 543 n. Chr.) Mönch.

Gemmatus: *Rep.* 338 aus *CIL* XIII 7438 *Gematus*. Dazu *AE* 2007, 1020 (Köln, 2. Hälfte des 2. Jh.) *Genialinius Gemmatus*; sicher Einheimischer. Ich hatte *Rep.* für XIII 7438 eventuelle epichorische Herkunft vermutet, doch zeigt der neue Beleg aus Köln, dass ein lateinisches Cognomen *Gemmatus* in den westlichen Provinzen gebräuchlich war. Es ist auch eine mögliche Bildung, aus *gem-matus* gebildet, das seit Ovid belegt ist und auch auf lebende Wesen (Götter und Personen) bezogen werden konnte. Zum Namen jetzt A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in den zwei germanischen Provinzen* II 1, Rahden/Westf. 2007, 383. Er zieht noch *Camula uxor Gamati* aus *CIL* XIII 7551 heran, was aber besser fernzuhalten ist.

Gemmula fem.: Kajanto 346 mit zwei heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg (und einem Männernamenbeleg). Dazu *CronPomp* 5 (1979) 77 Nr. 14 *Dianesis Gemmulae sal.* (Lesung sicher, von mir gesehen). Der Wortlaut legt die Annahme nahe, dass es sich um einen wirklichen Namen handelt, höchstens einen Kosenamen, wohl nicht um *gemmula* als Kosewort.

Genetivus: Kajanto 312 mit acht Belegen, meistens aus Hispanien. Ein neuerer nicht-hispanischer Beleg *AE* 2007, 860a (Lactodurum in Britannien) *Genetius*.

Gerinianus: *AE* 2007, 381 (Puteoli, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Gerinius*, der in Campanien bisher nicht belegt ist; vgl. aber eine *Gerinnia Cn. f.* aus Teanum (*Atti della Commissione Terra di Lavoro Caserta* 14 [1883] 108 Nr. 3).

Gloria: Kajanto 279 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1976, 477 (Divodurum) *Gloria Calossi filia*.

Gloriosa: Kajanto 279 mit vier christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 19970. 25851; *ICI* V 19 (Trapeia, Vibo Valentia) *Glor[io]sa*.

Gloriosus: Kajanto 279 mit vier heidnischen und vier christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 17841. 21852. 22481; *IL Afr* 350 (Maxula); *AE* 1995, 1751 (Theveste, christl.); *BCTH* 1917, 355 (Carthago) *Glor[io]sus* (Name?). Auch als Pferdenamen belegt: 2000, 1612a (prov. proc., 5. Jh.).

Gratilliana: *Arctos* 35 (2001), 202. Dazu *I. Aquileia* 372 *Gratilliane* Nom.

Gratil(l)ianus: Kajanto 282 mit drei Belegen; *Rep.*² 500; *Arctos* 41 (2007) 94f. Dazu *AE* 2007, 1770 *Claudius Gratilianus*, Präfekt der *cohors I Aelia Hispanorum* 178 n. Chr.

Gratinianus: Kajanto 282 mit vier Belegen, alle aus der Narbonensis. Dazu *IDR* II 132 (Drobeta) *Aur. Gratinianus*.

Gratiosa: *ICUR* 21081. 21111. *ILCV* 3866 (Rom, spät).

Gratiosus: Kajanto 282 mit sechs christlichen Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1997, 1721 (Uchi Maius; Lesung unsicher).

Gulosus: Kajanto 269 mit drei Belegen, alle aus Afrika. Dazu *CIL* VIII 671 (christl.) *Licinius Gu[l]osus*; *ILTun* 1147 = *IFunChrCarthage* I 363.

Habilis: Kajanto 286 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *I. Aquileia* 566 *Habilis publicus*.

Honoratiana: Kajanto 279 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. Dazu *AE* 1993, 1727 (Mactaris, Supernomen, christl.); *IG* II² 3679 (2./3. Jh.) Ὀνορατιανή. 3710 (3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Honorina: Kajanto 280 mit vier christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 10915b. 15709; *ILTG* 271 (Lugdunum, 495 n. Chr.)

Honorina: Kajanto 279 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg* II 7951 (Cuicul) *Iulia Honorina*.

Honorinus: Kajanto 279 mit sechs Belegen (davon zwei senatorisch). *Arc-tos* 38 (2004) 174. Dazu *BCTH* 1925, 287 (Madauros) *T. Fl. Honorinus Decim(us)*.

Iaculator: *Rep.* 343 bei einem Gladiator. Dazu noch zweimal als Gladiatorenname: *CIL* VI 10206 (Anfang des 4. Jh.); *IThrAeg* 330 (Maroneia, ein Provocator, 3. Jh. n. Chr.). Zweifellos ein "nom de combat".⁷ In dem letzteren Beleg handelt es sich sicher um einen Namen, in dem stadtrömischen steht es nicht ganz sicher fest, doch würde ich für einen Namen plädieren. Es ist nicht einmal völlig sicher, ob wir es mit einem Gladiator zu tun haben, doch scheint dies der Fall zu sein.⁸ Was die Frage Name oder Appellativ angeht, so scheint heute die herrschende Ansicht zu sein, dass *Iaculator* Name sei. Doch fehlen entgegengesetzte Meinungen durchaus nicht, so fehlt der Name in Vidmans *Cognominaindex*,⁹

⁷ Vgl. zuletzt E. Bouley, Le nom de combat: Expression de la dépendance sociale et morale des gladiateurs et des bestiaires de condition libre dans le monde romain balkanique et danubien, in V. I. Anastasiadis – P. N. Doukellis (Hrsg.), *Esclavage antique et discriminations socio-culturelles. Actes du XXVIII^e colloque international du groupement international de recherche sur l'esclavage antique (Mytilène, 5–7 décembre 2003)*, Bern 2005, 197–216 (etwas unkritisch).

⁸ K. Parlasca, in Helbig, *Führer* II⁴ 711–4 Nr. 1951 hält ihn und den daneben links stehenden Astacius für Aufseher mit Peitschen und meint außerdem, dass es nicht sicher sei, ob diese Szene mit den zwei Aufsehern überhaupt antik sei.

⁹ Nach J. Colin, *AttiAccScTorino* 87 (1952/53) 367; *Mnemosyne* ser. IV, 7 (1954) 48f sei *iaculator* Attribut des Astacius: dieser siegreiche Retiarius sei Expert der Kampftaktik mit einem *iaculum* (überzeugt nicht).

aber andererseits auch im Münchener Thesaurus s. v. *iaculator* (wurde von den Redaktoren also wohl als Name bewertet).¹⁰ Von den drei Belegen stammen zwei aus dem griechischen Osten und einer aus Rom; ob dahinter ein einziger bekannter Gladiator steht, lässt sich kaum mit Sicherheit entscheiden. Die zwei griechischen Belege könnten sich auf denselben Gladiator beziehen, aber der stadtrömische Beleg steht vielleicht für einen weiteren Kämpfer, denn er kann, aus seinem Bild in der Mosaik zu schließen, kein Provocator gewesen sein wie der aus Maroneia.

Inclita Incluta: Kajanto 279 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 38606 *Marcia P. Pprotimi l. Incluta; I. Augusta Praetoria 64 Publicia Incl[ita]* (Ergänzung plausibel).

Inclitus: Kajanto 279 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *HEp* 4, 371a (Segobriga) *Annius Inclit[us]*.

Innocens: Kajanto 252 mit drei Belegen (einem Senator, einem heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg). Die Zahl der Belege ist aber beträchtlich höher (einige von Kajanto als Epitheta aufgefasste Fälle stellen sicher Personennamen dar). Im folgenden eine Übersicht. Senatoren: Außer dem von Kajanto angeführten Q. Servaeus Innocens, Suffektkonsul 101 (jetzt *PIR*² S 561) kennen wir nunmehr seinen Vater, Suffektkonsul 82 (*PIR*² J 25). Sonstige: Rom: *CIL* VI 38467a *Innocen[ti]* (theoretisch wäre auch *Innocen[tiano]* möglich, das sonst aber ein Hapax ist, dagegen nicht *Innocen[tio]*, da dies ein später Name ist, während die Inschrift wohl nicht sehr spät anzusetzen ist); *Epigraphica* 32 (1970) 117 Nr. 187 (die Textkonstitution steht nicht ganz fest); *ICUR* 13172. 14140. 14354.¹¹ – Italien:¹² Latium: *CIL* XIV 2337 (Albano, 2. Jh. n. Chr.); Etrurien: *CIL* XI 3614, 14 (Caere, 114 n. Chr.); Umbrien: *CIL* XI 6473 = *ICI* VI 132 (Pisaurum, 4./ 5. Jh.) *Fl(avius) Mauricius Innocens cives Gallus pelegrinus* (aus der Stellung vor *cives Gallus* zu schließen eher Name [so Binazzi in *ICI*] als Epitheton [so Bormann in

¹⁰ Für einen Namen plädieren auch L. Robert, *Les gladiateurs dans l'Orient grec*, Paris 1940, 300 (aus Reinach, *Répertoire de peintures grecques et romaines* 286, 1); Parlasca, a.a.O.; P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente romano*, I. Roma, Roma 1988, 101 (dort 103 eine Übersicht zur Datierungsfrage); M. G. Parissaki, *Prosopography and Onomasticon of Aegean Thrace*, Athens 2007, 189f.

¹¹ Einige Grenzfälle aus den altchristlichen Inschriften: *ICUR* 24424 (eher Epitheton); 26475 (Name oder Epitheton); 27096 (der Editor denkt an den Namen *Innocens*, es kann sich aber ebenso gut um *Innocentius* handeln); 27299 (ebenso); 27427 (Name oder Epitheton).

¹² *CIL* IV 4079 heißt INNOCIIS. Der Editor Mau fragt sich im Wortindex S. 760, ob möglicherweise alternativ ein Cognomen vorliege. Theoretisch wäre das möglich, doch würde ich hier eher das Appellativ sehen.

CIL und Diehl, *ILCV* 1474c]). – Narbonensis: *CIL* XII 2273 (Grenoble, Ende 2. oder Anfang 3. Jh.). – Afrika: *CIL* VIII 4756 (Madauros, ca. 2. Jh. n. Chr.); 8650 (Sitifis, christl.); *ILAlg* I 2077 (Madauros, ca. 2. Jh. n. Chr.). – Zuletzt sei eine unveröffentlichte Inschrift aus Capua (2. Jh. n. Chr.) erwähnt, die einen *curator* einer unbekanntenen Stadt erwähnt (man wäre versucht, wegen der Seltenheit von *Innocens*, ihn mit den *Servaei Innocentes* zu verbinden. – Pferdename: *CIL* VI 10053 *d* 20 vgl. 37834. Zur Erklärung des Namens s. meine Ausführungen in *Oebalus* 5 (2010, 242–245).

Iucundianus: Kajanto 283 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 23993 *Iucundiane, in deo* (kann auch Dativ von *Iucundiana* sein); *Inscr. It.* VII 1, 22 (Pisae) *Q. Atrius Iucundianus v. p.*; *AE* 2003, 1016 (Londinium, flavisch) (Agnomen eines kaiserlichen Sklaven).

Iucundilla: Kajanto 283 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* XV 8448 *Rustia Iucundilla*; IV 10102 *Iucundilla*;¹³ *AE* 1974, 295 (Velia) *Philistia Iucundilla*.

Iucundinus: Kajanto 283 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1997, 1627a (Ammadara) *Allius Iucundinus*; Pais 988 (Albintimilium, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Iucundio: Kajanto 283 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *I. Aquileia* 1638 P. *Vinusius P. l. Iucundio*.

Iucundissima: Kajanto 283 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *Bull.com.* 68 (1940 [1941]) 184 Nr. 22 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

! *Laxa* Kajanto 269 aus *CIL* 9120; dort liegt aber eher das Adjektiv vor (in dieser Richtung schon *Rep.* 350). Wenn so, dann verschwindet der Name aus dem lateinischen Onomastikon. Vgl. Aber *Laxus Rep.* 350.

Lecta: Kajanto 275 mit einem Beleg aus *CIL*. In Wirklichkeit ist aber die Zahl der Belege aus *CIL* vier: VI 23242; V 3500. 5131; XIII 3531.

Lectus: Kajanto 275 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *Forma Italiae* reg. I 10 (Col-latia), 701 (Rom, ca. 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Lecti patris*; 40. *BRGK* 149 (= *AE* 1957, 51) (Germ. Sup.) *M. Aur. Superinius Lectus b.f. cos.* (aus dem Nomen zu schließen Einheimischer); *AE* 2005, 1089 (Germ. Inf., Vasenstempel, Ende 1. / Anfang 2. Jh.); *Corinth* VIII 2, 79 *C. Iuli Lecti*.

Lepidina: Kajanto 283 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *CILA* II 556 (Italica); *I. Conventus Pacensis* 219 *Paccia Lepidina*; *I. Vindolanda* 292 *Sulpicia Lepidina*. 294.

Lepidinus: Kajanto 283 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1989, 78 (Rom) *C. Valerius Lepidinus dupl(icarius) eq(uitum) sing(ularium)*; *EE* IX 283a (Gigurri) *M. Aemilius Lepidinus*.

¹³ Vgl. was ich *Gnomon* 45 (1973) 270 sage.

Lepidius: *Rep.* 351 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *O. Bu Njem* 147 (Mitte des 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *ius(s)ero Lepidio* (so zu verstehen nach dem Editor Marichal).

Leporia: Kajanto 283 mit einem(?) Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 17737. 21152. 24720.

Leporina: Kajanto 327 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 17908. 25292; *AE* 1957, 182 (Theveste) *Aelia Leporina*; 1996, 1762 (prov. proc.) *Luria Leporina*.

Leporinus: Kajanto 327 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1982, 958 (Thamugadi, severisch) *M. Aennius Saturninus Leporin(us)*.

Leporius: Kajanto 283 mit drei heidnischen und fünf(?) christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 15844 = *CIL* VI 37833. 15847. 18771. 21611. 26396; *AE* 1999, 362 (Rom, christl.); *ILAlg* II 6192 (Gadiaufala, Supernomen).

Liberina: Kajanto 280 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CILA* II 459 (Italica); *AE* 1967, 191 (Emerita) *Iul(ia) Liberina*.

Loreianus: *AE* 2007, 1762 *C. Fidus Q. f. Gal. Loreianus*, Präfekt der *ala Hispanorum*, 120 n. Chr.

Lucentius: Kajanto 288 mit acht Belegen (von denen fünf christlich). Dazu *ICUR* 14429, 1. 14429, 3–4; *Suppl. It.* 9 Amiternum 34. 35 (325 und 335 n. Chr.) *Antistius Lucentius*.

Luminaris: Kajanto 288 mit einem Beleg für den Männernamen, einem für den Frauennamen. Dazu *CIL* VI 37501 (Sklave).

Luminatus: Kajanto 288 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* II² 877 corr. (Sabora).

Luminosa: Kajanto 288 mit einem christlichen Beleg. *Rep.*² 500. Dazu *ICUR* 19047; *ICI* VII 21 (Dertona, 527 n. Chr.) *Lumenosa*.

Luminosus: Kajanto 288 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *P. Tjäder* 37, 90 (Ravenna, 591 n. Chr.) *Lumenosus v(ir) h(onestus)*.

Luxurius: Kajanto 270 mit sechs Belegen (davon zwei christlich). Dazu *ICUR* 14348m. 16095. 16316i–k. 16322. 19815. 21160. 22541; *ILM* 2, 362 (Volubilis, heidn.); *PSAM* 12 (1958) 77f (Mosaik, Volubilis).

Madauritanus: Kajanto 207 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *BCTH* 1925, 287 (Madauros) *C. Modius Madauritanus*.

Magnentius: Kajanto 275 mit einem Beleg, den er kurz und bündig aus *Amm.* 14,5,6 zitiert, es handelt sich aber um Fl. Magnus Magnentius, Usurpator 350–353, germanischer Herkunft: *PLRE* I 532, öfters in Inschriften und Münzen erwähnt.

Magnilla: Kajanto 275 mit acht Belegen (davon 1 christl.). Dazu *IMS* III 2, 45 (Timacum Minus); *RIU* 583 (Brigetio) *Ael(ia) Manilla*; *Flavia Maximilla Magnilla Quinta*.

Magnio: Kajanto 275 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *IGBulg* IV 2337 (Nicopolis ad Nestum) Ποσειδώνιος Μαγνίωνος; *ISM* II 125 (Tomis, Ende 2. Jh.) Μαγνίων Ἀσοαίου.

!*Malus*: der einzige von Kajanto 266 aus *CIL* VI 35726 angeführte Beleg verschwindet, denn der Mann ist derselbe wie *Maius* 7135 = 24592. Der Name aber bleibt bestehen: *Arctos* 41 (2007) 97.

Mamma: Kajanto 303 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* II 3700 (Pollentia) *Flaviae Paulinae Flaviae Mammae filiae* (scheint Name zu sein); *RIB* III 3398 *Mamma Vict(or)is filia* (scheint Name zu sein); *RMD* V 402 (Frau eines Soldaten der *ala Gallorum Flaviana*). In westlichen Provinzen kann keltisches Substrat vorliegen.

Mammaianus: *AE* 2007, 1611a (Berytus, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Das zugrunde liegende Gentile *Mammaius* ist belegt: *CIL* XIII 5372. Vgl. aber *Mamaeanus*, *Arctos* 32 (1998) 244 aus *AE* 1993, 1298 (Pannonien). *Mammaianus* mag davon nur eine gräzisierende Schreibweise darstellen.

Mammula: Kajanto 303 mit drei Belegen aus Rom (aber in VI 14347, bei dem Kajanto zögert, ob Name oder Appellativ, liegt sicher Appellativ vor). Dazu G. Lettich – P. Zovatto, *Le origini e le epigrafi cristiane di Concordia*, Trieste 2007, 18 (sicher Name). Dagegen bleibt offen, ob in *NSc* 1919, 299 Nr. 16 (Rom) und 1922, 487 Nr. 5 Name oder Appellativ vorliegt.

Maximana: *ILJug* 3028 (Sirmium). Zur Erklärung vgl. den folgenden Namen.

!*Maximanus*: Kajanto 276 mit einem späten Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *CIL* VI 270 C. *Afonius Maximan(us)*; *ICUR* 23017 *depostio Maximani*. All die drei Belege können als Nebenform von *Maximianus* aufgefasst werden.

Maximiana: Kajanto 276 mit sechs Belegen (davon drei christl.). Dazu *ICUR* 17088. 17266; *AE* 1974, 582 (Thrakien) *Scurricia Maximiana*; *ILAlg* I 2317 (Madauros) *Calpurnia Profutura Fortunata Maximiana*; *TAM* IV 1, 253. 283. 387 (alle Bithynien).

Maximilia: *CIL* VIII 21291 (Caesarea) (so überliefert; die Editoren ändern in *Maximilla*, vielleicht zu Recht).

Maximil(l)ianus: Kajanto 276 mit vier Belegen (davon zwei senatorisch). Dazu *PIR*² B 119 *Betitus Pius Maximillianus*, Senator, 3. Jh. Ferner folgende spätantike Beamten: *PLRE* I 575 Nr. 1 (Ende 4. Jh.) *Av(ianus?)*; Nr. 2 (consularis aquarum 330) *Iulius –l–*; Nr. 3 (vic. proc. Asiae ca. 260) [---] *Jus M.*; I 529 Nr. 3 (Senator 329) *–l– Macrobius*; II 740 Nr. 1 (Hofbeamter im Westen 396) *–l–*; 740 Nr. 2 (agens in rebus im Westen, Anfang 5. Jh.) *–l–*; 741 Nr. 3 (vicarius urbis Romae ca. 398/438) *Tarrutenius –l–*. – Andere: *ICUR* 23334e (*–l–*). 23337g (*–l–*);

CIL IX 1216 (Aeclanum) *L. Annius Maximilianus*; III 1220 = *IDR* III 5, 382 (Apulum) *Aur. Maximi[li]a[nus] mensor*; *BCTH* 1951/1952, 208 (prov. proc., christl., –l–).

Maximil(l)us: Kajanto 276 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* III 5914 (Raetia) *L. Octavius L. f. Maximillus*.

Maximinia: Kajanto 276 mit einem Beleg (geschr. *Maximimia*). Dazu *ICUR* 19109; *CIL* XIII 5541 = *I. Lingons* 126 (bleibt etwas unsicher).

Maximinianus: Kajanto 276 mit einem Beleg (der aus Moesia superior kommt). Dazu *CIL* VI 31838 vgl. *PIR*² A 221 (3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Ael(ius) Maximi[ni]-anus v. p.* – Erwähnt sei noch, dass im Namen des Kaisers Galerius gelegentlich falsch *Maximinianus* geschrieben wird. – Auszuscheiden *HEp* 10, 362, wo statt *[Maxi]minianus* eher andere Ergänzungen vorzuziehen sind.

Medullina: Kajanto 182 mit zwei Belegen (davon einer aus der Aristokratie). Dazu *AE* 2007, 1040 (Andemantunnum in Germ. Sup., 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Medullinae Norbani fil.* (könnte auch Gentilname sein).

Medullinus: Kajanto 182 mit neun senatorischen Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2000, 308 (Pompeji, Graffito) *Medullini(?)* (Lesung unsicher; das in der editio princeps publizierte Photo lässt keine Nachprüfung zu).

Mellitius: Kajanto 284 mit drei christlichen Belegen aus Rom (*Melitus* aus *CIL* XI 2551 ist ein anderer Name). Dazu *ICUR* 23828 *Mellitio filio Melitius*.

Mellitus: Kajanto 284 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *IL Afr* 507, 2.

Mellosus: Kajanto 284 mit drei Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *IFunChrCarthage* I 110 (6. Jh.); *SEG* XLII 869 (Sizilien, 6./7. Jh.?).

Modicus: Kajanto 264 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ILNarb* V 308a (Vienna).

Mulsinus: *AE* 1976, 463 (Durocortorum).

Mulsula: Kajanto 284 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *ILAlg* II 1758 (Cirta).

Mulsus: Kajanto 284 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *RIU* 1248 (Intercisa) *Mulsus Aivise f.*, also Einheimischer.

Murena: Kajanto 332 mit fünf Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *I. Bardo* 30–31 (Ammaedara) *Magnius Murena*; *SEG* LV 1294 (Philadelphia in Lydien, 26/25 v. Chr.); *SEG* XXXIV 1166 (Ephesos).

Nominata: Kajanto 279 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 11992. 14713. 21921.

Nova: *HEp* 202 (Turgalium, Lusitanien) *Brita Marci liberta Nova(?)* (Lesung unsicher).

Novalis: Kajanto 289 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *IRC* II 88; *Britannia* 13 (1982) 410.

Novellianus: Kajanto 289 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 20016, zweites Cognomen eines Freigelassenen; *ILAlg* II 7634 (Cuicul) *C. Fl. Crescens Novellianus*.

Novicia: Kajanto 289 mit fünf Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 25389; *ILAlg* II 100. 1116. 15858 (alle aus Cirta).

Novicius: Kajanto 289 mit sieben Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 10 Albintimilium 6; *RIB* 200 (Freigelassener); *AE* 1965, 232e (Castellum Tidditanorum) *Q. Aemilius Novicius*; *ILCV* 2087 (Sitifis).

! *Numida*: Kajanto 206 mit 22 Belegen als Männername. Gelegentlich auch als Frauenname: *CIL* VIII 16083 *Iuli[a] C. f. Numida pia*; *ILAlg* II 467 *Va {r}l[e]r(ia) Victoris filia Numida* (Erklärung nicht ganz sicher).

Numidius: Kajanto 206 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 174 mit vier weiteren Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 25390 *Numidi*. *RICG* I 45. Vgl. auch *Numidi* als Signum in *CIL* VI 11496 (s. unten S. 260).

Opacus: Kajanto 288 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ILAlg* I 1859 (Lesung unsicher).

Optabilis: Kajanto 283 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *EE* VIII 144 (Sulmo).

Pacatina: *ILAlg* II 9278 *Iulia Marciana Pacatina*.

Pacatinus: Kajanto 262 mit einem Beleg (Eques singularis aus Rätien). Dazu *AE* 2007, 1047 (Vicus Altiainsium in Germ. Sup., 237 n. Chr.) *Pacatius Pacatinus d(ecurio) c(ivitatis) Tr(everorum)*.

Paconianus: Kajanto 152 mit einem Beleg aus dem Senatorenstand. *Arctos* 39 (2005) 175. Dazu *IG* XIV 2412, 35 Π(---) Πακωνιανῶ; *TAM* II 438 (1. Jh.) Vater *Paconius*.

! *Patera*: Kajanto 344, Name vom zwei Bischöfen, die im 5. Jh. in der Mauretania Caesariensis aktiv waren (vgl. A. Mandouze, *PCBE* 1, Afrique, 831). Man kann aber an dem rein lateinischen Charakter des Namens zweifeln; es wäre etwas sonderbar, dass *patera* metonymisch zu einem Männernamen geworden wäre.¹⁴ Eher liegt eine griechische Bildung vor; wir kennen aus der Kaiserzeit mehrere Träger des Männernamens *Patera* Πατερῶς (gelegentlich auch Πατηρῶς geschrieben),¹⁵ an dessen griechischen Charakter nicht gezweifelt werden soll,¹⁶ dass einer aus dem Westen kommt, der bekannte Rhetor Attius Patera (dessen

¹⁴ Trotz der Versuche von J. J. Hatt, *REG* 67 (1965) 86, den Namen *Patera* (im Falle des bald zu erwähnenden Rhetors) mit *patera* zu verbinden.

¹⁵ In der Prinzipatszeit ist Πατερῶς belegt im Bosporianischen Reich: in Gorgippia und Hermonassa (die Nachweise in *LGP* IV 275). Später sind J. R. S. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor* (Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 3), Boston 1888, n. 62) Πατερῶν (acc.) aus Isaurien und die Belege von Πατηρῶς aus Lykaonien und Isaurien: *MAMA* VIII 147. 253 Vater und Sohn, πρεσβύτεροι); Sterrett, a.a.O. 99, 104, 129.

¹⁶ Zur Erklärung vgl. H. Solin, *Oebalus* 5 (2010, 259–261). R. P. H. Green, *The Works of Ausonius*, Oxford 1991, 336f meint, der Name sei gallisch, was nicht überzeugt.

Name von Ausonius 194, 12 p. 52 P; 196, 6 p. 54; 204, 14 p. 62 *Patēra* skandiert wird), gebürtig aus Bayeux, Lehrer in Bordeaux und Rom (*PLRE* I 669), ändert an der Sachlage nichts (Kajanto hätte auch ihn auflisten sollen).

Paterinus: P.– Y. Lambert, *Recueil des inscriptions gauloises*, II 2: *Textes gallo-latins sur instrumentum*, Paris 2002), L–100 (erste Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Aemilion Paterin(on)* in semilatinisiertem Kontext. Der Name scheint lateinisch, nicht keltisch zu sein; so Lambert S. 277 und H. Solin, *Oebalus* 5 (2010, im Druck).

Peculia: Kajanto 281 mit einem Beleg aus Aquitanien. Dazu *AE* 1967, 200 (ebenfalls aus Aquitanien, christl.).

Peculius: Kajanto 281 mit sechs Belegen (davon vier christlich). Dazu *ILTun* 1710, 59 (Thabraca).

Perfecta: *ILAlg* II 5994 (Thibilis) *Perfecta Quintula*.

Perfectus: Kajanto 276 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *I. Smyrna* 406 Πέρφεκτος, Gladiator.

Potiana: *CIL* VIII 6072 besser *ILAlg* II 9167 (Castellum Arsacalitanum) *Corsilia Potiti f. Potiana*.

Potianus: Kajanto 270 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* II 4970, 397a (Vasensteinempel). Der Name könnte auch als *Pothianus* erklärt werden (freilich war dies bisher nicht belegt). Zu einem vermeintlichen Beleg aus Agrigentum (*AE* 1966, 168) s. unten S. 255.

Potus: Kajanto 270 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1984, 928 = 1989, 777 (Carthago) *Helvius Potu[s]*.

Praeiecticia: Kajanto 287 mit vier christlichen Belegen zusammen mit *Proiecticia*. Dazu *Praeiecticia ICUR* 23016; *Proiecticia* 23620.

Praeiecticius: Kajanto 287 mit zwei christlichen Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1974, 57 (Rom); *Proiecticius: ICUR* 17608 (510 n. Chr.) *vir spectabilis*; *AE* 1977, 175 = 1983, 131 (Ostia, 406 n. Chr.); *Pricticius: ICI* VII 53 (Dertona).

Praesentina; Kajanto 289 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *SE* 1992, 1443 (Klosterneuburg).

Praesentinus: Kajanto 289 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 32812 [*Pra*]-*esentinus*, *Eques singularis*.

Pretiosa: Kajanto 276 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *ILBulg* 354 (Moesia inf.) *Ovinnia Pretiosa*.

Primatius* oder *Primatio: *ICUR* 9089 *Primatio* (das ist der ganze Text; Lesung sicher).

Principalis: Kajanto 276 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1972, 46 (Rom, 3. Jh.) [---]*cani Principali(s)*, *Centurio coh(ortis) X urb(anae)*; *ICUR* 11980g.

Principius: Kajanto 291 mit zwölf Belegen (davon acht christlich). Dazu *AE* 1976, 13 (Rom, heidn.); *ICUR* 12725. 17424. 27327; *ICI* X 28a (Cluana); Vives, *InscCristEsp* 145 (542 n. Chr.); *I. Kios* 77 (4. Jh.) [Πρ]ινκίπιος (Ergänzung plausibel); *MAMA* VII 84 (Laodicea Combusta, 4. Jh.).

Priscillus: Kajanto 288 mit sechs Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1993, 462b (Herculeum, 62 n. Chr.).

Priscina: Kajanto 288 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *Suppl. It.* 2 Histonium 5 *Babullia Priscina*. Dagegen war der Männernamenname *Priscinus* üblich.

Priscinianus: Kajanto 288 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VI 1056 I, 113 (205 n. Chr.).

Priscio: Kajanto 288 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* II 4900a *L. Quintius Priscion* (oder *Priscio*?); *AE* 1961, 216b (Celeia; Textform bleibt unsicher). Vgl. unter *Priscius*.

!*Priscius*: *Rep.* 384 aus *ICUR* 16420. Der Text beginnt *Priscio in pace q(ui) vix(it) ann.* usw., so dass offen bleibt, ob der Name *Priscio* oder *Priscius* war.

Pristinus: Kajanto 289 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1972, 322 (Narbonensis).

Probata: Kajanto 276 mit acht Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 24110; *Suppl. It.* 20 Venusia 109; *Suppl. It.* 19 Vercellae 27 (5. Jh.); *CILA* III 58–59; *I. Apollonia* 180 (1. Jh.).

Probata: Kajanto 277 mit vier christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 12717.

Probatus: Kajanto 277 mit fünf christlichen Belegen. Dazu *IGUR* 499 (heidnisch); *ICUR* 12618. 12726. 13616. 14371. 19223; *AE* 1974, 114b (Rom); *AE* 1971, 493 (Sufetula). Als Signum in heidnischen Urkunden: *ILAlg* II 7900 (Cuicul, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Probat* am Anfang des Textes.

Πρωφικία: *ICUR* 10678 κατάθεσις Πρωφικίας; unten folgt mit griechischen Lettern, aber lateinisch Πολυχρονη ἐτ Πρωφικι[α φιλῖαι]; Mutter und Tochter hießen also *Proficia*.

Proficius: Kajanto 286 mit fünf christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 15721 *Proficius lect(or) et exorc(ista)*.

Proiecticius –ia: s. *Praeiecticius* –ia.

Prosper: Kajanto 273 mit sieben Belegen (davon zwei christlich). Dazu *ICUR* 24115.

Pupilla: Kajanto 287 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 11978.

Quietana: *Epigraphica* 71 (2009) 370 (Rom, 2. Jh.) *Flavia Quietana*. Braucht nicht eine bloße Variante von *Quietiana* zu sein.

Rara(?): *CIL* IV 8314*b* *Rarae* (Lesung scheint plausibel, doch die Deutung als Name ist nicht über alle Zweifel erhaben). Sehr unsicher, ob in *CIL* XIV 4902 (Ostia) *Rara* vorliegt (im fragmentarischen Kontext steht [---] *RARAE CONIVGI*, von Wickert im *Cognominaindex* zögernd aufgenommen; mir scheint eher *rarae feminae* zu verstehen zu sein).

Rarus: Kajanto 289 mit zwei Belegen, von denen der eine aus Pompeji (*L. Numisius Rarus*). Dazu *CIL* IV 10243 öfters *Raro* in Akklamation. Ein weiterer pompejanischer Lebeamann (oder derselbe?) signiert IV 4787. 5071. Es ist ferner nicht ausgeschlossen, dass in 9027 *Secundus felator rarus* eher *Rarus* zu verstehen sei. All diese Belege beziehen sich kaum auf den Numisius, der der lokalen Oberschicht angehörte. – Ferner *PIR*² S 673 *L. Cornelius Rarus Sextius Na[so?]*, Suffektkonsul 93 und Prokonsul von Africa; *CILA* II 602 (Orippe, ca. 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *L. Manilius Rarus*; *EpigrRomProvSoria* 133 *T. Pompeius Rarus* (IIIvir); *ILTG* 245 (Lugudunum) *M. Licinius Rari f.*; Speidel, *Röm. Schreibtafeln von Vindonissa* (1996) 23 (Waffenwarter). 24 (Decurio). 85 (Briefempfänger). Die Tafeln lassen sich ans Ende des 1. Jh. n. Chr. datieren.

Ridicula: Kajanto 287 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* I² 3453 (Tarraco, Sklavin).

Rutilianus: Kajanto 154 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 183. 41 (2007) 102. Dazu *AE* 2004, 212 (Rom); *AE* 1982, 431 (Bosa) *L. Rutiliano Rutilius Felix*; *RIT* 56; *I. Steiermark* 149 VI, 3 (Solva, 205 n. Chr.) *Rutil(ius) Rutilianus*; *IK* 18, 444.

Rutilio: Kajanto 164 mit einem Beleg (*CIL* XII 2523 *Rutilius Rutilio*). Dazu *AE* 2007, 389 (Puteoli, 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

Satrio: Kajanto 165 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XIII 5566 add. cf. p. 75 *Satrio Severini filius*.

Secundilla: Kajanto 292 mit insgesamt 96 Belegen, wovon 1 aus dem Senatorenstand (*PIR*² E 42); in Wirklichkeit ist die Zahl bekannter senatorischer Frauen vier: *PIR*² M 740 *Mundicia Secundilla*; *PIR*² R 178 *Rufria Secundilla*; *PIR*² T 346 [*Tria?*] *ria Secundilla*.

Securitas: Kajanto 280 mit drei Belegen (von 1 christl.). Dazu *ICUR* 22305.

Sicca fem.: *IMS* III 2, 53 (Timacum minus, 2. Hälfte des 3. Jh.) *Vibia Sicca*. Kajanto 264 kennt nur die Männernamen *Siccus* (mit zwei Belegen) und *Sicca* aus dem Ende der republikanischen Zeit; vgl. auch *Sicculus* in *Rep.* 403. Es kann sich aber um einen epichorischen Namen handeln.

Siculus: Kajanto 193 mit fünf Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. Dazu *AE* 1996, 251 = 2007, 240 (Rom, 2. Jh. n. Chr.), Sklave.

Soluta: Kajanto 280 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ILTun* 499, 3 *Agria Solut(a)*.

Solutorius: *AE* 1898, 45 (Musti) *P. Iunius Solutorius* (oder Gentilicium in der Funktion des Cognomens?). Vgl. *Solutria* Kajanto 362.

Spenicus: Kajanto 286 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1955, 149 (Hippo Regius) *M. Ulpius Spenicus*; *ILAlg* II 8898 *Volumn[ius] spen[icus]*.

!**Spes:** Kajanto führt vier Belege für den Männernamen an, doch ist die Zahl höher; vgl. meine Ausführungen in *Utriusque linguae peritus. Studia in honorem T. Viljamaa*, Turku 1997, 1–9, wo ich für den Männernamen *Spes* etwa neun Belege gezählt habe.

Splendonius: Kajanto 277 mit einem christlichen Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *Flavius Splendonius Aufidius*, Praefectus annonae im 5. Jh. *AE* 1975, 138 *PLRE* II; *ILCV* 3018 [*Spl*]endonius (Ergänzung plausibel); *AE* 1975, 410a (Aquileia); *AE* 1999, 1799 (Ammaedara) Signum *Splendonii*.

Statilianus: Kajanto 156 mit fünf Belegen. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 186. Dazu *AE* 2007, 295 (Ostia) *Statilia* [--- *St*]atiliano filio; die Ergänzung ist wegen des Gentilnamens der Mutter plausibel; *I. Ephesos* 558, 1 Αὐρ(ήλιος).

Suavilla: Kajanto 283 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *IAM* 2, 626 (Volubilis, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Iulia Suavilla*.

Suavola: Kajanto 283 mit zwei Belegen aus Emerita. Dazu *AE* 1993, 910 *Memmia Suavola*, ebenfalls aus Emerita.

***Summanima** Kajanto 277 aus *CIL* X 4227 verschwindet, die bessere Überlieferung ergibt *Summanina*; vgl. *Rep.* 409 und I² 3122 comm.

Summus: Kajanto 277 mit vier Belegen. *Rep.*² 505. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 220. 39 (2005) 178. Dazu *AE* 1959, 151 (Iuvavum) *M. Haterius Luci fil. Claud. Summus*; *I. Steiermark* 237; *IAM* 2, 543 (Volubilis, 3. Jh.) *Aurel(ii) Summi Vitalis*.

***Superantia** Kajanto 277 aus *CIL* VI 2993 verschwindet, die Inschrift ist ein Falsum: VI 3613*.

Superbus: Kajanto 268 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *GraffPal* I 304 (Gladiator); *AE* 1999, 1079 (Köln, 2. Jh.); *CIG* 1947 = *SEG* XXVII 527 (Nicopolis in Epirus, 2. Jh.) Σ. Κομείνιος Σούπερβος.

Superiana: *CIL* XI 1305 *Tullia Superiana*.

Superianus: Kajanto 277 mit drei Belegen (der von Kajanto aus *RAC* 1940, 55 angeführte ist schon *ILCV* 1291a [Syracusae] *Superianus clerecus de Aq(u)-ileia*). *Arctos* 40 (2006) 137. Dazu *RIU* 906 (Ulcisia) *Fl. Superianus* (Soldat); *CIL* III 4114 = 10888 = *AIJ* 455 (Poetovio) *M. Cocceius Superianus*, centurio der legio X Gemina; *IDR* III 391 (Alburnus Maior) *Sup[e]ri[ri]anus* (ansprechende Ergänzung); *CIL* III 371 (Cyzicus, Soldat).

Superior: Kajanto 277 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 279 *Fl. Sabinus Superior*.

Superstianus: Audollent, *DefTab* 275–284 Agitator *Superstianus russei qui et Naucellius*; derselbe auch in der griechischen Tafel 234 Σουπερστιανός.

Tetrica: 17. BRGK (1927) 183 *Messor[ia] Tetrica* (Mann *decurio civitatis Auderensium*). Der Männernamen *Tetricus* ist üblich (Kajanto 266).

Tiberius: Kajanto 175 mit sechs Belegen. *Rep.*² 504. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 188. 39 (2005) 178. Dazu noch *AE* 2007, 1539 (Termessus, ca. 226 n. Chr.).

Torrentius: Kajanto 268 mit einem Beleg als Signum. Dazu *ICUR* 18895 *Humidius Torre[ntius]*.

Trifolinus: *AE* 2007, 393 (Puteoli, Ende 1./Anfang 2. Jh.) *C. Iulius C. f. Fal. Trifolinus*; 404 (ebda., aus derselben Zeit) [---] *Jilio Trifo[lino?]* (wenn nicht aus *Trypho* o. ä.). Kajanto 192 kennt nur den Frauennamen *Trifolina* aus einer altchristlichen Inschrift.

Trio: Kajanto 338 mit sechs Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 43 (2009) 175. Dazu *AE* 2007, 1042 (Andemantunnum, Germ. Sup., 2. Jh. n. Chr.).

Triumphus: Kajanto 278 mit vier Belegen. *Rep.*² 504. Dazu *CIL* XIV 692 (Ostia, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *C. Bellenius Triumphus Laberianus*.

Turpilianus: Kajanto 157 mit sieben Belegen (davon zwei senatorisch). Dazu *IG* XII 1,82 (fragmentarisch, Ergänzung plausibel).

Turpilla: *I. Cáceres* 441 *Iulia Turpilla Talonis f. HEp* 6, 549 (Gades) *Pomp(eia) Turpilla*; *IDR* III 2, 402 (Sarmizegetusa) *Cl. Turpilla*.

Urbicia: *AE* 2007, 999 (christl., Trier, 4. Jh.).

Urbicius: *Rep.*² 416. 504. Dazu *SEG* XXXVII 605 (Thrakien, ca. 500 n. Chr.); *IK* 18, 483 K. Φλ. Οὐρβίκτιος. *Urbicius* wurde auch als Gentilname gebraucht, doch in der altchristlichen Inschrift ist es besser ihn als Einzelname auf zu fassen.

Vagula: *ILTun* 201, 74 (Hadrumetum, christl.). Kajanto 271 kennt nur den Männernamen *Vagulus* (mit zwei Belegen).

Varinus: Kajanto 242 mit einem Beleg aus Instrumentum. Dazu *AE* 2007, 812 (Carthago Nova, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Q. Domitius Varinus Consaburensis*.

Varronianus: Kajanto 265 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1994, 1334 (Virunum, *Varon-*).

Ve(he)mens: Kajanto 268 mit fünf Belegen aus dem *CIL*. Dazu *I. Aquileia* 2758a *Q. Vettius Q. f. Vel. Vemens centurio leg. VIII Aug.*; *AE* 2000, 1143b (Raetia) *Veh-* (Name?).

Veneranda: Kajanto 280 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 103.1656. 6963; *AE* 1988, 934 (Poetovio, 207 n. Chr.).

Venerandus: Kajanto 280 mit acht Belegen. *Rep.*² 504. Dazu *AE* 1914, 277 (Sutrium) *P. Clodius Venerandus*.

Venerata: Kajanto 280 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 24155b; *AE* 1986, 229 (Sassina, 2. Jh.) *Cauresinia Venerata*.

Venustula: Kajanto 283 mit sechs Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *AE* 2004, 1762 (Limisa); *Mourir à Dougga* 1238 [*Ve*]nustula (Ergänzung plausibel).

Verio: Kajanto 254 mit zwei Belegen aus keltischen Gebieten. *Rep.*² 505. Dazu *AE* 2007, 1049 (Germania superior, 1. Jh. n. Chr.). Der Editor princeps denkt an einen keltischen Namen, an sich ist aber *Verio* ein gut lateinischer Name; *Verus* mit Ableitungen sind in den nördlichen Provinzen gut belegt,¹⁷ wobei teilweise keltisches Substrat vorliegt.¹⁸ Dazu noch *AE* 1988, 618 (Transpadana);¹⁹ *CIL* II 774 = *HEp* 8, 69 (wenigstens der Namensträger ist Einheimischer).

Victorilla: Kajanto 278 mit einem Beleg aus Rom. Dazu *HEp* 4, 1101 (Olisipo) *Victoria Victorilla*.

Victorinianii als Clubname: *AE* 1967, 550b (Theveste) *Victorinianii fecerunt*.

Victorinianus: Kajanto 278 mit vier heidnischen und fünf christlichen Belegen. *Rep.*² 505. Dazu *RAC* 46 (1970) 266 (Rom) *dp. Victoriniani*; *AE* 1982, 410 (Mediolanum, christl. dem Editor zufolge); *AE* 2003, 1400 (Carnuntum); *AE* 1972, 761 (Sitifis, christl.); 1992, 1864 (Lambaesis) (Sohn eines praeses provinciae Numidiae); *ILTun* 1147 (Carthago, christl.); *SB* 11220 (Panopolis, 323 n. Chr.) [O]ύικτωρινιανῶ τῶι διασημοτάτῳ ἡγεμόνι.

Victoriola: Kajanto 278 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *I. Altava* 66 (347 n. Chr.) *Favia Victoriola*.

Victoriolus: *AE* 1968, 616 (prov. proc.) *Victorolus*.

Victrix: Kajanto 278, der neben zahlreichen Belegen aus *CIL* nur zwei christliche anführt. Dazu *ICUR* 25255.

Violens: Kajanto 268 mit zwei Belegen (davon 1 senatorisch). Dazu *CIL* II 4118 = *RIT* 135 (3. Jh.) *Titu[leiu]s Vio[le]n[s]*.

¹⁷ Vgl. etwa L. Weisgerber, *Die Namen der Ubier* (Wiss. Abhandlungen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen 34), Köln und Opladen 1968, 101 und sonst.

¹⁸ Zum keltischen Substrat vgl. z. B. Fr. Lochner von Hüttenbach, *Die römischen Personennamen der Steiermark. Herkunft und Auswertung* (Arbeiten aus der Abteilung "Vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft" Graz 2), Graz 1989, 179.

¹⁹ Auch hier kann keltisches Substrat durchschimmern, doch wird der Beleg zumeist als lateinisch gedeutet; so die Erstherausgeberin L. Brecciaroli Taborelli, *ZPE* 74 (1988) 138 Nr. 2. Für Schulze, *ZGLE* 278 aber etruskisch.

Vita: Kajanto mit 274 mit einem Beleg. *Rep.*² 505. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 138.

Vitalina: Kajanto 274 mit sieben heidnischen und vier christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 19475. 27295; *ILJug* 339 (Poetovio) *Secundinia Vitalina*; *RIU* 763 (Brigtio) *Aeliae Vitaline*; *IL Afr* 66, 9 (Hadrumetum) *Grania Vitalina*. Teilweise kann die Dativendung *-ine* zu *Vitalis* gehören.

Vitalinus: Kajanto 274 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1979, 383 (Britannia).

Vitalissima: Kajanto 274 mit sechs christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 11242. 14724 *Bit-*.

Vitalissimus: Kajanto 274 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 17148 *Bit-*. 19533; *ILCV* 4325 (Rom).

Vitalus: Kajanto 274 mit zwei Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *ILAlg* II 4514. 7358. Unsicher bleibt L. Bakker – B. Galsterer–Kröll, *Graffiti auf römischer Keramik im Rheinischen Landesmuseum Bonn*, Bonn 1975, 130 Nr. 358 (Novesium), wo die Editoren *Vitalus* erkannt haben wollen. Im griechischen Bereich kommt Ουιταλος öfters vor: *Spomenik* 98 (1941–1948) 55, 110–111 (Makedonien, 220–224 n. Chr.); *IG X*, 2, 2, 326 (Styberra, 116/117 n. Chr.) Τ. Φ. Οὐ.

Viticula: Kajanto 335 mit drei Belegen. *Rep.*² 505. *Arctos* 32 (1998) 251. 41 (2007) 105. Dazu *AE* 2007, 352 (zweimal, Tarracina, 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

Vitio: Kajanto 286 mit einem Beleg. Dazu 37/38. *BRGK* 68 (Raetia).²⁰

Vitosa: Kajanto 274 mit zwei Belegen aus Afrika. Dazu *ILAlg* II 5507 (Thibilis).

Vitula: Kajanto 329 mit drei Belegen aus beiden Sexus. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 190. Dazu *EE* IX 165 (Lusitania); *HEp* 11, 100 (Lusitania) *Iulia Vitula*; L. García Iglesias, *Epigrafía Romana de Augusta Emerita*, Madrid 1997, 295 *Iulia Vitula*; *CIL* XIII 10018 und sonst (auf instrumentum, Ende 3. Jh. n. Chr.); *ILAlg* II 2323 *Bombia Vitula*. 7475 *Iulia Vitula*; *CLEPannonica* 28 (Brigetio, stammt aber wohl aus dem gallischen Raum, 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Viva: Rostowzew, *Tessararum urbis Romae plumbeorum sylloge* 1233. Kajanto 274 kennt nur *Vivus Vivos* (mit zwei Belegen).

Viventia: Kajanto 274 mit drei heidnischen Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 12063. 12064. 14725. 18100; *AE* 2000, 892 (Valentia i.d. Narbonensis, Vasengraffito, 3. Jh. n. Chr.?) *vini Viventiaes pultarius*; *AE* 2001, 1350 (Narbonensis, 3. Jh. n. Chr.); *AE* 1958, 109 (Verulamium); 1976, 363 Durobrivae). Den Männernamen belegt er aus drei heidnischen und aus sieben christlichen Urkunden.

²⁰ A. Kakoschke, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Rätien*, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York 2009, 320 fasst den Namen als Nebenform von *Vittio*, doch vollends unnötigerweise.

Vivida: IMS VI 119 (Scupi; die Textform steht nicht ganz fest). Kajanto 274 kennt nur den Männernamen *Bividus* aus CIL VIII 26834.

CCLX. VERKANNTEN NAMEN

Actilla. In CIL VI 14448 ist der erste Name *Cartiliae Actiliae* überliefert. Der Text ist nur durch Lipsius, *Cod. Leid.* 22 f. 48 und *Auctarium* zu Smetius 56, 8 bekannt; im Leidener Kodex steht mit Lipsius' Hand deutlich ACTILIA geschrieben. Woher Lipsius den Text hat, steht nicht fest. Er hat auch selbst Inschriften in Italien abgeschrieben, die meistens hat er aber von anderen bekommen, in unserem Fall etwa von Nicolaus Florentius oder Pighius. Bedenken erregt *Actilia*. Ein Name *Actilius* -ia ist weder als Gentilicium noch als Cognomen belegt. Wahrscheinlich liegt Verschreibung oder Verlesung für *Actilla* vor. Wie bekannt, wird das Suffix -(il)la unzählige Male als -(il)ia überliefert,²¹ entweder durch Verschreibung oder Verlesung. Freilich ist *Actilla* sonst nur selten belegt, mir ist ein einziger weiterer Fall bekannt: IGLS 2957 (Heliopolis), der Name stellt aber eine plausible Bildung dar als eine Ableitung aus lat. *Actus* oder auch aus gr. *Actius*; neben *Actinus* (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 349) ist *Actilla* um so mehr leichter anzunehmen, als -inus und -illa in der Bildung von Personennamen oft nebeneinander stehen. Vgl. schon *Arctos* 16 (1982) 172. 39 (2005) 159.

Nepotianus. P. Griffo, *Kókalos* 9 (1963) 176 Nr. 7 publiziert eine neue Inschrift aus Agrigentum (= AE 1966, 168) folgendermaßen: [--- Rufius] Potsanus / vixit an(nos) LXXII, m(enses) III / qui omnibus munici/palibus h[onori]bus functus / Q. Ru[fius] [..?..] (pa)tri piissimo. Von einigen Quisquilien abgesehen (auf dem guten Photo sieht man von PATRI Reste der zwei ersten Buchstaben; man muss also *patri* schreiben), muss man das Cognomen des Verstorbenen festlegen. Griffo liest also *Potianus*, doch ist dies ein sehr seltener Name (s. oben S. 248). Anhand des Photos ergänze ich ohne Zögern [Ne]potianus. Dieser Name ist belegt im ganzen Römischen Reich, auch in höheren Schichten.

Staius. Dieser Gentilname scheint in der zweisprachigen Inschrift CIL VI 28511 = IGUR 849 vorzuliegen. Friedrich Matz, der den Stein für das CIL verglich, hat nicht gut gelesen, auch nicht die späteren Editoren, Moretti in IGUR (er kannte aber den Text nur aus der Abschrift von Matz) und H. von Hesberg – G. Petzl in *Die antiken Skulpturen in Newby Hall sowie in anderen Sammlungen in*

²¹ Darauf haben etwa Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 14 und der Autor dieser Zeilen des Öfteren hingewiesen.

