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NOTE ESEGETICO-TESTUALI A DIONE DI PRUSA V: *SULL'ABITO* (*OR*. LXXII)*

Eugenio Amato

I. § 1 (II, p. 184, 6–12 von Arnim)[1]

> Διὰ τί ποτε οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ὅταν μέν τινα ἴδωσιν αὐτὸ μόνον χιτῶνα ἔχοντα, οὔτε προσέχουσιν οὔτε διαγελῶσι, λογιζόμενοι τυχὸν <ὅτι> ναύτης ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δεῖ καταγελᾶν τούτου ἕνεκα· ὁμοίως οὐδ' εἴ τινα ἴδοιεν γεωργοῦ στολὴν ἔχοντα ἢ ποιμένος, ἐξωμίδα ἔχοντα ἢ διφθέραν ἐνημμένον ἢ κοσύμβην ὑποδεδυκότα οὐ χαλεπαίνουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ προσποιοῦνται τὴν ἀρχήν, ἡγούμενοι προσήκειν τὴν στολὴν τῷ τοιοῦτόν τι πράττοντι.

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* Le prime quattro serie, relative ad *or*. LIV–LV e LXX–LXXI, si leggono rispettivamente in *AC* 76 (2007) 163–9 e 79 (2010) [in corso di pubblicazione], in *REA* 112 (2010) [in corso di pubblicazione] ed in *Emerita* 78 (2010) [in corso di pubblicazione].

[1] Riporto i testi secondo le pagine e le linee dell'edizione, tuttora di riferimento, di H. von Arnim, *Dionis Prusaensis quem vocant Chrysostomum quae extant omnia*, I–II, Berlin, 1893–1896. Altre opere (edizioni e/o traduzioni dionee) citate in forma abbreviata sono (in ordine alfabetico) le seguenti: G. de Budé (ed.), *Dionis Chrysostomi orationes*, I–II, Lipsia 1916–1919; G. del Cerro Calderón (trad.), *Dión de Prusa*. (Vol. III:) *Discursos XXXVI–LX*, Madrid 1997; H. Lamar Crosby (ed./trad.), *Dio Chrysostom*. Vol. IV: *Discourses XXXVII–LX*, Cambridge – London 1946; L. Dindorf (ed.), *Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes*, I–II, Lipsia 1857; N. Dukas (ed.), *Diōnos Chrysostomou Logoi Ogdoēkonta*, I–III, Wien 1810; W. Elliger (trad.), *Dion Chrysostomos. Sämtliche Reden*, Zürich – Stuttgart 1967; A. Emperius (ed.), *Dionis Chrysostomi Opera Graece*, I–II, Braunschweig 1844; G. Merula (trad.), *Orationis Dionis e Graeco in Latinum interpretatio De ornatu philosophi*, Venezia (?), 1469–1470 ca. (versione inedita attualmente conservata nel ms. *Ferrar. Bibl. Com. Ariostea* II 162, da cui sono tratte le citazioni); F. Morel (ed.), Δίωνος Χρυσοστόμου Λόγοι Π. *Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes LXXX* […], Parigi 1604; Th. Na(o)georgus (trad.), *Dionis Chrysostomi, praestantissimi et philosophi et oratoris, Orationes Octoginta*, Basilea 1551; J. J. Reiske (ed.), *Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes*, I–II, Lipsia 1798[2]; F. Torresano (ed.), *Dionis Chrysostomi Orationes LXXX* […], Venezia s.d. (1551?).

1. Sulla scorta del von Arnim, del de Budé e del Crosby, si sarebbe tentati di inserire alla l. 2, dopo λογιζόμενοι τυχὸν, la congiunzione ὅτι, la cui caduta può comodamente spiegarsi dal punto di vista paleografico: nulla di più facile che l'occhio dello scriba sia passato da –ν finale di τυχὸν a –ν iniziale di ναύτης.

È preferibile, tuttavia, stampare la lezione dei manoscritti, segnando (con l'Emperius ed il Gasda[2]) il punto in alto dopo τυχὸν ovvero λογιζόμενοι τυχὸν "ναύτης ἐστὶν ὁ ἄνθρωπος", καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν δεῖ καταγελᾶν. Si veda l'esempio analogo, offerto da *Ev. Io.* 3,28: εἶπον Οὐκ εἰμὶ ἐγὼ ὁ Χριστός, ἀλλ᾽ ὅτι Ἀπεσταλμένος εἰμὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐκείνου, in cui si registra parimenti l'ellissi del primo ὅτι *recitativum*.[3]

Del resto, nel nostro caso, la particolarità si potrebbe spiegare anche come un'alternanza di *oratio recta* e *oratio obliqua* ("…pensando forse: 'quell'individuo è un marinaio' e che non bisogna schernirlo per questo motivo"), sull'esempio, per intenderci, di Xen. *An*. 3,3,12 (Ξενοφῶν ἔλεγεν ὅτι ὀρθῶς αἰτιῷντο [...] ἀλλ᾽ ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἠναγκάσθην διώκειν) e 6,6,25 (ὁ Κλέανδρος εἶπεν ὅτι Δέξιππον μὲν οὐκ ἐπαινοίη [...] νῦν οὖν ἄπιτε καταλιπόντες τόνδε τὸν ἄνδρα).

Neppure, infine, va esclusa la possibilità di dare ad ὅτι un valore consecutivo, "sicché", "ragion per cui".[4]

2. È curioso notare come tutti gli editori, prima del Crosby, abbiano segnato alla l. 3 (dopo ἕνεκα), così come in *or*. 2,3 e 57,1, il punto in alto anziché il quanto mai doveroso e necessario interrogativo in dipendenza della formula διὰ τί ποτε (corretto è l'uso in *or*. 4,68; 10,17; 21,12; 32,47; 38,4; 48,11; 50,8; 56,11; 61,17; 69,5;

Quanto alle sigle dei manoscritti richiamati nel corso del presente articolo, esse vanno così sciolte: M = *Leid. B.P. gr*. 2c, saec. XVI (I classe); U = *Vat. Urb. gr*. 124, saec. X ex. (II classe); B = *Par. gr*. 2958, saec. XIV ex. (II classe); H = *Vat. gr*. 91, saec. XII/XIII (III classe); P = *Vat. Palat. gr*. 117, saec. XV (III classe); C = *Par. gr*. 3009, XV (III classe).

Per maggiori dettagli sulla tradizione manoscritta dionea e la "storia" delle edizioni/traduzioni dei suoi discorsi, mi permetto di rinviare ad E. Amato, *Favorinos d'Arles. Oeuvres*, I. *Introduction générale – Témoignages – Discours aux Corinthiens – Sur la Fortune*, texte établi et comm. par E. A., trad. par Y. Julien, Paris 2005, 211–58 e 286–98.

2 Cf. A. Gasda, *Kritische Bemerkungen zu Dio Chrysostomus und Themistius*, Lauban 1883, 7.

3 Vedi, al riguardo, Fr. Blass – A. Debrunner, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, bearbeitet von Fr. Rehkopf, Göttingen 1976[14], § 470.1[2].

4 Su tale uso, vedi in particolare W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, Berlin 1963[5], 980 e F.-M. Abel, *Grammaire du grec biblique suivie d'un choix de papyrus*, Paris 1927[2], § 79.

77/78,3). Fa eccezione il negletto Gasda,[5] che già aveva richiamato l'attenzione degli studiosi sull'errata interpuzione del passo, proponendo, tuttavia, di segnare il punto interrogativo dopo διαγελῶσι.

3. L'Emperius ed il Dindorf (ma invero tutti gli editori più antichi), seguiti da H. van Herwerden,[6] eliminano, sulla base di un'omissione in HP, il secondo ἔχοντα (l. 5), sentito probabilmente come ripetitivo rispetto al precedente ἔχοντα. Ed invece esso va mantenuto per ragioni stilistiche e di simmetria compositiva sia che si segni, con il von Arnim, il de Budé ed il Crosby, la virgola dopo il precedente ποιμένος (con l'occhio rivolto al § 9 [II, p. 186, 21–22 von Arnim], dove si legge: τόν γε μὴν ποιμένος ἔχοντα στολὴν) sia che, come a me pare più opportuno, si riferisca il participio a ποιμένος ἐξωμίδα: nel primo caso, infatti, si attenterebbe al parallelismo sost.-ptcp./sost.-ptcp./sost.-ptcp. (ἐξωμίδα ἔχοντα / διφθέραν ἐνημμένον / κοσύμβην ὑποδεδυκότα), nel secondo non solo al parellelismo sost.(gen.)-sost.(acc.)-ptcp./sost.(gen.)-sost.(acc.)-ptcp. (γεωργοῦ στολὴν ἔχοντα / ποιμένος ἐξωμίδα ἔχοντα), quanto anche al ripetizione in chiara funzione antistrofica del ptcp. ἔχοντα.

II. § 2 (II, p. 184, 21–23 von Arnim)

> … καὶ ταῦτα εἰδότες ὅτι τοῖς καλουμένοις φιλοσόφοις ξυνήθης ἐστὶν ἡ στολὴ αὕτη καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἀποδεδειγμένη.

1. Normalmente, in greco classico, il predicato nominale può essere concordato al neutro singolare, solo qualora i sostantivi maschili o femminili (singolari o plurali), cui esso si riferisce, esprimano un valore astratto o vengano usati in senso generico, mai, invece, in riferimento a casi singolo o ad esempi concreti.[7] Tuttavia, a partire dalla koiné neotestamentaria, il fenomeno inverso, senz'altro più raro, non manca di essere attestato.[8]

A tale particolarità va, a mio avviso, ascritto anche il passo dioneo in cui, stando alla quasi concorde tradizione manoscritta, la parte nominale, in dipenden-

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[5] Cf. Gasda (sopra nt. 2), 7.

[6] "Ad Dionis Chrysostomi editionis Arnimianae vol. II", *Mnemosyne* n.s. 26 (1898) 344–59, spec. 355.

[7] Vedi N. Basile, *Sintassi storica del greco antico*, Bari 1998, 64.

[8] Vedi Blass – Debrunner (sopra nt. 3), § 131.1, con richiamo in particolare a *2Ep.Cor*. 2,6: ἱκανὸν τῷ τοιούτῳ ἡ ἐπιτιμία αὕτη ed *Ev.Mat*. 6,34: ἀρκετὸν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἡ κακία αὐτῆς.

za da un soggetto femminile non generico, è parimenti espressa al neutro singolare. Diversamente da tutti gli editori precedenti (ad eccezione del Torresano, del Morel, del Reiske e del Dukas), ritengo sia, dunque, da stampare la *lectio difficilior* ξυνήθες (UB CHP) … ἀποδεδειγμένον (HCP) contro ξυνήθης (M) … ἀποδεδειγμένη (UB M).

III. § 3 (II, p. 185, 4–6 von Arnim)

> οἱ δὲ ἔτι τούτων ἀτοπώτεροι εἰώθασιν ἐπιδημεῖν πτερὰ ἔχοντες ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς ὀρθά, ὥσπερ Νασάμωνες.

1. È quanto mai doveroso ripristinare qui la corretta grafia dei codici della terza classe, Νασαμῶνες, contro Νασάμωνες della prima e della seconda (Νασαμῶνες in E), stampata quest'ultima erroneamente in tutte le edizioni dionee, a partire dall'Aldina (lo stesso valga per i casi presenti in § 4 [II, p. 185, 8 von Arnim] e § 6 [II, p. 185, 29 von Arnim], dove occorre ugualmente scrivere Νασαμῶνας in luogo di Νασάμωνας): la distinzione tra Νασαμών, etnico, e Νασάμων, nome del sovrano eponimo locale, ben nota e rispettata in tutti i passi d'autori greci in cui compaia l'uno o l'altro vocabolo, trova la sua testimonianza teorica esplicita in Eust. *Comm. in D.P.* 209 (= *GGM* II, p. 253, 1–4 Müller): Ὅτι οἱ Νασαμῶνες, τὸ Λιβυκὸν ἔθνος, ἔκ τινος βασιλεύσαντος τὴν ὁμωνυμίαν ἔσχον, ὃς Νασάμων βαρυτόνως ἐλέγετο, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἐθνικὸν τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὀξύνεται, πρὸς ἀντιδιαστολὴν ἴσως τοῦ κυρίου ὀνόματος.[9]

IV. § 7 (II, p. 185, 31–186, 10 von Arnim)

> τοὺς μέντοι φιλοσόφους ὑπονοοῦσιν, ὡς καταφρονοῦντας αὐτῶν καὶ καταγιγνώσκοντας πολλὴν ἀμαθίαν καὶ δυστυχίαν, καὶ ὅτι φανερῶς μὲν οὐ καταγελῶσιν, ἰδίᾳ δὲ παρ' αὑτοῖς οὕτως ἔχουσιν, ὡς πάντας ἀθλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ τῶν πλουσίων δὴ καὶ μακαρίων δοκούντων, οὓς αὐτοὶ ζηλοῦσι καὶ σμικρὸν διαφέρειν οἴονται τῶν θεῶν εὐδαιμονίας ἕνεκεν· καὶ ὅτι ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ διαγελῶσι τοὺς πολυτελῶς ἐσθίοντάς τε καὶ πίνοντας καὶ καθεύδειν μαλακῶς βουλομένους καὶ μετὰ γυναικῶν ἑκάστοτε ὡραίων καὶ

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[9] Cf., inoltre, W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Braunschweig 1911^3, II, 976–7 (s.v. Νασαμῶνες); J. Krischan, "Nasamon", *RE* XVI:2 (1935) 1776 e F. Windberg, "Nasamones", ibid. XVI:2 (1935), 1778.

παίδων ἀναπαύεσθαι καὶ πολλὰ χρήματα ἔχειν καὶ θαυμάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ ὄχλου καὶ περιβλέπεσθαι.

1. L'uso dell'ottativo obliquo o di subordinazione, anche in dipendenza di un tempo principale, è un'evidente finezza sintattica, oculatamente operata da Dione al fine di esprimere il carattere subiettivo della causa addotta, vale a dire il punto di vista, il pensiero del soggetto della reggente (la gente comune) che non è quello suo proprio.[10]

Diversamente, dunque, da una parte degli editori, ma in accordo con A. Gasda,[11] ritengo doveroso ripristinare alla l. 3, con l'Emperius ed il Sonny,[12] la lezione καταγελῷεν di M UB C contro καταγελῶσι(ν) di HP, correggendo, inoltre, il tràdito ἔχουσιν in ἔχοιεν.

Se, infatti, non è impossibile supporre in una medesima proposizione dipendente causale l'uso contemporaneo dell'ottativo e dell'indicativo,[13] che in tal caso la variante corretta sia proprio quella all'ottativo è dimostrato dalla coordinazione col successivo enunciato circostanziale di causa 11. 6–7, in cui l'unanime tradizione manoscritta dà ἀτιμάζοιεν καὶ διαγελῷεν (corretto nuovamente in maniera arbitraria con ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ διαγελῶσι dal Reiske, seguito pedissequamente dal von Arnim, dal de Budé e dal Crosby; non, giustamente, dall'Emperius né dal Dindorf). Dal punto di vista stilistico, si recupera così un elegante parallelo strutturale, che, per via dell'omoteleuto, oppone chiasticamente καταγελῷεν / διαγελῷεν ad ἔχοιεν / ἀτιμάζοιεν.

2. Mi sembra del tutto gratuita la correzione alla l. 7 di τοὺς, introdotta per primo dal von Arnim ed accolta in seguito dal de Budé e dal Crosby, in luogo di ὡς dei manoscritti. Tale congiunzione, infatti, dal chiaro valore causale subiettivo (da rendere, dunque, mediante perifrasi del tipo "nella convinzione/presunzione che", "ritenendo che", ecc.), introduce, così come ὡς delle linee precedenti (ll. 3-4: ὡς πάντας ἀθλίους ὄντας τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους), un analogo enunciato participiale di 2° grado.

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[10] Su tale tipo di proposizioni causali, vedi J. Humbert, *Syntaxe grecque*, Paris 1960^3, § 336 e Basile (sopra nt. 7), 681; quanto all'elasticità ed alla non obbligatorietà della norma che prevede l'uso dell'ottativo obliquo solo in dipendenza di tempi storici, vedi nuovamente Basile (sopra nt. 7), 631 nt. 22 e 665 nt. 8 con la bibliografia relativa.

[11] Gasda (sopra nt. 2), 7.

[12] Cf. A. Sonny, *Ad Dionem Chrysostomum analecta*, Kioviae 1896, 224–5; Id., *WKP* 14 (1897) 459–65, spec. 461.

[13] Vedi *infra*.

V. § 9 (II, p. 186, 21–26 von Arnim)

> τόν γε μὴν ποιμένος ἔχοντα στολὴν ἴσασι καὶ τοῦτον ὅτι ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνα διατρίψει, ὥστε ὑπ' οὐδενὸς λυπούμενοι τούτων ἐῶσιν αὐτούς· ὅταν δέ τινα ἴδωσι τὸ σχῆμα ἔχοντα τὸ τοῦ φιλοσόφου, λογίζονται ὅτι οὗτος οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλεῖν [ἐστιν] οὔτε πρὸς γεωργίαν οὔτε προβάτων ἕνεκεν οὕτως ἔσταλται, κτλ.

1. In luogo dell'ottativo futuro διατρίψοι concordemente attestato nella tradizione manoscritta, il Reiske, seguito da tutti gli editori successivi, stampa alla l. 2 l'indicativo διατρίψει (la correzione è, invero, presupposta già nella versione del Merula: "…sciunt oves acturum et in eis pascendis immoraturum", ed in quella del Naogeorgus: "…sciunt et hunc ad oves abiturum, apudque eas moraturum"), sì da ristabilire una presunta simmetria col presente ἄπεισιν, usato qui, com'è norma pressoché istituzionalizzata in greco, con valore di futuro.[14]

Ebbene, a parte il fatto che alternanze modali del genere non sono estranee all'*usus* dioneo (cf. *or*. 4,11: δακνόμενος, εἴ τις αὐτοῦ διοίσει ῥᾳδίως οὕτως καὶ ἀπραγμόνως ζῶν, καὶ προσέτι οὐχ ἧττον ὀνομαστὸς ἔσοιτο; vedi, inoltre, *infra*, la nota num. VI), io credo che l'ottativo dei manoscritti potrebbe anche essere preservato, dando ad esso un valore potenziale prospettico (anche senza ἄν): cf., *e.g*., D. C. 38,1: εἶπέ σφισι πολλάκις ὅτι οὔτε γράψοι τι ὃ μὴ καὶ ἐκείνοις συνοίσει.

Nulla impedisce, inoltre, di interpretare l'ottativo futuro διατρίψοι come apodosi di un periodo ipotetico della possibilità (con valore nuovamente prospettico) con ellissi della protasi,[15] facilmente deducibile dal contesto (sc. ἴσασι καὶ τοῦτον ὅτι ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ < εἰ ἀπίοι> διατρίψοι).

2. L'espressione εἶναι πρός τινι nel senso di "applicare la mente a, esser tutto preso da qualcosa" è tipica della lingua attica: cf., *e.g*., Xen. *HG* 4,8,22; Pl. *Phd*. 84c; Dem. 19,127. La lezione di M οὔτε πρὸς τῷ πλεῖν ἐστιν οὔτε πρὸς γεωργίᾳ va, dunque, senz'altro preferita a οὔτε πρὸς τὸ πλεῖν ἐστιν οὔτε πρὸς γεωργίαν della restante tradizione. Al contrario, il von Arnim, seguito dal de Budé e dal Crosby, accordando maggior peso a quest'ultima variante, espunge (l. 4) drasticamente ἐστιν, sì da far dipendere πρὸς τὸ πλεῖν e πρὸς γεωργίαν da ἔσταλται.

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[14] Cf. E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik*, II. *Syntax und syntaktische Stilistik*, vervollst. u. hrsg. von A. Debrunner, München 1950, 365; E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Berlin/Leipzig 1970², II:1, 133–4; Blass – Debrunner (sopra nt. 3), § 99, 1; Basile (sopra nt. 7), 346.

[15] Vedi Basile (sopra nt. 7), 757–8.

VI. § 11 (II, p. 187, 9–14 von Arnim)

> οὗτοι προσίασιν οὓς ἂν ἡγῶνται φιλοσόφους ἀπὸ τῆς στολῆς, ὡς ἀκουσόμενοί τι παρ᾽ αὐτῶν σοφόν, ὃ οὐκ ἂν παρ᾽ ἑτέρου ἀκούσειαν, πυνθανόμενοι καὶ περὶ Σωκράτους, ὅτι σοφός τε ἦν καὶ διελέγετο τοῖς προσιοῦσι λόγους φρονίμους, καὶ περὶ Διογένους, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πρὸς ἅπαντα εὐπόρει λόγου καὶ ἀποκρίσεως.

1. Come già rilevato da A. Sonny[16] e da B. Jaekel,[17] e con buona pace di A. Gasda,[18] l'uso, all'interno di uno stesso enunciato dichiarativo, dell'indicativo e dell'ottativo non è un *unicum* in Dione: oltre i paralleli ricordati dallo stesso Jaekel, si veda, in questo medesimo discorso, l'appena discusso § 9 (ἴσασι καὶ τοῦτον ὅτι ἄπεισιν ἐπὶ τὰ πρόβατα καὶ περὶ ἐκεῖνα διατρίψοι) ed inoltre *or*. 30,26 (ἔλεγε … ὡς ἀγαθοί τέ εἰσι καὶ φιλοῖεν ἡμᾶς; ingiustamente corretto dal von Arnim in εἶεν καὶ φιλοῖεν). È inutile, dunque, la correzione alla l. 3 di διελέγετο proposta dal von Arnim (essa si trovava, invero, già nell'edizione del Dukas) ed accolta in seguito dal Crosby.

VII. § 13 (II, p. 187, 25–188, 4 von Arnim)

> εἰσὶ δὲ οἳ καὶ τὸν Αἴσωπον οἴονται τοιοῦτόν τινα γενέσθαι, σοφὸν μὲν καὶ φρόνιμον, αἱμύλον δὲ ἄλλως καὶ ξυνθεῖναι λόγους ἱκανόν, οἵων <οἱ> ἄνθρωποι ἥδιστ᾽ ἂν ἀκούοιεν. καὶ τυχὸν <οὐ> παντάπασι ψευδῆ οἴονται καὶ τῷ ὄντι Αἴσωπος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐπειρᾶτο νουθετεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἐπιδεικνύναι αὐτοῖς ἅττα ἁμαρτάνουσιν, ὡς ἂν μάλιστα ἠνείχοντο αὐτόν, ἡδόμενοι ἐπὶ τῷ γελοίῳ καὶ τοῖς μύθοις· κτλ.

1. οἱ ἄνθρωποι di l. 2 è correzione del von Arnim, accolta anche dal de Budé, in luogo di αὐτοὶ dei manoscritti. Essa è chiaramente superflua e azzardata: nel contesto, infatti, αὐτοὶ vale epanaletticamente per (αὐτοὶ) οὗτοι nel senso di "i suddetti", secondo un fenomeno molto attestato nei papiri e nella koiné neotestamentaria.[19]

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16 Cf. Sonny (sopra nt. 12).

17 *De optativi apud Dionem Chrysostomum et Philostratos usu*, Trebnitziae 1913, 25 e nt. 1.

18 Gasda (sopra nt. 2), 8.

19 Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Einleitung in die Sprache des Neuen Testaments*, Heidelberg 1911^{3}, 145–6; Mayser (sopra nt. 14), II/2, 76–7; Blass-Debrunner (sopra nt. 3), § 288.2.

2. Credo sia da ripristinare alla l. 4 il testo dei manoscritti (εἰ τῷ ὄντι) contro l'intervento del von Arnim (καὶ τῷ ὄντι), accolto dal de Budé e dal Crosby. La congiunzione εἰ (seguita dall'imperfetto per denotare cosa già accaduta e/o reiterata) assume, infatti, nel contesto una palpabile sfumatura restrittivo-causale,[20] come riprova, del resto, anche l'accostamento rafforzativo con l'espressione avverbiale τῷ ὄντι.

3. Gli editori, senza distinzione alcuna, hanno finora accolto alla l. 6 la lezione αὐτόν di M HPC (in C per dittografia compare αὐτὸ αὐτόν) contro αὐτοῦ di UB.

La scelta è, a mio avviso, infelice, trattandosi in quest'ultimo caso di *lectio difficilior*: l'uso di ἀνέχομαι (nel senso di "sopportare, tollerare") col genitivo della persona o della cosa, al posto del più regolare accusativo, è innovazione non ignota, ad es., alla koiné neotestamentaria.[21]

In realtà, io ritengo molto più probabile che nel contesto il verbo ἀνέχομαι vada inteso nel senso estensivo di "attenersi, seguire (qualcuno)"; in tal caso, esso richiede proprio il genitivo (cf., *e.g.*, Pl. *Prt*. 323a: ἅπαντος ἀνδρὸς ἀνέχονται; Dem. 19,16: τῶν τὰ τρόπαια καὶ τὰς ναυμαχίας λεγόντων ἀνέχεσθαι).

VIII. § 13 (II, p. 188, 5–9 von Arnim)

> ἀπὸ δὴ τῆς τοιαύτης δόξης, ὡς καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ἀκουσόμενοί τι τοιοῦτον οἷον Αἴσωπος ἔλεγεν ἢ ὁποῖον Σωκράτης ἢ [ὁποῖα] Διογένης, προσίασι καὶ ἐνοχλοῦσι καὶ οὐ δύνανται ἀπέχεσθαι, ὃν ἂν ἴδωσιν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ σχήματι, οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ ὄρνεα, ἐπειδὰν ἴδωσι γλαῦκα.

1. Per ragioni di simmetria compositiva, si desiderebbe alla l. 3, in luogo di ὁποῖα, il singolare ὁποῖον da legare anaforicamente ad ὁποῖον precedente. Ma, a ben vedere, il ricorso da parte di Dione al plurale non solo garantisce al passo la sua tenuta formale (ὁποῖον … ὁποῖα forma poliptoto), quanto soprattutto ne evidenzia in maniera abilmente sottile la forza logico-contenutistica: vi è ὁποῖα perché, diversamente da Socrate ed Esopo, unici autori dei propri discorsi o favole, di Diogene circolano *varie* sentenze, τὰ μέν τινα ἴσως εἰπόντος αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἄλλων συνθέντων (§ 11 [II, p. 187, 15–16 von Arnim]).

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[20] Vedi Blass – Debrunner (sopra nt. 3), § 372.

[21] Cf. Blass – Debrunner (sopra nt. 3), § 176.1.

Su tale strada ne consegue, anzi, la totale inadeguatezza della posizione del von Arnim e del de Budé, i quali, sulle orme del Wilamowitz,[22] espungono del tutto dal passo il pronome ὁποῖα, ad evidente danno sia dello stile che del contenuto.

IX. § 14 (II, p. 188, 9–16 von Arnim)

> ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ξυνετίθει λόγον Αἴσωπος τοιοῦτον, ὡς τὰ ὄρνεα ξυνῆλθε πρὸς τὴν γλαῦκα καὶ ἐδεῖτο τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων σκέπης ἀπανίστασθαι, πρὸς δὲ τὰ δένδρα τὴν καλιάν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτά, καὶ τοὺς τούτων μεταπήγνυσθαι κλῶνας, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ᾄδειν ἔστιν εὐσημότερον· καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς δρῦν ταυτηνὶ ἄρτι φυομένην, ἐπειδὰν πρὸς ὥραν ἀφίκηται, ἑτοίμως ἔχειν ἱζάνειν καὶ τῆς χλοερᾶς κόμης ἀπόνασθαι.

1. Diversamente dai precedenti editori, che, a partire dall'Emperius, hanno tutti stampato alla l. 2, sulla scorta di un intervento del Reiske, τῆς μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων σκέπης ("from the shelter afforded by the human habitations" [Crosby]), ritengo si debba ripristinare la lezione ὀπῆς del *consensus codicum*, trasponendo, magari, col Geel, il gruppo τῆς μὲν dopo ἀπὸ.

Credo, infatti, che il vocabolo ὀπή sia usato qui da Dione non già nel senso più diffuso di "tana, cavità (sotterranea)" – il che spiegherebbe, evidentemente, il dubbio dei precedenti editori –, quanto piuttosto in quello, attestato ad es. in Xenarch. fr. 4,11 Kassel–Austin, di "apertura, camino (nel tetto, per far uscire il fumo)", oppure in quello di "pertugio" (di una finestra), che troviamo in Ar. *V*. 317b, 350 e 352.

L'abitudine degli uccelli (in particolare, civette e cicogne) di adattare a proprio nido le aperture ed i camini degli edifici cittadini, anche a seguito del feroce disboscamento messo in atto dagli antichi,[23] andò sempre più incrementandosi in età imperiale, se Giovenale può lamentare in *sat*. 1,116 la presenza assordante di un nido di uccelli perfino sul tetto del tempio della Concordia a Roma.[24]

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[22] *Ap*. von Arnim.

[23] Su tale aspetto, vedi P. Fedeli, *La natura violata. Ecologia e mondo romano*, Palermo 1990, 72–80.

[24] Per l'interpretazione, invero controversa, del passo, in cui secondo lo scoliaste si alluderebbe al rumore creato dal becco delle cicogne tutte le volte che esso urtava contro il tetto, vedi J. Jessen, "Zu Juvenal", *Philologus* 59 (1900) 505–6 e S. Consoli, "Giovenale *Sat*. I 116", *RFIC* 39 (1911) 409–17.

2. Contro la correzione del Reiske alla l. 5 (ταυτηνὶ ἄρτι), recepita dal Dukas, dal von Arnim e dal de Budé, o – peggio ancora – quella del Post[25] (ἄρτι τότ' ἤδη), stampata dal Crosby (tale soluzione era, invero, già sottesa alla traduzione latina del Naogeorgus: "…quin etiam quercui tum primum nascentem"), basti il rinvio a Plb. 30,27,1: μετὰ τὴν συντέλειαν τῶν ἀγώνων, ἄρτι τούτων γεγονότων. Eventualmente, ci si sarebbe potuti attendere πρὸς δρῦν ἐν ἀρχῇ ταυτηνὶ φυομένην – immaginando, cioè, un *saut du même-au-même* (δρῦ<ν ἐ> ν) ed al contempo un errore di omofonia e scambio di consonanti (ΑΡΧΗ→ΑΡΧΙ→ΑΡΤΙ) – con evidente richiamo ad *or*. 12,7 (ξυνεβούλευε [scil. ἡ γλαῦξ] τοῖς ὀρνέοις τῆς δρυὸς ἐν ἀρχῇ φυομένης μὴ ἐᾶσαι), dove Dione ripropone, guarda caso, la medesima favola esopica.

Ad ogni modo, credo che non vada assolutamente messa in discussione la presenza del dimostrativo ταυτηνὶ. È evidente, infatti, che tale pronome – erroneamente reso dal Crosby e dal del Cerro Calderón con un articolo indeterminativo ("upon *an* oak", "en *una* encina"), con un determinativo dall'Elliger ("wenn *die* Eiche") – non può che rinviare nel contesto a cosa presente e vicino a chi ascolta (ne è una riprova l'uso del deittico rafforzativo –ί), come accade, ad es., sempre in Dione in *or*. 12,21 (τοῦδε τοῦ θεοῦ, παρ' ᾧ νῦν ἐσμεν).

In altre parole, è da supporre che l'oratore, al fine di vivificare il suo discorso e suscitare anche una leggera ironia nell'uditorio, abbia realmente avuto la possibilità, durante la *performance* orale, di far segno verso una giovane quercia, situata proprio nel luogo della recitazione, vicino a sé ed al suo pubblico.[26]

A sostegno di tale interpretazione, non è forse vano sottolineare come nel corso della medesima orazione Dione abbia insistito il richiamo alla contingenza del momento, mediante l'uso di pronomi quali ἔνθα (§ 3) ed ἐνθάδε (§ 5).

X. § 15 (II, p. 188, 18–22 von Arnim)

> τὰ δὲ μήτε τῆς ξυμβουλῆς ἀπεδέχετο τὴν γλαῦκα, τοὐναντίον δὲ ἔχαιρε τῇ δρυῒ φυομένῃ, ἐπειδή τε ἱκανὴ ἦν, καθίσαντα ἐπ' αὐτὴν ᾖδεν. γενομένου δὲ τοῦ ἰξοῦ ῥᾳδίως ἤδη ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἁλισκόμενα μετενόουν καὶ τὴν γλαῦκα ἐθαύμαζον ἐπὶ τῇ ξυμβουλῇ.

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25 *Ap*. Crosby.

26 Per siffatti tipi di richiami nella sofistica di età imperiale, vedi L. Pernot, *La rhétorique de l'éloge dans le monde gréco-romain*, Paris 1993, 434–44.

1. La lezione dei manoscritti ἀποδέχεσθαι può facilmente mantenersi, interpungendo forte subito dopo τὴν γλαῦκα e correggendo μήτε in μήποτε (la negativa μήτε richiederebbe, infatti, una correlativa qui assente). Al contrario, il Reiske, ritenendo di dover legare la frase a quella successiva (τοὐναντίον δὲ ἔχαιρε), propose di emendare in μὴ τῆς ξυμβουλῆς ἀποδέχεσθαι ovvero in μὴ τῆς ξυμβουλῆς ἀπεδέχετο. Quest'ultima correzione è quella accolta dal von Arnim, dal de Budé e dal Crosby, i quali, tuttavia, per distrazione, lasciano nel testo μήτε in luogo di μὴ congetturato dal loro predecessore, con evidente danno per il testo stesso.

2. Contro ἐθαύμαζεν dell'archetipo, il Torresano (ovvero la sua fonte manoscritta) stampò ἐθαύμαζον (l. 4), correzione in seguito accolta da tutti gli editori dionei; ciò al fine di evitare un brusco passaggio dalla 3a persona plurale (μετενόουν) alla 3a singolare (ἐθαύμαζεν) per poi ritornare, subito dopo, nuovamente alla 3° plurale (II, p. 188, 22–23 von Arnim: ἔχουσιν … ἐθέλουσι).

Il fenomeno, tuttavia, non è isolato in Dione e, come qui, analogamente in contesti favolistici con soggetti plurali neutri: cf. *or*. 12,1 (περιέπουσι [scil. τὴν γλαῦκα] τὰ ἄλλα ὄρνεα, καὶ ὅταν γε ἴδῃ μόνον, τὰ μὲν καθιζόμενα ἐγγύς, τὰ δὲ κύκλῳ περιπετόμενα) e 12,8 (τὰ δὲ [scil. ὄρνεα] ἠπίστει τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἀνόητον αὐτὴν ἡγοῦντο καὶ μαίνεσθαι ἔφασκον).[27]

XI. § 16 (II, p. 189, 4–6 von Arnim)

> τοιγάρτοι οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ βλεπόμενοι ὥσπερ αἱ γλαῦκες ὄχλον πολὺν ξυνάγομεν τῷ ὄντι ὀρνέων, αὐτοί τε ὄντες ἠλίθιοι καὶ ὑφ' ἑτέρων τοιούτων ἐνοχλούμενοι.

Il von Arnim, seguito dal de Budé e dal Crosby, scrive ὥσπερ αἱ (l. 1), che è proposta di correzione, per il tràdito ὡσπερεὶ, suggerita per primo dall'Emperius nell'apparato della propria edizione. Si tratta, tuttavia, di un intervento non necessario, dal momento che ὡσπερεί può tranquillamente essere usato dinanzi a singoli concetti (sostantivi o participi) al posto di ὡς. [28]

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[27] Su tale particolarità sintattica, non sconosciuta già all'epoca classica, vedi W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern von Dionysius von Halikarnass bis auf den zweiten Philostratus*, I–IV, Stuttgart 1887–1897, I, 102; II, 22, n. 80 e D. A. Russell, *Dio Chrysostom. Orations VII, XII, XXVI*, Cambridge 1992, 162.

[28] Cf. *LSJ*, 1040 (*s.v.*).

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BREVE STORIA DEL TECOLITO, CON PARTICOLARE RIFERIMENTO ALLA MEDICINA GRECA

Luigi Arata

1. Il tecolito, nome dall'evidente etimologia (τήκω "io sciolgo", λίθος "la pietra", cioé, nella lingua scientifica, il calcolo), non è un ingrediente particolarmente comune nella medicina greca antica: d'altra parte, non faceva sicuramente parte di quei prodotti che potevano essere comprati o che ci si poteva procurare sul posto. L'espressione con cui talora nelle fonti lo si indica, cioé quella di pietra giudaica o siriaca (Paolo Egineta, 7,3,11, ritiene, tra l'altro, che quest'ultima denominazione sia quella originaria: ὁ δὲ Ἰουδαϊκὸς καλούμενος τῶν ἐν νεφροῖς λίθων ἐστὶ θρυπτικός· ὅθεν καὶ τηκόλιθον αὐτὸν οἱ νεώτεροι προσαγωρεύουσιν),[1] infatti, fa presumere che esso fosse importato dalla Palestina o dalla Siria, come peraltro i testi stessi attestano in modo inequivoco.[2]

Alla lista delle spezie che, dunque, venivano importate dal Vicino Oriente, va aggiunta anche la pietra giudaica, che doveva essere evidentemente considerata piuttosto utile, se addirittura Aezio (2,19) può citare un verso greco che ne fa uno sperticato elogio: χαῖρε θάλασσα Ἀράβων φέρουσα πημάτων ἄκος εὕρεμα τηκόλιθον. L'autore, che non viene citato, sembra essere un viaggiatore dei mari orientali, il quale dà l'addio al mare Arabico, cui si dice particolarmente grato per portare nel mondo il tecolito, definito come una panacea per tutti i dolori.[3]

In particolare, l'impiego principale di questa pietra era nei casi di calcoli (come attestano diversi preparati la cui esistenza è confermata a partire dai tempi di Galeno) o renali (a) o meno spesso vescicali (b):[4]

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[1] Da rigettare, invece, la testimonianza dell'autore del *De lapidibus*, attribuito a Dioscoride Pedanio, secondo cui il tecolito sarebbe stato chiamato anche κόλιθον. Evidentemente, si tratta di un errore del copista del trattato.

[2] Gal. *Simpl. med. temp. fac*. 12,199; Aet. 2,19; Orib. 15,1: 26,8; Ps. Diosc. *Lap.* 35; cfr. anche Diosc. 5,137 e Orib. 13 λ 16.

[3] Su questo passo dovremo tornare oltre.

[4] I due impieghi sono citati insieme da Aezio (3,152), ma come il medico amideno spiegherà

(a)

- Galeno, nel *De simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* (12,199), consiglia di prenderne una dose di polvere disciolta in tre ciati di acqua calda. Il passo è parafrasato da Aezio (2,19) e dall'autore del trattato *De lapidibus*, attribuito erroneamente a Dioscoride (35); altrove, ancora Aezio (11,5) ritiene che l'uso del tecolito sia indicato anche quando i calcoli sono accompagnati da forti sensazioni di dolore;
- in Aezio (11,13) e Paolo Egineta (7,11,54) sono due ricette analoghe concernenti i calcoli al rene: gli ingredienti (particolarmente rari), tra cui è il tecolito, sono quasi tutti gli stessi (ad es. il nardo, l'issopo, il pepe, il prezzemolo, il costo, la pianta sassifraga, la cassia, il cipero, la polvere d'avorio);
- ancora in Paolo Egineta (3,45,2) appare uno strano rimedio, capace di sgretolare i calcoli renali senza, d'altra parte, scaldare il corpo del paziente in superficie: si tratta di un miscuglio a base di tecolito in miele e vino, nei quali sono disciolti anche il sangue seccato di un capro e le parti di alcune cicale cui vengono tolte ali e zampe;
- nello pseudo-galenico *De affectuum renibus insidentium dignotione et curatione* (19,695), nel caso di una improvvisa nefrite, si sostiene che, per distruggere i calcoli, il prodotto migliore e più energico è la pietra giudaica, assieme ad altri materiali provenienti dall'Oriente, come lo βδέλλον d'Arabia o la radice della κάππαρις d'Egitto;

(b)

- come già Galeno (12,199), che menzionava a proposito la sua stessa esperienza, Aezio (2,19) non è molto convinto dell'efficacia del tecolito nel caso di calcoli alla vescica; d'altronde, a differenza del suo più importante predecessore, menziona una ricetta dell'astrologo e faraone Nechepso,[5] se-

a 2,19 il tecolito sembra assolutamente migliore nel primo caso. Si veda anche a proposito l'elenco di Aet. 11,10.

[5] Nechepso è un faraone della XXVI dinastia (663–525 a.C.): il sacerdote Petosiride gli avrebbe indirizzato un compendio astrologico, che è passato alla storia con i loro due nomi. Di quest'opera i frammenti, pubblicati da E. Riess, "Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta magica", *Philologus Suppl.* 6 (1892) 325–94, tramandano una collezione disomogenea: quasi sicuramente non si tratta del lavoro di un solo autore (F. Cumont, "Écrits hermetiques, I: Sur les douze lieux de la sphère; II: Le médecin Thessalus et les plantes astrales d'Hermès Trismégiste", *RPh* 42 (1918) 67; T. Barton, *Ancient Astrology*, London 1994, 26). Tra gli altri, appaiono anche tracce di un trattato di botanica astrologica, a scopi medici, dal quale probabilmente potrebbe essere stato tratto il passo citato da Aezio. Secondo W. Kroll ("Aus der Geschichte der Astrologie", *NJA* 7 [1901] 573ss.), la cui opinione è condivisa anche dagli studiosi successivi, si tratta di una traduzione greca databile alla metà del II secolo a.C. Un sacerdote di nome Petosiride fu sepolto nel IV secolo a.C. a Tuna el-Gebel, presso Ermopolis: la sua tomba divenne meta di pellegrinaggio da parte di malati (G. Lefebvre, *Le tombeau de Pétosiris*, Le Caire 1924, 11). Tuttavia, non è lui l'autore del trattato: quest'ultimo risalirebbe a metà del II sec. a.C. e avrebbe usurpato il prestigio sia della scienza regale (rappresentata da Nechepso) sia di quella

condo cui occorre triturarlo, mescolarlo ad acqua, farne un unguento e poi passarlo intorno alla vescica e al pube, dopo aver tagliato i peli intorno alla zona (si veda anche Ps. Diosc. *Lap.* 35);
- alla stessa preparazione di Nechepso, potrebbe far riferimento anche Dioscoride (5,137), che sostiene che, sciolto in tre ciati di acqua calda (come nella ricetta galenica), il tecolito potrebbe aiutare nelle difficoltà urinarie e nel distruggere i calcoli alla vescica.

Un'altra testimonianza di Dioscoride (*Eup.* 2,118,2) mette il tecolito in un elenco di rimedi per due patologie apparentemente diverse fra loro: la litiasi dei neonati e la scabbia alle vesciche. Probabilmente, si tratta di un solo disturbo, anche se i due sintomi sembrano assolutamente lontani tra loro: si tratterà, presumibilmente, di una calcolosi vescicale, contro la quale, come in altri casi, si esorta a tritare della pietra giudaica, che poi va bevuta in mescolanza con una certa quantità di vino.

D'altra parte, i medici greci attestano l'uso del tecolito anche in altre circostanze, come ad es. la cura della podagra (Aezio 2,19 ne consiglia l'uso come unguento, una volta che è mescidato con olio di mirto; cfr. anche Ps. Diosc. *Lap.* 35), o come diuretico (Aezio 11,10). Più complicata appare una ricetta, tratta dal XII libro dei *Libri medicinales* di Aezio (12,64) per un unguento contro la podagra, nel quale il tecolito è abbinato al glaucio, alla mirra e all'aloe, in un impasto che ha i suoi collanti nel tuorlo d'uovo e nel vino.

Non è improbabile, tra l'altro, che la sua fama crescesse nel tempo, visto che la ricetta che Aezio, a 11,3, definiva sulla base del "legno di nasturzio" (διὰ τοῦ καρδαμίνου ξύλου) viene riproposta, seppure in una versione corretta in qualche punto, dal più tardo Paolo Egineta (7,11,54), ma sotto una diversa denominazione, διὰ τηκολίθου, la quale, poi, sarebbe passata nel volgare italiano, come "diatecolito", per indicare proprio questo preparato.[6]

2. La medicina greca classica, d'altra parte, seppure Galeno scrivesse pagine non proprio esaltatorie delle qualità di questo prodotto, deve essere considerata re-

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sacerdotale (il primo Petosiride, del quale avrebbe forse perfino scelto il nome come pseudonimo). Cfr. M. Pieper, "Nechepso", *RE* XVI (1925) 2167; F. Boll – C. Bezold – W. Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung. Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie*, Leipzig – Berlin 1931[4], 23ss.; E. Honigmann, "Die Anaphorai der alten Astrologen", in J. Garrett Winter (ed.), *Michigan Papyri III: Papyri in the University of Michigan Collection, Miscellaneous Papyri*, Ann Arbor 1936, 306; D. Pingree, *The Yavanajâtaka of Sphujidhvaja*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1978, II, 436.

6 A. Bonavilla – M. A. Marchi, *Dizionario etimologico di tutti i vocaboli usati nelle scienze, arti e mestieri che traggono origine dal greco*, Milano 1820, II, 384.

sponsabile di aver trasmesso alle medicine successive, quella araba e quella medievale, l'idea che effettivamente il tecolito avesse qualche proprietà. Quanto alla scienza farmacologica romana, forse proprio perché in genere è debitrice di Galeno, non conosce quasi la pietra giudaica, se si escludono due passi tratti dai libri di litologia della *Historia naturalis* di Plinio il Vecchio (36,35,143; 37,68,184), che si limita a recuperare i termini della descrizione antica del tecolito e a ricordarne in entrambi i casi la capacità di distruggere i calcoli, nel primo passo alla vescica, in una bevanda a base di vino.

Naturalmente, la medicina moderna, se a partire dall'Ottocento ha cominciato a boicottare l'utilizzo di questa droga, poi, ha dovuto fare i conti con una tradizione davvero molto antica e profonda, tanto da riammetterla in alcuni preparati, che si dice, ancora oggi, abbiano qualche validità. La storia della pietra giudaica parte, in pratica, dopo il mondo classico, come si diceva, proprio da quello arabo, dove alcuni importanti medici,[7] come Rhazes (864–930) a Bagdad, il primo farmacologo persiano moderno Muwaffiq ibn ’Ali al-Harawi (noto anche come Abu Mansur Muwaffak) nel suo importante *Liber fundamentorum pharmacologiae*,[8] il filosofo e scienziato Avicenna (autore, nel 1025 circa, del *Canone di medicina* 2,2,394) e successivamente anche Moses Maimonides (1135–1204), che lavorò, com'è noto, soprattutto nell'Africa mediterranea, già invasa dai mussulmani,[9] la usano con sicurezza, mettendo per una volta da parte le maggiori esitazioni del medico greco che più li ha influenzati, e cioé Galeno.

In Occidente, invece, sulla scorta di Isidoro di Siviglia, che menziona nelle sue *Etymologiae* (16,4,12) lo "Iudaicus lapis", sostenendo, scorrettamente, che i Greci lo chiamassero "grammas",[10] ancora Alberto Magno (ca. 1200–1280) nel

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[7] Cfr. anche E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, Cambridge 1984, 1274; A. Karbstein, *Die Namen der Heilmittel nach Buchstaben: Edition eines arabisch-romanischen Glossars aus dem frühen 17. Jahrhundert*, Genève 2002, 132. Ma si vedano anche: F. Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, London – New York 1992, 412, 702; M. R. Ardalan – M. M. Shoja – R. S. Tubbs – G. Eknoyan, "Diseases of the Kidney in Medieval Persia – the Hidayat of Al-Akawayni", *Nephrology Dialysis Transplantation* 22:12 (2007) 3413–21, che traduce in particolare alcuni capitoli di un trattato persiano databile alla fine del X sec., la *Guida dello studente di medicina* opera di Abubakr al-Akawayni al-Bokhari.