Yorkshire von D. Boschung und H. von Hesberg (Monumenta artis Romanae 35), Wiesbaden 2007, 142f Nr. Ro10 (AE 2007, 216, mit Druckfehler *Vituliae* für *Vitaliae*, was sich in den Indices S. 803 wiederholt). Der Vulgata zufolge hieß der Mann im lateinischen Text *Italus Silvanus*, im griechischen Ἰτάλιος Σιλουανοῦ. Anhand des in der letzten Edition publizierten Photos liest man aber den Teil des Gentilnamens, der sich auf Zeile 5 befindet, eher TAIVS, nicht TALVS (doch ist zuzugeben, dass in anderen, sicheren, L der Querstrich auf dem Photo nicht gut sichtbar ist), und das Cognomen deutlich Σιλουανός, mit dem Schluss-Sigma (nicht Y!) klein innerhalb von O geschrieben; das haben auch von Hesberg und Petzl erkannt. Der wunde Punkt ist der Gentilname des Mannes, bisher in der lateinischen Fassung *Italus*, in der griechischen Ἰτάλιος gelesen. Einen Gentilnamen *Italius* gibt es aber nicht, geschweige denn *Italus*. Bei der Suche nach der richtigen Form gehe ich von der griechischen Fassung aus. Dort lese ich ohne Bedenken Στάιος. Das Sigma weist im griechischen Teil konstant die rechteckige Form □ auf, die auch im Anfangsbuchstaben dieses Namens vorliegt, wenn das Photo nicht trügt. Problematisch bleibt aber der Anfangsbuchstabe des Namens im lateinischen Text, der, aus dem Photo zu schließen, nicht gerade ein S zu sein scheint. Also eine Verschreibung seitens des Steinmetzen? Jedenfalls ist *Staius* ein gut bekannter Gentilname, bestens in stadtrömischen Urkunden bezeugt, aber auch sonst in Italien und in den Provinzen, besonders in Süditalien verbreitet; in Anbetracht der griechischen Fassung, was auf eventuelle östliche Herkunft hinweisen könnte, sei noch erwähnt, dass der Name auf Delos auftaucht (*CIL* I² 3433; *ID* 1732. 1734) und gelegentlich auch sonst im griechischen Osten belegt ist (in Nikaia: *IK* 9 I. *Izник* 81 (Nikaia) Στ[ά]ιος).

CCLXI. FALSCH NAMEN

Anatolius. *CIL* V 4423 = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 217 ist zu lesen *Anatole*, nicht mit Mommsen (*CIL*), Garzetti (*Inscr. It.*) und anderen *Anatoli[us]*; so auch Ruggini in ihrer wichtigen Studie zur Verbreitung der Orientalen in Norditalien.²² Doch, wie auch Garzetti bemerkt, die Inschrift ist beträchtlich älter als Ruggini meint, sicher nicht später als aus dem 2. Jh. Der Name *Anatolius* ist aber mit dem für die spätere Namengebung charakteristischen Suffix *-ius* kaum vor dem 3. Jh. denkbar. Das sieht man gut anhand der stadtrömischen Dokumentation: von den 16 Be-

²² L. Cracco Ruggini, "Ebrei e Orientali nell'Italia settentrionale fra il IV e il VI sec. d. C.", *SDHI* 25 (1959) 257.

gen aus Rom kann kein einziger in die vorseverische Zeit datiert werden, im Gegenteil scheinen die ältesten in die zweite Hälfte des 3. Jh. zu gehören, vielleicht mit Ausnahme des *alumnus* eines Senators *CIL* VI 41255, datierbar möglicherweise in die erste Hälfte des Jahrhunderts (s. ad loc.). Man bedenke auch, dass der Großteil der Belege aus altchristlichen Urkunden stammen.²³ Außerhalb von Rom finden wir einen alten Beleg aus Puteoli, *CIL* X 2069 aus der ersten Hälfte des 3. Jh., wie es scheint. Was die Lesung unserer Inschrift angeht, so braucht, aus dem in *Inscr. It.* publizierten Photo zu sch. ließen, der vertikale Strich nach L nicht unbedingt das I darzustellen, sondern ebenso gut die erste Haste eines anderen Buchstabens. So stehen für die Lesung *Anatole* keine Hindernisse auf dem Wege. *Anatole* ist ein üblicher Frauename, seit der frühen Kaiserzeit in der römischen Namengebung belegt.

Honestus: Dieser seltene Name (Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 279 mit vier Belegen) findet sich nicht in *I. Aquileia* 3085 (christl., vom Editor ins 4. Jh. gesetzt, scheint mir später zu sein), wie vom Editor vermutet und in den Namenindices bekräftigt wird. Der erhaltene Teil der Inschrift beginnt mit HONESTVS; links scheint sie intakt zu sein, nicht aber oben; das geht eindeutig aus einem guten Photo hervor, das mir Claudio Zaccaria zur Verfügung gestellt hat; er hat meine Vermutung durch Autopsie bekräftigt. So ist vielmehr etwa [*vir*] *honestus* zu verstehen. Normalerweise wird das Wortpaar durch die Sigle *v. h.* wiedergegeben, doch findet es sich des Öfteren auch ausgeschrieben (z. B. *CIL* VIII 759. 760. 762. 12260. XIII 2473. *ICUR* 2793. 13309; *HEp* 7, 3).

Scepsimus. *CIL* IV 10246h, an der Wand eines Grabes außerhalb der Porta Nucerina mit Kohle gekritzelt und bald nach der Aufdeckung verschollen (von mir 1979 vergebens gesucht), lautet in der vom Editor Della Corte gegebenen Fassung *Scepsimus Occaso sal(utem)*. Ein Namen *Scepsimus* wäre aber unerklärlich, sicher ein falscher Name. Ein Glücksfall hat uns aber die Namen derselben Personen gerettet: in einem Graffito an der Wand des Grabes von Marcus Obellius Firmus außerhalb der Porta Nolana begrüßt derselbe denselben: *Scepsinianus Occaso sal(utem)*. Die Lesung dürfte feststehen. Publiziert wurde das Graffito von S. De Caro, *CronPomp* 5 (1979) 75 Nr. 2, von mir am 21. 1. 1977 gelesen. Als ich das Graffito sah, war der Text schon schwer lesbar wegen der Beschädigung des Wandverputzes und weil das Graffito mit einem anderen (De Caro Nr. 1) verflochten ist. Doch, wie gesagt, ist *Scepsinianus* vertretbar: *-nianus*, sogar *-inianus* scheint festzustehen, und der Anfang wird von 10246 unterstützt. Der

²³ Zur stadtrömischen Dokumentation s. mein Namenbuch 1208. Zur sonstigen Bezeugung *ThLL* II 21, 38–48 (etwas dürftig).

Name ist mir sonst nicht bekannt, stellt aber eine plausible Bildung dar. Zugrunde muss liegen der Frauennamen *Scepsis*, als dessen Namenwort sowohl die abstrakten Begriffe *σκέψις* und *σκῆψις* als auch der Name der aiolischen Stadt wirken konnten. Er ist in der römischen Anthroponymie einigermaßen belegt,²⁴ und seine obliquen Kasus konnten außer *Scepsid-* auch die heteroklitische Flexion *Scep-sin-* erhalten, und zwar gerade in Pompeji (*CIL* IV 2201 *Marcus Scepsini ubique sal.*). Aus *Scep-sin-* wurde dann die Augenblicksbildung *Scepsinianus* gebildet (einen Namen *Scepsinus* kann ich nicht belegen); ich habe keine exakten Parallelen zur Hand, dies scheint aber die einzig mögliche Erklärung zu sein. Aus dem Städtenamen *Σκῆψις* kann *Scepsinianus* nicht gebildet sein, denn die Einwohner der Stadt hießen *Σκήψιοι*.²⁵ *Occasus*, der außer in Pompeji sonst nur einmal belegt ist, in Aquitanien (*CIL* XIII 178; s. *Rep.* 371), ist also eine okkasionelle Namenbildung, doch plausibel, aus dem Namen der Himmelsrichtung gebildet, wie *Oriens* und *Septentrio*, von denen der erstere ein beliebter Männername wurde, während der letztere seltener vorkommt.²⁶

CCLXII. VERKANNTEN IDENTITÄTEN

CIL V 2248 und XI 1379 sind eine und dieselbe Inschrift (keiner der zwei Editoren, Mommsen und Bormann, haben das bemerkt). Die seit langem verschollene Inschrift wurde von Manutius, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5248 p. 6 unter den *Inscr. Venet.* registriert; außerdem ist vor dem Titelblatt geschrieben *Epigrammata Urbis Venetae ex libro Io. Marchanovae*, und der Standort der Inschrift wird folgendermaßen präzisiert: *in domo filiorum Illustrissimi quondam viri Hieronymi Donati*. Desgleichen placiert der Codex Magliabecchianus 28, 34 f. 163 sie in Venedig. Dementsprechend wurde sie, wie überhaupt die in Venedig befindlichen Inschriften, von Mommsen im *CIL* V unter Altinum untergebracht. Mommsen kennt außerdem Muratoris Zuweisung 1591, 8 der Inschrift auf Luna, verwirft sie aber als falsch. Die Sache ist aber nicht so einfach. Aus Bormanns Edition

²⁴ In Rom s. mein griechisches Namenbuch 1343 mit drei Belegen. Sonst *CIL* X 6562. III 2097 = 8585. *ILJug* 2113.

²⁵ In E. Cantarella, *Pompei. I volti dell'amore*, con apparati e schede di L. Iacobelli, Milano 1998, 76 wird der Name als "nativo di Scepsis, nella Misia" erklärt.

²⁶ Kajanto *Latin Cognomina* 358 stellt *Oriens* zum Partizip und verneint eine Anknüpfung an den Namen der Himmelsrichtung, meines Erachtens ohne Not. Auf S. 338 erklärt er *Septentrio* als aus dem Planetennamen gebildet.

von *CIL* XI 1379 entnehmen wir, dass außer Muratori noch ältere, Mommsen unbekannt gebliebene, Zeugen den Stein Luna zuweisen, und zwar vor allem der Codex Ottobonianus 2976 f. 65v aus dem 15./ 16. Jahrhundert.²⁷ Dieser Codex besteht aus Sammlungen des Barons Philipp von Stosch (1691–1757) – sie sind die *schedae Cyriaci Stoschianae*, wie sie Muratori nannte. Anders als Mommsen dachte bringt Muratori also gute Information. Nun steht vor dem Codex sowie am Anfang von f. 65 und 65v *In ruinis Lunensibus* (auf f. 65 stehen am Ende zwei Inschriften von anderswoher, die eine aus Luna, die zweite aus Sarzana. Es ist ausgeschlossen, dass hier falsche Information vorliegt. Da auch die im Codex von Manutius gegebene Information zuverlässig sein muss, bleibt es nur übrig, als Heimat der Inschrift Luna festzulegen; während des 16. Jahrhunderts wurde sie dann nach Venedig transportiert. [Korrekturnote: Nachträglich sehe ich, dass schon A. Fassbender in seinem Findbuch (*CIL Auctarium* s.n. 1) die Identität vermerkt hat; freilich geht er auf die Prioritätsfrage der Zuweisung der Inschrift nicht ein.]

CCLXIII. VARIA URBANA

1. *CIL* VI 11496.

11496 fragmenta tabulae marmoreae litteris malleis, effossa in fundo *Acqua bollicante* extra portam Maiorem in fossionibus institutis a principe *del Drago* mense Maio a. 1881.

NVMIDIS·DI MANIB' OP) sic
 ALLIAE·VRBICAE·CONIUGI
 M AVRELIUS

Descripserunt.

Coniungendum est *Alliae Urbicae Numid[ae] coniugi op(timae)*.

Henzen, der die Inschrift gesehen hat, deutet den Text folgendermaßen: *Alliae Urbicae Numid[ae] coniugi op(timae)*. Einwände erregt die Änderung von NVMIDI in *Numidae* in einer sonst fehlerfreien Inschrift. Und was wäre *Numidae*? Der Beleg fehlt sowohl im Gentilnamenindex von Bang als auch im Cog-

²⁷ Zum Codex vgl. M. Buonocore, *Tra i codici epigrafici della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* (Epigrafia e antichità 22), Faenza 2004, 116–9.

nominaindex von Vidman (s. v. *Numidius*, *Numida*), das heißt, sie haben es wohl als Ethnikon aufgefasst. Vielleicht schwebte auch Henzens etwas Ähnliches vor. Nun ist aber *Numida* fast ausschließlich ein Männercognomen (mit zwei Ausnahmen aus Afrika, wozu oben S. 247), und auch als Herkunftsangabe nur bei Männern gebräuchlich. Aber nicht nur deswegen muss an dem überlieferten Text festgehalten werden. Wie könnte man aber *Numidi* erklären? Der Name steht auf der ersten Zeile mit der Invokation an die Di Manes gemischt. Das legt den Gedanken nahe, dass hier ein sog. getrenntes Signum vorliegt, das mit der Endung *-i* versehen ohne Unterschied auch Frauen zugelegt werden konnte.²⁸ Die Signa kamen seit severischer Zeit üblicherweise in Gebrauch, und die Inschrift kann, aus dem Namen des Mannes Aurelius zu schließen, gerade in diese Zeit datiert werden. Das Cognomen *Numidius* war in der römischen Anthroponymie einigermaßen verbreitet,²⁹ in Afrika, Capua und Puteloli und auch in stadtrömischen Inschriften belegt.³⁰ [Korrekturnote. Nachträglich sehe ich, dass schon Kajanto, *Supernomina* (1966) 86 diesen Fall als Signum erklärt hat.]

2. In der altchristlichen Grabinschrift eines Lepusculus Leo *ICUR* 17252 vom Jahre 404 n. Chr. will der letzte Editor A. Ferrua gegen Diehl *ILCV* 2792 mit Stevenson *lepusc(u)lus Leo* verstehen. Doch hat Diehl ganz richtig erkannt, dass hier zwei Cognomina vorliegen (so auch Kajanto, *LC* 327). Das Appellativ *lepusculus* bedeutet einen kleinen Hasen, ein Häschen und wird nie auf Menschen übertragen (kann nur in Vergleichen mit Menschen stehen). Außerdem hat *lepusculus* ein pejoratives Kolorit.³¹ Der Männernamen *Lepusculus* ist sonst nirgends als Eigenname belegt, stellt aber eine plausible Namenbildung dar: Tiernamen werden oft metonymisch Anthroponymen. Und der entsprechende Frauenname ist bekannt: *AE* 1991, 1443 (Asopus) Λεπούσκλα.

3. In *ICUR* 25104 ist *Div[iti]o[sa]* eine überkühne und ungeschickte Ergänzung. Der Stein hat *DIV[---] / O[-]*. Ein Frauenname *Divitiosa* ist einmal belegt in einer Inschrift aus Tres Tabernae im Gebiet der Triboci in Obergermanien (*ILTG* 441) *Divitiosa Caranti f.*, ist aber besser als keltisches Namengut aufzufassen. Kajanto, *Latin Cognomina* 165 führt den Beleg unter den Suffixableitungen aus

²⁸ Vgl. I. Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy*, Helsinki 1966, 62 zur Endung *-i* in Frauensigna.

²⁹ S. oben S. 247; dagegen kommt der nur selten außerhalb von Afrika nur in Pompeii, Herculaneum und Lugdunum belegte Gentilname *Numidius* (zur Bezeugung vgl. H. Solin, *Oebalus* 5 [2010], 282) nicht in Frage.

³⁰ *ICUR* 14512. 25390.

³¹ Im allgemeinen siehe B. Bader, *ThLL* VII 2, 1182.

Gentilicia, was nicht recht einleuchtet (ein Gentilname *Divitius* ist nicht einmal belegt; falsch der Index von *CIL* XII, wo aus 1920 *Divitia* belegt wird, der Text hat aber *Divicia*).

CCLXIV. BLATTFÜLLSEL

Die Editoren des *Corpus des inscriptions d'Albanie* (2009) lesen in 103 (= AE 1966, 394) *Catiedius* C. I. Chrussippus. Der Mann hieß natürlich C. Atiedius. Ein Name *Catiedius* ist sonst überhaupt nicht überliefert. Dagegen ist *Atiedius* einigermaßen belegt, in Rom *CIL* VI 12714) und in Mittelitalien (*CIL* IX 3232. 3808; XI 4795. 4852. 5452, auch in umbrischen Urkunden (Vetter S. 386).

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TRAFFIC BOTTLENECKS IN SOUTH ETRURIA? COMPARING THE ARCHAIC ROAD CUTTING WIDTHS WITH ANCIENT VEHICLES

JUHA-PEKKA TUPPI

Abstract

During the 7th and 6th centuries BC a population increase in central Italy led, among other things, to increased contacts and trade and consequently to widespread adoption of wheeled vehicles. At the same time the use of quarried stone and tiles were introduced to architecture. These innovations placed new demands on roads, especially in southern Etruria, where the terrain is riddled with gorges and ravines. The soft volcanic tuff bedrock, while being partly the reason for the problem, also presented a solution: the roads were dug into the soft tuff where necessary in order to mitigate the slope.

This paper considers the widths of the pre-Roman road cuttings in context of the known sizes of the ancient wheeled vehicles in order to determine whether there was a certain general width considered to be sufficient to allow fluent traffic. In addition, the measure of Osco-Italic or Oscan foot and the continuity of its utilization in road engineering from the pre-Roman times to the Roman era are discussed based on the examples and data presented in this article.

Introduction

The 7th and 6th centuries BC are a very interesting period regarding the transportation via land in the Mediterranean region. In central Italy, the population increase had speeded up the traffic, which – along with the widespread adoption of the wheeled transport¹ – naturally created the demand for better roads and connec-

¹ S. Piggott, *The Earliest Wheeled Transport. From the Atlantic Coast to the Caspian Sea*,

tions.² The Romans were beginning to challenge their neighbors in a manner that would lead to the dominance of the Roman Empire in Italy (and consequently in most of Europe and the Mediterranean) and the Etruscans were already fashioning a comprehensive road network in Etruria that would allow heavy traffic.³

The effects of these events can perhaps be seen best in southern Etruria, where the soft, volcanic tuff bedrock⁴ still bears in many places the ancient tracks and marks of the traffic.⁵ The Etruscans had previously mostly exploited the natural ravines, valleys and routes that the flow of water and erosion had created into the tuff bedrock,⁶ perhaps cutting some routes suitable for pedestrians,⁷ but now, as the developments in architecture introduced the use of quarried stone in buildings and infrastructure, the former roads proved to be less than adequate for the heavily-loaded carts as well as the increased traffic, spurred by the growth of population and trade.⁸ In order to facilitate the heavy traffic, the roads needed to be improved to meet the new demands.

London 1983, 138; G. Colonna, "L'Italia antica: Italia centrale", in A. Emiliozzi (ed.), *Carri da guerra e principi etruschi*, Roma 1999, 15–23, 15.

² T. W. Potter, *A Faliscan Town in South Etruria. Excavations at Narce 1966–71*, London 1976, 81; G. Cifani, "Notes on the rural landscape of central Tyrrhenian Italy in the 6th–5th c. B.C. and its social significance", *JRA* 15 (2002) 247–60; M. Martinelli – G. Paolucci, *Etruscan places*, Firenze 2006, 116–7.

³ T. J. Cornell, *The beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000–264 BC)*, London 1995, 310; L. Quilici, "Land transport, part 1: Roads and bridges", in J. P. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*, Oxford 2008, 551–79, 559.

⁴ J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Etruscan Towns, Roman Roads and Medieval Villages: The Historical Geography of Southern Etruria", *GJ* 128:4 (1962) 389–404, 390; M. Jackson – F. Marra, "Roman Stone Masonry: Volcanic Foundations of the Ancient City", *AJA* 110:3 (2006) 403–36, 408–9, fig. 2.

⁵ E.g. T. W. Potter, *The changing landscape of South Etruria*, London 1979, 79–80.

⁶ E.g. J. B. Ward Perkins, "The Via Gabina", *PBSR* 40 (1972) 91–126, 105–6; U. M. Rajala, *Human landscapes in Tyrrhenian Italy. GIS in the study of urbanization, settlement patterns and land use in south Etruria and western Latium Vetus*, a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Cambridge (2002), 180–1.

⁷ G. Barker – T. Rasmussen, *The Etruscans*, Oxford 1998, 172.

⁸ Martinelli – Paolucci (above n. 2) 116–7.



Fig. 1. The tuff plateau of southern Etruria (after *Carta Geologica d'Italia*) and relevant sites mentioned in the text. All illustrations presented in this article are made by the author.

Lay of the land

In order to comprehend better the Etruscan road engineering, one must acquaint oneself with the geographical features of southern Etruria. The area in question, bordered roughly from the east and north by the rivers Tiber and Paglia and from the west by the river Fiora, is mainly a plateau of volcanic rock belonging to the volcanic districts of Monte di Bolsena, Monte Cimino and Monti Sabatini (Fig. 1).⁹ By the geological timescale the plateau is quite recent; the Monti Sabatini district being formed 600 000–400 000 years ago and the last hydromagmatic deposits dated to *c.* 89 000 years in the past.¹⁰ As a result of the volcanic erup-

⁹ S. Judson – A. Kahane, "Underground Drainageways in Southern Etruria and Northern Latium", *PBSR* 31 (1963) 74–99, 75; S. Judson – P. Hemphill, "Sizes of Settlements in Southern Etruria: 6th–5th centuries B.C.", *SE* 49 (1981) 193–202, 193.

¹⁰ R. Cioni – M. A. Laurenzi – A. Sbrana – I. M. Villa, "⁴⁰Ar/³⁹Ar chronostratigraphy of the initial activity in the Sabatini volcanic complex (Italy)", *Bollettino della Società Geologica*

tions, different types of volcanic rocks, sands and ashes are superimposed on earlier limestone bedrock, causing the durability and hardness of the bedrock to vary greatly in southern Etruria, although the relatively soft volcanic tuff rock can be seen to dominate the area.¹¹ The mixing of the different strata and the abundance of tuff makes the landscape also very vulnerable to erosion, which can be witnessed in deep ravines and gorges created by the flow of water.¹² The uneven landscape made wheeled traffic problematical in many cases. However, the volcanic tuff seems to have also provided means to the solution. In order to lessen the effects of the slope, the Etruscans (and the Faliscans, for that matter¹³) dug their roads through the obstacles, into the easily moldable tuff.¹⁴ Perkins observes in his study of the Etruscans in central coastal Etruria that the assumed road network of this region is poorly preserved compared to the areas with volcanic tuff in southern Etruria, and the scarce traces of the roads can be found only in the imminent vicinity of the coastal settlements.¹⁵ Both Ward-Perkins and Perkins note that the coastal area of Etruria is nearly void of volcanic tuff.¹⁶ In addition, Oleson gives similar reasons in his study of the Etruscan necropolises for the ap-

Italiana 112 (1993) 251–63; C. Campobasso – R. Cioni – L. Salvati – A. Sbrana, "Geology and paleogeographic evolution of a peripheral sector of the Vico and Sabatini volcanic complex, between Civita Castellana and Mazzano Romano (Latium, Italy)", *Memorie Descrittive della Carta Geologica d'Italia* 49 (1994) 277–90; Jackson – Marra (above n. 4) 408–9, fig. 2.

¹¹ Ward-Perkins (above n. 4) 390; Potter (above n. 2) 1–3; Cioni *et al.* (above n. 10); Campobasso *et al.* (above n. 10); Jackson – Marra (above n. 4) 408–9, fig. 2.

¹² Ward-Perkins (above n. 4) 390; Potter (above n. 2) 3; Barker – Rasmussen (above n. 7) 172; P. Hemphill, *Archaeological Investigations in Southern Etruria 1. The Civitella Cesi Survey* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom 4,28:1), Stockholm 2000, 19–20; T. Rasmussen, "Urbanization in Etruria", in R. Osborne – B. Cunliffe (eds.), *Mediterranean Urbanization 800–600 BC*, Oxford 2005, 71–90, 74.

¹³ E.g. G. Cifani – R. Opitz – S. Stoddart, "Mapping the *Ager Faliscus* road-system: the contribution of LiDAR (light detection and ranging) survey", *JRA* 20:1 (2007) 165–76, 176.

¹⁴ M. W. Frederiksen – J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The Ancient Road Systems of the Central and Northern *Ager Faliscus* (Notes on Southern Etruria, 2)", *PBSR* 25 (1957) 67–203, 186; A. Kahane – L. Murray Threipland – J. B. Ward-Perkins, "The *Ager Veientanus*, North and East of Rome", *PBSR* 36 (1968), 4; Potter (above n. 5) 79; Barker – Rasmussen (above n. 7) 172. According to the Civitella Cesi survey in southern Etruria (Hemphill [above n. 12] 135), areas of tuff bedrock were especially favoured from the 7th into the 5th century BC when choosing the site for a settlement.

¹⁵ P. Perkins, *Etruscan Settlement, Society and Material Culture in Central Coastal Etruria* (BAR International Series 788), Oxford 1999, 25.

¹⁶ Ward-Perkins (above n. 4) 390; Perkins (above n. 15) 4, fig. 1.1.1.

parent lack of rock-cut tombs in northern Etruria: the bedrock is not suitable for rock-cut tombs, whereas the situation seems to be quite different in the south.¹⁷ Again, Judson and Kahane also note the connection between volcanic tuff and *cuniculi*, the drainageways dug underground: the areas with numerous field *cuniculi* are situated only on tuff bedrock.¹⁸ This does not mean that the cuttings were never done into harder bedrock types where necessary: only that on volcanic tuff the cutting was easier and more efficient to execute, and in that way, the presence of tuff bedrock certainly affected on the extent of rock-cut engineering on those areas.

Pre-Roman road surfaces

Archaeological evidence suggests that the Etruscans rarely paved their roads anywhere else than in the cities or in their immediate vicinity.¹⁹ The common practice seems to have been to cut a new surface to the tuff bedrock when the old road deteriorated and got too worn with wheel ruts and the effects of erosion,²⁰ such as the accumulation of the loose soil and rubble that prevent the water seeping into the porous tuff, thus decreasing the friction and making the road surface more slippery. The renewal of the road surfaces caused the road cuttings to get deeper and deeper, which – while presenting an opportunity to make the slopes even more gentle and gradual – made a certain aspect of rock-cut roads more in-

¹⁷ J. P. Oleson, "Regulatory Planning and Individual Site Development in Etruscan Necropoleis", *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35:3 (1976) 204–18, 209; J. P. Oleson, "Technical Aspects of Etruscan Rock-Cut Tomb Architecture", *MDAI(R)* 85:2 (1978) 283–314, 285–6.

¹⁸ Judson – Kahane (above n. 9) 76, fig. 1.

¹⁹ The Etruscan cities of Acquarossa, Satricum and Veii apparently had roads paved with pebbles during the Archaic period (C. E. Östenberg, *Case Etrusche di Acquarossa*, Roma 1975, 25–6, 190–3; M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, *Settlement Excavations at Borgo Le Ferriere <Satricum> volume II (The Campaigns 1983, 1985 and 1987)*, Groningen 1992, 22–5; B. Belelli Marchesini, "Veio: Comunità", in A. M. Moretti Sgubini (ed.), *Veio, Cerveteri, Vulci. Città d'Etruria a confronto*, Roma 2001, 23–4, fig. 1). According to Y. A. Pikoulas, "Travelling by land in ancient Greece" in C. Adams – J. Roy (eds.), *Travel, Geography and Culture in Ancient Greece, Egypt and the Near East* (Leicester–Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society 10), Oxford 2007, 78–87, 80, 82, the urban roads in ancient Greece were "usually laid with condensed earth/dirt mixed with gravel or sherds".

²⁰ Frederiksen – Ward-Perkins (above n. 14) 148–9, 186; J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Etruscan and Roman Roads in Southern Etruria", *JRS* 47 (1957) 139–43, 140.

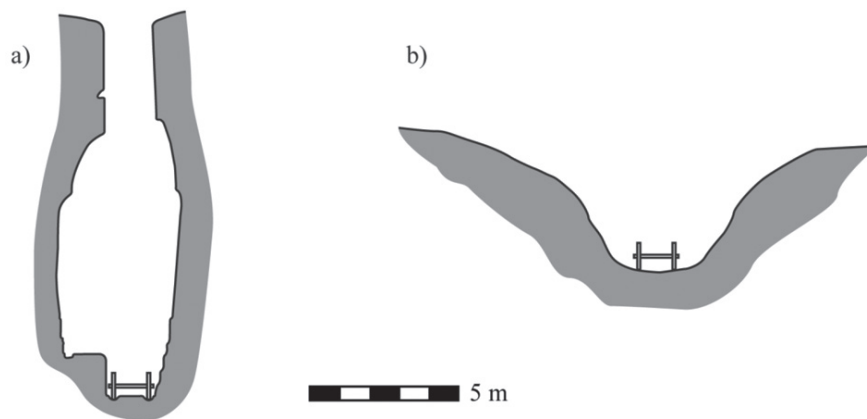


Fig. 2. The deep-mined road cuttings, *vie cave*, naturally placed more concrete restrictions than more open, gentle-sloped cuttings. The sections presented above are from a) Fantibassi road cutting near Civita Castellana and b) Trincea viaria road cutting at Crustumerium (section based on documentation on site in 2005).

convenient: the width of the road suddenly became extremely important in order to prevent vehicles getting stuck or being unable to use the road because of the narrowness (Fig. 2).

Fitting in the ancient vehicles

The wheeled vehicles can be basically divided into three types: four-wheeled wagons, two-wheeled carts and two-wheeled chariots. The first two are commonly used in labour and practical uses, whereas the chariot is generally lighter and intended for warfare, racing or festivities.²¹ In the areas of ancient Mesopotamia and northern Iran, the A-framed two-wheeled cart possibly developed from the travois around 3000 BC, followed by an oxen-pulled four-wheeled wagon.²²

²¹ Piggott (above n. 1) 23, 90, 95; M. Cristofani, "Veicoli terrestri e imbarcazioni", in *Strade degli etruschi. Vie e mezzi di comunicazione nell'antica Etruria*, Milano 1985, 49–51, 49; K. Jones-Bley, "The Sintashta 'Chariots' ", in J. Davis-Kimball – E. M. Murphy – L. Koryakova – L. T. Yablonsky (eds.), *Kurgans, Ritual Sites, and Settlements: Eurasian Bronze and Iron Age* (BAR International Series 890), Oxford 2000, 135–40, 135–6; M. A. Littauer – J. H. Crowell – P. Raulwing (eds.), *Selected Writings on Chariots, other Early Vehicles, Riding and Harness* (Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 6), Leiden – Boston – Köln 2002, 45; M. Pogrebova, "The emergence of chariots and riding in the south Caucasus", *OJA* 22:4 (2003) 397–409, 402–4; cf. Diodorus Siculus (5,29,1), reporting that the Gauls used chariots for journeys as well as for battles.

²² M. G. Lay, *Ways of the World. A History of the World's Roads and of the Vehicles That Used*

It has been suggested that in central Europe and Russia, the four-wheeled wagon pulled by oxen was the earliest type of wheeled vehicles,²³ and the two-wheeled carts and chariots appeared along with the domestication of the horse;²⁴ however, in the light of the vehicle development in the Near East, this view is probably influenced by the four-wheeled vehicles commonly used in the third millennium BC central European vehicle burials²⁵. Nevertheless, in order to gain the maximum benefit from the speed possible for a chariot with spoked wheels, harnessing the horse was certainly required.²⁶ Although the wheeled vehicles are pictured in art and decorations abundantly,²⁷ the actual, measurable examples are limited to burial finds.

The practice of vehicle burials was a continuous tradition in central Europe and Russia at least from the third millennium BC onwards.²⁸ As noted earlier, the third and second millennia BC vehicle burials seem to consist mostly of

Them, New Jersey 1992, 28; cf. Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 21) 184.

²³ Piggott (above n. 1) 10; E. Kuzmina, "The Eurasian Steppes: The Transition from Early Urbanism to Nomadism", in J. Davis-Kimball – E. M. Murphy – L. Koryakova – L. T. Yablonsky (above n. 21), 118–25, 119; cf. in the Near East during the 3rd millennium BC, the four-wheeled wagon was apparently the first type of vehicle utilized for military purposes (Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 21) 26, 48).

²⁴ E.g. Piggott (above n. 1) 10.

²⁵ Piggott (above n. 1) 51–60, 67–75; Kuzmina (above n. 23) 119; Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 21) 48, 50; cf. K. D. White (*Greek and Roman technology*, London 1984, 133) suggests two different lines of vehicular evolution, one developing to four-wheeled wagon from sledge, and other from two-wheeled chariot.

²⁶ Jones-Bley (above n. 21) 135–6; M. A. Littauer – J. H. Crouwel, "The earliest evidence for metal bridle bits", *OJA* 20:4 (2001) 329–38, 332–4.

²⁷ E.g. H. L. Lorimer, "The Country Cart of Ancient Greece", *JHS* 23 (1903) 132–51; M. A. Littauer, "Rock Carvings of Chariots in Transcaucasia, Central Asia and Outer Mongolia", *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 43 (1977) 243–62; Piggott (above n. 1); C. F. E. Pare, *Wagons and Wagon-Graves of the Early Iron Age in Central Europe*, Oxford 1992, 12, 14, fig. 13, 17–8; E. Anati, *Valcamonica Rock Art. A New History for Europe* (Studi Camuni 13), Valcamonica 1994, 156, 167, fig. 116–7, 128; N. Camerin, "L'Italia antica: Italia settentrionale", in A. Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 33–44, 40–2, fig. 9–12; Colonna (above n. 1) 16–9, fig. 1–6; J. H. Crouwel, "Il mondo greco", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 11–3, 12–3, fig. 3–5; M. Egg – C. F. E. Pare, "Il mondo celtico", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 45–51, 50, fig. 3; M. A. Littauer – J. H. Crouwel, "Antefatti nell'Oriente mediterraneo: Vicino Oriente, Egitto e Cipro", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 5–10, 6–8, 10, fig. 2–4, 7; F. Quesada, "La penisola iberica", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 53–9, 54, 58, fig. 1, 4.

²⁸ Witnessed for example in wagon burials from the Pressehaus site in Zürich, Switzerland or Elista site in the Republic of Kalmykia, Russia (Piggott (above n. 1) 51–2, 56–7).

four-wheeled wagons that probably served last as a funeral wagon carrying the deceased to the final resting place.²⁹ However, the situation appears to change by the emergence of the two-wheeled vehicles towards the end of the 2nd millennium BC.³⁰ Eventually, chariots become common in the vehicle burials in Europe – especially in central Italy – not later than from the 8th century BC onwards, possibly reflecting the meaning of the chariot as a status symbol and a ceremonial vehicle in the "princely" tombs.³¹ The appearance of chariots in burials may also be partly due to the possible utilization of a modified chariot as a funeral vehicle in antiquity.³²

²⁹ Jones-Bley (above n. 21) 136; cf. L. E. Lundeen, "In search of the Etruscan priestess: a re-examination of the hatrencu", in C. E. Schultz – P. B. Harvey, Jr. (eds.), *Religion in Republican Italy* (Yale Classical Studies 33), Cambridge 2006, 34–61, 38, 44, on the significance of four-wheeled vehicle in context with ritual and status during the 8th–5th centuries BC.

³⁰ Pare (above n. 27) 14; Camerin (above n. 27) 36; Pogrebova (above n. 21) 397, 401; cf. the invention of a horse-drawn chariot presumably took place in the Near East around 2000 BC (Pare [above n. 27] 12; Littauer – Crouwel [above n. 21] 45).

³¹ Piggott (above n. 1) 208; Cristofani (above n. 21) 49; A. E. Feruglio – A. Emiliozzi, "Il carro I da Castel San Mariano di Corciano (Rep. 96)", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 207–25, 208; M. Landolfi – G. De Palma – C. Usai – A. Emiliozzi – B. Wilkens, "Sirolo, necropolis picena "Il Pini". Tomba monumentale a circolo con due carri (520–500 a.C.)", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 229–59, 234; A. Emiliozzi – A. Romualdi – F. Cecchi, "Der Currus aus dem "Tumulo dei Carri" von Populonia", *JRGZ* 46:1 (2000) 5–16; Jones-Bley (above n. 21) 138–9; F. Fulminante, *Le "sepulture principesche" nel Latium Vetus. Tra la fine della prima età del ferro e l'inizio dell'età orientalizzante*, Roma 2003, 239–40; Pogrebova (above n. 21) 404; M. Cupitò, "Addenda interpretativi sul sistema figurativo del carrello di Bisenzio", in P. Attema – A. Nijboer – A. Zifferero (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology VI. Communities and Settlements from the Neolithic to the Early Medieval Period. Proceedings of the 6th Conference of Italian Archaeology held at the University of Groningen, Groningen Institute of Archaeology, The Netherlands, April 15–17, 2003, Volume II* (BAR International Series 1452 [II]), Oxford 2005, 739–41. The practice of wagon burials apparently still remained alongside the chariot burials in eastern Europe and the Hallstatt culture (J. Biel, "A Celtic Grave in Hochdorf, Germany", *Archaeology* 40:6 [1987] 22–9, 28). See also M. Schönfelder, *Das spätkeltische Wagengrab von Boé (Dép. Lot-et-Garonne). Studien zu Wagen und Wagengräbern der jüngeren Latènezeit*, Mainz 2002, for later La Tène chariot burials.

³² Piggott (above n. 1) 206–8.

Table 1. Iron Age and Archaic vehicle burials

Site	Vehicle	Dating (BC)	Gauge (m)	Axle length (m)
Hexenbergle, Wehringen (Germany),				
Tumulus 8	Wagon	8 th century	1.40	-
Großebstadt, Rhön-Grabfeld District (Germany),				
Cemetery I, Grave 1	Wagon	8 th century	1.16	-
Cemetery I, Grave 4	Cart?	7 th century	1.10?	-
Cemetery II, Grave 14	Wagon	8 th century	<i>c.</i> 1.20	-
Hradenín, Kolín (Czech Republic),				
Grave 24	Wagon	8 th century	<i>c.</i> 1.22	1.36
Grave 28	Wagon	Late 7 th /6 th cent.	1.10	-
Grave 46	Wagon	8 th century	<i>c.</i> 1.26	1.55–1.66
Riedenburg-Untereggersberg, Kelheim (Germany),				
Tumulus 2	Wagon	8 th /7 th century	1.20	-
Salamis (Cyprus Republic),				
Grave 2	Cart	Late 8 th /7 th cent.	1.25	-
Grave 3	Cart	Late 8 th /7 th cent.	1.30	-
Grave 79	Chariot	Late 8 th /7 th cent.	<i>c.</i> 1.80	<i>c.</i> 2.10
Vulci, Viterbo (Italy),				
Tomba del Carro	Chariot	680–670	<i>c.</i> 0.75	<i>c.</i> 1.10
Populonia, Livorno (Italy),				
Tumulo dei Carri	Chariot	7 th century	<i>c.</i> 1.25	<i>c.</i> 1.75
Hohmichele, Heuneburg (Germany),				
Grave I	Wagon	Late 7 th /6 th cent.	1.10–1.15	-
Grave VI	Wagon	Late 7 th /6 th cent.	1.18–1.30	<i>c.</i> 1.80
Offenbach-Rumpenheim, Hesse (Germany)				
	Wagon	6 th /5 th century	1.30	-
Eberdingen-Hochdorf, Baden-Württemberg (Germany)				
	Wagon	Late 6 th century	1.13	-
Castel San Mariano di Corciano, Perugia (Italy)				
	Chariot	Late 6 th century	<i>c.</i> 1.05	<i>c.</i> 1.50
Monteleone di Spoleto, Perugia (Italy)				
	Chariot	<i>c.</i> 530	<i>c.</i> 1.05	<i>c.</i> 1.50
Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt, Baden-Württemberg (Germany),				
Grave 1	Wagon	Late 6 th /5 th cent.	<i>c.</i> 1.25	-
Lohe, Hilpoltstein-Weinsfeld (Germany),				
Tumulus 4, Grave 5	Wagon	Late 6 th /5 th cent.	<i>c.</i> 1.17	-
Les Jogasses, Chouilly (France),				
Grave 16	Wagon	Late 6 th /5 th cent.	1.20	-
Bell, Rheinland-Pfalz (Germany),				
Tumulus 1	Wagon	Late 6 th /5 th cent.	1.10	-
Castro, Ischia di Castro (Italy),				
Tomba della Biga	Chariot	Late 6 th /5 th cent.	-	1.40

Site	Vehicle	Dating (BC)	Gauge (m)	Axle length (m)
Hundheim, Rheinland-Pfalz (Germany),				
Tumulus 1	Chariot	Late 6 th /5 th cent.	1.35	-
Tumulus 2	Chariot	5 th century	1.35	-
Sirolo, Ancona (Italy)				
	Cart	520–500	c. 1.05	c. 1.30
Vix, Côte-d'Or (France)				
	Wagon	c. 500	c. 0.90	-
Oberlahnstein, Rheinland-Pfalz (Germany),				
Tumulus 3, Grave 2	Chariot	5 th century	1.29	-
Sedlec-Hůrka, Plzeň District (Czech Republic),				
Grave 44	Cart?	5 th century	c. 1.30	-
Manětín-Hradek, Plzeň District (Czech Republic),				
Grave 196	Cart?	5 th century	1.16–1.30	-

Vehicle remains and reconstructions

There are ten known 3rd–2nd millennium BC vehicle burials from Armenia³³, Georgia³⁴, southwest Russia³⁵ and Switzerland³⁶ that were sufficiently intact upon discovery to provide information about the gauges and axle lengths. Of these vehicles, six are four-wheeled wagons, one a two-wheeled cart and the rest three assumedly chariots. The wagon gauges range from 1.3 to 1.75 m, whereas the axle lengths measure approximately 1.7–2.1 m. Two-wheelers have gauges from 1.1 to 1.7 m, and the only three measurable axle lengths from Sintashta Grave 12 in Russia and Lchashen site in Armenia are 1.8, 2.25 and 2.35 m. Piggott notes that in the two cases from Trialeti region in Georgia, the gauge spacing seems to be settling towards the figures associated with the general cases in European antiquity (i.e. 1.4–1.45 m).³⁷

³³ Barrows 2, 9 and 11 at Lchashen, Geghargunik Province in Armenia (Piggott [above n. 1] 72–6).

³⁴ Burial from Zelenyy, Tsalka District and barrows 5 and XXIX from Trialeti region in Georgia (Piggott [above n. 1] 59, 67–9).

³⁵ Barrow 5, grave 9 from Elista, Kalmykia and graves 12 and 19 at Sintashta, Chelyabinsk Oblast in southwest Russia (Piggott [above n. 1] 57, 91; Littauer – Crowel [above n. 21] 52, fig. 3).

³⁶ Pressehaus site at Zürich, Switzerland (Piggott [above n. 1] 52).

³⁷ Piggott (above n. 1) 68.

However, a new development becomes apparent in the Iron Age and Archaic vehicle burials: the general gauge with wagons and two-wheelers is now around 1.10–1.30 m (Table 1),³⁸ clearly narrower than with the earlier examples. The axle lengths vary between 1.10–1.80 m, with one Cypriot chariot exception from Salamis (Grave 79),³⁹ which has possibly been used in high speed activities due to its wide gauge.⁴⁰ In addition, regarding the axle and wheel nave lengths of the vehicles discussed in this paper, it appears that the wheel naves brought 14–65 cm in addition to the gauge when determining the overall width of the vehicle, setting the average nave length to *c.* 44 cm.⁴¹ Since wagons are still well represented in the burials, the introduction of chariots or the tradition of chariot burials in central Italy from the 7th century BC onwards cannot be held solely accountable for the diminished gauge. Instead, the apparent structural similarity in the wagons suggests that there was a consistent method of construction,⁴² which could be the result of the emergence of purely ceremonial vehicles in the 1st millennium BC. The narrow gauge (particularly in comparison with earlier vehicles) implies that these vehicles were not designed for high speeds, since the stability

³⁸ R. Joffroy, "Le char de Vix et les tombes à char", *CRAI* 2 (1957) 113–9; Piggott (above n. 1) 143–4, 146, 157–8, 206, 212, fig. 86, 89–90; Pare (above n. 27) 33–4, 133–4, 151–2, 164, 223, 237–8, 242, 248, 268, 293, 296, 324–5, 328, 345, fig. 157; F. Boitani, "Il carro di Castro dalla tomba della Biga (Rep. 100)", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 203–6, 203; M. Bonamici – A. Emiliozzi, "Il carro di Monteleone di Spoleto (Rep. 87) dalla necropoli al Colle del Capitano", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 179–190, 182, fig. 2; Feruglio – Emiliozzi (above n. 31) 209, 211, fig. 2, 4; Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 27) 8–9, fig. 5–6; A. Romualdi – A. Emiliozzi – F. Cecchi – F. Fiesoli – F. Gennai – R. Pecchioli, "I veicoli dal tumulo dei Carri di Populonia. Necropoli di San Cerbone (Rep. 123–124)", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 155–77, 164, 166, fig. 2, 4; A. M. Sgubini Moretti – A. Emiliozzi – G. F. Priori, "Il carro di Vulci dalla necropolis dell'Osteria (Rep. 195)", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 139–153, 144, 147, fig. 10, 13; Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 21) 229.

³⁹ Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 27) 8–9, fig. 5–6.

⁴⁰ Cf. Jones-Bley (above n. 21) 137; Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 21) 54, 151; B. I. Sandor, "The rise and decline of the Tutankhamun-class chariot", *OJA* 23:2 (2004) 153–175, 154, 163.

⁴¹ E.g. Pare (above n. 27) 19, 22, 32, 64, 66–70, 85, fig. 23, 27, 35, 60–4, 71a; Bonamici – Emiliozzi (above n. 34) 182, fig. 2; Feruglio – Emiliozzi (above n. 31) 209, 211, fig. 2, 4; Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 27) 8–9, fig. 5–6; Romualdi *et al.* (above n. 38) 164, 166, fig. 2, 4; Sgubini Moretti *et al.* (above n. 38) 144, 147, fig. 10, 13; Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 21) 51, 54; Sandor (above n. 40) 166, 169; cf. Table 2.

⁴² Piggott (above n. 1) 152–4; cf. Pare on late Bronze Age (above n. 27, 23–8) and early Iron Age (above n. 27, 134–5) traditions of wagon construction.

of the vehicle was greatly dependent of the sufficient width of the gauge.⁴³ In addition, the decorations and details on the wagons found in burials⁴⁴ back up on their part the interpretation of ceremonial function. It probably would be too narrow-sighted to assume that these wagons were made only for the funeral use; more likely they were symbols of status and used in ceremonies,⁴⁵ finally to be used as a funeral wagon and buried with their owner.

While providing interesting information about the Iron Age vehicle construction, the ceremonial vehicles found in burials do not shed much light upon the common traffic: without a doubt, the purely functional wagons and carts used in everyday chores were much more practical and less decorated than their ceremonial counterparts.⁴⁶ In order to examine the common traffic during the Iron Age and the archaic period, the tracks left on the ancient roads will be scrutinized next.

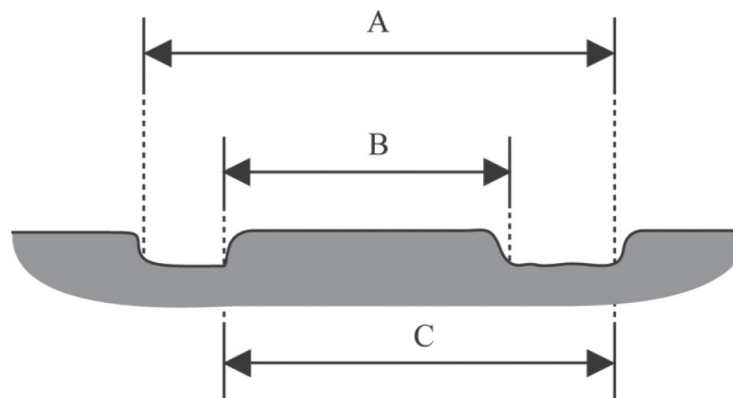


Fig. 3. A schematic illustration the measuring of the wheel ruts. A) width between the outer edges of the ruts, B) space between the ruts and C) technical gauge.

Wheel ruts

The wheel ruts visible on the ancient road surfaces also provide information about the gauges of the ancient vehicles. However, the documentation of the ruts holds some difficulties: for example, the ruts cannot be dated as such, only in context with the road or possible site stratigraphy. Another problem concerns multiple tracks: in the case of several similarly aligned ruts, which of them go together?

⁴³ Jones-Bley (above n. 21) 137; Sandor (above n. 40) 154, 163; Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 21) 45–6, 50, 54, 151.

⁴⁴ E.g. Piggott (above n. 1) 122–5, 154–5, 183; Pare (above n. 27) 93–105, 134–5, fig. 73–4.

⁴⁵ Pare (above n. 27) 135; Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 21) 50.

⁴⁶ Pare (above n. 27) 135.

Finally, in order to get comparable data, the method of measuring should be specified. In general terms measuring the wheel track⁴⁷ should prove sufficient, but in some cases, one of the ruts (or both) might be excessively wide due to the eroding effects of continuous use or deliberate modification; in these cases, the width between the outer edges of the ruts as well as the space between the ruts should be documented in addition to the wheel track (Fig. 3). It should also be noted that in some cases the ruts are known to have been pre-made to the road surface in order to direct the traffic and help the vehicles to stay on the road;⁴⁸ this kind of tracks, the *hodopoiia*, may not reflect the actual gauges of the vehicles.

According to Adam, the average gauge of wheel ruts documented from the Roman roads is 1.3 m;⁴⁹ Lafon appraises the typical gauge of Roman ruts to be 1.35–1.45 m,⁵⁰ whereas Mollo Mezzena reports the Roman wheel rut gauges from the Valle d'Aosta in northern Italy ranging from 1.3 to 1.6 m, speculating that the variance may be due to the long period of continuous usage.⁵¹ Concerning the Archaic wheel ruts, Pikoulas notes that the ancient road network in Greece, with its beginnings in the 7th century BC, shows the average width of the wheel ruts to be 1.40 m.⁵² The principal wheel ruts found on the *diolkos* at the Isthmus of Corinth (assumedly originating from the 6th century BC) are approximately 1.5–1.6 m apart.⁵³ The wheel ruts found in Etruscan and Faliscan sites in southern

⁴⁷ Definition of wheel track by Littauer – Crouwel (above n. 21): "The distance between the centres of the treads of the two wheels".

⁴⁸ J.-P. Adam, *L'arte di costruire presso i Romani. Materiali e tecniche*, Milano 1984, 303; White (above n. 25) 92, 97; M. J. T. Lewis, "Railways in the Greek and Roman world", in A. Guy – J. Rees (eds.), *Early Railways. A Selection of Papers from the First International Early Railways Conference*, London 2001, 8–19; Pikoulas (above n. 19) 82; G. Raepsaet, "Land transport, part 2: Riding, harnesses, and vehicles", in J. P. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*, Oxford 2008, 580–605, 593–4.

⁴⁹ Adam (above n. 48) 302.

⁵⁰ X. Lafon, "La voie littorale Sperlonga-Gaeta-Formia", *MEFRA* 91:1 (1979) 399–429, 404.

⁵¹ R. Mollo Mezzena, "La strada romana in Valle d'Aosta: procedimenti tecnici e costruttivi", in *Tecnica stradale romana*, Roma 1992, 57–72, 58–9.

⁵² Y. A. Pikoulas, "The Road-Network of Arkadia", in *Defining Ancient Arkadia. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 6*, Copenhagen 1999, 248–319, 251–2, 306–9; Pikoulas (above n. 19) 82.

⁵³ R. M. Cook, "Archaic Greek Trade: Three Conjectures. 1. The Diolkos", *JHS* 99 (1979) 152–5, 152; G. Raepsaet, "Le diolkos de l'Isthme à Corinthe: son tracé, son fonctionnement", *BCH* 117:1 (1993) 233–56, 238, 241–3, fig. 4–5; Pikoulas (above n. 19) 82; Raepsaet (above n. 48) 593–4; cf. Lewis (above n. 48, 12), reporting the ruts to be 1.57–1.67 m apart.

Etruria have gauges from 1.3 to 1.52 m,⁵⁴ of which a measure of 1.4 m appears to be quite common.⁵⁵ According to Quilici, the Archaic road of Tor de' Cenci southwest from Rome also shows wheel ruts with a *c.* 1.3 m gauge.⁵⁶

The above discussion of the gauges of ancient wheel ruts (table 2) shows that a gauge of 1.3–1.4 m can be seen in nearly every example, with only a few cases where the maximum gauge reaches 1.5–1.6 m. This appears to agree with Piggott's estimation of the general gauge of ancient European vehicles.⁵⁷

Table 2. Ancient wheel rut gauges from Italy and Greece

Source or location	Dating	Track gauge (m)
General Roman wheel rut gauge		
according to Adam (1984)	Roman	1.3
according to Quilici (1992)	Roman	1.3
according to Lafon (1979)	Roman	1.35–1.45
Vulci (Italy)	Roman?	1.30–1.52
Valle d'Aosta (Italy)	Roman	1.3–1.6
General wheel rut gauge		
according to Pikoulas (2007)	7 th cent. BC onwards	1.40
Blera (Italy),		
Ponte della Rocca	Pre-Roman?	1.4
Grotta Porcina	Pre-Roman	1.4
Civita Castellana (Italy),		
Fantibassi road cutting	Pre-Roman	1.4
Corchiano (Italy),		
Cannara road cutting	Pre-Roman	1.4
Isthmus of Corinth (Greece),		
the Diolkos	6 th cent. BC onwards	1.5–1.6

⁵⁴ Measures from Blera and Vulci presented in Table 2 have been documented on site by the author, with an exception of the Grotta Porcina road at Blera, which is referenced from S. Quilici Gigli (*Blera. Topografia antica della città e del territorio* [Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Rom 3], Mainz am Rhein 1976, 242, fig. 436), and they represent the width between the outer edges of the ruts.

⁵⁵ E.g. L. Quilici, "La cava buia di Fantibassi e le vie cave del territorio Falisco", in L. S. Olschki (ed.), *La civiltà dei Falisci. Atti del XV convegno di studi Etruschi ed Italici, Civita Castellana – Forte Sangallo, 28–31 maggio 1987*, Firenze 1990, 197–222, 199, 213, fig. 1.C–E, 5.

⁵⁶ L. Quilici, "Evoluzione della tecnica stradale nell'Italia centrale", in *Tecnica stradale romana*, Roma 1992, 19–32, 20; the approximate gauge of 1.3 m is given in the text; however, according to the sections by Quilici (above n. 56, 21, fig. 2), the ruts rather appear to be 1.4–1.5 m apart.

⁵⁷ Piggott (above n. 1) 68.

Measuring the road cuttings

According to the examples discussed above, a supposed general gauge of 1.3–1.4 m combined with the length of hubs (14–65 cm)⁵⁸ suggests that a road cutting *c.* 2 m wide at its base would have been sufficient to support most of the Iron Age and Archaic wheeled traffic going in one direction. In order to determine how well the pre-Roman road cuttings actually accommodated wheeled traffic, a sample of 53 documented cases from southern Etruria and the Faliscan region (Table 3) will be scrutinized next. The examples are taken from the sites at Pitigliano, Sovana, Veii, Blera, Civitella Cesi, Castel d'Asso, Monterano, Caere, Sutri, Corchiano and Falerii Veteres due to the appropriate amount and detail of documentation⁵⁹ available concerning road cuttings in these areas.

The Etruscan sites near the river Fiora, northwest of Lake Bolsena – Pitigliano and Sovana – have many road cuttings in their vicinity. The Annunziata cutting, west of Pitigliano, varies in width between 1.3–2 m.⁶⁰ The San Sebastiano cutting southwest of Sovana has a general width of 3 m,⁶¹ which is also the width of a road cutting beginning from the northeast gate of ancient Veii.⁶² The rock-cut roads in the vicinity of Blera have widths between 1.5–3.9 m,⁶³ whereas a monumental road cutting at Castel d'Asso, near Viterbo, has a width of 4.2 m.⁶⁴ Two

⁵⁸ Utilization of the wheel hub lengths is based on the assumption that the gauge/axle length/wheel hub proportions remained approximately the same with ceremonial wagons as they did with common vehicles; cf. Hesiod (*Op.* 424) reports the axle to be cut seven feet long, which – depending from the type of ancient Greek measure – converts approximately to 1.89–2.45 m (e.g. C. Wikander, "Weights and Measures", in J. P. Oleson (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Engineering and Technology in the Classical World*, Oxford 2008, 759–69, 767, tab. 30.4).

⁵⁹ In some cases the width of a road cutting is reported without decimals. These figures are assumed to represent a measure with an accuracy of one decimal that can be rounded to full metres (e.g. 2 m standing for 2.0 m), meaning that the possible inaccuracy or rounding up/down of the measure stays under 5 cm error marginal. All widths referred to in this paper are presented exactly as they have been originally reported.

⁶⁰ S. Nanni, *Le vie cave. Gli Etruschi nei territori di Sorano, Sovana e Pitigliano*, Firenze 2005, 34.

⁶¹ Nanni (above n. 60) 30.

⁶² J. B. Ward-Perkins, "Etruscan Engineering: Road-building, Water-Supply and Drainage", in M. Renard (ed.), *Hommages à Albert Grenier 3* (Collection Latomus 58), Bruxelles 1962, 1636–43, 1640.

⁶³ Quilici Gigli (above n. 50) 96, 179–80, 207–8, 234–5, 240–1, 244, 261, 271.

⁶⁴ L. Quilici, "Le antiche vie dell'Etruria" in *Secondo congresso internazionale Etrusco. Firenze 26 Maggio – 2 Giugno 1985. Atti vol. 1 (Supplemento di Studi Etruschi)*, Roma 1989,

road cuttings from the Civitella Cesi area are both approximately 4 m wide,⁶⁵ while the average width of the Cavone road cutting around Monterano is 2.2 m.⁶⁶

Table 3. Road cutting widths from southern Etruria

Site and road cutting	Width (m)	Site and road cutting	Width (m)
Caere (modern Cerveteri),		Blera,	
Pian Cerese (W of Ceri)	1.5	Casale Sciabolino	1.7
"	1.8	Pian dell' Anguillara	1.85–2.3
"	2	Pontone di Graziolo	1.86–2.1
Pian Cerese (N of Ceri)	1.65	Boccale Cave	2–2.2
"	1.7	Ponte della Rocca	2–3.9
"	2.3	Ricozzano	c. 2.1
Monte Abbadoncino	c. 1.8	Cerracchio	c. 2.3
"	c. 2.7	Castel d'Asso	4.2
Monte Abbadone	c. 2	Civitella Cesi,	
"	c. 4.6	Pian Fagiano/Costa	
Bufolareccia	1.93	Acquafredda	4
Porrazzeta	2	Passo di Viterbo	c. 4
Fosso di Fonte dei Santi	2	Falerii Veteres	
Quarto del Cecio	3	(modern Civita Castellana),	
Quarto di Montelungo	3.2–3.5	Fantibassi	1.7
Casale del Ferraccio	c. 3.5	Casale Santa Lucia	2
Fosso della Caldara	4	Tenuta Terrano	c. 2.5–3
Poggio Formicoso	4	Monte Picchiato	2.6
Ponte Vivo	4	Tenuta Franca	4–9.2
Tre Cancelli	4	Monterano,	
Polledrara	4–5	Cavone	c. 2.2
Corchiano,		Pitigliano,	
Corchiano	c. 2	Annunziata	1.3–2
Rio Fratta	c. 2	Sovana,	
Madonna delle Grazie	2.1	San Sebastiano	c. 3
Santa Edigio	2.1	Veii,	
Spigliara	2.2	NE Gate	3
Fallarese	2.3–2.6	Sutri,	
Cannara	c. 3	Piazzano	1.6–2.6
Blera,		Mazzano	2.1
Grotta Porcina	1.5–1.6	Monte Fosco	2.7–3.1
Fosso dei Caprari	1.55–1.7	Madonna del Carmine	3.1–4.1

451–508, 490–1, fig. 15.

⁶⁵ Hemphill (above n. 12) 80, 84, fig. 116.

⁶⁶ O. Cerasuolo – L. Pulcinelli – T. Latini, "Monterano, la viabilità in epoca etrusca", in P. Attema – A. Nijboer – A. Zifferero (eds.), *Papers in Italian Archaeology VI. Communities and Settlements from the Neolithic to the Early Medieval Period. Proceedings of the 6th Conference of Italian Archaeology held at the University of Groningen, Groningen Institute of Archaeology, The Netherlands, April 15–17, 2003, Volume II* (BAR International Series 1452 [II]), Oxford 2005, 842–7, 844.

The region of ancient Caere around modern Cerveteri shows the traces of a road network present in antiquity. In general terms, the widths of the road cuttings in the area that have supposedly preserved their original measures range from 1.5 to 5 m; only six cuttings out of 21 are narrower than 2 m.⁶⁷

The *ager Faliscus*, the ancient Faliscan region bordered from the west by Monte Cimino and Lake Bracciano and from the east by the river Tiber also has many road cuttings: the examples near Sutri have widths between 1.5–4.1 m,⁶⁸ whereas the cuttings around Corchiano range from 2 to 3 m.⁶⁹ The road cuttings in the vicinity of Falerii Veteres, modern Civit  Castellana, have widths from 1.7 m up to 9.2 m,⁷⁰ although the average road cutting width in the area appears to be 3 m.⁷¹ Regarding all the minimum widths⁷² of the road cuttings discussed above (Table 4), the singular cases appear to peak around the 2 and 4 m widths. According to the documented wheel ruts and vehicle reconstructions presented in this article, the width of 2 m would have been sufficient for nearly any vehicle going in one direction,⁷³ and consequently 4 m for two-way traffic. Of the 14 documented cases out of 53, where the cutting width is less than the supposed general width (i.e. 2 m) required by the wheeled traffic in the Iron Age and Archaic period, at

⁶⁷ G. Nardi, "La viabilit  di una metropoli: il caso di Caere", in *Strade degli etruschi. Vie e mezzi di comunicazione nell'antica Etruria*, Milano 1985, 157–66, 158–62; G. Nardi, "Nuovi dati dalla ricognizione a Caere e nelle aree adiacenti: principali vie etrusche dell'entroterra", in *Secondo congresso internazionale Etrusco. Firenze 26 Maggio – 2 Giugno 1985. Atti vol. 1 (Supplemento di Studi Etruschi)*, Roma 1989, 517–23, 518; F. Enei, *Progetto Ager Caeretanus. Il litorale di Alsium. Ricognizioni archeologiche nei comuni di Ladispoli, Cerveteri e Fiumicino (Alsium-Caere-Ad Turres-Ceri)*, Ladispoli 2001, 125–6, 133–4, 140–4, 187, 245–6, 252, 263, 270, 289, fig. 121–4, 141, 159, 168–9, 175–6, 461–3.

⁶⁸ Quilici (above n. 64) 486–9, fig. 14.4–6.

⁶⁹ Frederiksen – Ward-Perkins (above n. 14) 169; P. Moscati, "La viabilit  di una regione: l'Agro Falisco", in *Strade degli etruschi. Vie e mezzi di comunicazione nell'antica Etruria*, Milano 1985, 91–7, 93; Quilici (above n. 64) 496–8, fig. 18.1–2, 18.4–6; Quilici (above n. 56) 209, 212.

⁷⁰ Frederiksen – Ward-Perkins (above n. 14) 143, 167; Quilici (above n. 64) 494–5, 497, 505–6, fig. 17.1, 20.14; Quilici (above n. 56) 200; Cifani *et al.* (above n. 13) 171.

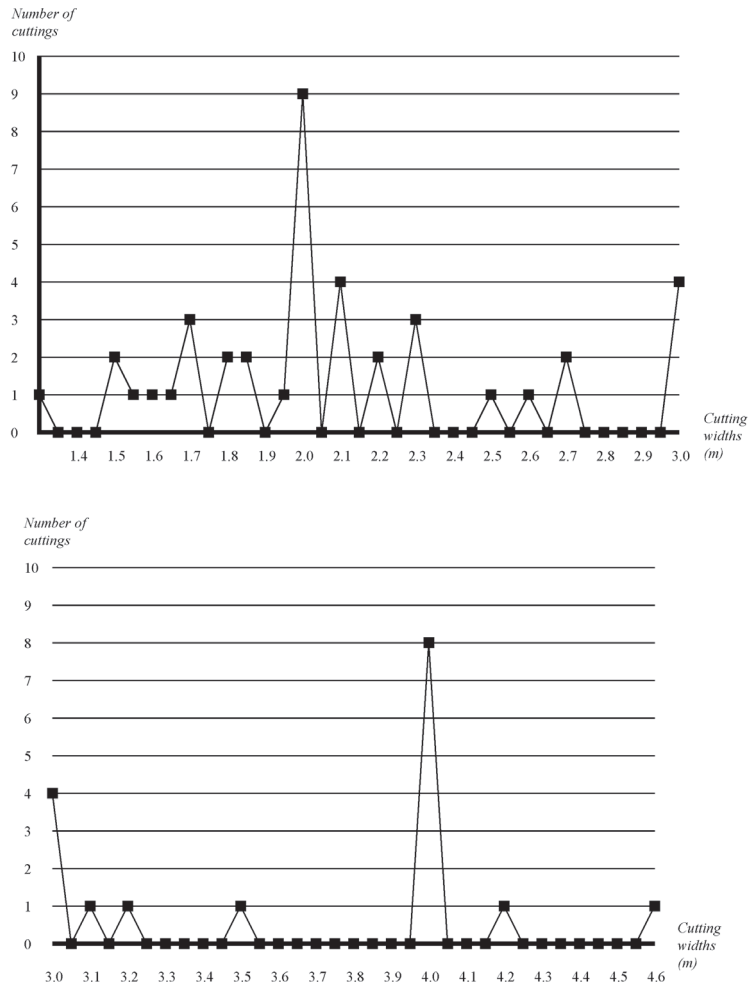
⁷¹ Frederiksen – Ward-Perkins (above n. 14) 143, 148, 167, 169; Moscati (above n. 69) 93, 95–6.

⁷² Only the narrowest points of the road cuttings are taken into account since they define whether the cutting is passable by a vehicle of certain width or not.

⁷³ In the case of Fantibassi cutting near Falerii Veteres, according to the wheel ruts visible on the road surface, the width of 1.7 m appears to have been enough for one-way wheeled traffic (Quilici [above n. 64] 494–5, fig. 17.1).

least seven seem to be associated with burial grounds;⁷⁴ in these cases, the narrowness might have been intentional in order to prohibit general traffic and to protect the sanctity of the deceased.⁷⁵

Table 4. Graphical presentation of the road cutting widths with 0.05 m accuracy



Regulations and measures

Concerning the pre-Roman measure of Osco-Italic or Oscan foot, a length of *c.* 27 cm is often referred to, due to the archaeological evidence.⁷⁶ However, Lo-

⁷⁴ The Annunziata cutting at Pitigliano (Nanni [above n. 60] 34, 48–50), Pontone di Graziolo, Pian dell'Anguillara, Grotta Porcina and Fosso dei Caprari cuttings at Blera (Quilici Gigli [above n. 55] 207–8, 231–5, 240–1, 244) and Pian Cerese cuttings at Caere (Enei [above n. 67] 140–2). Similar connections to burial grounds can be seen at *ager Faliscus* (Potter [above n. 2] 19; Rajala [above n. 6] 182–3).

⁷⁵ U. Losacco, "Le cave: arcane strade d'Etruria", *L'Universo* 49:6 (1969) 937–54, 940.

⁷⁶ E.g., K. M. Phillips, Jr., "Bryn Mawr College Excavations in Tuscany, 1971", *AJA* 76:3

renzo Quilici has recently proposed a slightly shorter measure, 25.7 cm, based on the width of the Via Valeria at the Arsoli hill.⁷⁷ These two proposals will be scrutinized next by using the evidence referred to in the discussion of Osco-Italic foot.

Building blocks and floor plans

Gabriele Cifani gives a wall dated to the beginning of the 6th century BC discovered near the Equus Domitiani in the Forum Romanum as an example of the use of 27.2 cm as an Osco-Italic foot: the measures of the tuff blocks used to construct the wall are, according to Cifani, 78–80 cm in length, 62–70 in width and 28 cm in height.⁷⁸ With a 27.2 cm Osco-Italic foot, the dimensions of the block would thus be *c.* 3 x 2.25–2.5 x 1 Osco-Italic feet with an error marginal of 3.6 cm. The width of the block, with its 8 cm variation, proves to be the most inconsistent. However, the use of quarter feet does have a precedent for example in the Greek measure of *palaistē*;⁷⁹ in addition, the Greek foot, *pous*, also varies between 27

(1972) 249–55, 249–51, ill. 1; Ö. Wikander, "Terracotta modules, Oscan feet and tile standards", in E. Rystedt – C. Wikander – Ö. Wikander (eds.), *Deliciae fictiles. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Central Italic Architectural Terracottas at the Swedish Institute in Rome, 10–12 December, 1990* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom 4,50), Stockholm 1993, 67–70; G. Cifani, *Architettura romana arcaica: Edilizia e società tra Monarchia e Repubblica*, Roma 2008, 239; the notion of *c.* 27 cm long Oscan foot is also expressed by Amadeo Maiuri ("Pompei. Saggi e ricerche intorno alla Basilica", *NSA* 8,5 [1951] 225–60, 233), who suggests that the roof tiles of the Basilica at Pompeii with their length of 1.35 m reflect a measure of five Oscan feet; however, Karlfriedrich Ohr (*Die Basilika in Pompeji* [Denkmäler antiker Architektur 17], Berlin – New York 1991, 34, n. 142) does not agree with Maiuri's suggestion of use of the Oscan feet in the architecture of the Basilica, since the floor plan of the Basilica appears to conform to a measure unit of 29.35 cm.

⁷⁷ Quilici (above n. 3) 563; cf. L. Quilici, "Le strade carraie nell'Italia arcaica", in Emiliozzi (above n. 1), 73–82, 75.

⁷⁸ Cifani (above n. 76) 119, 239, E. Gjerstad, *Early Rome I. Stratigraphical researches in the Forum Romanum and along the Sacra Via* (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom 4,17:1), Lund 1953, 23, gives slightly different dimensions for the blocks, namely 75 x 60–70 x 27–30 cm, and notes (29, n. 1) that of the three remaining block courses of the wall, the upmost has only one tuff block left in place, which has been chipped from the top to a maximum height of 25 cm.

⁷⁹ Although the exact Greek measures slightly varied locally and according to epoch, the relative proportions of the units, based on 1/16 fractions, remained the same; the smallest unit was *daktylos* or finger breadth, whereas a *pous* or foot length consisted of 16 *daktyloi*. *Palaistē*, meaning palm width, was four *daktyloi*, or ¼ foot. The Romans used the same

and 35 cm.⁸⁰ In comparison, 25.7 cm, the approximate measure for Osco-Italic foot proposed by Quilici, would give the aforementioned tuff block the dimensions of 3 x 2.5–2.75 x 1 Osco-Italic feet with an error of 2.9 cm. The other early 6th century BC structure referred by Cifani,⁸¹ the first and second building phase of the podium of the archaic temple on the sacred area of S. Omobono at Rome, is constructed of six rows of red tuff blocks varying in height around 25–27 cm with a total height of *c.* 1.70 m.⁸² In addition, the first phase (late 7th–the first half of 6th century BC) of a suburban sanctuary at Gabii shows, according to Cifani, a wall thickness of *c.* 1 m with a floor plan of 10 x 11 m;⁸³ with a 27.2 cm foot, the dimensions would amount to wall thickness of 4 ft. and 36.75 x 40.5 ft. floor plan with an error marginal of 8.8 cm, whereas with 25.7 cm, the measures would be respectively 4 ft. and 39 x 43 ft., with an error of 5.1 cm.

The dimensions of the 6th-century BC sanctuary at Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena) make a strong case for the *c.* 27 cm long Osco-Italic foot: especially the consistent dimensions of the courtyard outline appear to fit exactly, in multiples of ten, to the aforementioned measure (Table 5).⁸⁴ However, since applying the 25.7 cm measure also gives nearly as perfect results with an error marginal of 2.3 cm, it becomes questionable whether the east or the west side of the courtyard shows the correct, intended measure. The last two examples come from ancient Ficulea in Latium and Tarquinia in Etruria: the tuff blocks from Ficulea have a common height of 25–27 cm according to Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli,⁸⁵ whereas the blocks used to build the archaic phase of the Ara della Regina temple at Tarquinia have dimensions of 50 x 50 x 90 cm,⁸⁶ clearly conform-

units and proportions (*daktylos/digitus, pous/pes*), although they also divided the foot into 12 parts, *unciae* (e.g. W. F. Richardson, *Numbering and Measuring in the Classical World. An introductory handbook*, Bristol 1985, 28–9; Wikander [above n. 58] 766–8, tab. 30.4).

⁸⁰ Wikander (above n. 58) 766–8, tab. 30.4.

⁸¹ Cifani (above n. 76) 239.

⁸² Cifani (above n. 76) 167; an approximate total height of 1.40 m has also been reported (*Enea nel Lazio. Archeologia e mito*, Roma 1981, 115).

⁸³ Cifani (above n. 76) 196.

⁸⁴ Phillips (above n. 76) 249–51, ill. 1.

⁸⁵ L. Quilici – S. Quilici Gigli, *Ficulea* (Latium vetus 6), Roma 1993, 63.

⁸⁶ M. Bonghi Jovino, "La phase archaïque de l'Ara della Regina à la lumière des recherches récentes", in F. Gaultier – D. Briquel (eds.), *Les Étrusques, les plus religieux des hommes. État de la recherche sur la religion étrusque. Actes du colloque international Galeries nationales du Grand Palais 17–18–19 novembre 1992* (Rencontres de l'École du Louvre 12), Paris 1997,

ing better to 25.7 cm (2 x 2 x 3.5 Osco-Italic ft. with an error of 1.4 cm) than to 27 cm long Osco-Italic foot. In addition, Giuseppe Lugli notes that the common height of *cappellaccio* or granular tuff blocks from the 8th–4th centuries BC used in Roman architecture varies around 24–26 cm and that this measure relates to the Osco-Italic foot.⁸⁷

Table 5. Dimensions of the 6th century BC sanctuary at Poggio Civitate (Murlo, Siena)

Sanctuary structures	Meters	Osco-Italic feet of 0.270 m	Osco-Italic feet of 0.257 m
Complex exterior,			
North side	61.25	226.85	238.33
East side	61.55	227.96	239.49
South side	60.00	222.22	233.46
West side	61.85	229.07	240.66
Courtyard outline,			
North side	43.20	160.00	168.09
East side	40.50	150.00	157.59
South side	43.20	160.00	168.09
West side	40.35	149.44	157.00
Distance between column centers,			
North colonnade	3.51	13.00	13.66
East colonnade	3.03	11.22	11.79
South colonnade	3.24	12.00	12.61
Large room within north flank,			
Length	23.25	86.11	90.47
Width	10.00	37.04	38.91
Distance between post hole centers	3.51	13.00	13.66

Terracotta tiles and plaques

Ancient architectural terracottas have occasionally been suggested to convey pre-Roman foot standards,⁸⁸ but the existent evidence shows too much variance in the dimensions of the terracotta artifacts to pinpoint the exact measures the manufacturers might have striven to attain.⁸⁹ Due to the manufacturing method, it was

69–95, 74.

⁸⁷ G. Lugli, *La tecnica edilizia romana, con particolare riguardo a Roma e Lazio I: Testo*, Roma 1957, 192–3

⁸⁸ E.g., Maiuri (above n. 76) 233; Phillips (above n. 76) 251, n. 5; Östenberg (above n. 19) 23, 28.

⁸⁹ E.g., A. Andrén, *Architectural terracottas from Etrusco-Italic temples. Text*, Lund 1940,

impossible to get the dimensions exactly right every time: the terracotta pieces shrink notably during the drying and firing,⁹⁰ thus making the slight variation in the dimensions inevitable. In addition, the roof tiles often appear to conform to certain dimensions regionally and locally, but clearly differ from each other when comparing to the tile sizes from another region.⁹¹ Apparently there were no general standards as such for the roof tile sizes: the manufacturers made the tiles to fit each other, not to follow some specific standard measure.

It appears that both proposals, according to the evidence discussed above, remain so far plausible candidates for the measure of the Osco-Italic foot and within the acceptable error margins. On this basis, the Quilici's proposal for the measure of Osco-Italic or Oscan foot, 25.7 cm, should be regarded as valid as the more widely adapted estimate of *c.* 27 cm. Admittedly, since the measures are not very far from each other, the consequential differences are difficult to discern in the tiles or blocks: the situation becomes clearer with larger dimensions such as in context with rooms, floor plans or roads.

Osco-Italic foot and road widths

As the roads were modified to accommodate the new requirements of wheeled traffic, the sufficient width depended on the vehicles that used them. This would suggest that there was a predetermined minimum width for the roads: there certainly were regulations concerning the Roman road-building at least from the 5th century BC onwards in the form of the Law of the Twelve Tables,⁹² which stated that on straight stretches the road must be at least 8 ft. wide and in curves 16 ft.⁹³

passim; N. Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas – Cypriote, Greek, Etrusco-Italian and Roman*, Copenhagen 1941, 82; Wikander (above n. 76).

⁹⁰ E.g., G. Brodribb, *Roman Brick and Tile*, Gloucester 1987, 2, 4; Wikander (above n. 76) 67.

⁹¹ E.g., Andrén (above n. 89); Breitenstein (above n. 89); Adam (above n. 48) 229; Wikander (above n. 76).

⁹² R. Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy: Mobility and Cultural Change*, London – New York 1999, 58.

⁹³ *Dig.* 8,3,8: *Viae latitudo ex Lege XII Tabularum in porrectum octo pedes habet, in anfractum, id est ubi flexum est, sedecim.*

Converted to the metric system, 8 Roman ft.⁹⁴ would have constituted 2.368 m, which clearly does not fit into the documented clusters at 2 and 4 m widths. While keeping in mind that the possible inaccuracy in archaeological records – most likely due to rounding up or down to the accuracy of one decimal – would be 5 cm, the measure of 25.7 cm would still provide closer matches than 27 cm regarding the peak values of road cutting widths: 8 ft. of 25.7 cm constitutes 2.056 m, whereas 8 ft. of 27 cm adds up to 2.160 m. According to the road cutting examples discussed above (data summarized in Table 6), there are 13 close matches⁹⁵ out of 53 with 8 Osco-Italic ft. of 25.7 cm; in addition, the other common width, 4 m, lacks only 11.2 cm from 16 Osco-Italic ft. when converted, thus suggesting pre-Roman origin for the road width regulations.⁹⁶ It seems plausible that as the wheeled traffic increased from the 7th century BC onwards, the 5th century BC law concerning the road widths originated in pre-Roman times as a response to the increased demands of traffic.⁹⁷ In addition, it is interesting to note that the quite common gauge of 1.3 m seems to correspond to a measure of five 25.7 cm Osco-Italic ft. with only 1.5 cm error; the pre-Roman measure was possibly utilized also in the vehicle construction.

⁹⁴ The supposed measure applied in this paper for one Roman foot is 29.6 cm (e.g. F. Hulstsch, *Griechische und römische Metrologie*, Berlin 1882, 90; Lugli [above n. 87] 114, 189, 192–3).

⁹⁵ Allowing a 5.6 cm error marginal.

⁹⁶ According to the clusters in the road cutting widths discussed in this paper, the applied measure of Osco-Italic foot might have actually been closer to 25 than 26 cm; cf. Lugli (above n. 87) 192–3; *Enea nel Lazio* (above n. 82) 115; Quilici – Quilici Gigli (above n. 85) 63; Bonghi Jovino (above n. 86) 74. There are also Archaic roads matching the regulations of Law of the Twelve Tables when measured in Osco-Italic feet: for example the 6th century BC route assumedly preceding via Laviniate that has widths of 2–2.1 and 2.3 m, corresponding to 8 and 9 Osco-Italic ft. of 25.7 cm (Quilici [above n. 77] 75–6, fig. 2), whereas a late 7th century BC road on Via San Gennaro near the site of Fidenae is 4 m wide between the tuff blocks bordering the road (Cifani [above n. 76] 182–3), approaching 16 Osco-Italic ft. of 25.7 cm.

⁹⁷ Quilici (above n. 77) 82.

Table 6. Road cutting widths in 27 cm and 25.7 cm Osco-Italic feet

<i>Road cutting width (m)</i>	<i>Number of cuttings</i>	<i>Osco-Italic feet of 0.270 m</i>	<i>Osco-Italic feet of 0.257 m</i>
1.3	1	4.815	5.058
1.5	2	5.556	5.837
1.55	1	5.741	6.031
1.6	1	5.926	6.226
1.65	1	6.111	6.420
1.7	3	6.296	6.615
1.8	2	6.667	7.004
1.85	1	6.852	7.198
1.86	1	6.889	7.237
1.93	1	7.148	7.510
2	9	7.407	7.782
2.1	4	7.778	8.171
2.2	2	8.148	8.560
2.3	3	8.519	8.949
2.5	1	9.259	9.728
2.6	1	9.630	10.117
2.7	2	10.000	10.506
3	4	11.111	11.673
3.1	1	11.481	12.062
3.2	1	11.852	12.451
3.5	1	12.963	13.619
4	8	14.815	15.564
4.2	1	15.556	16.342
4.6	1	17.037	17.899

Sticking to the tradition

Consequently, an interesting measure can be found from a Roman context of the Republican era: Concerning the Via Appia, Quilici notes that the paving width of 4.1–4.2 m would have easily allowed two vehicles to pass each other, and that this width relates to 14 Roman ft., which, according to Quilici, appears to have been a canonical measure for the heavily trafficked roads as well as some secondary roads.⁹⁸ This width seems to dominate road design from the 4th century BC onwards.⁹⁹ However, regarding the regulations stated in the Law of the Twelve Tables, it seems problematic that the canonical width of the road from the 4th century BC onwards would be 14 Roman ft. instead of 16: of course 14 ft. exceeds generously the required 8 ft., but if there are regulations stating the suggested

⁹⁸ Quilici (above n. 56) 30–2; Quilici (above n. 3) 555, 563, 565.

⁹⁹ Quilici (above n. 3) 563.

widths of 8 and 16 ft., why leave the road two feet narrower than required in the curves? It is possible that experience had shown that 14 Roman ft. was enough to allow fluent trafficking; but this would have meant that the original law was considered to be a moot point, and treated rather as a suggestion. On the other hand, supposing that the Law of the Twelve Tables still echoed the pre-Roman measures, the aforementioned 4.1 m would correspond to 16 Osco-Italic ft., meeting the requirements of the law: in this light, it seems probable that the Osco-Italic feet remained in use for a while even after the introduction of the Roman foot system.¹⁰⁰

Conclusions

The developments that took place in the Mediterranean, beginning from the end of the 8th century BC, led to the appearance of the road cuttings in the tuff plateaus of southern Etruria. These rock-cut roads, while providing notable logistical benefits, also placed concrete restrictions to the wheeled traffic with their widths. However, as the cuttings were a result of increased traffic, their widths must have reflected the space needed for contemporary vehicles: as the general gauge for the common traffic during the Iron Age and the archaic period – according to the wheel ruts and vehicle reconstructions – was around 1.3–1.4 m, wheel hubs adding 14–65 cm to the width, a fluent one-way traffic needed at least 2 m wide road cutting. The relatively high amount of *c.* 2 m wide road cuttings amongst the examples discussed in this article seem to imply that this requirement was eventually met by constructing cuttings with a certain minimum width, namely 2 m. Since the measure of Roman foot, 29.6 cm, was clearly not applied here, the width may relate to the pre-Roman measure of Osco-Italic foot. From the most recent propositions for the measure of Osco-Italic foot, 25.7 and *c.* 27 cm, the former appears to conform better to the peak values in the road cutting widths. As the width of 4 m – approaching 16 Osco-Italic ft. of 25.7 cm – also seems to appear more often than other widths, it seems probable that the regulations concerning the road width stated in the Law of the Twelve Tables from the 5th century BC onwards originated in the pre-Roman era to accommodate the wheeled traffic to the road cuttings.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Lugli (above n. 87) 192–3; G. Gambacurta, "Appunti sulla tecnica stradale protostorica nel Veneto antico", in L. Quilici – S. Quilici Gigli (eds.), *Viabilità e insediamenti nell'Italia antica* (Atlante tematico di topografia antica 13), Roma 2004, 25–42, 41; Cifani (above n. 76) 198–9; Quilici (above n. 3) 563.

In addition, the apparently common width for the long-distance, heavily trafficked Roman roads from the 4th century BC onwards, 4.1–4.2 m or *c.* 14 Roman ft., seems to contradict the Law of the Twelve Tables: however, if the width is converted to Osco-Italic feet, it measures up to *c.* 16 ft. thus following the regulations and implying that the pre-Roman measures were still utilized, at least for a period of time, after the introduction of the Roman foot.

University of Oulu

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Studi di antiquaria ed epigrafia per Ada Rita Gunnella. A cura di CONCETTA BIANCA, GABRIELLA CAPECCHI e PAOLO DESIDERI. Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-6372-081-5. IX, 283 pp. EUR 48.

Questo volume riunisce saggi che risalgono in parte alle comunicazioni di un seminario tenuto nel 2003 in ricordo di Ada Rita Gunnella (1946–2002) e in parte sono contributi originali. Conformemente al profilo di ricerca (v. pp. VIII–IX) dell'epigrafista siculo-fiorentina, specialista non soltanto di iscrizioni antiche ma anche di epigrafia medioevale e rinascimentale, gli argomenti dei 13 articoli vanno dall'alfabeto etrusco alla cultura del primo Ottocento. Riguardano l'epigrafia antica i primi tre.

1. L. Agostiniani ("L'alfabetario etrusco di Perugia", 1–12) presenta una discussione approfondita dell'alfabetario arcaico graffito in un piede di coppa di bucchero datato su basi epigrafiche alla seconda metà del s. VI a.C. Viene dimostrato, tramite esame autoptico corroborato dalla fotografia fig. 1, che il *beta* di *abat*, sequenza di lettere inserita alla fine dell'alfabetario, risale alla modifica del segno 8 per /f/, ultimo dell'alfabetario in questione, e non viceversa, come finora affermato dagli studiosi. L'alfabetario di Perugia fa dunque parte della terza fase distinta da M. Pandolfini, e non della seconda, ormai rappresentata dal solo alfabetario frammentario di Gravisca. Per quanto riguarda la sequenza *abat*, l'A. propone come senso, al pari di precedenti studiosi, "alfabeto" e suggerisce l'interpretazione di *-at* come suffisso nel senso traslato di *nomen instrumenti*, sottolineando la scarsità delle informazioni sulla morfologia etrusca.

2. G. A. Cecconi ("Fratelli nell'epigrafia latina di età romana imperiale", 13–29) esamina le epigrafi CIL VI 8434 = ILS 1523, CIL XI 6168 = ILS 9075 = ILCV 449 (dove propone, sorprendentemente, lo scioglimento di *praeff. eemm. ecc.* come *praeff(ectorum) eemm(inentissimorum)* invece di *praef(ectorum) em(inentissimorum)*; cfr. anche la discussione su CIL XI 4095, con risultati ancora più esotici: *Nn(ostrorum duorum)*; siccome il raddoppiamento segnala il plurale, la seconda consonante non dovrebbe più figurare nella forma sciolta della parola che già ne comporta il referente, cioè appunto la desinenza del plurale), CIL X 157 = ILS 708, CIL XI 4095 = ILS 5696, CIL XI 4097 = ILS 5697 e CIL XI 4096.

3. S. Panciera ("Occisus a malibus", 31–7) esamina l'epigrafe ILCV 424 proponendo l'interpretazione della parola *malibus* come forma eteroclita di *malus* e suggerisce un'eventuale presenza originale di *homin(ibus)* alla fine di questa iscrizione molto danneggiata.

Due contributi interessano invece l'epigrafia medioevale.

4. L'articolo di G. Uggeri ("Testimonianze di romanitas esibite nella cattedrale romanica di Ferrara" 39–54) verte sul reimpiego medioevale di materiali antichi nel duomo romanico di Ferrara (1135), cioè una stele in calcare rosa già posta sulla facciata e nel Settecento trasferita al Museo dell'Università; la stele del medico ed augustale Pupio, già all'interno del duomo, dal Settecento anch'essa al Museo; un frammento di epigrafe funeraria collocato al fianco

esterno sinistro del duomo; un'iscrizione romana riadoperata come marmo nella lunetta del portale principale; un'altra iscrizione funeraria romana immurata nella fiancata meridionale del duomo; la notizia riportata dall'antiquario Girolamo Baruffaldi (1675–1755) secondo la quale il cippo sepolcrale, forse di un certo P.I. Clemens, sarebbe stato reimpiegato nella Porta dei Mesi; la "Madonna Ferrara", un busto femminile originariamente inserito nella facciata; due blocchi con fregio a girali floreali reimpiegati dall'architetto e scultore Nicolò, forse appartenuti ad un architrave romano. Il reimpiego di tali pezzi da parte di Nicolò s'integra secondo l'A. nella ricerca di una fittizia *Romanitas* da parte del comune di Ferrara del s. XII, poi riproposta dagli umanisti locali quali Pirro Ligorio.

5. Sulle iscrizioni di Ferrara e città vicine verte l'articolo di S. Patitucci ("L'epigrafia medievale di Ferrara e del suo territorio: un primo contributo", 55–72): l'iscrizione di Niccolò, gli statuti del 1173 e la bolla di papa Bonifacio IX (*spolia* antichi nel duomo di Ferrara); il sarcofago di S. Leo (Voghenza, chiesa di S. Leo), valve di ambone (già nella chiesa di S. Maria e S. Stefano di Voghiera, ora al Museo della Cattedrale di Ferrara); l'epigrafe funeraria greca del nipote dell'esarca armeno Isaacio (s. VII, già Comacchio, ora Museo Arcivescovile di Ravenna); l'epigrafe di Vincenzo (attribuibile, invece che al s. VIII, all'ambiente di Pirro Ligorio; Comacchio, cattedrale); il sarcofago di Stefano (Comacchio, cattedrale); l'iscrizione di Mazulo *magister* (abbazia di Pomposa; fig. 23 invece di 22); l'iscrizione del campanile (abbazia di Pomposa; fig. 22 invece di 23); l'iscrizione del portale (Argenta, pieve di S. Giorgio).

Lo studio di epigrafi, monumenti antichi e stampe dal Rinascimento in poi fornisce la materia per il resto degli articoli.

6. S. Zamponi ("Epigrafi di tradizione antiquaria nel castello del Buonconsiglio di Trento", 73–86) fa un esame paleografico di un'iscrizione umanistica greco-latina nella cornice di uno specchio lapideo nel Castello di Buonconsiglio. Tale specchio è stato collegato, su prova indiziaria, da precedenti studiosi ora con l'ambiente del principe vescovo Johannes Hinderbach (1465–1486), ora con quello dello scultore e architetto Alessio Longhi attivo a Trento nella prima metà del Cinquecento. Tramite il confronto, corredato da una puntuale contestualizzazione storica, con altre sette iscrizioni realizzate per volontà del vescovo e verosimilmente ideate dal copista antiquario Felice Feliciano verso la metà degli anni Settanta del Quattrocento, l'A. arriva ad una convincente attribuzione dello specchio alla committenza del vescovo Hinderbach.

7. L'articolo di V. Saladino ("Postille laurenziane: i due Marsia, la testa bronzea di cavallo e lo 'Scipione' di Diomede Carafa", 87–106) verte su tre sculture antiche o ispirate all'antico, appartenute a Lorenzo il Magnifico: due Marsia antichi esposti nel Cinquecento nell'odierno Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, tra cui uno, quello verosimilmente restaurato da Mino da Fiesole, è oggi agli Uffizi, mentre l'altro, restaurato dal Verrocchio, è scomparso; una scultura, ormai scomparsa, identificata nel Quattrocento come Scipione, portata a Lorenzo da Niccolò Valori; e la testa equina in bronzo, probabilmente di ambito donatellesco, donata da Lorenzo a Diomede Carafa nel 1471, che l'A. propone di collegare con un'ipotetica autopresentazione del conte di Maddaloni come l'Africano Maggiore vincitore di Cartagine, fondata secondo la tradizione antica in un luogo dove si fosse scoperta una testa di cavallo.

8. C. Bianca ("Giacomo Mazzocchi e gli *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*", 107–16) esamina l'operato del tipografo romano cinquecentesco Giacomo Mazzocchi, in particolare l'allestimento degli *Epigrammata antiquae urbis*, usciti a Roma nel 1521 e dedicati a Mario Maffei, vescovo d'Aquino, bibliofilo appassionato. L'A. non solo rende conto della lunga e sofferta storia della stampa di quest'opera, la cui articolazione tipo-topografica s'ispira alla tradizione

dei *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, e alla stesura della quale parteciparono verosimilmente il dedicatario, Antonio Lelio, autore noto per le Pasquinate, e l'importante umanista Angelo Colocci, ma rende conto altresì della prima circolazione del volume presso studiosi quali Benedetto Varchi e Giovenale Manetti.

9. H. Solin ("La raccolta epigrafica di Rodolfo Pio", 117–52) descrive la storia della collezione epigrafica del cardinale Rodolfo Pio (1500–1564), nel Cinquecento custodita nelle di lui dimore romane. Questa raccolta si può ricostruire tramite inventari conservati, descrizioni contemporanee, specie quella ad opera di Ulisse Aldrovandi in *Delle statue di Roma* (1556) e quelle contenute in codici epigrafici cinquecenteschi, in particolare quelli di Metello, Smetius, Pighius, Ligorio, Manuzio, Dosi, Torrentius, Knibbius, Achilles Statius, Boissard, Celso Cittadini e Giusto Lipsio. Una lista identificatoria si trova alle pp. 135–149. L'A., che è riuscito a individuare 394 iscrizioni (p. 149), qualifica giustamente la raccolta come una delle più importanti della Roma cinquecentesca e promette di approfondire l'argomento in altra sede.

10.-11. M.P. Marchese ("Il manoscritto A. 1212 della Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna: le iscrizioni", 153–66) e G. Capecchi ("Il manoscritto A. 1212 della Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio di Bologna: le immagini", 167–90) esaminano il codice A. 1212 della BAB, che presenta una copia manoscritta di 1) Pietro Apiano e Bartolomeo Amanzio, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis*. (Ingolstadiæ 1534, a spese di Raimondo Fugger); 2) disegni e acquerelli; 3) una copia manoscritta di S. Rybisch e T. Fendt, *Monumenta clarorum doctrina precipue toto orbe terrarum virorum collecta etc.* (Francofurti 1589); 4) altri disegni e acquerelli, 5) iscrizioni bolognesi, 6) una lista di imperatori romani da Cesare a Rodolfo II (ispirata a H. Goltz, *Vivæ omnium fere imperatorum imagines [...]*. Antverpiæ 1557), 7) un'altra di papi fino a Gregorio XIV, poi prolungata da altre mani fino a Clemente IX; infine 8) iscrizioni e 9) un'immagine stampata. È un peccato che le due autrici non abbiano proceduto ad una descrizione codicologica del volume, che non ne avrebbe solo reso più facilmente comprensibile la struttura ma avrebbe anche fornito indicazioni sulla datazione della scrittura e della carta; la datazione al 1590/1 all'incirca della copia di Rybisch-Fendt sembra comunque corretta a giudicare dalle riproduzioni.

12. M.A. Giua ("Valerio Chimentelli (1620–1669), antiquario fiorentino, professore di greco all'università di Pisa sotto Ferdinando II de' Medici", 191–222) analizza la figura di Valerio Chimentelli, precettore del futuro granduca Cosimo III, membro dell'Accademia della Crusca, epigrafista importante, grecista e professore all'ateneo pisano in un periodo di particolare vitalità di questa istituzione. Chimentelli, come dimostra l'A. tramite le opere stampate e le carte dello studioso conservate alla BU di Pisa, seguì da vicino gli sviluppi europei degli studi epigrafici e numismatici, e sottolineò ad es. la necessità della visione autoptica dei documenti.

13. P. Desideri ("L'Italia di Giuseppe Micali e la cultura fiorentina del primo Ottocento", 223–266) presenta un interessante panorama del mondo intellettuale fiorentino del primo Ottocento, concentrandosi sulla figura dello studioso livornese Micali, specialista di storia romana e preromana.

I testi sono corredati da 109 tavole e un indice dei manoscritti e dei nomi. I lettori avrebbero certamente apprezzato un indice delle iscrizioni e una bibliografia complessiva, che avrebbero aumentato la maneggevolezza di questo volume ricco ed interessante.

MARTIN M. WINKLER: *Cinema and Classical Texts. Apollo's New Light*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-51860-4. XIII, 347 pp. 46 ill. GBP 55, USD 99.

First society listened, then it read, and now it views – movies and television, to be exact (see Winkler, p. 11). The almost three thousand years of reading, further re-readings, interpretations, adaptations and scholarship have not diminished the interest in ancient mythology and literature, which continue to maintain their vitality and influence even today, at the dawn of the information age. Within past few decades, reception studies have become an inseparable part of classical studies, whether they are of history, arts, or philology. This strand of scholarship is especially significant in the studies of classical drama: examining the influence and reception of modern productions of ancient drama is in a key position in the field of classical studies, for it is a viewpoint that connects the ancient world with the present and advocates classical studies as a dynamic and living strand of scholarship, one that is of interest to a wider audience than just the experts of ancient Greek language and culture. However, during the twentieth century, the importance of cinematic art has become the venue of drama that is open to distinctly wider audience than traditional, realist theatre. Yet although this art form is now over a hundred years old, and although the attention to classical themes has been deep-seated in it right from the beginning, there still appears among classicists a deep-rooted doubt of its artistic quality. As Winkler points out, "for better or worse, society's viewing now seems to edge out society's reading" (p. 11), and thus, whatever feelings a scholar might have about this transfer, it should be self-evident that a scholar of the reception of ancient culture should engage in the discussion of reception of antiquity in cinema.

Martin M. Winkler has written widely on (the relation of) classics and cinema, but it is in this book that he develops – the first – theoretic foundation for studies of ancient influence in cinema. Winkler calls his method "classical film philology" (p. 13), and indeed it is a most interesting and exciting perspective. Winkler has "set himself a task to develop... a system that combines a reaffirmation of classical philology and the study of ancient literature, culture, and history for their own sake and in their own right with an exhortation to integrate film into such a work" (p. 13–4). The writer interprets films as visual texts, applying to them the method of close analysis that classical philologists carry in their work. Winkler points out, that although ancient people did not have the technique to record pictures into film, they nevertheless were acquainted with the idea of progressive storytelling, even if it were in static images, in painting and sculpture, as well as with "real" movies – their dreams (p. 5–6). Furthermore, ancient people were as capable as modern people are to see the affinity of picture with words that tell the same story, as Winkler attests in his analysis on the prologue of Longos' romance *Daphnis and Chloe* (p. 23–4).

Winkler's book is divided into an introduction, six chapters, and an epilogue. The book considers the affinities between classical and cinematic narratives. In the introduction the writer introduces to the reader the idea of cinema as an art of light: while a painter works with colours, or a writer with written words, an artist of cinema works with light; through the lens of the camera, the artist "paints" her/his interpretation of the story into film. The camera is like an omniscient narrator in a film, and as such, it can choose whichever perspective is suitable for the purpose. These approaches Winkler illuminates with theories of such renowned artists of cinema as Dziga Vertov and his concept of the "kino-eye" (p. 9–10). In the first main

chapter Winkler presents his theory of classical film philology. First he introduces the idea of film as visual narrative, then moves on to discuss the concepts of ancient author and cinematic auteur. While literary works are usually a product of one person, a production of a movie can involve hundreds or even thousands of people, which is why classicists have expressed doubt whether true authorship can be found in them. Winkler, however, shows that it is the director of the movie that is the auteur of it, for it is she/he who holds the artistic view of the production, and hence makes all the final decisions concerning the filming. The most fascinating part of Winkler's theory is the idea of classical philologist as a trained expert of analysing, reading and interpreting of any kind of text. Being one myself, I concur in Winkler's view – it is not just the Greek and Latin works of literature that classicists are capable to analyse.

In the following chapters Winkler applies his theories on analyses of various films that coalesce in various ways with the ancient world and culture. The chapters of the book are separated thematically: in chapter two the writer discusses ancient gods; in chapter three readings of Oedipus are the focus; chapter four discusses war and nationalism; while chapters five and six concentrate on women, and particularly women in love in films influenced somehow by ancient world. The films discussed in the examples, though they differ greatly in artistic quality, present each the continuing influence of the ancient culture in today's world. Winkler's analyses are interesting and indeed very gripping for a scholar of the reception of ancient drama. Very convenient for a scholar of the information age is the Internet that provides one with very handy clips of the films and scenes that Winkler discusses. This book is intended for classicists, but also for "those who work in film studies, comparative literature, cultural studies, European and American history and culture, and related fields in the humanities and social sciences" (p. 18). With its extensive bibliography and detailed indices, I recommend this book to all those interested in classical reception studies. I found only two errors in this book. First, Winkler refers to Hall and Macintosh's book *Greek Tragedy and the British Theatre 1660–1914* with the publication year 1995, when in truth the book came out in 2005; and second, he should have acknowledged that the movie *300* was based on Frank Miller's comic – a fact which might have had some influence on Winkler's view (bias?) on the movie.

Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä

PINDAR'S *Nemeans. A Selection*. Edition and commentary by W. B. HENRY. K. G. Saur Verlag, München – Leipzig 2005. XII, 133 pp. ISBN 3-598-73028-4. EUR 74.

Il presente libro, una versione aggiornata e rivista della dissertazione di W. B. Henry (Oxford 2001), offre una discussione di cinque *epinikia* di Pindaro, cioè le Nemee 4, 6, 8, 10 e 11. Le odi, stampate con apparati critici, sono seguite, rispettivamente, da una breve introduzione, un'analisi metrica e un commento. Il volume, meneggevole e nitidamente stampato, purtroppo non è corredato da un indice analitico.

La motivazione della scelta dei cinque *epinikia* non appare del tutto chiara, e infatti l'autore afferma nella Prefazione che potevano essere trattate tutte le Nemee ("If I were starting afresh, I might well have preferred to include all the Nemeans, but the addition of the remaining odes at this stage would have entailed a considerable delay, and I have preferred to publish what is ready. There is at any rate nothing unusual in a work of this kind"). E non solo:

potevano essere discusse nella stessa maniera anche molti altri *epinikia*. D'altro canto, vista la lacunosità dei commenti, soprattutto per quanto riguarda l'analisi propriamente letteraria nonché della tecnica poetica, sarebbe forse stato meglio concentrarsi su un poema, o forse due al massimo. Sono rimasti senza discussione molti aspetti della poesia pindarica, come pure mancano riferimenti a numerosi studi anteriori. Alcuni libri su Pindaro, purtroppo, sono usciti troppo tardi per poter essere considerati qui (per es., S. Hornblower, *Thucydides and Pindar* [2004]; A. P. Burnett, *Pindar's Songs for the Young Athletes of Aegina* [2005]; S. Hornblower – C. Morgan (eds.), *Pindar's Poetry, Patrons, and Festivals* [2007]; K. Itsumi, *Pindaric Metre: The 'Other Half'* [2009]); D. Fearn (ed.), *Aegina: Contexts for Choral Lyric Poetry. Myth, History, and Identity in the Fifth Century BC* [2010]).

Nell'edizione di Henry appaiono otto emendazioni, alcune delle quali risalgono ad altri (Barrett, Schroeder, West). Sono di Henry stesso i tocchi a *Nem.* 4,36 (κεί παρέχει), 6,35 (ἰμῶσι δεθείς) e 10,55 (ἀμειβῶν), tutti ben difesi e forse corretti.

In somma, i commenti di Henry sono per la maggior parte appositi e ragionevoli (riguardo a questioni linguistiche, in particolare), tuttavia vi sono omessi diversi aspetti degni di nota. Nonostante alcune mie riserve, sono convinto che questo libro è destinato a diventare lettura obbligatoria per ogni pindarista.

Mika Kajava

DONALD J. MASTRONARDE: *The Art of Euripides. Dramatic Technique and Social Context*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-76839-9. XIII, 361 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

The title of Mastronarde's book reveals the topic and purpose of the study precisely: in this work the writer discusses broadly Euripides' literary and dramatic techniques and the social contexts of Euripides' plays. As Mastronarde himself states, this is not an introductory book, nor easy to read (p. VIII). It is a research tool for an advanced reader of Euripidean drama, and as such it requires familiarity with both Euripides' works and previous scholarship. Yet for a scholar of ancient drama, this is a valuable study. It aggregates different strands of research tradition and handles them as a whole, but the main attention remains focused on Euripides' dramatic texts.

Discussions on various sides of Euripides' poetics are built on ancient author's texts; both complete plays and fragments. These Mastronarde supplements with required contextual information, providing thus a full and well-balanced insight into distinct perspectives of literary analysis of Euripidean drama. The chosen perspective of this study is demanding: instead of considering one play at a time, Mastronarde discusses Euripides' dramatic techniques area by area. Yet the writer's wide experience in studying Euripides does full justice to the challenging viewpoint, which enables continuous and interesting comparison between plays and their impact.