[8] *Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze (Liber fundamentorum pharmacologiae)*, zum ersten Male nach dem Urtext übers. und mit Erklärungen versehen von Abdul-Chalig Achundow aus Baku, Dorpat 1893, 52, 181.

[9] *Treatise on Poisons and their Antidotes*, ed. by S. Muntner, Philadelphia 1966, 14; *The Medical Aphorisms of Moses Maimonides*, transl. and ed. by F. Rosner and S. Muntner, New York 1973, 100.

[10] Isidoro evidentemente non comprendeva le sue fonti, che invece segnalavano che sulla pietra potessero leggersi segni simili a lettere, forse d'alfabeto ebraico: vedi *infra*.

De mineralibus 2,2 ripete le stesse notizie del suo predecessore,[11] che però non ha detto una parola sui possibili impieghi medici della pietra. Dunque, per molto tempo la scienza medievale non aggiunge molto (né lo faranno a ben vedere molti studiosi successivi) alle conoscenze sull'argomento. D'altra parte, sono da segnalare due voci fuori dal coro le quali in qualche modo danno nuove interpretazioni del tecolito: da una parte, a cavallo tra XII e XIII secolo, il medico e botanico belga, canonico a Tournai e prevosto di Mons, Jean de Saint Amand[12] stabilisce che l'uso di questa pietra debilita lo stomaco e toglie l'appetito; dall'altra, lo storico del Trecento di Liegi, Jean d'Outremeuse, autore, tra le altre opere, anche di un *Trésorier de philosophie naturelle des pierres precieuses* (II, ms. A,97r), la impiega per colorare di verde il vetro. Secondo una interpretazione moderna, la pietra giudaica, in questo caso, sarebbe stata la cosiddetta zaffara, cioé un impasto vitreo di colore turchino o violetto, usato come vernice nell'industria della maiolica.[13]

In età rinascimentale, con la riscoperta di testi scientifici antichi in lingua originale, la pietra ebraica gode di un nuovo momento di successo: in particolare, infatti si possono ricordare, tra i propugnatori del suo impiego nel Cinquecento, personalità anche tra loro molto diverse come l'alchimista e mago Paracelso,[14] l'umanista senese Pietro Antonio Mattioli, passato alla storia per aver scritto un magistrale commento all'opera farmacologica di Dioscoride (e proprio in quest'opera, datata al 1544, sostiene che il tecolito sia moltissimo usato ai suoi tempi),[15] il padre della mineralogia Georg Agricola (che, nel 1546, descrive la pietra con accuratezza, ricordando che può essere prescritta per i calcoli, nel suo capolavoro, il *De natura fossilium*),[16] il controverso naturalista e entomologo ita-

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[11] Albertus Magnus, *Book of Minerals*, transl. by D. Wyckoff, Oxford 1967, 100.

[12] *Die Areolae des Johannes de Sancto Amando (13. Jahrhundert)*, von J. L. Pagel, Berlin 1893, 51.

[13] A.-F. Cannella, *Gemmes, verre coloré, fausses pierres précieuses au Moyen Âge: le quatrième livre du "Trésorier de philosophie naturelle des pierres précieuses" de Jean d'Outremeuse*, Genève 2006, 161.

[14] A proposito si legga la ricetta conservata in E. Künßberg, "Die Anwendung von Heilpflanzen zur Zeit des Paracelsus und heute", *Manuskripte – Thesen – Informationen. Deutsche Bombastus-Gesellschaft* 7 (1993) 6 <bombastus-ges.de/pdf/heft7.pdf>. Secondo il *Dizionario di alchimia e di chimica antiquaria. Paracelso*, ed. G. Testi – S. Andreani, Roma 1980, 137–8, si sarebbe trattato della cosiddetta pietra della memoria, farmaco preparato a Parigi nel 1600 per curare le ferite da arma da fuoco e le piaghe.

[15] P. A. Mattioli, *I discorsi di M. Pietro And. Matthioli... ne i sei libri di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo della materia medicinale*, In Venezia 1563, 724.

[16] G. Agricola, *De Natura Fossilium (Textbook of Mineralogy)*, ed. by M. Ch. Bandy – J. A. Bandy, New York 2004, 14, 96–7. Cfr. anche dello stesso scienziato l'opera pubblicata nel 1556

liano Ulisse Aldrovandi (il quale, probabilmente nel 1572, costruendo una specie di catalogo per il museo di storia naturale da lui stesso realizzato a Bologna, assicura di aver rimediato alcuni esemplari del reperto).[17]

Dopo di loro, molti studiosi si limitano a trascrivere, quasi alla lettera, il capitolo di Dioscoride (e al massimo quello galenico, già citati entrambi) sul tecolito: è il caso, ad es., del botanico e anatomista Andrea Cesalpino, autore alla fine del Cinquecento di un trattato *De metallicis* in tre libri,[18] dello storico della medicina egizia Prospero Alpini (1553–1617),[19] dell'alchimista paracelsiano Martin Ruland il Vecchio, il cui lessico è pubblicato solo nel 1612, ad opera del figlio che ne avrebbe ripercorso le orme.[20] Ancora a metà del Seicento, quando Adrianus Tollius pubblica postuma l'opera mineralogica del bruggino Anselmus de Boot, il capitolo dedicato alla pietra giudaica è una riscrittura, per quanto elegante, in lingua latina, della testimonianza di Aezio, ivi compreso il passo tratto da Nechepso.[21]

Il quasi coevo medico ravennate Tommaso Tomai, dal canto suo, crede alle proprietà del tecolito,[22] così come il botanico inglese Nicholas Culpeper (che sostiene nel 1653, probabilmente per averlo provato personalmente nella sua espe-

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De re metallica, transl. by H. C. Hoover, New York 1986, 115.

[17] U. Aldrovandi, *Discorso naturale. Nel quale si tratta in generale del suo Museo, e delle fatiche da lui usate per raunare de varie parti del mondo, quasi in un Theatro di Natura tutte le cose sublunari, come piante, animali et altre cose minerali. Et parimente vi s' insegna come si de' venir nella certa et necessaria cognitione d'alcuni medicamenti incerti et dubbij, ad utilità grandissima non solo de' medici, ma d'ogni altro studioso. All'Ill.mo et Ecc.mo S.or Giacomo Boncompagni castellano di S. Angelo*, Bologna 1572 (?), conservato in mn. presso la Biblioteca universitaria di Bologna, fol. 527a, consultabile alla pagina internet: <http://www.filosofia.unibo.it/aldrovandi/pinakesweb/UlisseAldrovandi_discorsonaturale2.asp?PageLineId=613&B1=%3E%3E&workid=87>, ma anche in S. Tugnoli Pattaro, *Metodo e sistema delle scienze nel pensiero di Ulisse Aldrovandi*, Bologna 1981, 198.

[18] A. Cesalpino, *De metallicis libri tres*, ed. by Ph. Scherb – A. Conrad, Noribergae 1602, 132.

[19] Si veda *Rerum Aegyptiarum libri quattuor*, Lugduni Batavorum 1735, III,6,149 (cfr. anche l'edizione francese di P. Alpin*, Histoire naturelle de l'Égypte, 1581–1584*, traduit du latin, et présenté par R. de Fenoyl, Le Caire 1979, 288).

[20] M. Rulandus, *Lexicon alchemiæ, sive Dictionarivm alchemisticvm, cum obscuriorum verborum, & rerum hermeticarum, tum Theophrast-Paracelsicarum phrasium, planam explicationem continens*, In libera Francofurtensium repub. 1612, ripubblicato in M. Rulandus, *Lexicon of Alchemy*, San Francisco 1992, 194.

[21] A. de Boot – A. Tollius, *Gemmarum et lapidum historia*, Lugduni Batavorum 1647, 408–410.

[22] T. Tomai, *Idea del Giardino del mondo*, Venezia 1645, cap. 40.

rienza di medico, che esso serve a provocare le mestruazioni)[23] o l'enciclopedico sir Thomas Browne, che pure scrive su errori e superstizioni del suo tempo e, trattando della pietra giudaica, la spaccia come diuretico, come ha immaginato, e in una sola testimonianza, Aezio di Amideno,[24] poi valorizzata ancora una volta dal galenista spagnolo Juan de Loeches[25] a metà del Settecento. In questo secolo, nonostante l'ondata illuminista, la pietra giudaica ancora viene menzionata da opere mediche e farmacologiche, alcune delle quali conservano perfino ricette di preparati con questo ingrediente come base.[26] Del resto, anche la stessa *Enciclopedia* di Diderot ne segnala l'esistenza,[27] anche se ormai, a partire perlomeno da Spielmann,[28] l'uso del tecolito non è più raccomandato, ma segnalato semplicemente come un residuo curioso della farmacologia antica.[29]

Nel Novecento, d'altra parte, il *revival* di forme di medicina alternativa ha riportato in auge se non proprio l'impiego massiccio di questa droga, almeno il ricordo di questo antico tipo di terapia, anche in considerazione del fatto che in antichità, soprattutto nelle zone più aride, come quella del deserto israeliano o arabo, la saturazione di calcio portava facilmente alla formazione di calcoli nel

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[23] N. Culpeper, *Culpeper's Complete Herbal*, London 1816, 392.

[24] Th. Brown, *Pseudodoxia epidemica or, Enquiries into very Many Received Tenents, and Commonly Presumed Truths*, London 1658^3, 74. Cfr. anche però *Antidotario romano latino e volgare*, tradotto da I. Ceccarelli, Venezia 1678, 48.

[25] J. de Loeches, *Tyrocinium pharmaceuticum, theorico-practicum, galeno-chymicum*, Gerundae 1755, 13.

[26] N. Lémery, *Dictionaire ou traité universel des drogues simples*, Amsterdam 1716^3, 295; Th. Balthasar, *De dosibus medicamentorum diatribe*, Lipsiae 1719, 51; G. P. Orelli Barnaba, *Opera*, Milano 1721, 417; R. Bradley, *A Course of Lectures, upon the Materia Medica, Ancient and Modern*, London 1730, 68; J. Hill, *The Distinct Symptoms of the Gravel and Stone, Explained to the Patient: in all their Stages and Circumstances*, London 1760, 16; J. Paganucci, *Manuel historique, géographique et politique des négocians, ou encyclopédie portative de la théorie et de la pratique du commerce*, Lyon 1762, 660.

[27] *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, mis en ordre et publié par M. Diderot, Neufchastel 1765, XII 478, 584 (si veda a proposito J. Evans, *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance Particularly in England*, Oxford 1922, 193).

[28] J. R. Spielmann, *Pharmacopoea generalis*, Argentorati 1783, 62.

[29] P. A. Béclard – A. Tavernier, *Nouveau dictionnaire de médicine, chirurgie, pharmacie, physique, chimie, histoire naturelle*, Paris 1826, 120; R. Hooper, *Lexicon Medicum or Medical Dictionary*, New York 1829, 297; F. V. Mérat – A. J. de Lens, *Dictionnaire universel de matière médicale et de thérapeutique générale*, Paris 1837, III 409; Ph. L. Geiger – F. Mohr, *Pharmacopoea universalis*, Heidelbergae 1845, 168; Th. Redwood – S. F. Gray, *Gray's Supplement to the Pharmacopoeia*, London 1848, 743; W. Th. Fernie, *The Occult and Curative Powers of Precious Stones*, San Francisco 1973 (edizione originale 1907), 346; G. F. Kunz, *Magic of Jewels and Charms*, Philadelphia – London 1915, 187–8.

tratto urinario e i medici, dunque, erano particolarmente interessati a trovare più di un rimedio efficace a questi disturbi e del fatto che molti di questi ritrovati della medicina tradizionale sono ancora usati.[30]

3. Sicuramente al tecolito, che la scienza del Settecento avrebbe dimostrato essere in realtà non una formazione inorganica, ma organica, proveniente dalla fossilizzazione di un animale marino[31] (ciò che però non sfugge a Plinio il Vecchio, che sostiene, a 36,35,143, che il tecolito sia la denominazione di pietre dette *spongitae*, che si trovano appunto nelle spugne),[32] non ha giovato la sua prove-

30 K. H. C. Başer – G. Honda – W. Miki, *Herb Drugs and Herbalists in Turkey*, Tokyo 1986, 178; *Standardisation of Single Drugs of Unani Medicine*, ed. by Central Council for Research in Unani Medicine, New Dehli 1987, 204; G. Honda – W. Miki – M. Saito, *Herb Drugs and Herbalists in Syria and North Yemen*, Tokyo 1990, 13; A.-H. Maehle, *Drugs on Trial: Experimental Pharmacology and Therapeutic Innovation in the Eighteenth Century*, Amsterdam – Atlanta 1999, 58–9; M. Fumagalli, *Dizionario di alchimia e di chimica farmaceutica antiquaria: dalla ricerca dell'oro filosofale all'arte spagirica di Paracelso*, Roma 2000, 159; E. Lev – E. Dolev, "Use of Natural Substances in the Treatment of Renal Stones and Other Urinary Disorders in the Medieval Levant", *American Journal of Nephrology* 22 (2002) 172–9; S. M. A. Zaidi – Z. Ahmad – A. Khan – A. Jamal, "Analgesics and Diuretic Effects of a Herbo Mineral Preparation of a Dolichos biflorus, Tribulus terrestris. Lapis judaicus and Otolith in Urolithiasis Cases", *Journal of Pharmaceutical Sciences* 5 (2004) 89–93; F. Domingos – A. Serra, "História da litíase urinária – os primórdios da nefrologia", *Revista Portuguesa de Nefrologia e Hipertensão* 18:3 (2004) 148; *Hand Book on Unani Medecines with Formulae, Processes, Uses and Analysis*, ed. by NIIR Board of Consultants and Engineers, East Hanover 2004, 293; cfr. anche Ch. J. Duffin, "Fish Otoliths and Folklore: A Survey", *Folklore* 118:1 (2007) 78–90.

31 A. von Haller, *Onomatologia medica completa: oder, Medicinisches Lexicon*, aufs neue verb. und verm. von J. P. Eberhard, Ulm 1772, 838; J. A. de Luc, *Lettres physiques et morales sur l'histoire de la terre et de l'homme*, La Haye – Paris 1779, 252–3; J. R. Spielmann, *Pharmacopoea generalis*, Argentorati 1783, 62; *Dictionnaire des sciences naturelles, dans lequel on traite méthodiquement des différens êtres de la nature*, éd. par F. Cuvier, Strasbourg – Paris 1826, 263; F. Cardinali, *Dizionario portatile della lingua italiana*, Bologna 1827–1828, 656; Ph. L. Geiger – F. Mohr, *Pharmacopoea universalis*, Heidelbergae 1845, 168; J. F. Royle, *Materia medica and Therapeutics*, ed. by J. Carson, Philadelphia 1847, 118; G. F. Kunz, *Magic of Jewels and Charms*, Philadelphia – London 1915, 187–8, 194. In tempi più recenti, cfr. H. Lüschen, *Die Namen der Steine. Das Mineralreich im Spiegel der Sprache*, Thun 1968, 244 (cfr. però W. Ley, *Dawn of Zoology*, Englewood Cliffs 1968, 196–7); B. Gruber, "Fossilien im Volksglauben (als Heilmittel)", *Biologische Beiträge* 12:1 (1980) 240; H. Faul – C. Faul, *It began with a Stone: a History of Geology from the Stone Age to the Age of Plate Tectonics*, New York 1983, XV; Ch. J. Duffin, "Lapis Judaicus or the Jews' Stone: the Folklore of Fossil Echinoid Spines", *Proceedings of the Geologists' Association* 117 (2006) 265–75. La scienza moderna ha identificato questo animale nel blastoide echinoderma Pentremites.

32 Tenuto conto anche del modo di lavorare di Plinio, che in genere non era particolarmente

nienza, che ha fatto pensare ad un prodotto magico piuttosto che propriamente farmacologico: Aezio stesso che menziona per raccontarne le proprietà il leggendario medico egizio Nechepso, naturalmente, non poteva aiutare, soprattutto in età illuministica, a farlo considerare sotto una giusta luce dalla nuova medicina razionale. Il suo utilizzo, vista la sua forma oblunga, come quella di una mandorla, come diuretico o litotrittico sembrava così ai medici più avanzati un esempio evidente di magia simpatica (polverizzare un oggetto calcareo[33] come il calcolo ad un rene o alla vescica significa, parlando in termini "magici", distruggere anche il calcolo stesso, che alla pietra assomiglia):[34] la conseguenza fu che nessuno credette per un lungo periodo che in tutta questa tradizione millenaria ci fosse qualche verità.

Bisogna, tuttavia, osservare che forse anche in antichità si conosceva la vera natura del tecolito, se un ignoto poeta, citato da Aezio (2,19), e del quale già si è ricordato il verso che menziona il tecolito, osservava che quest'ultimo è portato dal "mare degli Arabi". La medicina greca, in effetti, non parla mai della formazione della pietra giudaica, avvicinata peraltro ad altre rocce di natura inorganica: d'altra parte, il fatto che un letterato potesse arrivare a immaginare questa

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originale nella sua compilazione, è evidente che questa notizia fosse dovuta ad uno scienziato precedente, dell'idea del quale, tuttavia, non è rimasta alcuna traccia. Evidentemente, dunque, anche gli antichi sapevano perfettamente che il tecolito fosse di origine animale. Presumibile che l'autore al quale Plinio doveva l'informazione fosse Teofrasto, autore di un trattato *De lapidibus* e citato peraltro poco sopra, a 36,29,134, assieme a Muciano, probabilmente il generale, politico, oratore e storico Gaio Licinio Muciano, che morì prima del 77.

[33] La composizione del tecolito è stata studiata da diversi scienziati, a partire dal chimico O. Croll, *Basilica chymica, continens philosophicam propria laborum experientia confirmatam descriptionem & usum remediorum chymicorum selectissimorum e lumine gratiae & naturae desumptorum. In fine libri additus est ejusdem autoris Tractatus novus de signaturis rerum internis*, Genevae 1631, 148, che lo poneva tra i materiali silicei. Si vedano anche: F. Corsi, *Delle pietre antiche*, Roma 1833, 218–9; G. M. Gould, *A Dictionary of New Medical Terms: being a Supplement to "An Illustrated Dictionary of Medicine, Biology, and Allied Sciences"*, Philadelphia 1905, 328. Oggi si ritiene che la pietra giudaica sia fatta soprattutto di carbonato di calcio o calcite, qualche volta con tracce di magnesio: M. H. de Gregorio, *Diccionario elemental de farmacia, botanica y materia medica ó Aplicaciones de los Fundamentos de la química moderna á la farmacia en todos sus ramos*, Madrid 1803, III, 123; J. F. Royle, *Materia medica and Therapeutics*, ed. by J. Carson, Philadelphia 1847, 118; C. Hedegaard, "Lapis Judaicus. The Jews' Stone", *Lapidary Journal Jewelry Artist* 61:11 (2008) 60–61. Cfr. anche la posizione relativamente diversa di S. Ahmed – R. Ahmad – N. U. Khan – M. Alamc – M. Owais, "Evaluation of Five Unani Drugs for Antibacterial and Antifungal Activity", *Journal of Herbal Medicine and Toxicology* 3:1 (2009) 49.

[34] S. J. Gould, "The Jew and the Jew Stone", *Natural History* 2000 <http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1134/is_5_109/ai_62685102/>.

roccia come legata al mare, sarebbe naturalmente anche più inspiegabile, se non fossero circolate al tempo notizie alternative sull'origine del tecolito.

L'aspetto stesso del tecolito, ciò su cui insistono moltissimi studiosi, avrebbe potuto in effetti far ritenere possibile che non si trattasse di un oggetto naturalmente formatosi, ma di un manufatto: perfino i medici greci, infatti, identificarono sulla sua superficie la presenza di alcune incisioni, che sembravano lettere incise con un τόρνος, un arnese del carpentiere impiegato per disegnare cerchi, come un antico compasso: γραμμὰς ἔχων ὡς ἀπὸ τόρνου γεγονυίας.[35]

La provenienza dalla Terra Santa, infine, trasformò il tecolito in un ingrediente da alchimista, cioé da chi, in particolare dopo la rivoluzione scientifica di Galilei, non poteva esser considerato se non un ciarlatano. Di ascendenza medievale devono essere state le leggende che si concentrarono su questa pietra: per alcuni diventò addirittura il Santo Graal (la cui identità è peraltro, com'è noto, misteriosa), per altri sarebbe stato il Lapis Exilis, cioé, probabilmente, la pietra che dona una nuova vita alle fenici. Secondo un'altra leggenda, dai risvolti più inquietanti, il tecolito sarebbe caduto dalla corona di Lucifero, quando fu allontanato dal Paradiso.[36]

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[35] Gal. *Simpl. med. temp. fac*. 12,199; Aet. 2,19; Ps. Diosc. *Lap.* 35; cfr. anche Diosc. 5,137; Orib. 13 λ 16.

[36] L. Spence – N. Fodor, *Encyclopedia of Occultism and Parapsychology*, ed. by L. Shepard, Detroit 1991, 743.

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A FURTHER GREEK HYMN FROM SIGNIA

Mika Kajava

In two previous issues of this journal, I published a number of epigraphic poems of Imperial date from Artena, some 45 kms south of Rome.[1] They are all reported to have been found in Colle Maiorana, a locality between Artena and Colleferro, which in antiquity belonged to the administrative territory of Signia (now Segni). Two of the texts were in Latin, two in Greek. A third Greek inscription, already known in the eighteenth century, was published in the late 1970s by Luigi Moretti who interpreted it as a Stoic hymn telling the story of creation.[2] While the anonymous creator introduced in this text is most probably Zeus, as in the famous hymn by Cleanthes, the Greek inscription published by me in 1997 turned out to be a hymnlike epigram to Heracles, praising the god as the saviour of ships and seamen during a sea voyage from Liguria to Italy.[3] One of the Latin texts I discussed in 1996 is also a hymn, to Janus Pater, and now it seems that the same locality has yielded yet another epigraphic hymn to gods.

Actually, I already gave a short report of this text in the 1996 article (see n. 1; pp. 98–100 = *SEG* XLVI 1351). However, thanks to new photographic evidence, the rudimentary reading not only needs complete revision, but it can also be considerably augmented. Recently, while checking through my archives and

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[1] *Arctos* 30 (1996) 75–100 (= *AE* 1996, 370 and 371; for n. 370, a hymn to Janus Pater, see also the discussion by W. D. Lebek, *ZPE* 150 [2004] 69–83 = *AE* 2004, 385); *Arctos* 31 (1997) 55–86 (= *AE* 1997, 278 = *SEG* XLVII 1517).

[2] L. Moretti, "Frammento di inno tardo-stoico sulla creazione", in *Scritti storico-epigrafici in memoria di Marcello Zambelli* (Pubbl. Fac. Lett. Univ. Macerata 5), Roma 1978, 251–6 = Id., *Tra epigrafia e storia. Scritti scelti e annotati* (Vetera 5), Roma 1990, 197–203 (= *SEG* XXVIII 793); W. Peek, *ZPE* 35 (1979) 168–9; W. Luppe, *ibid*. 46 (1982) 163–6 (= *SEG* XXXII 1020); R. Merkelbach, *ibid*. 49 (1982) 204.

[3] This text has an interesting parallel from Tusculum (some 20 kms northwest of Colle Maiorana), i.e., a dedication to Heracles by someone whom the god had helped in various ways. Remarkably, the poet says that Heracles had helped him during a journey to Italy through the Ligurian and Celtic lands (*IG* XIV 1003; cf. *Arctos* 31 [1997] 81–2).

notes before the transfer of the Helsinki Classics Department to new premises, I came upon studying a number of photographs of the fragmentary inscription taken by Heikki Solin in 2002. As the quality of these photographs was clearly superior to that of those taken by myself in 1996, it seemed to me that something new could perhaps be deciphered of the text. The task turned out to be more difficult than I had expected; in fact, it took me several days to arrive at what I hope is a reliable reading.

The inscription, now preserved in the Antiquarium of Colleferro, was found in the early 1980s in Colle Maiorana.[4] The text is engraved on a block of limestone which measures (35) x (40) x 14.5 cm, the height of the letters varying between 1.7 and 2.0 cm. Unfortunately, the inscribed surface is very abraded, making the decipherment rather challenging, and partly impossible. In particular, one may note that at some points what at first sight seems an obvious reading are no more than illusionary impressions not corresponding to what is actually inscribed on stone (in line 6, for example, my previous reading, ..IANHN ἠνυσ̣άμ[ην ⏑⏑ -, is evidently wrong). At least nine lines are still visible, but the inscription must have continued above and, possibly, below as well.

[--]+[------------------------------------]++++++++
Ọ I Ọ C̣+++[-------------------------]++ỌN+++++++
αὐτὰρ [---------------------] ἴ̣ρ̣ι̣δ̣ι μαρμα̣ί̣ρ̣ο̣[ντος ?]
ἆ̣λ̣τ', Ε̣Υ̣Ω̣Π̣Α̣C̣Υ̣++++Ε̣ σαοφροσύνην τ̣ε̣ δίκ[ην τε]
π̣λ̣ο̣ύ̣τ[ῳ̣ τ'] ο̣ὐ̣ρ̣α̣ν̣ίην ε̣ἰ̣ρ̣ύ̣σσατο πάγχ̣υ̣ [γενέθλην ?].
ὦ̣ π̣ᾶ̣ν̣ εὔ[φ]ρ̣ο̣ν̣ε̣, ὦ κα̣ὶ̣ ἀ̣μυνο[μ̣έν̣ω ⏑⏑ - ⏓],
ἐσθλὰ δ̣ὲ ποι̣οῦ̣ν̣[τας?-----------------]Ṇ++[----------],
ἀ̣ε̣ί̣ζ̣ω̣, πλέον̣ ἐν λ̣ελι̣ημ[έ]ν̣ο̣ι̣ [- ⏑⏑ - ⏓]
[------------]++++TO++++++++[---------------------]

While I had earlier assumed that this is a poem written in elegiac distichs, it now appears that we are dealing with a hymn in dactylic hexameter, like the above-mentioned poem in honour of Zeus. Judging from what remains of the inscription, and especially because of the use of dual forms in lines 6 and 8 (εὔφρονε, ἀείζω and, evidently, ἀμυνο[μένω]), the text seems to refer to two gods, most likely Zeus and, possibly, Heracles, who (as noted) are both known from other Greek texts found in Colle Maiorana. The passage from line 6 onwards appears to be a joint invocation to the two deities who have been introduced earlier in

[4] Angelo Luttazzi, Director of the Antiquarium, kindly provided this information.

Fig. 1 (DAI neg. n. 2002.144)

Fig. 2 (DAI neg. n. 2002.147)

the hymn. If I have understood the text correctly, lines 3–5 may speak about Zeus, referring not only to a journey through the sky but also to his prudence and righteous judgments as well as to his saving the heavenly order (for some proposals for restoration, see below). The other god, whom I tentatively identify as Heracles, will have been presented somewhere in the preceding lines. Regarding line 6, while εὔφρων fittingly characterizes both Zeus and Heracles, the activities of the latter, in particular, would be perfectly matched by his being an "avenging guardian" (ἀμυνόμενος), though this role was by no means alien to Zeus either. Both are also styled as "ever-living" (ἀείζως).

Lines 3–5

The sequence divided between lines 3/4, ἴ̣ρ̣ι̣δ̣ι̣ μαρμ̣α̣ί̣ρ̣ο̣[ντος?] / ἆ̣λ̣τ̣ο (for the probable elision in ἆλτ', cf. below), is likely to describe the supreme god Zeus travelling in the sky, possibly on his way down to earth. In addition to referring to various ways of springing and leaping, as that of heroes leaping from the chariot to the ground (cf. the Iliadic phrase ἐξ ὀχέων σὺν τεύχεσιν ἆλτο χαμᾶζε), the epic form ἆλτο (< ἅλλομαι) is frequently used of the downward movements of deities starting their descent from the heavenly abodes, especially from Olympus (cf. Hom. *Il*. 1,532: εἰς ἅλα ἆλτο βαθεῖαν ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου; *Il*. 18,616: ἣ δ' ἴρηξ ὣς ἆλτο κατ' Οὐλύμπου νιφόεντος, both referring to Thetis; Q. Smyrn. 12,202–3: εὖτε νόημα / ἆλτο διὰ νεφέων, of Themis, "leapt down through clouds").[5] Sometimes the gods just leap down from out of heaven (cf. *Il*. 19,351: οὐρανοῦ ἔκ κατεπᾶλτο δι' αἰθέρος, of Athene; Nonn. *Dion*. 48,614: οὐρανόθεν κατέπαλτο, of Eros; Apoll. Rhod. 2,286–7: εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ὠκέα Ἶρις ἴδεν, κατὰ δ' αἰθέρος ἆλτο / οὐρανόθεν).

The reading ἴ̣ρ̣ι̣δ̣ι̣ μαρμ̣α̣ί̣ρ̣ο̣[---] in line 3 is fairly reliable. There seems to be no other evidence for these two words being similarly coupled together, but if the verbal form is in the genitive, one might assume a phrase such as δι' αἰθέρος ἴριδι μαρμαίροντος,[6] or perhaps rather, δι' οὐρανοῦ ἴριδι μαρμαίροντος. The verb μαρμαίρω, which in Homer normally describes the glistening of the armour,[7]

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5 Of course, one could leap in the opposite direction, as in *Orph. lith*. 11–2: ἆλτο δὲ καὶ Κρονίδης ταναὴν ὑπὲρ αἰθέρα Χείρων / σευάμενος πρὸς Ὄλυμπον.

6 Though not fully comparable in terms of vocabulary, cf. the following passage from the Orphic Hymn to Zeus Keraunios (19,15–6): μαρμαίρει δὲ πρόσωπ' αὐγαῖς, σμαραγεῖ δὲ κεραυνὸς / αἰθέρος ἐν γυάλοισι.

7 But cf. *Il*. 3,397: ὄμματα μαρμαίροντα, of Aphrodite's shining eyes (D. Turkeltaub, *AJPh*

is not known to have been used of heavenly bodies or celestial phenomena until Aeschylus (*Sept*. 400–1: καὶ νύκτα ταύτην ἣν λέγεις ἐπ' ἀσπίδος / ἄστροισι μαρμαίρουσαν οὐρανοῦ).[8] Though the possibility exists that Iris, the goddess of the rainbow, is here flying down from heaven as the messenger of Zeus (or even together with him?), the use of the dative ἴριδι may rather suggest that heaven is simply sparkling with the colours of the rainbow. Thus, we would be dealing not with the goddess herself but with the effects of the rainbow, as sometimes seems to be the meaning of Ἶρις / Iris in Hellenistic and later literature as well as in Latin poetry.[9]

Considering that line 3 seems to begin with the typically epic conjunction αὐτάρ, the whole sequence may have been, for example, αὐτὰρ [ἐπεί τε δι' αἰθέρος] ἴριδι μαρμαίροντος / ἆλτο.

What is written between ἆλτο and the phrase σαοφροσύνην τε δίκην τε is very difficult to read. First, one may note that the end of ἆλτο is evidently elided, being probably followed by ЄY (rather than O). The rest of the line clearly refers to the prudence and justice of Zeus, but in what respect? In view of the context, and considering that the letter inscribed after CY is perhaps N or Π, two possibilities may present themselves. Either we have to read εὐῶπα συν[---], or the text shows εὖ ὤπασ' ὑπ[---]. The first alternative would mean that the qualities of Zeus are characterized by the adjective εὔωψ "fair-eyed, fair to look on" (thus *LSJ*), εὐῶπα being probably followed by a verb beginning with συν- (συνίσχε or similar). However, the prudence (and justice) of Zeus being εὔωψ does not sound quite apt, and with this reading the whole clause would become somewhat clumsy. Moreover, the word is very rare, being found only twice in Sophocles (cf. *Oed. Tyr.* 189 [lyr.]: εὐῶπα πέμψον ἀλκάν "goodly aid" [*LSJ*][10]). Following, then, the other alternative, we would have the aorist ὤπασε(ν) (< ὀπάζω), which is frequently used in epic poetry of gods giving and granting various gifts to mortals. As the gods operated from heaven, ὤπασ' ὕπερθε would make good sense here. However, even if the latter word would fill the problematic gap perfectly, the letters ЄΡΘ hardly coincide with what remains visible on stone. On the other hand, some of the "disturbing" strokes might not belong to the script as, in fact,

126 [2005] 166).

8 M. G. Ciani, ΦΑΟΣ *e termini affini nella poesia greca. Introduzione a una fenomenologia della luce* (Pubbl. Fac. Lett. Univ. Padova 51), Firenze 1974, 149–50. Cf. also Q. Smyrn. 12, 104–5: Ἦμος δ' αἰγλήεντα περιστέφει οὐρανὸν ἄστρα / πάντοθε μαρμαίροντα.

9 For rainbow, sky and stars in Homer, see G. H. Macurdy, *CQ* 8 (1914) 212–5.

10 But Ἀλκά may be personified here, her radiant face giving promise of salvation, see J. C. Kamerbeek, *The Plays of Sophocles* IV, Leiden 1967, 64.

seems to be the case in other parts of the text as well (some extra strokes appear between lines 7 and 8, and cf. below for line 5).

Line 5 is no less difficult. The first two letters are somewhat uncertain; they might also be read as ΗΔ. If so, one might understand ἠδ' ο[---] rather than a participle of ἥδομαι, which is clearly too long. However, what (in two photographs) looks like the vertical stroke of Δ may be part of a longer scratch discernible under more letters in the beginning of the line. An alternative reading would be ΗΛ, but I do not know what this could mean in the present context (a reference to ἥλιος is not likely). Therefore, I very much prefer ΠΛ, i.e., the beginning of πλοῦτος, the "richness" of Zeus. This reading would be further corroborated by the probable presence of the letters ΥΤ following the omikron.

After the gap, I think that we have to read the adjective οὐρανίην, the remains of the first three letters being still visible, though laboriously. In particular, one should note that the right-hand curve of O can be seen under a diagonal stroke extending all through lines 4 to 6, and a parallel line intersects the following Y, the upper part of which is clearly discernible. However, the crucial letter of this word is the iota which, on a closer look, can be identified with what at first sight seems to be the right-hand vertical stroke of N. The combination of the two letters (NI) is fairly well visible in at least two photographs (cf. Figs. 1–2).

The following verbal form is somewhat problematic, too. In its beginning, I think one may read ΕΙΡΥ. This would evidently mean that we have here the aorist of the verb ἐρύομαι "protect, guard; rescue, save", which in poetry is often used of saviour gods (the aor. εἰρύσσασθαι, and similar Homeric forms, are derived from the redupl. present εἴρυμαι). The personal ending of the verb (TO) is readable, though it is partly concealed under what gives the appearance of a M on the photographs.

The next word can almost surely be read as the Homeric (and lyric) adverb πάγχυ "entirely, wholly". The line will have ended with a noun such as γενέθλην (in the meaning "family, race"), which would mean that Zeus had rescued the "heavenly race (of the gods)" with his wealth and richness.[11] For οὐρανίη γενέθλη, referring to Dionysus' heavenly origin, cf. Nonn. *Dion*. 24,13, etc., and for the combination πάγχυ γενέθλην at the end of a dactylic line, cf. Opp. *Cyn*. 2,43–4: Ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ταύρων ζηλήμονα πάγχυ γενέθλην / πρῶτον ἀείδωμεν.

In brief, lines 3–5 seem to speak about Zeus who, perhaps in the aftermath of his decisive battle against the titans, has established the rule of the Olympian

[11] For further fem. nouns attested in combination with οὐρανίη, cf. φύτλη, ἄντυξ and αὐλή, all known from Nonnus (and ἄντυξ οὐ. "vault of heaven" from other sources as well). None of them is metrically apt here.

gods, now supremely excelling in prudence and justice, both qualities which he was eager to distribute to mortals as well.

Lines 6–8

This section begins with an invocation to the two gods who are first styled in the dual as εὔφρονε "kindly, gracious". The adjective εὔφρων is Homeric ("cheerful, merry"), but the earliest case where it is clearly associated with a divinity seems to be *Hymn. Hom. Ven.* 102: σὺ δ' εὔφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσα.[12] Later on, the attribute was frequently given to divinities, cf., in similar contexts, *SEG* XXXII 552, *passim* (Delphi, Philodamus' paean to Dionysus, c. 340 BC): εὔφρων, τάνδε πόλιν φύλασσ' / εὐαίωνι σὺν ὄλβωι; *IG* II^2 4473, 10 = *SEG* XXIII 126 (Macedonicus' paean to Apollo and Asclepius, 1st cent. BC): Ἀσκληπιὸν εὔφ[ρον]α κοῦρον; *Hymn. Orph.* 46 (to Dionysus Licnitus), l. 2: εὔφρονα Βάκχον. Moreover, the expressions εὔφρονι βουλῇ and εὔφρονι θυμῷ are often found at the end of dactylic verses in hymns and epigrams addressed to gods.

In this context, the participle ἀμυνομένω (< ἀμύνομαι "repay, requite, avenge") probably presents the two deities as punishing unjust people and offenders. The gods are gracious, but as they also avenge themselves on criminals, one wonders whether a word such as ἀδικοῦντας or ἀσεβοῦντας could be restored at the end of the line (the accusative is normal with ἀμύνομαι).[13] Both words are often found as objects of verbs or other expressions denoting punishment and revenge (ἀμύνομαι, κολάζω, τιμωροῦμαι), cf., e.g., *Hymn. Orph.* 70 (to the Eumenides), l. 1: Κλῦτέ μου, Εὐμενίδες μεγαλώνυμοι, εὔφρονι βουλῆι, and ll. 4–5: αἳ πάντων καθορᾶτε βίον θνητῶν ἀσεβούντων, / τῶν ἀδίκων τιμωροί. A reference to the unrighteous people would also fit together with the beginning of

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[12] The *-phrōn* epithets of *thumos* have been discussed by S. M. Darcus, *Glotta* 55 (1977) 178–82. Cf. also *Hymn. Hom. Apoll.* 194: ἐΰφρονες Ὧραι. For εὔφρων (ἐΰ-) (as well as εὐφροσύνη and εὐφραίνω) in Homer, see J. Latacz, *Zum Wortfeld "Freude" in der Sprache Homers* (Bibl. klass. Altertumswiss. N.F. II:17), Heidelberg 1966, 160–73 (note also that Euphrosyne, one of the three Graces, is personified as early as Hes. *Theog.* 909). Cf. further Pind. *Ol.* 4,12–3: θεὸς εὔφρων / εἴη λοιπαῖς εὐχαῖς· (P. Hummel, *L'épithète pindarique. Étude historique et philologique* [Sapheneia 3], Bern 1999, 560). Interestingly, A. H. Sommerstein, *BICS* 24 (1977) 78, has observed that in Aeschylus' *Suppliants*, εὔφρων normally occurs in contexts concerned with Zeus. For εὔφρων, πρόφρων, etc., in prayers, see also S. Pulleyn, *Prayer in Greek Religion*, Oxford 1997, 145, 218–9.

[13] Κακοεργοὺς / κακοποιούς "mischievous, doing ill, inopportunate, harmful, etc." are less likely in this context. They are not particularly poetic words either.

line 7, where one could well restore ἐσθλὰ δὲ ποιοῦν[τας ---]. In other words, the gods punish the unjust, but (δὲ) they help the benefactors who are ready to act in a morally good way.[14] If this is so, a verb denoting the divine kindness is needed at the end of the line.

Regarding the role of the two gods as punishing outrageous people, one may note that, according to the Tusculum hymn (n. 3), Heracles, slayer of arrogant and unrighteous men (ὑπερφιάλους ἀδίκους τε ἄνδρας ... ἐναιρόμενος, ll. 9–12), was given by Zeus for adoption by Dike (Justice) whom insolent and wanton mortals had treated in a dishonourable way (*IG* XIV 1003, ll. 13–6: τῷ σε καὶ υἷα Δίκηι Κρονίδης / θετὸν ἐγγυάλιξε, | εὖτέ μιν ὑβρισταὶ φῶτες ἄτ[ι]/μον ἄγον). Clearly, Heracles was expected to avenge such *hybristai*.[15]

Line 8 seems to open with the dual form ἀείζω. This adjective is found as early as Heraclitus (πῦρ ἀείζωον, frg. 30 DK), also occurring in Aeschylus and Sophocles, but it does not seem to be used of gods before Callimachus (*iamb*. frg. 194, 69–70 [Pfeiffer]: τῶν δ' ἀειζώων / τίς τὴν ἐλαίην, τίς δὲ [τ]ὴν δάφνην τιμᾷ;). Note also, interestingly, that the lightning of Zeus is "everlasting" (αἐιζώων) in the above-mentioned hymn to Zeus by Cleanthes (von Arnim, *SVF* I 537, 11: ἀειζώοντα κεραυνόν).[16] Here, as in some other cases, the attribute is derived from the verb (cf., e.g., *PMG* IV 156: ἀείζων θεέ, ειωη · Ἰάω). For the adjectival form in reference to deities, cf. *CIG* 4598 = *SEG* XLVI 2078, 4 = Merkelbach – Stauber, *SGOst*. IV 22.21.1 (funerary epigram from Hauran; late 3rd / first half of the 4th century): βουλαῖσι δ' ἀειζώοιο θεοῖο (Christian god); *App. Anth. demonstr*. 378 (Cougny), ll. 2/3: τὴν ἀείζωον Κόρην οὐκ ἀκριβῶς θνήσκουσαν. In Imperial times (mostly), the title of "ever-living" is also attested for a number of gods in Egypt (ἀείζωος being usually followed by θεὸς μέγιστος).[17]

After ἀείζω, the text seems to continue in first person plural, as is indicated by the (non-dual) form λελιημένοι (the reading is fairly reliable).[18] This partici-

[14] Cf. *Orph*. frg. 337 (Kern), of Zeus, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πρόφρων τε καὶ ἤπιος ἐσθλὰ δίδωσι, / τοῖς δὲ κακὰ φρονέων νεμεσίζεται ἐμμενὲς αἰεί.

[15] I do not know any other source where Dike appears as the adoptive mother of Heracles. Normally, when offended she sits beside Zeus who punishes impious men on her behalf.

[16] Cf. Call. *Del*. 314–5: ἀειζώοντα ἱερά (sent to Delian Apollo).

[17] E.g., *I.Fayum* II 120; *UPZ* I 106, 11; *BGU* I 124; *P.Ross.Geor*. 5,15; *P.Tebt*. 313.

[18] On the basis of the photographic evidence, the sequence ΠΛΕΟΝΕΝ might just possibly be read as ΠΛΕΟΜΕΝ. In that case, one should obviously understand πλέομεν "we sailed". This would be attractive, considering that the participle λελιημένοι is well attested in reference to sailors (Apoll. Rhod. and elsewhere), but also because an adventurous sea voyage is described in the above-mentioned hymn to Heracles from Colle Maiorana. Noteworthy though this may seem, the reading πλέον ἐν is far more probable and, moreover, a sudden transfer from the

ple of the old epic perfect λελίημαι "strive eagerly" probably refers, in plural, to the author of the hymn, suggesting that he is now even more (πλέον) "eager for" doing something (the dative depending on ἐν may have come later in the lacuna, unless the preposition is used adverbially). Similar changes from singular to plural are not rare; for example, in the Heracles hymn from Tusculum (*IG* XIV 1003; see n. 3), the author finally praises his saviour god in these words (vv. 13–4): αὐτὸν ἀλεξητῆρα κακῶν, αὐτὸν σε δοτῆρα / παντοίης ἀρετῆς κλῄιζομεν, Ἡράκλεες, while in vv. 9–10 he has said: ἤπιος εὐμενέων τε πέλοις, ἐπειή νύ μοι αἰεὶ / εὐχομένωι τε πάρει χεῖρά θ' ὕπερθεν ἔχεις. Regarding the present inscription, one may assume that the author is eager to praise the two gods, offering them gifts and sacrifice in gratitude for their aid.

As far as may be gathered from the fragmentary text, though fairly modest in terms of inspiration and originality, this is a neat piece of poetry, drawing mainly on Homer and the long epic tradition. However, the major significance of the verses lies in their subject which provides yet another testimony to the literary interests of the circles where it was produced. Dating, as it seems, to the second or early third century AD, i.e., the period of the Second Sophistic, the inscription is no doubt related to the remarkable series of epigraphic poems from Colle Maiorana (see above). Let me quote what I wrote in *Arctos* 1997 (p. 85): "this locality was prosperous not only in terms of business and economy over the centuries but it also flourished culturally, at least in the second and third centuries AD Since two of the poems, the dedication to Janus and the Stoic cosmogony, were reportedly found in the ruins of a Roman villa, probably the nucleus of a large *fundus*, the possibility exists that all the others discovered so far also come from this place. Should this be true, it would become even more clear that in the villa there was indeed some sort of cultic activity and those who lived there were literate persons. The learned atmosphere of the place will have been known elsewhere, too, so that it was visited by persons with literary interests. Who knows if the author of the new dedication, having recently escaped shipwreck in Ligurian waters, was also on a visit to the villa when he wished to immortalize his adventure on stone by composing a Greek epigram to Heracles – unless a skillful poet was commissioned to write the verses".

After the present discovery, I would not exclude that even the Tusculum hymn to Heracles (see above n. 3 and elsewhere) is somehow related to the Colle Maiorana series, although it is reported to have been found in 1845 during an

invocation (and the mention of the gods' grace and justice) to a description of a sailing scene would be somewhat surprising.

excavation under the Villa Aldobrandini in Frascati.[19] Similarities in subject and style can hardly be dismissed. Perhaps the two properties (in Tusculum and in Colle Maiorana) were owned by one and the same person or a family, unless some poet(s) worked for different villa owners in the region (note, however, that the individual poems from these localities are not contemporaneous, being datable on palaeographic grounds through more generations). It is to be hoped that new discoveries will enlighten us on this issue.

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[19] W. Henzen, *AnnInst* 1857, 101–10.

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CHRISTINA OF SWEDEN AND HER KNOWLEDGE OF GREEK*

Tua Korhonen

In early modern Europe, knowledge of Greek was highly esteemed – for various reasons. Protestant interest in an accurate text of the Bible encouraged textual criticism and it was largely believed that nobody knows Latin well, the *lingua franca* of the time, without knowing some Greek. However, often the pro-Greek emphasis was not on the usefulness of Greek, or on the moral value of *humanitas* in general, but on the symbolic value of the Greek language. Humanist education was a social marker of the learned class, and Greek was not only the enchanting icing on that cake, but also a form of self-representation.[1]

Greek was, of course, mostly a male preserve. Queen Christina of Sweden (8 December 1626–19 April 1689) was one of the few women of her time in Sweden who studied Greek, but to what extent she read or could read Greek classics in the original is doubtful. In the following, I shall discuss the scope of Christina's Hellenism, her knowledge of and the value she put on Greek language and literature.

Women learning Greek

From the Renaissance onwards, the European-wide debate about the nature of woman and her access to education, sometimes called the *Querelle des Femmes*,[2]

* Part of this paper was presented in the IX Conference of Nordic Women and Gender Historians, 11.–13. August 2008, Reykjavik, Iceland.

[1] As Simon Goldhill put it: "Learning Greek becomes an issue of cultural self-assertion (and not just educational policy) [...]". *Who Needs Greek? Contests in the Cultural History of Hellenism*, Cambridge 2002, 297.