The book covers a large part of Euripides' dramatic techniques: reception, literary genre, variety and unity, chorus, gods, rhetoric and character, and gender-questions in drama. Yet I would have liked the inclusion of a discussion of Euripides' language, which the writer left out thinking of readers who might not know Greek (p. 308). Although Mastronarde kindly gives

synopses of all the plays for readers not familiar with them, the full rewards of the reading experience require a quite thorough acquaintance with Euripides' plays. A discussion of Euripides' verbal style would have made an interesting – and important – adjunct to the treatment as a whole.

Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä

GARY S. MELTZER: *Euripides and the Poetics of Nostalgia*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2006. ISBN 978-0-521-85873-1. XI, 266 pp. GBP 45, USD 80.

The scholarly tradition has long held a view of Euripides as a sophist and a radical because of how his dramatic techniques differ from other tragic poets, namely Aeschylus and Sophocles. This point of view has been supported by texts of Euripides' contemporary writers, the archetypal locus of "Euripides the Sophist" being Aristophanes' *Frogs*. In this book, Gary S. Meltzer engages in a new strand of discussion in this area, arguing that in spite of Euripides' use of the new, sophistic, techniques of argumentation, a fundamentally conservative character underlies his plays. Although Euripidean dramas can be loaded with piercing scepticism and cynicism, they also express a yearning for moral codes of the heroic past, where the truth was unchangeable and transparent, and justice authorised by gods, as opposed to relativist truths gained by sophistic argumentation. Meltzer sees Euripides' plays as reflecting the cultural change in contemporary fifth century Athens: the social and political life torn by the ongoing Peloponnesian War, the anxiety that people felt when faced with the new, written book culture that was encouraged by the sophists who boasted the Protagorean claim that with the right arguments one can make the weaker case win over the stronger. The writer parallels the Athenian situation with modern Western, especially American, change in social and cultural conduct, the war on terrorism and the rapidly emerging change from written book culture to the information age.

The book is divided into seven parts: introduction, five main chapters and an epilogue. Meltzer presents as his starting point the opposing arguments on truth in the agon of Polyneices and Eteocles in the *Phoenician Women* (469–72; 499–502). Whereas Polyneices sees the word of truth as single and transparent while the unjust argument of many words needs to cover itself cleverly, for Eteocles "good" and "beautiful" are relative concepts and language is just a convention manufactured by humans. Thus, according to Eteocles, all words can have different meanings for different persons. This opposition Meltzer sees as central in Euripidean drama, and in the first chapter he continues to analyse this through deconstructionist theory based on the writings of Jacques Derrida. In the next four chapters he further investigates how questions related to this opposition are posed and answered in four extant plays, *Hippolytus*, *Hecuba*, *Ion* and *Helen*, including in his discussion also interpretations based on feminist theory. The focus of Meltzer's literary analyses is the idea of nostalgia in Euripides' tragedies: "whether it finds expression as a resonant motif in individual speeches, as an element of the plot, or as pervasive mood, nostalgia provides an important thematic and dramatic focus in the four plays under study in this book" (p. 20). Along with the texts of Euripides, the writer considers the poet's contemporary writers, especially Thucydides (Pericles), Plato and Aristophanes.

Meltzer's discussion is detailed and it engages well with earlier research on the topic. However, sometimes the argumentation suffers from rather a one-sided point of view: the

writer claims that although there are sophistic elements in Euripides' texts, one cannot take them to mean that the poet himself was a sophist. On the other hand, he uses the same argument on behalf of his own claim of Euripides' conservative character – the poet was a conservative because his texts hint in that direction (amongst many other things!) (p. 14–15). Yet Meltzer makes interesting and fresh observations on the reception of these dramas in the modern world, especially when he parallels fifth century Athenian culture with modern Western culture. A particularly fascinating example is Meltzer's comparison of Helen's loss of her identity to the phantom image in *Helen* with the threat of identity thefts in a virtual environment through the Internet. This book raises some interesting new perspectives on Euripidean drama and its reception. With its detailed bibliography and indexes, and quotations in original Greek with translations, this book is valuable for scholars of ancient drama as well as for those studying early philosophy.

Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä

Brill's Companion to Thucydides. Edited by ANTONIOS RENGAKOS – ANTONIS TSAKMAKIS. Brill, Leiden – Boston 2006. ISBN 978-90-04-13683-0. XIX, 947 pp. EUR 259, USD 368.

Brill's Companion to Thucydides, edited by Antonios Rengakos and Antonis Tsakmakis, is the first comprehensive collective work on Thucydides for several decades. The volume on Thucydides in the *Wege der Forschung* series of the Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft was published as early as 1968. During the years intervening these two books there have been developments in the study of ancient historiography. New methodological ideas and approaches in modern literary criticism, inspired by phenomenological, hermeneutical and structuralist ideas, have found their way into the study of classical literature as well. The somewhat positivistic approach, typical of the classical scholarship of the twentieth century, has given way to a kind of study that calls the very nature of the text into question. As for the study of historiography, there has been a shift of focus from the reliability of the text as a historical source to a closer analysis of the narrative structures, the ways in which the text forms meaning and how it relates to the reality it deals with.

These new approaches are widely represented in *Brill's Companion to Thucydides*. The book consists of thirty-two articles written by leading Thucydidean scholars from all over the world. The book is divided into four parts. The first part, "Author, contexts, ideas", contains eight articles which deal with the author himself and the social and cultural background as well as the literary models for his work. While the first part deals with the external relations of Thucydides, the articles of the second part, "The art of Thucydides", consider the inner qualities of the work. Five articles of a more general character analyzing narrative techniques and devices as well as the historical methodology of Thucydides are followed by five more specific articles which discuss the ways in which Thucydides deals with certain themes (topography, warfare, religion, individual characters and "power politics"). The heading of the third part, "Wie es eigentlich gewesen?" refers to Leopold von Ranke, one of the pioneers of academic historiography in the nineteenth century. This may serve to underline the fact that not even the questions and approaches of the traditional study of ancient historiography have been neglected. These are indeed still important and certainly deserve to be taken into account in a wide-

ranging general presentation like this one. The contributions of this section discuss different aspects of Thucydides' *History* as a historical source, its relation to the *Realien* of ancient Greek history. They often turn to other sources in order to illuminate and check the historical evidence provided by Thucydides. Finally, the fourth part is dedicated to the reception of Thucydides. The five articles of this section discuss the *Nachleben* of the author in subsequent Greek literature, in Rome and late antiquity, in Byzantium, in Renaissance culture and in modern times.

As the scope of this review does not allow me to comment on every individual article, I shall only take up a few points about the book which I consider important. Some of the contributions are exemplary from a methodological point of view. One of these is Zacharias Rogkotis' article on the intertextual relationship between the two great historians of ancient Greece, Herodotus and Thucydides. By means of careful lexical and syntactical analysis of certain parallel passages, the author challenges the traditional view of their relationship as purely antagonistic. The article shows how Thucydides also used his predecessor as a literary model, a theme which is further discussed by Antonios Rengakos in the second part of the book. Another good example is the contribution by Egbert J. Bakker. The author's analysis of the meaning of the prefix *syn-/xyn-* in a few central passages of Thucydides' text and the tracing of official treaties and constitutions as a literary model of the work is indeed convincing.

In the introduction, the editors state that "[i]n many of the contributions of this volume, the focus is on argument rather than exhaustiveness, and it follows that they are to be read in a critical way". This certainly is something to bear in mind while reading the book. At times, the articles show something of an essayistic approach, and the argument is not always entirely convincing. For example, Josiah Ober's characterization of Thucydides and fifth-century Athens as "modern" (p. 134–6) seems to me quite dubious. Ober refers to Anthony Giddens' analysis of modernity and argues that "Thucydides had identified something akin to each of Giddens' three distinguishing factors in fifth-century Athens and thus that we may legitimately speak of Thucydides' modernity and the modernity of the Athens in which he grew up". Although the author guards himself against criticism by reminding that there are differences between "ancient" and "modern" modernity, I still consider the comparison unnecessary and misleading. I would maintain that the most crucial thing about modernity is the new linear concept of time, implying the idea of progress and the metaphysical nature of history, a trait which is utterly strange to ancient Greek culture (which is clearly illustrated by Thucydides himself, notably in the often-cited *to anthroponon* passage, Thuc. 1,22). In my opinion, this radical discontinuity renders the whole comparison rather meaningless, all the more so because the argumentation of the otherwise illuminating article is by no means dependent on it.

The editorial solutions in a book of such wide scope are important regarding the usability of the work. In this respect, the present volume gives no cause for complaint. For example, it was a good decision to unite the bibliographies of the individual articles into one single bibliography at the end of the volume. As the editors remind us in the introduction, the bibliography contains only titles which are cited in the articles. Thus, it cannot be taken as a comprehensive bibliography on Thucydides (indeed there are some works of more general character which are missing here, Wolfgang Schadewaldt's *Die Anfänge der Geschichtsschreibung bei den Griechen* and T. J. Luce's fairly recent *The Greek Historians* springing immediately to mind). The citations of the original text are mainly both in Greek and in English, which makes the articles accessible to those who do not have mastery of the Greek language, while those with command of the language do not have to content themselves with translations. A good balance has been

reached between the readability of the text and the physical dimensions of the volume. Despite its nearly thousand pages the book is reasonably easy to handle.

As a whole, *Brill's Companion to Thucydides* gives a comprehensive and well balanced view of what is currently known about the historian, stressing the latest developments in Thucydidean scholarship. At the same time, it offers a wide range of methodological *exempla* applicable to the study of any genre of ancient literature. As such, it will be indispensable for those who want to acquaint themselves with Greek historiography, and useful reading for anyone interested in the study of classical literature in general.

Ilkka Valve

DARIEN SHANSKE: *Thucydides and the Philosophical Origins of History*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-86411-4. IX, 268 pp. GBP 55, USD 73.

Darien Shanske, currently associate professor of law at UC Hastings College of the Law, University of California, has written a philosophical treatise on Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*. The title of this book, *Thucydides and the Philosophical Origins of History*, suggests that history as a literary genre is somehow inaugurated by Thucydides' work. Shanske poses anew the fundamental question about Thucydides: How does his text function as a literary piece of work?

According to Shanske, Thucydides disclosed, or rather founded, a "world", not a physical one but "a boundless sphere of significant engagement" (p. 9). The purpose of his book is to reveal how Thucydides does this, i.e., what exactly is the world-disclosing quality of his work. Shanske illustrates his task by referring to Wittgenstein's fly-bottle metaphor. As regards Thucydides' text, it is as if we were inside such a bottle, viewing a world which is complete but at the same time a restricted system. Revealing the world-disclosing power of Thucydides' text is like revealing how we have been caught up in this Wittgensteinian fly-bottle and showing the way out.

The book is divided into four chapters. The first chapter, "Thucydides's Vision", deals primarily with the first part of Thucydides' work, from the opening sentence to the passage about the causes of the war (Thuc. 1,23). Thucydides' relation to his literary predecessors as well as his method and goal are preliminarily discussed here. The second chapter deals with Pericles, the most central character in Thucydides' work. After discussing Pericles' speeches, Shanske discusses the strange "temporal loop" Pericles is caught in: the character seems to recur constantly both forward (Cleon, Diodotus etc.) and backward (Themistocles) in time. Thus, using the figure of Pericles, the author introduces the concept of temporality which proves to be crucial for his interpretation of the work. In the third chapter, this concept is preliminarily discussed in the context of Attic tragedy, specifically as a characteristic of the concept of *deinon*. *Deinon* is a distinctive feature of Attic tragedy, referring to "self-exceeding disasters that are intimately bound up with logos" (s. 71). Shanske suggests that what is novel about Thucydides is that he employs the tragic *logos* in dealing with contemporary events and that the concept of *deinon* characterizes the tragic logic of his work as well.

Finally, in the fourth chapter, Shanske proceeds to analyze the temporality characteristic of Thucydides' text. He illuminates the nature of Thucydides' work by contrasting it with Plato

and revealing the crucial differences between the two authors. The main point here is that while Plato presupposes another world (the world of ideas), Thucydides engages strictly with the one we are living in. Thucydides' way of revealing reality lies not in an abstract set of ideas but in the tragic temporality of logos. Shanske illuminates this fact further by analyzing a few fragments of Heraclitus and showing how Thucydides' logos functions essentially in the same way. Thus, interpreted with the aid of pre-Socratic texts, notably Heraclitus, Thucydides may serve as a "cure for Platonism."

This brief summary does hardly justice to Shanske's subtle treatment of Thucydides' work, but may have given an idea of what his book is about. It is a convincing philosophical interpretation of Thucydides' narrative, which goes down to the most fundamental questions concerning Greek historiography and calls into question its basic concepts. The philosophical considerations, with references to modern philosophers such as Hegel, Nietzsche and Heidegger, may at times be a bit difficult to follow for a non-philosopher, but for these readers there are four appendices which discuss the most central philosophical issues at greater length. The use of the book is further facilitated by a detailed index at the end of the volume.

The one single critical remark I would like to make concerns the quotations from the original sources. These are only given in English, translated by the author himself, and he tries to translate as "literally" as possible in order not to obscure the original text. As a result, the language at times becomes a bit odd, and the reader finds himself trying to translate the translation back into Greek in his mind. It would have been helpful to give the Greek original along with the translation. Finally, I can only join in the author's wish, stated at the end of the acknowledgements, that this seminal work "becomes a vehicle for ongoing dialogue."

Ilkka Valve

JAMES ROBSON: *Aristophanes: An Introduction*. Gerald Duckworth & Co., London 2009. ISBN 978-0-7156-3452-3. XI, 244 pp. 8 ill. GBP 14.99.

In the Preface to *Aristophanes: An Introduction*, James Robson states that this is the book he himself wishes he had read when first encountering Aristophanes (p. IX), and, indeed, reviewing the work made me similarly wish that I had had this book to hand while I was beginning my studies in classical philology, and particularly in classical drama. As the title of the work reveals, this book is aimed for beginners in studies of Aristophanic comedy. The work introduces various sides of Aristophanes' poetry as well as main strands of research on old comedy. In his book, Robson presents the key issues of Aristophanes' style, techniques, what little we know about the poet, as well as the fifth and fourth century BC Athenian context of the plays, placing these within current scholarly discussion. Robson does not, however, seek to give ready answers to the various subjects he presents, but instead he aims to provide diverse views on Aristophanes' plays and different topics of the field of study, while encouraging the reader to "study the plays intelligently for themselves and make up their own minds about the scholarly debates and controversies that still rage about Aristophanic comedy" (p. IX), and further ask and consider their own questions about the poet and his works, but most of all, enjoy the plays as works of drama and poetry.

The book is divided into a preface and ten thematically organised chapters. Robson grounds his discussions on Aristophanes' plays, while taking into account earlier scholarship as well. Some plays receive more attention than others, as the writer himself admits (p. X), but this is a feature that is unavoidable unless one is writing "a concise history" of a specific poet. Robson cites the texts of Aristophanes in English, and, considering the target audience, giving the Greek texts would have been contrary to his purpose. Robson starts his discussion from the very basics by introducing in the first three chapters the literary genre of old comedy, Aristophanes as a drama poet, the theatre and its context in classical Athens, as well as ancient comedy performance, its theatrical space and costumes. In chapters four and five, Aristophanes' style as a humorist and different character types – like grumpy old men and lying, drunken tarts (the Athenian wives!) – are explained. Chapter six focuses on Aristophanes' use of tragic fragments in his texts and his relationship with the genre of tragedy. In chapter seven, Robson discusses in detail a notable feature of Aristophanes' language, namely, obscenities. Chapter eight looks into the choral songs of the plays, taking into account also the metrics. In chapter nine, Robson examines Aristophanes' political stances in the context of contemporary Athens, while the last chapter of the book is devoted to modern reception of Aristophanes' dramas, both as translations and performances. A short but useful bibliography and detailed indices supplement the work.

I found this book to be an excellent introduction to Aristophanes' poetry. Robson has a rare talent of writing both clearly enough to fulfil his aim of providing an introductory work on the poetry of one of the most complex writers of ancient Greek drama, yet without underestimating his readers' intelligence as possible future scholars of literature and/or philology. While for a more advanced reader of Greek drama it may seem axiomatic or even futile to explain all the key terms and contexts, it is precisely this treatment that makes this a book suitable for university courses not only of classical philology, but of comparative literature as well. Particularly worthy of praise is Robson's style of writing – rarely, if ever, have I found myself laughing heartily while reading a serious academic text (see, for example, pp. 65–6 *'Unnecessary' and 'stupid' questions and answers*). In this aspect as well, Robson has a rare ability to write with witty eloquence and wry humour (sometimes almost worthy of the ancient poet himself!), and yet maintain the high scholarly standard of his study. Actually, the only "faults" I traced in this book, were the misspelling of the title of chapter seven in the *Contents* page (*Taking Dirty* instead of *Talking Dirty*); but more importantly, in most of the cases, Robson does not explicitly name the authors of translations of Aristophanes' works. As I assume them to be his own, it certainly would have been a fact worth mentioning; for they are quite hilarious in their own right (see, e.g., p. 73, *Knights* 1375–81).

Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä

CARL A. HUFFMAN: *Archytas of Tarentum. Pythagorean, Philosopher and Mathematician King*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2005. XV, 665 pp. ISBN 0-521-83746-4. GBP 95, USD 175.

Carl Huffman, l'autore di una monumentale opera su Filolao di Crotone (CUP 1993), questa volta ci ha regalato un ricchissimo volume su Archita di Taranto (435/410 – 360/350 a.C.), in

cui non solo è ricostruito, a partire da pochi frammenti e testimonianze, il profilo storico del grande tarantino, ma viene anche giustamente riconosciuto il suo ruolo come filosofo autonomo e originale (sul nome *Arkhytas*, con la seconda sillaba lunga, vd. pp. 619 sg.).

Il volume si apre con una lunga e dotta discussione della vita e degli scritti di Archita (Parte I; pp. 3–100). Da diversissime fonti disponibili si evince un vivace ritratto di un pitagorico, amico di Platone, politico e leader militare, che presiedeva una sorta di democrazia e fu eletto *strategos* ben sette volte (con Archita, Taranto era anche a capo della lega italiota). Nella seconda parte (pp. 103–252) si analizzano i frammenti autentici, di cui si conservano solo quattro, tutti relativi a questioni di armonica e matematica. Le traduzioni e i commenti sono magistrali, e lo stesso vale per la discussione delle 25 testimonianze autentiche (Parte III, pp. 255–594) divise fra varie categorie: vita, scritti e ricezione; filosofia morale e carattere; geometria; musica; metafisica; fisica; miscellanea (la famosa colomba lignea di Archita nonché i libri di Aristotele su Archita e i pitagorei). Sono raccolti in un'appendice gli scritti e testimonianze spuri.

In somma, un lavoro di notevole qualità, di rigore analitico e critico, non solo dottissimo ma anche scritto con stile elegante e sofisticato.

Mika Kajava

PEDANIUS DIOSCORIDES OF ANAZARBUS: *De materia medica*. Translated by LILY Y. BECK. *Altertumswissenschaftliche Texte und Studien* 38. Georg Olms Verlag AG, Hildesheim 2005. XXVIII, 540 pp. ISBN 3-487-12881-0. EUR 78.

La presente traduzione della preziosissima opera dioscoridea è particolarmente benvenuta, in quanto essa costituisce la prima versione inglese dopo quella, per parecchi versi poco attendibile, di John Goodyer del 1652–55 (che uscì solo nel 1934 a cura di Robert Gunther). Lily Beck ha usato il testo critico curato da Max Wellman (Berlin 1906–14, rist. 1958), in cui fu osservata l'originale divisione dell'opera in cinque libri tematici (piante medicinali; sostanze animali; radici, succhi e semi; altre radici e erbe; vini medicinali e minerali). Dopo l'introduzione, firmata da John Scarborough, sull'autore di *De materia medica* nonché sul contenuto e le fonti dell'opera, segue la traduzione, corredata da numerose note esplicative. Ciascun capitolo inizia con il termine scritto in greco e, in caso di piante, seguito dal nome scientifico latino e quello inglese. Nonostante le notevoli difficoltà nel tradurre termini medici greci (fra i tanti casi, gr. *asthma* corrisponde al nostro asma?), la traduzione di Beck rimane lodevolmente fedele allo stile "scientifico" di Dioscoride. Il volume, che si conclude con indici utilissimi, diventerà senza dubbio un monumento indispensabile per chiunque si occupi degli studi dioscoridei. Irritanti, però, le non poche sviste tipografiche, soprattutto quella della forma "Anazarbus" sulla copertina.

Mika Kajava

WILLIAM HUTTON: *Describing Greece. Landscape and Literature in the Periegesis of Pausanias*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. XIII, 372 pp. ISBN 0-521-84720-6. GBP 65.

Molto è stato scritto, negli ultimi decenni, sulla *Periegesi* di Pausania (si noti del resto che l'autore stesso mai riferisce alla sua opera con tale nome), soprattutto dal punto di vista storico-letterario, valutando quindi il trattato come un prodotto ben radicato nella cultura letteraria contemporanea e realizzato con determinati scopi e metodi propri del mondo in cui visse il suo autore. Il libro di Hutton s'inserisce nello stesso filone di ricerca, e lo fa con ottimi risultati, essendo il testo chiaro, ben documentato e adeguatamente corredato da ampie informazioni bibliografiche. Fra gli otto capitoli, mi è piaciuto, in particolare, il sesto, intitolato "The landscape of language", in cui si analizzano le quasi ineguagliabili caratteristiche della *Periegesi* nella trasmissione letteraria greca (linguaggio, stile, ecc.). Complessivamente, le strategie e tecniche di Pausania vengono discusse con autorità e competenza. C'è poco da criticare; qua e là, forse, alcuni argomenti potevano essere sottolineati più marcatamente, quali, per esempio, la questione circa l'esperienza religiosa di Pausania (cap. 8), oppure quella della descrizione ed eventuale valutazione da parte di Pausania, di territori senza monumenti (cap. 4). Riguardo al culto degli imperatori romani, fortemente condannato da Pausania nel libro VIII (Arcadia), una maggiore attenzione si poteva indirizzare sulla ovvia critica nei suoi confronti anche negli altri libri, in cui i monumenti del culto imperiale vengono manifestamente trascurati.

Un'ottima lettura e una pregevole aggiunta agli studi su Pausania.

Mika Kajava

VASSILIKI PANOUSI: *Greek Tragedy in Vergil's "Aeneid". Ritual, Empire, and Intertext*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-89522-4. XIII, 257 pp. GBP 45, USD 80.

Vassiliki Panoussi aims to "demonstrate the importance of Greek tragedy both as a literary source for the *Aeneid* and as a site onto which ideological negotiations of acquiescence and opposition are mapped" and to "develop a theoretical mechanism for reading intertextuality with attention to the workings of ideology" (p. 5). P. also pays significant attention to Homer, but not much to Roman tragedy, a decision which can be questioned.

The book is divided into two unequal parts (170 pages and 50 pages) called "Ritual" and "Empire" respectively. The first part consists of three sections that combine to make five chapters; the second part comprises two chapters of which the latter is conclusive. In the first chapter ("Ritual Violence and Failure of Sacrifice"), P. weighs in on the ongoing scholarly discussion on the role of sacrifice in the *Aeneid*. P. brilliantly analyses the results of perverted rites in the *Aeneid*. In the following "Suicide, Devotio, and Ritual Closure", P. focuses on the deaths of Dido and Turnus in connection with Roman *devotio*. In the third chapter ("The Fragility of Reconciliation: Ritual Restoration and the Divine"), the role of the divine action in reconciliation is analyzed. Juno and Pallas are treated laudably. The comparison of Vergil's Harpyes and Aeschylus' Erinyes is also of interest. In "Maenad Brides and the Destruction of the City" (an earlier version of which was published in M. Parca, A. Tzanetou, eds.: *Finding Persephone: Women's Rituals in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Bloomington 2002), P. discusses how the ritual

acts of Bacchus worship performed by women describe the role of women in the *Aeneid*. P. argues convincingly that Dido's connection with maenadism is related to the Euripidean portrayal of bacchic frenzy as opposed to being simply a metaphor. In the fifth chapter ("Mourning Glory: Ritual Lament and Roman Civic Identity"), P. turns to the role of women's ritual acts in establishing a civic identity for Aeneas and his people. Nevertheless, she takes some interpretational opinions for facts, for example, "the two dead children of Hecuba act as catalysts for the unleashing of her powerful vengeance" (p. 149) although it has been a topic of a major discussion in Hecuba scholarship what really causes Hecuba's actions towards Polymestor.

In the sixth chapter (an updated version of P.'s 2002 article "Vergil's Ajax: Allusion, Tragedy and Heroic Identity in Vergil's *Aeneid*"), P. impressively examines the reliance of the identity of Ajax in Vergil's epic on Sophocles' tragic Ajax. P. also commendably studies the identities of Dido and Turnus in connection with the tragic subtext. In the final chapter ("Contesting Ideologies: Ritual and Empire"), P. discusses the epic and tragic intertexts in the *Aeneid* and how they shape the poem's relationship with Augustus' ideological programme. In general, the argument that Greek tragedy is a key to understanding the *Aeneid's* portrayals of rites and ritual action is impressively examined by P. As P.'s study is only the first book-length study on the topic, it is likely that it will be followed by many future studies.

Kalle Knaapi

LAUREL FULKERSON: *The Ovidian Heroine as Author: Reading, Writing, and Community in the Heroides*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2005. ISBN 978-0-521-84672-2. XI, 187 pp. GBP 50, USD 88.

Ovid's *Heroides*, the collection of letters by mythological women to their lovers, is one of the most ambiguous works in the Roman literature and it has evoked intense discussion, even criticism, among modern scholars. The letters it consists of have been condemned as monotonous, repetitive and naïve, and sometimes the whole corpus has been considered little more than a poorly-articulated manifestation of lament. In her monograph, Laurel Fulkerson attempts to question the traditional conception of the *Heroides* as an expression of poor rhetoric and sappy sensitivity. Instead of the heroines' inability to have an effect on their lovers, and the unfortunate outcome of their letters, Fulkerson focuses on the struggle itself – the process of writing and reading the women are involved in, and the way they reform their traditional stories.

The concept of community is essential to Fulkerson's approach. She looks at Ovid's heroines as forming a metaphorical community and studies their letters in continuous relation to each other. Fulkerson's quintessential idea is to look beyond the similarities in the letters and see them, not as formal and repetitive singular works, but rather as an ongoing discussion between fictitious women who read and write, and inspire and affect each other. She argues that the heroines' letters are in fact not ineffective at all, for even though the women fail to persuade their lovers to return, they do have a very powerful impact on each others' writing – and on the way the reader interprets their stories. Fulkerson criticizes previous studies for concentrating merely on certain individual letters of the corpus and for failing to see Ovid's oeuvre as a balanced whole. This is a fresh viewpoint, since so far there has been little comprehensive treat-

ment of how the letters of the *Heroides* engage with each other and form a comprehensible and interactive entity.

Gender, authority and the power of poetry are concepts crucial to Fulkerson's study. Leaning on textual and linguistic analysis, she questions the traditional master narratives about the mythological Greco-Roman women, and challenges the reader to consider how many and what kinds of narratives influence our understanding of classical myths, and our reading of sources about them. Fulkerson herself describes her work as "post-feminist": rather than gender for its own sake, her interest is in gender's role in the construction of authorial power (pp. 5–6). Differing from previous studies, she uses the concepts of community and authorship as a way to approach Ovidian poetics as a whole, rather than merely notions of feminine and femininity within it. The heroines express the feminine voice of a male poet, but their writings are not merely expressions of femininity.

Fulkerson approaches her subject through vivid examples and case studies. In each chapter, she presents to the reader a few letters she considers as being especially dependent on each other. Through these examples she handles the essential themes of her study: dangers and benefits of communal reading and writing, and the immense power that the written word might have over people's actions and choices. I find it laudable that the author has been able to include so many various and diverse letters of the *Heroides* in her study, including some that have hitherto received little attention in modern scholarship. Fulkerson has attempted to create and deliver a balanced overall picture of the corpus, and this broad and candid approach indeed helps her argue her idea of continuous interplay between very different kinds of letters.

The author's argumentation is at its most convincing in the second chapter, when she examines the construction of a literary persona in the letters of Hypsipyle and Medea, comparing their coincidental effect on each other. Fulkerson presents the construction of the two letters and their authorial personages as a clever and deliberate intertextual play on Ovid's part, succeeding in puzzling the reader and evoking thoughts about close connections between individual letters of the corpus. Fulkerson highlights the authorial power that Ovid's heroines obtain through their rhetorical self-fashioning. Through writing, the heroines are able to alter the traditional stories about themselves, and shape our way of reading the classical myths. Another example of the author's perceptive analysis is chapter three, where Fulkerson, through the letters of Canace and Hypermestra, concentrates on Ovid's heroines' consciousness of themselves as storytellers, their considerable rhetorical skills and their ability to take the audience into account. Here the author succeeds best at what she claims to be her purpose, namely to "reframe the charges of reiteration and ineffectiveness of traditional scholarship" (p. 67).

Fulkerson's ability to detach herself from the traditional way of reading the *Heroides* and her creative approach to the personages within the corpus are the greatest advantages of her study. Nevertheless, the tendency to study the mythological heroines as independent authors within Ovid's literary work occasionally causes problems as well. Fulkerson treats the heroines as authors, and examines their writing as an effective literary tool with real consequences on other letters and on our reading of common mythological tales. At times, this evokes confusion in the reader and makes the limits of reality and literature blur. Because Fulkerson focuses strongly on the fictitious women behind the letters, the poet occasionally seems to be left somewhat overshadowed. The relative absence of Ovid in the first six chapters of the book raises further questions concerning authorial power and the reframing of literary tradition. To what degree can we really consider the *Heroides* to have impacted the classical heroines' later

renown? How intentionally did Ovid reframe their reputation? Is there an alternative story or a female voice in the *Heroides* that can be traced, and if so, what could have been the poet's motive for creating it? These are questions that, in my opinion, could have been more extensively examined throughout the work.

Some of the issues mentioned above are briefly studied in the last chapter, which focuses on gender and power through writing. In an intriguing and perceptive way, Fulkerson concludes by comparing the post-exilic literary person of Ovid to the heroines of his corpus, and is, indeed, able to point out certain interesting similarities: the obsessive focus on literature, feeling of being rejected, longing for a community and a tendency to re-write his own story over and over again. Fulkerson states as the main theme of the *Heroides* poetry's ability to make a difference in the physical world, to impact people's choices and alter the reader's conceptions of the world. The tragedy of Ovid's life was that he learned this lesson when it was already too late and he had been exiled for his provocative poetry. Fulkerson seems to consider the Ovidian heroine as an expression of the poet's own exilic *persona*: with no control over his own ending, he still has the power to, through writing, redefine his own character and influence readers' conceptions about what really happened. Therefore writing is both an incredibly powerful tool and a deadly dangerous weapon. "To write is to make oneself vulnerable", as Fulkerson states (p.151), yet, in the end it is the only means to make oneself heard.

Beside the need to be heard, the bottom line of the book seems to be the heroines' desperate need to belong to and be part of a group – be that a family or a literary community – and to define themselves by that group. This, rather than the wish to persuade a deceitful lover to return, appears as the main reason for their writing, reading and claiming authority. Considering the significance Fulkerson places on the theme of belonging, it could have been more comprehensively discussed in the book. I wish there had been a chapter dedicated to the subject, but as it is, this theme only emerges now and then in most examples. Nevertheless, all in all Fulkerson has achieved a genuinely interesting study on the subject that has been dominated by somewhat one-sided and prejudiced views for a long time. She has succeeded in reframing the charges of reiteration and ineffectiveness from traditional Heroidian scholarship, and presents a refreshing hypothesis of a coherent community of fictitious female writers, all having an effect on each other in continuous, timeless continuum. Fulkerson laudably handles the different genres of classical literature and plausibly describes the tragic and epic heroines' efforts to fulfill the demands of the role of an elegiac author and mistress. Her study raises interesting issues concerning gender, genre, authority and the power of literature, and hopefully these themes will be taken into account in forthcoming discussion and research. The book is written in an agreeable style that is pleasant to read. Even though the subject requires some familiarity with classical mythology and Latin poetry, the author's arguments are expressed in vivid and clear rhetoric that will likely make the book enjoyable to laymen and scholars alike. The brief, yet comprehensive work is completed by an appendix ("*The authenticity (and "authenticity") of Heroides 15*"), an inclusive bibliography and both a general index and an *index locorum*.

P. J. HESLIN: *The Transvestite Achilles: Gender and Genre in Statius' Achilleid*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2005. ISBN 978-0-521-85145-9. XX, 349 pp. GBP 48, USD 80.

Rarely does one come across a work of a classical author that has been studied as little as Statius' *Achilleid*. Even though the poem was widely read in Europe through the Middle Ages, in the modern times it has received relatively little attention among classical scholars. The unpopularity of the work might be due to its unfortunate incompleteness and to the extent on which it has been overshadowed by Statius' epic masterpiece, the *Thebaid*. When studying Roman literature and imperial epic, the *Achilleid* is all too often bypassed, and indeed, no comprehensive monograph on the subject has been published before. In his book, Peter Heslin attempts to respond to this void and restore to the *Achilleid* some of the appreciation it deserves. The pursuit is admirable and well-justified. Despite its incompleteness, the *Achilleid* is a splendid expression of Statius' witty, ironic and eloquent style and his elaborate reworking of the Greco-Roman tradition and literary models, and as such, it is high time for the work to be examined as a classical epic *par excellence*, not merely as a fragmentary piece of minor Latin poetry.

The central theme of Heslin's study is Statius' way of exploring the nature of sex and gender in the *Achilleid*. Through the conception of transvestism the author digs deep into essentialist and constructivist views of gender, and the perceptions of the issue in classical literature and ancient cultures. Beside Latin epic, Heslin studies Homeric tradition, cyclic epic, Greek drama, and Roman love elegy as reflecting on Statius' work. The theoretical framework through which he approaches the subject is wide and impressive. Besides the classical scholarship, the author utilizes previous studies of psychology and social sciences to create a background against which Statius' work is analyzed.

Heslin considers the *Achilleid's* role as a part of Latin epic tradition carefully and in detail. His profound familiarity with classical literature enables him to approach the issue from a wide perspective and pay attention to versatile conventions and details. Through structural and linguistic analysis the author is able to expose Statius' subtle and humoristic treatment of classical literature. Heslin convincingly presents the *Achilleid* to the reader as a skillfully polished, justifiable member of the epic continuum, and an intended final masterpiece of a great poet. He considers the work as constructing an alternative epic tradition that both completed and parodied the Homeric tradition with help from the cyclic epic, Alexandrian literature and the Roman Hellenistic tradition. His analysis of Ovid's major influence on the *Achilleid* is convincing, and helps the reader to better understand the seemingly non-heroic epic style of the *Achilleid*, and its characteristics typical to philosophical and mythological epic, elegiac tradition and classical drama. Heslin's profound orientation on the subject enables the reader to consider the *Achilleid* not only as a successful epic narrative, but also as a reflection of the whole range of classical literature preceding the imperial era – a respectful nod to the great classical authors, and a witty parody of genre-related clichés.

From the general characteristics of the oeuvre Heslin moves on to focus more intensely on expressions of gender in Statius' narrative. The third chapter is dedicated in its entirety to the examination of the female and femininity in the *Achilleid*, and to the expectations placed on feminine behavior by the epic tradition. Through the principal female characters of the poem, Heslin comprehensively discusses the different roles available to women in epic, and reasons for their success or failure in these roles. He stresses Statius' depiction of womanliness as a

performative construct, not only for the cross-dressing Achilles but for the women of the story as well. Altogether, the author laudably discusses Latin epic as a gender-normative genre, and is able to expose to the reader Statius' subtle way of both confirming the predominant norms and ridiculing them.

Besides the gender issue, Heslin examines Statius' Achilles as struggling with other problems concerning the construction of identity. One of the most accomplished sections of Heslin's monograph is the fourth chapter, in which the author discusses young Achilles' identity based on his unusual upbringing. The absence of Achilles' mortal father, and the boy's relationship to his bestial foster father, Chiron the centaur, is examined with deep psychological sensitivity, as is Achilles' complex relationship with his divine mother. The author presents young Achilles as trapped between two worlds in more sense than one. He is, as Heslin states, "caught between child and adult, male and female, divine and human, nature and culture" (p. 181). Achilles' inability to find a role model for humanity and manliness is examined as reflecting his later actions in Statius' work. The chapter works impressively as framing the discussion concerning the construction of identity, which the author broadens and completes in the concluding chapters of the book.

Heslin's ability to move from classical scholarship to social and literary sciences, and to utilize theories of various disciplines is one of the greatest advantages of his work. Nevertheless, from time to time the author's wide interest in cultural, social and psychological dimensions of the gender issue causes some trouble as well. Although I find laudable the extent to which Heslin attempts to create an understandable background for Statius' narrative, I feel that occasionally all the background information provided was hardly necessary for the understanding of the issue at hand. In the fifth chapter, for instance, the author examines the origins of the "Achilles on Scyros" myth, discussing, thoroughly and at length, ritual transvestism and scholarly discussion on the subject. Even though Heslin's comparison of ritual practices in different world cultures is intriguing, all of it does not seem crucial for the understanding of the issue in classical Greek culture. In other chapters as well, the extensive and cross-disciplinary background occasionally tends to distract the reader from the central issue, and lead the line of thought far from Statius' poetry.

Problems caused by wide framework are the most eminent in the beginning of the book, namely, in the first chapter, which is entirely dedicated to versions of the Achilles-myth in 17th and 18th century operas. The author draws an intriguing picture of how the central themes of the myth, such as heroism, gender roles, and the construction of identity have been treated in post-classical European tradition. Even though later representations of the story provide a comprehensive framework for the gender issue, in Heslin's study they seem from time to time to overshadow the *Achilleid* itself. The significance placed on rereading and rewriting Statius' work is well justified in later chapters of the book, but in the first chapter, it somewhat distracts the reader from the main pursuits of the work. The various opera episodes are seemingly disconnected, and it is relatively difficult for the reader to understand what part they play in the study as a whole.

Nevertheless, in most chapters the extensive and cross-disciplinary background really proves its worth, providing the author's conclusions with remarkable depth and perceptiveness. I was especially impressed by the concluding chapter, in which the author discusses Achilles' gradual transformation into a Homeric hero, and the construction of his manliness. The subject is dealt with already in the previous chapter "Rape, Repetition, and Romance". Heslin percep-

tively notes Achilles' failure to constitute his manhood by raping Deidamia, and, based on a lengthy discussion of gender and sexuality in ancient mystery cults he attempts to track Statius' line of thought and examine the construction of the episode. The conclusions are convincing, and they show the author's familiarity with both cultic life in the classical Greece and its later literary representations. According to Heslin, the rape of Deidamia in the *Achilleid* fulfilled its purpose in cult and community – as a response to Euripides' *Bacchae*, Statius used the violent episode to transfer the power in a Bacchic rite from the female to the male sex. On a personal level, however, the act is stated as insufficient, as the sexual violence on its own was not enough to constitute an epic hero's manliness. In the conclusion of the book, Heslin considers the reasons that led to Achilles' failure and the consequences that finally enabled him to gain his masculinity.

The author approaches the subject through Achilles' complex relationship with his father. With outstanding perceptiveness, Heslin analyzes the almost complete absence of the hero's father in the story of his childhood, and the failure of numerous father figures to fulfill the role. The author considers Statius' view that the right kind of a father figure is crucial for a boy's transformation into a man, and that the acknowledgement of one's father is a necessary condition for a Homeric hero. Only upon the arrival of Ulysses and with his help, does Statius' Achilles fulfill these conditions, and is he able to leave his feminine *alter ego* behind. Heslin's perceptive reasoning, his psychological insight and his expertise in poetic and epic tradition enable him to draw a conclusion that is not only impressive and convincing, but also fresh and surprising. It connects the dots between the issues discussed in previous chapters and leaves the reader with broader understanding of Statius' poetry, and the value system within.

All in all, Heslin's survey is an admirable pursuit to fill the void concerning the study of the *Achilleid* by classical scholars. Heslin's open-minded approach to the subject, his deductive skills and his ability to effortlessly utilize cross-disciplinary theories and previous studies enables him to deal with a wide range of issues within the *Achilleid*. The book can be recommended not just for classical scholars, but for students of literature, gender theories and human behavior as well. The central issues of the book – construction of identity, the essentialist and constructivist nature of gender, and the blurring categories of feminine and masculine, humane and divine, and humane and bestial – are discussed in understandable and clear rhetoric that makes the book easily accessible. For further reading on the subject, the reader is provided with an extensive bibliography, and thorough notes on classical literature.

Elina Pyy

A. D. MORRISON: *The Narrator in Archaic Greek and Hellenistic Poetry*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-87450-2. XII, 358 pp. GBP 55, USD 124.

This book discusses the way the Hellenistic poets Theocritus, Callimachus and Apollonius of Rhodes reflect and develop archaic models in using an outside speaker, a primary narrator. As the author (= M.) himself formulates, this study is meant to ask the question "who is speaking" and attempts mainly to illuminate the ways in which the narrators are portrayed in Hellenistic poetry and how the Hellenistic poets adapted and renewed narratological techniques of the archaic period. In his foreword, M. reminds the reader of the eternal *caveat* in studies on ancient

literature: the largely fragmentary state of the preserved (both Archaic and Hellenistic) literature and the fact that much has disappeared altogether. However, the author also notes that we do have a great deal of poetry and that he attempts to show the relationship between archaic and Hellenistic poetry on a general level. In the introductory chapter, M. discusses the premises of his study thoroughly and critically; topics such as the "Importance of voice" and "Voice, genre and poetics" are analyzed. Theoretical and methodological frames are set in the chapter titled "Narratology, primary narrators and quasi-biography" (p. 27ff).

The author concentrates on examining the similarities of the poetic manners and strategies of the Archaic and Hellenistic periods. M. shows (with references to earlier literature) how Hellenistic poets shared many techniques with their Archaic predecessors and that features that often are recognized as Hellenistic can actually be found already in Pindar. For example, the emphasis on "peripheral" instead of main events in Callimachean epic, which results, as the author phrases it, in an asymmetric and skewed narrative, has its models in Archaic choral lyric.

While there is a great deal of recent scholarship on the models of Hellenistic poetry, M. emphasizes that his book broadens the scope of Archaic poets and offers a systematic discussion of the narrators in the extant poems by Callimachus, Theocritus and Apollonius of Rhodes. This book deals only with poetry. Archaic lyric is more relevant for the study than epic, the latter using mainly direct speech. Dramatic texts have been excluded, as they do not have a primary narrator.

It is quite obvious that within the scope of Hellenistic poetry, which was mainly intended to be read (rather than orally received), authors systematically developed different kinds of narrators and literary personalities. The question, however, is more problematic in the case of the archaic period and there is a general and widespread assumption that archaic poetry differs from Hellenistic poetry principally in that archaic poetry was mostly orally transmitted, involved music and dance, whereas Hellenistic poetry was produced in a literary environment and was self-conscious of its written nature. M. examines some aspects of archaic poetry, looking at it both from the angle of performance and from that of the relationship between author and narrator. He concludes that while it is difficult to decide exactly how, e.g., choral *epinicians* were performed, we can be sure that there was more than one occasion to hear a presentation and that, in fact, this awareness of more than one audience is traceable in many Pindaric texts. Fame is what the poets wanted for themselves and promised to their patrons, and this fame was achieved, according to M., through repeated performances of poetic compositions. Consequently, the oral nature of archaic poetry does not mean that works could not have been widely known. As for the relationship between the real and historical poet and persons who speak in poems, M. points out that there is in archaic poetry (in lyric, not epic poetry) a tendency to offer quasi-biographical information. This external information about the narrator (which often is assumed to be "true" information on the real, historical author) actually is a literary device to create a feeling of intimacy and privacy between the narrator and the audience. The creation of a literary person, a narrator, is clear in the case of Hipponax, whose brutal and mocking voice does not fit with the aristocratic background the poet belonged to. Showing that archaic poetry was not restricted to one oral performance and that there are created literary narrator personas as well as other literary techniques, such as use of pseudo-intimacy and pseudo-spontaneity (the narrator acts as if he were composing the poem on the spot), M. points out that there is not as much of a gap between archaic and Hellenistic poetry as one might assume.

In his discussion of Callimachus, M. draws attention to the exemplary Hellenistic nature of Callimachus' poetry and points out the diversity of narrators. M. emphasizes that the generally assumed scholar-poet narrator in Callimachus' poems is often only apparent. The bookish narrator is most prominent in the *Aetia*; in the *Iambi*, instead, one can detect satire of this pedantry and the narrator's authority is often questioned as well. In the *Hymns*, Callimachus clearly plays with the relationship between the narrator and the historical author. M. notes that Callimachus' use of archaic models can especially be seen in mimetic hymns in which narrator creates a feeling of intimacy and spontaneity: in these aspects he can be seen to be exploiting non-epic poets, Sappho, Archilochus and Pindar in particular. Which one of Callimachus' narrator types, the self-ironising one of the *Iambi*, the bookish one of the *Aetia* or the epic one of the *Hymns*, is closest to the historical Callimachus is difficult to say (M. thinks it is the one in *Aetia*), they all probably reflect a side of his personality. In any case, it is clear that the wide range of voices in these works shows how deeply Callimachus was aware of the models he was using and of his capacity to make something new of them.

While Callimachus' works are cohesive poems within each genre that they represent, the *Idylls* of Theocritus offer different kinds of problems especially as they lack cohesive unity. M. begins his analysis of the *Idylls* by dividing them into 7 subcategories according to the type of narrator they present: groups 1–3 reflect the relationship between the author and narrator, in group 4 the narrator can be compared with the epic *aoidos*, group 5 (only *Idyll* 26) has a choral narrator, group 6 has an "unprominent" narrator and the *Idylls* in group 7 do not have a primary narrator at all. Within this frame M. discusses Theocritus and more closely *Idylls* 13, 22 and 24, which he interprets as texts "translating epic and lyric", i.e., taking a lyric theme and putting it in epic mode or the other way around. This change of meters and subject matters can be interpreted as the desire of the Hellenistic poet to transfer archaic models into new mode, now that their original context of performance had disappeared. All in all, there are many common features in Callimachus' and Theocritus' poems reflecting archaic poetry; for example, they both make their primary narrators much more visible than they are in Homer or Hesiod. The constant play between the roles of the narrator and the historical author is also notable in the *Idylls*.

Chapter 5 is dedicated to Apollonius of Rhodes. M. observes the differences between Apollonius and the other poets discussed, as his one long epic poem presents different kinds of narratological problems to the works of Callimachus and Theocritus. Compared to the Homeric narrator, Apollonius' narrator makes himself more audible, more involved in the show. M. points out how Apollonius' narrator develops from archaic epic's independent narrator into a narrator who is confused and becomes utterly subordinated to the Muses. The narrator's evolution seems to reflect the course of the story; the characters' despair is visible in the narrator's loss of confidence. The struggles of a narrator can be found also in Pindaric epinicians but in true Hellenistic manner Apollonius seems to have reversed the technique.

This study shows the diversity of Hellenistic poetry and the Hellenistic authors' awareness of literary styles, but also that of presenting different kinds of narrators. Especially interesting is the author's discussion of how the use of pseudo-intimate impression can be found in archaic literature and how Alexandrian writers exploited it. It gives the audience a feeling that it is a part of a private occasion or a ritual, transferred to a different time and place, as is the case in the mimetic texts of Callimachus and Theocritus. On the other hand, I think the book would have benefitted by concentrating on a smaller number of texts and on reading them as a

whole. As it stands now (the amount of literature it uses is so large that it may overwhelm a less erudite reader), it is necessary for one to have the whole corpus of, for example, Callimachus, at hand, although M. provides not only the Greek text but also a translation of the passages he uses.

The simple question of who is speaking within a certain text is fascinating and not easy to answer. M. succeeds in illuminating the question from various points of view. The question of the interplay between the personality of a narrator and the personality of a real poet is many-sided, too. I think the relationship between a literary and real self is, however, so complicated that it is difficult to make a clear distinction between them. A narrator of course in one way or another reflects some aspect of the personality of the real poet who created it. We also must bear in mind how little verified biographical information we actually have about ancient authors. Having said that, I conclude by welcoming this book as a thought-provoking addition to the scholarship on Hellenistic literature.

Tiina Purola

Les jeux et les ruses de l'ambiguïté volontaire dans les textes grecs et latins. Actes de la Table Ronde organisée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université Lumière-Lyon 2 (23–24 novembre 2000), édités par LOUIS BASSET – FRÉDÉRIQUE BIVILLE. Collection de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée 33. Série linguistique et philologique 4. Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, Lyon 2005. ISBN 2-903264-26-0. 244 pp. EUR 25.

Questo libro raccoglie gli atti di una tavola rotonda dedicata all'attraente tema dell'ambiguità volontaria nei testi greci e latini relativi a vari campi storico-culturali del mondo antico: teatro e poesia, filosofia e cristianesimo, oracoli. Per ciò che riguarda l'area francofona, il tema è stato oggetto di almeno altri due lavori pubblicati, rispettivamente, nel 1988 e nel 2006 (*L'ambiguïté. Cinq études historiques réunies par I. Rosier*, Lille 1988; A. Orlandini – C. Moussy [a c. di], *Recherches linguistiques sur l'ambiguïté en Grèce et à Rome*, Paris 2006). Ecco il contenuto del volume: C. Kerbrat-Orecchioni: L'ambiguïté: définition, typologie; L. Basset: Aristote et l'ambiguïté volontaire; F. Biville, Formes et fonctions de l'ambiguïté volontaire dans les textes latins; I. Boehm: Le vocabulaire de la perception et l'ambiguïté dans la tragédie grecque; M.-D. Joffre: Les conditions morphosyntaxiques de l'ambiguïté volontaire: l'emploi de *videor* dans les chants II et III de l'*Énéide*; B. Jacquinod: L'ambiguïté volontaire dans le comique d'Aristophane; D. Vallat: Ambiguïté référentielle et stratégies courtisanes chez Martial; G. Bady: Le Socrate de Platon: pédéraste ou pédagogue?; S. Van der Meeren: Exhorter à la philosophie ou à la sagesse? Une ambiguïté manifeste dans les protreptiques à la philosophie; S. Gioanni: Les ambiguïtés de la "religion épistolaire" dans l'œuvre d'Ennode de Pavie; G. Lucas: La réponse d'Ammon à Alexandre corrigée par Plutarque; A. Orlandini: Paradoxes sémantiques, tautologies et textes oraculaires; G. Rougemont: Les oracles grecs recouraient-ils habituellement à l'ambiguïté volontaire? – Fra i contributi, tutti interessanti e di buona qualità, mi è piaciuto in particolare l'ultimo, in cui Georges Rougemont ha sicuramente ragione nel dare una risposta negativa alla domanda da lui posta nel suo titolo. Infatti, i responsi oracolari realmente e volontariamente ambigui sembra siano stati relativamente pochi, mentre quelli che ci sono stati trasmessi in forma apparentemente ambigua sono frequentemente spiegabili o per il carattere

particolare delle "grandi" consultazioni, risultando di sovente la loro pubblicazione in manipolazioni tecniche (ma non necessariamente contenutistiche), o per gusti letterari e stilistici degli autori o ancora per la funzione e l'importanza degli oracoli ambigui nelle discussioni apologetiche.

Mika Kajava

ALISON SHARROCK: *Reading Roman Comedy. Poetics and Playfulness in Plautus and Terence*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-76181-9 (hb). XI, 321 pp. GBP 55.

The role of Roman drama in the field of classical literary criticism has recently become more and more important. Especially the performativity of drama has been of interest to many scholars. In this study, Alison Sharrock (who has previously written most notably on the textual relationships between Greece and Rome and on Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*) focuses on the textuality of Plautus' and Terence's drama. The first of the book's five chapters is the partially introductory "Art and artifice", in which S. looks at artificiality, "the essence of comic art", in Plautus and Terence. Some attention is given to the problematic nature of the textuality of the comic poets but, as the study is especially concerned with reading, a more detailed treatment of the matter would have been in order. S. also admits that the relationship between the Roman comic poets and the preceding Greek comic poets is genuinely problematic, but states that her study is not overly concerned with the topic. In the second chapter ("Beginnings"), S. studies the different devices of beginnings and their role in the making of the play. Of particular interest is the analysis of the intertexts of Terentian beginnings. In "Plotting and playwrights", S. analyzes the plots of comedy and is exceedingly astute when she focuses on the role of trickery in the internal plots and trickery-related vocabulary. This chapter also includes a creditable scrutiny of the role manipulation and fragility of identity. An equally strong look at the relationship between the slave-*architectus*' connection with the playwright's voice in Plautus is provided. In the fourth chapter ("Repeat performance"), S. concentrates on various types and devices of repetition in creating comedy – verbal, structural, metaphorical, intertextual and thematic. In this chapter, a stronger emphasis on textuality would perhaps have been of use. The readings of the parodical intertextual allusions in *Rudens* and *Hecyra* are praiseworthy. Also interesting are the comments on allusions to Sappho in Terence. The final chapter is about comical endings and it especially complements the second chapter. S. studies closural signals such as the solution to a problem that is set early in the play and the conventional *plaudite* – the play-ending call for applause by an actor. The book is particularly recommended for scholars and students interested in the literary theoretical study of Roman comedy and it is best accompanied by a study on the performativity of Plautus' and Terence's comedies (e. g., C. W. Marshall, *Stagecraft and Performance of Roman Comedy*, Cambridge 2006).