[2] Cf., e.g., J. Kelly, *Women, History, and Theory*, Chicago 1986, 66–71, and 99 n. 16 for literature.

resulted in lists of *erudita* with their mastery of languages. The learned women could be viewed as anomalies of their gender, but also as bringing prestige to their class and family. Holt N. Parker has argued that one of the reasons for learned women's acceptance was the Renaissance virtue of magnificence, which celebrated the superfluous and court culture for spectacle. Other reasons, according to him, were the social background (nobility and royalty), family (humanist fathers and the education of brothers) and women's own love of learning.[3] However, higher education was generally thought to be useless or even morally depraving for women in their roles as housewives and mothers; the supposed fact about women's lack of abstract intelligence and capacity to rule herself was confirmed already by Aristotle (e.g. *Pol.* 1,1260a13) and Christian doctrines (e.g. *Eph.* 5,22–24, 1 *Tim.* 2,12–14).[4] Women themselves participated in the *Querelle des Femmes*, like Cologne-born Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678), who wrote a treatise about the capacity of the female mind for learning.[5] Schurman corresponded with Batshua Makin (née Rainolds), an English educationalist, dealing among other things with the education of Makin's pupil Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of Charles I. Schurman's and Makin's knowledge of Greek is attested in their exchange of letters dated to 1640 and 1645, which were written in ancient Greek.[6]

The actual level of the knowledge in Greek is not always as easy to detect. For example, the prodigiously learned Vendela Skytte (1608–1629) is reported to have known Greek among other languages, and her fame brought admiration to her father, the Chancellor of the University of Uppsala, Baron Johan Skytte,

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[3] H. N. Parker "The Magnificence of Learned Women", *Viator* 38:2 (2007) 265–90 and "Women and Humanism: Nine Factors for the Woman Learning", *Viator* 35 (2004) 581–616, especially 582–3.

[4] See, e.g., K. Lekeby, *Kung Kristina – drottningen som ville byta kön*, Stockholm 2000, 19–20 and J. Stevenson, "Women and classical education in the early modern period", in Y. L. Too – N. Livingstone (eds.), *Pedagogy and Power. Rhetorics of Classical Learning* (Ideas in Context 50), Cambridge 1998, 81–109, especially 81, 93, 100.

[5] J. Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets. Language, Genre, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford 2005. About *De ingenii mulieribus ad doctrinam, et meliores litteras aptitudine* (1641), which was translated into English in 1659 as *The Learned Maid, or, Whether a Maid may be a Scholar*, see Stevenson (above n. 4) 88 and *op.cit.* 350.

[6] A. M. van Schurman *Opuscula Hebraea, Graeca, Latina, Gallica, Prosaica et Metrica* Utrecht 1652, 162–4 (L1v–L2v). See also http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/desbillons/opus/seite88.html. Makin herself insisted on women's right to study the liberal arts in the program for her school for gentlewomen (in 1673). Stevenson (above n. 4) 105–6 and Stevenson (above n. 5) 376–7.

who had paid special attention to the education of his daughters.[7] However, Vendela's learning was mere potential: she married young, and died in childbirth. Of course, it was very seldom that learned women had an academic career, in any fields. In Greek studies, in addition to Schurman and Makin, there was Italian-born Olympia Fulvia Morata (1526–1555) who taught Greek for a short period at the University of Heidelberg and who wrote skillfull poems and paraphrases of Psalms in Greek before her early death. Another was Anne Le Fèvre Dacier (1654–1720), or Madame Dacier as she was called, a French scholar and translator of Homer.[8] All these women had a supporting family (father and/or husband) as a decisive factor in their education and its cultivation after maturity.

The case in point for the usefulness of Greek was the royal class. In England, Elizabeth I of England (1533–1603) and Lady Jane Grey (1536–1554), "The Nine Days' Queen"[9], were taught Greek. Elizabeth started to study Greek with Roger Ascham, a Cambridge don, at the age of fifteen, and continued her studies into maturity.[10] Ascham wrote in his *Schoolmaster* that in the year of the plague (1563) – Elizabeth was then thirty years old – they perused Demosthenes' *On the False Embassy*, and that in general, the Queen of England read, Ascham boasted, more Greek every day than "some prebendary" read Latin in a whole week.[11] William Camden also mentions Elizabeth's Greek studies in the beginning of his two-volume treatise on her reign: Elizabeth had read Isocrates, Sophocles, and the New Testament in Greek with Ascham.[12] Camden stated that Elizabeth did not study the liberal arts for the sake of showiness (*pompa*), but because they were

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[7] O. Plantin, *Vindemiola literaria, in qua Hellas sub Arcto, sive merita Svecorum in linguam Graecam brevissime et modeste exponuntur*, Wittenberg 1736, 39 and n. g. Plantin also mentions three other Swedish women who knew Greek: Vendela's sister Anna, Catharina Bael, a noble woman, and Sophia Elisabeth Brenner, the wife of the famous miniaturist Elias Brenner. See also Stevenson (above n. 5) 357.

[8] D. Vorländer, "Olympia Fulvia Morata – eine evangelische Humanistin in Schweinfurt", *ZBKG* 39 (1970) 109. Olympia Fulvia Morata, *Orationes, Dialogi, Epistolae, Carmina, tam Latina quam Græca*, Basel 1562, 248. The book is digitised on the website of the University of Mannheim: http://www.uni-mannheim.de/mateo/desbillons/olimp/seite133.html. Her writings are also collected by Holt N. Parker (*The Complete Writings of an Italian Heretic*, Chicago 2003). See also R. H. Bainton, *Women of the Reformation in Germany and Italy*, Minneapolis 1974, 254 and Stevenson (above n. 5) 285–8.

[9] Stevenson (above n. 4) 104 and (above n. 5) 263.

[10] L. V. Ryan (ed.), *The Schoolmaster (1570) by Roger Ascham*, Ithaca NY 1967, xvi–xvii, xxi.

[11] Ryan (above n. 10) 7 and 56.

[12] W. Camden, *Rerum Anglicarum et Hibernicarum Annales regnante Elisabetha*, Frankfurt am Main 1616, 23 *Apparatus* [B4r].

useful for life and for cultivating virtues.[13] Thus, the seventeenth-century biographer wanted to emphasize the moral value of *humanitas*, especially for a female monarch. As Karin Tegenborg Falkdalen has argued, the education received by reigning queens in early modern Europe was important for their legitimacy as monarchs.[14] There were always doubts about women's frailty not only on the intellectual but also on the moral level.

Christina's education

One would expect that education was especially crucial in Christina's case, because her claim to the throne was not a stable matter: she was the first reigning Queen of Sweden, who had gained her status through succession.[15] What seems certain is that she received a good education, the main lines of which were quite similar to those a male successor to the throne would have received.[16] Gustavus Adolphus, who died in battle when Christina was only five years old, had looked after his daughter's education by appointing his Chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna, as a trustee and protector of Christina's upbringing. He had also selected a governor, a subgovernor and a preceptor for his daughter.[17]

The last mentioned, Johannes Matthiae, was the most influential of Christina's early teachers. He taught her from the time she was six until she was fifteen years old, when she began to have her share of a monarch's duties.[18] We have two accounts of the instruction Johannes Matthiae gave to Christina from February 1638 until 1641, that is, when Christina was 11–14 years old.[19] According to

[13] Camden (above n. 12) 24 [B4v].

[14] K. Tegenborg Falkdalen, *Kungen är en kvinna. Retorik och praktik kring kvinnliga monarker under tidigmodern tid*, Umeå 2003, 134–42, 209.

[15] The right of female succession had only been introduced in Sweden about thirty years before Christina was born. Tegenborg Falkdalen (above n. 14) 49. L. Åslund, *Att fostra en kung. Om drottning Kristinas utbildning*, Stockholm 1995, 41.

[16] Cf. Tegenborg Falkdalen (above n. 14) 137–8, Åslund (above n. 15) and M. L. Clarke, "The Making of a Queen: The Education of Christina of Sweden", *History Today* 28 (April 1978) 228–35. Unfortunately, Clarke has no specific references to sources. Christina was even proclaimed "king", not "queen" at her coronation, which, according to Tegenborg Falkdalen (above n. 14) 133–4, 209, was "a sign of ambivalence surrounding a reigning queen".

[17] Clarke (above n. 16) 228.

[18] Christina attained her maturity in 1644, but her official coronation happened only when she was twenty-three years old, in 1650.

[19] These accounts are drafts, which Matthiae sketched for official reports; they are preserved in a manuscript N183, 5r, 12r–v, University of Uppsala (*Catalogus collectionis Nordinianae* II).

them, the chief subjects were, at first, Latin and rhetoric, then history and politics. Christina also wrote essays and declamations in Latin, and some of her exercise books are still extant.[20] Christina proceeded on to more complicated Roman authors and read Livy, Caesar, and Curtius' *History of Alexander the Great* – a historical figure that became an idol for her – and Biblical history.[21] What counted most in Christina's education was her future role as a Christian monarch.

There is no explicit reference to Greek studies – not a Greek word – in Christina's exercise books or in Johannes Matthiae's accounts of the instruction he gave to her. However, Aesop's *Fables* and *Carmina Catonis* are mentioned in the lists of texts, which Christina had studied.[22] Aesop was usually read in the original at the elementary level of Greek studies – *Fables* commonly formed a part of Greek grammars of the day – and even the latter text, popular moral aphorisms attributed to Dionysius Cato, was often read in Greek translation done by the Byzantine scholar Maximus Planudes.[23]

Moreover, in his compact Latin grammar, which Johannes Matthiae published for Christina's use in 1635, he listed Greek and Roman writers, whom he recommended her to read.[24] What is interesting is that this list (*Indiculus*) included not only the familiar authors like Homer as the best of the poets, and Polybius of historians, but also Theognis, Phocylides (i.e., pseudo-Phocylides) and *carmen auream* (i.e., pseudo-Pythagoras' *Golden verses*), of which the three last ones were used like Aesop's *Fables* in the Swedish schools and universities for elementary Greek instruction.[25] It is obvious that to be a cultivated person, one

See also Åslund (above n. 15) 110–2 and Appendix 229–30, J. Arckenholtz, *Mémoires, concernant Christine reine de Suede, vols. I–IV*, Amsterdam – Leipzig 1751–1760, vol. IV, 195–6.

[20] N183, see above n. 19. The manuscript contains Christina's letter concepts (*Exemplar Epistolarum Christinae Svecorum etc. Reginae designatae*) and *exercitia styli*. See also Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. IV, 197–9. Christina wrote Latin letters and cited Roman authors in Latin in her Swedish letters, too, e.g., Tacitus in the letter dated 27 November 1647, see Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. I, 133.

[21] Åslund (above n. 15) 138–41, 229–30.

[22] N183 (see above n. 19) 5r.

[23] About Cato's sentences, see, e.g., Åslund (above n. 15) 135–6; about their translations into Greek, see T. Korhonen, *Ateena Auran rannoilla.* E-thesis, University of Helsinki, Helsinki 2004, 29, 36, 88. (http://ethesis.helsinki.fi/julkaisut/hum/klass/vk/korhonen2/). Jan Comenius' encyclopaedic *Janua linguarum*, which is also included in Matthiae's account [N183 (see above n. 19] 5r.), was often published in Greek translation, see Korhonen (*op. cit.*) 28.

[24] Johannes Matthiae, *Ratio discendi linguam Latinam pro Christina Suecorum &c. regina designata*, Stockholm 1635, 49–56.

[25] Ps.-Pythagoras' and Ps.-Phocylides' texts were already included in Constantinus Lascaris' Greek grammar (1495), which was one of the first Greek grammars in the West: Korhonen (above n. 23) 21.

needs to read Homer, and if not in the original, then in Latin, but the question is: why read elementary Greek texts in any other language but Greek? The book also contains some Greek words and phrases, like the reference to Polybius' *Histories* (*Ecloga Polybii* περὶ πολιτειῶν).[26]

Remarkably, there is other evidence that Johannes Matthiae, who had graduated from the University of Leiden, favoured acquiring an excellent knowledge of Greek at an early age. In 1636, he published a treatise on education (*Ratio studiorum*) for the *Collegium illustre* in Stockholm, a school for boys of noble families, where he himself had been principal (1625–29).[27] There he states that nobody knows Latin well without knowing Greek, and that boys should learn Greek if they wanted to be honoured as learned men. However, one only needs to be able to read Greek, speaking Greek was not necessary.[28] At the end of the *Ratio studiorum*, there is a timetable for pupils aged 7–12, in which it is advised that boys should start to study the Greek alphabet at eight years of age. The next year they would read Aesop and some Greek New Testament, then, in the next year, the *sententiae* of the Seven Sages and Plutarch's Περὶ παίδων ἀγωγῆς (i.e., pseudo-Plutarch's). Homer they would read when they were eleven (the first book of the *Iliad*) together with Plutarch's "Sayings of kings and commanders", then one of Demosthenes' Olynthiac speeches, Isocrates' *Ad Demonicum* and even Nonnus' paraphrase of the Gospel of John. Finally, they would read one comedy by Aristophanes, another speech of Demosthenes and the Epistle to the Romans when they were thirteen years old.[29]

It is surely a justifiable assumption that less Greek was read at the *Collegium illustre* than what Johannes Matthiae recommended. However, Greek was sometimes valued especially among the nobility. For example, the son of Christina's protector, Axel Oxenstierna, read Greek quite extensively. Erik Oxenstierna's private teacher announced to Count Oxenstierna in 1639 that fifteen-year-old Erik's instruction also included writing and speaking Greek – *scribendo pariter et loquendo*.[30]

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26 Johannes Matthiae (above n. 24) 50, 51, 56.

27 Johannes Matthiae, *Ratio studiorum ante decennium ad petitionem dd. directorum illustris: collegij Stokholmensis conscripta, nunc vero in gratiam juventutis edita a J.M. Gotho*, Stockholm 1636. The book is translated into Swedish by C. A. Brolén in B. R. Hall (ed.), *Erasmi De civilitate samt Matthiaes Ratio och Libellus* (ÅSU 17), Lund 1926, 57–88. Johannes Matthiae dedicated the book to Johan Skytte.

28 Johannes Matthiae (above n. 27) [A11r].

29 Johannes Matthiae (above n. 27) C3r–C5v. Åslund (above n. 15) 174. Furthermore, Johannes Matthiae mentions Johannes Posselius' famous *Colloquia familiaria* (see Korhonen [above n. 23] 97-9) and *Evangelia Dominicalia,* both in Greek and Latin.

30 C. Annerstedt, Uppsala universitets historia I (1477-1654), Uppsala 1877, 395-396. The let-

Learning Greek was demanded not only of boys from noble families. A Swedish school ordinance from the year 1611 recommended that boys in *scholae provinciales* should read texts from the Greek New Testament and Aesop, and later, namely in the fourth class, when they were in their early teens, also some texts by Plutarch, Isocrates and even by Hesiod in Greek.[31] The next school decree, which was issued in 1649 and called "Christina's School Ordinance", because the Queen had a certain effect on it with the aid of Axel Oxenstierna, displayed a substantial list of Greek authors as well.[32] The ideal and the practice were, without doubt, wide apart in this case, too. What is certain is that schoolboys had to study some Greek before puberty, that is, Greek was part of the normal curriculum. Against this background, it would be curious if Johannes Matthiae had not taught any Greek to Christina, at least the Greek alphabet and some Greek *sententiae*. After all, we have no complete account of the instruction Johannes Matthiae gave to Christina.

Christina's first known teacher in Greek[33] was the German-born Johannes Freinshemius, who had been a *professor Skytteanus* at the University of Uppsala since 1642, and whom Christina summoned not only as her royal librarian, but also appointed as the state's official historiographer in 1647.[34] In December of the same year, Freinshemius delivered a panegyric on Christina's 21st birthday, where he stated that Christina learnt to read Greek in one month's time – not saying if this (obviously exaggerated) development had occurred under his tutelage or not.[35]

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ter is reprinted in the Appendix to Annerstedt's history of the University of Uppsala (Bihang I, 365-367).

31 *Lectiones et lectionum ordo pro scholis catedralibus et provincialibus* reprinted in B.R. Hall (ed.), *Sveriges allmänna läroverksstadgar 1561–1905: 1561, 1611 och 1649 års skolordningar* (ÅSU 4), Lund 1921, 25–40.

32 Schoolboys read Aesop's *Fables* and some excerpts from the New Testament in elementary schools, but Isocrates, Xenophon, and Plutarch in the Gymnasium, see *Ratio informandi in scholis trivialibus et gymnasiis* reprinted in Hall (above n. 31) 41–111, 50, 104.

33 An old biographical tradition states that Christina could read Thucydides in 1644 (see e.g. Arckenholtz [above n. 19] vol. I, 30 and 30 n. b), that is, at the age of eighteen. However, there is no evidence for it.

34 About Freinshemius, see, e.g., I. Kajanto, *Christina Heroina. Mythological and Historical Exemplifications in the Latin Panegyrics on Christina Queen of Sweden* (AASF B 269), Helsinki 1993, 17.

35 J. Freinshemius, *Panegyrica virtuti et honori serenissimmae reginae quum natalem suum alterum et vicesimum celebraret*, Stockholm 1647, Q5. The oration is reprinted in *Johannes Freinshemii orationes cum quibusdam declamationibus*, Frankfurt 1662 (see p. 369 for this passage). See Kajanto (above n. 34) 17 (no. 27.1). Both Plantin (above n. 7) 37–8 n. g and E.

French ambassador Pierre Chanut came to Christina's court in 1645. His letter dated February 1648 to a French cabinet minister gives valuable information on Christina's interests, and it is more reliable as a testimony than Freinshemius' flattery. Chanut reports to his compatriot that the Queen can speak Latin, French, Dutch, German and Swedish and is also studying Greek in which she is making progress. While Chanut himself found Greek a difficult language, the Queen had compared her Greek studies to the way she learnt to play chess: Greek was to her "un divertissement" alongside more serious studies ("lectures serieuses") like reading Tacitus.[36]

Later in the same year, 1648, a German named Joachim Gerdes, a philologist and a jurist from the University of Rostock, was invited to the court. During his sojourn in Sweden, Gerdes published a translation of Cebes' *Tabula* and Epictetus' *Enchiridion* (1649), which he dedicated to Christina. In his Latin dedication, Gerdes praises Christina for her enthusiasm for Greek literature and reports that the Queen likes to read the New Testament, Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus.[37] It is well known that Roman Stoicism was a lasting interest of Christina. Cebes' *Tabula* was a vague text written in the first century CE, but like *Enchiridion*, it was a common Greek textbook in early modern universities because it was thought to be morally edifying and its Greek was quite easy to read.[38] Thus, it is conceivable, that Gerdes also instructed Christina Greek but on quite an elementary level.

Freinshemius, too, dedicated his study to the Queen. In his introduction of his treatise of Livy's lost books (1649), he mentions that he had been the Queen's teacher for two years and that Christina's progress has been outstanding: *Quum Graecarum literarum amore flagrares* [...] *ista Tua arte factum est,* [...] *ut post experimenta in Polybio, in Plutarcho facta, Platonem, at quem Virum! ita legas ut operae meae vix leviter egens, cursim exponas eleganti latinitate verbisque significantissimis* [...].[39] Freinshemius even praised Christina for proposing emenda-

M. Fant, *Historiola litteraturae Graecae in Svecia*, Uppsala 1778–1785, I, 90 n. h cite Freinshemius' oration.

[36] C. Callmer, *Königin Christina, ihre Bibliothekare und ihre Handschriften* (ActaB 30), Stockholm 1977, 22 and n. 31 (text). See also Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. I, 222 and Fant (above n. 35) 91 n. p.

[37] J. Gerdes, *Des Kebes recht guldene Tafel, und Epictetvs ädeles Handbuechlein, aus fleissig verbässerten griechischen Texten getrewlich von Joachim Gerdes verdolmetschet*, Stockholm 1649, dedication. See also Plantin (above n. 7) 35–36 n. g and Fant (above n. 35) 89–90. Both have a citation from Gerdes' dedication.

[38] Korhonen (above n. 23) 98.

[39] J. Freinshemius, *Supplementorum Livianorum ad Christinam Reginam Decas. Auctore I.*

tions to Greek texts with convincing arguments.[40] Though Freinshemius' tone in general is flattering, it seems nonetheless plausible that he had read these authors together with the Queen, and helped her to translate passages into Latin.

In the spring of 1649, Christina had two sons of outstanding Dutch scholars in her court: Isaacus Vossius and Nicolaus Heinsius. The father of the latter, Daniel Heinsius, was known as an excellent philologist and also for his genius in Greek versifying.[41] However, it was Isaacus Vossius, son of Gerhard Johannes Vossius, a famous professor of rhetoric in Leiden, who confirms in a letter written in May 1649 to a friend and the leading philologist of the time, Claudius Salmasius, that Christina reads Polybius in the original.[42] Salmasius was waiting for a call to Christina's court as well.

It was in May 1649, too, when Johannes Gezelius the Elder praised Christina's daily devotion to Greek – in Greek: Ταύτης τῆς γλώττης ἀρχαίας, ἁγίας, ἡδείας, ἐμφατικῆς, εὐπόρου, χρηστῆς καὶ ἀναγκαίας ἵμερος ὅτε καὶ ΤΗΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΕΙΟΤΗΤΑ ΣΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΠΑΝΙΛΑΕ, αἱρεῖ καὶ σπουδὴ οὐκ ὀλίγη καθ᾽ ἡμέραν ταύτῃ τῇ γλώττῃ δίδοται.[43] The eulogy is at the end of the Greek dedication to Christina, which Gezelius included in his New Testament Greek Lexicon.[44] The Professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Tartu in Estonia (then a part of Sweden) exhibits in the six-page long dedication his ideas on the history and features of the Greek language. He begins with a long address to the Queen with all her royal epithets and states that one has to always consider

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Freinshemio, Stockholm 1649, [9r–v]. See also Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. I, 344 n.* gives an abridgement of this passage and Clarke (above n. 16) 231-2 a loose translation into English.

40 Freinshemius (above n. 39) [9v].

41 Daniel Heinsius published his Greek poems along with his Latin poems in a collection in 1649.

42 *Minimum in ea est* [...] *quod poetas fere omnes memoriter teneat, quod Polybium Graece legat et intelligat*, see Callmer (above n. 36) 47 and 78 note 16. Isaacus Vossius' contact with Christina in general, see Callmer *op. cit.*, 45–57, Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. I, 268 and Fant (above n. 35) 89.

43 J. Gezelius the Elder, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*, Tartu 1649, the dedication, 2r–5r. Gezelius summarises here the seven main characteristic features (according to him) of Greek language: its antiquity, holiness, pleasantness, emphasis, rich vocabulary, usefulness, and necessity.

44 Christina had probable planned for Gezelius to be one of the members of a theological collegium, which would have been established for a union between the Lutherans and Calvinists. The plan did not succeed. See, e.g., Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. I, 227 n.* and 328; J. Päll, "Academia Gustaviana (1632–1656) trükistes esinev titulatuur ja dateerimine täpsustusi", in E. Küng (ed.) *Läänemere provintside arenguperspektiivid Rootsi suurriigis 16./17. sajandil*, Tartu 2006, 106–7.

the worth of a thing, which one is going to study and that this pertains also to languages.[45] This wording suggests that Christina was still – in spring 1649 – in the beginning of her Greek studies.

In September 1649 one of the most brilliant intellectuals of the day came to Sweden – but René Descartes' fatal stay at the Queen's court lasted only few months. Descartes complained in a letter dated on the 9 of October 1649 to Elizabeth of Bohemia that Christina was more focussed on studying Greek and collecting Greek manuscripts than studying philosophy.[46] In that year, the Queen had indeed received the royal book and manuscript collection from Prague as booty from the Thirty Years' War.

That Christina continued to be interested in her Greek studies is suggested by a letter, which Roland Desmarets wrote to Christina in 1650. Desmarets advises the Queen in her studies by listing important authors and using even some Greek words in his Latin letter. The French philologist recommends especially Plato and his Πολιτεία, Xenophon's Παιδεία Κύρου, and mentions that Plutarch is an excellent βιόγραφος. It seems that Desmarets was encouraging Christina not only to continue, but to begin anew her Greek studies. We may ask why it was necessary to list these well-known authors to the cultivated Queen. At the same time, he praises Christina's library as superior to the Alexandrian library, because it was constructed for serious study, not for ostentation.[47]

Christina's extensive library was abundant with Greek authors. There were both manuscripts and early prints, and scholarly works on Greek literature. Many of the scholars in Christina's court served as acquirers of books from Germany, France and the Low Countries.[48] The valuable collection can be seen as one factor

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[45] Gezelius the Elder (see above n. 43) the dedication, 2r–v: καθὼς παντὸς τοῦ πράγματος τὴν ἀξιότητα καὶ τίμημα περινοῆσαι χρή, πρὶν ἢ περὶ αὐτὸ ὑπερσπουδάζειν· οὕτῳ καὶ τὴν τῶν γλωττῶν ἀξίαν πρότερον διασκέπειν πρεπόν ἐστιν, ἢ αὐταῖς ὅλως προσέχειν.

[46] C. Adam – P. Tannery (eds.) *Oeuvres de René Descartes. Correspondance 5: Mai 1647–Février 1650*, Paris 1903, 430. See also Fant (above n. 35) 90–1. Elizabeth of Bohemia (1618–1680), who was the daughter of Elizabeth Stuart and granddaughter of James I of England, was, for her part, nicknamed "La Grecque" for her impressive knowledge of classical languages. See, e.g., E. Harth "Cartesian Women", *YFS* 80 (1991) 147.

[47] Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. II (Appendice), 52–4. See also Kajanto (above n. 34) 109. Desmarets, a friend of Isaacus Vossius, had taught his niece, Mary Dupré, Greek; see Harth (above n. 46) 149.

[48] Callmer (above n. 36), especially 28–42 and C. Callmer, "Queen Christina's Library of printed Books in Rome", in M. von Platen, *Queen Christina of Sweden: documents and studies*, Stockholm 1966; Fant (above n. 35) 97–102.

which lured scholars to Sweden. At the beginning of the 1650's, classical scholars, like Salmasius in 1650, and Marcus Meibom, who dedicated his renowned work on ancient Greek music to Christina, and young Pierre-Daniel Huet, both in 1652, visited Christina's court.[49] For Huet, the visit was even pivotal for his later career due to his finding of an important manuscript of Origen in Christina's library.[50]

Christina did not need to count only on foreign scholars. The leading classicist of Sweden at that time, Johannes Schefferus, published a study about Pythagoreanism in 1664.[51] In the letter to the reader, he points out that he started the study at Christina's request – most certainly before the abdication in 1654. Schefferus tells how he ignited Christina's interest on the subject and how she then perused Iamblichus, Porphyrius, and Diogenes Laertius in order to find references to the Pythagoreans, finally asking Schefferus to collect testimonia for her.[52] It is, of course, most plausible that Christina did not read, e.g., Iamblichus in the original, or, at least, not without assistance. It deserves to be underlined that only Freinshemius', Gerdes' and Vossius' evidence suggest that Christina read more difficult Greek authors (like Plato) in Greek. We may also assume that in these cases, she read together with a scholar, like Elizabeth I of England did with Ascham.

In Christina's case, her own enthusiasm seems to be crucial to her start on studying Greek. She had no Ascham, but when her manuscript collection attracted eminent scholars to her court, she noticed that she lacked something highly valued. In addition, she had an obvious role model in the learned queen in Elizabeth I. Christina knew Elizabeth's career well, because she had read Camden's history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth under the tutelage of Johannes Matthiae.[53] Furthermore, it was Elizabeth to whom Christina was most often compared in the panegyrics.[54]

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49 Plantin (above n. 7) 40, 41 and n. l (an anecdote about Huet). Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. I, 241–2. A list of foreign scholars in Christina's court, see S. Åkermann, *Queen Christina of Sweden and her Circle. The Transformation of a Seventeenth-century Philosophical Libertine*, Leiden – New York – København – Köln 1991, 104–7.

50 See, e.g., Callmer (above n. 36) 72.

51 Schefferus was a German, but a temporary resident in Sweden: he was employed at Uppsala University from 1648 to his death.

52 J. Schefferus, *De natura & constitutione philosophiæ italicæ seu Pythagoricæ*, Uppsala 1664, [vii]. Fant (above n. 35) 91 and n. n; according to Åkermann (above n. 49) 97, this happened in 1653, but there is no reference to that year in Schefferus' preface.

53 N183 (see above n. 19) 12v: *Historia Elizabethae Camdeni*. See also Åslund (above n. 15) 85, 230. The first volume of Camden's history was published in 1615, the second in 1625.

54 She was also compared to Lady Jane Grey, see Kajanto (above n. 34) 102. Others were,

The Queen who knows Greek

Christina's erudition was sometimes praised as surpassing even male monarchs. At least in one eulogy, her superiority was her knowledge of Greek. A German scholar, Lucas Langermannus, wrote in his oration, which was published in 1650 in Tübingen, that Christina was interested in Thucydides like the Spanish emperor Charles V, but unlike the emperor, the Queen could read Thucydides in the original. Langermannus also disclosed that Christina kept Homer's *Iliad* under her pillow like Alexander the Great had done, however, Christina not only slept on Homer, but also read him.[55] The long eulogy was without doubt useful for Langermannus – the next year he was recruited to help Nicolaus Heinsius collect manuscripts for the Queen.[56]

Although Christina's learning was a common topic in the eulogies[57], the impressive list of authors, which, for example, Johan Sparre stated Christina had read (Plato, Aristotle, Xenophon, Thucydides, Polybius, Plutarch, and Diogenes Laertius),[58] reflects the erudition of the young Baron himself rather than the Greek studies of the Queen. Sparre recited his congratulatory speech on Christina's 22nd birthday in December 1648; the next year he got a generous travel grant from Christina.[59]

Both Langermannus and Sparre wrote their panegyrics in Latin. We may suppose that when the image of Christina as the Queen who can read Greek spread, the self-promoting eulogists might also have pondered on the profit of choosing Greek as the language of their panegyrics to her. Gezelius' Greek dedication, which was written in 1649, coincides with Christina's most intent interest in Greek. However, there was one earlier Greek text connected to her. Johannes Paulinus

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e.g., Olympia Fulvia Morata in 1650 (Kajanto, *op. cit.*, 13 (no. 11.3), 90) and Anna Maria van Schurman in 1651. Kajanto refers to the young lady from *Belga* alluded to in two panegyrics (*op. cit*., 73 [no. 25.1] and 95 [no. 75]). It is certain that the references are to van Schurman. The north of the Netherlands was called *Belgica Foederata* during the seventeenth century. Christina visited Schurman in Utrecht in 1654, see Callmer (above n. 36) 178; Christina had one of Schurman's books (see above n. 6) in her collection, see Callmer (above n. 48) 67.

55 Kajanto (above n. 34) 21 (no. 45) and 104.

56 Callmer (above n. 36) 62. Langermannus met Christina only in 1653 when he aided Isaacus Vossius in arranging Christina's library.

57 Kajanto (above n. 34) 89-95.

58 Plantin (above n. 7) 38 n. g. Fant (above n. 35) 91. E. Meyer *Program utg. vid Uppsala universitetet 1599-1700* (UUÅ 1905), Uppsala 1905, 36 (no. 279).

59 Annerstedt (above n. 30) 336–7. About Sparre's later career, see Kajanto (above n. 34) 32 (no. 76).

(later ennobled as Olivekranz), delivered an oration in Greek at the University of Uppsala in October 1646, in which he praised Christina.[60] The speech is lost and although later in his career Olivekrantz became the Counsellor of the State and Christina's trustee, it seems plausible that the purpose of the oration would rather have been to show Olivekrantz's Greek erudition to the academic circles than please Christina with the image of the queen who understands Greek.[61] To show off his eruditon was also Sveno Gelzenius' main purpose when he delivered his speech on resurrection in June 1649 at the recently founded Academy of Turku, Finland. Gelzenius, however, mentions in his Latin dedication to Christina that he had written his Greek oration to Christina to "look upon".[62] This oration was the first Greek publication issued from the Academy's printing press, and Gelzenius had himself cast the Greek type.[63]

More important than these academic Greek orations for Christina's image of the Queen who knows Greek were two Greek dissertations, which were dedicated to Christina and composed during 1648–1650. The first dissertation was defended at the University of Uppsala in December 1648.[64] There is some dubious evidence that Christina even attended the Greek *disputatio* as a guest of honour.[65] It is true that Christina visited the University of Uppsala several times and also attended public (Latin) defences.[66] The subject of the dissertation, public edu-

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60 Invitation to come to listen the oration, see Meyer (above n. 58) 32 (no. 244). See also Annerstedt (above n. 30) 396 and Fant (above n. 35) 104. Paulinus was the son of the archbishop of Uppsala Johannes Paulinus Gothus.

61 Besides, Freinshemius began to teach Christina Greek only in 1647, see above n. 39.

62 S. Gelzenius, Λογάριον περὶ τῆς τῶν νεκρῶν ἀναστάσεως, Turku 1649, A1v: […] *serenissimae Tuae Clementiae inspiciendae*.

63 The publication also includes a Latin panegyric to the Queen (*Epos ad serenissimam & Potentissimam Reginam Christinam*) composed by Gelzenius' fellow-student, see Gelzenius (above n. 62) B4v.

64 Henricus Ausius (*praeses*) – Petrus Rezander (*respondent*), Περὶ τῆς τῶν νέων παιδείας κατὰ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη, βιβλ. ι. κεφ. α. Πολ., Uppsala 1648.

65 J. H. Lidén, *Catalogus disputationum in academiis et gymnasiis Sveciae, atque etiam, a Svecis, extra patriam habitarum. Sectio I: Disputationes Upsalienses*, 1778, 53: *ventilata praesente Regina Christina*.

66 Annerstedt (above n. 30) alludes to three disputations of (Latin) dissertations, which Christina attended. The first one, on the 15th of May 1647, is mentioned also in the protocol of the Consistorium of the University, see H. Sallander (ed.) *Uppsala Universitet Akademiska konsistoriets protokoll III 1641–1649*, Uppsala 1969, 216. The other dissertations were publically defended in July 1648 and on the 16th of November 1653; for the last one, which dealt with Hebrew language, Christina even named an opponent. See Annerstedt (above n. 30) 318 n. 1, 319 n. 4, and 349.

cation, was Christina's special interest at that time due to the above-mentioned new school ordinance, which was issued the next year. The defender of the dissertation, Petrus Rezander, had studied under the guidance of Christina's tutor, Johannes Freinshemius.[67] In the first part of the dissertation, Rezander[68] even praises the Queen,[69] although, the eulogies to the monarch were usually placed at the end of the dissertation. Whether Christina was present at the *disputatio* or not, the next year Rezander was, nevertheless, sent to Paris to copy some Greek manuscripts for the Queen.[70]

The second Greek dissertation dedicated to the Queen (1650) was supervised by Gezelius the Elder and defended by Ericus Emporagrius at the Stockholm Gymnasium.[71] On the title page, it is announced that Christina had instigated the dissertation: ἐπὶ κελεύσματι ὑπερδοξοτάτης καὶ δυναμικωτάτης τῆς βασιλίσσης προστιθήσεται.[72] Emporagrius became later the bishop of Strängnäs and served as a chaplain to Christina.[73]

There were also short Greek eulogies to Christina. Two French scholars wrote four Greek epideictic poems, consisting only of one distich each, which functioned as thanks for the gold medals, which Christina had given them. The medal, which shows Christina as Pallas Athene, was struck in 1650 celebrating Christina's coronation.[74] Two other Greek panegyrical poems to Christina were

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[67] Freinshemius wrote a congratulation (dated in November 1648) to Rezander, in which he mentioned that Rezander's model in his study of literature has been Queen Christina. Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. I, 324 cites a part of Freinshemius' congratulation.

[68] The *praeses*, Greek professor Henricus Ausius, could be the writer of the dissertation as well. Ausius supervised four other Greek dissertations, two in 1650 and two in 1658.

[69] Ausius – Rezander (above n. 64) A2r: Ἀνάσσης εὐσεβ[ε]στάτης, ποικίλαις Ἐπιστήμαις, καὶ γλώτταις, καὶ ἀρεταῖς θαυμασέως κεκοσμημένης τετυχηκότες ἡμεῖς, παμμάκαρές ἐσμεν.

[70] Callmer (above n. 36) 154–5, with a list of the manuscripts.

[71] J. Gezelius the Elder (*praeses*) – E. Emporagrius (*respondent*), Συζήτησις θεολογική, περὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀδιαφθόρου, Stockholm 1650. The dissertation dealt with the original purity of man and the creation of body and soul.

[72] Cf. J. Gezelius the Elder, *Index librorum & tractatum*, Turku 1684, 1: "[…] *ad mandatum Reginae Christinae.*"

[73] However, Gezelius the Elder could have been the author and Emporagrius' Greek dedication, where he mentions Christina's regal epithets and then briefly wishes Christina peace and happiness, may be his only contribution to the dissertation.

[74] Kajanto (above n. 34) 33–4 (no. 85) and Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. II (Appendice), 55. However, when these epigrams were written, is difficult to say. One was most probably composed shortly after the coronation, because Henri de Valois, who wrote it, indeed delivered an oration at Christina's coronation. A French lawyer and philologist Gilles Ménage (Aegidius Menagius) wrote three other Greek "medal-epigrams". One of them is clearly composed after

both published after her abdication, in Rome in 1656. The longer one (*Christinae Suecorum Reginae plausus trilinguis*) was a "lapidary" poem of six pages and was written by Ottavio Falconieri, a young member of Christina's Roman "Academy".[75]

Medals were one means of promoting one's public image. In 1653, a medallion bearing a Greek inscription was struck in Christina's honour. The phrase ΟΡΘΟΣ ΟΥΧΙ ΟΡΘΟΜΕΝΟΣ [!][76] is an abbreviation of Marcus Aurelius' sentence ὀρθὸν οὖν εἶναι χρή, οὐχὶ ὀρθούμενον (*Med.* 3,5). More famous is the ΜΑΚΕΛΩΣ medal, which was executed in 1659 (and restruck in 1665) in Rome. The medallion points to Christina's uniqueness[77] and it was her whimsical way of establishing her role in the learned world of Rome.

Some panegyrists stated that Christina had abdicated in order to concentrate on her studies.[78] According to our evidence, Greek was no longer among her interests. In her unfinished autobiography, which she began to write only late in life, Christina states that she studied "all languages", but mentions by name only modern ones (German, French, Italian, Spanish), not stressing her Classical learning.[79] However, the image of Christina as the Queen who can read Greek stayed. This is indicated in the Latin letter, which Madame Dacier wrote to her in March 1678, when the Queen was 51 years old and well established in Rome with her *Accademia Reale*. The French scholar was presenting her translation of Publius Annius Florus to Christina and the elegant letter contains some Greek words and even two verses (without loci) in Greek[80] – one of them is identified

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the abdication, because it speaks about leaving the Swedish sceptre: Πιερίδων ἡ σκῆπτρα φέρει, λεῖπον [!] δὲ Σουήδων. Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. II (Appendice), 55 and Arckenholtz, vol. I, 264.

75 Kajanto (above n. 34) 16–8 (nos. 23, 29). In the same year (1656), Christina impressed her librarian Lucas Holstenius by consulting him about a Greek love epigram, whose author she was not sure of – she only remembered the content and suggested different authors; see Fant (above n. 35) 92. The epigram in question is preserved by Diogenes Laertius (3,29). About Holstenius, see, e.g., Callmer (above n. 36) 193–4.

76 E. Brenner, *Thesaurus nummorum Sveo-Gothicorum*, Stockholm 1731, 185–6 (tab. II, no. 3), Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. II, 341 no. 61.

77 ΜΑΚΕΛΩΣ is a Swedish word in Greek letters – Swedish *makalös* means "without a rival in excellence", "incomparable", "without spouse". See Callmer (above n. 48) 310, 314 (no. 35), Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. II, 84–6, 150, Plantin (above n. 7) 38 n. g; Fant (above n. 35) 93.

78 Kajanto (above n. 34) 119.

79 Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. III, 53.

80 Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. II (Appendice), 154. Dacier had also translated Callimachus.

as a line of Callimachus' *Hymn to Apollo* (42). Christina answered in French (in May 1678) with strong religious emphases.[81]

As a conclusion, I suggest the following ideas: it is plausible that Johannes Matthiae instructed Christina in some elementary Greek, at least the alphabet, but learning Greek better was her own idea. It was fuelled by the symbolic value of Greek and by her role model, Elizabeth I of England, who had been taught Greek from the age of fifteen. It seems beyond doubt that Christina showed genuine enthusiasm for the Greek language around the year 1649 when she was 22–23 years old. It is most probable that Christina read the more difficult Greek Classics only together with Swedish and visiting scholars. The evidence adduced above suggests that Christina read, among other things, Plato with Freinshemius, Marcus Aurelius with Gerdes, Polybius with Vossius. Her studies might be sporadic and were rekindled anew when a new scholar entered her court. The reading together included, we may suppose, a lot of discussion of contents and interpretation of difficult passages and the scholar giving some excerpts and the essential technical terms in Greek. The image of a Queen who knows Greek was one that she herself and her contemporaries wanted to cultivate, because it helped to secure her position as the first female monarch in Sweden and heightened her fame as an exception of her gender.

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[81] Arckenholtz (above n. 19) vol. II, 188–9.

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WHAT THE POMPEIANS SAW: REPRESENTATIONS OF DOCUMENT TYPES IN POMPEIAN DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS (AND THEIR VALUE FOR LINGUISTIC RESEARCH)

Peter Kruschwitz – Virginia L. Campbell

1. Introduction

The way we look at texts is determined by various features, and as such the writing material, its format, and the layout in which a text is presented are among the most powerful factors that drive our expectations and our perception regarding any given text.[1] At an initial stage, before even reading any details, a first glance at a document tells us what content we should expect and the layout may trigger, almost as a reflex, expectations regarding the spread of specific information across a document. This works on an almost mechanical level, in fact to such a degree that modern word-processing software contains several templates for typical text types, in which one just needs to fill in the actual content, while all layout and formatting is provided and done by a computer.[2]

Text types, however, are not a modern invention, they seem to exist in virtually any literate or semiliterate society, and this is of little surprise: as writing is a tool, one would use it for specific purposes and in specific situations (in addition to occasional uses that are less easily categorised). What text types have in common is a set of shared features, macro-constituents, that often appear in a specific sequence or order on a document, and in many cases, the document itself may be subject to certain physical requirements such as format, size, and direction of writing on the document. Moreover, many text types, depending on their specific use in a society, depending on their *Sitz im Leben*, characteristically come with a specific, technical language used to fill in the macro-constituents of

[1] Discussed in greater detail in Kruschwitz 2008, 226–33.

[2] Moreover, for many standard text types there are international norms (such as ISO standards).

the template, making communication more efficient through standardisation and formulaic expressions.

The remains of Roman documentary texts – inscriptions, papyri, ostraka, pieces of parchment and so on – comprise a wide range of text types that fulfil exactly the requirements for text types as laid out above: standardised organisation of the template, use of technical language, use of formulaic expression, and specific format of the document itself. The typology of these texts has long been established by epigraphists, papyrologists, and ancient historians, but at the same time it has hardly been sufficiently exploited by linguists yet.

In this context, an interesting question to consider is this: how did "the Romans" themselves perceive their text types? Did they actually recognise them as such?[3] How did they view them, and what did they mean to them? This inquiry into Roman attitudes towards text types seems to be all the more important, as it would support any future case to be made for the use and impact of documentary text types in the Roman world, as one could then argue with some confidence that what appears to be meaningful to us was meaningful to the Romans as well.

What one would need to make qualified judgements in this matter then, are drawn or painted representations of texts that usually occur in different contexts: drawings of inscriptions, letters, papyri, and ancient books.[4] There is plenty of evidence for this, but already at first glance the vast amount of material one would have to consider, scattered across innumerable, often remote and unsystematic as well as incomplete publications, discourages one immediately from any attempt of a full-scale response to the questions posed. What seemed more realistic, in order to create a basis for future research, is an exploratory study of a coherent body of evidence. The most obvious choice, due to its excellent documentation, then, is the material that has been published in the fourth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, comprising the hand-written and painted evidence from the Campanian settlements destroyed by Mt. Vesuvius in AD 79; this material can be supplemented with evidence from further places as available through publications such as Martin Langner's *Antike Graffitizeichnungen*[5] or Francesco Paolo Maulucci Vivolo's *Graffiti figurati*.[6]

[3] Interestingly enough, apects of cognitive linguistics have almost entirely been neglected in the study of the Classical languages.

[4] For linguistic studies of interaction between texts and pictorial elements cf. e. g. Muckenhaupt 1986, Hupka 1989, and Harms 1990.

[5] Langner 2001.

[6] Maulucci Vivolo 1993.

The chosen approach has some obvious limitations, and it seems important to spell these out: first of all, the material is chronologically restricted, as all evidence dates to AD 79 or earlier; any later view is lacking in the material covered here. Moreover, the view on representations of text types is restricted to what the Pompeians (Herculaneans, …) saw, and it remains up to future studies to show that these insights are more than just a local slant on matters. However, whether or not these limitations and problems have any noticeable or even distorting impact on the findings in general, will have to remain subject of future study and will only to a minor degree lessen the importance of the findings to be presented here.

2. Representations of document types

The material that has been assembled in *CIL* IV generally comprises three major categories of text types represented in drawings and paintings: (i) inscriptions, (ii) books, and (iii) letters and other notes. Over the next few pages, we shall present and briefly discuss all relevant material, arranged by typological categories according to document type.

2.1. Inscriptions

The first category to be discussed – by far the best represented one in the material studied here – is inscriptions, i. e. cases in which inscriptions of certain shapes and types make cameo appearances in another genre, namely in graffiti and dipinti.

2.1.1. Tabulae ansatae

One shape that is typically recognised as distinctly Roman[7] is the so-called *tabula ansata*, the winged tablet.[8] The shape itself, comprised of trapezoidal handles

[7] There are earlier attestations in Greek inscriptions. Moreover there are Greek inscriptions using this shape in a Roman context, see Romano 2007.

[8] For a comprehensive discussion of the shape, see Schepp 2009. For discussions of late occurrences of *tabula ansata* in the Roman world, see Pani 1988.

or wings on each side of a rectangular panel, is believed to originate from the wooden panels used to display public notices in the Republican era.[9] These were often mounted on poles, as were the *tabulae ansatae* depicted in the triumphal frieze on the Arch of Titus. The evolution of the panels from wood to other materials such as bronze and stone is unfortunately neglected, however, the evidence, particularly in the case of wood and metal, shows the use of chains or nails to mount the panels, indicating their intended use as a means to display a text.[10] This shape features on monumental stone inscriptions both official and private, and was particularly favoured in use with votive offerings in the Imperial period.[11] This shape has also been used for metal[12] and wood panels,[13] and occurs in mosaics.[14] One remarkable aspect of the *tabula ansata* is its endurance in popularity as a recognisable form for text display across both space and time. Examples are found from Britain to the East, and range in date from the first century BC until the fourth century AD.[15] In Pompeii, due to the unusual conditions of preservation, there is evidence for use of this form as dipinti electoral programmata,[16] and in a non-monumental, sometimes parodistic way as graffiti.

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9 See Keppie 1991, 10, 15 and Langner 2001, 27.

10 See e.g. *CIL* V 6875, a bronze *tabula ansata* that lost its left wing and subsequently had an additional hole made through the body of the panel in order to keep it on display.

11 See Meyer 2004, 28 n. 38 and Hunt 2002.

12 See e. g. Albert 1972, Calzolari 1985, and Hunt 2002. Amongst the metal examples of *tabulae ansatae*, many of which were part of votive offerings, there is one interesting occurance from Pompeii of a door plate, inscribed with the name of the house's occupant. See *NSA* 1933, 322, 358 (cf. *AE* 1934, 143).