Kalle Knaapi

Ethopoia. La représentation de caractères entre fiction scolaire et réalité vivante à l'époque impériale et tardive. Édité par EUGENIO AMATO – JACQUES SCHAMP. Cardo: Études et Textes pour l'identité culturelle de l'Antiquité Tardive 3. Helios Editrice, Salerno 2005. ISBN 88-88123-10-5. XV, 231 pp. EUR 38.

Ethopoia was one of the progymnasmata, or exercises, that formed part of rhetorical education from the Late Antique until the late Byzantine period. Amato and Schamp have edited a sophisticated selection of studies ranging from the definition of the concept and its place in the progymnasmata, to the use of ethopoia in the literary tradition during Late Antiquity. The work is crucially important for the understanding how literary characters were created in ancient literature.

Mika Hakkarainen

From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East. Edited by HANNAH COTTON – ROBERT HOYLAND – JONATHAN PRICE – DAVID WASSERSTEIN. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-87581-3. XXX, 481 pp. GBP 65, USD 125.

From Hellenism to Islam is dedicated to long-term changes in the Middle East from Alexander the Great until Muhammad the Prophet. (Actually, its scope extends to the second millennium CE as far as Egypt is concerned.) The fascinating book sprang from the research initiative at the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2002–3 and the project known as "Corpus inscriptionum Iudaeae-Palaestinae".

As Fergus Millar states in his Introduction, the work makes evident the changes of focus of recent scholarship in ancient history: the central role is given to documents, not to literary texts, from the Eastern Mediterranean. Important parts of the book are dedicated to language use, language choice and language contact. The emphasis is on written evidence, and archaeological material is the focus of only one contribution (by Ernst Axel Knauf, on the monument of the Benei Ḥezir at Jerusalem). The 18 articles are distributed into five sections, which deal with Latin as the language of power, the social and legal institutions in the documentary evidence, the epigraphic language of religion, linguistic and cultural metamorphoses and continuities, and the rise of Arabic in the area. My review does not follow this grouping.

To begin, Werner Eck and Benjamin Isaac discuss the use of Latin – in epigraphy – in the Roman Near East in separate contributions. The approach is fairly similar in both: after a look at the use of Latin in the east in general, the scholars discuss the most important cities. Eck concludes that Rome's representatives in the eastern provinces "never sought to impose the use of Latin" (39). However, a certain power dimension is present: in bilingual inscriptions the Latin text almost always comes first. For Eck, the notable amount of epigraphic evidence in Latin in Caesarea Maritima implies the presence of Latin speakers, i.e., the establishment of a veteran settlement. Isaac, who has argued against the existence of a veteran settlement in Caesarea, starts his article with an entertaining sociolinguistic quotation from rabbi Jonathan of Eleutheropolis on the distribution of languages into different domains of use: "Four lan-

guages are appropriately used in the world. And these are: Greek for song (= poetry). Latin for war. Syriac (Aramaic) for mourning. Hebrew for speaking." In his conclusions, Isaac goes somewhat further than Eck; he stresses the variation between the individual contexts in which Latin was used. The position of Latin also depended on the local traditions in the cities, and the local allegiance to Hellenism (my term) probably also played a role. He emphasizes that the use of Latin "set apart" or "differentiated" its users from the surrounding communities. One could think that after two contributions by such distinguished scholars, little more could remain to be said; but in my view, Isaac's contribution in particular opens up new avenues for future research.

Three articles focus on Jewish and Christian epigraphy and euergetism; the authors are Seth Schwartz, Walter Ameling and Leah Di Segni. Schwartz plausibly argues that the unusual epigraphic culture of Jerusalem in the period before its destruction in 70 CE, with no evidence of euergetism, was due to the special position of the city as the host of the Temple and a center of pilgrimage. Josephus' views on euergetism are cited in support of this. Ameling detects differences in the epigraphic habit of the Jewish communities in Asia Minor and in Syria, arguing that Jewish cultural resilience was stronger in the latter. In the poleis, the Jews organized themselves into associations and generally did not participate in euergetism. Di Segni discusses Christian building inscriptions from the three Palestines, Arabia and southern Phoenice during the transition to Islam. The large amount of dated texts allow her to conclude that the number of urban building projects declined, but the non-urban building projects became relatively more numerous.

Angelos Chaniotis' article on ritual performances captured on stone, namely the so-called confession inscriptions, is one of the highlights of the volume. That the genre is only attested in Greek epigraphy makes a discussion on language choice impossible, but the use of a technical term borrowed from Latin, ἐξemplάριον (< *exemplar*) to indicate that the inscribed stele is a "perpetual exemplum" for others is a most interesting detail (p. 140). Magical texts of a different kind are discussed by Gideon Bohak. He uses the second millennium material from the Cairo Genizah and discovers a magical recipe from late antiquity (if not earlier); the methodology could be used to discover other similar ancient texts. The different copying phases have produced fascinating code-switching in the document as it now stands (pp. 333–4).

The local influence of the Roman state religion connects the articles of Natalie Belayche and Ted Kaizer. Belayche plausibly concludes that the impact of Rome on the religion in the cities of Palestine was always more due to Roman presence in the area than to the actual diffusion of Roman religious practices. On pp. 184–5, the author discusses the "Roman names" of certain bishops; however, many are Roman *praenomina*, which were used as *cognomina* or individual names especially in the east. Other names, like *Cassianus* and *Maximus*, are well attested in predominantly Greek areas in imperial times, and it is not wrong to say that they had become part of the Greek name stock. The multilingual city of Dura-Europos is discussed by Kaizer, who claims that Latin and Palmyrenean were restricted to specific groups of the local population, and Greek was used as a *lingua franca*. He argues that the presence of Roman religion, immortalized by the Feriale Duranum, was superficial.

In their contribution, Jonathan J. Price and Shlomo Naeh look at the practice of transcription in the ancient world, with useful methodological considerations. The most interesting part is about the transcriptions of the Bible in rabbinic literature: Price and Naeh argue that the rabbis of the Talmuds maintained that the essential requirement for the holiness of a biblical

book was the script (i.e., the Aramaic script), not the language in which it was written. When the authors look at epigraphic texts, they overestimate their formulaicity, as for instance on p. 270–1. According to them, in *CIL* VI 15450, from Rome, written in Latin but in Greek script, the "names and age were added as if to a template". In fact, the document is not particularly formulaic: the syntactic subject changes between the first and the second sentence, and the word order, with *vixit* following *annos*, is relatively rare in Rome.

The common theme in Hannah Cotton's and Arietta Papaconstantinou's contributions is the continuity and discontinuity of language use, especially legal documentary traditions, in cases of language shift. Cotton detects continuity of Nabataean law in a Petra papyrus and offers interesting insights into the questions of why traditions of legal documents in a certain language become extinct. Papaconstantinou discusses the fate of Greek in Egypt in the seventh and eighth centuries and finds that its use, as well as the allegiance to the Byzantine Empire, evidently was not confined to small elite. Another law-related contribution is Marijana Riel's discussion on the polysemous term *θηρατικός* in inscriptions. She concludes that such inscriptions allow us to see the Greeks and Romans "at their best". A diachronic approach would have been interesting, but was apparently not possible, because the material comes from within a relatively short time span.

Sebastian Brock and Dan Barag provide overviews of Edessene Syriac inscriptions in Syria, and Samaritan written documents, respectively. Brock's contribution contains an interesting detail illustrating the changes in the functions of epigraphy that took place in late antiquity: the phraseology of the inscriptions is similar to contemporaneous colophons of manuscripts.

Robert Hoyland's article on Arabs in late Roman epigraphy is in fact more about historiography than epigraphy. He offers an important historiographical insight: the involvement of Arabs in the affairs of the Roman empire in late antiquity was in fact very similar to that of the Franks and Goths in the west: all were increasingly employed as units in the army, and wanted to be a part of the Roman world. Rome's interaction with the western and the eastern "barbarians" may have caused a tendency towards a more unitary leadership in both.

Finally, Tonio Sebastian Richter focuses on the language shift from Coptic to Arabic in Egypt. He dates the contraction of Coptic to the 13th century. According to Richter, the shift was not necessarily due to religious reasons, but to the material and intellectual prosperity associated with the Arabic language. Richter also convincingly applies Carol Myers-Scotton's "matrix language turnover hypothesis" to this particular language shift.

To sum up, the articles form a well-conceived whole. The reader is given interesting glimpses, for instance, into the multitude of languages in the ancient world (Price and Naeh, 257), on the different Syriac languages (Brock, 289, where a figure would have been useful), on the power dimensions of languages in a multilingual society, and on the different historical phases of Egyptian (Richter, 401–3).

As to the shortcomings, one could say that many articles could have made more use of onomastic scholarship and data, which is not exploited to the full (however, Papaconstantinou is a refreshing exception). On the technical side, the only thing this writer missed was an up-to-date map of the relevant area. In any case, the book represents a new paradigm of which much can be expected in the near future.

Jenseits des Euphrat. Griechische Inschriften. Ein epigraphisches Lesebuch. Zusammenge- stellt, übersetzt und erklärt von REINHOLD MERKELBACH – JOSEF STAUBER. K. G. Saur Verlag, München – Leipzig 2005. ISBN 3-598-73025-X. XI, 228 pp. EUR 124.95.

Si tratta di un'utile raccolta di testi epigrafici greci provenienti dall'Oriente oltre l'Eufrate, scelti per contenuto e importanza e commentati in maniera piuttosto concisa (sono incluse parecchie epigrafi di grande rilievo, quali per es. gli editti di Ashoka [201], i documenti relativi al culto dei re seleucidi [301–3] e agli agoni di Magnesia al Meandro [304–6], l'inno di Erodotico ad Apollo [402], la lettera di Artabanos alla città di Susa [407], la lettera, rispettivamente a Anasarco e agli abitanti di Ikaros [Failaka, 604], gli stupendi monumenti iscritti del re sassanide Shapur [802–3] con più appendici documentarie relative alle sue vittorie, soprattutto sull'imperatore Valeriano). Il progetto fu iniziato da Merkelbach insieme con Filippo Canali De Rossi, tuttavia dopo varie vicende i compiti furono divisi così: Merkelbach stesso con Josef Stauber avrebbe curato un volume commentato dei testi più interessanti, mentre Canali De Rossi si sarebbe assunto il dovere di produrre un repertorio completo di tutto il materiale. Quest'ultimo lavoro è uscito nel 2004 con il titolo *Iscrizioni dello Estremo Oriente Greco* (Inschriften gr. Städte aus Kleinasien 65, Bonn 2004). Siccome i due libri vanno ovviamente consultati insieme, in fin dei conti, nonostante la suddetta riorganizzazione degli impegni, non sarebbe stato più ragionevole far confluire i materiali in un unico volume?

Mika Kajava

ÉLODIE CAIRON: *Les épitaphes métriques hellénistiques du Péloponnèse à la Thessalie.* Hungarian Polis Studies 18. University of Debrecen, Budapest – Debrecen 2009. ISBN 978-963-473-284-6. 326 pp. EUR 29.

This corpus offers 101 Hellenistic verse epitaphs found from 12 areas of the European Greek world, Attica with 29 epigrams and Thessaly with 31 being the most prominent areas. Texts are arranged geographically following the general order of *IG*; however, the areas of *IG* X–XII are excluded. Cairon points out that another volume concentrating particularly on the islands would still be needed.

The introduction begins by relating the corpus to earlier verse inscription publications. Provenances of the stones and the time span of the texts are reviewed – the Hellenistic period is here limited between the death of Alexander the Great and the publication of the *Garland of Philip* (ca. 40–50 CE). The section on to whom the texts were written to is highly interesting, as is discussion on rites, beliefs, thoughts and sentiments in the epitaphs as well. By examining the poetics of the metric epitaphs and their standing among the funerary epigrams, these verse inscriptions are set in a larger context, and recent research of the epigram genre is taken into account. The metrics of these epigrams are examined concisely but carefully.

The editions are provided with lemmata, critical apparatuses, translations and commentaries, all given in French. Two new readings are offered: no. 12 and no. 16, the first one read from a photograph that is also printed in the book. Otherwise there are no photographs. Descriptions of stones vary from concise to longer descriptions. Lists of previous editions are usefully extensive. Texts are given according to verses, but the order of the lines in stone is im-

plied when it differs from the verse division. Supplementations are given cautiously: if grounds for previous supplementations are inadequate, they are given in the critical apparatus instead, which is a well-advised decision. The fact that translations of the epigrams are offered is commendable. However, extremely fragmentary texts are not translated here: this I find reasonable, for only conjectural suggestions can be made if the text is badly corrupted. The concordances and indices are creditable. The indices are arranged thematically: names; nations and places; divinities, heroes and authors; notable Greek words; the *incipit*. These are extensive and all very useful for fellow scholars. All in all, the corpus is meticulously compiled.

In addition to the texts themselves, the discussion Cairon offers in her introduction is of great interest. While commentaries on each epigram give the background information and analysis for individual texts, the examination of the inscription type on a more general level is important as well.

Hellenistic views on death and the afterlife are visible in verse inscriptions, as well as expressions of grief and longing of those left behind. These themes are also visible in the fictive funerary epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*; this provides material for examining the development of the genre. Cairon thus raises the question of why the Hellenistic period was so apt for this development. Was it due to professional poets writing epitaphs, and/or perhaps the influence given by anthologies and verse inscription collections? This is an important question as well: as Cairon states, the connection between the verse inscriptions and the literary epigrams is crucial, for the influence between them is reciprocal.

In the scholarship on inscribed poetry, there have been considerable insufficiencies; this study does its part towards amending the situation. Collecting the Hellenistic epitaphs in one book with updated information makes the texts easily accessible for scholars who need to consult them for further study. Commentaries and discussion on the context of these epitaphs helps us to understand them better. In addition to that, the study of verse inscription has more to offer: with the recent research on the Hellenistic epigram, interest towards the epigraphic tradition has increased. It now seems indispensable to be acquainted with the verse inscriptions in order to fully understand the so-called book epigram. Hence this book makes a valuable contribution not only to epigraphic study, but to the multifaceted discussion of the entire epigram tradition as well.

Saara Kauppinen

Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Text, Translation, and Commentary by ALISON E. COOLEY. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-84152-8 (hb), 978-0-521-60128-3 (pb). XVII, 317 pp. GBP 45, USD 90 (hb); GBP 16.99, USD 29.99 (pb).

This volume is dedicated to one of the most remarkable documents surviving from the Ancient World. Being nothing less than the political testament (in first-person discourse) of arguably one of the most important statesmen of the entire pre-modern era, the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (henceforth *RGDA*) not only constitutes a typological *unicum*, it is a rare example of an epigraphically transmitted text of that world which is substantial, varied and complex enough to make it comparable to any of the literary works of the period in which it was conceived. Surviving in the form of three more or less fragmentary copies of the long lost original – which

was engraved upon a pair of bronze pillars placed in front of Augustus' Mausoleum in Rome – it is not only one of the longest extant epigraphic texts of all of Classical Antiquity, it is a bilingual document providing extensive Greek parallels to the Latin text. The *Monumentum Ancyranum* of Ankara, containing the bulk of the text that survives, was famously styled *Königin der antiken Inschriften* by Mommsen, who in another connection called it *titulus inter Latinos primarius*.

A book providing a new edition of the text itself, along with a translation and a detailed commentary (the first substantial one in English for more than four decades), cannot be anything but an important addition to the scholarship on the *RDGA*. However, it must be noted that the edition contains no separate *apparatus criticus*; for this essential scholarly tool the author directs her readers (p. 57) to the recent Budé edition by John Scheid (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti. Hauts faits du divin Auguste*, Paris 2007), which no doubt will be the standard text for years to come.

The book is divided into three major sections. It commences with a very substantial *Introduction*, which is subdivided into eight numbered chapters. The first one, "Queen of inscriptions" (pp. 1–3), is a general introduction to the whole subject. The second chapter "RGDA at Rome" (pp. 3–6), deals with the background and the history of the lost Roman original, which was inscribed and put on display at the request of Augustus himself in his will (known to have been read out to the Senate at its first meeting after the emperor's death by the new emperor's son Drusus). In the third chapter, "RGDA in its provincial contexts" (pp. 6–22), the three surviving copies are presented and dealt with in their provincial contexts. It is a curious fact that the sites in question – Ancyra, Pisidian Antioch and Apollonia – are all located within the borders of the Roman province of Galatia, in present-day Turkey. Also the mechanisms for publication are duly discussed in this chapter (pp. 18 ff.). In the following chapter, "The language of the RGDA" (pp. 22–30), the author examines the stylistic characteristics of the Latin text and various features of the Greek translation. In chapter five, "The messages of the RGDA" (pp. 30–43), she deals with the various precedents for and influences on the original Roman inscription (discussing a number of individual monuments in Rome and Italy, in the Greek World and the Near East) in an attempt at establishing what type of document it represents, what its main objectives were and at what audience it was primarily aimed.

In chapter six, "Date of composition" (pp. 42–3), a subject is dealt with that clearly could have been treated in full detail already in the discussion dedicated to the Roman original. The seventh chapter, "Transmission of the text and previous study of the monuments" (pp. 43–8), provides a survey of scholarly work dedicated to the inscriptions themselves as well as to their architectural contexts at the three sites in question. The introduction is concluded with "Reinterpretations of the RGDA" (pp. 48–55), where the author at the outset discusses various "Roman responses", that is, possible echoes of Augustus' composition in Roman writers who wrote on his reign. Thereafter, in a sub-chapter entitled "Mussolini and the RGDA", she writes about the attention that the *RGDA* received together with the *Ara Pacis Augustae* under the fascist regime, which famously perceived Augustus as a precursor to *Il Duce*, the creator of the Italian Empire (formally proclaimed on 10 May 1936).

The second main section of the volume, *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: Text and Translation* (pp. 57–101), provides the composite text of both Latin and Greek versions of the document along with the author's English translation. As was noted above, but which must be repeated in this particular connection, there is no separate *apparatus criticus*. However, the text is pre-

sented with all the conventional bracketing. At any rate, the whole section is laudably clear and well-organized. The text is laid out in such a fashion that the Latin original is always found on the left page of every pair of facing pages, and the Greek version on the opposite side. Each textual unit (the heading, a numbered chapter [nos. 1–35] or the appendix) is accompanied by the English translation, positioned immediately beneath it.

The longest main section of the book, *Commentary* (pp. 102–278), is a treasure trove of facts and intriguing observations – ranging from details concerning lettering size to all kinds of comments clarifying specific historical contexts and evoking the bigger pictures. The subject matters discussed are identified and brought forth by means of bold *lemmata*, drawn both from the Latin text and the English translation. The commentary section is also rather lavishly illustrated, with clear black and white pictures; in particular, coins and art work associated with Augustus' reign are featured.

The commentary is followed by an *Appendix* (pp. 279–81), in which the author tabulates differences in the readings between her own text and the one found in Scheid's edition. The book concludes with a *Bibliography* (pp. 282–301), an *Index locorum* (pp. 302–4) and a very helpful *General index* (pp. 305–17).

Kaj Sandberg

JOHANNES KRAMER: *Vulgärlateinische Alltagsdokumente auf Papyri, Ostraka, Täfelchen und Inschriften*. Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete, Beiheft 23. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin 2007. ISBN 978-3-11-020224-3. 182 S. EUR 68.

This book contains Latin texts arranged in twelve chapters, each with an introduction, translation and commentary. The documents are chosen to illustrate the use of Vulgar Latin in different contexts. Apart from the last chapter, all contain original ancient documents – a wise decision motivated by the specific problems connected with the linguistic form of manuscript texts. Chapters one to four consist of letters (of unknown provenance, from Vindolanda, from Egypt and from North Africa, respectively). Item five is a list of soldiers' names on papyrus, number six presents graffiti from Pompeii, and seven and eight are funerary inscriptions. The following three chapters contain texts that illustrate the contact of Latin with Greek. Of these, number nine is a papyrus document about the sale of a slave girl (written partly in Greek characters), number ten is a Latin translation of a fable by Babrios, and number 11 a Latin-Greek vocabulary. Finally, number 12 is an excerpt from the *Appendix Probi*. Chronologically, the texts span from the end of the 1st century BC to c. AD 600 (and beyond, if we consider the 7th century manuscript that contains the *Appendix Probi*). The volume begins with an introduction to the research on Vulgar Latin and its typical characteristics. In the beginning, there is also a list of proposed new readings. Each text has a thorough introduction (with references to essential literature), the text together with a very useful reproduction of the document, as well as a lengthy commentary that concentrates on linguistic matters. Kramer's aim has been to publish a selection of well-preserved Vulgar Latin texts with ample documentation concerning the nature and context of each text.

The commentary mostly draws on previous scholarship, predominantly produced by J. N. Adams, but often also by Kramer himself, most notably in the case of No. 7 (= *CIL XIII*

7645), No. 10 (= *P. Amh.* II 26), and No. 11 (= *P. Louvre Eg. inv.* 2329). Kramer sometimes proposes new readings and interpretations and often these are good. For example, Kramer offers the best solution so far given for the mysterious last sentence of *P. Mich.* 471 (p. 74). I think he is likely to be right if we take the text as it stands. The other option is to think that there is simply a mistake here, probably produced by the scribe. One place where Kramer offers a new reading is in No. 2 (*tab. Vindol.* II 310). On line eight (p. 55), he reads *Quotum*, and supports this with a Gallic name attested in La Graufesenque (Qutos). Furthermore, his interpretation of the problematic lines 11–14 of this tablet (p. 57) is better than the one in the original edition where the problem posed by the syntax is not addressed. In his commentary on No. 4 (*O. Bu Njem* 73, 77 and 79) Kramer offers detailed information on the foreign (Punic and Libyan) elements in the Bu Njem ostraca. Regarding No. 5 (*SB XXII* 15638, a list of soldiers' names), he suggests Egyptian influence in the devoicing of voiced stops, e.g., in the name *Petuceus* (= *Peducaeus*), with a reference to the fact that Coptic has no /b/, /d/ or /g/.

Curiously, the texts grouped in number six, the graffiti from Pompeii, seem to offer the least "Vulgar" linguistic material. Apart from a couple of ubiquitous misspellings (e.g., *Aephebus* for *Ephebus*, and *coponam* for *cauponam*) the language is mostly standard. What is vulgar is the topic rather than the language (e.g., a prostitute's advertisement).

Chapter 12, on the *Appendix Probi* (included as the only manuscript witness because of its importance) contains a good introduction to the manuscript where this intriguing document has been preserved. Probably because of special signs, the font has been changed in a considerable part of the Latin text resulting in an awkward appearance (the same thing happens sporadically elsewhere in the book, too).

As with most treatments on similar matters, the linguistic commentary presupposes the existence of "Vulgar Latin". This somewhat old-fashioned approach can, arguably, be justified by the long tradition of Vulgar Latin studies. For a scholar working on linguistic variation and change in Latin this volume does not offer much new information but, on the other hand, new information is not expected in a volume such as this. The aim has been to make this area of Latin studies more widely known and to offer a collection where those interested in the development of the Latin language can easily find important original documents accompanied by full linguistic commentaries and guidance to further literature. The volume undoubtedly serves this purpose very well.

Hilla Halla-aho

Uchi Maius 2. Collana diretta da Mustapha Khanoussi e Attilio Mastino. Le iscrizioni. A cura di ANTONIO IBBA. Con la collaborazione di MOHAMED ABID – ZEÏNEB BENZINA BEN ABDALLAH – CECILIA CAZZONA – PAOLA RUGGERI – DANIELA SANNA – RITA SANNA – ESMERALDA UGHI. Disegni di SALVATORE GANGA. Pubblicazioni del Centro di studi interdisciplinari sulle province romane dell'Università degli Studi di Sassari. Editrice Democratica Sarda, Sassari 2006. ISBN 88-6025-024-2. 754 pp. EUR 95.

Semper aliquid novi Africa affert. This well-known maxim came to my mind when I opened this truly colossal collection of Uchitan inscriptions the crop of which has greatly increased due to the archaeological excavations that have been carried out in Uchi Maius by the Tunisian

and Italian teams directed by Prof. Mustapha Khanoussi and Prof. Attilio Mastino. This Northern Tunisian site was found in 1882 and the first systematic corpus of its inscriptions appeared in 1908: A. Merlin, L. Poinssot, *Les inscriptions d'Uchi majus* [Notes et documents publiés par la Direction des Antiquités et Arts II], 1908 (this collection was later incorporated in *CIL* VIII). The collection made by Merlin and Poinssot included 182 inscriptions whereas the present work, *Uchi Maius 2*, published almost a century later, comprises no fewer than 557! In other words, the number of Uchitan inscriptions has tripled: an eloquent testimony of both the vitality of North African epigraphic material and the fruitfulness of systematic and large-scale archaeological excavations.

The number of inscriptions is large and the book is bulky, too: 754 densely filled pages. It falls into two main parts: an introduction (pp. 13–54) and the edition proper (pp. 55–678). The concordance, indices and bibliography (no fewer than 33 pages long!) conclude the book.

The introduction with numerous very clear and informative diagrams is very useful as it gives background information on the research done in Uchi, on the history and institutions of the town, and, especially, on the inscriptions found there.

The inscriptions are divided into six classes (p. 17): "sacre" (dedications to gods carved on statue bases and on architraves); "imperiali" (inscriptions dedicated to the emperors, carved both on statue bases and on architraves); "pubbliche" (mostly honorific inscriptions directed to the other persons than emperors); "funerarie pagane", "funerarie cristiane" and "incerta definizione". This traditional classification is widely employed in epigraphic corpora because of its usefulness to historians (all texts related to, let us say, the emperor Vespasian or the goddess Minerva can be found in one place). The drawback of this traditional division is that it groups together material that is socio-historically heterogeneous. The class "pubbliche", for example, incorporates not only inscriptions carved on statue bases that honour private persons and office-holders but also inscriptions carved on architraves where those persons record their own activities.

The introduction could have been a good place to group together dedicatory, honorific and building inscriptions and to analyse the common characteristics, syntactical structure and phraseology of each genre in a manner in which funerary inscriptions are dealt with. Instead of such an analysis there are only short statistics on the provenience or material of the inscriptions. Especially limited is the analysis in the section on "iscrizioni onorarie e evergetiche" (pp. 34–6). By contrast, the sections on pagan and Christian funerary inscriptions are excellent and very informative and reader gets a clear and detailed picture of the structure and phraseology of these inscriptions. The section on demography is very interesting, too, and rightly underlines how difficult it is to interpret the lifetimes recorded in the funerary inscriptions. Thus, for example, the almost total absence of infants from this record reflects the patterns of commemoration rather than the real demographic situation, i.e., low infant mortality rate.

Inscriptions are edited extremely carefully and systematically. If a given inscription is extant, there is 1) a description of the stone and the text, 2) a photograph (but see no. 438), 3) a drawing (sometimes also a copy of the text in capital letters), 4) the edited text itself, 5) an Italian translation of it and, finally, 6) the commentary. If the inscription is lost, the photograph and drawing are typically replaced by a copy of the text in capital letters (but see no. 284).

The first element, the description of the stone and carved letters, is always carried out in an extremely detailed and precise manner. A good illustration of this is no. 115. It is the shortest possible inscription, just one unidentifiable part of a letter ([---]+[---]) but the description of the

stone takes up a third of the page. Another example: a description and commentary of the no. 446 (it is carved on a ring and only reads *Generosa*) takes up an entire, densely written, page.

The quality of the photographs is quite good although some are rather dark; drawings are always very clear; the editing has been made with the utmost care and mistakes are extremely rare. The few examples I found are: p. 135: *A]rabic[o* the first bracket is misplaced; p. 150: *p[at]r(iae)* pro *p[at]riae*; p. 227: *Concordiae)* pro *C(oncordiae)*; p. 258: *l(ocus)* pro *l(ocus)*; p. 541: *Mq(anibus)* pro *M(anibus)*.

The translations are accurate (the only passage that seems somewhat freely done is related to no. 329: *boni fata fuere senis* is translated as "il destino ti ha reso un vecchio onesto" perhaps more accurate is "(that) was the destiny of a good old man".) The translations are systematically provided, even in the cases where the inscription contains nothing more than a name or the abbreviation *DMS*.

The commentaries are systematically and very competently written and contain a vast amount of very interesting and accurate information. I have only a few minor remarks on them. On p. 146 *gymnasia* is best understood as oil distributions in this context, see the standard work by Fagan, G. G., 1999, "Gifts of Gymnasia: a Test Case for Reading Quasi-technical Jargon in Latin Inscriptions", *ZPE* 124, 263–75, esp. 271. On p. 380, text no. 208 (*D. M. s. / Iulius / D[o]natus / [pi]us vix. / annis tot / H. s. e.*) is provided with a comment by J. Gascou: "l'avverbio indefinito *tot* sostituisce il numero degli anni, probabilmente perché si ignorava l'età del defunto. La sua attestazione su un epitafio non metrico sembrerebbe un unicum nel mondo romano...". In fact, there *are* further attestations of this adverb, even in Africa; see *ILAlg.* 2, 7282: *D(is) M(anibus) / Iulia Nam/familla / {annos to}/{t} vix(it) a(nnos) CX*. This latter text is a very interesting case, as it seems that the careless stone-cutter mechanically followed a manual of model inscriptions and carved first *annos tot*. Then he noticed his mistake and added *a(nnos) CX* without bothering to erase the earlier mistake. It might be that a similar explanation is applicable to no. 208 as well. Finally, nos. 61, 96, 106, 109 and 129 should be building inscriptions because of the letter size. On a more general level, it must be said that occasionally these commentaries also include material that could have been presented in the introduction or in the indices. No. 81, for example, runs [---] *IR C C I K* [---]. This fragment is followed by a commentary over half page long that includes, e.g., an essay on the duties of a *duovir*. On the other hand, every inscription that employs the common but erroneous form *anis* instead of the correct *annis* is systematically noted and provided with the same reference and comment. This and some similar cases might be superfluous because such phenomena are duly mentioned in the introduction (p. 50) and in the indices.

As a result of this systematic approach, an inscription that was presented in a half page in *CIL* may need well over ten pages in the present edition. This very ample form of the presentation makes it occasionally a cumbersome task to form a complete picture of a fragmentary inscription. Comparing line drawings and photographs with verbal descriptions on the one hand and with the edited text on the other, takes a lot of going back and forth (see especially no. 38). In a similar manner, the commentaries are often lengthy and very, very dense. Using footnotes and structuring their text would have made them easier to read. These are, of course, very minor points. The authors of this book have done an immense and extremely valuable work by collecting and presenting these inscriptions a very accurate manner. I was also very impressed by the cautiousness of the editors. After presenting a very carefully and thoughtfully reconstructed fragmentary text they still warn the reader about the hypothetical nature of the

reconstruction.

There are some instances, however, where the editors have accepted older readings perhaps too easily. Thus, for example, no. 1 follows the restoration presented in *CIL* VIII and reads: *L(ucius) Sollonius P(ublii) f(ilius) Arn(ensi) Lupus Marian[us et Karthagine (?) quo se] / contulit et in patria sua omn[ibus honoribus functus]*. Now, both restorations are highly hypothetical and the former seems unlikely: such details are very seldom mentioned in the building inscriptions. It is much more probable that *contulit* refers to payment of some sort, as is the case when this predicate is mentioned in building inscriptions. In the end of this same inscription there is another very hypothetical restoration: *[l(ocus) d(atus) d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)]*. This phrase is – quite naturally – common in honorific inscriptions carved on statue bases but rare in African building inscriptions (attested in less than one per cent of the cases). In a similar manner, in no. 82 the restoration *p. p.* is unnecessary: the project was paid for by a private person and there is no need to suppose that the community funded the erection of the stone (cf. for example, AE 1968, 599: *sacrarium sua pec(unia) fec(it) idemq(ue) ded(icavit). D(ecreto) d(ecurionum)*). In no. 88, the restoration *Caeci[lianus d(e) s(ua) p(ecunia) fecit]* is hypothetical and *d(e)* is almost certainly wrong; this form of a funding supplement is attested almost exclusively during the first century AD. The contemporary variant is *s(ua) p(ecunia)*. Finally, in no. 262 (p. 438), the reading of *LOQL* as *{L}<T>(ibi) o(ssa) q(uiescant). L(evis tibi terra sit)* seems farfetched.

As for the readings offered by editors, the following restoration (p. 71) seems unlikely to me: *d(ono) d(edit) p(ecunia) p(rivata) fecit*. I have not been able to find any parallels to this and I wonder why a private builder would have expressed his contribution in such an ambiguous way? Usually private builders are quite keen to emphasize their role as benefactors but employing this abbreviation would have led most people to think that this project was publicly paid for as the standard way to read this abbreviation is *d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) p(ecunia) p(ublica)*.

All in all, flaws are minimal in this nearly perfect book. The editor Antonio Ibba above all but also his team, M. Abid, Z. B. Ben Abdallah, C. Cazzona, P. Ruggeri, D. Sanna, R. Sanna, E. Ughi and S. Ganga have done a fantastic job with Uchitan inscriptions. The result of their immense efforts is an extremely reliable and accurate edition that supersedes all the previous ones and offers a great deal of very useful related information as well. It is a major contribution on African epigraphy.

Ari Saastamoinen

Titulorum Pictorum Pompeianorum qui in CIL vol. IV collecti sunt: Imagines. Recensuit, recognovit et contulit ANTONIO VARONE; schedas ad imprimendum composuit, in ordinem topographicum adduxit et indices struxit GRETE STEFANI. Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 29. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-88-8265-392-7. 544 pp., 48 Tav. EUR 250.

Ecco uno strumento di lavoro di grande importanza. Come si sa, nel IV volume del Corpus berlinese, dedicato alle iscrizioni parietali dell'area vesuviana, l'edizione dei testi non è accompagnata dalle fotografie che in rarissimi casi. Questo ponderoso volume colma una lacuna

notevole. Il progetto dell'opera prevede due tomi, di cui il primo, oggetto di questa recensione, raccoglie le fotografie di tutte le iscrizioni parietali dipinte. Il secondo tomo, in preparazione, pubblicherà le fotografie dei graffiti propriamente detti.

È un fatto dolorosamente noto che la stragrande maggioranza delle iscrizioni dipinte, ritrovate nel corso di un'attività di scavo che dura da oltre 250 anni sia andata irrimediabilmente perduta. Fortunatamente esiste, per i *tituli picti*, negli archivi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, una documentazione fotografica di ottima qualità a partire dai primi anni del 1900, che può essere tranquillamente definita metodica e quasi completa. Questo materiale, non reso pubblico che eccezionalmente, è stato recuperato ed identificato con lavoro paziente da Antonio Varone, il *genius loci* dell'epigrafia pompeiana, i cui meriti nella conservazione e documentazione delle iscrizioni parietali dell'area vesuviana sono decisivi. Ora gli studiosi hanno a disposizione, in un volume, tutto il materiale fotografico sui dipinti che Varone, con i suoi valenti collaboratori, è riuscito a trovare negli archivi pompeiano e napoletano e in quello dell'Istituto di Paleografia dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" o in altre fonti, quali le edizioni principes di riviste come le *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*.

Il grosso del volume è costituito dalle riproduzioni delle foto. Nelle brevi osservazioni introduttive, che gli autori premettono al catalogo, sono contenute alcune notazioni interessanti. Per fare un solo esempio, Varone ha fatto una bella scoperta: i dipinti più antichi, i *programmata antiquissima* e le iscrizioni osche appartenenti al gruppo di *eituns*, si sono conservati meglio rispetto ai dipinti più recenti dell'età flavia. Questo fatto sorprendente è spiegato da Varone con il fatto che le iscrizioni si trovino su supporti scrittori diversi e utilizzino diversi campioni di colore.

Segue il catalogo stesso che contiene numerosissime fotografie di iscrizioni da tempo scomparse e già per questo di eminente importanza per gli studi epigrafici, paleografici, filologico-linguistici, archeologici e in genere storici (qualche volta sono stati aggiunti apografi fatti su carta pellucida o a mano libera). Ho già utilizzato con profitto questo strumento. Alla fine ricordo brevemente un paio di casi, in cui sono riuscito a migliorare letture ed interpretazioni offerte dagli editori del *CIL*:

– p. 167: *CIL* IV 9839a: *ferramenta perdensa furatus nulli credo*. Avevo già notato, in base alla foto pubblicata nell'editio princeps nelle *Notizie degli scavi*, come sia dubbia la lettura e ora, dalla foto migliore pubblicata nel volume posso confermare i miei dubbi e la lettura già presentata in *Gnomon* 1973, 275: va letto *per geni[um] iuratus* invece di *perdensa furatus*. Un nesso *ferramenta perdensa* sarebbe difficilmente esplicabile. La locuzione *per genium iuratus* nel contesto è facilmente comprensibile: si tratta nel complesso di una pubblicità scherzosa. Cfr. anche *Arctos* 2009, 182.

– p. 382: *CIL* IV 7807 = I² 2984a: l'iscrizione, che costituisce un album di magistri e ministri compiti, è stata completamente fraintesa dall'editore Della Corte. In base alla foto ora pubblicata posso correggere o completare tra l'altro in 9 *Pamphilus*, in 14 *Tintiri* (se non *Satri*). E che la datazione dell'album all'età flavia proposta da Della Corte sia erronea, si poteva sospettare già dall'apografo pubblicato nel *CIL*, e ora è confermato dall'ispezione della foto: l'iscrizione appartiene al periodo tardo-repubblicano o ai primi anni dell'età augustea, come si vede per es. dalla nomenclatura servile (*Caecili L. ser.* invece di *L. Caecili ser.*, come si diceva poi a partire dall'età augustea), ma anche dal confronto con un altro album databile al 47–46 a. C. (*CIL* IV 60 = I² 777).

In altri casi l'ispezione della foto fa sorgere dei dubbi, senza che una lettura sicura possa

essere presentata. Due esempi. A p. 21 viene pubblicata, oltre al programma elettorale *CIL IV 2993x*, un'interessante iscrizione greca, una specie di acclamazione: 2993y, pubblicata dallo Zangemeister nella forma seguente: CATPIΩ | OYAAεNTI | OγOYΣTΩ | NHP ΦHAIKITεp. Zangemeister stesso non ha visto l'iscrizione, di cui riproduce il testo in base all'apografo di De Petra (correggendo solo all'inizio di 3 OI in 'Oγ-). Importante notare che il testo fu collazionato subito dopo la scoperta sulle orme del de Petra da Matz che, secondo Zangemeister, *ipse vestigia vidit*. L'iscrizione è tuttavia ancora conservata (nel Museo partenopeo), anche se in parte rovinata; e l'osservazione del Matz fa pensare che la rovina fosse cominciata subito dopo la scoperta. Ora, dalla foto pubblicata nel volume e da un'altra foto dell'Istituto di Paleografia dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" non riesco a confermare la lettura delle ultime due righe. Si pone la questione su quanto sia attendibile la lettura del de Petra. Sembra che fino ai nostri giorni nessuno abbia collazionato il testo del dipinto, e chi sa quanto sia diventato di difficile lettura in queste due righe già nell'immediato periodo dopo la scoperta. In ogni caso la lettura è dubbia: una grafia 'Oγουστ- per Αύγουστ- sarebbe quanto mai inaudita, e Nηp- per Nεp- un po' dura. Forse va letto, in queste righe, una tutt'altra cosa. Forse un'autopsia potrebbe promuovere ulteriormente l'esegesi dell'iscrizione.

A p. 198 si riproduce una non cattiva foto di *CIL IV 7534*. Da essa si può desumere che la lettura *Amplus alumnus Tiburs* presentata dall'editore Della Corte è estremamente incerta. *Amplus* è difficile accettare, e anche se si leggesse così, resterebbe aperto se si tratti di nome o appellativo. Neanche *alumnus* riesco a distinguere. E *Tiburs*: la fine sembra debba essere letta BVRIS.

Ho pochissimo da criticare: p. 21 con *CIL IV 2993x*: non so se si possa parlare di un nesso di L e I, piuttosto penserei a un'omissione erronea di I. – p. 130 con *CIL IV 7356*: la lettura proposta con nomi di gladiatori resta un po' incerta; perché non una donna *Philete* invece di *Philete(rus)*? – p. 144: si tratta veramente di *CIL IV 9852*? – p. 207 con *CIL IV 7574*: la lettura con le integrazioni proposte resta incerta; item p. 214; e ancora p. 477 (osta la nomenclatura). – p. 485–486, 502: vedi sulla lettura *Gnomon* 1973, 265.

Tirando le somme, si deve dire che Varone e Stefani, con i loro collaboratori, hanno creato uno strumento di lavoro di estrema importanza. Ora abbiamo a disposizione degli studiosi una raccolta di fotografie delle iscrizioni dipinte vesuviane che permetteranno di aprire nuovi orizzonti su vari temi pompeiani. Auguriamoci che con questo volume l'interesse verso le testimonianze epigrafiche di tipo pompeiano cresca continuamente. Gli autori hanno meritato il ringraziamento più profondo di tutti coloro che si occupano delle antichità non solo pompeiane, ma romane in genere.

Heikki Solin

MELISSA M. TERRAS: *Image to Interpretation. An Intelligent System to Aid Historians in Reading the Vindolanda Texts*. Oxford Studies in Ancient Documents. Oxford University Press, Oxford 2006. ISBN 978-0-19-920455-7. XII, 252 pp. GBP 50.

This study presents an extraordinary piece of research. Based on the author's doctoral thesis (Department of Engineering Science, University of Oxford), it is an attempt at designing a computer aided method to help papyrologists in reading the Vindolanda tablets. This formula-

tion is important. The goal is not to produce an automatic reading program, but a device that would help the papyrologist by suggesting possible solutions. The work is highly interdisciplinary in nature, and an interesting read to anyone who has tried to read a papyrological text. Two types of tablets have been recovered from Vindolanda: texts written on wooden tablets in ink, and wax tablets where the writing was done with a stylus. The latter type is particularly difficult to decipher, since all that is left are traces of letters on the wooden surface on which the wax once was spread. It is with the reading of the Vindolanda stylus tablets that this research project principally aims to provide help.

After the Introduction that presents the method used, chapter two concerns the papyrologist at work, and eliciting knowledge from papyrologists in order to understand how they work, and where they need help. Although this part contains no new information to a papyrologist, it is interesting in explicating the process that papyrologists use when they see a new text and try to read it. Three experts were consulted. Material was gathered using Think Aloud Protocols whereby the expert, while undertaking a specified task, is urged to utter every thought that comes to mind during the process. The fact, not in any way surprising to a specialist, that becomes evident is that reading an ancient text is a recursive process. Papyrologists do not proceed linearly, by establishing the reading of one letter firmly and then proceeding to the next one, but keep going through all levels of the text in a cyclic reasoning process (individual strokes – letters forms – possible words – meaning of the whole text and type of document). An analysis of the material from the Think Aloud Protocols shows (p. 63) that the levels of features of strokes, identification of individual characters and possible words are the levels most frequently discussed by the experts. On the basis of this, a model of the papyrology process is proposed (p.81).

While this chapter is highly interesting in the way it makes the process of reading an ancient text explicit, it must be said that its contribution to the actual target, building a computer aided system to help in the reading process, remains rather vague to the reader.

Chapter three studies the palaeography of the Vindolanda texts. It presents a method of describing the character forms (consisting of different types of strokes) so that the information can be encoded in a computer program. Nine Vindolanda texts (seven ink texts and two stylus texts) were annotated according to this encoding scheme using a program that was originally developed to handle aerial satellite images. Results of this annotation were written in a file in XML (Extensible Markup Language). The author points out (p. 106) that this was the first known instance of textual encoding in the humanities on a stroke-based level.

Chapter four describes the computer system that was adapted to analyse the character images and "read" them (originally the system was built to read a handwritten phrase in English). The chosen program is based on the principle that the shortest and simplest solution is most likely the correct one. This principle is called the Minimum Description Length (MDL) in computer science terms. For computer scientists, the technical details of the program are explained in Appendix A. Character models, representing prototypes of letter forms, were constructed on the basis of the annotated texts. The program (or a part of it, the "Character Agent") compares the unknown letter with the character models, and finds the best fit(s). These are then passed on to the next level, the "word agent" that compares the suggested strings of characters to a word list containing all words attested in the Vindolanda corpus. Appendix C contains a corpus of all letter forms in the training corpus (the nine annotated texts).

In chapter five, the computer system is put to the test. A section of the ink tablet 255

was input to the system. It contained annotations of each letter done by hand. The solution that had the Minimum Description Length was the correct solution and was produced on the eighth run of the system.

So far the study has worked on the assumption that ink and stylus letter forms, although different from each other, are nevertheless similar enough so that when the program has been trained on a corpus with ink letter forms it will be able to recognize letters on a stylus tablet. This is tested in Chapter five on a section of stylus tablet 797 (again, a hand annotated text). The program was able to reach the correct reading both using ink character models, as well as the very much smaller sample of stylus character models, but performed (not unsurprisingly) considerably better with the latter.

Next a notable problem is addressed. In order to be of real help, the program should be able to cope with annotation data that has been produced automatically, and not by hand. The results show that it is much harder for the program to find the correct solution in this case, although in this test an ink text was used (and not a stylus text that is the actual target of this research, and much more difficult to read).

The author concludes that the research has shown the applicability of the chosen methods, including the suitability of the computer architecture. However, she acknowledges that much work still has to be done in order to enhance the image processing methods to come up with useful automatically annotated data, and to develop the system to handle this data. A number of ways of improving the system are presented in the concluding chapter, but at least to a non-specialist, the essential problem of how to develop an image processing tool that would be able to analyze the faint traces on stylus tablets in a meaningful way, seems not to be given much space. This is, after all, specifically the problem that papyrologists face when they try to read a stylus tablet: to identify and interpret those marks that are traces of letters from all the "noise" that surrounds them.

The book contains many photographs that illustrate well the methods that were used when annotating texts. There are, however, some signs of hasty production in the volume. For example, on p. 70, note 24 where the Leiden system is explained, the subdot is missing before its explanation; on p. 143 USSIBUS is printed instead of USSIBUSS (illustrating a mistake in annotation); the same person is referred to as Dr. Xiao-Bo Pan and Dr. Xiabo Pan (on p. 130 and p. 148, respectively); Bowman and Thomas (2004) (p. 156, note 1) is not in the bibliography (it should possibly be Bowman and Thomas 1994), and the same applies to Bowman and Tomlin (2005) (p. 72, note 27) that is erroneously given as Bowman, Brady and Tomlin (2005) in the bibliography.

This monograph opens up promising new paths that in the future will hopefully help papyrologists in their task. A consequence of the pioneering nature of the work is that a number of problems remain unsolved – but, one hopes – only for the time being.

Hilla Halla-aho

Onomasticon Provinciarum Europae Latinarum. Vol. I²: *ABA-BYSANVS*. Ex materia ab ANDRÁS MÓCSY – REINHARDO FELDMANN – ELISABETHA MARTON – MÁRIA SZILÁGYI collecta composuit et correxit BARNABÁS LÖRINCZ. Editio nova aucta et emendata. Martin Opitz Kiadó, Budapest 2005. ISBN 963-217-946-3. 153 S. EUR 35.

Das in den Jahren 1994–2002 erschienene vierbändige Onomastikon der westlichen und Donauprovinzen des Römischen Reiches hat in der Fachwelt eine zwiespältige Aufnahme gefunden; im Gnomon 2000 habe ich mich mit Konzept und Durchführung des Vorhabens des Vorhabens sehr kritisch auseinandergesetzt. Trotz meiner Kritik hat das Werk dadurch seine Nützlichkeit erwiesen, dass man von der Verbreitung der Namen, besonders der Gentilnamen, leicht einen ersten Überblick erhält, indem die Namenbelege nach den Provinzen geordnet sind. Doch ist auch dieser an sich lobenswerte Vorsatz ohne nötige Sorgfalt und Übersichtlichkeit durchgeführt worden und kann den negativen Gesamteindruck des Vorhabens nicht nennenswert ändern.

Nun ist vom ersten Band eine neue Auflage erschienen, vom Autor (während in der 1. Auflage als Mitautor F. Redö wirkte, erscheint im Titelblatt, wie schon in den Bänden II–IV [zu ihnen Gnomon 2004, 244–7], Lörincz allein als Verf.) "editio nova aucta et emendata" bezeichnet. Wie verhält sich die Neuauflage zu der alten? Ist sie wesentlich besser geworden? Wie hat der Autor die vorgebrachte Kritik berücksichtigt? Meine Detailbemerkungen hat er teilweise stillschweigend eingearbeitet, aber von der grundsätzlichen Kritik hat er keine Notiz genommen. Geblieben ist dieselbe Kritiklosigkeit und Unübersichtlichkeit in der Darbietung des Materials. Zum ersten ist zu sagen, dass immer noch manche wichtigen Quellenpublikationen unausgewertet geblieben sind. So fehlt etwa von dem großartigen Corpus der brixianischen Inschriften von Garzetti (*Inscr. It.* X 5, 1–3, 1984–1986) immer noch jede Notiz. Desgleichen sucht man vergebens das neue Corpus der Inschriften von Aquileia. Nicht einmal die Dokumentation aus den hispanischen Provinzen ist auf dem laufenden, obwohl dem Autor bei der Sammlung von Namenbelegen gerade aus diesem Gebiet mannigfache Unterstützung seitens der Spezialisten der hispanischen Epigraphik zuteil geworden ist. Nimmt man etwa das nützliche Werk *Los nombres personales en las inscripciones latinas de Hispania* von J. Abascal Palazón (1994) in die Hand, so stellt man verblüfft fest, wie viele bei Abascal verzeichnete Namen (von Namenbelegen ganz zu schweigen), im OPEL fehlen (immerhin steht Abascals Buch im Literaturverzeichnis). Ich habe flüchtig die mit *A-* bis *Ad-* beginnenden Namen durchgesehen: von den bei Abascal verzeichneten Namenbildungen fehlen im OPEL wenigstens *Ablicus Abra Abrunaen(i)us Aburea Acalla Accannius Accu Accula Acindynus Acinis Acuna Adaes Ad dius Aditsa Adra*. Erst recht unverständlich bleibt, dass die neue Reihe *Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise*, von der mehrere Faszikel erschienen sind, im Abkürzungsverzeichnis fehlt und deren bis 2005 erschienene Faszikel folgerichtig nicht ausgewertet wurden. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, dass nach der Publikation von A. Mócsys Werk *Nomenclator provinciarum Europae Latinarum et Galliae Cisalpinae* (1983, Ausgangspunkt des OPEL), erschienene Editionen immer noch sehr zufällig und ohne ein klares Programm ausgewertet worden sind.

Die Namen selbst werden auf dieselbe Weise mit ähnlich fragwürdigen Prinzipien und gravierenden Missverständnissen wie in der ersten Auflage dargeboten. Hier ist es nicht besser geworden. Im Gegenteil, besonders die langen Listen zu einzelnen Formen (die gesondert aufgelistet sind) sind bei den beliebtesten Namen wie *Aurelius* äußerst unanschaulich und schwer zu gebrauchen; hier werden all die verschiedenen Formen, sei es durch Abkürzung

oder Lückenhaftigkeit der Vorlage entstanden, gesondert dargeboten (zuerst Au[], dann Aur(), Αὐρ(), Aur[], [A]jur(), Aure[], usw., alles gesondert aufgeführt). Dies trägt zur Brauchbarkeit und Übersichtlichkeit des Onomasticon gewiss nicht bei; schlimmer noch, dass dadurch zusammengehörende Belege auseinandergerissen werden.

Ich verzichte auf weitere grundsätzliche Kritik und lasse in strengster Auswahl nur paar Bemerkungen zu einzelnen Namen folgen.