13 See Caruana 1987, discussing a wooden panel from Carlisle, dating back to the Flavian period. The possibility of a painted inscription on this panel has been discussed, but apparently has never been securely established. Nevertheless, use of nails to attach this ansate panel to another surface and therefore its function as carrier of an inscription of some sort is beyond dispute, especially in light of the fact that the nails were bent over prior to the panel's re-use in the flooring of the Flavian fort.

14 A number of the market stalls in Ostia's Piazzale delle Corporazioni contain identifying inscriptions framed by *tabulae ansatae*. See *CIL* XIV 4549,1–4, 12, 17–19, 21, 34, 38.

15 See e.g. Hunt 2002, who gives a *terminus post quem* of 25 B.C. and a *terminus ante quem* of AD 379 for the bronze *tabulae ansatae* found at Summus Poeninus.

16 Reported e. g. for *CIL* IV 3460, 3462 (both for Gavius Rufus, in ins. VI 13), 3478 (for L. Ceius Secundus, ins. VI 14), 3496 (for Ti. Claudius Verus, ins. VI 14), 3686 (for L. Albucius and M. Casellius, ins. IX 3), 7749 (for Popidius Secundus, in ins. III 6). Slightly less clear is the situation in case of *CIL* IV 234 (for M. Cerrinius Vatia; "in tectorio in tabellae formam dealbato").

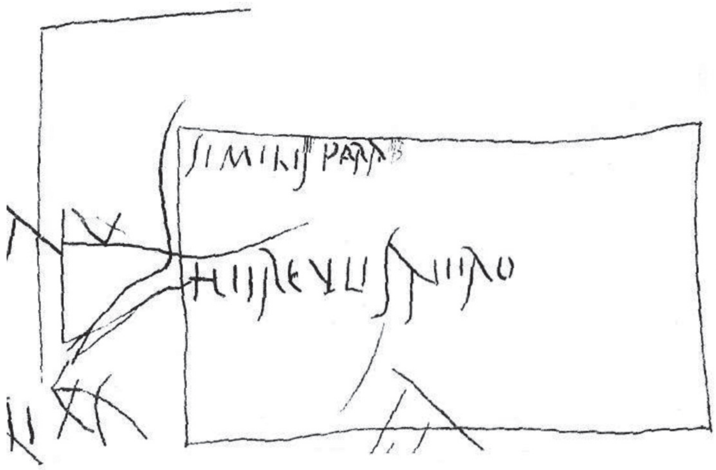
2.1.1.1. Personal names

The vast majority of attestations of the *tabula ansata* type in graffiti contains nothing but names. This group can be subdivided into names of (a) gladiators, (b) artists or craftsmen, and (c) other names that carry no specific attributes as above.

a) Gladiators

There are four secure attestations for gladiator names written in *tabulae ansatae*; it seems entirely possible, though, that there are further ones among the unidentified ones in section (c), below.

(1) ***CIL* IV 1513 (tab. XXIX 27)**: the first attestation was discovered on the building VI 14, 43, the so-called *Casa degli Scienziati*, to the right of the entrance of this building.[17] The *tabula ansata* comes with a single wing on the left-hand side, and the spread of the inscribed text across the tablet is rather uneven:[18]



*Similis Para[ti] (*sc. *seruus) | Herculis Nero(nianus)*.

Similis (slave of) Paratus, Hercules, gladiator of Nero's training school.[19]

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[17] For another inscription in a *tabula ansata* discovered here see below, text **(15)**.

[18] Drawing taken from *CIL* IV tab. XXIX 27.

[19] On the *ludus Neronianus* cf. e. g. Jacobelli 2003, 45–6.

(2) ***CIL* IV 4294**: the next attestation to be mentioned here has been discovered in the so-called Gladiators' Barracks, V 5, 3,[20] on the second column of the left-hand side in the peristyle:

Inuetus | Pompe(i seruus?) (pugnarum) XIIII || (coronarum) XI | III.

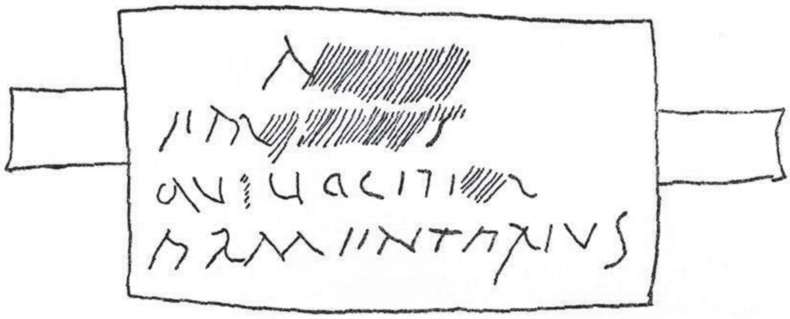
Inve(n)tus, slave of Pompeius (?),[21] 14 fights, 14 wins.

(3) ***CIL* IV 4374**: the next secure attestation comes from the same place as **(2)**, it too was discovered in the peristyle of house no. V 5, 3, but was read on the fourth column of the right-hand side; the text is not without difficulties:

+N(- - -) Murtius | (coronarum) II | P(ublius?) Asicius (coronarum) XV.

(…) Murtius, 2 wins, Publius (?) Asicius, 15 wins.[22]

(4) ***CIL* IV 4379 (cf. p. 705)**: the final secure attestation also comes from the house no. V 5, 3 (like **[2. 3]**), and it was discovered on the same column as **(3)**:[23]



M[urmillo?] | Fau[stu]s | qui uocat[u]r | Armentarius.

Murmillo (?) Faustus, a. k. a. Armentarius.[24]

[20] On this structure cf. Eschebach 1993, 145 and Jacobelli 2003, 65–6 (with notes on p. 119).
[21] Castrén 1983, 205 no. 1 (and 3) thinks that Inventus is the slave of one Sex. Pompeius Proculus, as said Pompeius is supported by some Inventus in an electoral programma (*CIL* IV 327); this is of course rather haphazard, the text might just as well mean that Inventus fought (and won) at Pompeii or was a Pompeian himself.
[22] On L. Asicius see more generally R. I. Curtis, "A Slur on Lucius Asicius, the Pompeian Gladiator", *TAPhA* 110 (1980) 51–61 (even if one might not be inclined to follow the general argument).
[23] Drawing taken from *CIL* IV ad loc.
[24] The text is more complicated than it might seem; H. Solin, "Analecta Epigraphica", *Arctos*

b) Artists/Craftsmen

The second sub-section comprises only two examples, yet it seemed appropriate to introduce it: artists' signatures are a text type in its own right, and artists' signatures in a special shape deserve special attention.

(5) *CIL* IV 806. 807 (cf. p. 196. 461); *ILS* 6036: the first example that needs to be mentioned here is the famous shop sign for the *hospitium* of one Sittius, presumably called *The Elephant*; the sign was discovered between the entrances VII 1, 44 and 45. Unfortunately the painting and the text have long since disappeared. According to the tradition, there was "dipinto e modo d'insegna un elefante [rosso] che cinto nel corpo da grosso [giallo] serpente è custodito da un pigmeo(r) sopra in una piccola tabella ansata leggesi [806] FIOR." (*CIL* ad loc.).[25] The text that is said to have been inscribed in the *tabula ansata* reads thus:

> *Sittius res|tituit | Elep(h)an|tu(m).*
>
> *Hospitium hic locatur. | triclinium cum tribus lectis || e(t) comm(odis) [- - -].*
>
> Sittius has restored the Elephant.
>
> Tavern to let. Triclinium with three beds and amenities (…).[26]

(6) *CIL* IV 9257: the second example in this category was discovered "in oeci n. 16 pariete occidentali sub secunda regione eleganter picta" in the villa "Santini" at Boscotrecase underneath a painting of a landscape.[27] According to the editors, this text has been "lineis inclusum":

> *Sabinus (*sc. *pinxit?).*
>
> (Painted by?) Sabinus.

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40 (2006) 131–65, 133 s. v. *Armentarius* is right in pointing out that one should not easily assume *Armentarius* to be a *cognomen* here. Whether it is a nickname or something else entirely, still awaits explanation.

[25] For a more detailed description of the painting in Helbig 1868, 400 no. 1601.

[26] For a further discussion of the advertisement see Kruschwitz 1999, 238–9.

[27] Edited by M. Della Corte, *NSA* 1922, 474.

c) Other

(7) *CIL* IV 2424 (cf. tab. XXXI 37): the following example was discovered in the so-called *corridoio de' teatri* (VIII 7, 20), above another (uninscribed) *tabula ansata*:

Antonius.

It seems noteworthy that the writer did not manage (or not intend?) to inscribe the whole name into the *tabula ansata*, since the final *–s* is clearly written outside the *tabula*, almost forming part of the right ansa.

(8) *CIL* IV 4787: the next attestation, surrounded by drawings of *phalloi*, has been discovered in the house no. VII 7, 19, to the right of the entrance of this building; according to the editors of *CIL* IV ad loc., the inscription (or just the *tabula ansata*?) were already damaged in antiquity ("antiquitus erasa"):

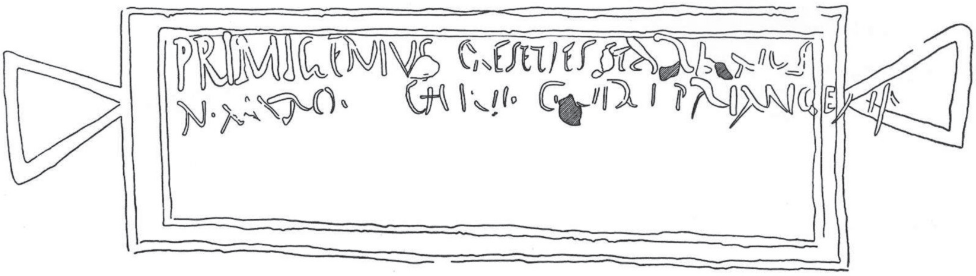
Rarus | *Idaeus* | *Verus*.[28]

(9) *CIL* IV 7425: the next attestation, a dipinto (dimensions: 42 x 15 cm), discovered to the left of the entrance of building no. I 11, 6 (the so-called House of Venus in the Bikini), has been related to a street altar,[29] as it appeared to contain the names of the *ministri compiti* in letters of 30–12 cm height (decreasing):[30]

[28] On this text see also H. Solin, "Analecta epigraphica", *Arctos* 43 (2009) 175.

[29] See van Andringa 2000, 59 no. 18 (with p. 61 fig. 21c).

[30] First edited by M. Della Corte, *NSA* 1913, 478–9. Image taken from *CIL* IV ad loc.



Primigenius Caeseti(a)es, Stalbnus[31] | *N(umerii) Maro(nis?), Chius C(ai) Viri (*uel *Vibi?) Primigeni*.

Primigenius, slave of Caesetia*,* Stalbnus, slave of Numerius Maro (?), Chius, slave of Gaius Virius (*or* Vibius) Primigenius.

(10) ***CIL* IV 8804**: The final case to be included here, discovered on the palaestra (II 7, column no. 117) is a bit complicated. The way the attestation is presented in the original publication in *Notizie degli scavi* (with some confusion over the numbers)[32] is this:[33]

Based on this edition, the *CIL* ad loc. suggests that the head and the inscription form a unit. According to Langner, however, who re-examined the drawing, this cannot be true – Langner's main point being that the inscription and the image are not situated in the same cannelure on the column.[34]

31 Van Andringa 2000, 59 suggests the reading of Stab[ia]nus, which is hardly less problematic than Della Corte's original version. – A revision of the whole text has now been proposed by H. Solin, "Analecta Epigraphica", Arctos 43 (2009) 179f., also containing a fuller discussion of the text's very nature.

32 The image in *NSA*, whence the above drawing is taken, is incorrectly identified as no. 391.

33 M. Della Corte, *NSA* 1939, 301, 390.

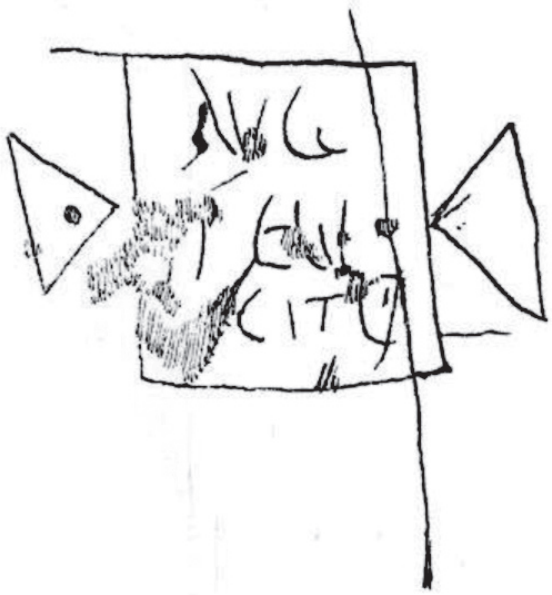
34 Langner 2001, 44 n. 255.

The text seems to read either *Persi* or *Pers(- - -)*:[35] the drawings at hand are not entirely clear.[36]

2.1.1.2. Greetings/Wishes/Orders

A second sub-group of texts inscribed into *tabulae ansatae* in Pompeii comprises greetings, wishes, and orders.

(11) *CIL* IV 2460 (cf. tab. XV 3): the first attestation that needs to be mentioned here was discovered on a column in the large theatre (VIII 7, 20) "ad scaenae parietis orientalis partem externam posita (…) in tectorio albo":[37]



Aug(usto) | feli|citer.

Good luck to the emperor.

The function of the vertical line is unclear. Could this resemble a stick to which the *tabula* was attached?[38] Interestingly enough, another (presumambly parodistic) official-looking text also inscribed in a *tabula ansata* was discovered at the very same spot, see below, text **(17)**.

[35] Castrén 1983, 203 sub no. 302 regards this attestation of the name Persius as dubious.
[36] In addition to Della Corte's rendering in *NSA*, see Langner 2001, no. 414 (on CD).
[37] Drawing taken from *CIL* IV tab. XV 3.
[38] See above, p. 60.

(12) ***CIL* IV 5438**: the next attestation to be considered here was discovered outside the city wall, between the Vesuvian and the Herculanean gates in a passageway of a building that has been excavated by D'Aquinio.[39] The text was written with charcoal on whitewashed surface:

> *Cacator ca|ue malum [- - -?].*
>
> Defecator, expect the worst!

A common type of warning at Pompeii;[40] the official-looking template of a *tabula ansata* chosen for this message seems rather remarkable.

(13) ***CIL* IV 9223**: the final example for this category was discovered in the atrium of a villa rustica situated about 100 m to the north of the last tombs of the *Via dei Sepolcri*:[41]

Caecinia | Orania | ua(le) ua(le).[42]

Caecinius Orania, farewell, farewell! [43]

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[39] See the report by A. Sogliano, *NSA* 1898, 494–5.

[40] Cf. *CIL* IV 813, 3782, 3832, 4586, 7714, 7715, 7716.

[41] See the report by M. Della Corte, *NSA* 1922, 480–4, esp. 484 no. 21.

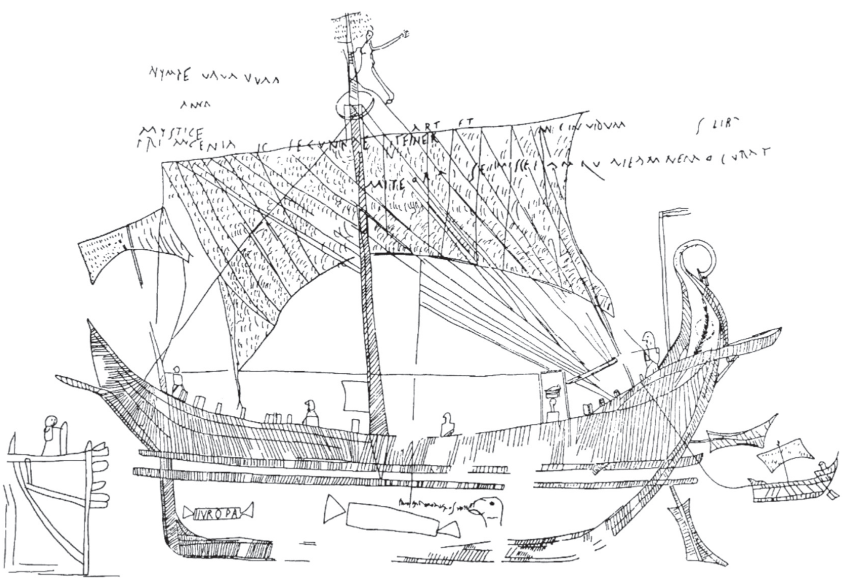
[42] The text was most certainly incorrectly edited by M. Della Corte; the shape chosen here takes into account Solin 1973, 268 ad loc. One might even try *Caecini(a) ua(le) | Ornata* eqs. – the text remains problematic.

[43] The inscription is mentioned by E. Dickey, *Latin Forms of Address*, Oxford 2002, 74 with n. 67 as an example for address of females by two names rather than just one (a form of address well-attested in epigraphical sources, yet avoided in literary texts).

2.1.1.3. Ships

The category "ships" requires a little justification here, as there is only one example from Pompeii, viz. the well-known drawing of the ship called *Europa*. The rationale is this: there is at least one other example of a ship drawing, discovered in quarry III at Silsile (Egypt), displaying relevant related information in a *tabula ansata*, too.[44] Could this mean that actual ship names were displayed on *tabulae ansatae*?

(14) A complex graffito drawing from the *Casa della Nave Europa* (I 15, 2. 3), where it was discovered on the northern wall of the peristyle, to the left of the door leading towards shop no. 3. The dimensions, according to Langner, are 1.05 x 1.52 m:[45]



The drawing shows a large vessel, and the body of the ship is decorated with two *tabulae ansatae*, one of which, close to one end of the vessel, is inscribed, containing what is believed to be the name of the ship: *Europa*. The function of the uninscribed plaque remains unknown.

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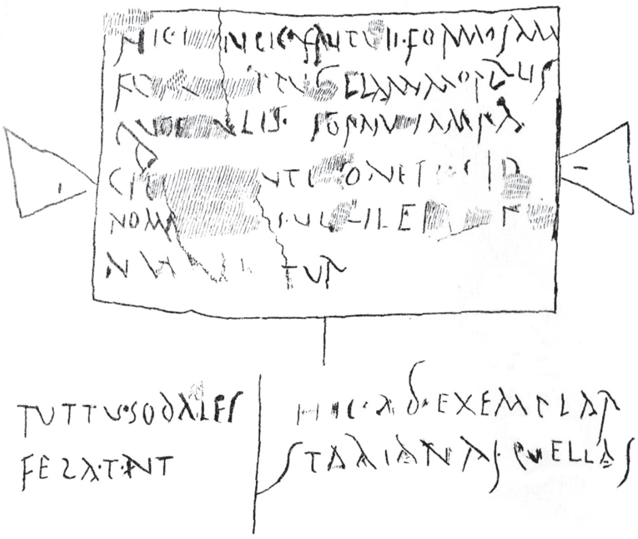
[44] Published by F. Preisigke – W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und griechische Inschriften und Graffiti aus den Steinbrüchen des Gebel Silsile (Oberägypten)*, Strassburg 1915, Taf. VII no. 116.

[45] Drawing taken from Langner 2001, Taf. 129 fig. 2019. (also on CD) – For further discussion of this drawing cf. Pekáry 1999, 214 no. I-P 31, Langner 2001, 110 (inter al.), and Maulucci Vivolo 2003, 200–2.

2.1.1.4. Other

There is one more example that needs to be discussed under the rubric of the *tabula ansata*, and it is not only the longest text included in this shape, but at the same time also the most remarkable one.

(15) ***CIL*** **IV 1517 (cf. p. 463; tab. XXX 1. 2); CLE 955 adn.**: this attestation, like text **(1)**, was discovered next to the entrance of the building no. VI 14, 43, the so-called *Casa degli Scienziati*. The text, revealing a couple of phonetic peculiarities,[46] represents a (highly fragmentary) poem:[47]



Hic [ego] nuc futue formosam | for[ma] puellam morbus | qu[- - -]alis form[- - -]am fa|cie[- - -]T[- - -]ONET[- - -] | nom[- - -]SVL[-]ILE[- - -] | N[- - -]tur.[48]

Here I have now happened to fuck a beautiful girl, whose beautiful face (was affected by) such a disease…[49]

The sentiment of the initial hexameter, followed by further lines of changing content (and decency) is attested many times inside and outside Pompeii,[50] once

[46] Cf. Courtney 1995, 308 no. 94b for a short commentary and more recently J. N. Adams, *The Regional Diversification of Latin 200 BC – AD 600*, Cambridge 2007, 442.

[47] Drawing taken from *CIL* IV tab. XXX 1. 2. From the way the text is presented in *CIL* IV ad loc. one would assume that the two lines in the drawing should join up.

[48] Constitution of the text is following Varone 2002, 120 n. 190.

[49] Translation by Courtney 1995, 99.

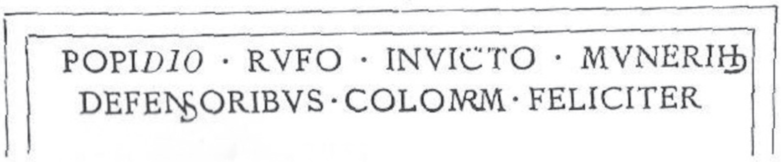
[50] Cf. Kruschwitz 2004, 41–2 with n. 43.

(not inscribed in a *tabula ansata*) even right next to the attestation mentioned here.[51] The text inscribed in a *tabula ansata*[52] here seems particularly noteworthy as an official-looking, monumental template is chosen for the announcement of sexual conquest as well as the announcement of an apparent disease.[53] It is more than obvious that in this case the chosen presentation lends further meaning to an otherwise just plain obscene text.

2.1.2. Other monumental inscriptions

The *tabula ansata* is the single most popular choice for representations of graffiti as monumental text, but not the only one. It would appear from the material that other types of monumental inscriptions were also used as a model for the presentation of handwritten texts – two texts in particular deserve mention here:[54]

(16) ***CIL* IV 1094**: the first example was discovered in the gladiators' barracks VIII 7, 16.[55] The text itself is a dipinto, framed with a dark margin, and appears to be an acclamation in disguise of an honorary inscription:[56]

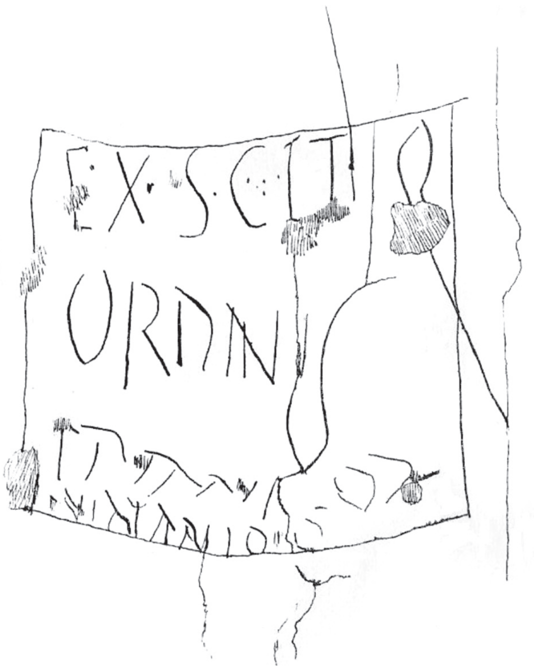


Popidio Rufo inuicto muner(ario) III, | defensoribus colon(o)rum feliciter.

To Popidius Rufus, unbeatable organiser of games three times, (and) the defenders of the colonists: good luck![57]

[51] *CIL* IV 1516; *CLE* 955. Cf. also Wachter 1998, 87 with n. 83.
[52] Once again it would appear that the *tabula ansata* is drawn as if attached to a stick (for a similar case cf. text **[11]**), and here more than in the aforementioned case, one might wonder if that has a special meaning; see above, p. 60.
[53] For further discussion of this aspect cf. Varone 2002, 119–20.
[54] One could of course (and rightly) argue that the whole genre of dipinti as advertisements for candidates and circus games, as the letter shapes show, represents monumental inscriptions. However, these texts are text types of their own right and form a consistent group, therefore need to be dealt with in a different fashion than texts that usurp the shape of other genres for a more or less specific purpose on an individual basis. – Whether *CIL* IV 10485 ("in tabellis, pulchris litteris nigris") belongs here or not, could not be established.
[55] On this building cf. Eschebach 1993, 390.
[56] No drawing seems to exist; image taken from *CIL* IV ad loc.
[57] On Popidius Rufus cf. Jacobelli 2003, 44.

(17) *CIL* IV 2459 (cf. tab. XV 4); *ILS* 6439: the next text was discovered in the large theatre (VIII 7, 20) in the immediate vicinity of text **(11)**, above. The inscription, a graffito, was described as *tabula ansata* by Karl Zangemeister (*CIL* IV ad loc.), but his drawing of the text seems to make it rather clear that the text is not inscribed in a *tabula ansata*: much rather a framed inscription, resembling a monumental type, is at hand:[58]



Ex scito | ordinis | Primus OR|++++++++.

While it has rightly been recognised that this resembles official terminology,[59] it is also clear that this is not actually an official text, but must be a parody of some sort (similar to text **[15]**?). The very point of this text remains unclear.[60]

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[58] Drawing taken from *CIL* IV tab. XV 4.

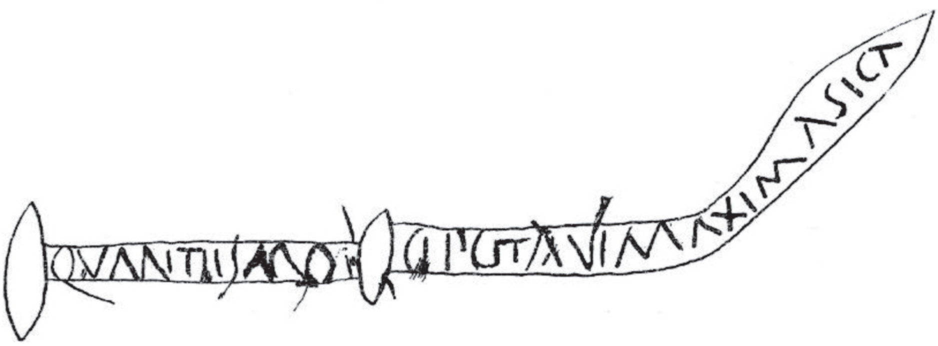
[59] See Castrén 1983, 59 with n. 9.

[60] The same might apply for *CIL* IV 2484, 2485 which are given with a frame in *CIL* IV ad loc. As frames were used for various purposes in *CIL* IV (mostly to indicate erasures, though) and no specific mention of a frame is made in the descriptions of these inscriptions in *CIL* IV, it seemed sensible not to include these examples into the main text. There are, of course, as Langner 2001, 27 points out, many further cases of simple frames drawn around graffiti to make them stand out more in their respective contexts, and most of them will not represent any monumental types, cf. e. g. *CIL* IV 8842, 8859, 8860, 8861, 10674 (to give but a few examples). The same appears to be true for lines drawn to highlight certain texts, cf. e. g. *CIL* IV 1237, 1237a, 1745, 2025, 10650. The case of *CIL* IV 8364 must remain open to debate; Della Corte, *CIL* IV ad loc. claims it was presented "in formam codicilli" however, the drawing does not support this. His reference to "epistola 2414" is useless.

2.1.3. Inscribed objects

Whereas subsections 2.1.1. and 2.1.2. dealt with inscriptions that basically represent monumental types, the next category will focus on representations of inscribed objects as they, for example, would be found in dedicatory contexts. There is only a single occurrence that requires mention in this context, however the text occurs twice on the same wall.[61]

(18) *CIL* IV 2396 (cf. p. 221. 704; tab. LII 10): the text was discovered in the peristyle of building no. IX 1, 22, and it would appear that this inscription has been inscribed in a *sica* ("dagger") as it is mentioned in the text itself:[62]



Quant(a) es modesta, ui maxima, sica.

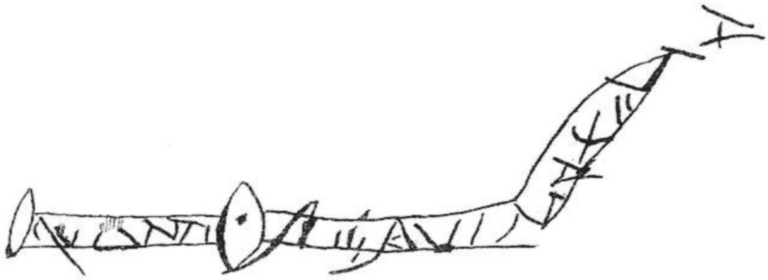
The text, clearly addressing the object as *sica*, is anything but clear – the text here represents Heikki Solin's efforts to decipher the text in repeated autopsy. Is it supposed to mean "how humble you are, despite your enormous power, dagger"?

(19) *CIL* IV 2397 (cf. p. 221; tab. LII 9): found in the same spot, apparently another, incomplete version of text **(18)**:[63]

[61] Another inscribed object is mentioned below, text **(27 d)**. It has not been included here, since it does not exactly represent a decorative inscription added to a mobile object. The same applies for actual vessels that are inscribed and sometimes show elements beyond the actual letters of an inscription, cf. e. g. *CIL* IV 9378, 9380.

[62] Image taken from *CIL* IV tab LII 10.

[63] Image taken from *CIL* IV tab LII 9.

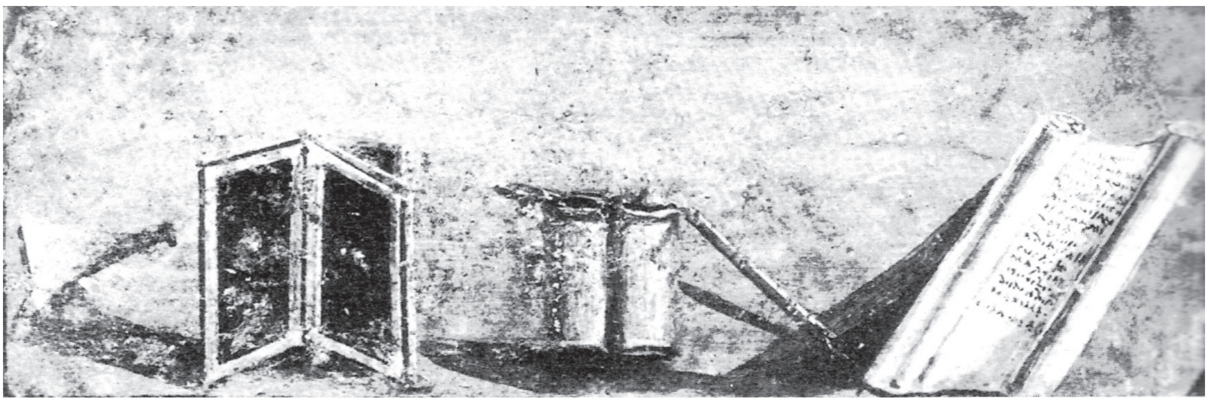


Quant(a) es modesta, ui maxima, sica (?).

2.2. Books

The next major category to be considered here comprises representations of books (usually in combination with further writing implements). Representations of books on Pompeian walls have been studied recently by Elizabeth Meyer – this section therefore is more of a digest than the previous one.[64]

(20) ***CIL* IV 1173 (cf. p. 204. 461; tab. XVIII 1)**; ***CLE* 946**: the first example, a complex wall painting (of uncertain origin)[65] showing a wide range of writing utensils, has a book on display that (partly) shows a poem which is attested many more times across Pompeii:[66]



[64] Relevant and related materials have been collected and carefully described by Helbig 1868, 412–4; for a recent discussion see Meyer 2009 (who notes that the representations of writing accoutrements depicted in wall paintings can be confirmed archaeologically, see p. 570 n. 10), but also cf. e. g. Starac 2008 for examples from Histria.

[65] Cf. *CIL* IV p. 68: *Locorum incertorum*. Description in Helbig 1868, 413 no. 1724.

[66] Photo taken from N. Purcell, *The Arts of Government*, in J. Boardman – J. Griffin – O. Murray (edd.), *The Oxford History of the Classical World*, Oxford – New York, 1986, 560–91, 586; the drawing is from *CIL* IV tab. XVIII 1. See Meyer 2009, 591 cat. 13.

Quisquis | ama ualia | peria qui n|osci amare: | bis [t]anti pe|ria quiqu|is amare uota. | felices | adias ma|neas | o Martia | si te uidi (?) | du nobis | maxima | cura place.[67]

Whoever is in love, shall live long; who does not know to love, shall die! He shall die twice as much, whoever forbids to love. Happy people may you approach, may you await, oh Martia, as long as I saw you, my sweetest concern, for as long as it pleased me.

As pointed out above, the text of the initial distich has been found in several spots around Pompeii,[68] which suggests a common source of some sort.[69] Since the text has only been represented in the form of a painting here (all other attestations are graffiti), one might wonder if – as in other cases – the painting was the origin for the local spread.[70] However, as the origin of the painting cannot be established, this must remain speculation. Another interesting question would be: does the text, as it is represented as book poetry in this case, go back to a (now lost) literary source? Again, nothing can be established with certainty.

(21) *CIL* IV 1174 (cf. p. 204. 461; tab. XVIII 3): another painting of equally uncertain origin, again showing a range of writing utensils. What seems to represent two adjoining *tabellae*, shown among other items, appears to contain a didascalic note:[71]

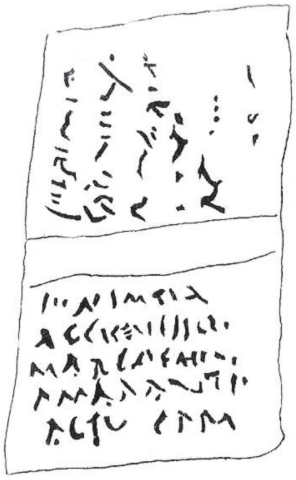
[67] The text of lines 9 ff. is anything but certain. Interestingly enough, it also hardly ever is mentioned in scholarship on this poem (which otherwise has been discussed abundantly especially due to its rather prominent linguistic features of a lowish diastratic variety of Latin).

[68] Cf. *CIL* IV 4091, 3199, 3200d, 5272, 6782, 9202. Solin 1975, nos. 18, 65, 66. Paraphrase / opposite meaning in *CIL* IV 4659, 466, 5186 (cf. 1824). Cf. Varone 2002, 62–3 with n. 83.

[69] Discussed by Wachter 1998, 76–7 with regards to features of "oral poetry".

[70] Cf. Kruschwitz 2006 for similar cases.

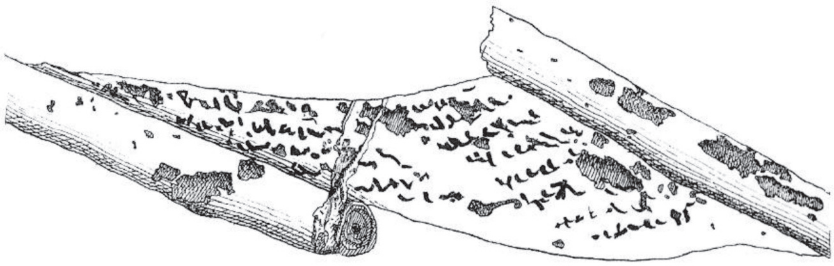
[71] See Helbig 1868, 413–4 no. 1725 and Meyer 2009, 592 cat. 14, who identifies these as one-



Septimea | Acci Caese(tiani?)[72] *| Marcella | Amaranti | actu(m) Pom(peis).* *|| Septimia Caes[e(tian)- - -] | A[- - -]RIA | [- - -]V[- - -] | [- - - - - -] | [- - - - - -].*

This item, illegible as it is, shows two particularly interesting features: on the one hand, if the identification as a didascalic note (otherwise only attested for Terence's comedies in Latin) is correct, this would be a rare piece of evidence for Roman theatre practice as well as conservation of dramatic scripts; on the other hand, this item shows an interesting change of writing direction (which would add to the documentary flavour of the text type).

(22) *CIL* IV 1175 (cf. tab. XVIII 2): yet another painting of uncertain origin, apparently found in Herculaneum (and not in Pompeii, as the previous items): [73]



Except for *Publium* || *Aufidium* nothing certain seems to have been established.

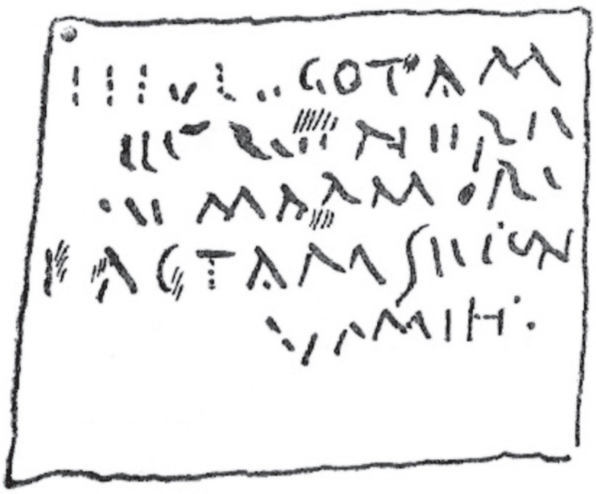
eared tablets or *tesserae frumentariae*.

72 Cf. Castrén 1983, 129 no. 3, 2.

73 Image taken from *CIL* IV tab. XVIII 2. See Meyer 2009, 590 cat. 8.

(23) ***CIL* IV 3024**: a further painting of uncertain origin (K. Zangemeister, *CIL* IV ad loc. speculates whether it is from Pompeii, but it might just as well be from Herculaneum), displaying two *uolumina* and a diptychon.[74] Even though it is clear that there were written elements to be seen, nothing meaningful about the text has been established (cf. *CIL* IV ad loc.).

(24) ***CIL* IV 3691; *CLE* 951**: a wall painting displaying writing utensils as well as an opened papyrus scroll, discovered in the left wing of building no. IX 5, 11 close to the depiction of an Amor holding grapes and a sceptre:[75]



Non [e]go tam | [d]uc[o] Venere(m) | [d]e marmor[e] | factam secun|[dam qu]am mih[i] | - - - - - -.

I don't think a Venus made of marble would be as favourable to me as …[76]

(25) ***CIL* IV 10481**: an interesting Greek example for the (painted) depiction of an ancient book was discovered in Herculaneum, ins. IV "8 in ambulacri membro posteriore supra ianuam quae ambulacrum partitur in dissaepti latere occidentali (i. e. contra aedium partem interiorem, non contra aditum)" (Della Corte ad loc.):[77]

[74] Description in Helbig 1868, 412 no. 1719.

[75] Image taken from *CIL* IV ad loc.

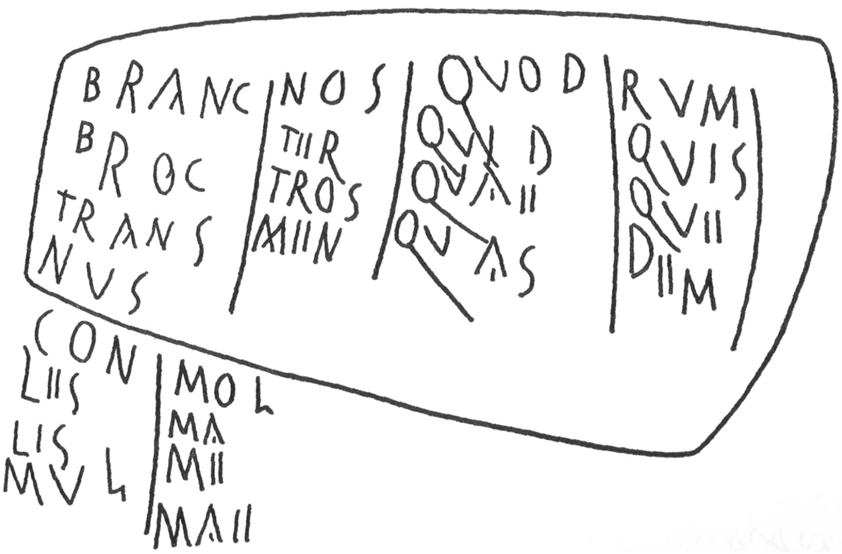
[76] Translation by Varone 2002, 28–30 (with n. 20) who discussed the text in greater detail. Cf. also Kruschwitz 2004, 55–6.

[77] Image taken from *CIL* IV ad loc.

Εὔτυχος χοριαμ[βικά - - -] σὺν μ[ο]υσικαῖς +++.
Eutychos' Choriambika with musical notes (?).[78]

What is remarkable here is the way the content description has been written all across the scroll (rather than having been attached to the scroll in the form of a short *titulus*).

(26) *CIL* IV 10567: the final example to be presented here is rather different from all the previous ones, as it does not show an actual depiction of any book. Nevertheless it might perhaps provide a glimpse into the internal organisation of ancient grammar books? The text was discovered in Herculaneum (V 7 "in area ubi est nymphaeum, in pariete occidentali" [Della Corte, *CIL* IV ad tit. 10565]):[79]



Branc | broc | trans | mus || Nos | ter | tros | men || Quod | quid | quae | quas || Rum | quis | que | dem | Con | les | gis | mul || Mol | mae | me | mae.

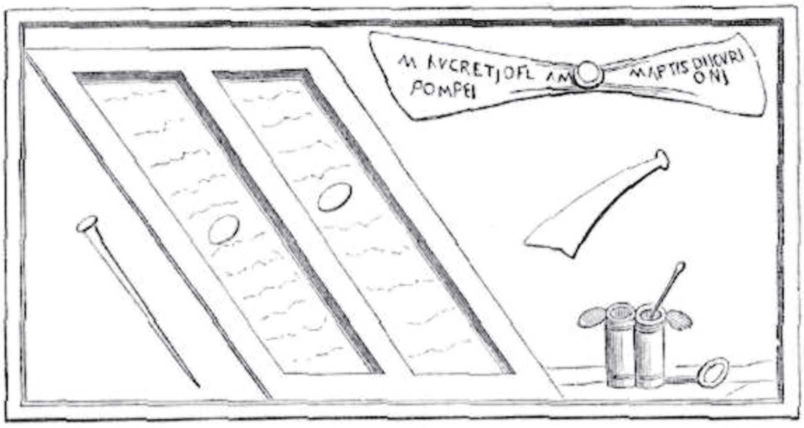
[78] The reading is very dubious, as Solin 1973, 274 rightly pointed out: one would expect the genitive of the name of the author, not a nominative.
[79] Image taken from *CIL* IV ad loc.

The text, defying any translation, has been strangely neglected by scholars so far. It seems obvious that this is a grammatical exercise of some sort,[80] e. g. showing the declension of *noster/nostros* as well as forms of the interrogative pronoun *quod*, *quid*, *quae*, *quas*; however, most of the text as well as its organisation remains obscure.[81]

2.3. Letters and other notes

The next category to be considered here is a rather unusual one, comprising depictions of document types which are usually meant for circulation of some sort.

(27) *CIL* IV 879 (cf. p. 197); *ILS* 6364: the first example that needs mention here is a painted papyrus letter. The painting was discovered in the peristyle of building no. IX 3, 5 (the so-called house of M. Lucretius, the name being derived from this very inscription). The image shows the letter next to further writing utensils, almost like providing an overview of the desktop of Marcus Lucretius:[82]



M(arco) Lucretio flam(ini) (sigillum) *Martis decuri||oni* | *Pompei(s* uel *–ano).*

To Marcus Lucretius, flamen of Mars and decurio, at Pompeii (*or*: Pompeian). (*sealed*)[83]

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[80] Similar texts in *CIL* IV comprise *CIL* IV 1364, 9231, 9233.

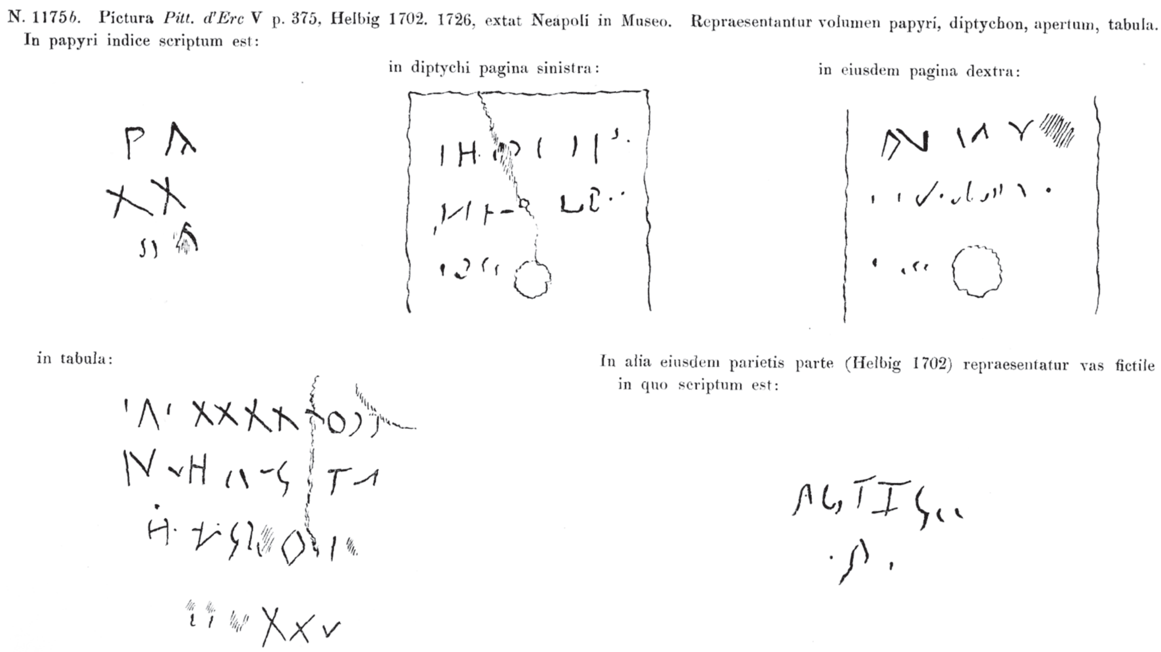
[81] But see Solin 1973, 275.

[82] Image taken from Dyer 1867, 455. Further description in Helbig 1868, 412 no. 1722 and Meyer 2009, 589–90 cat. 3.

[83] Seals are also shown in text **(28)**.

What is remarkable about this image is how the painting has been employed to serve and enhance the self-representation of the (alleged) house-owner, giving his religious and political office as part of the address.

(28) *CIL* IV 1175b (cf. p. 204. 462): the next example is slightly more complicated and confusing, not only because the exact provenance is unclear. Here is how the scenery of the painting is represented in *CIL* IV p. 462:[84]


N. 1175*b*. Pictura *Pitt. d'Erc* V p. 375, Helbig 1702. 1726, extat Neapoli in Museo. Repraesentantur volumen papyri, diptychon, apertum, tabula. In papyri indice scriptum est:

in diptychi pagina sinistra:

in eiusdem pagina dextra:

in tabula:

In alia eiusdem parietis parte (Helbig 1702) repraesentatur vas fictile in quo scriptum est:

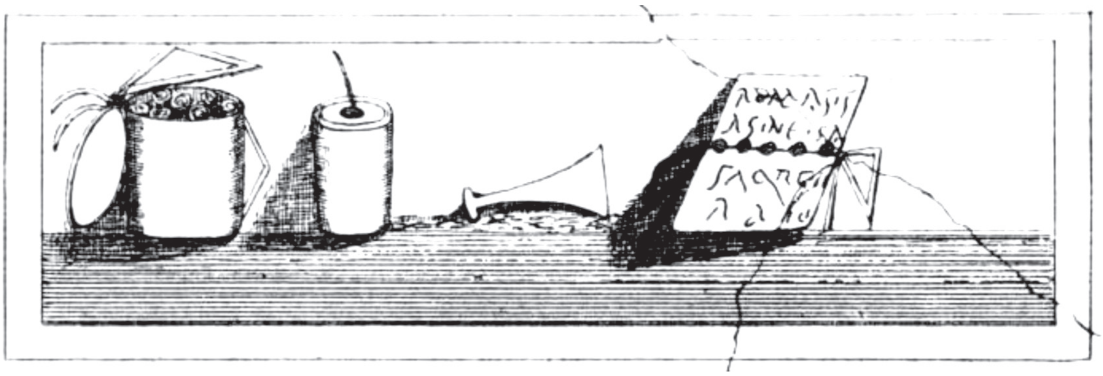
Apparently what one has at hand here is a plethora of different texts, (a) the *titulus* of a papyrus scroll, (b) a diptych inscribed on two pages, (c) a writing tablet, and (d) – on a nearby painting? – an inscribed object resembling a bottle. The texts have been "deciphered" thus:

(a) *Pa(gina) XX | SSS.*
(b$_1$) *IH OLLP | [- - - - - -] | [- - - - - -]*
(b$_2$) *[- - - - - -] | [- - - - - -] | [- - - - - -]*
(c) *IAI XXXX[- - -] | IVVH[- - -] |[- - - - - -] | II XXV* .
(d) *AGIIS | P.*

As interesting as the painting may seem to be from a typological viewpoint, it is obvious that the illegibility of these texts does not help to form any strong argument.

[84] Further description in Helbig 1868, 412 nos. 1719–21 and 409–10 no. 1702. See also Meyer 2009, 589 cat. 2.

(29) ***CIL* IV 6696**: the next example is a painting from Boscoreale, discovered during the excavations of a villa rustica in that area. The wall painting, like the previous cases, represents a variety of writing utensils among which there is a *tabula*[85] showing both an inscription and a series of five seals:[86]



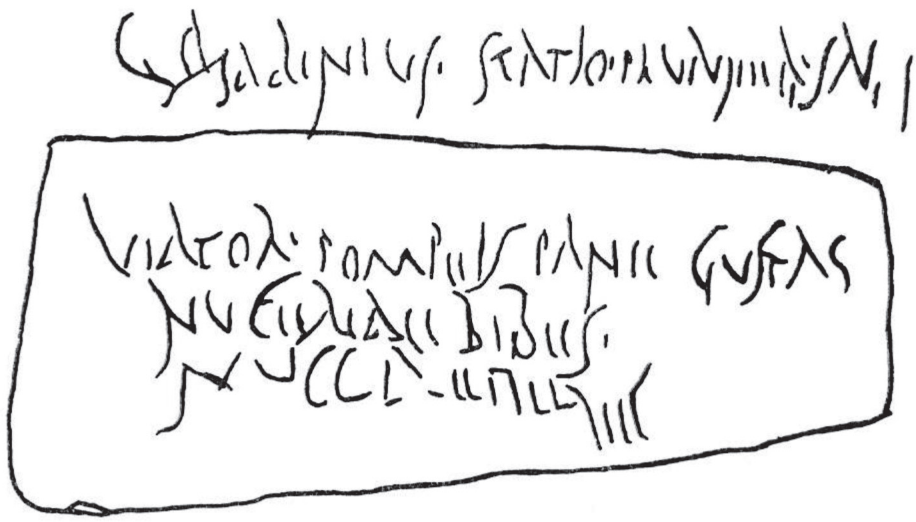
Roma sis | *asine si* | (quinque sigilla) | *SAQ*++++ | +++++.

Even though individual words can be recognised (Rome, may you be, ass/donkey, if), the text does not function as a whole. In the light of the previous examples, it appears remarkable that a (seemingly) nonsensical text was inscribed into what gives the impression of being an official document.

85 As Meyer 2009, 572, 591 cat. 11 rightly notes, the direction of the text on the *tabula* is incorrect as an accurate representation of such a document, as it should run from left to right on a vertical plane with the seals between the two blocks of text. It has, however, been rotated to run from top to bottom in order to allow the viewer to read without turning the head to one side.

86 A seal is also figures in text **(26)**, above. Complete illustration taken from M. Della Corte, *NSA* 1921, 459 fig. 20A, detail view taken from *CIL* IV ad loc.

(30) ***CIL* IV 8903**: the final example in this category has been branded an *epistola iocosa partim lineis conclusa* by Matteo Della Corte in his edition of *CIL* IV ad loc. The text was discovered to the right of the entrance of shop no. III 5, 4:[87]



Ga(ius) Sabinius Statio plurima(m) sal(utem). | uiator Pompeis pane(m) gustas, | Nuceriae bibes. | Nucer[iae bibes ?].

Gaius Sabinus wishes Statius all very best. Wayfarer, try the bread at Pompeii, (but) you will drink at Nuceria (you will drink at Nuceria?).

3. Conclusion(s)

The material assembled in the previous sections, even though due to its geographical and chronological constraints is far from being a complete overview of all relevant material from across the Roman empire, allows for some interesting, more general insights beyond the individual case which shall conclude this article.

All three major rubrics – inscriptions, books, and letters – make it abundantly clear that people in antiquity looked at document types not only in a concrete way, but also in an abstract fashion: they must have understood and appreciated the abstract, common patterns behind all text types and their shapes, especially as the shapes are often represented in a grossly simplifying manner.

87 As in many cases of texts edited by Della Corte, one might wonder about the correctness of the established text, as it contains some oddities (such as e. g. the unusual abbreviation *Ga.* instead of *C.* for the first name *Gaius*).

Instances that make this particularly clear include

- texts **(7)**, **(12)**, **(14)**, **(15)**, **(17)** depicting monumental inscriptions (and the *tabula ansata* type in particular), as they show parodistic content and mere shapes,[88]
- virtually all examples for the book shape, as it would appear that more emphasis has been given to an accurate display of the text across the document than to producing a text that is easily legible,[89]
- texts **(27)** and **(29)** not only reproduce an exact feature such as the seal in their depictions of document types, but also seem to subvert the genre by using it for purposes of self-representation in a specific setting or abusing it for presentation of (seemingly) meaningless content.

With regards to the first bullet point, one should also point out that of course in virtually all cases monumental shapes have been deployed for content that would not normally be presented in such a fancy way.[90] This means that even the simpler shapes among the graffiti (as opposed to the more elaborate shapes in the paintings) are remarkably effective in grabbing the beholder's attention. The form of presentation demonstrates an intentional aim on behalf of the inscriber to direct the viewer's attention towards a text that otherwise might not have stood out[91] – in an almost monumental way? – from the mass of scribblings on the same surface.

The evidence presented here further reiterates the importance in epigraphical and linguistic studies the importance of the correlation of the text with the manner in which it is presented. In the Roman world (as in later times), texts were presented not only as mere words but as a combination of words and pictorial elements, and as such, cannot be fully understood independently of one another.

What does this mean for linguistic research? It certainly means that one can now justifiably look at the shape, appearance, and format of ancient texts and

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[88] Text **(12)** is a bit of a borderline case, for the content certainly is meant to be taken seriously, yet the shape would appear to be a bit over the top (at least if it had been executed as a monumental text!).

[89] One might also wonder about the texts actually displayed on these books: how much of this was actually ever written in a book, and how much of the material has been "upgraded" to literary material by representing it in this particular fashion? Text **(20)** seems to be particularly interesting in this respect, see above.

[90] For symbolic use of monumental shapes in other contexts, and the *tabula ansata* in particular, see Pani 1986.

[91] Langner 2001, 27 has mentioned this concept but it needs further development from a linguistic perspective.

discuss formal aspects with greater confidence, as it seems sufficiently clear now that our perception and the ancient perception of these formal aspects coincide. And finally, as especially parodistic forms among the material discussed above have shown, it would also seem that forms and shapes can indeed lend additional meaning to the verbal content of texts: an observation that certainly is true for modern texts, but that has never been formulated clearly (never mind been proven) for ancient texts as well.

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Postscriptum

Only after this article was prepared for print by the editors of *Arctos*, we obtained a copy of A. Varone – G. Stefani, *Titulorum Pictorum Pompeianorum qui in CIL Vol. IV collecti sunt Imagines* (Studi della Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei 29), Rome 2009. In this wonderful collection of photographs, there are also images of a number of items discussed above. For convenience's sake, we shall give a concordance here: (17) – p. 374 (two photographs); (20) – p. 529 (no. 8); (21) – p. 365 (bottom); (22) – p. 529 (no. 6); (25) – p. 525 (Maiuri's drawing); (27) – Tav. XXXIII (top).]

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S. Schepp, "Gehenkelte Schrift: Die Tabula ansata", in H.-J. Schalles – S. Willer (eds.), *Marcus Caelius. Tod in der Varusschlacht. Ausstellung im LVR-Römermuseum im Archäologischen Park Xanten (...)*, Darmstadt 2009, 114–7.

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CUBICULA DIURNA, NOCTURNA – REVISITING ROMAN CUBICULA AND SLEEPING ARRANGEMENTS

Laura Nissinen

Introduction

One third of the human life is spent sleeping. It is thus timely that sleeping arrangements, sleeping conditions and sleep related problems have attracted attention in recent years; indeed, research into sleep is becoming one of the fastest advancing branches in science. Alongside the study of the medical, physiological and psychological aspects of sleep and dreaming, social science has also taken an interest in the sociological characteristics of sleeping arrangements. The major theme within sociological research of sleeping is "that how we sleep, when we sleep, where we sleep, and with whom we sleep, are all influenced by social, cultural and historical factors".[1] From the point of view of cultural history, some pioneering work on sleeping in the Greco-Roman world has been done as well.[2] Yet many issues remain un-addressed; in particular, the ways sleeping was arranged in ancient Roman houses, or cultural and sociological aspects this reveals of the society in case. To find out the factors defining the sleeping habits in Roman society, an extensive analysis of the written evidence in comparison with archaeological material is needed.

This paper is concerned principally with Roman *cubicula*, the most common term for resting spaces in Latin literary sources. First, it is necessary to establish what can be concluded of the different functions and users of *cubicula* known from the literary record. Secondly, a brief re-assessment of archaeological

[1] E.g. *The Sociology of Sleep group* at University of Surrey: *www.sociologyofsleep.surrey.ac.uk* and S. J. Williams, *Sleep and Society, Sociological ventures into the (un)known…,* London – New York 2008.

[2] Especially T. Wiedemann, "The Roman Siesta" and K. Dowden, "The value of sleep: Homer, Plinies, Posidonius & Proclus", in T. Wiedemann – K. Dowden (eds.), *Sleep* (Nottingham Classical Literature Studies 8), Bari 2003.

material serves to highlight some of the problems concerning the archaeological evidence about sleeping arrangements in the Roman house. The archaeological material for this article is chosen primarily from Pompeii and Herculaneum, since in the city of Rome little evidence of private housing has survived.

In the case study, two Pompeian houses, the *Casa del Fabbro* (I 10,7) and the *Casa dell'Efebo o di P. Cornelius Tages* (I 7,10–12/19) have been selected due to the better archaeological record relating to their excavation, but also as the domestic assemblages of these houses have been the subject of recent re-examination. This paper is hence a preliminary methodological case-study of my work concerning Roman sleeping arrangements in the light of both literary evidence and the archaeological evidence in the Vesuvian area.[3] In the context of this paper, *cubiculum* is treated primarily as a bedroom though a review of its other functions is also presented. I will also consider the physical aspects of this type of room. As the archaeological evidence will show, besides rooms traditionally called as *cubicula*, also the use of other types of spaces used for resting has to be taken into account in the study of the arrangements of sleeping.

The discussion on types of space inside the Roman *domus*[4] should be seen as a part of a larger context; the way a society arranges domestic space reveals

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[3] I have treated the written evidence of *cubicula* in my MA thesis "*Cubicula diurna, nocturna*: *cubiculum*-makuutila latinankielisessä kirjallisuudessa" (University of Helsinki, 2008) in which the functions, physical aspects and use of this space in Latin literature were examined. E-thesis: http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi-fe200804251275.

The material finds from the *Casa del Fabbro* (I, 10,7) and the *Casa dell'Efebo* (I 7,10–12/19) have been investigated by P. M. Allison, *Pompeian Households, An Analysis of the Material Culture*, Los Angeles CA, 2004 (with a Companion website at www.stoa.org/pompeianhouseholds [Allison, On Line Companion]. *Casa dell'Efebo*: http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/house?id=7 and http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/house?id=8; *Casa del Fabbro*: http://www.stoa.org/projects/ph/house?id=10), and by R. Ling and P. M. Allison, with a contribution by T. Giove, *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii.* Vol. 3: *The finds, a contextual study*, Oxford 2007; the Pompeian evidence considered is based generally on these studies. Some observations on the material from Herculaneum are presented as well, mainly based on S. T. A. M. Mols, *Wooden furniture in Herculaneum: form, technique and function*, Amsterdam 1999.

[4] Latin literature shows that *cubiculum* as an appellation is quite flexible: it can be used not only of rooms in an *atrium* house owned by a wealthy Roman, but also of rooms in more modest dwellings. The name appears very often also in *villa* descriptions and in connection with imperial residences. However, this paper deals mainly with the town house of a wealthy Roman citizen. Whether this should be called a Roman house, an Italic house, an old Roman house, a Roman *atrium* house, a Pompeian house or even an *atrium* house according to Vitruvius I am not going to commit on within the limits of this article; see discussion in B. Tamm, "Some notes on Roman Houses", *ORom* 9 (1973) 53.

the underlying values and structures of the society in question. It is known that to a certain extent social complexity determines the organization of space: the more complex a society is, the more segmented its architecture becomes.[5] Indeed, the complexity and stratification of Roman society is reflected in the houses owned by its wealthiest citizens; houses were designed to suit both the manifold private rituals and also the demands of public life. Movement inside the Roman house and its spatial use was guided with the help of structures, decoration and servants. Though emphasis on the functioning of the house has been on the representative purposes and the level of privacy in the dwellings owned by private citizens, the more mundane aspects of life, such as water use and toilets inside houses have also been surveyed.[6] Yet sleeping areas have been largely explored only in passing.[7]

Different roles of the *cubicula*

The term *cubiculum* has aroused interest in recent years and its wide range of definitions and different functions in Latin literature are well-known.[8] Here I will

[5] S. Kent, "Introduction" and "A cross-cultural study of segmentation, architecture and use of space", in S. Kent (ed.), *Domestic architecture and the use of space: an interdisciplinary cross-cultural study,* Cambridge 1990, 2–3, 127.

[6] Especially E. Dwyer, "The Pompeian Atrium House in Theory and in Practice", in E. Gazda (ed.), *Roman Art in the Private Sphere – New Perspectives on the Architecture and Décor of the Domus, Villa and Insula*, Ann Arbor 1991, 25–48; J. R. Clarke, *The Houses of Roman Italy, 100 BC – AD 250: ritual, space, and decoration*, Berkeley 1991; A. Wallace-Hadrill, "The Social Structure of the Roman House", *PBSR* 56 (1988) 43–97 and A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Houses and society in Pompeii and Herculaneum*, Princeton 1994; K. M. D. Dunbabin, "The use of private space", in *La ciutat en el món romà: actes XIV congrés internacional d'arqueologia clàssica*, Tarragona 1994, 165–76; articles in R. Laurence and A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond*, (JRA Suppl. 22), Portsmouth 1997; S. Hales, *The Roman House and Social Identity*, New York 2003; F. Pesando, *Domus: edilizia privata e società pompeiana fra III e I secolo a.C.*, Roma 1997; N. de Haan – G. Jansen (eds.), *Cura aquarum in Campania* (BABesch Suppl. 4), Leiden 1996; G. Jansen, "Private toilets of Pompeii", in S. E. Bon – R. Jones (eds.), *Sequence and Space in Pompeii*, Oxford 1997, 121–34.

[7] Especially Clarke (above n. 6) 13; Dwyer (above n. 6) 26–8; Wallace-Hadrill 1988 (above n. 6) 59 (n. 44), 78, 81, 86–7 (n. 130), 92–3; Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 95–7, 113–4; Dunbabin (above n. 6), 171–2.

[8] A. Riggsby, "'Public' and 'private' in Roman culture: the case of *cubiculum*", *JRA* 10 (1997) 36–56. Riggsby divides functions of *cubicula* as rest, sex (especially adultery), controlled display of art, murder, suicide and reception: 37, 38, 39, 41–2; E. W. Leach, "Oecus on Ibycus: Investigating the Vocabulary of the Roman House", in S. E. Bon – R. Jones (eds.), *Sequence and*

comment most importantly on its role as a place for the reception.

According to the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* and the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* the use of the word *cubiculum* can vary from animal shelter or grave to a term used in connection with construction techniques (e.g. Vitr. 4,2,4; Pallad. 1,25). The main and most important function of the space, however, is resting as the name implies[9] and actions well-suited for a sleeping area, such as day and night rest, sexual activities and staying in bed while being ill are well represented in literature; as a resting place *cubiculum* appears in Latin texts starting from Plautus (*Amph*. 808; *Most*. 696) continuing even in the medieval and modern writings.[10] This meaning is corroborated in funerary inscriptions, in which *cubiculum* is often used as a reference to an eternal resting place.[11] In the late antique texts some figurative meanings for the word appear,[12] but mainly it refers to a room. Other activities are also well-known; A. Riggsby has drawn attention to descriptions of murders and suicides committed inside *cubicula*.[13] It seems that especially the latter is usually depicted as very schematic: suicide is carefully prepared inside a *cubiculum* but actually committed later in the baths (*bal(i)*

Space in Pompeii, Oxford 1997, 50–73 and A. Anguissola, "Persone e oggetti nel *cubiculum*: la costruzione letteraria della privacy nella casa romana", in F. de Angelis (ed.), *Lo sguardo archeologico. I normalisti per Paul Zanker,* Pisa 2007, 149–67. Also dictionaries, such as *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (*TLL*), IV,1266,46 ss. and P. G. W. Glare (ed.), *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (*OLD*), Oxford 1992 (sv. *cubiculum*) list different functions quite extensively. See also chapters dealing with *cubicula* in A. Zaccaria Ruggiu, *Spazio privato e spazio pubblico nella città romana*, Rome 1995, 394–409 and M. Carucci, *The Romano-African Domus: Studies in Space, Decoration, and Function*, Oxford 2007, 73–82.

9 *Cubiculum* is derived from the same root as the verb *cubare* combined with the suffix -*culum* which points to a place, such as in words *auguraculum* (place for observing the flight of birds), *cenaculum* (a dining-room, usually in an upper storey) and *receptaculum* (reservoir); *TLL* IV, 1279, 72; A. Ernout – A. Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine, Histoire des mots*, Paris 1959[4], s.v. *cubo*; M. Leumann, *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre* (*HGAW* II:2,1), Neuausg. München 1977, 313.

10 Medieval and modern texts, see, e.g., M. Plezia (ed.), *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*, vol. II C, Wrocław 1959–1967, s.v. *cubiculum*; J. W. Fuchs – O. Weijers – M. Gumbert, *Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi*, vol. II C, Leiden 1981, s.v. *cubiculum*; J. F. Niermayer – C. Van De Kleft, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus*, vol. A.-L., Leiden 2002, s.v. *cubiculum*; O. Prinz – T. Payr – P. Dinter, *Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch bis zum ausgehenden 13. Jahrhundert*, München 1999, s.v. *cubiculum*; J. A. Simpson – E. S. C. Weiner (eds.), *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Vol. III, Oxford 1989, s.v. *cubicle, cubiculum*.

11 *TLL* IV,1268, 76: e.g. *CE* 1563,9*; CIL* X 1870, 2015, 2338, 2533, 3300, 4035; *CIL* XIV 158, 715, 1383, 3323; see also Ps.Quint. *decl.* 8,22.

12 E.g. Rufin. *hist.mon*. 23,3,3; Hier. *in Is.* 16,58,5,17; Ambr. *Cain et Ab*. 1,9,35,370,5.

13 Riggsby (above n. 8) 39–40.

neum, balnea).[14] According to A. Zaccaria Ruggiu, there is another space closely connected to *cubiculum*, namely the dining room, *triclinium*.[15] This notion goes together well with the theme found prevailing in literature from Cato on: the host or a guest leaving a banquet ends up in *cubiculum* (by himself, possibly with a companion, or carried by others).[16] Besides these activities found in connection with *cubiculum*, some rare occasions point to an interpretation, that *cubiculum* could act also as a place for dining, religious activities, storage and ablutions.[17]

Cubiculum is also seen to belong among the reception areas of a Roman *domus*, at least on an intimate scale.[18] This function is however quite complex and requires re-assessment. There are some clear references to reception (e.g. Cic. *ad Q.fr* 1,7,25; Plin. *nat*. 15,38) and *cubiculum* is mentioned especially as a place for private negotiations (in imperial context, e.g. Sen. *clem*. 1,9,7; Tac. *ann*. 11,2; private context, e.g. Plin. *epist.* 5,1,5 and even as late as in Amm. 28,4,26).

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[14] Sen. *dial*. 6,22,6, Tac. *ann*. 15,64; 15,69; 16,11; Apul. *met*. 1,23; see also Sen. *epist*. 77,9.

[15] A. Zaccaria Ruggiu, "Abbinamento *triclinium* - *cubiculum*: Un'ipotesi interpretativa", in M. Verzár-Bass (ed.), *Abitare in Cisalpina: l'edilizia privata nelle città e nel territorio in età romana*, Trieste 2001, 59–101; in Romano-African context: Carucci (above n. 8) 81. According to Zaccaria Ruggiu, the connection between *cubicula* and *triclinia* can be seen also in archaeological material, and especially in several Pompeian houses where *cubicula* are placed next to dining rooms. This hypothesis seems credible enough, though it needs some correctives: e.g., her identification of room 21 in House of Marcus Lucretius (IX 3,5/24) as dining room (p. 80) is based purely on study of floor plan of the house: this room does not belong to the dining rooms of the house (E. Falkener, "Report on a house at Pompeii Excavated under Personal Superintendence in 1847", in *The Museum of Classical Antiquities: being a Series of essays on Ancient Art.* Vol. II, London 1860, 80: *oecus).* See also discussion on rooms of the house in P. Castrén (ed.), *Domus Pompeiana*: *una casa a Pompei*, Helsinki 2008 and P. Castrén – R. Berg – A. Tammisto – E.-M. Viitanen, "In the Heart of Pompeii – Archaeological Studies in the *Casa di Marco Lucrezio* (IX, 3, 5.24)", in P. G. Guzzo – M. P. Guidobaldi (eds.), *Nuove ricerche archeologiche nell'area vesuviana, scavi 2003–2006: atti del convegno internazionale*, *Roma, 1–3 febbraio 2007*, Roma 2008, 331–40.

[16] Riggsby (above n. 8) 37; *TLL* IV, 1267, 48; Cato *or. frg*. 57,2; Cic. *off*. 2,7,5; *Deiot*. 21 and 42; Liv. 1,58,1 and 40,24,6 ; Curt. 8,6,13, and 8,3,8; Sen. *epist*. 12,8; Suet. *Aug*. 69; Hist.Aug. *Ver*. 4,9.

[17] Dining: Apul. *met*. 2,10; Sen. *dial*. 5,8,6; 6,22,6; Plin. *nat*. 15,38; religion: Varro *frg. Non*. p. 480M; Suet. *Dom*. 17,5, possibly also Plin. *nat*. 15,38; ablutions: Sen. *epist*. 77,9; Apul. *met*. 5,1–2; storage: Plin. *epist*. 2,17; Ps.Quint. *decl*. 1,3; Tac. *ann*. 15,55, Suet. *Aug*. 73.

[18] E.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1988 (above n. 6) 59 n. 44; Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 44, 58; Zaccaria Ruggiu (above n. 8) 407; Riggsby (above n. 8) 41; for the discussion on audience and its place in a Roman *domus,* see also C. Badel, "L'audience chez les sénateurs", in J.-P. Caillet – M. Sot (eds.), *L'audience – Rituels et cadres spatiaux dans l'antiquité et le haut Moyen Age*, Paris 2007, 147.

However, for some of the often cited passages an alternative interpretation could be presented: for example The Verrine orations of Cicero (e.g. 4,79; 6,26–28), which have been used as the basis for placing *cubiculum* among the representative areas, seem to me to show rather how unusual and condemnable it was for Verres to handle his dirty business inside a bedchamber. Only an immoral and lazy man would do so. Also Tacitus (*hist*. 4,24) mentions this kind of suspicious action when describing a commander who leads his men from his bedchamber. The Roman concept of morality can be seen in the attitude towards sleeping. As said by K. Dowden: "Wakefulness is in principle a supererogatory and commendable activity which distinguishes great, almost heroic, men … from ordinary people".[19] Morally suspicious men slept during days and partied all nights; sleeping too long was regarded the mark of an overindulgent lifestyle.[20] As it is the purpose of Cicero to show the judges how rotten Verres was it is clear that he is presenting this dishonorable and lazy man in the shady light of a *cubiculum*.

When *cubiculum* was used as a place for reception, it depended more likely on some specific circumstances, such as the illness of the master of the house or the absolute need for secrecy than an ordinary custom.[21] The ordinary *cubiculum* was rather a private office for working and conducting literary activities than an open (or even a semi-open) place for representative purposes. Several passages emphasize this; e.g. Quintilian (*inst*. 10,3,22–29) recommends working in the privacy of a *cubiculum* during night-time in the light of one single source of light (*lucubrare*). Lucubration was practiced also by such men as Varro, Cicero and Pliny as it was considered being "high-status sleep deprivation" well suited for the virtuous Roman men.[22] Among the archaeological material we can find at least one interesting instance which could point towards the interpretation of *cubiculum* as a study: among the finds of a first floor room of *Casa del Sacello in legno* (V 31) in Herculaneum, along with the bed, also a bench and a chest with wax tablets were found.[23]

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19 Dowden (above n. 2) 150.

20 Wiedemann (above n. 2) 131; Dowden (above n. 2) 149–50.

21 Tac. *ann*. 4,69, Cic. *fam*. 7,1,1; Val. Max. 2,5,2; Plin. *epist*. 3,7,4; Suet. *Claud*. 35; See also: Plin. *epist.* 1,22,4 and 1,12,7. Physicians do not seem to have used *cubiculum* as place for reception except for in the Plinies (Plin. *nat*. 30,52 and Plin. *med*. 2,13); some sick calls at *cubicula* are however known: e.g. Apul. *flor. 23*.

22 Dowden (above n. 2) 141, 150–4. *cubiculum* as working place: Plin. *epist*. 3,1; Petron. 129,3; Suet. *Dom*. 17,1–2, Hist.Aug. *Comm*. 9,3; Hist.Aug. *Alex*. 21,6; even Cic. *Scaur*. 26 and Sen. *dial*. 5,8,6 could be interpreted as such.

23 A. Maiuri, *Ercolano: i nuovi scavi (1927–1958),* Roma 1958, 255; Mols (above n. 3) 129. In this one case the evidence is not conclusive enough and it cannot be attested that this room

The users of *cubicula*

In addition to the supposed function as a place of reception mentioned above, in some cases, *cubiculum* is interpreted being more or less populated also by the *familia* of the house.[24] Both Riggsby and Anguissola tend on the other hand to restore at least relative privacy for the *cubicula*.[25] In my opinion the literary passages mentioning *cubicula* seem to show that upper class Romans could afford privacy among the inhabitants as well, if needed. This is revealed notably in the descriptions of movement inside one's *cubiculum*. These descriptions include, as expected, neutral words such as *venio, intro, digredior* and words that contain hints of people coming in invited, lead or even carried by another person (such as *deduco, admitto*, *immitto*, and other derivatives of *ducere* and *mittere*).[26] Besides these there is also a third group of verbs depicting movement inside a *cubiculum*. This group is composed of violent terms such as *irrumpo* and *invado*, which tell us that in some cases it was necessary to use force getting inside a *cubiculum*.[27] This is confirmed by the descriptions of the physical aspects of the room as well: a typical trait of this space was the possibility that it could be closed: the mentions of doors and closing the door are pervasive.[28] In the light of this evidence I con-

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was used both for working and for sleeping. However, there is evidence of similar kind of arrangements in other parts of Herculaneum as well, such as in House V 22 (Maiuri 443; Mols [above n. 3] 135, 160–1, 255–6). These arrangements seem very interesting and need to be studied further.

24 E.g., Wallace-Hadrill 1988 (above n. 6) 78.

25 Riggsby (above n. 8) 43–5. Though Riggsby sees *cubicula* as relatively secret areas, he seems not to question the idea that the presence of servants in *cubicula* might have been taken for granted by the aristocrat slave-owners. Anguissola (above n. 8) 154, 156, 160; see discussion also in Zaccaria Ruggiu (above n. 8) 407–9 and Carucci (above n. 8) 83–94. Of lovemaking scenes with attending servants see, for example, J. R. Clarke, *Looking at lovemaking: constructions of sexuality in Roman art, 100 B.C. – A.D. 250*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 1998, especially 93–107.

26 Latter group: cf. Vitr. 6,5,1.

27 E.g., *introrumpo*: Apul. *met*. 2,26; Gell. 15,22,9; *invado*: Apul. *met*. 4,26; *irrumpo*: Sen. *contr*. 1,4,11; Ps.Quint. *decl*. 8,22; Suet. *Claud*. 37; Suet. *Otho*. 11,1; Apul. *met*. 9,2; Vir.ill. 9,3; Hist.Aug. *Pert*. 11,3; *irruo*: Quint. *decl*. 310, p.222,8; see also: Bell.Afr. 88: ... *impetu facto in cubiculum*... and Ps.Quint. *decl*. 2.intr / *decl*. 2,19: *intravit familia in cubiculum domini ... Ecce cubiculi vestri fores trepidae festinationis effringuntur inpulsu*. Cf. also verb *excubo* meaning "to lie out on guard".

28 Doors: *foris*: Cic. *Tusc*. 5,59; Val. Max. 9,13, ext. 4; Curt. 8,6,18; 8,6,22; Ps.Quint. *decl*. 1,9; Tac. *ann*. 3,5; 14,8; 14,44; Suet. *Iul*. 81; Suet. *Aug*. 82,1; Gell. 2,2,2; Apul. *met*. 2,30; *ostium*: Apul. *met*. 3,21; *valvae*: Plin. *epist*. 2,17; thresholds: Cic. *Cluent*. 15; Curt. 8,6,22; Ps.Quint. *decl*. 1,11; 2 intr.; 2,6; Plin. *epist*. 7,23,1; Apul. *met*. 2,15. Doors were able to be closed from

clude that *cubiculum* gave a *possibility* for peace and privacy, though, in practice, moving inside a house and accessing one's bedroom was probably quite easy. As seen in the various descriptions of homicides happening in *cubiculum*, murderers and other wrongdoers were able to commit their deeds in spite of closed doors and possible guards.

The actual users of *cubicula* have been under examination in studies where the number of *cubicula* in certain Pompeian houses has been used as the basis for calculating the amount of inhabitants living in it. For example, the amount of people living in the so-called *Casa del Labirinto* (VI 11,8–10) has been under investigation by counting the possible places of beds in the rooms identified as *cubiculum*.[29]

Such estimations are doomed to remain in several respects hypothetical because of the difficulties in the interpretation of the only partially preserved evidence. The limitations of this kind of estimations have been pointed out by several scholars, for example, not all the sc. *cubicula* were used as bedrooms and if they were used as such, places of beds cannot be discerned with certainty. We don't even know how many people might have slept in these beds or bedrooms. Possibly some of the beds were not slept in, and also dining couches could have been used for sleeping. Especially the sleeping areas of servants are difficult to discern in Pompeian context.[30]

Latin literature does provide us with some information about the users of a *cubiculum*. Besides the free Roman adults, in some rare cases children are mentioned in connection of the *cubicula*. Couples are depicted sharing the bedroom but it was possible for the spouses to sleep separately as well.[31] In archaeological remains this is not easy to distinguish: for example the beds in Herculaneum are difficult to define as belonging to one or more sleepers.[32] Gender segregation

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either side: descriptions of *cubiculum* with door being locked from outside: Tac. *ann*. 3,15, Apul. *met*. 2,24; 9,2; 10,20; Hist.Aug. *Heliog*. 25,1. See discussion in Anguissola (above n. 8) 159 and n. 26.

29 V. M. Strocka, *Casa del Labirinto (VI 11,8–10),* München 1991, 87–93, 135–6.

30 Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 95–7, 114; Mols (above n. 3) 126; Dunbabin (above n. 6) 171; Carucci (above n. 8) 82. Discussion of servants in Roman house: M. George, "Servus and Domus: the slave in the Roman house", in R. Laurence – A. Wallace-Hadrill (eds.), *Domestic space in the Roman world: Pompeii and beyond*, (JRA Suppl. 22), Portsmouth 1997, 15–24.

31 Riggsby (above n. 8) 42, 46; *TLL* IV, 1268,1; also: Quint. *decl*. 306 p. 203,19; Auson pp. 214, 404 (Peiper); Aug. *civ*. 6,9; Arnob. *nat*. 4,7; Dig. 35,1,15; *cubicula* belonging to women: Varro *frg.Non*. p. 480M; Tac. *ann*. 13,13,2; 13,44; 14,8; Apul. *met*. 8,11; Sen. *contr*. 7,6,4; Petron. 77; *cubiculum praegnantium*: Plin. *nat*. 26,153.

32 Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 113–4.

in organizing domestic space was not typical for the Romans.[33] According to Wallace-Hadrill even age was not an important "axe of differentiation" and therefore specific rooms for children cannot be discerned in archaeological material; infants are said to have slept probably with their nurses and teachers. This would coincide with Riggsby's notion of *cubicula* belonging exclusively to adults: according to him, no *cubicula* can be attested to belong to a child.[34] Some texts do, however, mention children sharing the *cubiculum* with their parents.[35] Also in one case a special nursing place (*nutrimentorum locus*) is described.[36] The sleeping arrangements of infants and older children remain dubious in archaeological context: only two beds belonging to children have been found in Herculaneum: a small bed along with a larger one in *Casa a Graticcio* (III 13–15) and a cradle in *Insula Orientalis* I 1a.[37] The case of *Casa a Graticcio* does provide a hint that solitary sleep for infants might not be practiced among Romans though one instance is not enough of evidence for a definitive conclusion. Older children could have had their own bedrooms; and though L. Nevett states that in literature there is no evidence of the inhabitants of a *domus* having their own rooms,[38] it seems that an opposite interpretation is also possible. For example some crime scene descriptions show youths in their own chambers. Also the descriptions of using space in imperial households support this view: e.g. the switching of the golden statue of Fortuna between the *cubicula* of sons of Septimius Severus – a story told in *Historia Augusta* – suggests that the boys had own rooms in permanent use.[39] It seems probable, that in the Campanian houses the sleeping areas were fixed. The wooden beds used in the houses were probably not very easy to be moved around the house, though using some lighter arrangements instead of beds especially in the servile context was probably common.[40] The epigraphic evidence attributing

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33 Vitr. 6,7,4; Riggsby (above n. 8) 42; Wallace-Hadrill 1988 (above n. 6) 51–2, Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 8, 113.

34 Riggsby (above n. 8) 42; Wallace-Hadrill 1988 (above n. 6) 52; Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 10, 113.

35 For example in Sen. *contr*. 7,5,1 and Aur. Fronto p.234 v.d.H.

36 Suet. *Aug*. 6.

37 Maiuri (above n. 23) 345, 419; Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 96, 113; Mols (above n. 3) 43, 149, 163.

38 L. Nevett, "Perceptions of domestic space in Roman Italy", in B. Rawson – P. Weaver (eds.), *The Roman family in Italy: status, sentiment, space*, Canberra – Oxford 1997, 297.

39 Ps.Quint. *decl*. 1,7; *decl*. 2 passim and *decl*. 328, p. 287, 3–7; Hist.Aug. *Sept.Sev*. 23,5; see also Tac. *ann*. 11,11; Petron. 86,5–6.

40 Cf. the verb *sterno* (to spread), in context of preparing a bed.

rooms to specific persons seems relatively rare in Pompeii, but the matter would merit a closer study.[41]

Having fixed places for sleeping and routines in daily (or in this case nightly) activities point to the need for security, which could be understood as a natural factor in choosing one's sleeping place. There are other factors associated with the sleeping habits which differ clearly between different societies from the more primitive ones to the modern Western world. Besides security, these factors are mainly the physical and social settings such as the use of bedding and presence or absence of fire, as can be seen in the detailed list of of nine factors of sleeping habits in non-Western and Western societies created by C. M. Worthman and M. K. Melby.[42] Romans seem to belong in this rough categorization closer to modern sleepers than among primitive ones. The physical settings are elaborate; private houses were designed to provide secure physical surroundings for sleepers though the small threats such as unwanted animals (snakes, scorpions and cockroaches) were unavoidable in *cubicula*. Also ghosts and nightmares were known to haunt sleepers.[43] The worship of the *Lares cubiculi*, could be interpreted as a protective act to guarantee safety in a bedroom.[44] Furthermore, the written evidence of *cubicula* reveals that solitary sleep (except for the spouses sleeping together) could have been more common than sc. social sleep.

41 Cf. the graffito in *Casa degli Epigrammi greci* (V 1,18), where the inscription *Rufini cubiculum s* was found "*in peristylii pariete sin., ad sin. exedrae*", see more on inscription and Rufinus in *CIL* IV 4049 and IV 3409 (by A. Mau).

42 C. M. Worthman – M. K. Melby, "Toward a Comparative Developmental Ecology of Human Sleep", in M. A. Carskadon (ed.), *Sleep in Adolescent sleep patterns: biological, social, and psychological influences*, Cambridge 2002, safety issues: 71–2, 80–82; 106, table 6.2: list of factors conducting sleeping habits:
Western: Solitary [sleep], darkness, silence, climate-controlled, use of mattresses and pillows, absence of fire, stability, physically secured, bounded vs. non-Western: Social [sleep], darkness, noisy, No/human climate control, no mattresses, pillows, presence of fire, dynamics, socially secured, fuzzily bounded.

43 Snakes: Cic. *off*. 3,54; Gell. 6,1,3; Tac. *ann*. 11,11; a scorpion in bed: Aur. Fronto p.73 v.d.H; cockroaches: Aug. *c. Faust.* 19,24,525; ghost: Val. Max. 1,7,7; ominous dream: Suet. *Iul*. 81.

44 E.g.: Suet. *Aug*. 7: *inter cubiculi Lares colitur* [sc. imaguncula Augusti] and Suet. *Dom*. 17,5: *Puer, qui curae Larum cubiculi ex consuetudine assistens*; See also Plin. *nat*. 15,38; small figurines interpreted as *lares cubiculi* have been found in Pompeii and Herculaneum in rooms identified as *cubicula*, see A. M. Small, "Urban, suburban and rural religion in the Roman period", in J. J. Dobbins – P. W. Foss (eds.), *The World of Pompeii*, New York, 2007, 191–2; see also Mols (above n. 3): *aediculae* in bedrooms of Herculaneum, 132–3. For this idea I owe thanks to M. Carucci.

In the light of all this it would be surprising if sleeping habits were as "promiscuous", as the arrangements in Roman houses have sometimes been interpreted.[45] The segmented organization of space points to a society where the possibility for privacy was granted when needed or wanted. The Roman concept of privacy is clearly not comparable directly with modern views, but it seems that the Roman house offers a possibility to privacy in far greater level than in several other societies before and after in history. This is apparent if the Roman house is set against – even superficially – for example the palaces of Renaissance Italy or of some later monarchs, such as the Austrian royal family, which express a totally different way of arranging space: instead of the Roman *atria* or *peristylia* in which the other rooms of the house open, they feature usually long series of rooms arranged sequentially in a row, accessed through one another.[46]

Identification of a sleeping area: physical aspects of *cubicula*

Latin texts do not give a definitive picture of the location of *cubiculum* inside a private house.[47] For example, not a single passage mentions a *cubiculum* situated in the area of a peristyle in a private town house, though texts do confirm that *cubicula* could be located in the inner parts of the *domus*; the word has such additional definitions as *interius* and *superius*,[48] which could imply that *cubiculum* could be situated in inside of a *domus* or on upper floor, but its typical location was in the front part of the house as is traditionally believed.[49] Indeed, Varro's description of the house places the *cubiculum* among the rooms around the *atrium*: *Circum cavum aedium erat unius quoiusque rei utilitatis causa parietibus dissepta; ubi quid conditum esse volebant a celando cellam appellarunt; penar-*

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45 Eg., Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 57, Allison 2004 (above n. 3) 167.
46 See, for example, the floor plans of Palazzo Doria Pamphilj in Rome, Villa d'Este in Tivoli and Hofburg, the Imperial Palace of Vienna.
47 Some considerations of the place: Riggsby (above n. 8) 40−43, 51; Anguissola (above n. 8) 153–4.
48 *Cubiculum interius*: Phaedr. 3,10,21; Quint. *decl*. 328, p. 287, 3–4: *Iuncta erant cubicula ... in interiore parte domus*; Apul. *met*. 3,21; 4,12: *superius cubiculum*.
49 E.g., A. Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, Leipzig 1900, 244–55; O. Elia, "I cubicoli nelle case di Pompei, Contributo alla Storia della *Domus*", *Historia* 6 (1932) 394–421 and Zaccaria Ruggiu (above n 8), 398–401. Also in the early excavation reports and publications (such as *Notizie degli scavi di antichità* and G. Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompei*, Napoli 1875) labels derived from Latin literature are used in referring to different spaces.

iam ubi penus, ubi cubabant cubiculum, ubi cenabant cenaculum vocitabant.[50] However, from the context it is clear that Varro is referring to living conditions long before his own time.[51]

If texts do not reveal the location of *cubiculum*, could archaeology be of help? In Rome little evidence of private housing has survived, so the research of the Roman house has largely concentrated on the evidence of Campanian towns Pompeii and Herculaneum. In the traditional interpretation of a typical Pompeian *atrium* house, Latin names found in literature have been applied to different spaces, such as *atrium*, front hall, *tablinum*, master's office, *triclinium*, dining room and *cubiculum,* bedroom. Traditionally *cubicula* have been identified in certain places inside the *atrium* house, typically around the front hall, especially flanking the entranceway (*fauces*), or the peristyle. This convention derives particularly from the studies of Pompeii done by A. Mau and O. Elia and repeated in several studies afterwards.[52]

The typology of the Pompeian house with its Latin nomenclature has proved to be a useful tool in scholarly context in referring to different spaces inside the houses. For example the traditional *cubicula* around *atrium* or peristyle are often dim, closed rooms, corresponding to the description of this type of room in literature. However, there is a risk, that straightforward combining of literature with archaeological remains produces a simplistic and even misleading picture of the housing of ancient world. The labeling of different types of rooms is traditionally based only on the architectonic elements of the rooms leaving out the artefactual evidence. For example, *cubicula* have been identified solely by recesses and mosaics showing the place for the bed. However, to identify a

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[50] Varro *ling*. 5,162; Cf. Quint. *inst*.11,2,20.

[51] Already Mau (above n. 49) 257, points this out in another chapter of Varro describing the spaces of a Roman house: "The period to which Varro [frg. Non. p. 83M] refers antedates that of the oldest houses at Pompeii. The room which we call tablinum was then a deep recess at the rear of the atrium, open at the front, as now, but enclosed by a wall at the rear; against this wall was a veranda opening into the garden, toward which the board roof sloped. People took their meals in the veranda in summer, and to it the name tablinum was naturally applied. In the recess at the rear of the atrium, corresponding to the later tablinum was the bed of the master of the house, called *lectus adversus* because 'facing' one who entered the front door. As late as the reign of Augustus, long after it became the custom to set aside closed apartment for the family room, a reminiscence of the ancient arrangement still remained in the couch which stood at the rear of the atrium or in the tablinum, which was called *lectus adversus* or even *lectus genialis*" (English translation in A. Mau, *Pompeii: its life and art*, translated by F. W. Kelsey, London 1907).

[52] Mau (above n. 49); Elia (above n. 49); 394–421.

bedroom, the traces of beds should be also sought after, at least in the Pompeian context where it is possible.[53] Valid criticism against labeling the rooms of Pompeian houses with the conventional names known from literary sources has been presented especially from 1990's on.[54] On the other hand, it would be misleading to neglect completely the information of the written sources in the context of domestic space. However, it is important to bear in mind that even if the typology of rooms in Roman house might be accurate and Latin nomenclature a useful tool, the labels do not tell us how the rooms were actually used.

Recent studies have concentrated more on studying the remains of furniture and household artifacts which have set the activities of the houses in a new light. It must, however, be stated that the problems of studying artifacts in the Pompeian context are numerous; early excavations lack careful documentation of finds and their exact provenance, organic material is poorly preserved, the inhabitants of Pompeii had time to gather their valuables while fleeing the town and post-eruption disturbance is wide-spread. Also seismic activity prior to the eruption might have caused considerable changes in customary distribution of household artifacts.[55] By studying beds it should be possible to avoid at least some of these stumbling blocks: beds were not likely among the objects to be easily carried away from the town in confusion of the eruption and even if the wooden beds of Pompeii have perished, at least their metal fittings should have survived, though at least in some cases they must have escaped the notice of early excavators. The situation in Herculaneum where the wooden parts have endured carbonized is slightly better.

S. T. A. M. Mols has examined all the remains of wooden furniture in Herculaneum and among these finds recorded thirteen wooden beds. Of these seven seem to be used for sleeping (including two beds for infants), others for

[53] In Latin literature beds are commonly mentioned in connection with a *cubiculum*: *Cubile*: Cic. *Cluent*. 15; *cubitus*: Apul. *met*. 10,20; *grabatulum*: Apul. *met*. 1,16; 2,15; *lectus*: Plaut. *Amph*. 808; Cato *agr*. 10,4; Cic. *Tusc*. 5,59; Cic. *rep*. 1,17; Cic. *Verr*. 4,79; Cic. *Cluent*. 14; Liv. 1,58,7; Val. Max. 9.13.ext.4; Phaedr. 3,10,26; Quint. *decl*. 347, p. 368,13; *decl*. 328, p. 288,28; Plin. *epist*. 2,17; Tac. *ann*. 14,8; Suet. *Iul*. 49; Gell. 6,1,3; Apul. *met*. 9,3; Apul. *apol*. 75; Apul. *flor*. 23; Auson. p. 214 (Peiper); Hist. Aug. *Pert*. 11,3; *lectulus*: Val. Max. 1,7,7; Plin. *epist*. 3,7,4; 9,7; Ps.Quint. *decl*. 1,9; 1,13; 2,6 (bis); 2,19; Tac. *ann*. 16,11; Tac. *hist*. 4,24; Apul. *met*. 4,12; 5,2; Auson. pp. 215, 404 (Peiper); Val. Max. 4,3,3; Plin. *paneg*. 8; Suet. *Dom*. 11,1; Apul. *met*. 4,12; 4,26; 4.27; 5,4. See also: Riggsby (above n. 8) 40, note 25; Mols (above n. 3) 41–2; Nevett (above n. 38) 290–1; Anguissola (above n. 8) 161–2.

[54] Leach (above n.8); Allison 2004 (above n. 3) 11–4; Nevett (above n. 38) 283.