Aequina mit zwei Belegen ist ein falscher Name: der erste Beleg ist fragmentarisch: *Aequi*[---] und muss anders ergänzt werden, der zweite soll *[A]equina* lauten; warum aber nicht *Equina*, wie bei Kajanto *Latin Cognomina* 327? – Auch *Afella* ist ein falscher Name (fragm. [---]FELLAI. – *Afflicta* ist kein Name. – *Afrosa* ist Entgleisung aus *Aphrodisia*. – *Agilis*: *AE* 1976, 257 muss jetzt aus *Inscr. It. X* 5, 181 zitiert werden. – Ein falscher Name ist auch *Amplius*: *[A]mplia* kann besser anders ergänzt werden; *Amplius* mag für *Ampelus* stehen. – *Anthus*: was macht hier *Anta*? Wenigstens der hispanische Beleg hat nichts mit *Anthus* zu tun; und wenn es um einen Männernamen geht, so könnte auch gr. Ἀντῶς vorliegen, der ein Kurzname zu Ἀντίοχος usw. ist. – *Balbillius -ia* jetzt *Inscr. It. X* 5, 188. – *Basilus* und *Basila* müssen von *Basillus -a* streng unterschieden werden. – *Brevis*: die hispanischen Belege haben nichts mit *Brevis* zu tun.

Die kritischen Bemerkungen ließen sich vervielfachen, ich breche aber hier ab. Als Fazit lässt sich sagen, dass dieses Onomasticon nur begrenzten Nutzen für antike Namenforschung bringt und dass es mit größter Vorsicht zu benutzen ist. Der Wunsch nach einem umfassenden lateinischen Namenbuch bleibt nach wie vor bestehen. Im Kreis der Mitarbeiter des Thesaurus linguae Latinae und der Internationalen Thesauruskommission ist dieser Wunsch kürzlich von neuem ausgesprochen worden. Es ist zu hoffen, dass mit der Verwirklichung des Planes in absehbarer Zeit begonnen werden kann.

Heikki Solin

Makers of Ancient Strategy. From the Persian Wars to the Fall of Rome. Edited and introduced by VICTOR DAVIS HANSON. Princeton University Press, Princeton – Oxford 2010. ISBN 978-0-691-13790-2. X, 265 pp. GBP 19.95, USD 27.95.

In the introduction, the editor, Victor Davis Hanson, defines the book as being aimed primarily at complementing the classic work edited by Peter Paret, *Makers of Modern Strategy*, and its predecessor *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler* edited by E. A. Earle and dating to 1943. Hanson sees the *Makers of Ancient Strategy* as a prequel complementing the "series". The book contains articles about ancient generals, strategists and war with the timeline varying from the Greco-Persian wars to the Later Roman Empire with a welcome look also at subcategories that are often relegated to footnotes, such as urban warfare. The articles in the book also aim to consider the relevance of ancient strategy and warfare to modern times and modern conflicts.

The articles are well written and often captivating, serving, at the very least, as worthy introductions to their subject. The attempt to reach a dialogue with issues of modern warfare and strategic studies, however, fails to impress. Most of the contributors are clearly outside their comfort zone and field of expertise when trying to connect their subject matter to today's

conflicts, and consequently often draw simplistic conclusions that, at times, have the air of artificial additions. That is a pity since these outliers detract from the worth of the articles. The forced connections of ancient events especially to the particulars of US involvement in Iraq or reference to, for example, a private military contractor company already renamed by the time of the printing (Blackwater has been renamed Xe since early 2009) will shorten the period for which the book is relevant. Perhaps a careful culling of the more specific claims and clumsy comparisons from the articles and a separate concluding discussion would have served the volume's original goal better? Maybe the more modern conclusions should have been left for the reader to make. Even so, some authors succeed in bridging the millennia, by avoiding the minutiae of strategic studies, like Peter Heather in his excellent piece on the Later Roman Empire.

The editor's stated aim of complementing and providing accessibility to the less well-known (to the general public) wars and warfare as examples of strategic thinking and warfare is a laudable one. The proof-reading has been careful and the standard of production of the volume is high. The further reading offered at the end of the articles nicely serve classroom use or the interested general reader. Even with its relative weaknesses the book is a worthwhile read and some of the articles would do well as reading material on courses of ancient warfare or even modern strategic studies.

Joonas Sipilä

ELISABETH HERRMANN-OTTO: *Sklaverei und Freilassung in der griechisch-römischen Welt*. Studienbücher Antike, Band 15. Georg Olms Verlag, Hildesheim 2009. ISBN 978-3-487-14251-7. 263 S. EUR 19.80.

Sklaverei und Freilassung in der griechisch-römischen Welt is an introduction to slavery in the Greco-Roman world, beginning with the Mycenaean period and ending with Christian era and emperor Justinian. The book aims at providing a differentiated picture of a multi-faceted phenomenon.

The first of the book's five chapters provides an overview of the slavery discourse in antiquity, as well as scholarship on the subject since the 17th century. Herrmann-Otto summarises and comments on the most important currents and debates in the field and notes how they often have been connected to political and colonial issues. What follows in chapters 2 through 4 is an introduction to slavery in Greek and Roman cultures as well as in Late Antiquity. The Greek world is first approached, as may be expected, from the Mycenaean and Homeric eras, after which the reader is presented with Greek slavery and its relationship to democracy, occupations of Greek slaves, and special forms of slavery as, e.g., the Spartan helot system. The chapter closes with an overview of the Hellenistic Levant. The Roman republic, slave revolts and slaves in Italian agriculture precede the treatment of slaves in the urban Roman context, after which follows a discussion of slaves and slave families in private households, and slaves' roles in society. The last subchapter sheds light on legal and societal perspectives on slavery and manumission. The final chapter deals with slavery and the Jewish and Christian religions in late antiquity and in imperial legislation.

As will be evident from the sketch of its contents above, *Sklaverei und Freilassung* covers an exhaustive scope of issues in a relatively limited space. Discussions of Greek and

Roman types of slavery are fairly evenly balanced and cover together some 150 pages of the book, whereas late antiquity receives a shorter treatment with twenty or so pages, which renders the approach rather traditional.

Compared with English-speaking research in particular, *Sklaverei und Freilassung* provides a divergent view on ancient slavery. Herrmann-Otto contests the thesis of ancient slave societies, and instead of analysing aspects of marginality and vulnerability of a slave's position as is done in several recent studies, the book focuses, especially when it comes to Roman society, on moderate views: that household slaves' conditions may be considered "very good" (p. 175), that slaves had families and could aspire towards manumission, that slavery provided options for social mobility, that manumission served to integrate former slaves into Roman society, etc. The attention appears to be on the fortunate few at the expense of the invisible majority.

Herrmann-Otto warns her readers against drawing hasty conclusions on ancient slavery based on what slavery is in today's world: the ancient world was different and should be approached cautiously. Perhaps this renders her wary of approaching the darker side of slavery. It is of course right to note that slaves were not the only marginalised group in ancient societies, and not always the group on the lowest ladder of society. Women, free or not, were likewise in the margins. So were they in this book; I would have hoped for a more analytical discussion on the conditions, occupations and prospects of female slaves.

This applies also to slaves' children. We learn that they were in many instances raised in families along with legitimate children, and in fact might have been stepsiblings of the free children. It is a challenge and not without problems to analyse the connotations of such relationships, but combined with ancient sources that, e.g., illustrate masters' fear of slaves or discuss different expectations of slave children and legitimate children, one could at least ask how these children would have viewed their position and future, and how would these differing expectations have affected their notions of themselves or each other. Were all slave children even this fortunate?

To some extent these considerations trace back to how Herrmann-Otto approaches her sources. The choice of sources itself is varied and extensive (philosophical, literary and legal texts, church fathers' writings, inscriptions), but sources tend to be accepted at their face value; not much space is dedicated to discussing their nature, representativeness or reliability. In a textbook one would expect to be reminded that these texts almost completely represent idealised views and motives of slave-owning males who belonged to the elite of their society. Voices of slaves, women and children have been lost, or are transmitted through male perspectives.

Likewise, the currently prevailing view of the diversity of early Christianity could show more clearly in the book's choice of sources. As it is, church fathers are the primary sources for Christian perspectives on slavery, and while they provide valuable insights, theirs is the view of the ruling ecclesiastical elite. Other early Christian texts, such as the Nag Hammadi treatises, and analysis of their slave metaphors and rhetorics would have enriched and diversified the picture the book gives of ancient slavery. On the other hand, inclusion of Philo of Alexandria in the first chapter is a valuable addition to ancient discussions of slavery.

Sklaverei und Freilassung provides a compact introduction to ancient slavery, and has the advantage of bringing together a variety of developments over times and cultures. This is a meticulous yet general overview of the topic.

Ulla Tervahauta

Once Again: Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 7. Edited by THOMAS HEINE NIELSEN. Franz Steiner Verlag, München 2004. ISBN 3-151-08438-X. 202 pp. EUR 40.

No one can accuse the people of the Copenhagen Polis Centre of lacking a sense of humour. *Once Again: Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* follows publications such as *Yet More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* and *Even More Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. The same can be said for prolificacy: from 1993 onwards, the Centre has published eight collections of papers and seven collections of acts. While this is admirable and allows for a lively dialogue between the Centre and academics outside it, it also raises the question of how many new and fully-developed ideas can still be found in the latest instalment.

Sadly, *Once Again: Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* does leave the impression of a slightly hasty publication. Of the seven papers in the book, five are written by Mogens Herman Hansen; Thomas Heine Nielsen and Bjørn Paarmann have contributed one each. Thomas Heine Nielsen's paper, "The Concept of *Patris* in Archaic and Classical Sources" suffers from bloated footnotes and is a list of passages and inscriptions rather than an analytical paper. Of Mogens Herman Hansen's papers, one is a short but compelling argument for the Sane mentioned in Athenian tribute lists possibly being the Sane of Pallene instead of that of Athos; another lists examples of different types of sub-ethnics attested mainly in sources dating to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but contains sadly little analysis. "Was Every *Polis* State Centred on a *Polis* Town?" is, again, very short and introductory, but includes useful tables of centres attested as *poleis* in the political sense and those not thus attested but with a mint. "The Perioikic *Poleis* of Lakedaimon" is a point-by-point response to an article by Norbert Mertens wherein he criticizes the Centre's ideas of, for example, polis status and an urban centre going hand-in-hand, perioikic communities being independent, and polis status not requiring autonomy.

The papers mentioned above seem mostly useful as collections of lists and data. The two remaining papers, one by Bjørn Paarmann and another by Mogens Herman Hansen, are far more interesting. In "Geographically Grouped Ethnics in the Athenian Tribute Lists" Bjørn Paarmann argues convincingly against attempts to locate *poleis* based on tribute quota lists or assessment decrees – the material commonly but inaccurately referred to as "tribute lists". He navigates the problems innate in the history of the documents: their fragmentary nature, scribes copying previous years' lists creating an illusion of "a set order" in the lists, and the change from a (possibly) "first-come" listing to lose regional groupings. His analysis is detailed, step-by-step and supported by tables.

Hansen's paper "The Concept of the Consumption City Applied to the Greek *Polis*" similarly includes a convincing criticism of Sombart's ideas as applied to ancient Greek cities. Hansen lists three fundamentals of Sombart's theory: the opposition between urban and rural population, an urban minority, and the consumer status of the urban populace, and proceeds to argue how ancient Greek *poleis* and their inhabitants were predominantly urban, commuted flexibly from the *poleis* to the countryside, and produced food for their own consumption. In the process, he also provides ample and useful data about estimated *poleis* sizes and populations, including a list of walled cities. Problems with such estimates are rife, and the casual reader can only take some of Hansen's figures in good faith.

The two papers mentioned last should make *Once Again: Studies in the Ancient Greek*

Polis interesting reading for both the expert and the more general reader. In the future, one hopes this standard will be applied to all articles published in the series.

Elina M. Salminen

JOHN BUCKLER – HANS BECK: *Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century BC*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-83705-7. XIX, 309 pp. GBP 55, USD 99.

Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century BC is a collection of eighteen essays, almost all of which have been previously published in journals or other publications. They form a roughly chronological narrative from 395 until 336 BC, but there are some thematic pieces as well. After the prologue and an introductory "Survey of Theban and Athenian relations between 403–371 BC", Buckler and Beck, both historians, dive to the level of micro-history in an attempt to explain macrohistory. Battlefields, for example, are analyzed to explain the outcomes of battles that changed the course of history as described in even the most general of introductions to Greek history: mainly, the rise and fall of Thebes (along with the other mighty *poleis*) and ultimately the shift in power towards the north.

The essays utilize different methods. Chapters such as "The battle of Coronea and its historiographical legacy" and "Plutarch on Leuctra" discuss historiographical sources, often going down to the level of use of tenses or individual terms. There is a chapter on an inscription found on Cnidus, and chapters on the geography of battlefields at Chaeronea and Tegyra or the harbours of Boeotia. The common thread is that of military history and of criticizing the sources, ancient or modern. In this the authors often argue convincingly and showing an impressive knowledge of and attention to even the smallest detail. At times, however, the problems of a microscopic approach leave the reader sceptical: Why is the heavily restored edition of the inscription mentioning the *proxenia* granted to Epaminondas taken at face value by the authors who elsewhere spend much time and space criticizing over-zealous editors (and with good reason)? If the chapter "Xenophon's speeches and the Theban hegemony" concludes that Xenophon is trustworthy in places but biased and unreliable in others, how can one use him as the most reliable source for the Phocis-Locris incident of 395 BC? The problem is the bane of any ancient historian: how to extract a truthful and detailed narrative from sources as mangled and fragmentary as ours tend to be? The compromise between reasonable confidence and high precision is often an awkward one, and so it is in places here as well. As a detail that is minor but odd enough to be worthy of mention, the chapter "Philip II's designs on Greece" draws parallels between Hitler and Philip II at several points, leaving the reader wondering whether there truly are no more contemporary and more apt analogies to be used.

Central Greece and the Politics of Power in the Fourth Century BC is a monograph aimed at the specialist. While the introductory and concluding chapters are a good read for the general historian or classicist, the essays in between seem better suited to journals (from which they originally derive) due to the lack of a cohesive narrative as well as the different timeframe of an article from a monograph – the chapter "Epaminondas and the new inscription from Cnidus" discusses an inscription found 14 years prior to the publication of the book. To those interested in the fine details of single battles and conflicts, military vocabulary used

by historiographers or the individuals behind the powers of Thebes, Athens and Sparta, the monograph is doubtless a valuable read – although chances are they will already have read the essays in article form.

Elina M. Salminen

JERZY LINDERSKI: *Roman Questions II. Selected Papers*. Heidelberger Althistorische Beiträge und Epigraphische Studien, Band 44. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2007. XI, 726 pp. ISBN 978-3-515-08134-4. EUR 100.

As a young student, I had the habit of now and then spending a few hours at the section of the Helsinki University library with the newly arrived classical journals, browsing through all of them. Fairly soon I observed that there seemed to be a number of scholars whose work was always interesting and instructive irrespective of the subject, and I picked up the habit of making a copy of whatever these scholars published. One of them was Professor Linderski, whose papers were – and of course still are – characterized not only by an erudition hardly attainable by normal mortals but also by an irresistible style of English. It would thus be a truism to say that the publication of vol. II of Linderski's *Roman Questions* is an event of great significance.

Vol. I, covering the years 1958–1993, was published in 1995. This volume covers the following years up till 2006, but there are also some contributions from before 1995, most of them, as far as I can see, reviews. The numbering of the contributions stops at 50, but some of them have subsections (in these cases, too, we seem to be dealing mainly with reviews). In vol. I, there was much on *comitia*, divination and augural law, but in this volume it is harder to discern a clear focus; and there is perhaps a little less on Varro. Of course there is still much on Roman Republican history and on the interpretation of our sources for it, but I seem to be able to discern a certain shift towards things imperial and epigraphy. In fact, inscriptions play quite a considerable role in this volume (note the index of inscriptions p. 685ff.); one can only admire the way Professor Linderski deals with, e.g., the inscription from Urbino, *CIL* XI 6063 (p. 242ff.), once again showing that philology has the right to, and in fact must claim a significant role also in the interpretation of inscriptions of historical interest, a field dominated by historians (cf., by the way, p. 175 on the 'modern divorce of history from philology').

In my review of vol. I in *Arctos* 30 (1996) 264ff., I tried to describe the Linderskian style of writing a scholarly paper, observing especially that many papers seem to be characterized by a "ring composition", by which I meant that a problem is introduced in the beginning and furnished with a solution in the end (this normally meaning that further discussion of that particular problem is not needed), but that, in between, the discussion seems to lapse to other subjects. I explained this by observing that in investigating a problem Professor Linderski often encounters further problems (often unnoticed by previous scholars), e.g., in the text of authors adduced to elucidate the initial problem, and that he prefers to deal with these new problems before coming back to the question asked initially. Unless I am completely mistaken, there is perhaps a bit less of this here (but note, e.g., some of the papers in Section I, 'Historia et Ius'); but the style is in any case still the same. Note, e.g., p. 255, 'Herodian was writing a romance – but on the canvas of history'; or p. 515, 'The opening chapter ... combines the shallowness of American politology with the ponderous weight of German idiom' (followed by an

absolutely delicious quotation of sociological nonsense from the book under review); or p. 522, 'Frequently the book draws its information from the tepid tap of recent distillations, and not from the spring of the original masters' (note also, e.g., the observation on *corruptelae*, p. 307).

All papers reproduced here have been furnished with addenda inserted in the text within brackets; in the end (p. 609ff.), there are about 30 pages of *addenda et corrigenda* to papers in vol. I. The volume is rounded off by very detailed indexes. This is a great book which should be found in every respectable library.

Olli Salomies

A Companion to the Roman Republic. Edited by NATHAN ROSENSTEIN – ROBERT MORSTEIN-MARX. Blackwell Publishing, Carlton 2008. ISBN 978-4051-0217-9. XXX, 737 pp. GBP 100.

A few years ago, I noted that the Republic is noticeably less covered than the Empire when it comes to scholarly works offering broad and comprehensive presentations of individual periods in Roman history (*Arctos* 38 [2004] 260). The relative dearth of such publications is no longer obvious. After the book edited by Harriet Flower (*The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic*, Cambridge 2004) this is the second multi-authored volume on the Roman Republic, of the now current companion format, to have been released in the world's most accessible language within a time-span of just a few years.

Like its predecessor, this is an anthology by an international team of experts, drawn mostly but not exclusively from the Anglosphere. The book is aimed primarily at a readership consisting of undergraduate and graduate students (p. xxviii), but in providing authoritative and up-to-date overviews of many central themes it constitutes essential reading for anyone professionally associated with its subject. There is a strong emphasis on methodology, more specifically, on how Roman republican history is currently being studied. Recent developments which are highlighted both explicitly and through frequent references include both the ongoing archaeological study of the Apennine peninsula and the increasingly sophisticated approaches to textual sources. Another ubiquitous objective is, evidently, that of introducing students to the many debates currently going on.

The volume is made up of twenty-nine numbered chapters distributed across eight sections. Part I, *Introductory*, offers five chapters on the evidentiary basis for republican studies, a material which is constituted of written texts as well as of physical remains. In the first chapter, "Methods, Models, and Historiography" (pp. 3–28), Martin Jehne deals with the fundamental conceptual frameworks and the many big issues in a highly readable discussion, which effectively provides an overview of all of the research history from Mommsen to the present day. This discussion is followed by two very good presentations of central source categories: "Literary Sources" by Edward Bispham (pp. 29–50) and "Epigraphy and Numismatics" by Mark Pobjoy (pp. 51–80). In the fourth chapter the focus is shifted to the mute sources. "The Topography and Archaeology of Republican Rome", a magisterial account by Mario Torelli (pp. 81–101), is followed by another very valuable overview by Simon Stoddart, "The Physical Geography and Environment of Republican Italy" (pp. 102–21).

In the second part, appropriately entitled *Narrative*, four chapters together provide a contiguous narrative of the political and military history of Rome from the founding of the

city to the assassination of Caesar: "Between Myth and History: Rome's Rise from Village to Empire (the Eighth Century to 264)" by Kurt A. Raaflaub (pp. 125–46), "Mediterranean Empire (264–134)" by Daniel J. Gargola (pp. 147–66), "From the Gracchi to the First Civil War (133–70)" by C. F. Konrad (pp. 167–89) and "The Final Crisis (69–44)" by W. Jeffrey Tatum (pp. 190–211).

Part III, *Civic Structures*, is dedicated to the fundamental structures of civic life. It is very fitting therefore, as a much-needed reminder of the importance of religion as an omnipresent and integral element of all private and public life in Rome, that the first chapter in this section is a treatise on the Romans' dealings with the divine: "Communicating with the Gods" by Jörg Rüpke (pp. 215–35). The formal legal and constitutional structures are introduced in two discussions by Michael C. Alexander, in "Law in the Roman Republic" (pp. 236–55), and by John A. North, in "The Constitution of the Roman Republic" (pp. 256–77). The last contribution to this section is "Army and Society" by Paul Erdkamp (pp. 278–96), a discussion which in the opinion of this reader would have been better placed in the following section.

Rather unexpectedly, considering the myriad of possible themes evoked by the title, the fourth part, entitled *Society*, comprises a mere two chapters: "Social Structure and Demography" by Neville Morley (pp. 299–323) and "Finding Roman Women" by Beryl Rawson (pp. 324–41).

In Part V, *Political Culture*, themes are found which could perhaps have been treated more efficiently, or at least in a more informative manner, in a section that would have encompassed the whole spectrum of topics with bearing on political life in the Roman Republic. Rather curiously, the section is devoid of a presentation of the constitutional setting (as the "constitution" is dealt with together with religion and law in the section on civic structures). Therefore it strikes me as thematically deficient, as it simply does not constitute a self-contained unit within the book. However, this is not to say that it does not provide rewarding reading. It must be stressed that each individual contribution is an eminent work of scholarship. John R. Patterson, in a piece entitled "The City of Rome" (pp. 345–64), presents the physical stage for political life within its larger urban and social contexts. Among the important themes he considers is the display of wealth, influence and distinction of the powerful through construction of houses and public buildings in the city, through various kinds of public entertainments and through the erection of tombs along the roads outside the city gates. Nathan Rosenstein, in the chapter "Aristocratic Values" (pp. 365–82), discusses the norms and values that underpinned political life. Alexander Yakobson, in his contribution "Popular Power in the Roman Republic" (pp. 383–400), revisits a problem which counts among the most hotly debated issues of recent decades, namely, to what extent the people, in their formally omnipotent electoral, legislative and judicial assemblies, were able to exert real power in a society traditionally seen as an oligarchy run by a small political elite. Following this, two more traditional themes associated with public life and political culture – "Patronage" by Elizabeth Deniaux (pp. 401–20) and "Rhetoric and Public Life" by Jean-Michel David (pp. 421–38) – are explored together with a discussion, by Anthony Corbeill, on the role and importance of physical appearance in political life: "The Republican Body" (pp. 439–56).

The sixth part, *The Creation of a Roman Identity*, contains very stimulating discussions on the essence of Romanness. Erich S. Gruen – to whom, incidentally, the whole volume is dedicated on the occasion of his 70th birthday (both editors are Berkeley alumni) – explores the mental boundaries of Roman identity, and the Romans' attitudes to foreigners, in a masterly

discussion entitled "Romans and Others" (pp. 459–77). Karl-J. Hölkenskamp, in the chapter "History and Collective Memory in the Middle Republic" (pp. 478–95), takes a fresh look at collective memory (a.k.a. cultural memory) in mid-republican Roman society, which is clearly one of the very fundamentals for a specifically Roman distinction. A similar quest for what is distinctively/essentially Roman characterizes the two following chapters on art and literature: "Art and Architecture in the Roman Republic" by Katherine E. Welch (pp. 496–542) and "Literature" by William W. Batstone (pp. 543–63).

The last section of the volume, Part VII, *Controversies*, introduces the reader to a series of especially hotly debated issues in current scholarship on the Roman Republic. Arthur M. Eckstein, in "Conceptualizing Roman Imperial Expansion under the Republic: An Introduction" (pp. 567–89), discusses Roman imperialism in the light of contending conceptual frameworks. The social consequences of rapidly changing patterns in the rural economy of Italy, and of the conquest and Romanization of the peninsula, are dealt with in the two chapters "The Economy: Agrarian Change During the Second Century" by Luuk de Ligt (pp. 590–605) and "Rome and Italy" by John R. Patterson (pp. 606–24). In the last chapter of the book, "The Transformation of the Republic" (pp. 625–37), the two editors address the developments which led to the Principate as an immediate continuation of the previous system (and not the "fall" of the Roman Republic, which is the canonical view). Though each and every contribution to this section constitutes a very good piece of scholarly work, I only wonder why they have been grouped together at the end of the volume, hidden as it were under a rather uninformative heading, and not assigned to any of the previous thematic blocks. At any rate, the necessity felt to identify a separate group of controversial issues seems somewhat odd in the light of the many discussions, throughout the volume, which document the normal presence of a wide range of contending interpretations.

This Blackwell Companion, which offers a very good overview of much of the evidentiary basis for and the current concerns of Roman Republican Studies, concludes with an extensive *Bibliography* (pp. 638–93) and a (General) *Index* (pp. 695–737).

Kaj Sandberg

MICHAEL P. FRONDA: *Between Rome and Carthage*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-51694-5. XXVIII, 374 pp. GBP 60, USD 99.

Whereas much has been thought and written about the aftermath and long-term consequences of the Second Punic War in southern Italy, there has been considerably less attention paid to the regions in question during the very course of that conflict. Providing a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the whole area during those eventful decades, this volume constitutes a valuable attempt at filling that relative void in scholarship.

Though "southern Italy" is not absolutely self-evident as a geographic concept, and is not defined by the author at any point, the specific setting soon becomes clear enough. It is largely defined by Hannibal's presence in Italy and by the theaters of war after the Battle of Cannae. The whole political and military situation, and much of the historical background, is presented in a substantial "Introduction" (chapter 1, pp. 1–99), in which also the sources and the methodological problems are dealt with (pp. 5–13).

The fundamental question posed in the book is why some Italic communities decided to side with the Carthaginian intruder, while others preferred to stay loyal to Rome. This problem is addressed in a series of chapters (nos. 2–5) dedicated to particular regions: "Apulia" (pp. 53–99), "Campania" (pp. 100–47), "Bruttium and western Magna Graecia" (pp. 148–87) as well as "Southern Lucania and eastern Magna Graecia" (pp. 188–233). Throughout these inquiries the author considers the particular political, diplomatic, military and economic factors that influenced the decisions of the individual communities he examines. In doing so he also employs the methods of modern political science as well as current models of interstate relations. Examining the motivations of the various communities the author makes several intriguing observations, not just about the warfare of the two last decades of the third century BCE, but also about the Romans' relations with their allies during the preceding two centuries of military expansion.

In chapter 6, entitled "The Roman reconquest of southern Italy", the author analyzes the developments which brought the peninsula back under the dominion of Rome. In chapter 7, "Conclusion", there are many interesting discussions; the author summarizes the observations he has made about local conditions and the Roman genius, discusses interstate rivalry in the light of realist (and neorealist) theory and also considers – in three hypothetical scenarios – whether Hannibal could have won. The formal conclusion is followed by four appendices (A–D) on "The war in Samnium, 217–209" (pp. 331–3), on the "Chronology of events in Bruttium, 215" (pp. 334–6), on the "Chronology of events from the defection of Taras through the defection of Thurii, 213–212" (pp. 337–9) and on the "Defection of the Southern Lucanians, 212" (pp. 340–1). The volume concludes with an extensive "Bibliography" (pp. 342–64) and a general "Index" (pp. 365–74).

Well-written and carefully researched, the volume offers many novel and interesting insights into the nature of Roman imperialism and hegemony in Italy as well as into local conditions in the southern parts of the peninsula, along with ample documentation of relevant research. It provides a valuable synthesis of recent archaeological explorations and makes a wide range of regional and site-specific material more accessible. Fifteen maps provide up-to-date information on the locations and geographic features (such as civic boundaries, hydration systems, roads and navigable rivers) of the cities which were involved in the Second Punic War.

Kaj Sandberg

MATTHIAS GELZER: *Pompeius. Lebensbild eines Römers*. Neudruck der Ausgabe von 1984. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2005. ISBN 3-515-08474-6. 247 S., 3 Karten. EUR 29.

Es handelt sich um einen Neudruck des ersten Nachdruckes der zweiten überarbeiteten Auflage der Pompeius-Biographie des großen Althistorikers. Gelzers Buch ist ein Klassiker geworden, und der Verlag hat einen großen Dienst dadurch erwiesen, dass er das Werk wieder für den Buchmarkt erhältlich stellt.

Die Betreuerin des Neudruckes Elisabeth Herrmann-Otto liefert zuerst einen Forschungsbericht zu diesem Buch für den Zeitraum 1984–2004 und dann eine kurze Vorbemerkung.

kung zum Nachdruck. Man muss dem Verlag und der Bearbeiterin dafür dankbar sein, dass Gelzers Klassiker wieder auf vorzügliche Weise dem Publikum bereitgestellt worden ist.

Heikki Solin

GIOVANNI FORNI: *Le tribù romane. I. Tribules*. Volume terzo, L-S. Historica 7. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2007. ISBN 978-88-7689-223-0. 400 pp. EUR 180.

This is the third volume of *tribules* which together form Part I of Forni's monograph series on Roman tribes, a series the first volume of which, on "pseudo-tribes", was published back in 1985. The first two *tribules* volumes were published in 1996 and 1999. These volumes are intended to collect all persons for whom a tribe is attested. To be honest, the scale of the presentation of the information strikes me as rather grand, but it must be admitted that we are dealing with extremely useful information. It is, however, also true that the information might have been presented in a more economical way; for instance, I wonder whether it was really useful to cite the whole text of long inscriptions such as those pertaining to L. Minicius Natalis (M 565), sometimes accompanied by long footnotes (15 lines in n. 257 meant to furnish a bibliography for the same Natalis, useful in itself but not really needed to illustrate the fact that this is a man from Barcino in the Galeria; instead, the year of the man's consulate could have been added). Quite a lot of space could also have been saved by giving references only to standard publications, omitting the earlier, rather obscure ones (thus, e.g., in P 77, where one wonders whether a reference to the fact that the inscription can also be found in the monograph of J. Ocaña Torrejon, "*Hist. de la villa de Pedroche y de su comarca*" of 1962 is really needed).

As in the earlier *tribules* volumes, the persons appearing here are listed in alphabetical order and have all a number of their own (e.g., "P 77", above); there are also numbers without persons (e.g., L 21, M 596, S 556) which may indicate that in the case of certain persons Forni had second thoughts about whether a tribe is really attested for them (the centurion in S 386 should, I think, have been added to persons of this category). As for the alphabetical order, I am not sure this is the ideal solution, for at least in the case of more common nomina I feel that the persons should have been listed in the order of their tribes (e.g., Pompeii in Aem., Pompeii in Ani., etc.), for most users of this book will probably want to find out whether a particular tribe is found among persons with a particular *nomen* (as it stands, someone looking for a Pompeius of the tribe Poblilia will have to start studying the Pompeii at P 421, and will find a suitable Pompeius only more than one hundred Pompeii later at P 523).

This is of course only a minor complaint, as it is obvious that this is an important work which will be of great service to scholars interested in these matters. It must, however, be observed that the author died already in 1991 (this book has thus been prepared for publication by the author's daughter Giovanna Maria Forni), from which it follows that publications later than the late 1980s do not appear here (thus, no trace, e.g., of the two Ninnii in the Sergia calling themselves *Marsi* attested in Ephesus, *AE* 1999, 1575, or of the additions registered as *CIL* VI 41108 to the inscription cited in L 9). But it seems a bit worrying that there are also sources which were available to Forni that he seems to have ignored; for instance, I do not seem to be able to locate the Mucius in the Galeria mentioned by Pliny (*nat.* 7, 163) or the Safinius in the Velina in *IGR* IV 961 (now *IG* XII 6, 2, 709). But it is of course understandable that no-one can

be expected to be in command of the whole range of sources at our disposal.

This is a very well produced book – I observed misprints only at L 40 (surely *v(ir) ornatus* rather than *ortus*), L 195, M 184, P 361, and P 422 – and should be acquired by every scholarly library meant to cover the fields of epigraphy and Roman institutions.

Olli Salomies

JÖRG RÜPKE: *Fasti sacerdotum. A Prosopography of Pagan, Jewish, and Christian Religious Officials in the City of Rome, 300 BC to AD 499*. Translated by DAVID M. B. RICHARDSON. Oxford University Press, Oxford – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-19-929113-7. VIII, 1107 pp. GBP 335.

This is the English translation of the same author's *Fasti sacerdotum. Die Mitglieder der Priesterschaften und das sakrale Funktionspersonal römischer, griechischer, orientalischer und jüdisch-christlicher Kulte in der Stadt Rom von 300 v. Chr. bis 499 n. Chr.*, published in three volumes in 2005. As the subtitle indicates, only officials "in the City of Rome" are included, but the net is cast wide to include, e.g., *Laurentes Lavinates* and a *sacerdos Caeninensis* operating in Mantua (no. 1601). The net is cast wide also in the case various Christian "religious officials"; I find it hard to imagine that there will be someone who is interested both in republican patrician *pontifices* and Christian fifth-century *fossores* (e.g., no. 1249, 1636) or *ostiarum* at the *coemeterium Marcellini et Petri* (no. 1562), but certainly it is good to have all this information collected and digested and furnished with good indexes. All persons recognized as having been "religious officials" have a number (the numbering ends, as in the original German edition, at 3590), but there are also many persons (and Caligula's horse, p. 667) without numbers, either because these persons cannot be regarded as having held a religious office, or because they held one outside the capital (e.g., Gabbesius in *ICVR* 23005 on p. 703). Many fictional? persons are also listed.

In the beginning, there are some chapters of introductory material, in part reproducing *mutatis mutandis* Rüpke's earlier articles (e.g., nos. 6, 7). There is much of interest here, e.g., chapter 6 on the *calatores* (reflecting senatorial priests) in AD 101 and 102 and the section dealing with the question "Was the *pontifex maximus* a priest?" (p. 61ff.). What is somewhat striking is that these chapters – i.e., nos. 5–8 (sections 1–4 are of another type), occupying altogether 42 pages – represent only a selection of the material that one finds in vol. 3 of the German edition, with more than 250 pages of observations of varying length dealing with a great number of questions related to priests and religion. One wonders why only a small part of all this was considered worthy of being translated.

The core of the work consists of the annual lists, beginning in 300 BC (priests and others attested before that date are listed in the beginning on p. 69, and have entries of their own, without numbers, in the biographical section) and ending in AD 499. This takes up almost 400 pages, and a further 500 pages are taken up by biographies of the individuals attested as priests (*vel sim.*), the numbering of the entries ending (as mentioned above) at 3590 (but there are in fact more entries, cf. above). This section is followed by the extremely useful "Membership tables" (with lists, e.g., of all known augurs). At the end, there is a bibliography and very detailed indexes.

In the annual lists, there is an entry for each year, each entry furnishing a list of religious officials attested in that particular year, the *rex sacrorum*, if known, apparently always coming first, followed by the *pontifex maximus*. The earliest Christian official mentioned here seems to be the presbyter Pios (i.e., Pius I, traditionally regarded as the ninth pope), appearing in the lists from 136 onwards (his successor Anicetus, listed from 151 onwards, is the earliest pope referred to as "episcopus"). Obviously, there are very often problems in attaching a certain person to a certain year, especially in the imperial period, and so the exact dates supplied here can in very many cases only be regarded as conjectural; for those for whom no certain year can be suggested there are, however, also entries of the type "Second quarter of the 1st century BC / Late Republic" (p. 119), "High Empire (mid 2nd to the beginning of the 4th century AD)" (p. 270), or even "3rd/4th century AD" (p. 331).

As for the biographies, these normally contain a date, a mention of the religious office and other biographical data, references to the sources and to secondary literature (mainly to literature – e.g., prosopographical works – dealing with priests); sometimes various problems are discussed in footnotes. Polyonymous persons are normally listed not under their "main" *nomen*, but under the first *nomen* (cf. p. 20); thus we find a consul usually known as "Pompeius Falco" listed (no. 2920), and referred to (p. 371 n. 1), as a Roscius. In the case of fragmentary names, the fact that they are fragmentary is not always indicated. From this it follows that some of the persons listed have names which seem fairly implausible (e.g., no. 1539, "Eronius C. f. Varus" coming between Erasinus and Eros; surely we are rather dealing with, e.g., a [C. F]erionius; for another man without praenomen but with filiation see no. 2723). Names are normally listed in the form they appear in the sources which means that "vulgar" forms may turn up in unexpected places, e.g., "Habundantius" and "Habundius" appearing not under A but under H; similar cases are, e.g., Iubentius, Klemens, Pascasius (separated by Pascentius from Paschasius), Serbusdei (coming between Serapion and Serenus), Suaetrius. Aurelius Biaturinus (no. 811) comes after M. Aurelius Bassus, with a note saying that *Aurelius* has been abbreviated; one wonders whether it might not have been added that what we have here is in fact a vulgar form of *Viatorinus*.

The translation in general seems solid (although some items seem to have been left untranslated, e.g., "Diana-Tempel" on p. 69); but there are cases in which the English seem a bit awkward or even misleading. Note, e.g., p. 521 n. 5, a note explaining "suffect consulate", "This [= the consulate, apparently] is favoured with first position in the inscription" (etc.), which corresponds to "Das [the consulate] erscheint in der chronologisch absteigend geordneten Inschrift vorgezogen an erster Stelle", where "vorgezogen" seems to mean not "favoured" but "placed first" (*vel sim.*). Note also, e.g., no. 995 "Aurelian period" (i.e., that of the emperor Aurelian; cf. "post-Diocletian period" no. 2982); no. 2071 "from a Pergamum consular family". One also wonders about "saliat" in no. 664. On the other hand, sometimes an obscure formulation is a rendering of an obscure expression in the original (e.g., no. 573, "A praetorian and *praefectus* was co-opted" standing for "Kooptiert wurde ein Prätorier und Praefectus frumenti dandi", where the words "er als" seem to have been omitted by mistake after "wurde"; no. 1326 n. 4, "Final honorific inscription" corresponding to "Letzte Ehreninschrift", where "späteste" might have been more clear).

In a work of this scale it is obviously not possible to avoid all mistakes or misformulations (for a misspelling, note that the famous Italian epigraphist Borghesi is constantly referred to as "Borghese"). Let me point out here a few details which I think might need to be corrected

or reformulated. No. 704 n. 3 "Membership of the *tresviri stlitibus iudicandis* indicates that the career belongs to the last years of the third century" (similarly in the German edition); this is mysterious, for *triumviro* (sic, not *tresviro*) in the inscription must be a mistake, and certainly cannot be used to date the inscription in this way (although the date may in fact be correct). No. 746: in the *Fasti Septempedani* (*AE* 1998, 419, not quoted here), the consul of 81 appears as "*M. (not C.) Asinius Pollio Verruc(osus)*". No. 1021: if this man was *salius Palatinus*, he should have been labelled a patrician (similar cases in no. 2084 and in no. 2723, a *salius Collinus*; on the other hand, Pliny the Younger in no. 2730 is not designated as plebeian; and there is also L. Pinarius Natta, member of a rather obscure patrician *gens*, but called a plebeian in no. 2711). No. 1252: scholars nowadays agree that the associate of P. Clodius was called Sex. Cloedius, not "Clodius" (as demonstrated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey; no trace of this in the entry). No. 1255: shouldn't it be *sodalis Titius* rather than *sodalis Titii* (this expression also in no. 2788)? No. 2722: a man known as "A. Platorius Nepos" cannot be identified with someone referred to as "C. Licinius Pollio" even if his full nomenclature might have included the sequence "C. Licinius Pollio" (n. 4 to this entry is, by the way, fairly obscure). No. 3239 (Galeo Tettienus Severus) n. 6: "older ('ältere' in the original; I think that 'earlier' might have been better) inscriptions do not mention the pontificate"; but the "older" inscriptions pertaining to this man are Greek inscriptions from Asia referring to this man as proconsul and cannot be expected also to have mentioned the pontificate, and besides these, there is (in addition to *ILS* 1027 used in this entry) only one inscription which can be furnished with a date of sorts, namely *CIL* V 5813 (set up after the proconsulate of Asia) which, though not cited here, does mention the pontificate as well (the first line must be *consul(i), po[nt(ifici)]*). No. 3466: in n. 2, there is an obscure reference to an "above identification".

Of course these are only minor details, and the fact that I am pointing out a few such details should by no means not be interpreted as implying that I am unhappy with this book. On the contrary, I consider it a major achievement and a milestone in prosopographical studies. No doubt this book will be of great service to an equally great number of scholars and students.

Olli Salomies

MARIE-LAURENCE HAACK: *Prosopographie des haruspices romains*. Biblioteca di "Studi Etruschi" 42. Istituto nazionale di studi etruschi ed italici. Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali, Pisa – Roma 2006. ISBN 88-8147-425-5 (b.), 88-8147-424-7 (r.). 217 pp. EUR 195 (b), 295 (r).

Marie-Laurence Haack has published her doctoral thesis (Université Paris IV Sorbonne, 2000) on the Roman *haruspices* in two important volumes, *Les haruspices dans le monde romain*, (*Scripta Antiqua* 6; Bordeaux: Ausonius 2006), offering the necessary historical introduction and conclusion to this prosopography. In this volume, after a short introductory note, she lists 110 (plus 11 without preserved name) *haruspices* known from literary or epigraphical sources. For all of them, she gives the full text of the source and its translation, extensive bibliography, analysis of the text, possible (but very rare) other references to the person and his career, and finally the approximate date for the person. She still gives a list of 21 other persons, for whom

she does not accept the position as a *haruspex*, mainly on good grounds (for *Aemilius Petensis*, I cannot fully accept her doubts). The volume is completed with a bibliography of 22 pages and indices of no fewer than 45 pages!

There is no doubt about the expertise of the author on the subject, and her general scholarly background is sufficient for prosopographical work. She is not an epigrapher, which becomes apparent in the occasional mistakes, e.g., in supplementing *C(naei)* (p. 102) or *arh[e]s[pex]* instead of *arh(e)s(pex)* (p. 34). But more crucial is the question of who needs a prosopography of 121 Roman *haruspices*, separated from the historical study based on this material? I understand problems of getting a thesis published, but it would certainly have been much more economical to have this prosopography included in the aforementioned historical study, which, in any case, is needed for an understanding of the position of individual *haruspices*.

Jorma Kaimio

JOEL ALLEN: *Hostages and Hostage-Taking in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2006. ISBN 978-0-521-86183-0. XIV, 291 pp. GBP 48.00, USD 80.

Joel Allen has written a book about hostages, an important subject, but, as the author notes in his introduction, one that is difficult to define. Also, the ominous connotations of the word "hostage" as used today contrast with hostages of the ancient world as an established "political" practice. Allen approaches the subject of hostages and hostage-taking in the Roman world employing a discursive approach and taking the accounts and stories written between 200 B.C.E to 200 CE concerning hostages and hostage-taking as his source material. He produces his own definition for hostages in the context of the study in the form of a "type" that consists of different dependent people, or more specifically: "young, elite figures who crossed into another world, were technically autonomous, yet betokened the subordinate role in a hegemonic, reciprocal relationship" (p. 22) thus widening the discussion from the formal *obsides* to a much larger group. He then examines this group of people through six categories of relationships: Creditor-Collateral; Host-Guest; Conqueror-Trophy; Father-Son; Teacher-Student and Masculine-Feminine followed by two separate discussions first on Polybius and then on Tacitus. The chapter on Polybius in particular is very interesting.

The relational categories themselves are useful for approaching the evidence and conceptualizing the phenomenon. The typology of different potential dimensions and political uses of being a hostage is well founded but at times casts a slightly modernizing view on the sources. Indeed, the discussion is somewhat marred by the vagueness of the term (or "type") "hostage" itself as used by Allen. All examples that can be categorized among the functional categories are put there without too much consideration of their status as presented in the sources. At times representatives of Allen's definition of hostages (his "type") are as easily traditional *obsides*, defeated enemies taken prisoner, or even students of Roman culture – hostages of Rome's powerful culture. Even if the sources are imprecise and vague, the ancient terms of hostages, which reflect ancient understandings, should have been given more consideration. Perhaps a reflection on what "Roman" types are to be found mostly in which category of relationship could have given rise to some additional conclusions. At the very least one would have

hoped for a comparison of the Roman system of hostages and hostage-taking with others that existed in the ancient world. A more thorough contextualizing would have added to the value of this interesting study.

Allen earns credit for focusing on hostages, an issue often neglected in the study of Roman history. Allen's approach by relational category is an illuminating one. He succeeds in throwing interesting light on the mindset of the Roman elite culture and its ways of negotiating and producing its power. The proofreading and copyediting of the book is of consistently high quality.

Joonas Sipilä

ARAM TOPCHYAN: *The Problem of the Greek Sources of Movsēs Xorenac'i's History of Armenia*. Hebrew University Armenian Studies 7. Peeters, Leuven 2006. ISBN 978-90-429-1662-3. X, 145 pp. EUR 42.

The penetration and continuation of Classical Greek literature among other ancient cultures, and especially among the eastern ones, is an interesting topic. Aram Topchyan's fascinating book examines the level of this cultural phenomenon in early medieval Armenian society as it can be discovered between the lines in one of the earliest Armenian historiographical works. The subject under investigation is a complicated compilation of local legends and proper sources written by one Movsēs Xorenac'i, who himself claimed to have been a member of the Armenian clergy in the mid-fifth century, but this, like so much of his writing, remains doubtful.

Until now Movsēs has been usually disregarded as a possible source for serious research due to the almost incomprehensible nature of his work, where fictional legends are intertwined with historical events. For the same reason all the claims by Movsēs of using genuine Greek sources has been categorically refuted as an intentional falsification and the names of the sources are usually seen as just copied from the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. It is this categorical denial of even the possibility that some of Movsēs' named sources could actually have been used that Topchyan puts under the microscope.

Proceeding from the introduction (pp. 1–15) to the subject at hand, Topchyan examines in the first chapter (pp. 17–64) some references to the Greek sources related to the earliest history of the Armenians. Four alleged sources – Berossus, Alexander Polyhistor, Abydenus, and Cephalion – are examined in equal fashion. First, a short description is provided of all the four authors accompanied with an introduction to the dominant view which sees all the references to the named sources as just interpolations from Eusebius' *Chronicle*. This is followed by a systematic textual comparison of Xorenac'i's references to the named sources and the Armenian version of Eusebius' *Chronicle*. In many cases Topchyan is able to demonstrate that Movsēs' text differs from the version given by Eusebius and is in fact closer to other sources like Syncellus, who actually made use of the said authors. The discoveries are noteworthy and the argumentation in favor of Movsēs having access to the authors themselves is compelling. As a possible solution and compromise, Topchyan suggests at the end of the chapter that the information may have reached Armenia in a collection of excerpts, which in my opinion could very well explain the fragmentary nature of the references and the textual correspondence with

the similar Byzantine excerpts.

The second chapter (pp. 65–100) examines Movsēs' claim to have used the *Universal Chronicle* of Iulius Africanus extensively in his section dealing with the Artaxiad dynasty of Armenia. As in the previous chapter, Topchyan begins his examination with a short introduction to Africanus and with a more detailed presentation of the argumentation used by earlier scholars in favor of the view that all of Movsēs' references to Africanus actually originated from either Josephus' *Jewish War* or Eusebius' *Chronicle*. To demonstrate that this dominant view is based on erroneous interpretations, Topchyan examines in detail the information given by Xorenac'i and the precise nature of the terminology used and sentence construction. In many cases, Topchyan is able to show that Movsēs' version contains information not found in either Josephus or in Eusebius, but strong similarities can be discovered in other sources which are known to have used Africanus as a source. It would thus seem quite certain, as Topchyan himself says, that Movsēs was able to use Africanus to a certain degree either directly or indirectly, and that the previous opinion, that all such references are just interpolations from Eusebius, cannot be upheld any longer.

The third chapter (pp. 100–16) deals with Movsēs' claim to have used an otherwise unknown historiographical narrative by Firmilian. Again, Topchyan gives a short presentation of Firmilian, the reference to his work(s) in Xorenac'i and the currently held explanations for the references. Much of the chapter deals with the possibility that Firmilian could in fact have written a work that might have included some historiographical information. The main issue in the polemic has been the discussion about Peter, the sixteenth bishop of Alexandria, by Movsēs as originating from the Firmilian "narrative", which Topchyan attempts to explain to have originated from a confusion of sources used by Xorenac'i. In the end, Topchyan concedes that this issue must remain uncertain, although the opinion now current is clearly not without problems. The book also contains a short observation of the implications (pp. 117–20) these results will have on further studies, an appendix (pp. 121–6) dealing with the quotations from Abydenus, an extensive bibliography (pp. 127–40) and an index (pp. 141–5).

In a time when the Greek and Latin literary sources are more or less completely known it is refreshing to discover that there still are some unexplored areas which may provide new perspectives for further studies. In addition, for a scholar not acquainted with the previous research published in modern Armenian or Russian, the book provides a thorough insight into the polemic at hand. The book is also a delightful reminder that although some sources seem rather confused and erratic they may still contain some precise and useful information. Indeed, it is quite possible that Movsēs' narrative may yet provide more information than first meets the eye.

Kai Juntunen

A Companion to Greek and Roman Political Thought. Edited by RYAN K. BALOT. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester – Malden 2008. ISBN 978-1-4051-5143-6. 688 pp. GBP 95, EUR 114.

Just five years ago, in this periodical (*Arctos* 39 [2005] 242–243), I published a review of a volume edited by C. Rowe and M. Schofield, *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought* (Cambridge 2000), which I hailed as "the very first general and comprehensive

treatment of its subject in the English language". Here we have another multi-authored tome, in that very same language, dedicated to Greek and Roman political thought. The "history of" element is not present in the title of this enterprise, but this absence does not *a priori* announce a major difference in scope – given that the entire subject matter is hard to deal with in any other manner than diachronically.

The obvious way to begin a review of this book, competently edited by Ryan K. Balot, is to compare its organization with that of its predecessor. The defining characteristic of the *Cambridge Companion* was its very broad and inclusive conception of *political thought*, as opposed merely to *political theory*. Expressly stressing the evident fact that it is possible to think and reflect politically without doing so in a systematic or philosophical manner, the volume is not concerned exclusively with the renowned political works of antiquity. These receive their due share of attention, but the book effectively provides a chronological scrutiny of much of the corpus of Greek and Roman authors in its quest for political thinking and reasoning. The range of literature is striking: included are poets such as Homer, Hesiod and Tyrtaeus, early natural philosophers, the great names of the Greek classical period, the historians, philosophers and jurists of the Roman Empire as well as fourth-century Christian and pagan writers reflecting on divine and human order. This range is matched by the sheer diversity of the contributions, in terms of approach, scope and overall objectives.

The present volume, which is expressly designed to introduce "the central concepts of Greek and Roman political thought to students and teachers of political science, classics, philosophy and history" (p. 3), is arranged in a strictly topical fashion. According to the editor, this kind of approach – by contrast to an author-by-author and chronological approach – "is far better suited to bringing out both the historical specificity of classical political thought, and its potential to be fruitfully set into dialogue with modern political practices, ideologies and theories" (p. 15). As a result, the centre of gravity of the whole volume is the canonical philosophers, especially Plato and Aristotle (p. 17).

The book consists of altogether thirty-four chapters (all written by scholars associated with American or, in some cases, British universities) grouped into eight main sections (Parts I–VIII), each addressing a specific aspect of political thought.

The first part, entitled *The Broad View*, contains eight contributions of introductory character. In several of these Greek (Athenian) and Roman conditions are compared. In the formal preamble, "Introduction: Rethinking the history of Greek and Roman political thought" (pp. 3–19), the editor defines the themes of the book and provides much of the general conceptual framework; there is also a whole section, within the chapter, on the "significant editorial choices" that has guided the conception of the volume. Another entry of equally fundamental character is Dean Hammer's discussion "What is politics in the Ancient World?" (pp. 20–36). The following chapters all deal with more specific topics. One of the single most important discussions of the whole book is undoubtedly Kurt A. Raaflaub's contribution, "Early Greek political thought in its Mediterranean context" (pp. 37–56), in which new ground is being broken. Summarizing some of the preliminary results of research that he has himself organized across disciplinary boundaries, involving intensive and focused collaboration between specialists in various fields, Raaflaub discusses the emergence and early evolution of Greek political thought against a background of cultural transfers and interactions involving the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean, including the ancient cultures of the Near East. An interesting preliminary result pertains to two basic values in later democratic ideology: while there seem to be

Eastern influences in legal thought, the ideas of freedom and equality appear to be genuinely Greek novelties. There are five more chapters in this section of the volume, all of them offering good reflections on interesting themes: "Civic ideology and citizenship" by P. J. Rhodes (pp. 57–69), "Public action and rational choice in classical Greek political theory" by Josiah Ober (pp. 70–84), "Imperial ideologies, citizenship myths, and legal disputes in classical Athens and Republican Rome" by Craige B. Champion (pp. 85–99), "Gendered politics, or the self-praise of *andres agathoi*" by Giulia Sissa (pp. 100–17) and "The religious contexts of ancient political thought" by Robin Osborne (pp. 118–30).