[55] Allison 2004 (above n. 3) 15–26; J. Berry, "Instrumentum domesticum – A case study", in J. J. Dobbins – P. W. Foss (eds.), *The World of Pompeii*, New York 2007, 292–3.

dining. Typologically the beds identified as being used for sleeping belong to group called "beds with boards". It appears that this type with panels on three sides was gradually replacing the earlier type, bed with a board only on one side (*fulcrum*) in the times of the eruption AD 79. According to Mols, the beds seem to have been of more or less standard size; the length of surviving examples varies from 204 to 222 cm and in width from 106 to 125 centimeters. To locate one in an already existing room, a recess was sometimes needed.[56] Also Wallace-Hadrill has observed the plentiful evidence of beds in several rooms in the houses of Herculaneum; according to him the sleeping arrangements could be revealed through studying distribution patterns of artifacts in the these rooms.[57] Pompeii also yields evidence of beds. According to Mols, plaster casts of beds were made in five houses, while Allison lists remains of ninety beds or couches from eighteen different houses, more than half of the houses in her survey.[58] Bedding has rarely survived in archaeological context, but in some instances it can be found as well.[59] Literary evidence of bedding is common.[60] Otherwise, *cubiculum* furniture mentioned in literature consists of seats, storage utensils and in couple of cases tableware.[61] Many of the so-called *cubicula* in Pompeian houses, especially the

[56] Mols (above n. 3) 6, 35–41; information of fragmentary or lost pieces of beds in the early (especially 18th century) excavations: 22, n. 69 and appendix 1 (221–64). It must be noted that the functional distinction between beds and couches, presented in p. 6 seems to be begging the question: pieces of furniture are differentiated by the context of find i.e. the room without questioning whether this categorization of rooms is accurate; see also E. De Carolis, *Il mobile a Pompei ed Ercolano: letti, tavoli, sedie e armadi: contributo alla tipologia dei mobili della prima età imperiale*, Roma 2007; description and typology of beds: *lectus tricliniaris*: 80–5, 157–9, "letto a spalliera alta" (bed with boards), probably identifiable as *lectus cubicularis*: 86–93, 160–3.

[57] Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 95–7, 113.

[58] Mols (above n. 3) 266–9; Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3): in this case the query was made in section of "artiftype" with entry "Bed/couch" and hence the database refers to both beds and couches. Also at least one masonry platform possibly used as bed (VI 15,1, g) is mentioned, which is not included in a search results for query of "Bed/couch".

[59] Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3): *Casa dell'Efebo* I 7,10–12 rooms (4) and (UF); Mols (above n. 3) 35.

[60] Bedding (in *cubicula*): *culcita*: Suet. *Claud*. 35; *pulvillus*: Apul. *met*. 10,20; *pulvinus*: Suet. *Otho* 11,1; *stratus*: Auson.p. 214 Peiper; *stragulum*: Suet. *Claud*. 35; Suet. *Nero* 47,3; *stroma*: Hist.Aug. *Ver*. 4,9; *tapete* (*tapetum*), n. or *tapes*, m.: Liv. 40,24,7; *vestis*: Petron. 26; *vestis stragula*: Apul. *met*. 4,12; 10,20; see also a brief listing in Anguissola (above n. 8) 162.

[61] Seats: *cathedra*: Plin. *epist*. 2,17; Sen. *clem*. 1,9,7; *scabillum*: Cato *agr*. 10,4 *scamnum*: Cato *agr*. 10,4; *sella*: Cato *agr*. 10,4; *solium*: Cato *agr*. 10,4; *solium* as bathtub: Sen. *epist*. 77,9. Storage: *arcula*: Apul. *met*. 3,24; Cic. *off*. 2,7,25; *armarium*: Plin. *epist*. 2,17; *pyxis*: Suet. *Nero* 47,3; *sarcinula*: Apul. *met*. 1,23–24; Suet. *Tib*. 43: see also Suet. *Tib*. 3,3,4; functioning as stor-

undecorated ones, seem to have been used as a place for storing personal items,[62] which does support some of the references to storage function of this room.

Other features concerning the identifying of *cubicula* are lighting and heating. Vitruvius states that a *cubiculum* should be located to that side of the house which received sun light in the morning. In the same vein Columella (1,6,1) recommends organizing the spaces of the *pars urbana* of a villa according to the different seasons; *cubicula* which were to be used during winter, should face south-east to profit from the morning sun at the winter solstice and summer chambers were to have an opening to the south for receiving sunlight at midday during summer time. This way *cubicula* had different orientation than, for example, the dining rooms. The shifting of bedrooms according to the time of the year seems not to have been uncommon for Romans: at least the villas of wealthy owners could boast having separate winter bedrooms.[63] In contrast, Suetonius mentions Augustus using the same *cubiculum* all the year round during several decades.[64] Even though changing the bedroom according to season might seem to contradict the idea of permanent settings for sleeping areas, there is evidence from other known societies that these two practices can coexist. For example in the old rural Finnish farmhouses some of the outdoor storehouses were especially designed for young girls to sleep in during warm summer months. During wintertime everyone had their own place to sleep inside the main house according to the status and gender of the person who used the bed. Beds were not interchangeable.[65]

In some cases, Latin texts mention windows in connection with *cubicula*;[66] such *cubicula* especially appear in villas or upstairs bedrooms, which could reflect the reality: town houses were usually surrounded by neighbors, so ground floor (or in many cases even the upper floor) windows could have been difficult to locate, unless they were facing the streets or inner courts. Indeed, *cubicula* are often described as dark places; Varro uses the word *caecum* (blind) to define a *cubiculum*

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age: Ps.Quint. *decl*. 1,3; Tac. *ann*. 5,55. Dining: *calix*: Apul. *met*. 2,15; 8,11; *lagoena*: Apul. *met*. 2,15; *mensula*: Apul. *met*. 2,15; *oenophorum*: Apul. *met*. 8.11; See also Sen. *dial*. 5,8,6. See also a brief listing in Anguissola (above n. 8) 162.

62 E. Dwyer, *Pompeian domestic sculpture: a study of five Pompeian houses and their contents,* Roma 1982, 116; Dwyer 1991 (above n. 6) 28; Allison 2004 (above n. 3) 72, 76.

63 Cic. *ad Q.fr*. 3,1,2 ; Plin. *epist*. 2,17.

64 Suet. *Aug*. 72,1.

65 L. Sammallahti – M.-L. Lehto: *Suomalainen sänky: kansanomaisten vuodekalusteiden historiaa*, Helsinki 2006, 13–4, 76, 78, 187–8, 190.

66 Varro *ling*. 9,58; Sen. *dial*. 6,22,6; Plin. *epist*. 2,17 (*saepe*), 5,6,23; Apul. *met*. 1,16; 4,12; 6,21; Cic. *fam*. 7,1,1, Tac. *ann*. 4,22; Dig. 9,3,5,2.

and expressions such as *opacum* and *obscurum* can be found in this connection.[67] This aspect goes together well with the small closed rooms of Pompeian houses which usually are quite dark spaces. Besides sunlight, lamps were also used to enlighten the *cubicula*.[68] Otherwise the lighting and warming of private houses were carried out in various ways; stationery settings for fire are found for example in kitchens and baths, while natural light was provided through the openings of *atrium* and peristyle. As H. Boman has shown, the stationery installations for heating were not enough to assure warmth in surrounding rooms, so heating and lighting was left in many cases to portable objects: mainly braziers and oil lamps. Lamps were very likely used according to varying needs fairly evenly and distributed throughout the houses, so there are no indications that they could be used as a criterion for the identification of a room as a *cubiculum*. It is quite improbable that charcoal braziers were used in closed rooms, and Allison's survey shows that these have been found mainly in the open peristyle area. Besides the problems caused by the smoke, there was also the risk of fire. A contradiction between the need of heating and ventilating or lighting a room occurs as these actions exclude each other: especially in small, closed rooms warmth escapes while light or fresh air is let in room through openings.[69] The dating of the eruption of Vesuvius in AD 79 later in the autumn instead of the hitherto preferred dating to the 24–25th of August remains disputed, and it seems uncertain whether the distribution of braziers can be used as an argument in favour of either alternative.[70]

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[67] Plin. *epist.* 7,21; Suet. *Tit.* 1,1; of dimness of a *cubiculum*: Tac. *ann.* 14,8; Hist.Aug. *Tac.* 4,7.

[68] Quint. *inst.* 10,3,25; Curt. 8,6,22; Phaedr. 3,10,26, 29–30; Tac. *ann.* 14,44; Ps.Quint. *decl.* 2,19; Val. Max. 1,7,7.

[69] H. Boman, "White light – White Heat. The use of Fire as a Light and Heat source in an atrium House in Roman Pompeii", *Current Swedish Archaeology* 13 (2005) 59, 64–69, 72; J. F. Fitchen, "The Problem of Ventilation trough the Ages", in *Technology and Culture* 1981, 488; Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3) lists 12 cases of braziers: of these the most common are room type 9 (peristyle). The cases where a brazier has been found in a closed room, Allison interprets as storage spaces: *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento*, room (c), *Casa dell'Efebo* room (18) and *Casa del Menandro* room (A).

[70] G. Stefani, "La vera data dell'eruzione", *Archeo* 260 (2006) 10–14, proposes again the already earlier suggested later date with reference to archaeobotanical remains and as new evidence to a silver denarius by Titus found in 1974 with the tribunicia potestas XV, which by other inscriptions is datable after the 8th of September. However, the reading of the number XV remains disputed as Prof. Heikki Solin kindly informs me. Solin reads XIIII instead of XV, as suggested by him in a lecture at the meeting of the Academia Europaea in Naples on September 25, 2009, and later discussed also at a public lecture arranged by the Expeditio Pompeiana Universitatis

In the archaeological context distribution patterns of lamps or braziers might not reveal the sleeping areas, but in specifying the conditions of sleeping areas in Roman houses, the orientation of supposed bedrooms, ventilation as well as lighting and heating conditions need yet a closer investigation.

Pompeian reality in the *Casa del Fabbro* (I 10,7) and the *Casa dell'Efebo o di P. Cornelius Tages* (I 7,10–12/19)

In order to take an even closer look in the situation of Pompeii and to see if the distribution of the finds could reveal the actual sleeping areas of the private houses, I have chosen a couple of well-documented houses, in which the artifactual evidence has been carefully studied.

The first example is the *Casa del Fabbro* (I 10,7).[71] This is in its last phase one of smaller *atrium* houses in Pompeii, situated right next to a larger complex, the *Casa del Menandro*, to which it had been attached in an earlier phase. The house has thirteen rooms of which four have been identified as *cubicula.*[72] The floor plan follows the traditional *atrium* house type with *fauces-atrium-tablinum*-axis, even though there are rooms only on other side of front hall, due to the small area of the house.[73] The house seems to have been occupied in the time of the eruption, but the finds indicate that at least in some degree, the traditional household activities had been replaced by more utilitarian or even industrial activities.[74]

Room number 2, flanking the entranceway, has been traditionally identified as a *cella ostiaria* or *cubiculum*, because its size and decoration are seen to be suitable for a *cubiculum,* while the location and a specific opening to *atrium*, "a spy hole", point to a function as *cella ostiaria*.[75] However, the room's finds tell a

Helsingiensis at the University of Helsinki, October 21, 2009.

71 This chapter is based mainly on the recent re-documentation of the house, which has already been excavated earlier between 1928–31: R. Ling (general editor), *The Insula of the Menander at Pompeii*, Oxford – New York 1997–2006. Volumes used here: R. Ling, *Volume 1: The structures*, Oxford – New York 1997, 150–70 and Allison 2007 (above n. 3) 158–213, 337–49. The original publication of the house: O. Elia, "Pompei – Relazione sullo scavo dell'Insula X della Regio I", *NSA* (1934) 264–344.

72 Ling (above n. 71) 163.

73 Dwelling belongs to the Quartile 3 of Pompeian houses in the classification by Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 81.

74 Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3).

75 Elia (above n. 71) 279; Ling (above n. 71) 152.

different story; the only remains of furniture belong possibly to a chest, and other items are associated more with personal activities, such as toilet and dress and also spinning.[76] Another possible *cubiculum*, room number 5, has a recess suitable for a bed but no finds pointing to a usage of this room as bedroom. Finds include e.g. tools for needle work and a chest where the tools were held, but no remains of furniture identifiable as bed.[77] The third possible *cubiculum* is the room (8). Elia identifies this room as a *triclinium*, which had served as a *cubiculum diurnum* in an earlier phase. Ling, on the contrary, considers the room a *cubiculum* in the last phase, while Allison sees downgrading in the function based on the room's finds.[78] There is also a high recess applicable to a bed in room (4), but very few finds have been recorded here. Only one room of this house contained a bed, namely the room (9), which has been identified as a *triclinium* rather than a bedroom.

In Regio I we find also the *Casa dell'Efebo* (I 7,10–12), which together with the annexed house I 7,19 features at least five rooms labeled as *cubicula* (02, 03, 09, 12 and f, as well as 11 and 22).[79] They all lack remains of beds. Evidence of beds has been found elsewhere in the house: in rooms (04), (15), (17), another, perhaps from the upper storey of the *Casa dell'Efebo* and in rooms (a) and (r) of

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[76] Allison 2007 (above n. 3) 160, 338; finds: bronze: a jug, button and loop fastener, ring and disc, mirror fragment, strap hinge (and wood), three ceramic jugs, 3 glass unguentaria, bone spoon and two spindles, iron hoe (zappa), two circular bosses and a clay lamp, according to Allison the presence of iron hoe suggest escape activities or eruption / post-eruption disturbances.

[77] Allison 2007 (above n. 3) 170, 340; Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3): "The finds included the apparent remains of a chest, a bronze jug, a small bronze amphora, one glass unguentarium and the foot of a glass stemmed cup, seven bronze needles, and a bone implement. These finds are conceivably associated with needlework and toilet activities"; Finds catalogue in Elia (above n. 71) 297.

[78] Elia (above n. 71) 282; Ling (above n. 71) 152; Allison 2007 (above n. 3) 174–9, 342 and Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3): "Finds include: pieces of worked and partially worked bone and one bone-decorated, iron furniture foot (possibly from bed!). An iron ladle, two iron wedges for woodcutting and lead lamina were found with these. Remains of a chest were which contained a number of iron tools: a scraper, a knife, and a palo, and the remains of a bronze measuring rod. Also: another scraper, a spade, and a chisel, as well as two whetstones, two ceramic pots, further bronze measuring rods, an iron ladle, and the remains of four ceramic lamps." Finds catalogue in Elia (above n. 71) 808.

[79] Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3); A. de Vos, "I,7,11 Casa dell'Efebo o di P. Cornelius Tages", *Pompei: pitture e mosaici*, vol.1, Roma 1990, 619–727, 750–89. The dwelling belongs to the Quartile 4 houses in the classification by Wallace-Hadrill 1994 (above n. 6) 81. Original publication: A. Maiuri, "Pompei – Relazione sui lavori di scavo dal marzo 1924 al marzo 1926", *NSA* (1927) 32–83 and A. Maiuri, "Pompei – Relazione sui lavori di scavo dall'aprile 1926 al dicembre 1927", *NSA* (1929) 354–79.

House I 7,19. However, according to Allison, room (17) might have acted as a dining room later converted as storage space, while room (15) is interpreted as storage room in its last phase. The identification of bed remains found in the upper levels is a bit uncertain: they might have been from a dining couch belonging to a *cenaculum*. Room (4) deserves special attention: in the early documentation it has been identified as a *tablinum*, later changed to an *exedra*. However the bed remains suggest that it was used either for sleeping or eating, or perhaps for both. This room has a large opening into front hall and another opening toward courtyard (6) and therefore the identification as sleeping room has been ruled out.[80] Of the supposed *cubicula*, room (11) is especially interesting; it is closely connected with a dining room (10) and they have similar cocciopesto floors. De Vos and Ruggiu suggest that this belonged to those double rooms consisting of a dining area and a room for repose after meal.[81] Also the finds from the room seem to indicate that this room was a place for personal activities and that it was either associated with the dining room, or used for storage. The upper floor of the house was inhabited in the time of the eruption and a bed with associated bedding and a human skeleton were recorded among the finds.[82]

In the house I 7,19 two bedrooms can be established. Room (a) is a small closed room situated in the area of the front hall flanking the entranceway. It contained a decorated bed with a human skeleton, some luxury items, and objects for grooming. In room (r) there seems to have been a temporary bed made of wood and used in the last phase of the house. Two rooms (d and f) with recesses could have been used as bedrooms, but they had virtually no finds. Allison may be right in concluding from this that they were not in use at the time of eruption but this can obviously not be regarded as certain.[83]

This brief survey of a couple of houses shows that locating sleeping areas in Pompeian houses is problematic yet possible in some cases at least, and that it is necessary to try to estimate the degree of probability of various instances, case by case. Not all of the so-called *cubicula* were necessarily used as bedrooms. In the case of the *Casa di Fabbro* it is not possible to reconstruct with certainty the actual sleeping arrangements of the house in its last phase. The lack of beds might be due to the change of the house into more industrial usage than traditional housing or the sleeping was just arranged in a way that cannot be detected anymore. The possibility that room (9), which is usually interpreted as a dining room, could

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[80] Maiuri 1927 (above n. 79) 34-35,37; Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3).

[81] De Vos (above n. 79) 651; Zaccaria Ruggiu 2001 (above n. 15) 71.

[82] Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3).

[83] Maiuri 1929 (above n. 79) 372; Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3).

have served as sleeping area cannot be fully ruled out.

Room (a) in the *Casa dell'Efebo* seems, however, to have been a *cubiculum* in the traditional sense; this small room off the *atrium* contained a bed. Yet, some sleeping arrangements seem more temporary, such as in room (r). Four possible bedrooms (2, 3, 9 and a) all have windows towards a street; the first ones have access to a relatively low-activity street on the Eastern side of the *Casa dell'Efebo*, but the window in room (a) faces the so called *Vicolo del Menandro* and is situated in the crossroads,[84] which must have been a relatively noisy place night and day. This feature is strikingly contradictory to the literary passages which describe the *cubicula* as quiet and tranquil places.

The documentation of the *Casa dell'Efebo* also reveals that upper floors might have been used as sleeping areas in Pompeian houses, though the survived bed found in upper floor area might have been also a dining couch. Allison has recorded seven other instances, where upper floor finds have contained a bed or couch fragment; of the beds in Herculaneum, at least three were situated in first floor rooms, one along with the child's bed.[85] Some indications towards locating bedchambers in upper floors can also be found in Latin literature, such as Apul. *met*. 4,12 and Petr. 77,4.[86] Some of the further references are more allusive but even so it seems that there is enough evidence to conclude that in the Roman *domus*, upper floors also included bedrooms. In Roman villas the upper floor *cubicula* seem to be more clearly attested.[87]

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[84] R. Laurence (*Roman Pompeii – Space and Society*, London – New York, 1994, 89) divides the Pompeian streets into four categories according to the social activity of the street based on the number of doors opening to the street. The eastern side of the *Casa dell'Efebo* belongs to his category 2 and the Vicolo di Menandro to category 1 (which has the highest level of activity). However the eastern side street of the *Casa dell'Efebo* probably had slightly less activities than this categorization presents, since the openings of the houses mainly belong private houses and not to commercial establishments.

[85] Allison, On-line Companion (above n. 3); Mols (above n. 3) 147, 149, 151, 160; Appendix 1 (221–64) includes several other references to beds located in upper floors.

[86] Anguissola (above n. 8) 155; Petron. 77:*... aedificavi hanc domum. ... habet quattuor cenationes, cubicula viginti, porticus marmoratos duos, susum cenationem, cubiculum in quo ipse dormio, viperae huius sessorium, ostiarii cellam perbonam; hospitium hospites capit…* and Apul. *met*. 3,21: *...ad illud superius cubiculum suspenso et insono vestigio me perducit ipsa, perque rimam ostiorum quampiam iubet arbitrari, quae sic gesta sunt*.

[87] Tac. *ann*. 4,22, Sen. *dial*. 6,22,6, Aug. *serm*. 229E,3; Dig. 9,3,5,2. The passages referring to upper floor bedrooms are unfortunately a bit difficult to interpret: for example Apuleius' *cubiculum* is placed in the Greek world and cannot be taken to represent the Roman world as such (though the way Apuleius uses the word *cubiculum* possibly mirrors the usage of this room in his own context), the Petronius passage from *Cena Trimalchionis* 77 does not point to an upper floor (*susum*) chamber with certainty and the chapters from Augustine and Digesta refer pos-

What is seen more generally in Allison's survey of the material culture of Pompeian households is that relatively many of the so-called *cubicula* lack remains of beds. Allison suggests that these typological *cubicula* ("small closed rooms off the front hall" in her vocabulary) were inclined to variation of functions and acted as "boudoirs" more likely than as bedchambers and that the recesses seen in many of these rooms were multi-purposed and used to serve different functions. One interesting detail occurs in Allison's study on material culture: relatively more evidence of beds has been found in rooms known as *tablina* ("open-sided room opposite the main entrance or leading to garden") than in the so-called *cubicula*.[88] In this perspective, the case of *Casa dell'Efebo*, where a bed was placed in a room (4) usually interpreted as *tablinum* is not unique. Further comparison of these two spaces is also interesting: as shown, *cubiculum* could function also as a study, which is an activity usually combined with *tablinum*. Also the historic place of the master's bed was in the back of the *atrium* facing the main entrance.[89] In addition, the word *tablinum* itself is somewhat artificial in the sense that it is quite rare in Latin literature and that it occurs very seldom in connection with any activities.[90] In the light of this it seems tempting to interpret some of these rooms from their functional point of view as *cubicula* or maybe even *cubicula diurna*.[91]

Conclusions

The aim of this paper has been to illustrate some of the issues concerning sleeping arrangements in Roman households. However, further extensive analysis based

sibly an upper floor apartment in an *insula*, not to a town house (*domus*); Villas: e.g. Cic. *ad Q.fr*. 3,1,2; Plin. *epist*. 2,17,10.

88 Allison 2004 (above n. 3) 43–8, 63, 71–6, 80–2, 92, 95–6; see also Hales (above n. 6) 127. About a similar situation at the House of Marcus Lucretius in Pompeii (IX,3,5/24): Dwyer 1982 (above n. 62) 25–31, 50–1, 115–6 and R. Berg, "Mobili e arredi della casa Romana", in P.Castrén (ed.), *Domus Pompeiana*: *una casa a Pompei*, Helsinki 2008, 105–26.

89 *Lectulus adversus*: Ascon. *Mil*. p.43,12; Mau (above n. 49) 239–40, see also n. 50.

90 Leach (above n. 8) 52–4; *OLD* (above n. 8) s.v. *tablinum*; Badel (above n. 18) 147.

91 This term has to be used carefully, since it appears only once, in Plin. *epist.* 1,3 in a context of a *villa* description. In the texts of the Plinies, however, the word *cubiculum* has other similar additional definitions as *dormitorium* (Plin. *epist.* 5,6,22; Plin. *med*. 2,13; Plin. *nat*. 30,52) and *noctis et somni* (Plin. *epist.* 2,17). It is possible that in their time the meaning of *cubiculum* had evolved to such extent that additional definitions were needed in referring to spaces used at different times of the day.

on both literary and archaeological evidence is needed in order to determine how these practices worked in the society and how they can be identified in material culture.

I will address these questions in my doctoral thesis. My task is two-fold: First, I aim to analyze how sleeping arrangements are depicted in Latin (and relevant Greek) literature. I am mainly interested in what is said of the actual spaces and sleeping conditions, and who are described using the spaces, and also how privacy was perceived. We already know that Romans practiced lucubration and regarded excessive sleeping a sign of shameful behaviour. Hence, it is crucial to examine the moral issues related to sleeping habits in Roman culture. It would also be interesting to discuss how security matters and sleep-related problems, such as sleeplessness, sleep walking, nightmares and vermin were dealt with. Second, I will try to identify the actual sleeping areas of these houses by reviewing archaeological and architectonic material from Pompeii and Herculaneum, including the finds indicating sleeping in a room. I will reinvestigate the orientation of the rooms and their lighting, heating and ventilation conditions, as well as the architectonic remains, such as possible bed recesses, floor decorations and structures, and analyse epigraphic evidence. Observation will be extended also beyond the walls of the household: if bedrooms were located near streets, an analysis of the traffic and other activities on these streets is crucial to our understanding of these arrangements.

By combining evidence from several different sources I hope to provide a comprehensive picture of sleeping practices in Roman antiquity. The evidence from Pompeii could reveal a synchronic situation of sleeping arrangements in an early imperial provincial town: what was the role of the typological *cubiculum*, and where did the inhabitants of private dwellings sleep in reality? The diachronic changes in the usage of houses and their rooms in particular in the last decades before the eruption of 79 AD in the evidence in Pompeii and Herculaneum and elsewhere in the Vesuvian area are to be examined thoroughly. Among these, especially alterations done after the earthquake of 62 AD, and/or other earthquakes are of particular interest. A more general picture of the sleeping habits of Romans can be detected in literature, which might also illustrate why these arrangements were made.

Bedrooms deserve special focus, not only because they are seen to belong among the reception areas of private houses. The results of such a survey from the point of view of cultural history would be useful in several contexts: not only in the field of Classical Studies, but also more generally in scientific research on sleep and sleeping.

In this paper I have suggested that the inhabitants of Roman households might have had routine-based nightly activities and more or less permanently fixed sleeping spaces, and also that (at least the wealthiest) Romans had a possibility to use peaceful and private bedchambers, and that receiving guests or other outsiders in one's *cubiculum* depended on circumstance rather than custom. However, the locations of sleeping areas seem to have changed according to season. The settings for sleeping among upper class Romans are more likely to have been solitary rather than social. These are, of course, mainly hypotheses based mostly on evidence of *cubicula* in literature and on a brief survey of some examples of the Pompeian evidence. They must and will be tested in a wider literary and archaeological context.

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HIBERUS IN *DIG*. 8,2,13 PR: (M. ANTONIUS) HIBERUS (*PIR*^{2} H 168)?

Janne Pölönen

An unknown owner of a warehouse wrote a letter to the jurist Proculus concerning his or her grievance with a certain Hiberus, the owner of the neighboring tenement block, who was building a bathhouse with pipes for smoke attached to the party wall (*Dig.* 8,2,13 pr).[1] The purpose of my paper is to suggest that it may be possible to identify this Hiberus with (Marcus Antonius?) Hiberus (*PIR*^{2} H 168), probably a freedman of Antonia Minor and an ancestor of M. Antonius Hiberus (*PIR*^{2} A 837), the consul of AD 133.[2] His birth-date is unknown, but Hiberus is remembered as the first (and perhaps the only) freedman prefect of Egypt,[3] placed in charge of the province by Tiberius in AD 32 following the sudden death of the prefect in office (Dio 58,19,6).[4] He may also be the same Hiberus who is attested

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1 I would like to thank professors Jean Andreau, Mika Kajava, Eva Margareta Steinby, and an anonymous reviewer for their helpful remarks on drafts of this paper.

2 The probable connection between Hiberus and Antonia Drusi is pointed out already by H. Dessau in *PIR* H 118. See, e.g., O. Montevecchi, "L'amministrazione dell'Egitto sotto i Giulio-Claudi", in *ANRW* II 10.1, Berlin – New York 1988, 431; N. Kokkinos – F. Vartuca, *Antonia Augusta: Portrait of a Great Roman Lady*, London – New York 1992, 33.

3 J. G. Milne, *A History of Egypt Under Roman Rule*, London 1924, 280; A. Stein, *Die Präfekten von Ägypten in der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Bern 1950, 26, 150; O. V. Reinmuth, *The Prefect of Egypt From Augustus to Diocletian*, Aalen 1963, 5; B. Levick, *Tiberius the Politician*, London 1976, 117; P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes*, Oxford 1990, 163; R. P. Saller, *Personal Patronage Under the Early Empire*, Cambridge 2002, 49. The second possible freedman prefect was Epagathus under Severus Alexander: J. Modrzejewski, "Les préfets d'Égypte au début du régne d'Alexandre Sévère", in *Antidoron Martino David Oblatum*, Leiden 1968, 66–7.

4 W. Eck, "Hiberus", *Der Neue Pauly* 5, Stuttgart 1998, 532; P. van der Horst, *Philo of Alexandria. Philo's* Flaccus, *The First Pogrom: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Leiden 2003, 92. Cassius Dio mistakenly thought that the deceased governor replaced by Hiberus was Vitrasius Pollio, who actually was successor of Flaccus who entered the office after Hiberus' death: J. Schwartz, "Préfets d'Égypte sous Tibère et Caligula", *ZPE* 48 (1982) 189–92.

in Egypt in AD 26/28 (?) as financial official inspecting accounts (*P. Oxy* 3807).[5] Be that as it may, the prefecture of Hiberus was soon terminated by his death apparently in AD 32 (Philo, *In Flaccum* 1,2). Thus, in order for the freedman to be identified with the Hiberus in the Digest case, the consultation of Proculus would have had to take place before AD 32.

The time of birth and death of Proculus (*PIR*² P 999) is not known.[6] But we do know that Proculus succeeded Nerva the Elder, who committed suicide in AD 33 (Tac. *ann*. 6,26,1; Dio 58,21,4), the year following Hiberus' death in Egypt, as the leader of the Proculian school to which he gave his name (*Dig.* 1,2,2,52). From this it is possible to infer that by then he must have been already one of the leading jurists of his time, and so his birth should have occurred near the beginning of the first century. We also know that Proculus was succeeded as a leader of the school by the jurist Pegasus, who became urban prefect under Vespasian (*Dig.* 1,2,2,53). It is clear that Proculus' career as a jurist (he is not attested to have held any offices but is presumed by many to have been a consular) continued long after Hiberus' death in Egypt in 32, but he also started giving legal advice well before that time.[7] Therefore, chronology is not an obstacle to identifying the Hiberus mentioned in the letter to Proculus with M. Antonius Hiberus the freedman:

> Proculus, *Letters*, book 2: A certain man, by the name of Hiberus, who has a tenement building at the rear of my warehouse, built a bathhouse next to our party wall. Now, one is not permitted to have pipes for smoke positioned against a party wall in the same way as one cannot even have a wall of one's own built alongside such a wall. This rule applies with more force in the case of pipes for smoke as, because of them, the wall may be scorched by the heat of the fire. I would like you to talk to Hiberus about this matter, to prevent him doing something which is unlawful. Proculus replied: "in this case, I do not think Hiberus is in any doubt that he is acting illegally by constructing pipes for smoke against your party wall".[8]

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[5] J. R. Rea, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 55, London 1988, 177–87; On the position of Hiberus in AD 26–8: M. Sharp, "Shearing Sheep: Rome and the Collection of Taxes in Egypt, 30 BC – AD 200", in E. Müller-Luckner (ed.), *Lokale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in den kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*, München 1999, 222 n. 39, 230.

[6] A. J. Enchedé, *De Proculo iureconsulto*, Leiden 1852; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft und soziale Stellung der römischen Juristen*, Graz – Wien – Köln 1967, 123–9; A. M. Honoré, "Proculus", *LHR* 30 (1962) 472–509; R. Bauman, *Lawyers and Politics in the Early Empire*, München 1989, 119–27; F. Wieacker, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte* II, München 2006, 55–6 (n. 53 with further bibliography).

[7] Nerva the Younger, his contemporary, gave *responsa* already at the age of seventeen, though this appears to have been exceptional: *Dig*. 3,1,1,3.

[8] *Dig*. 8,2,13 pr: *Proculus libro secundo epistularum. Quidam Hiberus nomine, qui habet post*

It is well-known that one of the Roman jurists' primary functions was giving legal advice: *respondere*.[9] Normally the client who consulted the jurist, either in person or in writing, stated the facts of the case and asked the jurist for his opinion. The jurist gave his reply (*responsum*), again in person or in writing, concerning the law applicable to the facts as proposed. In this regard, the consultation concerning Hiberus, excerpted to the Digest from a collection of Proculus' letters dealing with legal questions addressed to him,[10] is quite exceptional.[11]

The author of the letter to Proculus is undoubtedly the aggrieved party and so a potential plaintiff. It is clear, however, that he is not ignorant of the law but knows the building regulations concerning party walls well-enough. Indeed, he is not asking Proculus to *respondere*, to give a legal opinion the client might employ to support his claim in negotiations with the adverse party, or in hearings before the magistrate or the judge. Instead, the client asks Proculus to talk to Hiberus on his behalf, and to prevent him from proceeding with the illicit construction.[12] It seems that the author of the letter was not just any citizen who might consult the jurist, but someone in position also to ask Proculus to do the favor and speak with Hiberus.[13] Thus, the role of iurisconsultus seems to be mixed, at least in this case,

horrea mea insulam, balnearia fecit secundum parietem communem: non licet autem tubulos habere admotos ad parietem communem, sicuti ne parietem quidem suum per parietem communem: de tubulis eo amplius hoc iuris est, quod per eos flamma torretur paries: qua de re volo cum Hibero loquaris, ne rem illicitam faciat. Proculus respondit: nec Hiberum pro ea re dubitare puto, quod rem non permissam facit tubulos secundum communem parietem extruendo. Translation by D. Fergus in A. Watson (ed.), *The Digest of Justinian*, I, Philadelphia 1984, 254.

9 In addition to *respondere*, the traditional functions of the jurists included *agere* (to draw up forms for litigation), and *cavere/scribere* (to draft legal documents). As a jurist, then, Proculus might be supposed to point out to an average client, in addition to his legal position according to the facts stated, the correct legal remedy, and perhaps to draft the pleading to be addressed to the magistrate. For a brief discussion and bibliography: A. A. Schiller, *Roman Law: Mechanisms of Development*, Hague 1978, 272–7.

10 According to Krampe, this is a theoretical work destined for teaching rather than a collection of *responsa* dealing with real-life cases: Ch. Krampe, *Proculi Epistulae: Eine frühklassiche Juristenschrift*, Karlsruhe 1970; however, cf. Th. Mayer-Maly, *Iura* 21 (1970) 298–300. But even according to Krampe the case of Hiberus is real, 47–8.

11 Honoré (above n. 6) 483: "So far as I know, there is no parallel to a consultation in this form".

12 Honoré (above n. 6) 483; Krampe (above n. 10) 47–8.

13 Contrast with the consultation addressed to P. Licinius Crassus, consul of 131 BC: Cic. *orat*. 1,56,239–240. According to A. Schiavone, the *responsum* of Crassus, which left the man who consulted him in great despair, exemplifies the true jurists' disregard to the client's best interest that was the advocate's concern: *Ius. L'invenzione del diritto in Occidente*, Torino 2005,

with that of a partisan intermediary proper of an able relative, friend or patron.[14] Nothing suggests, at any rate, that Proculus was an office-holder empowered with the magistrate's imperium to issue formal orders to Hiberus.[15]

The fact that the warehouse owner approached Proculus instead of the magistrates in his conflict with Hiberus suggests that he wanted to avoid (at least for the time being) the recourse to courts. It may be that he, like probably most Romans, preferred to avoid the trouble, the cost, and the publicity of litigation.[16] But it cannot be ruled out that the owner of the warehouse thought this Hiberus was the kind of opponent one would hesitate to confront in court.[17] It is impossible to say if he had already confronted Hiberus in person, or the latter's procurators, or if he knew the tenement block's owner only by name, and possibly by reputation. In any case, the author of the letter first refers to the man as *quidam Hiberus nomine*, either presuming he is not someone the jurist might know, or preferring (because of courtesy, joke, or strategy) not to suggest at once that Proculus knows the man. Yet he later asks Proculus to speak with Hiberus, as if the jurist knew who the man is and how to reach him.[18]

148–50.

[14] According to R. von Jhering, *L'ésprit du droit romain*, III, Paris 1887, 105–6, traditionally the jurist was a trusted family adviser (not only on legal matters), who played the role also of negotiator and intermediary. But this cannot, of course, hold true for every client that might approach the jurist for a *responsum*, especially in the metropolitan Rome of early imperial times. On the role of jurists see also J. Harries, *Cicero and the Jurists. From Citizens Law to the Lawful State*, London 2006, 33.

[15] Writing *epistulae* was, however, one of the duties, defined under the Severan emperors, of the magistrate's assessor: *Dig*. 1,22,1. But Krampe, following Pernice, points out that the Hiberus case does not prove that Proculus was performing any intermediary function of the magistrate's assessor ("eine assessoriche Vermittlertätigkeit"): Krampe (above n. 10) 13.

[16] J. M. Kelly, *Studies in the Civil Judicature of the Roman Republic*, Oxford 1976, 93–111; M. Humbert, "Arbitrage et jugement à Rome", *Droits et Cultures* 28 (1994) 56.

[17] On difficulties potential plaintiffs might encounter in bringing actions against more powerful and influential opponents throughout the Roman history: R. von Jhering, "Le riche et le pauvre, dans l'ancienne procedure civile des Romains", in R. von Jhering, *Etudes complementaires de l'ésprit du droit romain*, IV, Paris 1902; J. M. Kelly, *Roman Litigation*, Oxford 1966, 1–101; P. Garnsey, *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman World*, Oxford 1970, 181–218; B. Frier, *Landlords and Tenants in Ancient Rome*, Princeton 1980, 48–55; M. Peachin, *Iudex Vice Caesaris*, Stuttgart 1996, 10–91. However, J. Crook, *Law and Life of Rome*, London 1967, 92–7; G. MacCormack, "Roman and African Litigation", *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis* 39 (1971) 248–54; D. Johnston, *Roman Law in Context*, Cambridge 1999, 122–32; D. Kehoe, *Law and the Rural Economy in the Roman Empire*, Ann Arbor 2007, 13–25.

[18] One possible explanation for this discrepancy, if it is necessary to look for one, could be that the original letter sent to Proculus contained more information about Hiberus than is preserved

Also Proculus' answer might give us a hint in regard to the identity of Hiberus, if only more was preserved of his letter of reply than *nec Hiberum pro ea re dubitare puto, quod rem non permissam facit tubulos secundum communem parietem extruendo*.[19] According to one possible interpretation, Proculus is politely refusing the client's request, explaining that it is useless for him to speak with Hiberus because the latter (whoever he may be) is aware of the law anyway. But already J. Crook remarked that Proculus may have taken an unnecessarily strict legal opinion in this case,[20] perhaps because of Hiberus' personality. Another possible interpretation is, then, that whether he refuses or accepts the request, Proculus actually knows the man (either personally or by reputation) and explains to his client that this particular Hiberus is in no doubt that he is acting illegally. In this case the range of possible *Hiberi* to be identified with the arrogant (and perhaps absent) owner of the tenement block is reduced to those whose reputation could be known to Proculus.

In this perspective, the owner of the tenement block might find a very suitable match in M. Antonius Hiberus, the prime example, as B. Levick points out, of the "increase in influence of the freedmen".[21] The owner of the warehouse might not want to risk making an adversary and enemy of the man so closely connected with the imperial family.[22] Whatever interpretation of Proculus' reply is to be preferred, the Hiberus in question was not "in any doubt that he is acting illegally", and so was not shy of legal battles. The location of the warehouse or that of its owner is not known, but it is safest to assume that Proculus was supposed to reach

in the Digest fragment. Perhaps less likely is the option that the editor(s) either of Proculus' letters or the Digest later introduced the allusive expression when cutting out the legally irrelevant particulars of the case. It was a relatively common juristic practice to refer to people as *quidam Licinnianus* (*Dig*. 5,3,7,1); *Marius Paulus quidam* (*Dig*. 17,1,6,7); *Bellicus quidam* (*Dig.* 19,1,13,5); *Hosidius quidam* (*Dig*. 32,97); *quidam Caecilius* (*Dig*. 40,5,26,2); even *Brasidas quidam Lacedaemonius vir praetorius* (*Dig*. 36,1,23 pr).

[19] The epistolary forms like the customary greetings have been expunged, and the other replies of Proculus preserved in the Digest tend to be longer: O. Lenel, *Palingenesia Iuris Civilis*, II, Leipzig 1889 [repr. Graz 1960], 159–66; F. Schultz, *History of Roman Legal Science*, Oxford 1946, 227.

[20] "Proculus agreed that [Hiberus' act] was illegal, but we are told in another passage that he was also quite firm that having a bath-house against a common wall was not in itself an offense, even if it led to dampness": Crook (above n. 17) 151 with *Dig*. 8,2,19 pr.

[21] Levick (above n. 3) 117. On the power of freedmen connected with the imperial family, and especially under Tiberius: A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*, Cambridge 1958, 173–86.

[22] According to Tacitus, the friendship of Empress Livia practically lifted Urgulania above the law: Tac. *ann*. 2,34; Garnsey (above n. 17) 188, 195–6.

Hiberus at Rome.[23] The *cognomen* Hiberus is rare,[24] so the freedman of Antonia Minor, who in all likelihood spent time in the imperial service at Rome before his placement as the vice-prefect of Egypt in 32,[25] must have been among the best known, or the most notorious, *Hiberi* around.

The identification of Hiberus with the freedman exceptionally promoted to the equestrian post of the prefect of Egypt by Tiberius might also explain why the owner of the warehouse approached Proculus with the problem. Legal scholars have accepted there was a personal connection in that Proculus, like Hiberus, came from Spain, and "so [he] was likely to have influence with the troublesome neighbour".[26] But the Spanish origin of Hiberus (and even of Proculus) is far from certain.[27] To look for another explanation, it is important to underline that Proculus was capable of exerting influence beyond his "not a slight legal authority" (*Dig.* 37,14,17). That Proculus *plurimum potuit* (*Dig.* 1,2,2,52) refers to a personal or political power, which may be due from his presumed senatorial status of consular rank.[28] He may also have been granted the right to give legal advice on the em-

[23] According to Honoré, "the consultant is, perhaps, Roman, but his neighbour, as the name shows, is Spanish": Honoré (above n. 6) 483. On the presumed spanish origin of Hiberus and Proculus, see also Krampe (above n. 10) 48 and especially Bauman (above n. 6) 121–3 with further references. Even if Hiberus came from Spain, which is subject to serious doubt (cf. below n. 24), there is no reason to think that the dispute took place in Spain rather than Rome.

[24] I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina*, Helsinki 1965, 199. It is also useful to remember that only two Hiberus' of high status are listed in *PIR*: M. Antonius Hiberus, the freedman prefect of Egypt of 32, and his descendant M. Antonius Hiberus, consul of 133.

[25] Vice-prefecture was perhaps preceded, as pointed out above, by some assignment in Egypt already in 26/28. J. Rea also links our Hiberus with the prefect Publius Flavius Hiberus, whose fragmentary name he reads in a dedication dated to AD 28 on behalf of Tiberius, Livia and their house to Herakles Kallinikos and Ammon found in the Small Oasis: G. Wagner, "Inscriptions grecques de Dakhleh et Baharieh", *BIAO* 73 (1973) 183–9; Rea (above n. 5) 182–3. According to D. W. Rathbone, Hiberus in *P. Oxy* 3807 was not yet a Prefect, and may be an altogether different Hiberus (in which case the document may indeed be dated to in or after 52 or 66). He also suspects that the Prefect in the inscription of AD 28 is another man: *CR* 41 (1991) 204.

[26] Honoré (above n. 6) 483 (who uses the Spanish origin of Hiberus as one of the evidence to argue for the Spanish origin of Proculus); Krampe (above n. 10) 3: "Der Name Hiberus deute auf einen Spanier. Die eigentümliche Bitte könne damit erklärt werden, dass der Konsulent sich eine Einflussnahme des spanischen Juristen Proculus auf den spanischen Nachbarn erhofft habe."

[27] The anonymous reviewer stresses that the Spanish origin certainly "cannot be deduced from the cognomen Hiberus".

[28] According to Kunkel, this reference of Pomponius to Proculus' influence together with the fact that the latter succeeded Nerva *pater* as the head of the school instead of Nerva *filius* implies that he must have been a senator of consular rank: Kunkel (above n. 6) 123–9; Bauman

peror's authority (*ius respondendi*),[29] though there is no more evidence on this than there is on his consular career.[30] Be that as it may, the ultimate source of Proculus' influence was the personal favour of the Emperor that was able to match – the owner of the warehouse possibly hoped – that of another imperial favourite, Antonia Minor's freedman M. Antonius Hiberus.

In all, the above considerations do by no means prove that the *Hiberus* in Proculus' letter is the freedman M. Antonius Hiberus who died as a prefect of Egypt in 32. The fact that they have the same rare *cognomen* and are contemporaries makes the identification possible. Also some circumstances of the case speak for the identification. The conduct of the owner of the warehouse suggests that his opponent, who was not the least afraid of the laws, might indeed find a suitable match in Antonia Minor's freedman backed up by Tiberius. Especially if Proculus knew the Hiberus in question, this would be the most likely identification. If this identification is correct, then the case provides another example of the power and arrogance of the freedmen connected with the imperial family, which the traditional elite of the early Empire so detested. The case would also suggest that Proculus was believed to be able to exert personal influence, rather than legal expertise, against that kind of a man. But even if the identity of Hiberus remains in doubt, the case offers a good example of a potential plaintiff who, facing an insolent adversary, tries to have the conflict resolved outside the public tribunals. Instead of his well-known role as the disinterested "oracle" of law, it shows the jurist drawn (successfully or not) into the disputing process as a partisan intermediary.

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(above n. 6) 120. Honoré (above n. 6) 485, 490–1 underlines the connection between Proculus and Seneca, another man of Spanish origin, suggesting that the jurist achieved his influence through the philosopher. But as Bauman notes, Pomponius says Proculus *plurimum potuit* already in 32 when he succeeded Nerva the Elder, whereas Seneca exerted influence later under Nero: Bauman (above n. 6) 124–5.

[29] O. Tellegen-Couperus, *A Short History of Roman Law*, London – New York 1993, 96.

[30] J. W. Tellegen, "Gaius Cassius and the Schola Cassiana in Pliny's Letter VII, 24, 8", *ZRG* 105 (1988) 286: "there is nothing in sources to confirm that Proculus had the *ius respondendi*". Tellegen suggests, however, that *plurimum potuit* in Pomponius refers to Proculus' juristic talent.

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LATIN INSCRIPTION IN THE RIDGE CHURCH AT PETRA*

Olli Salomies – Zbigniew Fiema

This article concerns a Latin inscription found in the so-called Ridge Church, probably of late 4th century date, in Petra, Jordan. The inscription was inscribed on a sandstone block (locus 123), which was later reused as one of three steps leading from the porticoed entrance to the church proper. The block was inserted in the stairs in the way that the inscription is visible (i.e. facing west) but is placed upside down. The block appears to have been trimmed from its original size on the top and the two sides, probably when it was lifted from the original location, in anticipation of its reuse as a step. The bottom of the block (now the tread) appears to be original, i.e., not altered. The inscribed area measures 22 x 66.5 cm; the individual letters are 4 cm high (the *P* in the beginning of line 2: 5.4 cm.).[1] For more details on the monument, see below, Section 6.

1. Constitution of the Text

What is left of the inscription, broken at the top but otherwise complete, is as follows:

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* This contribution was written for a volume on the Ridge Church to be published by Patricia M. Bikai and Megan Perry. However, the contribution turned out to be too detailed for a volume focusing on the 4th century church, and so, with the permission of the editors, the full version is published here and a shortened version will be provided for the Ridge Church volume. Sections 1–5 are by O. Salomies, sections 6–8 by Z. Fiema.

[1] Note on the palaeography (ZF): More recently, the lettering of the Latin inscription from the Ridge church was compared to the Latin dedication to Jupiter Ammon, found in Humayma (ancient Hawara/Hauarra), several kilometers south of Petra. The authors of the publication noted that while the letters of the Petra inscription are cut much deeper into the stone, both inscriptions are comparable with regard to the style, except for the letters A which, in the Petra inscription, feature crossbars. The Humayma inscription lacks the date but the contents suggest a date in the first half of the third century (Oleson et al. 2002: 113, note 49).

[------]
bis torquatae in Dacia Porolis(sensi)
praef(ecto) alae II Ulp(iae) Auriana[e]
in Cappadocia dec(uriones) alae eiusdem
ob merita per Lucium signiferum.