The second part, *Democracies and Republics*, is concerned with various forms of popular rule. It is constituted of six chapters, of which at least two provide rewarding reading also for people outside specialist circles. The first one is Peter Liddel's discussion "Democracy ancient and modern" (pp. 133–48), which provides a good overview of a most fundamental theme, namely that of democracy itself and how ancient and modern democratic values relate to each other. The second one is Robert W. Wallace's chapter on "Personal freedom in Greek democracies, republican Rome and modern liberal states" (pp. 164–77), which deals with another central topic with a similar outlook. The rest of the contributions inevitably have less universal appeal, but are thematically relevant and in every respect important pieces: "'Rights', individuals and communities in Ancient Greece" by Paul Cartledge and Matt Edge (pp. 149–163), "The mixed constitution in Greek thought" by David E. Hahm (pp. 178–198), "Republican virtues" by Malcolm Schofield (pp. 199–213) and "Roman democracy?" by W. Jeffrey Tatum (pp. 214–27).

The discussions on democracy in the Ancient World are followed, in part three, by entries dealing with its opposite. This section of the book, entitled *The Virtues and Vices of One-Man Rule*, contains three chapters which take the reader from the Age of Tyranny (as represented in later Greek traditions) via the Hellenistic Monarchy (shown to be a specific political category of monarchy, applicable to the whole range of the kingdoms in question) to the Roman Empire: "The uses and abuses of tyranny" by Sara Forsdyke (pp. 231–46), "Hellenistic monarchy in theory and practice" by Arthur M. Eckstein (pp. 247–65) and "The ethics of autocracy in the Roman World" by Carlos F. Noreña (pp. 266–79).

Part four, *The Passions of Ancient Politics*, contains three chapters dealing with political psychology or with political performances as sociological phenomena: "Political animals: Pathetic animals" by Giulia Sissa (pp. 283–93), "Anger, Eros, and other political passions in ancient Greek thought" by Paul W. Ludwig (pp. 294–307) and "Some passionate performances in late Republican Rome" by Robert A. Kaster (pp. 308–20).

Part five, entitled *The Athens of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle*, is the only section of the book which is dedicated to a specific political milieu. Though I have no objection whatever to the introduction of this particular theme, I should note that there is no corresponding treatment of any period of the Roman Republic later on, which could perhaps have been anticipated. The editor would do well, in a possible second edition of the book, to pair this section with a group of entries addressing themes pertaining to the Rome of Cicero and Caesar. At any rate, this section contains good and stimulating discussions. After Debra Nails' chapter on "The trial and death of Socrates" (pp. 323–38) the focus is on individual works and authors: "The politics of Plato's *Socrates*" by Rachana Kamtekar (pp. 339–52), "Freedom, tyranny, and the political man: Plato's *Republic* and *Gorgias*. A study in contrasts" by Arlene W. Saxonhouse (pp. 353–66), "Plato on the sovereignty of law by Zena Hitz (pp. 367–81), "'Naturalism' in Aristotle's

political philosophy" by Timothy Chappell (pp. 382–98) and "The ethics of Aristotle's *Politics* by David J. Depew (pp. 399–418).

In part six, *Constructing Political Narrative*, the interdependences between a set of narrative genres – biography, history, philosophy (including, of course, the political dialogues) and drama – are explored in connection with certain ideas of politics, which were often embodied as traits in the character of political leaders: "Imitating virtue and avoiding vice: Ethical functions of biography, history and philosophy" by Charles W. Hedrick, Jr (pp. 421–39), "Greek drama and political thought" by John Gibert (pp. 440–55), "Character in politics" by Philip A. Stadter (pp. 456–70).

Part seven, *Antipolitics*, is dedicated to political thought attributable to exponents of the cosmopolitan ambiances of the Hellenistic World and the Roman Empire, as opposed to the narrow frameworks provided by the traditional Greek *polis* or the *res publica* of the Roman Republic. As David Konstan demonstrates, in an intriguing chapter entitled "Cosmopolitan traditions" (pp. 473–84), a distinct cosmopolitan way of thinking emerged in the fourth century BCE and is attested throughout the imperial period, by which time the universal hegemony of Rome had facilitated the emergence of humankind as a conceptual category. Also the two other contributions, respectively on withdrawal from an active political life and on Augustine's political ideas, provide stimulating reading: "False idles: The politics of the 'Quiet Life'" by Eric Brown (pp. 485–500), "Citizenship and signs: Rethinking Augustine on the Two Cities" by Todd Breyfogle (pp. 501–26).

The final part of the book, *Receptions*, contains a mere two chapters. Considering how much political thinkers and actors of the modern period have cited and pondered classical authors, along with actual conditions in the Ancient World, there would certainly have been plenty more to say. That being said, this section provides good discussions on two interesting topics. In the first one, "Republicanism: Ancient, medieval and beyond" (pp. 529–41), Christopher Nadon examines post-classical notions of republicanism, a theme which is central to the reception of ancient politics, both expressly as 'thought' and as models. However much the present generations have been accustomed to celebrate Classical Athens as the cradle of democracy, the great example of popular rule for the modern world has been the Roman Republic (though modern republican ideologies have also absorbed ideas presented by Aristotle and other Greek writers). In the second discussion, "Twentieth Century Revivals of Ancient Political Thought: Hannah Arendt and Leo Strauss" (pp. 542–56), Catherine H. Zuckert – writing about two political theorists who, in the wake of WWII, urged their contemporaries to turn to the writings of the Ancient World in order not to lose merely their liberty, but their very humanity – demonstrates the continuing relevance of ancient political thought.

The whole volume, which is warmly recommended to anyone interested in the politics and the political thought of the Ancient World, concludes with an extensive bibliography (*References*, pp. 557–619) followed by an *Index of Subjects* (pp. 620–49) and an *Index Locorum* (pp. 650–59).

Kaj Sandberg

S. CUOMO: *Technology and Culture in Greek and Roman Antiquity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2007. ISBN: 978-0-521-81073-9 (hb), 978-0-521-00903-4 (pb). XI, 212 pp. GBP 45, USD 85 (hb); GBP 16.99, USD 29.99 (pb).

Technology and culture in Greek and Roman antiquity by S. Cuomo reads like the dream assignment for every scholar: it is a somewhat eclectic collection of short studies on topics covering a period from the fifth century BC until late antiquity and ranging from Athens to Roman North Africa and Constantinople, and seems like the sort of luxury very few academics have the time or funding to research and publish nowadays. Fortunately, any jealousy should be offset by the recognition that Cuomo has used that luxury to produce a solid and enjoyable piece of work.

This monograph goes into little technical detail but instead deals with the professionals of the trade and how they were viewed by others and by themselves. The book consists of five chapters with very little in common. The first chapter discusses the definitions of *tekhne* in classical Athens or perhaps rather different attitudes towards *tekhne*. This creates the framework for the rest of the book and introduces one of the few themes permeating the whole work: the position of technicians (as Cuomo calls those in possession of *tekhne*) in antiquity. The second chapter or ministudy is dedicated to the Hellenistic military revolution, which Cuomo argues was a gradual and parallel development rather than a linear progression. The next chapter focuses on funerary monuments belonging to or alluding to craftsmen. Boundary disputes and the use of surveyors on one hand and officials on the other to solve them create the main focus of Chapter 4. Finally, the fifth chapter discusses architects, professional and otherwise, and their status in late antiquity.

While tackling interesting questions, *Technology and culture in Greek and Roman antiquity* is perhaps even more interesting because of the methodology it applies. Cuomo experiments with different source material: Chapters 1 and 2 use ancient authors, Chapter 3 archaeological material with an art historical approach, Chapter 4 makes use of inscriptions while the last chapter is a synthesis of written and archaeological sources. Similarly, the chapter on the definitions of *tekhne* concentrates on the classical period; the second chapter on the Hellenistic; the chapter on carpenters' squares on funerary monuments uses material from the first and early second centuries AD; the inscriptions on boundary disputes are mostly from the second century AD; and the last chapter spans from the third to the sixth centuries AD.

As is almost inevitable, the multitude of approaches and methods used leads to some unevenness in the quality of the arguments. To use Chapter 2 on the Hellenistic military revolution as an example, Cuomo makes simple yet sharp observations, noting, for example, how Diodorus Siculus fails to distinguish between torsion and non-torsion catapults and how this shows technological advancement was viewed differently: the milestones pointed out by modern historians were not necessarily considered to be such in antiquity. Instead, appearance in weapons is emphasized in the ancient sources at the cost of efficiency. In the same chapter, however, Cuomo speculates on the archaeological evidence for catapult stones versus stones rolled down from the walls by the besieged, but fails to mention whether these stones were found inside, outside or by the walls. Similarly, local variation in the material is seen as ruling out general tendencies in development – a claim bordering on the absurd to the ears of any archaeologist.

Despite the occasional leap in logic, *Technology and culture in Greek and Roman antiquity* is full of interesting ideas and does well in combating deeply ingrained but out-dated ideas. It is, ultimately, a study on the "other" so popular in classical studies nowadays, and aims to give voice to doctors, craftsmen and the architects who were not Vitruvius, to name but a few.

The only problem with *Technology and culture in Greek and Roman antiquity* is that it leaves the reader wanting more. Cuomo lists potential research ideas in her Conclusion, some enough for a good few doorstops (technology and economy), and some more fitting for a slimmer monograph (compasses in iconography). As it is, Cuomo does an admirable job in hopefully tempting more students and scholars from different fields to tackle these themes and, even more importantly, to cooperate and cross the lines between disciplines.

Elina M. Salminen

MARGO KITTS: *Sanctified Violence in Homeric Society. Oath-Making Rituals and Narratives in the Iliad*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2005. ISBN 0-521-84720-6. XIII, 372 pp. GBP 45, USD 75.

L'autrice del presente libro, attraverso la lettura dell'*Iliade* omerica, propone di analizzare alcuni temi di grande portata: scene rituali della poesia epica come metodi simbolici di comunicazione; atti di giuramento nella poesia omerica; epifanie divine nei campi di battaglia nell'*Iliade* come pure nelle tradizioni del Vicino Oriente. L'argomento più interessante riguarda alcune scene dei libri 3 e 19 dell'*Iliade* (in particolare nel Cap. III), nelle quali vengono paragonati i sacrifici del giuramento e le stragi dei guerrieri troiani: "It is intriguing that the victims who die gasping and panting like sacrificial lambs are on the Trojan side, given the Trojan culpability as perjurers of the oath in Book 3" (p. 156). Rimangono tuttavia difficilmente rintracciabili, nell'analisi della Kitts, le conseguenze di questa tesi per quanto riguarda l'accezione di tutta l'opera omerica. Benché lo stile e la presentazione degli argomenti a volte risultino poco chiari, si tratta ovviamente di un saggio innovativo che probabilmente susciterà diverse reazioni da parte degli studiosi della materia.

Mika Kajava

Nike. Ideologia, iconografia e feste della vittoria in età antica, a cura di DOMENICO MUSTI. Problemi e ricerche di storia antica 23. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2005. 358 pp. ISBN 88-8265-335-8. EUR 75.

In questo volume, curato da Domenico Musti, sono raccolti sette studi su alcuni aspetti della Nike e delle feste della vittoria nel mondo antico. Va notato tuttavia che quattro contributi sono riprodotti, con aggiunte, commenti e correzioni, da articoli anteriormente pubblicati in *RFIC* (rispettivamente, Musti 1–3 [1998–2000] e Marco Santucci sulle nozioni di pente-teride e trieteride [2002]). Purtroppo non vengono indicati i numeri di pagina degli articoli originali, come pure non sono chiaramente evidenziati i cambiamenti introdotti nel testo. Tre articoli escono qui per la prima volta: Musti 4 (su termini quali *isopythios*), Paola Stirpe

(sulle concomitanze temporali tra grandi feste panelleniche e feste di nuova istituzione di età ellenistico-romana) e, infine, un contributo firmato da Musti con i suoi due allievi, Santucci e Stirpe ("Da Calliseno di Rodi a Diodoro Pasparo: lo stile asiatico della 'grandezza'. Prove e controprove").

Benché il titolo del volume possa apparire leggermente fuorviante, in quanto non si tratta di uno studio complessivo sulla Nike e sulle manifestazioni, fisiche e altre, della ideologia della vittoria in età antica, sono inclusi temi decisamente interessanti, come l'equazione simbolica tra la Vittoria e la quadratezza ossia le varie idee e immagini derivate dal numero quattro (Musti 1). Tuttavia al lettore rimane la sensazione che il volume abbia preso spunto dalle molte critiche indirizzate verso le idee di Musti circa l'organizzazione e il ruolo dei *Nikephoria* di Pergamo (cfr. p. 104: "L'ironico commento di Jones" [*Chiron* 2000]; p. 120 n. 49: "Se io dovessi esercitare sul testo di Jones la stessa ironia, ..."; p. 149, a proposito del commento di Ph. Gauthier: "Mai un mio intervento è stato giudicato così negativamente in tutta la storia del *Bulletin épigraphique*", p. 155: "Più rispettoso ... l'intervento di H. Müller" [*Chiron* 2003]; p. 158: "Al limite del sarcasmo nei miei confronti il commento di H. W. Pleket in *SEG* 48, 1998, nr. 1484"; p. 160: "C'è da parte di Pleket, persino (*SEG* 49, 1999, nr. 1770), una velata intimidazione"). Non solo gli articoli Musti 2–4, in cui l'autore difende i suoi argomenti con fermezza e toni piuttosto vivaci, ma anche quelli di Santucci e Stirpe, sono tutti relativi ai problemi, cronologici o di altro stampo, connessi ai *Nikephoria* pergameni (sulla molto dibattuta cronologia di Diodoro Pasparo, vd. recentemente L. D'Amore, *RFIC* 137 [2009] 86sgg., sostenendo, con Musti, la datazione della sua ginnasiarchia al 125 a.C.). Anche se alcune idee avanzate da Musti e dalla sua équipe difficilmente troveranno consenso tra tutti gli studiosi (cfr. le osservazioni sugli aggettivi *isopythios*, *isolympios*, ecc., in cui, secondo la tesi di Musti, all'elemento *iso-* si potrebbe attribuire una valenza anche cronologica), il presente volume offre un dotto e ben documentato bilancio sulla questione non solo della festa pergamena ma anche di alcuni altri versi dell'idea della Vittoria nonché delle festività e degli agoni con essa collegati.

Mika Kajava

EUGENIA SALZA PRINA RICOTTI: *L'arte del convito nella Grecia antica. L'evoluzione del gusto da Achille ad Alessandro Magno (con ricette)*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2005. 163 pp. ISBN 88-8265-279-3. EUR 19.50.

Questo opuscolo, già tradotto in inglese (Getty Publications 2007), si presenta con lo scopo di fornire al lettore uno sguardo generale al cibo e alla cucina dei greci antichi. Nella prima parte del libro, vengono analizzati, tra le altre cose, usi e costumi omerici, vari tipi di banchetti (in famiglia, tra amici, nuziali, di lusso, simposio, ecc.) nonché gastronomie regionali. Purtroppo questa sezione è caratterizzata da un approccio maggiormente descrittivo e poco critico, che spesso non sa distinguere tra finzione letteraria e realtà; non sono assenti neppure errori di fatto. Riferimenti bibliografici alla ricerca moderna sono completamente omessi. La seconda parte è dedicata alle ricette ricavate, più o meno direttamente, dai *Deipnosophisti* di Ateneo o ricostruite attraverso altre fonti greche e latine (quali per es. Catone o Apicio). Anche qui si osservano errori e sviste, tuttavia le ricette, adattate per la cucina moderna, risultano molto appetitose e ragionevolmente realizzabili. Sono incluse le seguenti sezioni: pane e farinacei (9

ricette), antipasti (8), minestre e verdure (6), carne e interiora (10), pesce (34), desserts (37) e, alla fine, vari condimenti, odori e spezie.

Riguardo alla convivialità greca e ai rituali connessi con il cibo e il mangiare, per non parlare della storia dell'alimentazione nella Grecia antica, rimane decisamente necessario consultare altre opere, mentre questo libro mi pare che possa funzionare perfettamente nella cucina di oggi (sui gusti personali non si può discutere, però, la murena [p. 123] la cucinerei senza miele e menta, aggiungendo due capperi e un pizzico di prezzemolo, benché quest'ultimo, considerato come simbolo di morte, non sembra sia stato usato dai greci in cucina).

Mika Kajava

GRANT PARKER: *The Making of Roman India. Greek Culture in the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-85834-2. XV, 357 pp. GBP 55, USD 99.

Many regions and cultures that held a perpetual fascination for the Greeks and Romans seem remarkably less formidable today in terms of exoticism – just think of Britain, for instance – but for the western readership this is hardly the case with India. While the vigorous "occidentalism" and the *hyper Thoulēn apista* of classical literature barely survived the later cultural centrality of the formerly peripheral western lands, orientalism obviously enjoyed a much more prolonged and complicated *Nachleben* – the ramifications of which are still with us today, as should be clear to anyone who has so much as leafed through their Edward Said. The most unsettling corollary of this long-lived Indographic tradition is the possibility that certain themes and motifs (*topoi*) ultimately deriving from ancient literature have effectively been enshrined in the subsequent literary tradition. In extreme cases such images have wielded their influence unchallenged until a very recent time (e.g., the British Raj), and in some instances the modern observers still are prone to "know" things about India that were as confidently "known" by the Romans, and with almost as little factual basis to back this notional iconosphere up. Indeed, the imagined India is another prominent example of how little any actual contacts with the imagined community may change the entrenched and widely shared "xenology" concerning that community within a literary culture.

In this ambitious and erudite monograph Grant Parker addresses the creation, content, and reception of the Indian iconosphere among the ancients, particularly the Romans. Hence there is comparatively little to interest those who seek another study of the flow of goods between the Mediterranean world and South Asia; instead, any scholar of geographical and ethnographical tradition, cognitive aspects of the Indographic literary mode, and discourse of the exotic in ancient literature will find the book at hand a veritable treasure trove teeming with riches that greatly resemble the Asiatic ones that so captivated the Romans. The book is practically divided into three parts, all of which treat different aspects of the discourse on India: its creation, its features, and its contexts.

The introductory Part One consists of the necessary and fundamental early history of Indographic writing, as the subcontinent was first opened to Greek enquiry by the Achaemenid hegemony, and proceeds to map the impressions that north-western India left on Alexander's Greeks. One particularly worthy feature of these early chapters is the emphasis laid on the key

role of the Achaemenid Empire as not only a vehicle for Indography, but also its generator – something which Scylax of Caryanda well illustrates, but which is also retained as a useful framework for the discussion of Herodotus. Likewise, Ctesias' paradoxographic account and its problematic influence on the respectability of the genre is nicely examined (28–33) – though even more useful is the observation (17–8) that paradoxographic elements seem to have played a significant role already earlier. The relevant theoretical framework of climatic determinism from the Hippocratic *Airs, waters, places* onwards is carried along throughout the work.

Alexander's Indian sojourn is traditionally conceived as the formative kernel of Greco-Roman Indography. Parker, however, rightly stresses that besides deriving much from already existing representations, the Alexandrian Indography likewise cannot be clearly separated from, for instance, Megasthenes' stay at the court of Chandragupta Maurya. Such toning down of any postulated abrupt changes in "xenology" is very well justified. Importantly, from the Alexandrian period onwards stems the bulk of "knowledge" on the Indian ascetics and philosophical schools (39) with their unimpeachable alien wisdom – a theme which would become very influential throughout the western Indographic tradition. Of great worth is the brief but thoughtful reference (40) to the application of the theories of information gathering and the construction of knowledge to the Indographic writing. In this context, the theoretical framework of "middle ground" in the creation of ancient ethnographical knowledge might be of use for the study of India, too; at any rate, the concept has recently been applied to the processes of negotiating identities along the Imperial Rhine frontier, for instance by Greg Woolf. Part One also engages with the perpetually fascinating Greco-Bactrians and Indo-Greeks with a minimalist eye for potentially brewing scholarly myths (allowed by the enthusiasm of W. W. Tarn and others) that is most sobering.

Part Two, on the features of Indographic discourse (69–143), is structured around the twin registers of literary description (chapter 2) and visual depiction (chapter 3). Of these registers, description is accorded vastly more attention; it is examined in relation to the genres of sustained descriptive Indography, to its topics or contents, and – perhaps most usefully – to the various literary tropes and modes used in the descriptions. Though such technical aspects of Indography have been cursorily examined by, among others, James S. Romm in his *The Edges of the Earth* (1992, Princeton), Parker's more detailed and very up-to-date treatment will probably surpass the earlier classic in what it comes to the eastern reaches of the *oikoumenē*. The rest of the part 2 is occupied by chapter 3, devoted to the visual representations of India. While this section seems rather meager in comparison with the preceding one, the fact seems to derive more from the actual dearth of Indian iconography rather than from any authorial decision or personal inclination; on the contrary, among other valuable interpretations, Parker proposes a plausible explanation (143) for the strange lack of any visual depictions of Indian wise men (when compared with the influence of the literary *topos*).

Part Three, the longest of the subdivisions (147–307), treats the contexts of the discourse on India, divided into chapters on the commodities and the proverbial Indian riches (ch. 4), the imperial discourse of power, domination and universality (ch. 5), and the motif of wisdom and the existence of India as the epitome of holiness (ch. 6). Despite constantly drawing from archaeological data of Indo-Mediterranean trade, the chapter on commodities is solidly anchored on the literary texts, in both what they can tell us on the actual flow of goods and, even more interestingly, on the perceived provenance of much of the luxury commodities of Imperial Rome. The moralism and the rhetoric of power are there to be found, too, but the

valence of trading-related discourse on India to the Roman observers/consumers can hardly be overstated. Excitingly, some Indian sources to this exchange are moreover brought to contribute to the discussion: Tamil poems mentioning the beautiful ships of the *Yavana* (173) are just one example. The trade constituted a *topos* in the other end of the network, too.

In the next chapter Parker discusses the themes of dominion, imperial symbolism and providential universality, with a now-to-be-expected wide range of sources from Plato to Cosmas Indicopleustes. For the Roman discourse of imperial space, the crucial attribute of India was the fact that it lay definitely outside the *imperium* – unlike the formerly "exoticized" western lands. In this sense, India was ideal in perpetually anticipating the future glory of any *princeps* being eulogized; something which is affirmed time and again by plentiful passages from the authors, and which was elementally joined with the *imitatio Alexandri*. The Christianization of the empire did not really challenge the usefulness of India, as Parker points out in a fine sub-section (227–40), while some of the late imperial panegyrics are taken into account as well. Finally, as a crowning delight of the work, the theme of Indian wisdom and holiness is taken up (251–307) – arguably the most enduring legacy of Greco-Roman Indography. Unlike so many barbarian peoples that were characterized as impious, morally defective or just plain stupid, the Indians loom large as the mystified paradigm of righteousness, much like their predecessors and structural forebears, the Ethiopians of Homeric epic. Wide-ranging and erudite, the chapter weaves inspiring connections between the images of the Brahmans and Gymnosophists on the one hand, and the Cynic sages and Christian holy men on the other – hence explaining part of the enduring literary fascination with Indian philosophers, the quintessential "alien sages". Other similar groups, such as the Magi and the Druids, are largely left aside from the comparative dynamics, but this can hardly be criticized in a work of such scope.

The book is copiously annotated with a balanced and relevant apparatus of footnotes, with almost all crucial passages displayed in the original. In debating the earlier scholarship Parker does not exactly shy away from expressing his criticism, but does this in a courteous and reasoned fashion throughout. There are very few things that could have been improved on, but one such is the Index (355–57), which is sketchy and not very helpful in a book with such a wealth of information. However, the fact hardly reduces the importance of *The Making of Roman India* as a very significant contribution to our understanding of the complex processes of portraying cultural differences and negotiating the use of conventional narrative elements in ancient representations of India. It may well become a classic on the subject.

Antti Lampinen

JESPER MAJBOM MADSEN: *Eager to be Roman. Greek Response to Roman Rule in Pontus and Bithynia*. Duckworth, London 2009. ISBN 978-0-7156-3753-1. IX, 166 pp. GBP 50.

LOUISE REVELL: *Roman Imperialism and Local Identities*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-88730-4 (hb). XIII, 221 pp. GBP 45, USD 80.

The debate regarding what it meant to be Roman in the Roman Empire has been ongoing for at least a century. One cornerstone of this debate is the question of Romanization, of a (perceived) cultural identity across the Empire and the ways in which this Roman-ness was manifested

through different aspects of culture, both material and immaterial. In this long debate, the most recent buzzword is identity: how identities were constructed and maintained, and how this can be traced in our records of the time. This is also the issue both Jesper Majbom Madsen and Louise Revell want to address from their respective points of view. Their handling of the matter, however, presents two very different approaches to the question, even considering differences in the source materials and areas of the Empire under discussion.

Madsen's work stems from a research group in the Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies and is based on the author's Ph.D. thesis. To start with, Madsen promises "... an important investigation into ways in which the population of Pontus and Bithynia ... engaged culturally with the Roman Empire." He sets out especially to analyze the long-standing view of Greek provincials under Roman rule as highly attached to their Hellenic background and thus less affected by Rome's influence than other provinces. Madsen gives a short discussion in the Introduction (pp. 1–9) of the definition of identity and how Greek identity was presented in literature, demonstrating primarily that the notion of plural (simultaneous) identities was already understood by the Greek writers. His point is to emphasize that one could remain Greek and at the same time willingly and purposefully express a Roman identity as well – this is what he sets out to prove in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter 1 ("A Governor at work", pp. 11–26) is dedicated to analyzing the experiences and the activities of Pliny the Younger as governor in Pontus and Bithynia from AD 109 to 111, and the letters he writes as a government official from the province to the Emperor. Chapter 2 ("Roman Rule in Pontus and Bithynia", pp. 27–57) analyzes the changes in local administration and the extent of these changes, in particular regarding the Pompeian provincialization of the area, the constitutions and autonomy of the cities and emperor worship. This he does mainly using literary sources, in addition to Pliny also, e.g., Cassius Dio. In Chapter 3 ("Greeks in the Roman World", pp. 59–81) Madsen analyzes the involvement and the career patterns of the local elite in imperial administration, and similarly in Chapter 4 ("Turning Roman in Pontus and Bithynia", pp. 83–102) the response to Roman rule of those officials who stayed at the regional level of governance, in both these chapters through literary sources as well as inscriptions, demonstrating that the governing elite displayed a willing commitment to Rome. Here, Madsen argues for a transformation of identity in Greece over time from an ethnic one into a negotiable dynamic one of social and political status. In Chapter 5 ("Responses to Roman Rule", pp. 103–26) Madsen focuses on the criticism of the period towards Roman rule and culture, connected to the genre of Second Sophistic (p. 105–7) and examining in particular Dio Chrysostom, Arrian and Cassius Dio. All previous chapters are drawn together in a Conclusion (pp. 127–34), followed by Notes, Bibliography (pp. 149–57) and Indexes (pp. 159–66).

Madsen's work is an interesting foray into the Greeks' self-perception of their identity in a colonial situation. Despite this, it is more a re-interpretation and re-examination of previous sources and studies than a work of solidly justified new ideas. Despite the inherently interesting issue, that of the Romanization of Greece, there are some fundamental biases in the approach that seriously diminish the value of the work. One big issue concerns the way Madsen uses the term "culture": as a monolithic phenomenon staying the same, an underlying static stratum of "Greek cultural heritage" (p. 102), that Madsen allows to remain unchanged over time. At the same time he argues that for the inhabitants of Pontus and Bithynia "... appearance as a part of the machinery of provincial administration ... is likely to have represented a genuine desire by the local elite to be seen as Roman". But where does this "genuine desire" originate if the

deed is only a pragmatic way of "demonstrating a sense of belonging" (p. 102)? Here Madsen treats identity and culture as separate entities and presents identity as a social thing and not as a cultural value. This separation is simply not acceptable, even when he arrives at the likely conclusion that the elite in Pontus and Bithynia were "eager to be Roman". On the technical side, lack of frequent sub-titling makes the text a heavy read and in general, research literature is not extensively used.

Madsen advocates the notion that a spectrum of responses to identity was the reality (p. 103) but himself admits that voices other than the male elite are not heard in the sources, "... when the body of evidence is predominantly textual" (p. 103). This to me is the other main flaw in Madsen's approach, of disregarding any other kind of evidence, to start with those embedded in the material world. A reference is made to material culture (p. 128) but only as a given something that arrived with the Romans and was accepted as a sign of "Romanization" when any modern work on the subject would have proved otherwise (starting with such seminal works as Susan Alcock's *Graecia Capta* (1993) for Greece or Greg Woolf's *Becoming Roman* (1998) for Gaul), none of which are used as references. This seriously narrows the potential of the work, even if its approach to local responses is in general of interest. It is exactly here, in the sphere of material culture, that experiences of groups outside the elite can emerge. The usefulness of another kind of approach is evidenced by Revell.

Louise Revell approaches Roman imperialism and identity utilizing concepts and theories derived from social sciences, of lived experiences and the agency of people in negotiating their changing identities. Her work promises to be "...an innovative approach to the problem of Romanization". What she seeks are the common elements in the imperial experience, and her study matter is public architecture in several urban settings in the Western provinces, from Baetica, Tarraconensis and Britannia. She seeks a shared understanding of what it was to be Roman (p. xi) and how the idea of Empire was maintained; and more explicitly, how routinized daily activity was a reproductive institution of Roman society. This is a richer approach by far than Madsen's but also one threatened by the complexity of the issues involved. This she sets out to counter with a thorough discussion of the fundamentals of the issue in Chapter 1 ("The Context of the Argument", pp. 1–39). In the subsequent chapters, she identifies and examines areas in which we can identify a shared idea of Roman-ness: urbanism, the emperor and religious practice. Moreover, she focuses on the paradox of similarity and difference: which elements were shared but also where they varied locally. Chapter 2 ("Living the Urban Ideal", pp. 40–79) considers urbanism as ideology and the reproduction of this ideology in the provinces as the framing condition and as a lived experience. In Chapter 3 ("The Roman Emperor", pp. 80–109) Revell examines elements of imperial authority and the emperor at the center of a complex series of power relations through imperial imagery, imperial cult and history as part of the localized encounters, and in Chapter 4 ("Addressing the Divine", pp. 110–49) Roman religion and religious practice as a local discourse, in all cases using public architecture as the plane of reference. Chapter 5 ("A Question of Status", pp. 150–90) takes a look at how different social groups negotiate their identities in urban contexts and how the creation and maintenance of political power and social relationships, so crucial in Roman society, was managed in local communities through the material world in buildings for politics, religion, entertainment and bathing. A short conclusion ("Being Roman ...", pp. 191–3) is followed by References (pp. 195–217) and a short Index (pp. 219–21).

Revell presents a modern, well-justified approach to a contemporary topic, with bibliography to match the scope of the subject. She herself points out the added value of her approach: "What it was to be Roman was talked about in the textual sources, but it was also something worked through in the everyday activities of the people of the provinces. The archaeological record is the remains of the material which was caught up in such activities: it is the medium and the product of human action." (p. 3). She argues her context in a clear and concise way, recognizing the theoretical basis of her approach in structuration theory and its application in archaeology. This broad discourse of Roman-ness moves the question of an ethnic identity beyond the model of the traditional elite-driven Romanization and the problematic non-elite emulation. She demonstrates the power the public architecture had in negotiating identities and allows also, though perhaps not as deeply as could be hoped for, for the presence of other social groups than the male elite. Somewhat regrettably, many of the inherent problems concerning context and methodology are referred to, but still remain unsolved, although given the complexity of the issue, in all honesty cannot be expected to be tackled by one single work. Ultimately, Revell produces a convincing argument of how the shared ideology of being Roman is there, how it gets local responses and how it can be studied through the material world.

Pirjo Hamari

MARK BRADLEY: *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-11042-6. XIII, 267 pp. GBP 55, USD 90.

Think of a rainbow in all its brilliant colours. Is it really possible to understand that in another culture the colours of the rainbow might be perceived in a completely different way? The western world perceives its colours following the principles set by Isaac Newton's *Opticks* (1704), but many other cultures have very different views. Mark Bradley's book bravely tackles difficult and contested topics: what did ancient Romans think about colour? How did they perceive colour? The rainbow is the same for us and the Romans, but as Bradley's chapter on the rainbow shows, its colours were seen in a very different way by the Romans – not a neatly defined spectrum of seven colours, but something much more ambiguous and enigmatic. The rainbow was also related to ancient theories on light and sensory perception.

The slim volume is – perhaps intentionally? – devoid of colour as the text discusses the philosophical and scientific theories concerning visual perception and colours. The book is divided into seven chapters which after the rainbow discuss colour in philosophy (Chapter 2), natural history (Chapter 3) and rhetoric (Chapter 4) to create a theoretical background for examining colour in other contexts. The next two chapters (5 and 6) explore the body and colour, both natural and unnatural. The last chapter (7) concentrates on the colour purple, one of the most prestigious in antiquity. In some articles, Bradley has treated the topic in more concrete contexts concerning marble and sculpture (*Cambridge Classical Journal* 52 [2006] and *Art History* 32:3 [2009]) and these would probably interest the readers of this book.

The introduction discusses the meaning of the Latin words for colours which have for a long time been translated according to modern colour definitions; but can *flavus* really be translated as "yellow" and *caeruleus* "sky-blue"? Many of the Latin terms used for colour are also

associated with other qualities of the objects they describe: *flavus* could be "blond", "golden" and it could also evoke the image of movement of hair, water or corn. Modern colours covered by *flavus* range from blue to yellow to red (Fig. 1). The same applies to *viridis* which is "green" as well as "verdant" and "vigorous". *Caeruleus* evoked rather the appearance of deep sea or copious waters than sky-blue (but *caeruleus* comes from **caelu-leus*). These problems are the subject of the chapter on philosophical thought on colour. For example, for Lucretius, colour was a secondary quality for any sensed object, a by-product of the shape, size, arrangement and movement of atoms. It is consequently open to interpretation and could be transitory, like the colour of the sea. Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* uses colour extensively to classify various materials and to describe natural phenomena. For Pliny, the colours associate with other qualities, particularly with regard to how colour could be artificially produced in his times and how this created "fake" colours compared to the earlier, natural and undecieving colours.

The rhetorical concept of colour was often connected with the physical appearance of the body, for example, the blush of embarrassment. It was related to moral and ethical qualities as well as expressing emotion. It also had much in common with the authentic/fake discourse encountered in Pliny – colour could be artificial and thus deceitful. This leads to the discussion of the body, how its colours could be perceived as natural or unnatural, altered by using, for example, cosmetic products. The natural colours of a person could be used to indicate his/her ethnic origin as well as analyse his/her character and values. The body's natural colours could be altered with dyes and other cosmetic substances and this concerned especially the female body. The deception and trickery associated with use of make-up and wigs was also applied to women and their character. Yet, the unadorned woman also was a target of ridicule.

Bradley's book is a fascinating and thought-provoking read. It gives us tools to analyse and understand the use of colour in various Roman contexts and perhaps also to understand the differences between our tastes and the Romans'. When a *triclinium* with cinnabar-based wall paintings was recreated for an exhibition presenting one Pompeian house ("Domus Pompeiana" at the Amos Anderson Art Museum in Helsinki in 2008), the room was perceived by many visitors as garish, vulgar and far too bright. Our modern perceptions of colours suitable for decoration are clearly different from the Romans: the rainbow is different for us and the Romans.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

CLAUDIA BARACCHI: *Aristotle's Ethics as First Philosophy*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-86658-3 (hb). IX, 342 pp. GBP 50, USD 94.99.

Claudia Baracchi has written an ambitious book in which she gives a re-interpretation of Aristotle's ethics. As the title of her book suggests, she argues that ethics was first philosophy for Aristotle. This argument is striking because it is strongly against the traditional view according to which Aristotle considered theoretical study of the first causes and principles to be first philosophy.

Baracchi does not want to argue that the priority of wisdom (*sophia*), contemplation (*theoria*), understanding (*nous*) and knowledge (*episteme*) over prudence (*phronesis*) and action (*praxis*) should be overturned. Rather, her argument is that "the theoretical is always in-

formed by a set of practises" (p. 1), and that "encountering phenomena, the world, or nature in the broadest sense is always a matter of *ethos*" (ibid.)

This argument needs some clarification because there are, of course, different ways in which the theoretical can be informed by a set of practises. It is evident that some of these ways are easily accounted for in terms of the traditional view. For example, a traditional interpreter is ready and willing to admit that, according to Aristotle, wisdom, contemplation and knowledge are fundamentally based on experience and sense perception, something that Baracchi curiously associates with *ethos* and *praxis*. Furthermore, a traditional interpreter has no problem in admitting that our theoretical pursuits arise from our desire to know. Thus, in order to differentiate her hypothesis from the traditional view, she needs to give an argument that is substantially stronger than the traditional claim about the dependence of wisdom, contemplation and knowledge on experience, sense perception and intellectual desire.

I had some difficulties in identifying Baracchi's argument, but this is what I came up with. Baracchi wants to argue that the theoretical is not only dependent on *ethos*, but is a matter of *ethos*, which is an inclusive notion ranging from perception, appearance and belief to action. This point gradually emerges when she discusses *Metaphysics A* and *Posterior Analytics B.19* in her "Prelude", paying attention to those sections in which Aristotle discusses desire for knowledge and the role of sense perception, experience and induction (*epagoge*) in acquiring knowledge. Much of her discussion only supports the weaker dependence claim, but she thinks she can draw further conclusions. For example, when commenting on Aristotle's considerations about wisdom as knowledge of first causes and principles (981b28–982a2), she argues, "wisdom will name an apprehension that lies beside and beyond demonstration, an apprehension that is in fact defined by belief and is itself a matter of belief – which again marks the belonging of wisdom in the order of appearance and of the practical" (p. 27–8). Here she takes quite a step from knowledge to belief, and I failed to realise how she could justify taking it.

However, a step such as this helps us to understand why Baracchi makes the statement in the first place that ethics is first philosophy. She seems to assume that first philosophy is to be contrasted with demonstrative knowledge, and that all that cannot be demonstrated is, in fact, a matter of belief and, then, *ethos* or action. However, the problem is how she could possibly justify this assumption. It is uncontroversial that Aristotle distinguished ordinary beliefs from understanding and wisdom, which are knowledge to the highest degree (see, e.g., *Nicomachean Ethics Z*). It is also beyond doubt that in the *De Anima*, he drew a clear line between perceiving, believing and thinking on the one hand, and desiring and acting on the other. In light of these distinctions, there seems to be no direct link between wisdom and *ethos*, or the practical.

However, let us suppose for the sake of argument that this traditional understanding is mistaken. Then one might argue that although there is some evidence to the contrary, Aristotle did not actually intend to draw a clear line between wisdom and prudence. This would be an extreme position, one that Baracchi is not explicitly willing to adopt. Nonetheless, her main section on *Nicomachean Ethics* and especially its last chapter leaves one with the impression that her position is something quite close to this. One of her conclusions is that "one the one hand, prudence was shown as inherently 'theoretical'... while, on the other hand, wisdom is shown crucially to rest on sensible-intuitive evidence" (p. 212). I was somewhat puzzled by her argument that prudence is inherently theoretical because the reasons she gave for this claim only related prudence to the contemplation of what is good to a person in a given situation.

Even so, this argument is of some importance to her as she argues that prudence "seems to disrupt" the traditional, schematic order of intellectual virtues such as wisdom and prudence (p. 208).

The main section of the book consists of a discussion of *Nicomachean Ethics* A to H. Baracchi divides her discussion into five chapters which are entitled as follows: "Human Initiative and Its Orientation to the Good", "On Happiness", "On the Soul", "On Justice", "The Virtues of the Intellect". Each of these themes is examined in light of a number of textual citations, some of which are rather extensive. In spite of her conspicuous attention to the text, the author does not attempt to go deeply into the arguments contained in the text nor does she intend to set them in their immediate context. Rather, her main interest is to re-read the text with a view to showing that even in his most theoretical considerations, Aristotle laid heavy emphasis on intuitive, experiential and practical conditions that inform those considerations. As a result, some earlier scholarly concerns are put in a new perspective. The author concludes, for example, that her interpretation enables us to question the traditional "schematization of the virtues", which have given rise to the long-standing debate on whether the human good only consists of wisdom or also includes other virtues (p. 213, n. 63).

The main section is followed by an "Interlude" discussing *Metaphysics* Γ. Baracchi concentrates on Aristotle's considerations regarding the principle of non-contradiction. She aims to show that this principle is "intrinsically related to the ethics of discourse" (p. 232). This means that the principle does not only regulate the way in which we can speak and use language in a sensible way. It also "signals or is itself a manifestation of the good, of the good at work, in action" (p. 233). This further claim is associative and remains ill-founded.

The concluding section on *Nicomachean Ethics* Θ to K does not substantially add to the main arguments of the book, but it elaborates on them in the light of Aristotle's discussion of friendship.

In general, Baracchi's study arises, roughly speaking, from a phenomenological tradition in which "the practical" is given precedence over "the theoretical". It is not easy to specify in a few words what this means, but the basic idea is that the practises through which we encounter the phenomena place certain fundamental conditions on our theoretical activities. The author attempted to show that we also find this precedence, a "modern intimation", as she says (p. 2), in Aristotle.

As a result of this approach, the author's arguments are heavily informed by her overall interpretation of the importance of *ethos* to Aristotle's theoretical considerations. She interprets *ethos* and *ta ethika* in the most general terms. According to her, they are "aspects of demeanour revealing character and the presence (or absence) of a sense of appropriateness, adequacy, precision, or even tactfulness with respect to any given circumstance" (p. 55). She argues that for Aristotle, "the central concern of the ethical investigation will be the response to the requirements inherent in any situation" (ibid.). In the chapters on the *Nicomachean Ethics* she then examines how Aristotle attempted to harmonize human orientation to the good and to action and the circumstances. The result is a massive re-reading of the whole treatise.

I encountered some difficulties in seeing whether the author made progress in discussing the relevant passages. This was because she rarely referred to other interpreters or reviewed their interpretations in detail. However, given the highly critical starting point of the study, one might have been entitled to expect that the author would situate her new interpretation in this scholarly context and argue in detail against the traditional view.

To sum up, this book is an articulation of a certain philosophical outlook on Aristotle's ethics. I suppose it will be better understood by readers who share the author's outlook. However, those who require a more detailed textual analysis in support of the proposed interpretation will be less satisfied.

Mika Perälä

NATALE SPINETO: *Dionysos a teatro. Il contesto festivo del dramma greco*. Storia delle religioni 16. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-8265-321-8. XII, 436 pp. EUR 230.

Il presente libro di Natale Spineto, noto storico delle religioni e ottimo conoscitore della religione greca, è dedicato alle rappresentazioni teatrali messe in scena durante le varie festività dionisiache ateniesi, colmando così una notevole lacuna negli studi dionisiaci. Mentre i preziosi lavori di Arthur Pickard-Cambridge (in particolare *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, Oxford 1946) erano maggiormente di carattere filologico, Spineto mette a fuoco il contesto storico-religioso delle celebrazioni teatrali.

Nel volume si offre una minuziosa e ben documentata ricostruzione delle quattro festività dionisiache, gli Anthesteria, i Lenaia, le Grandi Dionisie e le Dionisie campestri (κατ' ἄγρούς), soprattutto dal punto di vista della religione civica e del calendario dei culti dionisiaci. Vengono sottolineati i molti aspetti della figura di Dioniso e dei rituali pertinenti al suo culto, come pure i rapporti tra le varie feste del dio nonché il significato della coltivazione della vite e la produzione del vino. In particolare, viene illustrato, nella scia di Angelo Brelich, attraverso la nota "alterità" ed "estraneità" del dio Dioniso, il ruolo del teatro come rappresentazione di una realtà diversa da quella ordinaria. Oltre alla discussione della flessibilità del dio e delle sue varie manifestazioni nelle quattro celebrazioni, Spineto analizza in maniera autorevole la partecipazione di più categorie sociali, quali stranieri, donne, giovani e bambini, alle festività dionisiache (soprattutto alle Grandi Dionisie). Tutte queste celebrazioni drammatiche con i loro rispettivi elementi e rituali, integrate nelle strutture socio-politico-religiose della *polis*, sembra che non servissero ad altro che a produrre una dialettica di sospensione e riaffermazione da parte di Dioniso dell'identità cittadina. Come nei suoi miti, il dio regolarmente sconvolge l'ordine per poi ricrearlo, così le feste in suo onore, mettendo in dubbio l'ordine civico, ne riaffermano il valore.

Il saggio di Spineto rappresenta un ulteriore esempio della notevole capacità e produttività della Scuola romana di storia delle religioni: un lavoro magistrale in termini qualitativi e monumentale per quello che riguarda l'analisi delle tantissime fonti rilevanti.

Mika Kajava

HEIKE KUNZ: *Sicilia. Religionsgeschichte des römischen Sizilien*. Religion der Römischen Provinzen, Band 4. Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 2006. ISBN 978-3-16-149085-9. XX, 424 S. EUR 109.

Sicilia. Religionsgeschichte des römischen Sizilien offre una panoramica utile e ricca di materiali sui culti religiosi della Sicilia antica. Appartiene ad una collana di monografie sulle

province romane, della quale sono già usciti i volumi riguardanti *Judaea-Palaestina* e *Germania Superior* (e *Germania Inferior*, nel 2008). Il libro di Kunz è allo stesso tempo una nuova testimonianza del recente interesse per le religioni della Sicilia antica (cfr. ad es. il volume *Ethne e religioni nella Sicilia antica*, anch'esso del 2006, recensito nel vol. 43 di *Arctos*). La collana è dedicata soprattutto alla religione "romana" (*Römische Religion*), che comprende gli altri culti ma esclude le religioni monoteistiche (Cristianesimo, Ebraismo, Islam). Nel libro di Kunz è comunque inclusa una breve discussione sulle origini e la diffusione del Cristianesimo e dell'Ebraismo in Sicilia (pp. 285–98).

Il volume si apre con un'introduzione alla storia delle religioni in Sicilia prima della formazione della provincia romana. Dopo una presentazione dei culti indigeni (cioè anteriori all'arrivo di fenici, greci e romani), vengono trattati i culti delle colonie fenicie e greche. Particolarmente interessanti e di altissima qualità sono le sezioni sui contesti religiosi locali e sui contatti tra religioni ("Sakrale Regionalisierung" e "Kontakte der Religionen", pp. 93–123).

A una discussione sulla storia politica, economica e sociale dell'isola durante l'epoca repubblicana, anche troppo dettagliata, seguono due capitoli (4 e 5) sulla religione nella provincia durante l'epoca repubblicana e imperiale. Si tratta di una presentazione sistematica del materiale, che sarà di grandissima utilità agli studiosi. Si può notare ad esempio la mancanza nella provincia dei *Capitolia*, ben attestati nelle altre province occidentali (pp. 219–21). I capitoli seguenti 6 e 7, anch'essi interessantissimi, sono dedicati ai contatti dei culti siciliani con l'impero romano (6) e alla descrizione posidoniana della guerra servile degli anni 130 a.C.

Nel capitolo conclusivo del volume sono ottimi le osservazioni di Kunz sui processi di lunga durata. Non tutte le espressioni, però, risultano chiare nel contesto del volume, e possono apparire contraddittorie. Secondo l'autrice, "charakteristisch für die Provinz ist ein starker religiöser Traditionalismus und Konservatismus" (p. 366), ma ciò non corrisponde all'immagine che emerge dall'opera: è evidente che la situazione era molto diversa nelle città portuali e nella campagna. A p. 373, il riferimento all'alto grado di urbanizzazione della Sicilia deve essere un equivoco (cfr. Wilson, *Sicily under the Roman Empire* [1990] p. 171). Inoltre, gli studi che sottolineano la fioritura della Sicilia a partire dal IV secolo d.C. sono apparsi troppo tardi per essere presi in considerazione ("eine kulturelle Blütezeit hat die Insel in römischer Zeit nie wieder erlangt", p. 373: ma vd. ad es. gli articoli di L. Cracco Ruggini e D. Vera, *Kókalos* 43–44 [1997–98 ma 2000]). In ogni caso, visto che il contenuto del libro riguarda soprattutto l'epoca repubblicana e la prima età imperiale, la mancanza non è notevole. Non è comunque ben motivata l'inclusione della discussione sulla continuità della "Reichsreligion" nelle epoche bizantina, islamica e normanna (pp. 377–80), perché ci sono opere recenti sulla tematica (ad es. *The Society of Norman Italy*, a c. di G. A. Loud e A. Metcalfe, 2002).

Visto che si citano molti documenti epigrafici, è naturale che ci siano anche errori. Al lego alcune correzioni: P. 135: In un frammento di S. Croce Camerina, è erronea la lettura con "alphabet switch" OLLA PAIIIIO (interpretata come *ollam rapio*); cfr. *SEG XLIX* 1296: [-? Σ] ὄσιος Σαραπιὸδ[ωρ-]. – P. 151–52 nt. 22: L'iscrizione del Museo Cordici segnalata dopo *CIL X* 7255 deve essere in realtà solo il frammento sopravvissuto della medesima epigrafe. – P. 175: Gli spettacoli circensi sono attestati in Sicilia anche nella prima età imperiale: *SEG XLIX* 1333 (δρόμοι κίρκησιοι). – P. 196: L'iscrizione KAI TY (in un fallo alato) sarebbe interessante dal punto di vista dialettale, ma la lettura corretta è καὶ σύ. – P. 207 nt. 291: L'iscrizione di [---]us M. f. Ter. Pius è stata pubblicata meglio come *CIL I²* 2649. – P. 231: Nell'iscrizione *AE* 1951, 174, l'integrazione *e[ft omnium d]eorum* è molto incerta. – P. 239 nt. 422: Per l'iscrizione

CIL X 7121, vd. M. Gaggiotti, *L'Africa romana* 13 (2002) 1053–62 (*AE* 2002, 612), che spiega meglio l'epiteto di Venere, tramandato come TARIC; non si tratta probabilmente di Venere Ericina. – P. 279: Per l'uso del nominativo negli epitafi siciliani, vd. ad es. le mie riflessioni in E. N. Ostenfeld (ed.), *Greek Romans and Roman Greeks* (2002), 71–3. – P. 282: Nella traduzione dell'epitafio di P. Iunius Servienus dedicatogli dalla moglie Maria Ampliata, l'espressione "*gens* Maria Ampliata" è incomprensibile. – P. 290: Per l'epitafio di Aurelius Samohil, vd. *AE* 2005, 16. – P. 377: La generalizzazione "*fast alle Inschriften aus dieser Zeit [= il IV secolo] verwenden die griechische Sprache*" vale solamente per le catacombe di Siracusa. Soprattutto nell'ambito pubblico il latino rimane più comune, anche se le iscrizioni greche sono più numerose rispetto alla prima età imperiale.

Dal punto di vista tecnica, spiace osservare la mancanza di un indice degli autori e documenti antichi, perché si citano molte iscrizioni ed il testo del volume non è (al momento) disponibile in forma digitale.

Kalle Korhonen

WILLIAM VAN ANDRINGA: *Quotidien des dieux et des hommes: la vie religieuse dans les cités du Vésuve à l'époque romaine*. Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 337. École Française de Rome, Roma 2009. ISBN 978-2-7283-0843-9. XXIV, 404 pp. EUR 87.

The modern visitor to Pompeii climbs up the slope from Porta Marina, stops to draw breath by the forum and probably notices the temples around it. The visit continues and the visitor's eyes are inevitably drawn to the small domestic shrines in the *atria* and peristyles as well as to the paintings of featuring gods and ceremonies on the walls inside the houses and on their façades. On the way out, the last thing the visitor sees are the many tombs flanking all the roads. Gods, rituals and ceremonies can be encountered everywhere in the Roman city, even to such an extent that they become too commonplace and it is easy to forget their significance. William Van Andringa's book attempts to create a holistic view of how pervasive religion was in the everyday life of Pompeii and Herculaneum.