When the inscription was first made known in 1996 by P. M. Bikai in *ADAJ* 40 (1996) 484, only a photo was published, accompanied by the observation (based on information furnished by Z. T. Fiema) that this was an inscription set up by the signifer Lucius in honour of a praefectus of the *ala II Ulpia Auriana*, a unit stationed in Cappadocia. Although the inscription was technically speaking still unpublished, the text was reproduced by M. Sartre in the *L'Année épigraphique* vol. 1996 (1999), as no. 1630. However, by this time the inscription had acquired two new lines in the beginning, based on restoration:

[M. Ulpio M. f. Andromacho
praef(ecto) alae I Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum)]

In the commentary, it is said that the *ala (II) Auriana* is attested in another inscription from Petra, referred to as *IGLJord* [= *IGLS* IV], IV, 49. What had happened, then, was that Sartre, who had edited the inscriptions of Petra in *IGLS* IV in 1993, had observed that the honorand must be identical with M. Ulpius Andromachus, prefect of the same *ala II Auriana*, who was honoured by the decurions of this very unit with a Greek inscription using the dative instead of the normal accusative, published in 1968 by Starcky & Bennett 1968, 57–59 no. xi (a statue base, 36.5 x 91 x 60+) = *AE* 1968, 528 = M. Sartre, *IGLS* IV no. 49 (with measurements 35 x 93 x 59):

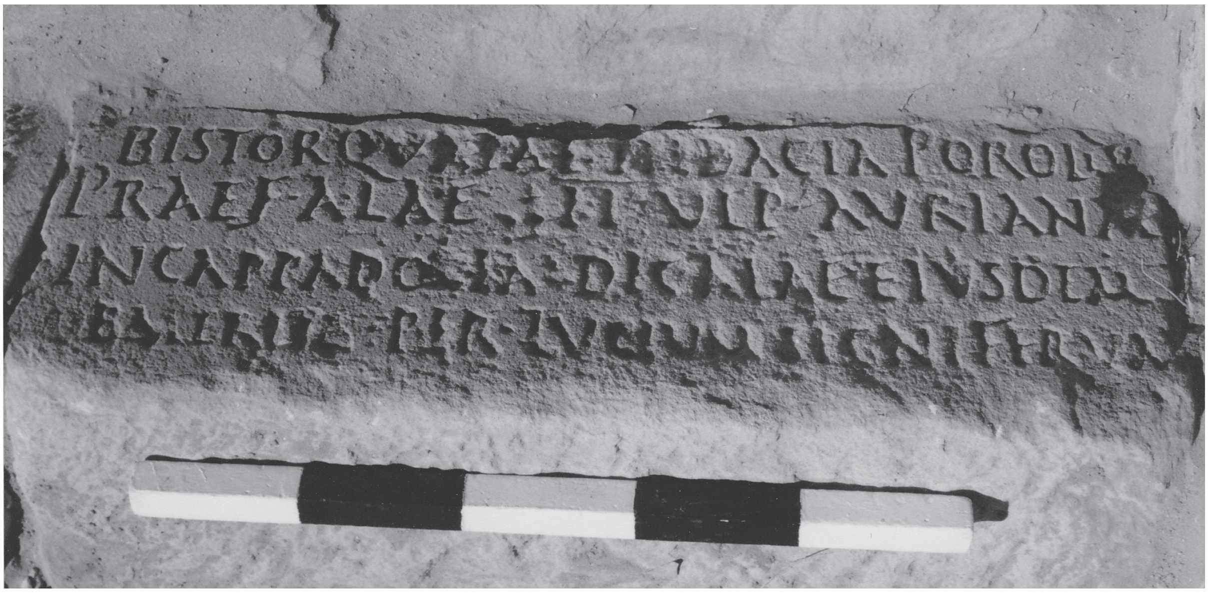
Μ. Οὐλπίῳ Ἀνδρομάχῳ Οὐλπίου
Διογένους υἱῷ, ἐπάρχῳ εἴλης Β΄ Αὐριανῆς
δεκ(ά)δαρχ(οι) τῆς προγεγ(ραμμένης) εἴλης.

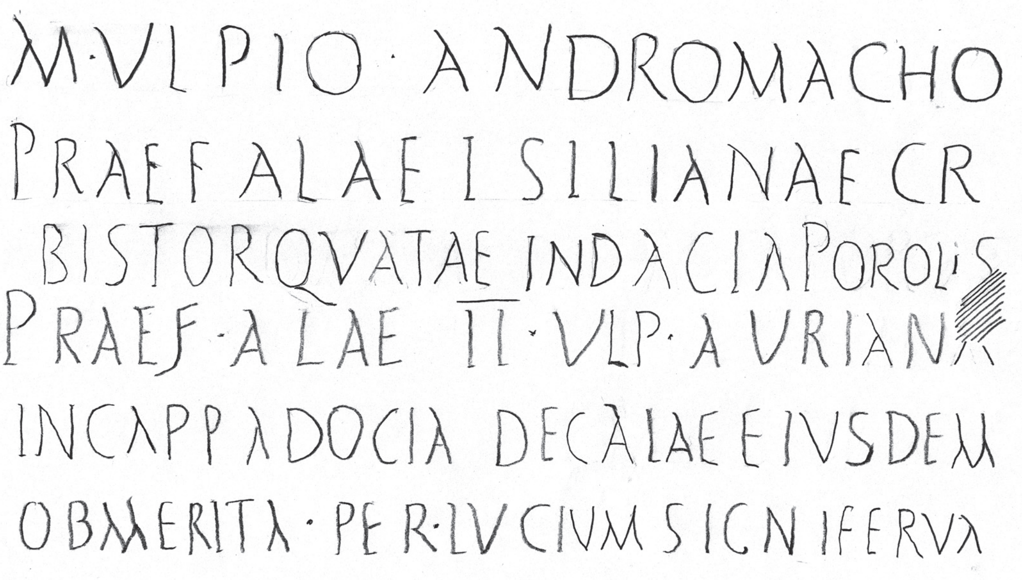
The identification is no doubt correct, as we must be dealing with monuments set up in the hometown of the honorand, not with monuments set up where the unit was stationed (cf. below; if the *ala II Auriana* were stationed in Petra, things would obviously be otherwise). The question of the identity of the honorand having been settled, there remained the question of the identification of the *ala* of which only the remainder of the name survives: *bis torquatae in Dacia Porolis(sensi)*. As Sartre, who had supplied *[praef(ecto) alae I Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum)]* in the line preceding *bis torquatae* etc., observes in *AE* 1996, 1630, "la première unité se déduit de son titre et de sa localisation." This is quite correct; the title *bis torquata*, attested only in the case of four *alae* (Maxfield 1981, 221; that a cohort cannot be considered is clear from the fact that we are dealing with the *next* appointment of the honorand, following on the prefecture of the *ala II Auriana* [cf. below]: a prefect of a cavalry unit obviously cannot be promoted to a prefecture of a cohort), and the fact that the unit was stationed in Dacia Porolissensis, to which province it moved at some point between AD 119 (*AE* 2003, 2041, still in Pannonia Inferior) and 128 (*ZPE* 170 [2009] 207ff., the earliest attestation of the *ala Siliana* in Dacia Porolissensis; cf. below) clearly show that only the *ala Siliana* can be meant (note also that, because of the name *Ulpius*, this text can in any case not be earlier than from the time of Trajan or perhaps rather Hadrian, cf. below). This, then, settles the question of the restoration of what comes between the name and the preserved part of the inscription. (It might be observed at this point that no more than the names of one unit can be restored, as we no doubt have here a combination of the previous and the next appointments, not a *cursus*; cf. below.)

It is, then, clear that the text, as reconstructed by Sartre, must be approximately correct. He was clearly right in not restoring a filiation imitating the one used in the Greek inscription and indicating the father by using his nomen and cognomen, since a filiation of this type (for the significance of which, cf. below) is more suitable in a Greek context. On the other hand, I am not sure whether a filiation of the more "Roman" type, *M(arci) f(ilius)* as restored by Sartre, is really desirable. From the second century onwards, instances of filiations in Latin inscriptions from the Greek East are not really numerous; in fact, the honorand's own praenomen might be omitted. Moreover, there is also the fact that if the filiation is omitted here, the honorand's name would fit better in the space available, especially as it does not seem unlikely that the letters in line 1 were a bit larger than in the other lines (cf. fig. 1–2). Therefore, my suggestion for line 1 of the inscription is *M. Ulpio Andromacho*, the suggested reading for the whole inscription being:

[M. Ulpio Andromacho
praef(ecto) alae I Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum)]
bis torquatae in Dacia Porolis(sensi),
praef(ecto) alae II Ulp(iae) Aurianae
in Cappadocia dec(uriones) alae eiusdem
ob merita per Lucium signiferum.

Cornerning the interpretation of the inscription, note that *alae eiusdem* must refer to the unit just named, the *ala II Ulp(ia) Auriana*, not the *ala I Siliana* mentioned two lines earlier. This interpretation is not only obvious in itself but is also implied by the fact that decurions of the same *ala* also set up the Greek inscription referred to earlier. We can, then, conclude that decurions of the *alae II Ulp(ia) Auriana* set up, at different times (cf. below), two monuments in honour of their commander Ulpius Andromachus.





2. The Career of the Honorand

As Ulpius Andromachus is known only from the two inscriptions from Petra, his career, which will have included a number of earlier posts, is known only as far as the two prefectures go. What is clear, however, is that the order of the posts must be, first the prefecture of the *ala II Auriana* and then the prefecture of the *ala I Siliana*. The first inscription, mentioning only the *ala II Auriana*, was probably set up at the time or, perhaps more probably, very soon after the time, that Ulpius Andromachus held the prefecture of the *ala II Auriana*. The second, Latin inscription published here must be a bit later, when Andromachus, probably residing or at least present in Petra at the time, had been nominated to the prefecture of the *ala I Siliana*, as the most convenient explanation is that this inscription belongs to the category of "Inscriptions indicative of impending or recent movements" (Birley 1979; for a more recent instance, note, e.g., *AE* 2005, 1559, an inscription from Apamea in Syria honouring a procurator about to leave the province in order to take up the post of prefect of the Ravennate fleet).

Ulpius Andromachus belongs, then, to the category of equestrian officers who twice held the prefecture of an *ala*, not, as would be normal, only once. As is well known, this group falls into two further categories; on the one hand, there are the prefects moving on from the prefecture of a normal *ala* to that of an *ala milliaria* (for instances, see Birley 1988, 353f.; Demougin 2000, 134), the latter command representing what was known as the fourth *militia*, the establishment of which is normally, and plausibly, attributed to about the time of Hadrian (e.g., Birley 1988, 159). On the other, there are prefects who held two prefectures of normal *alae*. As the *ala I Siliana* (Spaul 1994, 200–3) is not attested as a milliary unit, it follows that Andromachus belongs to the latter category, which is in fact fairly restricted. In her study of the *iteratio militiae* (dealing also with iterated tribunates, etc.), S. Demougin observes that an iterated prefecture of a (normal) *ala* is attested in the following five cases (Demougin 2000, 132):

1. Ignotus (*I. Cemenelum* 44)	*PME* Inc. 93
2. M. Valerius Propinquus etc.	*PME* V 30 and addenda
3. P. Valerius Priscus	*PME* V 28 and addenda
4. T. Varius Priscus	*PME* V 52bis and addenda
5. Ignotus (*AE* 1992, 1792)	

This list does not include all of the cases appearing in the similar list in Degrassi 1967, 116, for Degrassi also included cases where the second command was not as *praefectus* but as *praepositus* (e.g., T. Antonius Claudius Alfenus Arignotus, *PME* A 132), which is a different matter (cf. Demougin 2000, 125).

In any case, the list above does not seem altogether complete. First, one misses Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus (*PME* C 143 from *AE* 1925, 44, Trajanic), who, in addition to having twice held prefectures of *alae* (the *ala Phrygum* and the *ala II Gallorum*), had also been twice prefect of a cohort and tribune of a legion (mentioned by Demougin 2000 on p. 125 and, as a man who had held the military tribunate twice, on p. 128). Then there is C. Iulius Ianua[rius] (*PME* I 68). This man seems to have been left out by Demougin 2000 because she decided to consider only those cases where the military career is completely known. Be that as it may, the sepulchral inscription of this man, *CIL* V 4095 from Cremona (ca. Trajanic) mentions the prefectures of three *alae*, all of them quingenary (but nothing else). Finally, there is now Ulpius Andromachus. The list of those who twice held the prefecture of a quingenary *ala* should thus be continued as follows:

6. Ti. Claudius Helvius Secundus	*PME* C 143
7. C. Iulius Ianua[rius]	*PME* I 68
8. M. Ulpius Andromachus	(see above)[2]

[2] As for L. Iulius Vehilius Gr[atus?] Iulianus (discussed by Degrassi 1967, 116f.), praetorian prefect under Commodus (*CIL* VI 31856 = 41271 = *ILS* 1327; *PME* I 136; *PIR*² I 615; the second cognomen is corrected to *Ga[llus]* by G. Alföldy in *CIL* VI 41271, but, having inspected the inscription in the Museo Nazionale Romano, I must say that the second letter of the cognomen seems at least to me an *R* rather than an *A*), it may well be that he should be added to the list, as his career includes the appointments *praef(ectus) alae Herculanae* followed by *praef(ectus) alae Tampianae*, for, as Degrassi points out, the *ala Tampiana* is nowhere described as milliary. On the other hand, this Iulianus may be identical with a certain Iulius Iulianus in an inscription from Palmyra (*ILS* 8869 = *IGR* III 1037 = *AE* 1933, 208 = Delplace – Dentzer-Feydy 2005, 236, Annexe 4), who describes himself as prefect of the same *ala Herculana* (εἴλη Ἡρακλιαν[ή]) but does this after having said that he was τετειμημένος … τετάρτης στρατείας, his next appointment, not mentioned, after the *ala Herculana* (stationed in Palmyra) thus being described as the man's *quarta militia*. This would be hard to explain unless the *ala Tampiana* had not been raised to a milliary unit at some point in the second century. In fact, this seems to be the normal assumption (e.g., E. Birley 1988, 158f., 354). But what if the Iulius Iulianus in Palmyra is not identical with the praetorian prefect but someone else with a similar name, also prefect of the *ala Herculana*? The man, who describes himself as εὐσεβὴς καὶ φιλόπατρις, does look very much like a local man from Palmyra, something which one probably cannot say of the pretorian prefect (normally thought of as an Italian, though not for any clear reason), and "Iulius Iulianus" is not a particularly distinctive name. On the other hand, there cannot have been so many prefects of the *ala Herculana*, and the praetorian prefect, whose abbreviated name was in fact "Iulius Iulianus" (and not, e.g., "Vehilius Gratus"), since he must be identical with the man who set up *CIL* V 4343 = *Inscr. It.* X 5, 129 (Brixia, the hometown of the honorand, not that of

There are undoubtedly many explanations for the assignment of the command of two *alae quingenariae* in succession to the same prefect. Some scholars seem to tend to imply that the the second prefecture could be interpreted as a recognition of sorts (thus Alföldy & Halfmann 1973, 372, who speak of the iterated prefecture of an *ala* as a "gewisse Rangerhöhung"; Šašel 1983, 179 = 216: "Weil er sich ausgezeichnet hat, erhielt er die *tertia militia iterata*"; Le Bohec 1989a, 30: "Ces cinq milices montrent que Priscus [the honorand of *CIL* VI 3654] connaissait bien les affaires militaires"; cf. Lassère 2005, 681, who says that a second prefecture of an *ala* is an "honneur" and that the command was of a quingenary *ala* only if no prefecture of a milliary *ala* happened to be vacant; similarly Degrassi 1967, 117). However, as a rule this seems at least questionable, although it is true that the number of the available posts fell from *militia* to *militia*, there being about 300 posts in *militia I*, about 190 in *militia II*, about 90 *militia III* and, and once it was established, only about 9 posts in *militia IV* (e.g., Devijver 1989a, 78 = 1992, 67). On the one hand, one would not *a priori* assume that two successive commands of units of the same status would be a distinction, especially as one observes so many prefects of *alae* moving on to procuratorships and the like, and on the other, at least in the military phase of their careers, the officers enumerated above do not seem to have left an impression of exceptional excellency. One observes, for instance, that three of the officers above also held other commands of the same level twice: Helvius Secundus also held two commands of a cohort and two tribunates of a legion (not exactly what one would expect to imply a glorious career; note also that no further employment in the form of procuratorships was offered to him after his second prefecture of an *ala*, something which may have also happened to Valerius Propinquus); Valerius Priscus was twice prefect of a cohort and the officer honoured in *AE* 1992, 1794 held two legionary tribunates. I am not saying that this kind of advancement is unheard-of, but certainly it seems striking to observe this concentration of successive appointments on the same level in this group. One also observes that there is no trace of military decorations in this group of officers, although most of the officers enumerated above are known from documents which would have mentioned decorations if the honorands had received such.

I would, then, tend to agree with the conclusion of Demougin 2000, 136, that the command of two quingenary *alae (*or of two other equestrian posts) in succession indicates a modest, rather than a splendid, career (cf. also, e.g., Birley 1988, 361, on the two posts in the *militia secunda* of Sulpicius Felix *PME* S 86:

the dedicator), may have been an honorary citizen of Palmyra (thus Birley 1988, 158).

"his two posts … imply that he was not judged worthy of early promotion to the *militia tertia* and beyond"). But it must be confessed that we know nothing of the details of these appointments which means that they may be due to special circumstances; observe the reconstruction, though of course speculative, by Alföldy – Halfmann 1973, 372f. of the scenario of the promotion of Valerius Propinquus to his second prefecture of an *ala*. Furthermore, it is also true that one of the officers, Varius Priscus, later rose to some eminence as the governor of provinces governed by equestrians, but he may have been gifted in civilian rather than in military matters; and the fact that he was the brother of a successful knight, T. Varius Clemens, who rose to procuratorships of provinces and other high equestrian offices (*PME* V 52), may also have played a role.

3. The Mention of a Province in Combination with an Office

In the case of both prefectures held by Ulpius Andromachus, it is specified in the new inscription in which province the unit in question was stationed: *[praef(ecto) alae I Silianae c(ivium) R(omanorum)] bis torquatae in Dacia Porolis(sensi), praef(ecto) alae II Ulp(iae) Aurianae in Cappadocia*. Adding the province (or sometimes some other place, e.g., *Alexandriae* in *CIL* VIII 25846) where a military unit was stationed was clearly not the most common practice (the normal type is rather simply *tribunus militum legionis III Augustae*, etc.), but there are a number of instances of this in inscriptions from all around the Roman world. The point of adding the province is, of course, easy to understand since commands of military units are often mentioned in contexts – that is, in inscriptions listing someone's career – in which other offices are referred to where the name of a province (or some other territorial unit) is used to describe the office itself, e.g., *procurator provinciae Syriae*. Adding the mention of the province where a military unit was stationed makes the text more informative, and lets the reader of the text – say, a fellow-citizen of the honorand reading the inscription set up in the honorand's honour – realize how far the honorand had travelled. In any case, the phenomenon has been studied in a well-known article by H.-G. Pflaum of 1955 (Pflaum 1955) which includes, on pp. 128–146, a list, perhaps not very well organized, of all the instances known to the author at the time of writing (however, ordinary soldiers and veterans mentioning the province where they served are omitted; all of Pflaum's examples do not seem relevant, e.g., *CIL* XI 5632 = *ILS* 2735, quoted on p. 141, *praef(ecto) coh(ortis) II Fl(aviae) Britton(um) equitat(ae), electo a divo Hadriano et misso in expeditionem Brittannicam*). Pflaum seems to attach importance to the question of whether several, or only one, of the posts held by someone are furnished with the indication of a province, a distinction which to me seems of minor interest. In any case, after having enumerated inscriptions pertaining to senators and equestrians, and after having observed (p. 144) that the vast majority of the cases refer to equestrian "officiers supérieurs", only seven instances belonging to senators – not at all surprising since the numbers of senatorial military tribunes was minimal if compared to the numbers of equestrian officers – he goes on (p. 145f.) to list a few centurions and altogether four decurions who also mention in their inscriptions the provinces in which their units were stationed. His conclusion is that "[l]a rareté de ces temoignages [of those pertaining to centurions and decurions] prouve (sic!) que la mention de la province de garnison était sinon *de iure*, au moins *de facto* réservée aux membres des deux noblesses sénatoriale et équestre." To me this seems a rather questionable conclusion, as it is hard to see who exactly might have had something to say against, or wished to do something about, a centurion (or descendant of a centurion setting up his funerary monument) mentioning the province(s) where he had served. Mentioning the province was supplementary information which one could choose either to add or to leave out, a phenomenon normal in epigraphy. What is perhaps of some interest, however, is that although Pflaum's examples come from almost everywhere in the Roman world, there is one area which is not well represented, namely the area of *CIL* X, from where there is only one example, *CIL* X 6015 from Minturnae (*praef(ecto) coh(ortis) Ubior(um) Moes(ia) infer(iore)*). From the area of *CIL* IX, there are seven instances, ten from the area covered by *CIL* XI; and also in the new material (cf. below), there is nothing from the area of *CIL* X, but two instances from both the area in *CIL* IX and that in *CIL* XI, the latter two from Pisaurum which, considering that also among the instances enumerated by Pflaum there is one from this city, *CIL* XI 6344 = *ILS* 2693 (*praef. ... in Hispan(ia)*, cited on p. 140), makes one think that in some cases, the mention of the province may be due to imitation of other inscriptions from the same place, an observation already made by Pflaum p. 146 regarding inscriptions from the area of Cirta. At any rate, it seems that one might conclude that the habit of adding the province was not well established in the regions covered by *CIL* X.

Since Pflaum published his article, some new material has appeared and there are also inscriptions which Pflaum seems to have missed. Let us have a quick look at these cases (including those referring to centurions), which I shall list in geographical order, starting with Italy. (Like Pflaum, I shall leave out post-Diocletianic material, but cannot refrain from pointing out here the early fourth-century inscription of the soldier Aurelius Gaius from Cotiaeum, *SEG* XXXI 1116

= *AE* 1981, 777, with formulations such as ἰστρατ[εσάμε]νος ἰς λειγειῶναν [*sic* here and in other places] πρώτην Ἰταλ[ικὴν Μ]υσιατικῶν, ἐκλεχθεὶς ἰς ὀγδ[όαν Αὐ]γούσταν Γερμανικίαν etc.)

1. *CIL* VI 1557 cf. p. 4712 *[Cn. Ant]on[io* (?) --- *F]usc[o* (?) *Xviro stlitib]us iudica[ndis, trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) --- in Ge]rmania, q(uaestori), [trib(uno) pleb(is), praetori, p]raef(ecto) frum(enti) [dandi]*, etc. Apparently from the period preceding the division of Germania ca. 85. The restoration of the name is due to G. Alföldy (in *CIL* VI p. 4712), who thinks that this man could be identical with Cn. Antonius Fuscus, cos. suff. in AD 109 (*Fasti Ostienses*; *RMD* 219).
2. *CIL* IX 3649 (*Epigrafia della regione dei Marsi* 2) = *AE* 1979, 197 = 1991, 565 (Cerfennia) *[M.* (?) *Vettio M.* (?) *f. ... n. ... pron. S]er. Scatoni IIIviro [capitali, trib]uno militum in [Germania legio]nis IIII Macedon(icae), [quaestori] designato [Alfia . f.] Prima mater*. No doubt first century AD. *PIR*^{2} S 244.
3. *AE* 1981, 291 (Alba Fucens) *[Q. He]renni[us] Q. f. Fab. Severu[s] evo(catus) Aug., don[is] dona(tus) ab I[mp(eratore) c]or(onis) [aur(eis) I]I, leg(ionis) I[I]I Aug(ustae) in Af[rica, (centurio)] leg(ionis) X Freten[sis in] Sur[ia]* etc. "*Imp.*" would normally be taken to indicate Domitian (thus, following a suggestion of H. Halfmann, in the original publication, Devijver & van Wonterghem 1981). But Dabrowa 1993, 88f., suggests, on the basis that there were no wars (the existence of which he deduces from the mention of military decorations) in Africa under Domitian and that other emperors, too, could be referred to without a mention of the name (but of his examples, p. 88 n. 40, *ILS* 1385 and 2321 do refer to Domitian; *ILS* 2696 seems to refer to Claudius, 2648 to Nero, 2321 to a Julio-Claudian emperor who cannot be identified; cf. Maxfield 1981, 186, 204, 216), that the inscription should be dated to the earlier first century. Y. Le Bohec (Le Bohec 1989b, 208), on the other hand, thinks that the inscription, because of its "formulaire", must be later and suggests, assuming that "*I[mp].*" is indeed a reference to an emperor whose "mémoire a été condamnée" and not just an abbreviated form, either Commodus or Didius Iulianus (sic). However, the inscription (of which Le Bohec quotes only a part) is clearly much earlier and considering that some kind of warfare must have been going on all the time, I think that it is best to revert to the view that Domitian is meant.
4. *CIL* XI 6340 = Cresci Marrone – Mennella 1984 no. 51(Pisaurum) *[---]m in S[yria ---], tr(ibuno) pl(ebis), p[r(aetori), ---]*. Possibly *[tribuno militu]m in S[yria leg(ionis)* --- ? (cf. Cresci Marrone & Mennella: "ricordo di un incerto tribunato militare in Siria").
5. Bernardelli Calavalle 1983 no. 7 = *AE* 1983, 380 (Fanum or possibly Pisaurum) *[C. Cupp]ienus C. f. Pol. [Terminalis] praef(ectus) coh(ortis) III Bracarum [in Syr(ia) Pal]aes(tina) praef(ectus) fab(rum), archit(ectus)*

signum m[armor(eum) ex v(oto) t]estam(ento) fieri poniq(ue) iuss(it) nomine suo et O[ctavia]e Pollae uxoris ex HS X etc. *PME* C 257bis (in Suppl. I). Dated to the mid-second century by Bernardelli Calavalle 1983 and (accordingly) in *PME*; however, to me the inscription seems earlier. The restoration of the nomenclature of the man is based on *CIL* XI 6126 and 6142.

6. *AE* 1983, 626 = *IRCatalogne* I 102 (cf. ibid. V p. 23, 24; Iluro in Hispania Tarraconensis) *[--- aed(ili), IIvir(o), flami]ni Romae et A[ug(usti)* (?), *praef(ecto) fabrum,] in Germania [praef(ecto) coh(ortis)* (?) --- *Ga]llorum equitatae, [trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) IIII* (?)*] Macedonic(ae)*. *PME* II (and Suppl. I, II) Inc. 9 (Suppl. II p. 2294: "*in Germania* spectat ad praefecturam cohortis et ad tribunatum legionis"). The inscription is dated by the editors and in *PME* to *c.* AD 60.

7. *AE* 1995, 891 (*HEp* 6, 599; Labitolosa in Hispania Tarraconensis) *M. Clodio M. f. Gal. Flacco IIviro bis, flam(ini), adlecto in quinq(ue) decurias ab Imp(eratore) Hadriano Caes(are) Aug(usto), trib(uno) militum leg(ionis) IIII Flaviae in Moesia superior(e) ex test(amento) Corneliae Neillae / heredes eius*. *PME* C 199. In the other inscriptions in honour of this man from the same place (*CIL* II 3008 = 5837; *AE* 1995, 890), the province is not mentioned.

8. D'Encarnacao 1984 no. 235 (Pax Iulia in Lusitania; the lettering is said to belong to the time of Trajan) *[. Mario ---] trib(uno) mil(itum) le[g(ionis) ---,] leg(ionis) [XXII Primi]geni[ae, praef(ecto) cohor]tium [--- in] Germ[ania ---] ... Marius [---] lib(ertus) et h[eres] patrono o[ptimo]*. *PME* M 33a (Suppl. II).

[9. *CIL* III 6097 = Rizakis 1998, no. 370 (an inscription seen in the 18th century in Nauplio [and thus not from Patra]) *C. Serenus Pa[---] civ(is) Romanus, trib(unus) militum leg(ionis) XII in Ac(h)aia* etc. This inscription may, however, not be genuine (cf. *PME* S, p. 736).]

10. *AE* 1966, 382 (cf. 1967, 454) = *SEG* 42, 475 = *CID* IV 143(bis) (p. 347) (Delphi) [Π. Μέμμιον Κρι]τ̣ολάου υἱὸν [Κριτόλαο]ν Θεοκλέα Δελφὸν καὶ Κ[ορίνθιον, χειλιαρχή]σ̣αντα ἐν Γερμαν[ίαι ὑπ]ὸ Νόβιον Πρεῖσκον πρεσβευτὴ[ν Αὐτοκράτορος θεοῦ Οὐεσπα]σιανοῦ λεγ[εῶ]νος Ϝʹ Νεικηφόρου καὶ στρατη[γήσαντα ἐν Κορίνθωι ... δό[γματι Ἀμφικτυόνων καὶ Δελφῶν Μεμμία Θεοκ]λέου θυγάτηρ Λεοντὶς etc. *PME* M 40.

11. *Fouilles de Xanthos* VII (1981) no. 48 = *AE* 1981, 828 [--- χ]ε[ιλίαρχον λ]ε[γιῶνος δευτ]έρας [ἐν Βριτ]αννίᾳ, [δέ]κα ἄνδρ[α ἐπὶ τῶν] ὑπὸ δόρυ κρι̣[τη]ρ̣ίων, τα[μ̣ίαν ἐν] Γαλλίᾳ, δ̣ήμαρ[χ̣ον], στρατη[γόν, πρ]εσβευτὴν ⟦[Νέρωνος Κλαυδίου Καίσαρ]ος Σε[βα]σ[τοῦ Γερμα̣νικοῦ]⟧ ἐ]ν̣ Συρίᾳ, Ξανθίων [ἡ βο]υλὴ καὶ ὁ [δῆμ]ος τ̣ὸν πάτρωνα [καὶ ε]ὐεργέ[την]. The career is quite similar to that of the senator L. Vettius Statura (*CIL* XI 6054 from Urvinum), and it may well be that the honorand of the inscription from Xanthos is the same man (A. Birley 2005, 277 with n. 6). The legateship "in Syria" is not mentioned in the inscription from Urbinum which ends with the praetorship. Statura may have been in Syria as the legate of

a legion (Birley). Why he is honoured in Xanthos remains unclear. In any event, the mention in the inscription from Xanthos of Britain in connection with the military tribunate is obviously to be seen in the light of the fact that in the mentions of the other provincial offices the province in indicated is the same way instead of by the use of the genitive.

12. *I. Perge* II 289 = *AE* 2004, 1480 [----- τὸν κρά]τιστ[ον ταμίαν καὶ ἀν]τιστρ[άτ]ηγ[ον --- , τ]ριβοῦνον πλήβιν (sic), πρα[ί]τορα περεγρεῖνον, ληγᾶτον Παννονίας τῆς ἄνω λεγεῶνος δέκιμα (sic) Γέμινα (sic). The lettering of the inscription indicates a date in latter part of the second, or possibly even the third century (S. Şahin in *I. Perge*).

12. B. İplikçioğlu, *AAWW* 143 (2008) 15 (Rhodiapolis in Lycia): [---] πρε{ρε}σ[β]ευτῇ Αὐτοκράτορος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Καίσαρος λεγιῶ[ν] ος γ' Γαλλικῆς ἐν Συρίᾳ, πρεσβευτῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐπαρχειῶν Λυκίας Παμφυλίας [Ῥ]οδιαπολειτῶν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος etc. According to İplikçioğlu (p. 16), this might be C. Dillius Aponianus (*PIR*² D 89).

13. *AE* 1966, 495 = 1969/70, 612 = 1971, 476 = 1985, 829 cf. 1991, 1579 = Lehmann – Holum 2000 no. 4 *L. Valerio Valeriano p[roc(uratori) prov(inciae)] Syr(iae) Palaest(inae), provinc(iae) [---], praeposito summ(a) e [feliciss(imae) exped(itionis)] Mesopotamenae adv[ersus Arabos]* (195 AD)*, praepos(ito) vexil(lationis) feliciss(imae) [expedit(ionis)] urbic(ae) itemq(ue) Asianae [adversus] hostes publicos* (193–4 AD) ... *proc(uratori) Cypri, praef(ecto) a[lae I Hispan(orum)] Campagonum in Dac[ia, trib(uno) c(o)hort(is) I] mil(l)iariae Hemese[norum c(ivium) R(omanorum) in] Pannonia, praef(ecto) c(o)ho[rtis --- in] Pannonia Mevius Romanus (centurio) [leg(ionis) VI Ferr(atae)] F(idelis) C(onstantis) Antoninianae [strator(?)] eius viro i[ncompara]bili*. *PME* V 43.

14. *AE* 1947, 170 = Delplace – Dentzer-Feydy 2005, 153, IA. 04 T. Αἴλιο[ν — — — ἔπαρχον τῶν] ἐν Παρολι[σσῷ τῆς ἀνωτέ]ρας Δακίας [κα]ṭẹ[ι]-λεγμένων τοξότων οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτο[υ] αὐτοῦ οὐηξί[λλ]ου τẹịμῆς [χάριν]. *PME* A 18 (cf. Devijver 1986, 179 = 1989b, 343; the city is more often spelled *Porolissum*).

15. *IGR* III 1367 = Welles 1938, 393f. no. 42 [ὑ]πὲρ τῆς τῶν Σεβαστῶν σωτηρίας [------ στρατευσάμενος ἐν Β]ρετεννίᾳ (sic) ἑκατονθάρχης (sic) ἐπανελθ[ὼν -----] ἐπέκτισεν να[ὸ]ν Διὸς Ἐπικαρπίου etc.

This list consists of much the same kind of material as that, much longer, presented by Pflaum; the majority of the cases belong to equestrian officers (nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 – but probably not genuine –, 10, 13), but there are also senators (nos. 1, 2, 4, 11, 12) and two centurions (nos. 3, 15). The province most often mentioned is Germania (nos. 1, 2, 6, 8, 10). Most of the inscriptions, which can be furnished with at least a tentative date, are or seem to be from the first century (nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 10, 11); two are from the earlier second century (7, 8) and one (12) from the earlier third century. Again, the material is so heterogeneous that it does not seem useful or desirable to discuss it beyond this point. Instead, let me finish this section with some inscriptions of soldiers and veterans (not, as mentioned above, taken into consideration by Pflaum) mentioning the province along with (or in one case, instead of) their units.

1. *CIL* VI 3560 = *ILS* 2266 *L. Aelius Fab(ia) Brixia veteranus militavit legione XVI in Germania ann(os) XXII, vixit ann(os) XXX; P. Aelius Fab(ia) Brixia, idem frater, veter(anus) milit(avit) legion(e) XVI in Germania an(nos) XXII v(ixit) a(nnos) XX[---].* For many reasons clearly an early inscription.
2. *CIL* IX 2593 = *CBI* 870 = Petrovitsch 2006, 288 no. R.09 (Terventum) *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum); P. Florio P. f. Vol. Praenestino mil(iti) legion(is) in Norico Ael(ia) Obilab(a), b(eneficiario) trib(uni); vixit annis XXIII Florius Prae<ne>stinus et Magia Spendi[---] filio piissim[o et sibi] v(ivi) [f(ecerunt)]*. As observed by Petrovitsch in the commentary, this must be a soldier of the legion *II Italica* founded by Marcus Aurelius in c. 165; the inscription shows that detachments of the legion, later stationed in Lauriacum, were originally stationed in Ovilava (*Wels*). This, combined with the wording of the inscription, with the name of the legion omitted, shows that the inscription must belong to the earliest period of the legion.
3. *CIL* II^2 14, 814 (*HEp* 12, 421; *AE* 1992, 1094; Dertosa in Hispania Tarraconensis) *C. Aebutius Tardus, C. Aebutius Verecundus filius miles leg. VI in Suria* (etc.). Dated to the late first century AD in *CIL*.
4. Jimeno 1980 no. 86 = *AE* 1983, 599 = *AE* 1987, 618b (*HEp* 2, 655; Uxama in Hispania Tarraconensis*) D(is) M(anibus) T. Val(erio) Goliapae* (?)*; mil(itavit) in Germ(ania) leg(ione) XIIX* (or perhaps *mil(iti) ... leg(ionis)*)*; Octavia Elae marito optimo*. The 18th legion was destroyed in Teutoburg in AD 9; the addition of the province is thus more than justified in this case. However, because of its formulations and style, this inscription must be much later. One wonders, on the other hand, whether *XIIX* could not be an error for *XXII*.
5. *CIL* XIII 8282 (B. & H. Galsterer 1975 no. 217) *M(emoriae) aetern[ae; Clau]dio Victo[ri mil(iti)] leg(ionis) VII Ge[m(inae) P(iae) F(elicis) in] Hispania [citer(iore)], fact(o) fru[m(entario), benef(iciario)] trib(uni) leg(ionis) I [Min(erviae) P(iae) F(idelis)]; sepulchr[um po]suit Mod[ius Max]imus av(u)nc[ulo in]comparabili, et] Nice [lib(ertae)].* This inscription seems approximately Severan.
6. *SEG* 18, 566 = *AE* 1961, 22 (Prostanna in Pisidia, from the time of Nero) Μᾶρκος Σέιος [--- σημι]αφόρος λεγεῶ[νος ιγ’ Γεμίνης, στρα]τευσάμενος [ἔτη --- καὶ] πέντε εἰς Παν[νονίαν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων etc.
7. *CIL* VIII 11428 (Mosser 2003 no. 161; Sufes) *[--- Pu]denti (?) men[sori(?) geometr]ae(?) leg(ionis) XV [Apol(linaris) in P]annonia [---]* etc. There is perhaps a mention of Trajan later in the text.

8. *CIL* VIII 25740 = *ILS* 9084 (Thuburnica) *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum); C. Iulius Martialis veteranus leg(ionis) II Adiutricis Piae Fidelis quae habitat in Panonia* (sic) *inferiore Acinco* (= *Aquinco*). Note *habitat* (most striking) for *tendit*. The inscription must be later than the legion's move to Aquincum in c. 103/5 (Lörincz 2000, 163), perhaps quite some time later.
9. *CIL* VIII 27851 = *ILAlg* I 3548 (Theveste) *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum); M. Iulius Istatianu[s] veteranus qui militavit in Pannonia in Prim(a) A<d>iu{i}tr<i>ce, qui pre(n)sus est ann(orum) XXV; Iulia [f]ilia Secura h(eres) ei(us) f[e]cit; h(ic) s(itus) e(st)*. Note the omission of the term *legio*. Clearly, this is not an early text.
10. *AE* 1938, 44 = 1969/70, 711 (Numidia) *D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) T. Flavius Rog[atus] vet(eranus) probatus in [[l(egione)] III Aug(usta),]] tra(ns)latus in II Adiutrice Pia Fi(deli) in Pannonia inferiore vixit annis LXXXVII; se vivo fecit ex s(estertium) mille nummis.* Dated to the second century by Le Bohec 1989b, 291.

4. The Dedicants and Reason for the Setting up of the Monument

Both the new inscription and the Greek inscription in honour of the same man published in 1968 were set up by the decurions of the *ala II Auriana*, the new inscription adding that this was because of the honorand's *merita* (no doubt considerable, as the dedicators set up two monuments to the same man) and that Lucius the *signifer* had been in charge of the actual process. The fact that soldiers set up a monument in honour of their superior or ex-superior in a certain place can normally be explained in one of the following ways:

(a) the place is where the unit is stationed;
(b) the place is where the honorand comes from;
(c) the place is where the honorand has a villa or some other residence of his own (e.g., in Rome); or
(d) the place is a centre of sorts, e.g., a provincial capital and as such the residence, for the time being, of the honorand as the holder of a certain post.

Alternative (c) could be illustrated by inscriptions such as *CIL* VI 1451, set up in Rome, no doubt in the honorand's residence, by a *primuspilus* (or rather this man's son on the basis of his father's testament), *qui sub eo militaver(at)*, in honour of the Severan senator L. Marius Maximus, alternative (d) by inscriptions such as *CIL* III 1464 = *ILS* 1370 = *IDR* III 2, 100, set up in Sarmizegethusa by a centurion of the legion XIII Gemina, stationed in Apulum, in honour of a procurator of Dacia Apulensis. However, soldiers setting up monuments in this category are most often not "normal" soldiers stationed in military camps but members of the honorand's *officium* and as such stationed close to him; e.g., *CIL* II 4114 = *ILS* 1140 = *RIT* 130 from Tarraco, set up for *Tib. Cl(audio) Candido ... leg(ato) Augg(ustorum) pr(o) pr(aetore) provinc(iae) H(ispaniae) c(iterioris)* by *Silius Hospes hastatus leg(ionis) X Geminae, strator eius*; or *CIL* VIII 9990 = *ILS* 1352 = *IAM* II 5, set up in Tingis in honour of a procurator of Mauretania Tingitana by the *exacti exercitus*, i.e., members of the *officium* (note also the separation of members of the *officium* from regular soldiers in Erkelenz 2003, 70–3).

Alternatives (c) and (d) probably do not come into question in our case and have, as far as I can see, not been taken into consideration by scholars dealing with Ulpius Andromachus. Whether Petra was the capital of Arabia for a few years in the early years of the province is debatable (for this view, see Haensch 1997, 238–42, 342; but cf. G. Bowersock, *ZRG* 117 [2000] 502f.). In any event, Petra always remained a significant place within the province, and would doubtless have attracted monuments belonging to a provincial, rather than local, level (cf. Fiema 2003; Gagos 2009); but there does not seem to be any good reason to assume that simple decurions of an auxiliary unit could have erected monuments in honour of their commander in Petra unless the unit was stationed there or the honorand originated from Petra.This leaves us with alternatives (a) and (b). Concerning alternative (a), it has in fact been thought possible that Petra might at some point have been a place where the *ala II Auriana* was stationed; this was the opinion of the original editors (Starcky and Bennett 1968, 58), and this possibility is not ruled out in the commentary (by H.-G. Pflaum?) on *AE* 1968, 528. However, in the same commentary it is said that it is also possible that the monument in question was set up not where the unit was stationed but in the honorand's hometown, and it is this latter solution which has been adopted, with more or less conviction, by all subsequent scholars (Speidel 1974, 936; Id. 1977, 707 = 1984, 249; Devijver 1986, 191 = 1989, 355; Id., *PME* U 5; M. Sartre on *IGLS* IV (1993) no. 49; Graf 1994, 302; Bikai 1996, 484, referring only to the new inscription, not to *AE* 1968, 528).

Now it is true that it is not unknown for soldiers to set up monuments in honour of their commanders in places where their unit was stationed; for example, we find several monuments of this kind in Bostra, set up by soldiers of the legion *III Cyrenaica* stationed there (e.g., the *tesserarii*, *AE* 2000, 1530; the *optiones (centuriarum)*, *IGLS* XIII 9079, 9072, etc. The scenario that the *ala II Auriana* set up the monument in Petra because it was stationed there does thus not seem to be *a priori* excluded. However, if this were so, one would expect the *ala* to have left at least some traces of its presence in Petra; but there is absolutely nothing. (Note also that this *ala* is not mentioned among the *alae* of Arabia in the diploma of 142, *AE* 2004, 1925.) The only place for which we have certain evidence that this unit was stationed there is Dascusa in Cappadocia (not in Syria, as in Spaul 1994, 61; the place referred to as "Penga" or "Pingan" as the findspot of an inscription mentioning this *ala*, *CIL* III 6743 = *ILS* 2535, is, as older maps show, to the NW of Dascusa), just to the north of the Euphrates where it is joined by the river Arsanias. (In Arabia, there is possibly a trace of the *ala II Auriana* in Canatha, in the form of the inscription, of uncertain interpretation, of a decurion, *IGR* III 1231, cf. Spaul 1994, 61; but the name *Auriana* has not been preserved and the inscription can in any case only be used to show that the man may have come from the area). The fact that there are no traces of the *ala* in Petra is of course only an *argumentum ex silentio*, but there is more evidence to show that the only possibility here is alternative (b), namely that the honorand himself was from Petra. This evidence comes from the inscriptions themselves. On the one hand, one observes that the new inscription was set up by the decurions of the *ala*, but, as this was done *per Lucium signiferum*, it seems to follow that the decurions had had to send a representative to Petra to take care of the business, something which can only be explained if the *ala* to which the decurions belonged was stationed somewhere else. The phrase *per Lucium signiferum* thus corresponds to phrases (perhaps more common in the eastern parts of the Empire) such as *per legatos* and διὰ πρεσβευτῶν etc., which one finds so often in honorific inscriptions which were set up in some other city than where the dedicator(s) resided (e.g., *I. Ephesos* 713, the βουλή and the δῆμος of Neapolis Samaria setting up a monument in honour of the senator Pompeius Falco in Ephesos διὰ πρεσβευτῶν καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν, two names following; cf., e.g., *CIL* III 7282 and 7285 from Athens and in general on inscriptions set up in honour of senators in places where the honorands came from or had a residence, Navarro 1997).

On the other hand, there is also the fact that the decurions who set up the new text, later than the one published in 1968 (cf. above), not only say that they had to send a representative but also add that their unit was stationed *in Cappadocia*. This, I think, pretty much settles the question. The result is, then, that Ulpius Andromachus was a native of Petra. On the one hand, this fits well with the imperial nomen and the Greek cognomina of Andromachus and his father; on the other, the assumption that Ulpius Andromachus was honoured in his hometown by members of a military unit stationed somewhere else places Andromachus' inscriptions in a category represented by a good number of inscriptions. For an *ala* setting up a monument in honour of its former prefect in his hometown, one could mention *AE* 1966, 124 from Verona (already quoted in the commentary on *AE* 1968, 528), for decurions honouring prefects in their hometown, one could adduce *CIL* III 5211 = *ILS* 1362 from Celeia in Noricum and *CIL* III 8660 = *ILS* 1364 from Concordia. As this is not an uncommon scenario, one could go on with further examples (cf. also, e.g., Erkelenz 2003, 306ff. no. 1220f., 1238, 1241, all inscriptions from the hometowns of the honorands), but this will no doubt be enough.

5. The Date

We have a *terminus post quem* both in the nomenclature of the honorand and in the fact that the *ala I Siliana* is said, in the new inscription, to be stationed in Dacia Porolissensis. The honorand and his father are Ulpii; this means that the Roman citizenship in the family dates from the time of Trajan or rather, as we are dealing with persons from Arabia, from the time of Trajan after the establishment of the province in AD 106. One should probably imagine a local magnate from Petra being rewarded for his merits perhaps at the time of the annexation of Arabia. If it was the father Diogenes who was the first in the family to become a Roman citizen, members of his family receiving citizenship at the same time, his son's, our man Ulpius Andromachus', *floruit* should probably be put in the later years of Hadrian, as one would not expect him have made it to the prefecture of an *ala* earlier. However, the first Roman citizen in the family may have an earlier ancestor of Ulpius Andromachus; the name "Ulpius" in any case furnishes only a *terminus post quem*.

As for the *ala I Siliana* in Dacia Porolissensis, this indicator is even more informative. Dacia Porolissensis, as a separate province governed by an equestrian procurator, is attested in diplomas between the years 123 (Thomasson 1984, 153 no. 26; add Pferdehirt 2004 no. 22) and 164 (Thomasson 1984, 153f. no. 30; add *RMD* 66, 116). But the earliest diploma mentioning the *ala Siliana* (still in Pannonia Inferior in 119, *AE* 2003, 2041) in Dacia Porolissensis is only from 128 (C. Ciongradi & al., *ZPE* 170 [2009] 207–14); in the diplomas of AD 123 it does not yet seem to appear. The unit must, then, have been transferred to Dacia Porolissensis at some point between AD 123 and 128. (There are inscriptions from Gilău where the *ala* was already stationed from the time of Hadrian: *AE* 1983, 859, cf. Isac 1983).