The book consists of three parts and the two first discuss the public religion: temples, gods worshipped, how ceremonies and rituals were conducted, etc. The third part is dedicated to the religion in the houses, shops and workshops of Pompeii. The aim is ambitious and difficult: how to manage the vast material available and not be swamped by it? How to avoid merely cataloguing and instead be analytical and able to synthesize views and conclusions on the various topics? To my mind, Van Andringa is quite successful in the first two parts of the book, but the third part is slightly disappointing. The author's mastery of varying aspects of public religion in the Roman world is clearly visible and he is able to provide good generalizations, powerful insights as well as new interpretations. In the third part, the vast amount of material related to the domestic and commercial life in Pompeii apparently becomes a problem and the analytical texts of the previous chapters are replaced by descriptions of images related to sacrifice and ritual. The last chapter on the tomb as a location of cult, however, is again excellent and firmly based on Van Andringa's innovative work on the necropolis of Porta Nocera (see, e.g., <http://www.mourirapompei.net/>).

The first part is on the city and its gods and its three chapters provide the reader with a good general view of what happens in the religious life of Pompeii before and after the creation of the Roman *colonia*, as well as how things changed in the imperial period. The third chapter is on the persons involved, particularly how the elite participated in the public religion. After very briefly discussing the concept of sacred space in general, Van Andringa analyses the changes in sacred spaces in Pompeii over time. The current known temple locations seem to have been in use for very long periods of time and few other sites are known. The gods remained the same even after the establishment of the *colonia*: Apollo, Venus, Hercules, etc. Only the sacred areas were developed over time: new altars could be added, the buildings repaired or changed slightly. The Samnite society of the 2nd century BC had already adopted many Roman habits and the later reorganization was relatively easy. The third chapter discusses the imperial cult and interesting suggestions regarding the temples around the forum are made – the so-called Temple of Vespasian could in fact be the Temple of Augustus. The imperial cult was firmly inserted in the forum of Pompeii and its importance and popularity are also visible in other parts of the city in inscriptions and graffiti. The last chapter deals with persons, particularly priests and benefactors. In addition to the public priesthoods as well as building and maintenance of sacred spaces, the Pompeian elite probably controlled the crossroad altars in their neighbourhoods. The altars can often be found very close to the largest and richest houses in the area. It should be noted that Fig. 63 featuring the distribution of the crossroads shrines does not include the numbers by which they are referred to in the text, which is unfortunate as placing the shrines discussed in detail in the topography of Pompeii is not always possible.

The second part consists of three chapters starting with a discussion on how the sacred areas functioned. The temple itself and the *temenos* around it are self-evident parts of a sanctuary, but kitchens and dining areas do not usually come to mind, yet they existed. The proximity of the baths to the temples also becomes evident: a purifying bath was often required before the rituals were performed. The second chapter discussed the ceremonies and processions involved based on images. The third chapter takes a closer look at the economic side of religion: the *macellum* and its connection with public religion. The meat from the sacrifices was not squandered nor was it all eaten during ritual meals. Large parts of it were sold in the *macellum* to the general public. A brief reference to the tanner's workshops right next to the *macellum* shows that the hides were also processed nearby.

The third part takes a look at religion in the domestic and commercial spheres of the Roman city. This means taking into consideration the material from the whole city and this is probably the reason for the problems of this section. The first chapter is on Pompeian household religion and discusses the location of altars in the house, how the ceremonies were conducted based on literary sources and analysis of images and how the gods were worshipped based on statues found in the shrines. The analysis of the location of the shrines is unsatisfactory and sketchy – I would have wished for a more rigorous analysis, maybe even with some statistics. The number of dwellings in Pompeii and Herculaneum is high and treating the hundreds of household shrines in the same manner as the few public temples does not work very well – the representativity of the results remains uncertain. The second chapter on how religion is connected to productive and commercial activities, to workshops and shops, discusses the individual gods and combinations of gods worshipped in, for example, carpenter's workshops and bakeries, and also takes a step outside the city with regard to agricultural activities. Here,

the poor quality of the material – the shops and workshops are even more poorly documented and studied than the dwellings – forces Van Andringa to use mostly anecdotal evidence, well-known images and structures. After the brief chapter on religious associations, where the discussion is concentrated on identifying spaces they might possibly have used, the last chapter treats the tombs and cult activity after burials.

Despite the slight problems in the third part, the whole volume is a delightful read. The pervasiveness of religion throughout Roman daily life is amply demonstrated and the problems merely highlight the gaps in our knowledge and the need to study the households and workshops better.

Eeva-Maria Viitanen

SITTA VON REDEN: *Money in Ptolemaic Egypt. From the Macedonian Conquest to the End of the Third Century BC*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-85264-7 (hb). XXI, 354 pp. GBP 55, USD 110.

Sitta von Reden's book deals with a well defined topic and combines numismatic and papyrological evidence in an interesting and illuminating way. After a general introduction which includes the presentation of "Questions and issues" and "The historical background", the book is divided into four parts which consist of two to four chapters each. Each part and each chapter has an introduction of its own and a short conclusion of topics discussed in the chapter in question.

It is stated in the general introduction that papyrological evidence can be supplemented by a massive body of coins from the period when Ptolemy was satrap, and from the third century. Furthermore, recent finds and research on early Ptolemaic bronze coinage have provided important new insights into the development of local currencies, and this means that numismatic research on Ptolemaic coinage is in a state of rapid progress. Thus, the author has adopted a cautious approach regarding what numismatic evidence can and cannot tell us. Despite this cautious approach, the first part ("Money and coinage"), relying mostly on numismatic evidence, is a solid and illuminating whole on the topics discussed in the first two chapters, that is, chapter 1, "Money of the king", and chapter 2, "Monetising the countryside".

In chapter 1, von Reden discusses monetisation in general and the introduction of coinage in Egypt. Even though there had been coins in Egypt before the Macedonian conquest, it was the Macedonians who introduced a state coinage into Egypt. The opening of a mint in Memphis is dated to 326/5, that is, several years into Macedonian rule. A few years later, as Alexandria was established as the capital and Ptolemy son of Lagos established a cult at Alexander's grave, the mint was transferred from Memphis, and a new coinage was issued. After discussing the Ptolemaic and regal coinage in more detail, the author proceeds to discuss the closed-currency system, which was the direct consequence of the manipulation of the weigh standard of the Ptolemaic coinage. Interestingly, the early evidence for this closed-currency system is purely numismatic, whereas the papyrological evidence (*PCZ I 59022*) refers to a later decree. Chapter 1 further discusses the relation of gold coinage to both Greek and Egyptian religious ideologies (p. 48ff. "Gold coinage, reciprocity and ritual"), which was highly

interesting and fun to read. Overall, the first chapter included just the right number of illustrations of coins for a reader not fully dedicated to numismatics, and the argument was easy to both follow and to agree with.

Chapter 2, "Monetising the countryside", presents the importance of the material used in mints, that is, that there were both silver and bronze coins circulating in Egypt. For a reader who is used to sometimes blurry papyrological evidence, it is refreshing to take a concrete approach to coinage, that is, to the material and size of the coins, for example, and to topics such as "the bronze coinage in use" (p. 60ff.), "the development of the bronze coinage" (p. 62ff.), and "monetary disintegration" (p. 70ff.). The author points out, for example, that the nominal value of bronze and silver coins was based on their weight relationship (1:60), and this information is very concretely based on the physical coins that have been preserved to us. Furthermore, the author points out that there happen to be 60 obols to 10 drachms in the Greek monetary system which helped the conversion of coins, and again, we are dealing with concrete material helping us to understand a system which sometimes may seem quite complicated. The author concludes the second chapter with "Coin supply and inflation" with a final remark that the increase in prices reckoned in bronze was in the late third century, and even more so in the second, most probably the result of a re-evaluation of the bronze currency in relation to silver rather than of inflation.

Part II, "Cash and kind", includes chapters 3, "Taxes", 4, "Bronze and silver", 5, "Rents", and 6, "Wages". Chapter 3 builds largely on the work done by W. Clarysse and D. Thompson in separate articles and the two-volume publication of *Counting the people in Hellenistic Egypt* volumes I and II (published in 2006). Chapter 4 discusses similar issues as the monograph with the same title in German by K. Maresch (*Bronze und Silber*, 1996). Chapters 5 and 6, for their part, build on the discussion of the first two chapters of the second part of the book, and thus, I find it well justified that all these issues are included and discussed together in this second part.

Part III, "Debt and credit", includes chapters 7, "Formal loans", 8, "Extending the credit economy", 9, "Leases and labour contracts", and 10, "Credit in a social context". As the author states in the introduction to this third part of the book, "The role of credit has been a major issue in the debate on the ancient economy. Who were the lenders and the borrowers, what kind of transactions were supported by credit, and what economic impact did lending and borrowing have?" In chapter 7, the author points out that the parties of most extant formal loan contracts were acquaintances or friends, and that the contracts written in Demotic Egyptian did not follow the same kind of six clause pattern as the Greek formal *sungraphê*. Besides "Loans based on a written contract", the author discusses "Loans based on pledge" and "Loans based on a mortgage". Chapter 8 continues to discuss similar topics as chapter 7, and chapters 9 and 10 broaden the discussion of credit to pre-payments in labour contracts, for example, and other issues dealing with the social aspects of credit such as "*Skepê*, patronage and reciprocity" (p. 228ff.).

The final Part IV, "Banking" (chapters 11 and 12), is a comprehensive summation of the role and importance of royal banks in the nome economy. In "A network of banks" (p. 258ff.) the author comes to the conclusion that it was the administrative structure, rather than the amount of cash revenue, that determined the number of banks in different parts of Egypt. She then discusses the ways the taxes were collected, and concludes by noting that officials were personally liable for the revenue and expenditure, and that this elides the distinction between

official and private accounts that has been applied to Ptolemaic banking. In chapter 12, "Banking and business", the author proceeds to discuss "personal clients" (p. 282ff.), "bankers' loans" (p. 286ff.) and "managing payments" (p. 290ff.). All these subjects draw from the abundant material preserved to us from, mostly, the archive of Zenon which this discussion brought to life from yet another perspective in a well-defined and illuminating way. This book is highly recommended for anyone interested in the economy of third century BC Ptolemaic Egypt.

Erja Salmenkivi

ANDREW M. RIGGSBY: *Roman Law and the Legal World of the Romans*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2010. ISBN 978-0-521-86751-1 (hb), 978-0-521-68711-9 (pb). VIII, 283 pp. GBP 55, USD 85 (hb), GBP 16.99, USD 27.99 (pb).

It would be easy to dismiss a book which is marketed with a blurb saying "The text is also free of technical language and Latin terminology". It is an introduction to, as the title, for once, accurately states, Roman law and the legal world of the Romans, offering an easy and accessible survey of the content and context of the law. In contrast to the traditional introductory texts, which usually are little more than abridged versions of the textbooks (think Kaser, Borkowski) that have, for a few centuries now, approached Roman law as a set of institutions best tackled with textual exegesis, Riggsby gives us the more of the law in action than the law in books. The book is divided into twenty chapters starting from the sources of and for Roman law, the social surroundings and impact of the law and finally, chapters on substantive law. At the end, as an appendix, there is a selection of legal documents in translation with explanations, mainly from the Sulpicii archives.

The text is aimed at an undergraduate audience, hence no footnotes and little in the way of indicating sources. The upside is that the book tackles issues seldom, or rather never, dealt with in the normal textbooks, such as the cost of trials. To help undergraduates to understand the relative otherness of the Roman world, comparisons are constantly made to contemporary America. While at times helpful, this gradually becomes more and more irritating, for example, in the statement that there was no separation of church and state in Rome. It is a fair guess that the book is the fruit of a long career in teaching and explaining the subject matter to audiences with little previous knowledge of the Roman world.

The best bits of the book are without doubt the parts where the author actually thinks things through in layman's terms, explaining things like *maiestas* in a way that is interesting and thought-provoking even for someone who has read a number of textbooks on Roman law. This juxtaposition of doctrine and actual practice is done far too seldom in scholarly works on law; it is reminiscent of the "Law 101" textbooks explaining legal thinking to first year students. The book is recommended reading for anyone who would like to know what Roman legal terms and practices actually meant in real life, though it does not fully live up to the promise of no technicalities or Latin, or else *damnum iniuria datum* is now a colloquialism.

Kaius Tuori

FRANCESCO GRELLE: *Diritto e società nel mondo romano*. A cura di L. FANIZZA. Saggi di storia antica 26. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-8265-324-2. XVI, 561 pp. EUR 290.

Salutiamo con grande piacere questa raccolta di alcuni scritti di Francesco Grelle, il noto romanista barese. Nella produzione di Grelle, particolarmente coinvolgente e produttiva appare la sua ricostruzione della "storia locale" relativa ad ambiti storicamente significativi, per quanto delimitati, in nulla diversa dalla "grande storia", pur con le sue peculiarità; questi ambiti territoriali sono gravidi di nuove informazioni che solo l'anatomia del territorio può rilevare. In questo ambito un ruolo particolare rivestono proprio i suoi numerosi studi su Canosa romana, poi raccolti in un volume nel 1993. E' stato ispiratore del progetto di creazione del corpus delle epigrafi romane di Canosa, raccolte e commentate in due volumi (Bari 1985 e 1990). E non mancano altri studi su Canosa, alcuni dei quali ripresi nella presente collana. In Francesco Grelle si deve sottolineare una simbiosi di giurista e storico. Attenzione alle fonti unite con una visione larga dei vari problemi che il mondo offre. Tutto sommato, si tratta di una lettura stimolante, raccomandabile a tutti coloro che vogliono approfondirsi nella storia romana.

Heikki Solin

PAUL ERDKAMP: *The Grain Market in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-83878-8 (hb), 978-0-521-11783-8 (pb). XIV, 364 pp. GBP 62, USD 111 (hb), GBP 21.99, USD 39.99 (pb).

Once upon a time a professor of economic history told me that, in books on economic history, the text is quite superfluous. The crux of the argument should be found and the majority of the effort of the author should be directed to the tables and graphs. The main difference between quantitative and qualitative research is that the first exposes the truth through a scientific method, while the latter is just a collection of opinions from people, be they ancient or modern observers. Because people are frequently unreliable and their observations subjective, the text that is based on them suffers from the same defects. Quantifiable information, analyzed with scientific statistical analysis, would offer an unbiased view that transcends the limitations of human observers. Good economic history would thus reveal not what the contemporaries thought but what actually took place.

Paul Erdkamp, a noted scholar of Roman military history, has written a book on Roman economic history which does not have a single table, graph or other tool of statistical analysis. As is evident to every student of Roman history, the topic is of utmost importance. The Roman Empire was in essence consisted, in addition to the countryside, of a number of large cities, and the organization of food supply to those cities was the prerequisite of the very existence of the empire. The size of the cities, with Rome in a class by itself, was far too large to be supported by their immediate hinterland which is why an elaborate grain market existed to supply them with grain from areas with large surplus production such as North Africa, Egypt and the Black Sea. The aim of the book is to examine the functioning of the grain market, the mechanisms with which, to take a famous example grain from Egypt, was acquired, transported and delivered to the Roman plebs. Because of its general importance, the grain market was heav-

ily regulated and, to use an anachronistic expression, there was very little in the way of a free market. To continue on the Egyptian example, much of the grain was acquired through the levying of the grain tax, which was roughly 10 % on private property and between 30–40% on public lands. In addition to the grain tax, grain was also bought, but even here the government regulated the price of grain and authorized acquisitions. Thus if a city wished to buy grain, it had to first get permission to do so.

Because of the political and social dimensions, the grain market was not purely a matter of economics, if such a thing even exists outside the imaginations of economists. Thus Erdkamp's approach is valid from a perspective of general significance. The second point validating this approach is the lack of consistent data for the making of statistical analyses, consider, for example, the patchy information from which scholars have attempted to deduce the fluctuations of grain prices.

The book is divided into six main chapters which follow the natural course of the food stuffs, beginning from the producer and ending up in the urban markets, from the small-scale local production to the long-distance mass transportation. Erdkamp considers food production issues from land tenancy to crop yield, small scale farming and its dynamics, the relationship of the peasants to merchants and the contracts with which the grain was sold. The great regional variations in crop yields and yearly price-cycles made the market incredibly volatile, offering both possibilities of serious market failures to the extent of famines as well as making huge profits with the well-timed storage and sale of grain. Because of the economic, social and eventually political disturbances this produced, there were constant efforts by the Roman regional and state officials to control the market by storing grain and imposing prices.

On the whole, the book is a carefully researched and judicious attempt at a holistic approach to the important and complex issue of the grain supply in the Roman Empire. While it offers a good survey of the various methods of grain supply and their respective issues and attempts to solve them, the respective parts are at times not interlinked and do not lead to an overarching synthesis. Caution is a virtue, of course, but in this case it is debatable whether the limitations of contemporary observers are really transcended. Nevertheless, the book is essential reading for every student of Roman history and hopefully will lead to further studies in this vital and relatively understudied field.

Kaius Tuori

Est enim ille flos Italiae... Vita economica e sociale nella Cisalpina romana. Atti delle Giornate di studi in onore di Ezio Buchi, Verona 30 novembre – 1 dicembre 2006. A cura di PATRIZIA BASSO – ALFREDO BUONOPANE – ALBERTO CAVARZERE – STEFANIA PESAVENTO MATTIOLI. Qui Edit, Verona 2008. ISBN 978-88-89480-51-9. 617 pp. EUR 30.

Ecco il volume in onore del noto storico romano di Verona Ezio Buchi, un vero monumento alla sua attività e al suo insegnamento. Una buona parte degli autori sono suoi allievi o comunque colleghi. La grande varietà e l'alto numero dei contributi rende impossibile un loro apprezzamento più approfondito nel breve spazio concessomi dalla redazione di Arctos. Molti di essi sono di grande interesse e importanza, altri però meno – un comune tratto di opere di questo genere.

A mo' di esempio, menziono solo alcuni contributi che mi sono apparsi di particolare interesse – ma confesso che la loro scelta è soggettiva. A. Buonopane, "Un dux ducum e un vir egregius nell'iscrizione di Porta Borsari a Verona (*CIL* V 3329)" offre una nuova interpretazione in base al restauro dell'iscrizione eseguito nel 1981 e alla scoperta di un'iscrizione in Algeria dedicata allo stesso personaggio. Tra l'altro appare l'espressione singolare *dux ducum*, il cui vero contenuto è difficile appurare, ma forse si potrebbe vedere qui un genitivo dell'aumento del tipo *rex regum* o crist. *servus servorum*, senza che in essa fosse insito un preciso significato amministrativo. Di sfuggita noto che *dux* appare in questo modo in Seneca *Med.* 233 *ducem ... ducum*. – G. L. Gregori, "Da Minturnae a Sabbioneta? Un'ipotesi per *CIL* V 4087 = I² 753 (ager Mantuanus)" ha dimostrato, a mio vedere, in modo convincente, che la detta iscrizione proveniva da Minturnae. – Nel suo contributo "Un testimone inedito (o quasi) della silloge epigrafica di Giocondo" l'instancabile *scriptor Latinus* e Direttore Sezione Archivi della Biblioteca Vaticana M. Buonocore tratta di un testimone della terza recensione della silloge giocondiana, da lui ripescato da un codice colocciano di Apianus e Amantius. L'analisi dettagliata condotta da Buonocore dimostra, tra l'altro, quanto lavoro resta ancora da fare nella ricerca degli studi epigrafici dell'Umanesimo e Rinascimento. Magari un giovane studioso si prendesse l'impegno di rifare il noto trattato di Ziebarth, che oltre ai molti pregi possiede anche numerose debolezze.

Heikki Solin

HERBERT HOFFMANN: *Divergent Archaeology*. Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, Mainz – Ruhpolding 2007. ISBN 978-3-938646-12-0. XXXII, 304 pp. EUR 48.

Divergent Archaeology is a collection of sixteen essays spanning 1963 until 2007, all written by Herbert Hoffmann (with one piece written with Stella Lubsen-Admiraal). The essays reflect the author's changing and evolving interests, but the common factor is an interdisciplinary scope and an attempt to detect and decode symbolism in art. The starting point is often a single vase or decorative motif, but from there Hoffmann expands onto themes such as Greek religion, beliefs, and philosophy. Some essays stray from art history completely and deal with Parmenides and the Delphic mores. Hoffmann began his education and academic career in art history, but later studied and became increasingly interested in social anthropology. As such, the title of the publication is apt, although it remains ambiguous: Hoffmann's analysis features leaps most archaeologists would feel uncomfortable making.

The first few essays are short descriptions of ceramic artefacts, but "Hahnenkampf in Athen" introduces Hoffmann's interest in symbolism – what cockfights represented in art – and his interdisciplinary interests: he looks at the reality of cockfights as well as the literature on them. "Sexual and Asexual Pursuit: A Structuralist Approach to Greek Vase Painting" attempts to find a coherent and cohesive system in the decoration on askoi. "In The Wake of Beazley" from 1979 stands as a watershed in the monograph: in the essay, Hoffmann calls for interdisciplinary cooperation and looking at artefacts as remnants of cultures and people, not as mute entities to measure and list.

The remaining ten essays argue first for, then against, dualism. Hoffmann looks at decoration on rhyta, kantharoi, and the Hyakinthos Vase in Vienna as representations of a dualism

bridged by mediators. He argues cogently for the importance of sacrifice as a means of reaching the "Other world", and observes a shift in decorative motifs from blood-sacrifice animals (tying with, according to Hoffmann, with an aristocratic, heroic-traditional culture) to Dionysiac animals whose flesh was eaten raw in rituals. He draws interesting parallels between shamanistic travel without leaving the body and Apollo's swans – a symbol for travel to within the self as well as a physical trip to Hyperborea. He also suggests Persians and Thracians depicted on Attic vases represent mythical elements – "the Other", "elsewhere", "at another time". The ideas are innovative and credible as a suggestion for religious experience on a broader level, but they do leave the reader sceptical as to how confident we can be of how Greeks would have perceived art and how much symbolism artists put into their art.

After a dualism bridged by mediators, a oneness is achieved. The last seven essays of the publication from 2001 until 2007 leave the reviewer feeling mildly awkward. In these, Hoffmann utilizes Eastern religions, contemplation and mysticism to look at a variety of topics ranging from *gnothi sauton* to Zeno's paradoxes to eye-cups. Through achieving an experience of oneness through meditation, he came up with interpretations of ancient Greek philosophers' writings: *gnothi sauton* refers to perceiving your own oneness with everything and *meden agan* gets a reading of "nothing can be too much" as everything is boundless. Korai are neither common mortals nor goddesses but masters or teachers who achieved enlightenment through the Mysteries. While this approach opens up new avenues for interesting ideas – such as performing a libation with an eye-cup as looking Dionysus in the eye – the thought processes and experiences leading to these conclusions and analyses are so subjective one finds it hard to be convinced by them.

Divergent Archaeology documents an admirable career and the rapacious intellectual curiosity and broad-based education of Hoffmann. It provides good starting points for new ways of looking at artefacts and even ancient philosophy. His unconventional approaches, however, do not always convince the reader, and the last essays of the collection take away from the credibility of the work as a whole.

Elina M. Salminen

Die Etrusker: die Entdeckung ihrer Kunst seit Winckelmann. Herausgegeben von MAX KUNZE. Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, Ruhpolding – Mainz 2009. ISBN 978-3-938646-47-2. 144 S., 100 Abb. EUR 36.

In the autumn of 2009, the Winckelmann Museum in Stendal put on an exhibition on Etruscan art with special emphasis on the significance of Johann Winckelmann in identifying its nature. The objects of the exhibition came from different German museums and the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek of Copenhagen – this naturally limited the splendour of the exhibition, but, on the other hand, also gave it a certain freshness, as the objects, even if mostly published, were not familiar from every book on the Etruscans.

The book reviewed here is the exhibition catalogue, intended for a wider audience, but providing an interesting point of view for scholars as well. Every object of the exhibition is represented by a photograph of good quality, data (provenance, measures, dating) and an analytical description. There are also general presentations of the different areas of Etruscan art,

based on the best modern studies. But the special interest of the work comes from the reflection on Johann Winckelmann's *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums*, Dresden 1764, the basic work for the history of the research of ancient art.

The visitor or reader is prepared for the theme by an introductory article by Max Kunze "Die Anfänge der Etruskologie. Winckelmanns Vorgänger". After that, the question "Was ist etruskisch, was nicht?" becomes central. In the 18th century, Greece was still unknown even to most scholars and what had been excavated or found in Italy was considered either Etruscan or Roman. The famous case is Attic red and black figure ceramics, which was, before Winckelmann, held to have been produced in Etruria. But the whole history of ancient art, beginning with a rough chronology, was yet to be written, and here Winckelmann's role on Italian soil was also decisive. He could answer, in a way that would still be acceptable today, questions like what is archaic, what primitive? What are the stylistic phases of Etruscan art? And it is not Winckelmann's fault that, after him, so much has been found, for instance, virtually all painted tombs.

Winckelmann's work is followed abreast of the object entries also with quotations from *Geschichte der Kunst* – printed in red and Gothic type. The many parallel texts make the layout of the book somewhat unclear, but otherwise, like many exhibition catalogues today, it is a beautiful book at a favourable price.

Jorma Kaimio

DIETER MERTENS: *Città e monumenti dei Greci d'Occidente: dalla colonizzazione alla crisi di fine V secolo a.C.* Disegni di MARGARETA SCHÜTZENBERGER. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2006. ISBN 88-8265-367-6. 464 pp., 752 Ill. EUR 170.

With this book, Dieter Mertens, the great connoisseur of architecture and urbanism of the western Greek world, presents the framework of those works of art and items of everyday life that were displayed in the 1996 exhibition *The Greeks in the West* at the Palazzo Grassi in Venice.

The magnum opus gives answers to any question one might wish to ask about a what went on inside the urban walls of a western Greek colony. The author wanted to investigate why the colonists built in the way that they did and what the buildings and cities revealed about their ideas. In doing so he had the opportunity to review the wealth of information delivered to us by ancient literature. The most characteristic monuments, the temples, were extremely important for the identity of the colonists. They were well known to the travellers during the Enlightenment, and fascination with them has prevailed ever since. Modern techniques, however, allow us to see, interpret and understand even the minor traces, placing us in a better position compared to the travellers on the Grand Tour.

The period in question covers the centuries from the first coming of the colonists in the seventh century through the *floruit* of the western poleis until around 400 BC, when, among other things, the relations to the native populations underwent significant changes.

This kind of synthesis naturally exploits former publications and gathers information from ongoing projects, both international and local. It means researching and absorbing con-

siderable amounts of information, some of which is unpublished. As a result, Mertens' vast personal knowledge blends with that of his colleagues and numerous local archaeologists.

As a starting point for the book a very useful introduction sheds light on the situation in the motherland as well as in the new territories. The second chapter deals with the founding of the colonies, the third with the first peripteral temples in stone and the established urban plans of the 6th century. Another chapter is about the coming of the Ionic order and local impulses, and then the large flourishing cities of the fifth century both in Sicily and south Italy are treated. One chapter is dedicated to the cities affected by Hippodamean ideas and the apex of classical architecture. The last chapter is about the tension created both by the Carthaginians, the rise of Syracuse and the Italic tribes. The book ends in the period when the temples lost their value as monuments of identity and were replaced by theatres and other pieces of architecture, which rather reflects personal interests, such as private dwellings and funerary monuments.

The disposition is explicit; the text is supported by a vocabulary that includes both familiar terms and more rare ones. The extensive bibliography is followed by a useful index of both place names and their respective monuments.

The exquisite illustrations are present on almost every page – only the syntheses are without them – in both black and white and colour. The many drawings and plans were especially made for this book. There are both detailed and general pictures, and even the smallest ones are of high quality. The inner covers are equipped with simple and good maps of Sicily and South Italy with rivers, cities and contours clearly marked.

In 1990, R. J. A. Wilson published his overview of the Roman province of Sicily. Mertens' magnum opus is about the archaic and classical periods. On purpose he leaves out the hinterlands of the cities, the knowledge of which is quickly expanding and object of many changing theories. While digesting the enjoyable and pleasant text of the current book, one feels a growing urge to know about the late classical and Hellenistic Magna Graecia and Sicily.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

La mosaïque gréco-romaine IX, voll. 1–2. Actes du IX^e Colloque international pour l'étude de la mosaïque antique (Rome, 5–10 novembre 2001), édités par HÉLÈNE MORLIER avec la collaboration de CHRISTOPHE BAILLY – DOMINIQUE JANNETEAU – MICHÈLE TAHRI. Collection de l'École française de Rome 352. École française de Rome, Rome 2005. ISBN 2-7283-0690-7 (éd. complète). XXXV, 1398 pp., ill. EUR 190.

I due volumi, pesantissimi – anche in termini di valore e autorità –, raccolgono gli Atti del IX Colloquio internazionale per lo studio del mosaico antico e medievale (l'ultimo colloquio, l'undicesimo a partire dal 1963, è stato organizzato a Bursa nel 2009). I numerosi contributi sono ricchissimi di materiali e discussioni interessanti. Sono presenti, qua e là, anche alcune iscrizioni musive che forse meritavano un trattamento proprio speciale, preferibilmente nella sezione "La mosaïque, document d'histoire". Tra i tanti testi segnalo il primo, interessantissimo, sul famoso mosaico nilotico di Praeneste, firmato da Antero Tammisto. Peccato, però, che l'autore del bell'articolo non abbia potuto prendere in considerazione il recente e animato

dibattito, tutt'ora in atto, sull'autenticità del cd. papiro di Artemidoro (chi scrive è propenso a ritenere che probabilmente si tratta di un documento falso).

Mika Kajava

RABUN TAYLOR: *The Moral Mirror of Roman Art*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-86612-5. XIII, 274 pp. GBP 52, USD 97.99.

Mirrors are magnetic, as stated by Rabun Taylor; they attract the gaze in their reflected world full of paradoxes, being at once Self and the Other, true and deceptive, beneficial and baneful, surface and depth, active and passive. Such a complex cultural construct, the mirror image in antiquity has attracted and continues to attract persistent scholarly attention. Comprehensive catalogues of the phenomenon of the reflected image in Roman art were compiled already in 1940 by Lilian Dreger and in 1990 by Lilian Balensiefen, and they still serve as a base for the present study. The volume also participates actively in the ongoing discussion on the themes with such scholars as Shadi Bartsch, Nancy De Grummond, Françoise Frontisi-Ducroix, Willard McCarty and Jean-Pierre Vernant. The author, assistant professor in the Department of Classics at the University of Texas, Austin, has earlier dedicated volumes to different aspects of Roman construction, in particular water distribution and control. In this interdisciplinary study too, water is strongly present, but this time as a surface for reflection, with profound cultural meanings embedded. The main emphasis, as suggested by the title of the volume, is on Roman art, particularly on Campanian wall paintings of the Imperial era, although the images discussed range from Attic and Italic red-figure vases to late antique mosaics and reliefs. The meanings of mirrors and reflections in ancient written sources are also explored throughout the volume.

Taylor begins by proposing (p. 1) his initial dilemma: why is reflection in ancient art almost never casual? The author observes how reflection was very rarely used as a simple naturalistic prop, suggesting that it was too important a discursive tool for casual decorative use; the metaphorical potency of reflection would be safeguarded by reserving its use for special genres of myths. According to Taylor's initial proposition, the mirror is not an artifact of everyday use, but a coded device, first and foremost the "moral mirror", a teacher, *praeceptor*. Reflection, in fact, rather than the mirror, should be the key word of the volume, as physical mirrors constitute a minority of the material under examination, the main part being reflections on water, shields, or metal bowls.

This erudite and eminently readable quest of the author after moral, religious, ritual and social meanings intertwined with the reflected figure is divided, besides a general introduction, into five main chapters, each concentrated on a cycle of myths with the mirror image in a crucial role, and a sixth chapter of conclusions. A separate appendix on Medusa and the Evil Eye, a bibliography and an index are included as well. The Introduction (pp. 1–18) sums up previous research on the subject, concisely presenting the ancient mirrors as artifacts and giving five "mnemonic associations" to characterize the active Roman mirror image, the subject of his study: it is magic, metamorphic (i.e., assisting personal inner or outer transformation), metaphorical, magnetic (i.e., a captivating force), and moral.

The first chapter, The Teaching Mirror (pp. 19–55), examines the various roles of reflec-

tion in the construction of gender. The discourse starts from the theme of the teaching, philosophic mirror, prevalently male, and then proceeds to the cosmetic mirror of Venus, thoroughly female. The dualistic differentiation between the ideal Roman man as a reflected *doing*, and the Roman woman as a reflected *being*, the former concerned with physiognomic self-knowledge and self-improvement, the latter with cosmetic self-consciousness and self-indulgence, is well. The discourse on male mirrors, however, repeats many elements already treated in previous studies. Innovative parts are dedicated to the performative aspects of the mirror, as "a tool of the ubiquitous Roman rituals of self-actualization" and Venus' watery mirroring motives, such as the Marine triumph and doves at water basin. A few minor objections, not undermining the validity of the general argument, regard some iconographic details. Firstly, the identification of mirror panels used as back-drops in two Vesuvian paintings with actors, is perhaps too audacious (pp. 24–7, figs. 7–8); the reading of the object picked by a partridge from a box in the mosaic of the House of the Labyrinth in Pompeii is mistaken; it is clearly a necklace, not a mirror (p. 53–4, fig. 31).

In the second chapter, "Mirrors Mortal and Morbid: Narcissus and Hermaphroditus" (pp. 56–89), the attention is turned from the ideal Roman male and female reflection to a more complex "pathological reflectivity" that endangers the fragile ideal construction of gender. The major part of the discussion is taken up by the reflective figure of Narcissus, entrapped in his mirror image, with the consequent solipsistic absorption and "pathological sexual excess", perceived as female characteristics, undermining his virility, and, in the end, destroying him. The inescapable Ovidian narration of the myth is confronted with Pompeian visual representations, the authors presenting several poignant observations on the visual premonitions of Narcissus' fate and the meaning of the auxiliary figures of the torch-bearing amorines. The figure of Hermaphroditus, and that of a third ephebic youth destroyed by a mirroring pool, Actaeon, are treated at the end of the chapter, almost as an appendix.

The third chapter, "The Mirror of Dionysos" (pp. 90–136), takes the discourse into the realm of mystic mirrors, tools of spiritual change and gates to the transcendent, as well as concrete cult objects in the "mystagogue's tool-kit". The myth of Orphic Zagreus is discussed at length, and interesting Italic evidence is brought forth in order to propose that the mirror-bound death of the baby Zagreus was actually re-enacted in the mystic initiation, with the mirror effecting and symbolizing the initiate's inner transformation. In this chapter as well, two appendix-like subdivisions on the mechanisms of transformation follow. These are analyzed using the concept of *lamination*, coined by the author for the process of "purposeful conflation into a single, multivalent signifier of two or more distinct things that accidentally share formal similarity" (p. 108). This proves to be a valid analytical tool for addressing some perplexing iconographic problems, credibly ascribing to single elements various coexisting strata of meanings and double readings. The first example involves the handled *phiale* often shown in funerary scenes of South Italian vases – a much discussed and variously interpreted subject – for which the author suggests the interpretation that as an instrument of divination by lecanomancy it might formally and ideally be assimilated with the mirror, as a means of ritual communication with the deceased. The second example concerns a discoid object present in some thiasos scenes as "laminating" the idea of the mirror with the ecstatic *tympanum*.

The fourth chapter, "The Mirroring Shield of Achilles" (pp. 137–68), introduces the theme of reflective shields shared by the two final chapters. The iconographic shield can be seen as laminated with the mirror, for although they are metonymic for two opposite worlds,

the war and the boudoir, they share a formal and functional similarity, both being metallic discs, both being able to rebound and deflect. In this chapter, the author dedicates some spaces to the shield of Lamachus in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, the mirroring shield in the Alexander mosaic of the House of the Faun, proceeding then to analyze two famous iconographic cycles connected with Achilles himself: Achilles on Skyros and Thetis in the forge of Vulcan. In the fifth chapter, "The Mirroring Shield of Perseus" (pp. 169–96), the author takes a look in the eyes of Medusa, starting again from the discussion on the mythological narrative and its iconographic counterparts, with digressions on various interpretations of the myth starting with Freud. Differently from the shield of Achilles which shows shadows of the past and the future as a means of moral correction, the shield of Perseus is interpreted only as a medium for diminution, with limited effect of absorbing force, not effecting change on the interiority of the protagonist.

The task undertaken in the volume is not easy, as it involves the discussion of a whole series of some of the most debated ancient images, from the frieze of the Villa of the Mysteries to the Alexander mosaic, dwelling in the myths of Narcissus and Perseus which are unexhausted sources for new interpretations. Nevertheless, the book is successful in its complex enterprise of analyzing the reasons of the non-casuality of the mirror image in Roman iconography. The inner division in chapters and paragraphs lacks some structural clarity to guide the reader, but among the merits of the volume are its rich and well selected illustrations as well as the new arguments and tools offered for the discussion on the imagery of reflection; it thus succeeds in perpetuating the fascination of the Roman mirror images.

Ria Berg

BARRY HOBSON: *Latrinae et Foricae. Toilets in the Roman World*. Duckworth, London 2009. ISBN 978-0715638507. X, 190 pp. GBP 14.99.

Barry Hobson's book, *Latrinae et Foricae: Toilets in the Roman World*, focuses on Roman toilets, their distribution, function and significance. Although the title mentions Roman world, the emphasis lies mainly on Italy, and on Pompeii and Ostia in particular. This is understandable because of the richness of the available material in, as well as author's extensive familiarity with, these sites, but might come as a disappointment to some. In order to compensate for the imbalance, the volume starts with an introduction in which known remains of toilets in various parts of the Roman world are presented, in a guide-book manner. The beginning constituted the most puzzling part of my reading experience. Whereas it shows that toilets were widespread, which does not come as a surprise, given that we talk about highly urban settlements, it also shows that they were varied in construction and style. The reader is left with too many questions as no explanations are given at this point. At the end of my reading experience I was left to wonder, whether it would have been better to start with the second to last chapter, *Who cares about latrines?*

Hobson's style is casual, yet informative. However, one notices Hobson's background as a doctor (GP) by the occasional use of rather specific scatological and medical terminology (especially in chapter *Motions, maladies and medicine*). The contrast is pronounced when the glossary contains explanations of terms such as "atrium" or "diachronic". The volume is very up to date, it includes, e.g., a reference to the recent studies of Herculaneum sewers, the final

results of which still await publication. Hobson's work is a part of a hitherto overlooked but quickly growing discipline. As far as I am aware, in Pompeii alone there currently are several studies focusing on waste disposal, including human excrement. On the whole this exemplifies change in interests from, as Hobson puts it, the "heroic and monumental", to everyday life.

The discussion of the evidence as a whole takes place towards the end of the work. It becomes clear that the great variability described at the beginning is a result of differences in local geology, settlement history and factors such as population size and city layout. Hobson poses the interesting question of whether the lack of toilets in the Roman villas of Britain is due to the availability of space and hence less evident pressure by a growing population to develop and control its disposal strategies.

Hobson's greatest contribution is to ask questions which are related to the experiential in addition to technical aspects of treating human waste. He seeks to comprehend how Romans understood concepts such as smell, dirt and privacy, and whether their understanding was bound to class or gender. This is a direction less taken so far but increasingly *en vogue* (see, e.g., Beard [2008] *Pompeii; Life of a Roman town*).

In terms of technological aspects, Hobson gives a very good picture of what we so far know of the actual use mechanisms of Roman toilets. He, for instance, lists ways to identify toilet structures. Although resembling criteria given, e.g., by Jansen (1997, in Bon and Jones [eds.] *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*) and Andrews (2006, *The Use and Development of Upper Floors in Houses at Herculaneum*), rewriting and reorganizing these arguments is a contribution towards a consensus on how to identify toilet structures and determine their functions.

Moreover, although based on material mainly deriving from a single Pompeian city block, Hobson suggest that there might have been time-related changes in the placing of toilets. They were first built deep into the matrix of the house. Later on, locations next to circumference walls, as well as upstairs, were favored. This line of thought needs further research but is interesting. If evidence for change is found more extensively, are the reasons resulting in changes related to building practices, changes in space use or changes in people's preferences? According to Hobson, living spaces were increasingly moved to upper floors, convenience and smell was thought of with these changes. He dates the changes to the first century AD, an era so often portrayed as a period of major changes in Pompeian society. Moreover, Hobson argues that over time smaller toilets were favored at the expense of large ones, which could indicate an increased desire for privacy.

As a further note on privacy, Hobson suggests that men only used communal toilets. Moreover, the elite members of the society, and perhaps women more in general, used chamber pots instead of built-in toilets. However, one wonders how much fictional characters, such as Trimalchio's exaggerated portrayal, or malicious notes written on walls, reflect common practices. If men's privacy was protected by their togas, could not women's voluptuous tunics provide similar privacy? Privacy is altogether a delicate discipline as is it very much based both on social practices and personal preferences.

In a similar vein to privacy, the definition of rubbish, or refuse, is very much a cultural construct and defined differently by different individuals. It depends on our perceptions of what is useful or not, recyclable or not, valuable or not, or inconvenient or not. Indeed, our concepts of cleanliness and unpleasantness were not shared by the Romans. Hobson embarks to define some of their concepts. He uses historical sources, ethnography, medical and chemical understanding to approximate their reactions, responses and attitudes to waste, bodily dis-

charge, fumes and smell. Interestingly, Hobson argues for some universals among all people of all times. Moreover, Hobson discusses sources which, according to him, show that rubbish problems were very real. The discussion takes him to the concept of hygiene and transmission of diseases.

All in all, Hobson's treatment of complex topics is worth an praise. He painstakingly goes through his sources to deduce some overarching principles. As Hobson treads on sensitive ground, it is rather easy to both agree and disagree with him, but at least he brings the topics up. And that is valuable.

Heini Ynnilä

Atlante tematico di topografia antica 19. A cura di LORENZO QUILICI – STEFANIA QUILICI GIGLI. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2009. ISSN 2036-3834. 325 pp. EUR 195.

Ecco un volume benvenuto nella serie ATTA. Apre con tre contributi dedicati a centri dell'Italia centro-settentrionale: Ch. Chiussi, "Urbanistica di Piacenza"; Ch. Bianchi, "Le necropoli di Ariminum: analisi topografica"; A. Del Re, "Il sistema idraulico di Chiusi in epoca antica".

La parte del leone è costituita dai contributi su varie questioni riguardanti la zona più meridionale della penisola. In un contributo importante G. Cera, "Sopravvivenze della divisione agraria romana nella piana di Venafro" si analizzano i resti della centuriazione, strade e altre fonti per elucidare quanto resta di un sistema di organizzazione agraria di età romana. L'articolo è ricco di osservazioni interessanti ed equilibrate e nel complesso si può aderire ai risultati dell'a. Seguono contributi ugualmente interessanti di M. Pagano – M. Raddi – A. Pannacci, "Lo scavo di Macchiagodena-Fosso Pampalone (Isernia) e la problematica dei rapporti fra luoghi di culto e insediamenti nel Sannio Pentro"; S. Cascella, "La villa presso il teatro di Sessa Aurunca: una prima presentazione"; St. Quilici Gigli, "Organizzazione e aspetti dello spazio sacro. Appunti sul santuario capuano di Diana alle falde del Tifata". Segue un lunga sezione dedicata a Norba, con più autori; per i lettori di questa rivista il maggior interesse deriverà da un'analisi approfondita su una dedica a Diana rinvenuta nell'acropoli maggiore di Norba da parte di P. Carfora e D. Nonnis. Il dedicante era un certo *C. B+[/---] Attalus*, di cui lo stato giuridico resta aperto. Nonnis, che discute a lungo la questione (e la diffusione del cognome, di certa origine macedone [ma la rarità delle attestazioni dell'età repubblicana si spiega con la rarità della documentazione onomastica in generale]), sembrerebbe propendere per un'origine libertina, ma piuttosto penserei ad un ex peregrino; in documenti per così dire ufficiali della seconda metà del II secolo ci si aspetterebbe l'omissione del cognome, anche se d'altra parte ci sono noti, in fonti letterarie, casi dei liberti con cognome già molto prima (cfr. quanto dico in *Menschenraub, Menschenhandel und Sklaverei in antiker und moderner Perspektive* [2008] 104sgg.). Chiude il lungo articolo di L. Quilici, "Praetorium Speluncae. Ricerche sui confini della proprietà imperiale". Tutto sommato un volume ricco di contributi interessanti.

Heikki Solin

WOLFRAM LETZNER: *Das römische Pula. Bilder einer Stadt in Istrien*. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2005. ISBN 3-8053-3472-9. IV, 107 S. EUR 41.

Ein anregendes Buch. Die heute Kroatien gehörende Stadt war im Altertum ein Teil des römischen Italien in der zehnten augusteischen Regio. Im Buch werden eine Geschichte der Stadt und die Beschreibung ihrer wichtigeren Monumente geboten. Auch die Geschichte und die Denkmäler des nicht fern liegenden Nesactium werden auf dieselbe Weise beschrieben. Im Ganzen ein gelungenes Buch, das der Reisende auch mit sich nehmen kann.

Heikki Solin

CLAUDIA VALERI: *Marmora Phlegraea. Sculture del Rione Terra di Pozzuoli*. Monografie della rivista "Archeologia Classica" 2, n.s. 1. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-8265-330-7. 248 pp., 214 ill. EUR 145.

La maggior parte dei materiali studiati nel presente volume provengono da scavi piuttosto recenti effettuati nel centro monumentale dell'antica Puteoli, cioè nelle immediate vicinanze del tempio detto di Augusto nel Rione Terra di Pozzuoli. A giudicare dalle nuove scoperte, l'area del rione, ricchissima di dediche e immagini, sembra sia stata dedicata in primo luogo al culto imperiale fin dall'età augustea. I materiali che rappresentano tanto la ritrattistica ufficiale e le sculture iconiche quanto l'arte ideale dai prototipi greci, sono analizzati con ampia autorità e competenza. Tra le altre cose, vengono discusse l'interazione tra i due gruppi menzionati nonché l'interferenza tra il significato degli originali e i gusti artistici prevalenti in età romana. Molto utili anche i capitoli introduttivi che illustrano alcuni aspetti della storia della colonia di Puteoli offrendo anche uno sguardo alle realtà topografiche del Rione Terra. Pochi mi risultano gli errori di stampa, ottima invece la qualità delle illustrazioni.

Mika Kajava

NATALYA SIDOROVA: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Russia 1. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Attic Black-Figured Vases*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1996. ISBN 88-7062-937-6. 64 pp., 66 pls. EUR 160.

OLGA TUGUSHEVA: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Russia 2. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. South Italian Vases. Apulia*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1997. ISBN 88-7062-990-2. 48 pp., 41 pls. EUR 160.

OLGA TUGUSHEVA: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Russia 3. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. South Italian Vases. Lucania. Campania. Paestum. Sicily*. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 1997. ISBN 88-7062-991-0. 36 pp., 44 pls. EUR 160.

NATALYA SIDOROVA: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Russia 4. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Attic Red-Figured Vases. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-108-8. 68 pp., 51 pls. EUR 160.*

NATALYA SIDOROVA – OLGA TUGUSHEVA: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Russia 5. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Attic Red-Figured Vases. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. ISBN 88-8265-125-8. 78 pp., 43 pls. EUR 160.*

OLGA TUGUSHEVA: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Russia 6. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Attic Red-Figured Vases. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2003. ISBN 88-8265-235-1. 88 pp., 70 pls. EUR 160.*

NATALYA SIDOROVA: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Russia 7. Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Corinthian and Etrusco-Corinthian Vases. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2004. ISBN 88-8265-297-1. 60 pp., 51 pls. EUR 160.*

ELENA ANANICH: *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum Russia 8. The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg. Lucanian Vases. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2005. ISBN 88-8265-322-6. 38 pp., 47 pls. EUR 160.*

The first long-awaited Russian fascicule contains a selected part of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts' best-preserved intact and fragmentary Attic black-figure vases. The next fascicules represent South Italian vases (Fascs. 2–3 and 8), Attic red-figure vases (Fascs. 4–6), Corinthian (Fasc. 7) and Etrusco-Corinthian vases (Fasc. 7). The text and plates are presented in order of shapes. The order is not identical in all volumes.

The introductions to the fascicules offer a brief history of the museum and its collections. They also explain the background of the current fascicules. The entry for each vase gives its current catalogue number, former collection and provenience if known. This is followed by basic measurements which include, for example, height, diameter of the rim and diameter of the body. This is followed by a detailed description of the condition and colour of the clay and glaze. Next, the exact shape and other information is given, followed by the decorative scheme. Then comes a detailed description of A, B, and the interior, dipinti and graffiti where appropriate, added color, date and attribution, commentary and parallels of the attribution. A bibliography is given at the end if vase has been published previously. Indexes include typically attribution to painters and groups, plates, mythological subjects, former owners and proveniences.

Most vases are published in these fascicules for the first time. It is clear that the impressive collections of the Hermitage and Pushkin Museums are one of the most important collections in the world. These collections are at least as important as, for example, the collections of the British Museum and the Louvre. The quality, quantity and variety of the vases are without question. Fascicule 4 includes, for example, a beautiful neck-amphora signed for Polygnotos (pls. 2.1–3; 3.1–3), the Nolan amphora by the Hermonax (pls. 4.1–2; 5.1–2) and the calyx-krater by the Villa Giulia Painter (pls. 22.1–2; 23.1–4).

Russian collections of ancient painted pottery are not well known to foreign scholars. One exception is A. D. Trendall who studied and attributed most of the South Italian vases in the Hermitage and Pushkin Museum during his visits to Russia in the sixties and seventies.

Recommendable profile drawings are typically missing. Some of the photographs are not sharp in fascicule 7 (pls. 3, 5, 7 and 9). There should be also more close-ups of vases and drawings of the picture fields. The vessels' capacity would have been also useful and interesting to include. Text and plates are bound together and printed on both sides of the page on heavy glossy paper. The fascicules are mainly congruent and easy to use. These fascicules are good additions to the CVA series.

Jani Oravisjärvi

Kunst und Aufklärung im 18. Jahrhundert. Kunstausbildung der Akademien. Kunstvermittlung der Fürsten. Kunstsammlung der Universität. Gesamtkatalog der Ausstellungen in Halle, Stendal und Wörlitz. Herausgegeben von M. KUNZE. Verlag Franz Philipp Rutzen, Ruhpolding 2005. ISBN 3-938646-03-9. 358 S., 194 F-, 139 S/W- abb. EUR 39.

Auch ein Altertumswissenschaftler hat sein Interesse an diesem Buch, das einen Ausstellungskatalog ausmacht. Ich meine nicht nur die Behandlung der Sammlung antiker Münzen in Halle (S. 256–64); im Allgemeinen ist dieser Katalog anregend für das "Studium über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst", um mit dem Titel eines epochalen Buches des jungen Winckelmann den Zweck des Katalogs zu beleuchten. Der Katalog konzentriert sich auf das geistige Leben im Bereich von Sachsen-Anhalt, von dessen historischen Landschaften bedeutende Impulse für die Kultur in Deutschland und das europäische Geistesleben ausgingen. Ein anregendes Buch, das viel zum Nachdenken über unser Kulturerbe fordert.

Heikki Solin

Digitalisierte Vergangenheit. Datenbanken und Multimedia von der Antike bis zur frühen Neuzeit. Herausgegeben von FLORIAN KRÜPE – CHRISTOPH SCHÄFER. Philippika: Marburger altertumskundliche Abhandlungen 5. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2005. ISBN 3-447-05048-9. XI, 147 S. EUR 48.

This volume presents the collected papers of the conference *Historische Datenbanken und Multimedia* organized by AGE (Arbeitsgemeinschaft Geschichte und EDV, Philipps-Universität Marburg) held in 2002. The conference discussed the use of multimedia in the arts as well as the place of multimedia in teaching and research. Authors from different disciplines present the results of their projects; databases (maps, material culture), digitizing of different source material (papyrology) and their recording, even multimedia-based reconstructions of historical events. Chronologically, the papers stretch from the Antiquity until the Early Modern period. Especially creditable is the editors' critical approach to the subject.

Mika Hakkarainen

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ISSN 0570-734X
Tammisaari 2011
Ekenäs Tryckeri Ab