The separate province of Dacia Porolissensis is, as mentioned above, attested only up to AD 164. In the mid-sixties, the three provinces of Dacia Apulensis, Dacia Malvensis and Dacia Porolissensis were united as a single province known as the *tres Daciae*, its first governor M. Claudius Fronto being attested in 168 (Piso 1993, 82ff.; cf. also Eich 2005, 151f.). One could, then, assume that Ulpius Andromachus' command of the *ala Siliana* in Dacia Porolissensis should be dated between 123/128 and 164/168. This would fit admirably the style of the two inscriptions from Petra both of which are simple and without any features of a later period (laudatory expressions, etc.) and which one would *a priori* wish to date to about the middle of the second century or even earlier (within the limit offered by the nomen *Ulpius*).

However, as observed by Piso 1993, 83, a military diploma of 179 (*RMD* 123) refers to P. Helvius Pertinax (who was governor of the whole of Dacia, i.e., the *Tres Daciae*: HA *Pert*. 2,10, *Daciae regimen*) as the commander of the troops of "Dacia Superior" (corresponding to Dacia Apulensis), and this cannot mean anything other than that the names of the former provinces, now only financial districts, were still used in some official documents as administrative units within a larger whole (Piso observes ibid. that the enumeration of all the *c.* 60 auxiliary units known in the *Tres Daciae* would not have been possible in a diploma). If military diplomas could use the term "Dacia Superior" even after the 160s, it is not impossible that Ulpius Andromachus might have described the region where he commanded the *ala Siliana* as "Dacia Porolissensis" even if he commanded the unit after the 160s. The *ala*, although (as far as I can see) not mentioned in diplomas after 164, was certainly still stationed in Gilău at least in the time of Caracalla, when we find it setting up a monument in honour of Iulia Domna (*AE* 1993, 1331; note also the inscriptions *CIL* III 847 and 847a = 7651, mentioning in Gilău soldiers of the *ala Siliana* who are Aurelii without praenomina, and thus probably to be dated after 212.

It is true, however, that the two inscriptions set up in honour of Ulpius Andromachus do leave the impression of being early rather than late (say, Severan or later). I would thus suggest that the most probable date for the command of the *ala I Siliana* in Dacia Porolissensis is in the period when Dacia Porolissensis was a separate province, i.e., between 123/128 and 164/168, perhaps in the earlier years of this period. It may well be that Andromachus was already drafted into the Roman army under Trajan (thus Graf 1994, 302).

6. The Monument and its Original Location

It is unfortunately impossible to determine the exact original location of the inscription. However, there are some indicators which may help to propose a suggestion. At first, the Greek inscription of Andromachus was found during the clearance of the temenos of the Qasr el-Bint temple, i.e., in the very center of the ancient city. During that clearance, in addition to some Nabataean dedications, several dedicatory and honorific inscriptions were found. Some of these, dated to the 2nd–3rd centuries, are among the most important for the history of Roman Petra, as these mention emperors, legates of Arabia and the Arabian legion *III Cyrenaica*.

Notably, the block (in two parts) carrying the Greek inscription of Andromachus is relatively long (91 cm) rather than high (36.5 cm). Furthermore, the block shows moulding at the top and it is relatively wide (60 cm), which prompted the authors to suggest that it might have been a base of a statue, perhaps an equestrian one (Starcky and Bennett 1968, 58). While the top of the Latin inscription of Andromachus is not preserved, the dimensions of the block and the longitudinal arrangement of the inscription are comparable with that mentioned above. It is then probable that the Latin inscription from the Ridge Church was originally a free-standing base of a statue.

Furthermore, one might suggest that the location of this monument was in the temenos of the Qasr al-Bint temple, just as that of the Greek inscription. This proposition may find support in the pattern of reuse of certain elements originally located in the temenos of or in the Qasr el-Bint temple and then reused in the construction of the Ridge and the Petra churches in the northern half of the city during the Byzantine period. For example, a fragmentary inscription on a block found reused in the Petra church, mentions Aurelius Themos (Vihonen and Fiema 2001, 343). The inscription, probably from the third century AD, might have come from the Aphrodeision of Petra, which probably can be identified with the Qasr el-Bint temple. Furthermore, the marble slabs which form the two steps up to the top of the chancel platform in the Petra church, seem to have originally served as steps in another structure such as the Qasr el-Bint temple. Most of the marble slabs which formed the monumental stairway to that temple were robbed out (Zayadine 1982, 376, pl. CXXVII.1), and the slabs remaining *in situ* would basically fit the description of these found in the church (Fiema 2001, 57).

Considering the postulated date (late 4th century?) for the construction of the Ridge Church, it is reasonable to assume that various architectural elements which might have originated from the temenos of the Qasr el-Bint temple and which were later reused in the churches located in the northern part of the city, became available as the result of the disastrous earthquake of May 19, 363. That historically and archaeologically well-documented event affected many areas of Petra, including that of the Qasr el-Bint temenos (Russell 1980, 47–64).

In the overall perspective of provincial careers in the imperial service, that of M. Ulpius Andromachus may not strike one as a particularly illustrious one, although this may also be due to our fragmentary knowledge concerning this person. However, one notes that Andromachus was twice honoured by his fellow officers and in two languages. Even more significant is the fact that he, and apparently his family, held sufficiently high position and local esteem in the eyes of the city council to permit the establishment of two monuments honouring him in the most visible and frequented part of the city, among the dedications to Nabataean kings and Roman emperors.

7. Andromachus and the Garrison of Petra

While the annexation of the Nabatean kingdom in 106 may or may not have been peacefully accomplished (for full discussion, see Freeman 1996), the army of the province of Arabia consisted, between 106 and the 4th century, of a legion (three attested, with the *III Cyrenaica* becoming a permanent garrison), up to 10 *alae* and 6 *cohortes,* with the actual number of units present in the province fluctuating over time.

The epigraphic record indicates that during the early post-annexation period, the main population centers such as Bostra, Gerasa, Gadara and Philadelphia were garrisoned by the army units (cf. Freeman 1996). Undoubtedly, Petra was garrisoned as well. However, the only unit attested by several inscriptions is the *legio III Cyrenaica* (Sartre 1996, for all inscriptions), probably in the form of detachments (as the headquarters located in Bostra) and only temporarily. Only during the 5th century might Petra have been again garrisoned by military forces. The inscription relating to the conversion of the Urn Tomb into a church in 446 mentions a *numerus*, stationed permanently or temporarily in Petra.

Therefore, as mentioned above, the commentators on the Andromachus inscriptions are certainly correct in expressing doubts if the *ala II Auriana* was ever stationed in Petra or, for that matter, in *Arabia*. On the contrary, all extant records indicate that this unit was stationed in Cappadocia, and perhaps also in Syria (cf. above Section 4).

Accordingly, if M. Ulpius Andromachus was a native of Petra, his military career may also be reviewed from the point of view of the issue of Nabataeans serving in the Roman army. Trajan recruited six units, apparently from the former Nabataean army, which were formed into *cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum*: probably all being *equitatae*, out of which two or three were milliary and at least one of these included *sagittarii* (Graf 1998, 23; Kennedy 2004, 47). None of these, however, are ever attested as stationed in *Arabia Provincia*. Similarly, there is no information suggesting that any of these units was commanded by a native Nabataean.

However, in this context, an interesting hypothesis was recently proposed by D. Graf. Concluding, on the basis of the Greek inscription, that Andromachus must have been a native of Petra (cf. above, Section 4), Graf postulated that he might have originally entered the army under Trajan and thus it is not unlikely that he initially served in one of *cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum* (Graf 1994, 302). It might be of further interest that during Arrian's campaign against the Alans in 131, the *cohors III Petraeorum* served alongside the *ala II Auriana* (Arrian *Alan.* 1), Andromachus' later command.

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ISIS CAPITOLINA AND THE *POMERIUM* NOTES ON THE AUGURAL TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CAPITOLIUM*

Kaj Sandberg

In antiquity the urban area of the city of Rome was first and foremost defined by the *pomerium*, rather than by its walls.[1] Due to several more or less passing references in the literary sources, including a more detailed description by Tacitus, and to a series of chance discoveries of pomerial *cippi*, the original course of this sacred city-boundary and the nature of its subsequent extensions are reasonably clear.[2] Even so, the evidence is still scattered and far from complete, wherefore the path of many individual stretches of this circuit will inevitably – as long as new clues do not surface – remain uncertain or open to different interpretations. For instance, it will be argued here that common, current views of the pomerial demarcation of the city northwards present severe problems, and that an obvious solution to these would solve other problems as well.

The special status of the Capitoline Hill

It is clear from Tacitus' description of the primordial *pomerium* that both the Forum and the Capitolium – two of the most important areas of republican and imperial Rome, at any rate with regard to their civic functions – were not origi-

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1 Cic. *nat. deor.* 3,94: *urbis muris, quos vos pontifices sanctos esse dicitis diligentiusque urbem religione quam ipsis moenibus cingitis*.

2 For a full inventory of the relevant topographical sources, see G. Lugli et al., *Fontes ad topographiam veteris urbis Romae pertinentes* I, Roma 1952, 125 ff.

nally included within its perimeter.[3] Though they are said to have been "added to the city" already by Titus Tatius, it must be considered an interesting piece of information that they are indeed not associated with the founding of Rome. The accuracy of this kind of collective historical memory, preserved also in ritual – that is, in the line of the track run by the *luperci* each *Lupercalia* –,[4] has been corroborated by toponomastics and etymology. At least as far as the Forum is concerned, it has long been recognized that its very designation most probably is related to the adverb *foris* ("out of doors").[5] Whereas there is no doubt that the Forum was included within the perimeter of the sacred city-boundary at an early date, opinions diverge as to how the Capitolium related to it.

On the evidence of Tacitus a majority of scholars believe that the hill was indeed included in the regal period,[6] but some topographers have expressed their doubts. For instance, noting that the Capitolium had no shrine of the *argei*, Lawrence Richardson concludes that the hill "was regarded as special and possibly outside the *pomerium*".[7] Entering this important discussion I will make no attempt

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[3] Tac. *ann.* 12,24: *Regum in eo ambitio vel gloria varie vulgata: sed initium condendi, et quod pomerium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. Igitur a foro boario, ubi aereum tauri simulacrum aspicimus, quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi coeptus ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur; inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox curias veteres, tum ad sacellum Larum, inde forum Romanum; forumque et Capitolium non a Romulo, sed a Tito Tatio additum urbi credidere. Mox pro fortuna pomerium auctum. Et quos tum Claudius terminos posuerit, facile cognitu et publicis actis perscriptum.* Cf. Gell. 13,14,2: *Antiquissimum autem pomerium, quod a Romulo institutum est, Palati montis radicibus terminabatur*. There is an important discussion of Tacitus' account in M. T. Boatwright, "Tacitus on Claudius and the Pomerium, *Annals* 12,23,2–24", *CJ* 80 (1984/1985) 36–43.

[4] One of the best discussions of the topographical implications of the ceremony is still that of A. K. Michels, "Topography and Interpretation of the *Lupercalia*", *TAPhA* 84 (1953) 35–59.

[5] E. Forcellini, *Totius Latinitatis lexicon*, editio altera, 527: "Forum ab eodem etymo est a quo *foras*, *foris* et *fori*." The etymology of the word in ancient writers: Cic. *leg.* 2,61; Varro *ling.* 5,145; Paul. Fest. 74 L.

[6] A. Magdelain, "Le *pomerium* archaïque et le *mundus*", *REL* 54 (1976) 93; M. Andreussi, "*Pomerium*", *LTUR* IV = E. M. Steinby (a cura di), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* IV, Roma 1999, 101.

[7] L. Richardson, jr, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore 1992, 70 s.v. "Capitolinus Mons". Cf. *ibid.*, 294 s.v. "Pomerium" and 330 s.v. "Regiones quattuor". However, it remains unclear whether or not he thinks that the hill remained on the outside of the pomerial boundary throughout the republican period. The question is not specifically dealt with by Gianluca Tagliamonte, in his entry "Capitolium (fino alla prima età repubblicana)", *LTUR* I (n. 6), Roma 1993, 226–31; however, noting that "il Campidoglio fu **a pieno titolo** incorporato nella nuova città" (229, emphasis mine) at the end of the conflict with the Sabines, he seems to

at establishing when the hill was first affected by a pomerial extension, but I will argue that there are compelling reasons to believe that a significant part of the Capitolium remained on the outside throughout the Republic and was, functionally and augurally, closely associated with the grounds consecrated to the god Mars.[8] The Campus Martius, immediately adjacent to the hill, was, as is well known, an area that was used for military drills and exercises by the Roman army. Also the northern part of the Capitolium, overlooking the Campus Martius, was, it must be remembered, the seat of an important military installation.

I have already elsewhere,[9] citing the fact that it was not permitted to dispense military orders within the *pomerium*,[10] suggested that parts of the Capitoline area remained outside the pomerial circuit. At least the *Arx*, on account of its military functions, must have been augurally excepted from an area expressly designated for civil life and activities (see *infra*). This kind of special status would seem to accord well with the use of the juxtapositions *Arx et Capitolium* or *Capitolium et Arx* (with variations), which were common designations for the hill.[11] Richardson thinks that the phrase is "probably simply tautological, the Capitolium and *Arx* being inseparable".[12] In my opinion, if we are actually dealing with two augurally distinct areas on the hill, such designations make perfect sense.

The notion that the *Arx*, along with the *Auguraculum* (being positioned *in Arce*), was situated outside the *pomerium* is rarely voiced explicitly, but seems

be thinking that it had the same status as any other part of the city. Also the entry by C. Reusser, "Capitolium (Republik und Kaiserzeit)", *ibid.*, 232–3 is lacking considerations *per se* about the hill's relationship to the *pomerium*, but important is the following observation (232): "Der Kapitolshügel gehörte nach den Quellen zu keiner der vier Regionen der Vier-Regionen-Stadt." – A list of the *argeorum sacraria* is provided by Varro *ling.* 5,45–54.

8 Liv. 2,5,2: *ager Tarquiniorum qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit consecratus Marti Martius deinde campus fuit*; Flor. 1,9: *populus Romanus agrum Marti suo consecrat*; Schol. *Iuv.* 1,132: *hic enim ager Tarquini superbi fuit et pro illius fuga Marti consecratus dictus est Martius campus*; Plut. *Popl.* 8: τοῦ δ’ Ἀρείου πεδίου τὸ ἥδιστον ἐκέκτητο Ταρκύνιος καὶ τοῦτο τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωσαν.

9 See, in particular, K. Sandberg, *Magistrates and Assemblies. A Study of legislative Practice in Republican Rome* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 24), Rome 2001, 140.

10 Laelius Felix *ap.* Gell. 15,27,5: *exercitum extra urbem imperari oporteat, intra urbem imperari ius non sit.*

11 See, for instance, Cic. *Rab.* 35; Liv. 1,33,2; 2,7,10; 3,18,1; 3,19,7; 3,68,7; 6,11,4; 38,51,8; Val. Max. 3,2,7; Tac. *ann.* 11,23,4 and Gell. 5,12,2. For a full inventory of the ways in which the hill is referred to in ancient sources, see G. Tagliamonte, "Capitolium (fino alla prima età repubblicana)", *LTUR* I (n. 6), Roma 1993, 226 f.

12 Richardson, *Dictionary* (n. 7) 69.

by no means to be alien to modern scholarship.[13] I contend that the extrapomerial area on the Capitoline hill extended well beyond the fortifications associated with the *Arx*, since it had to be large enough to accommodate meetings of popular assemblies. There are several references in our sources to tribunes of the plebs assembling the tribes outside the *pomerium* to vote on "extrapomerial matters", such as I have defined them. Such instances are documented in the Campus Martius, and I have argued that also assemblies recorded to have been convened *in Capitolio* belong in the same category. In 196 the tribunes Q. Marcius Ralla and C. Atinius Labeo passed a law on the hill ordaining peace with the Macedonian king Philip V; in 167 the tribune Ti. Sempronius carried a law here granting a triumph to L. Aemilius Paullus and the other victors at Pydna.[14] If at all noted, these particular instances have puzzled modern scholars, who have been at a loss explaining why the assemblies met on the Capitolium. John Briscoe, commenting on the former one, argued that the tribunes may have intended "to restrict attendance in the narrow space available".[15] Such an explanation explains precisely nothing. Why should anyone think that the tribunes would have desired to restrict attendance in any way, in an assembly that they had themselves summoned in order to approve a bill of their own authorship? My explanation is that the assemblies in question had to convene *extra pomerium* when they dealt with matters relating to war and peace, and foreign policy – questions which originally were put before the *comitia centuriata* convening in the Campus Martius. In a reappraisal of the significance of the *pomerium* in Roman public law, I have made a systematic

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[13] See, for instance, G. Giannelli, "Arx", *LTUR* I (n. 6), Roma 1993, 127–9 and F. Coarelli, "Auguraculum", *ibid.*, 142–3. That the position of the equivalent of the *Auguraculum* among the Umbrians was the pomerial line itself is clear from augural provisions contained in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* (VIa). For the interpretation I have followed A. Carandini, "*Auguratorium*/ *Auguraculum*, *templum in terra* e *templum in aere*", Id., *Remo e Romolo. Dai rioni dei Quiriti alla città dei Romani (775/750–700/675 a.C.)*, Torino 2006, 425. See also A. Magdelain, "L'*auguraculum* de l'*arx* à Rome et dans d'autres villes", *REL* 47 (1969) 253–69; F. Coarelli, "L'*Arx* e l'*Auguraculum*", Id., *Il Foro Romano. Periodo arcaico*, Roma 1983 (rist. 1992), 97–107; E. De Magistris, *Paestum e Roma quadrata. Ricerche sullo spazio augurale*, Napoli 2007, chapter xii ("*Auguraculum*, *pomerium* e mura della città").

[14] Liv. 33,25,7: *Ea rogatio in Capitolio ad plebem lata est; omnes quinque et triginta tribus "uti rogas" iusserunt*; 45,36,1: *cum in Capitolio rogationem eam Ti. Sempronius tribunus plebis ferret*. See also Plut. *Aem.* 30,8: καὶ συγκροτήσαντες αὐτοὺς περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον αὖθις καταλαμβάνονται τὸ Καπετώλιον· ἐκεῖ γὰρ οἱ δήμαρχοι τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔμελλον ἄξειν. For tribal assemblies convening in the Campus Martius, in the *prata Flaminia* and in the *circus Flaminius*, see Sandberg, *Magistrates and Assemblies* (n. 9) 139 f.

[15] J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy. Books XXXI–XXXIII*, Oxford 1973, 297.

scrutiny of the primary sources and adduced evidence to demonstrate that the competence of the legislative popular assemblies depended on the situation of their meeting-places with regard to the pomerial circuit.[16]

Revisiting the problem of the course of the *pomerium*, with respect to the Capitolium, I will now call attention to the implications of the presence of foreign cults on the hill, focusing in particular on the worship of the exotic goddess Isis. In order to do so, the religious significance of the pomerial circuit must first be dealt with in some detail.

The *pomerium*

The *pomerium*, demarcating augurally a city from its hinterland and the rest of the world, was a line that, on an auspicious day, had been traced by a plough harnessed to a bull and a cow.[17] This ancient ritual, to which was attributed an Etruscan origin, was believed to have been performed by Romulus when he founded his Palatine city.[18] The ceremony was still practised in historical times when cities

[16] For my views of the significance of the *pomerium* in Roman public law, and for my distinction between "intrapomerial" and "extrapomerial" matters, see, in particular, K. Sandberg, "The *concilium plebis* as a Legislative Body during the Republic", in U. Paananen et al., *Senatus populusque Romanus. Studies in Roman Republican Legislation* (Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae 13), Helsinki 1993, 82 and, in particular, Sandberg, *Magistrates and Assemblies* (n. 9) 119 ff., esp. 122.

[17] For general discussions of the concept of *pomerium*, see A. von Blumenthal, *RE* XXI.2 (1952) coll. 1867–1876 s.v. "Pomerium"; A. Magdelain, "Le *pomerium* archaïque et le *mundus*", *REL* 54 (1976) 71–109; B. Liou-Gille, "Le *pomerium*", *MH* 50 (1993) 94–106; M. Andreussi, "*Pomerium*", *LTUR* IV (n. 6), Roma 1999, 96–105; A. Simonelli, "Considerazioni sull'origine, la natura e l'evoluzione del *pomerium*", *Aevum* 75 (2001) 119–62 and F. K. Drogula, "*Imperium*, *potestas*, and the *pomerium* in the Roman Republic", *Historia* 56 (2007) 419–52. The religious and augural aspects are in the focus of the discussions in P. Catalano, "Aspetti spaziali del sistema giuridico-religioso romano. *Mundus*, *templum*, *urbs*, *ager*, *Latium*, *Italia*", *ANRW* II 16.1 (1978) esp. 479 ff., and G. Martorana, *Intra pomerium, extra pomerium*, Palermo 1978, esp. 3–38 and 119–36. For the anthropology of Roman spatial organization, including interesting considerations of parallels among other peoples (in India, Tibet, West Africa, Brasil and North America), see J. Rykwert, *The Idea of a Town. The Anthropology of Urban Form in Rome, Italy and the Ancient World*, Princeton 1976, esp. 163–87.

[18] Varro *ling.* 5,143: *Oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multi, id est iunctis bobus, tauro et vacca interiore, aratro circumagebant sulcum*; Plut. *Rom.* 11,1: Ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος … ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὑφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ. Scholars are still divided as to the veracity of this tradition, connecting the ritual with Etruria; it is accepted by, among others,

were founded,[19] and was presumably repeated (in some more or less symbolic fashion) at each pomerial extension.[20] The line of the pomerial perimeter was marked out with *cippi* at fixed intervals.[21]

The formal designation of an urban area, defined by the *pomerium*, was no arbitrary one as it represented a most fundamental partition in terms of how the Romans perceived, organized and used their civic space. It was nothing short of instrumental in many religious and political contexts.[22] In augural doctrine the

Catalano (n. 17) 482 and Martorana (n. 17) 44 ff., whereas it has been rejected by J. Le Gall, "À propos de la muraille Servienne et du *pomerium*", *EAC* 2 (1959) 41–54 and R. Antaya, "The Etymology of *pomerium*", *AJPh* 101 (1980) 184–9. However, as has been noted by several scholars (e.g. Catalano [n. 17] 485), the fact that the plough had to be made of bronze (Plut. *Rom.* 11,3; Macr. *Sat.* 5,19) clearly indicates that the ritual was indeed very ancient.

19 Varro *ling.* 5,143: *ideo coloniae nostrae omnes in litteris antiquis scribuntur urbes, quod item conditae ut Roma; et ideo coloniae et urbes conduntur, quod intra pomerium ponuntur*. It is interesting to note that Varro (*loc. cit.*) connects etymologically the Latin word for "city", *urbs*, with the circuit (*orbis*) the furrow (*fossa* or *sulcus*) described around the city. As for the word *pomerium* itself, he derives it from *post murum* (*postmoerium*), because this line ran along the earthen wall (*murus*) which appeared along the furrow. The etymology of the word *pomerium* is dealt with in Andreussi (n. 6) 96 ff.; see also the earlier discussions by von Blumenthal (n. 17) esp. coll. 1870 f.; Martorana (n. 17) 39 ff. and Antaya, (n. 18) 184–9.

20 Magistrates who had enlarged the Roman territory by conquest of enemy territory were entitled to extend this sacred boundary of the city, see Gell. 13,14,3: *Habebat ... ius proferendi pomerii, qui populum Romanum agro de hostibus capto auxerat*; cf. *Lex de imperio Vespasiani* (*CIL* VI 930 = *ILS* 244), ll. 14 ff. Incidentally, this prerogative is implied also within the context of a pomerial extension, on Claudian *cippi* (e.g. *CIL* VI 31537a, ll. 7–9): *auctis populi Romani finibus pomerium ampliavit terminavitque*. Cf. Liv. 1,44,5; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 4,13,2 f.; Sen. *dial.* 10,13,8; Tac. *ann.* 12,23,2; Hist. Aug. *Aurelian.* 21,10.

21 Varro (*ling.* 5.143) mentions very ancient (it would seem) *cippi* surrounding the city of Aricia. The oldest surviving Roman specimens of such boundary stones date from the Sullan period: *CIL* I^2 838–839 = *ILS* 8208 = *ILLRP* 485. Other extant *cippi* date from the reigns of Claudius (*CIL* VI 31537a–d, 37023–37024; *NSc.* 1912, 197 and 1913, 68), Vespasian (*CIL* VI 31538a–c; *NSc.* 1933, 241) and Hadrian (*CIL* VI 31539a–c, *NSc.* 1933, 241).

22 Here, writing for a modern readership, I distinguish between religion and politics for the sake of clarity, but it must be stressed that religion was an integrated part of all private and public life in Ancient Rome. A distinction between "political life" and "religious life" is, therefore, altogether arbitrary and purely conventional. However, reflecting the modern separation of religious and secular matters, this kind of distinction lives on, reaffirmed by the organization of a succession of very influential handbooks on Roman antiquities. Already in W. A. Becker's and J. Marquardt's *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, Leipzig 1843–1846, the "Staatsverfassung" was treated separately from the "Gottesdienst". The same is true of its later version, Th. Mommsen's and J. Marquardt's collaboration *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, Leipzig 1871–1888, where "Staatsrecht" is presented apart from "Sacralwesen".

pomerial circuit constituted the line at which the *auspicia urbana* ended.[23] As for the world outside the *pomerium*, it was divided into five *agri*, each corresponding to a certain kind of *auspicia*: *ager Romanus*, *ager Gabinus*, *ager peregrinus*, *ager hosticus* and *ager incertus*.[24] There is no doubt that the boundaries between these areas were of great significance in various augural contexts, but the foremost dividing line was the *pomerium* itself.

The line of the *pomerium* separated several opposite realms from each other. First of all, it constituted a boundary between the worlds of the quick and the dead. As is well known, there was already in the Twelve Tables a prohibition against burial and cremation within the urban area.[25] Moreover, all of the area *intra pomerium* had to be kept free from the influence of the gods of the nether world.[26] In public law it marked the division between *domi* and *militiae* as "Amtsführungen", as Mommsen put it, or as spheres of application of the *imperium* of a magistrate. It is important to stress that these are locative forms denoting geographical expanses, and not temporal ones such as in the current English expression "in (times of) war and peace"; Jörg Rüpke translates them as "daheim und im 'Kriegsrechtsgebiet'".[27] This partition between, basically, a civil and a military realm is reflected in the fact that, right down to the early imperial period, all temples and shrines dedicated to the god Mars were situated outside the *pomerium*.[28]

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23 Gell. 13,14,1: *Pomerium est locus intra agrum effatum per totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certeis determinatus, qui facit finem urbani auspicii*; Varro *ling.* 5,143: *qui quod erat post murum, postmoerium dictum, eiusque auspicia urbana finiuntur*; Gran. Lic. 28,25: *... quoniam <po>merium finis ess<et ur>banorum auspiciorum*. A recent addition to the scholarly literature on Roman augural space is E. De Magistris, *Paestum e Roma quadrata. Ricerche sullo spazio augurale*, Napoli 2007.

24 Varro *ling.* 5,33: *Ut nostri augures publici disserunt, agrorum sunt genera quinque: Romanus, Gabinus, peregrinus, hosticus, incertus*. Discussion in Catalano (n. 17) 492–8.

25 Cic. *leg.* 2,58 (Tab. X.1): *"hominem mortuum", inquit lex in duodecim, "in urbe ne sepelito neve urito"*. Cf. *CIL* VI 31614, 31615 (a praetorian edict datable to the beginning of the first century BC): *L. Sentius C. f. pr*(*aetor*) / *de sen*(*atus*) *sent*(*entia*) *loca* / *terminanda coer*(*avit*), / *b*(*onum*) *f*(*actum*) *ne quis intra* / *terminos proprius* / *urbem ustrinam* / *fecisse velit neive* / *stercus, cadaver* / *iniecisse velit*. The rule was also observed in the Roman *coloniae*, see *Lex coloniae Genetivae Iuliae s. Ursonensis* (*CIL* I^2 594 = *ILS* 6087 = *RS* 25), chs. lxxiii f. Discussion in M. Beard et al., *Religions of Rome* I. *A History*, Cambridge 1998, 180.

26 Martorana (n. 17) 71.

27 J. Rüpke, *Domi militiae. Die religiöse Konstruktion des Krieges in Rom*, Stuttgart 1990, 29.

28 Vitr. 1,7,1: *Martis vero divinitas cum sit extra moenia dedicata, non erit inter cives armigera dissensio, sed ab hostibus ea defensa belli periculo conservabit*. It was only with Augustus that

It is quite clear that, on a cultic level, the pomerial perimeter can largely be perceived as a boundary between domestic and foreign creeds. Alien deities, or, more precisely, such deities whose cults had not been formally introduced into the Roman realm, were worshipped outside the sacred city-boundary.[29] True, there were several foreign gods and goddesses with temples at intrapomerial locations, but it is very interesting to note that, in many of these cases it happens to be explicitly attested that the cults in question had been brought to Rome by means of a formal act of introduction. For instance, Castor and Pollux, whose cult was brought to Rome in the very beginning of the Republic, received their temple right at the foot of the Palatine Hill in the Forum. According to tradition the dictator A. Postumius Albinus, leading the Romans against their rebellious Latin allies in the battle of the Lake Regillus in 496 BC, had – in an employment of the typically Roman stratagem of invoking the aid of the divine protectors of the enemies – vowed a shrine to the Dioscuri, who were much venerated at Tusculum and other important Latin cities.[30] Another well known case, dating to the last years of the Second Punic War, is Cybele, whose cult was transported all the way from the Anatolian city of Pessinus to the city by the Tiber; here she was worshipped on the Palatine itself, that is, in the very heart of the oldest part of the city of Rome.[31]

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all this began to change; in 2 BC did Mars for the first time receive a temple within the *pomerium*, this was the temple of Mars Ultor in the *Forum Augusti*. Discussion in Beard et al (n. 25) 180.

[29] Martorana (n. 17) 29: "il pomerio ... rappresenta il segno dialettico per eccellenza, ove una divinità poteva essere inclusa solo se la contingenza storica avesse permesso una giustificazione *intra pomerium*. Nel caso contrario, la collocazione si determina *extra pomerium*. L'*intra pomerium* e l'*extra pomerium* ... rappresentano uno degli elementi dialettici più evidenti di una religione che solo la rivoluzione cristiana potè annullare ... ." Cf. M. Beard et al., *Religions of Rome* II. *A Sourcebook*, Cambridge 1998, 93. However, see also *infra* p. 157.

[30] Liv. 2,20,12; Dion. Hal. *ant.* 6,13. The discovery in 1959, at Lavinium (present-day Pratica di Mare), of a dedication to Castor and Pollux (F. Castagnoli, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 30 [1959] 109–17 = *CIL* I^2 2833), documenting the presence of the cult in Latium at a date around 500 BC confirms the essential soundness of this tradition. Castagnoli's dating rests on palaeographic considerations, more precisely, on close comparison with elements in, respectively, the *cippus* found under the *Lapis Niger* (*CIL* I^2 1 = *ILS* 4913) and in an archaic inscription from Tivoli (*CIL* I^2 2658 = *ILLRP* 5). The reading, retaining the names of the twin gods in their Greek forms (*Castorei Podlouqueique qurois*), attests to the cult's transmission to Latium directly from the Greek world (Magna Graecia), that is, with no Etruscan intermediation as was formerly thought.

[31] The well-documented details of this transmission, taking place in the last years of the third century BC, are no doubt fully historical. Alarmed by fearful celestial signs in 205, during an ongoing war, the Senate ordered a consultation of the Sibylline books and, as a result, formally

That the location of a temple was chosen with regard to its relation to the *pomerium* seems certain. For instance, transferring the cult of Diana from Aricia to Rome king Servius Tullius chose to build her temple on the Aventine hill, which remained outside the pomerial perimeter until the reign of Claudius in the middle of the first century AD; thereby he complied with the requirements of a confederal sanctuary which was common to all members of the Latin League.[32] Likewise, many of the foreign cults that had been formally brought to Rome were practiced outside the *pomerium* for a reason. It is evident that there were various degrees of inclusion among the divinities which were gradually included in the Roman pantheon. A distinct group within the *sacra peregrina* is clearly constituted by the *di evocati*, gods and goddesses which had been summoned to Rome from an enemy city just before it had been sacked. It has been observed that these always remained ideologically foreign.[33] The most famous example is the cult of Juno Regina which, in connection with the capture of Veii in 396 BC, was brought to Rome. There she received a temple on the Aventine.[34] Clifford Ando makes an interesting reflection: "it may be significant that Juno Regina, Vortumnus, and Minerva all received temples on the Aventine, outside the *pomerium*, and so outside the religious boundary of Rome itself – but that was not true of Magna Mater or Ceres or Aesculapius or, for that matter, Juno Curitis."[35]

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resolved to introduce the cult of Magna Mater Idaea to Rome. Following the instructions of the Pergamene king Attalus I, an important ally, a Roman embassy removed Cybele's famous pointed meteoric stone from her Phrygian shrine and brought it to Rome, see Liv. 29,37,2, 36,36,3; *vir. ill.* 46,3; Prudent. *mart. Rom.* 206; Serv. *Aen.* 7,188. There it was first housed in the temple of Victoria, on the Palatine, but in 191 BC the Anatolian goddess received a sanctuary of her own on the same hill. This was dedicated by the praetor M. Junius Brutus on 11th April 191 BC, in connection with the first celebration of the *ludi Megalenses*, see Liv. 36,36,4; *Fast. Praenest.* and *Fast. Ant.* (A. Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae* XIII.2, Rome 1963).

32 An ancient dedicatory inscription, known to Cato, underlines the strong confederal nature of Arician Diana, see Cato *orig.* fr. 62 (Peter, *HRR*): *Lucum Dianum in nemore Aricino Egerius Baebius Tusculanus dedicavit dictator Latinus. Hi populi communiter: Tusculanus, Aricinus, Laurens, Coranus, Tiburtis, Pometius, Ardeatis, Rutulus*.

33 C. Ando, *The Matter of the Gods. Religion and the Roman Empire*, Berkeley – Los Angeles 2008, 134.

34 A famous passage documenting the idea of *evocatio* is found in Livy, who puts the following words in the mouth of Camillus (Liv. 5,21,2–3): *Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios, tibique hinc decimam partem praedae voveo. Te simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitudine tua templum accipiat.*

35 Ando (n. 35) 134.

Returning now to the augural status of the Capitolium (or, at least, a significant part thereof), it is most interesting to note that there were several foreign cults which were allocated to the hill. I will here pay particular attention to Isis, whose cult was practiced on the hill already in the republican period. First I will deal with the building associated with her cult, which, if any, has been the focus of a long controversy.

The Capitoline *Iseum*

In the imperial period the principal temple of the Egyptian goddess in Rome was the extensive *Iseum Campense* in the Campus Martius, but her cult on the Capitolium seems to be – as will be shown here – attested from at least the early years of the first century BC. This is a date corresponding closely to the date of the introduction of Isis' cult in Rome, where it was established by the Sullan period at the latest.[36]

On account of several references in literary sources,[37] it has long been known that there was some sort of association between the cult of Isis and the Capitolium. The normal presence of large crowds of followers of Isis on the hill is clearly implied in a famous account of an escape made possible by the abundance of such elements. Suetonius recounts how the young Domitian, on the morning of 19 December of AD 69, flees from the siege of the Capitoline hill (certainly the fortifications of the *Arx*). Donning an Isiac dress he escapes the attention of Vitellius' men and succeeds in disappearing into a throng of devotees termed as *sacrificuli vanae superstitionis*.[38] Modern scholars have connected an-

[36] Apul. *met.* 11,30,5: *collegii vetustissimi et sub illis Syllae temporibus conditi*. There is a good discussion of this passage in J. G. Griffiths, *The Isis-Book (Apuleius, Metamorphoses, Book XI). Edition with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (EPRO 39), Leiden 1975, 343 f. A reference to a certain *aedes Serapi*, in an inscription from Puteoli dating to 105 BC (*CIL* X 1781 = *CIL* I^2 698; the so-called *lex Puteolana*, which is now preserved in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale at Naples), provides the earliest epigraphic evidence for the cult of the Egyptian gods anywhere on Italian soil.

[37] There are full inventories and discussions of these passages in F. Mora, *Prosopografia Isiaca* (EPRO 113), Leiden 1990, II 72–91 and in S. A. Takács, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World*, Leiden 1995, 56–70.

[38] Suet. *Dom.* 1,2: *Bello Vitelliano confugit in Capitolium cum patruo Sabino ac parte praesentium copiarum, sed irrumpentibus adversariis et ardente templo apud aedituum clam pernoctavit, ac mane Isiaci celatus habitu interque sacrificulos vanae superstitionis cum se trans Tiberim ad condiscipuli sui matrem comite uno contulisset, ita latuit, ut scrutantibus qui ves-*

other similar escape to the Capitolium. The story is found in Valerius Maximus and Appian, who (with minor variations) relate how one of the proscribed of 43 BC, the *aedilis plebis* M. Volusius, evades his henchmen in the city disguised as a priest of Isis wearing a linen robe (and, according to Appian, an Anubis head) and ultimately manages to reach Brutus' camp (or, depending on the source, that of Sextus Pompeius).[39] That Volusius' escape started at a location on the hill cannot be directly inferred, but the presence of Egyptian cults there in the same period is indeed documented. There is a record of senatorial actions to remove and ban unauthorized altars for Egyptian gods on the hill, in the years 58, 53 and 48 BC.[40]

There is at least one more literary source which unambiguously associates the cult of Isis with the hill. In the Veronese *scholia*, a late source, there is a reference to an *ara Isidis desertae* on the Capitolium, located *post aedem Opis*.[41]

In 1884 Georges Lafaye postulated the existence of a temple dedicated to Isis on the Capitolium.[42] He based himself on the passages presented above, but also cited as evidence the presence of an Egyptian obelisk on the hill, standing until the beginning of the 16th century in the immediate vicinity of the church of

tigia subsecuti erant, deprehendi non potuerit. Also Tacitus (*hist.* 3,74) notes this escape, but says nothing about an Isiac dress; however, as Coarelli points out, the reference to linen is not without significance, see "Isis Capitolina", in F. Coarelli (a cura di), *Divus Vespasianus. Il Bimillenario dei Flavi*, Milano 2009, 223 n. 1. The episode is discussed at length in T. P. Wiseman, "Flavians on the Capitol", *AJAH* 3 (1978) 163–78 and K. Wellesley, "What Happened on the Capitol in December AD 69", *AJAH* 6 (1981) 166–90. Its topographical implications are in the focus of the discussion in F. P. Arata, "Un *sacellum* di età imperiale all'interno del Museo Capitolino: una proposta di identificazione", *BCACR* 98 (1997) 149 ff.

39 Val. Max. 7,3,8: M. *Volusius aedilis pl. proscriptus adsumpto Isiaci habitu per itinera viasque publicas stipem petens quisnam re vera esset occurrentis dinoscere passus non est eoque fallaciae genere tectus in M. Bruti castra pervenit. Quid illa necessitate miserius, quae magistratum populi Romani abiecto honoris praetexto alienigenae religionis obscuratum insignibus per urbem iussit incedere!*; App. *civ.* 4,47: Οὐολούσιος δὲ ἀγορανομῶν προεγράφη καὶ φίλον ὀργιαστὴν τῆς Ἴσιδος ἔχων ᾔτησε τὴν στολὴν καὶ τὰς ὀθόνας ἐνέδυ τὰς ποδήρεις καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο καὶ διῆλθεν οὕτως ὀργιάζων αὐτῷ σχήματι ἐς Πομπήιον. See M. J. Versluys (n. 54) 429, with a reference to L. Bricault, "Les Anubophores", *BSEG* 24 (2000/2001) 32 f. (*non vidi*).

40 Varro ap. Tertull. *nat.* 1,10 (58 BC, reference to Egyptian gods); Dio 40,47,4 (53 BC, reference to Egyptian gods); Dio 42,26 (48 BC, reference to Isis and Sarapis). For senatorial actions against the cult, see Takács, *Isis and Sarapis* (n. 37) 56–70.

41 Schol. Veron. *ad Aen.* 2,714.

42 G. Lafaye, *Histoire du culte des divinités d'Alexandrie Sérapis, Isis, Harpocrate et Anubis hors de l'Égypte depuis les origines jusqu'à la naissance de l'École néo-platonicienne*, Paris 1884, 216.

S. Maria in Aracoeli.[43] Since the late 19th century a host of additional material – attesting a close association between the cult of Isis and the Capitolium – has surfaced, or has otherwise been made more readily available for topographical research. This evidence consists of a series of inscriptions mentioning individuals styled as *sacerdotes Isidis Capitolinae* and, indeed, of dedications to Isis and several *aegyptiaca* recovered on the hill itself.

A travertine inscription from a Roman funerary monument for thirteen individuals, found in 1720 two miles outside Porta S. Paolo (that is, in the necropolis of Via Ostiensis) and now housed in the Museo Civico at Fiesole, certainly does contain the element *T. Sulpici T. f. Caecili*(*ani*) *sac*(*erdotis*) *Isid*(*is*) *Capitoli*(*nae*).[44] Whether or not the following name, of a female – usually rendered *Porcia T. l. Rufa sac. Sulpici Capitoli.* –, is actually indicated by the same attribute is a question we need not consider here. For the present purposes it does not really matter whether the inscription provides evidence for one or two priests with this particular designation, but it is most important to note the date, which is definitely one prior to about the middle of the first century BC. Proposed dates range from 90 to 48 BC, but Filippo Coarelli has, by means of a thorough examination of the onomastic elements and of the stylistic characteristics featured in the text, narrowed down this time span to the period 90–60 BC. Another epitaph from Rome refers to a certain [*V*]*olusius* / [*C*]*aesario* / *sacerdos Isidis* / *Capitolin*(*a*)*e*.[45] A third inscription attesting the existence of priests of Isis Capitolina, a dedication *pro salute Caesaris* from Portus, was copied hastily (*festinans*) by Rodolfo Lanciani in 1868 before it was lost; this epigraph, containing a reference to *Camurenius Veru*(*s*) *sac*(*erdos*) / *deae Isidis Cap*(*itolinae*), has been largely ignored by topographers and scholars on Isiac matters, but has recently been brought to a wider attention by Coarelli.[46]

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[43] See *infra*, p. 155 with n. 58.

[44] *CIL* I^2 1263 = VI 2247 = *ILLRP* 159; G. Paci, "Iscrizione tardo-repubblicana di Roma ritrovata al Museo di Fiesole", *Epigraphica* 38 (1976) 120–5; Takács, *Isis and Sarapis* (n. 37) 51–6. The reading of the inscription, with regard to Porcia Rufa, is discussed at length in F. Coarelli, "Iside Capitolina, Clodio e i mercanti di schiavi", in N. Bonacasa – A. di Vita (a cura di), *Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano. Studi in onore di Achille Adriani* III, Roma 1984, 465 f.

[45] *CIL* VI 2248. Preserved in the Palazzo Tittoni at Manziana, 40 km northwest of Rome, this inscription has reportedly just been stolen. Incidentally, there is a copy of it in the Museo della Civiltà Romana.

[46] *CIL* XIV 18 = R. Lanciani, "Iscrizioni portuensi", *Bull.Inst.* 1868, 228.

In addition to these inscriptions, there is crucial epigraphic evidence in the form of texts generated within a cultic context on the hill itself. First of all, there is a dedication *Isidi* / *Frugifer*(*a*)*e*, found *in situ* under Santa Maria in Aracoeli.[47] Secondly, there is a marble slab recording the dedication of a *protomen* / *Serapis ex* / *arg*(*enti*) *p. x*, found "presso il viadotto che congiungeva il palazzo di Venezia con le fabbriche di Aracoeli", that is, at a location not far from the find spot of the former dedication.[48] Right in this area has also been found a number of statuettes in Egyptianizing style;[49] other aegyptiaca recovered from the Capitoline hill include a *naophoros* and a *lucerna* decorated with a Sarapis bust.[50] It can be added that two Egyptian sphinxes documented by a 16th century fresco to have been on the hill in 1543 (the date of the painting), more precisely, "accovacciate ai lati della rampa centrale del Palazzo Senatorio", have tentatively been associated with an Isiac shrine on the Capitolium.[51]

Moreover, also numismatic evidence has been associated with the cult of Isis on the Capitolium. Nilotic themes appearing as control marks on some coins of the republican period, including the head-dress of Isis, have been interpreted as reflecting the Isiac devotions of workers attached to the Capitoline mint, near the temple of Juno Moneta.[52]

Though it is quite evident that there was worship of Isis on the Capitolium, the existence of an actual temple has met with increasing doubt in the last few decades, ever since Michel Malaise voiced his own disbelief in the early 1970s.[53]

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47 *CIL* VI 351 = L. Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Searapiacae*, Berlin 1969, no. 379.

48 *CIL* VI 30998. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire* (n. 53) 130 f. Coarelli, "Isis Capitolina", in *Divus Vespasianus* (n. 38) 222, referring to the find spot, speaks of "[le] pendici dell'*Arx*".

49 Coarelli, "Isis Capitolina", in *Divus Vespasianus* (n. 38) 222, with a reference to F. Manera – C. Mazza, *Le Collezioni egizie del Museo Nazionale Romano*, Roma 2001, 101–2 nn. 69–70.

50 L. Bricault, *Atlas de la diffusion des cultes isiaques (IVe s. av. J.-C.–IVe s. apr. J.-C.)* (MAI n. s. 23), Paris 2001, 165.

51 O. Lollio Barberi – G. Parola – M. P. Toti, *Le antichità egiziane di Roma imperiale*, Roma 1995, 200–2 no. 47 (Sfingi di Neferite e di Acori). The fresco is a wall painting in the Palazzo Senatorio, in the Sala delle Aquile. That the original Roman location of the sphinxes would have been somewhere on the Capitolium is brought forth only as a possibility (202): "Per quanto riguarda la collocazione sul suolo romano, le sculture potevano trovarsi nell'Iseo capitolino o nel vicino Iseo campense."

52 Griffiths, *The Isis-Book* (n. 36) 344. For photographic documentation of such coinage, see A. Alföldi, "Isiskult und Umsturtzbewegung im letzen Jahrhundert der römischen Republik", *Schweizer Münzblätter* 5 (1954) 27 figs. 3–5; H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* I, London 1910, nos. 1978, 3807 and Takács, *Isis and Sarapis* (n. 37) 34–51.

53 M. Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie* (EPRO

Scholars such as Marcel Le Glay, Paul Meyboom and Miguel John Versluys have followed suit, proposing that the cult may have been of a private character and (or) associated with a group of altars, rather than with a monumental structure.[54] No effort will be made here to relate the particulars of the debate that has ensued between, on the one hand, these sceptics, and on the other, the defenders of Lafaye's view. Over the years, its chief champion has been Filippo Coarelli, who has characterized Malaise's rejection of a Capitoline Iseum as an instance of "ipercritica".[55] However, Coarelli is not alone in resisting such an elimination. Several recent studies of Isis' cult in Rome, such as those by Katja Lembke and Serena Ensoli, conclude that there was indeed an official, monumental sanctuary dedicated to Isis on the Capitolium as early as 100 BC.[56] Moreover, topographers continue to debate the exact location of such a temple, or its various constituent parts.[57]

21), Leiden 1972, 184–7.

[54] M. Le Glay, "Sur l'implantation des sanctuaires orientaux à Rome", in *L'Urbs: Espace urbain et histoire (Ier siècle av. J.-C.-IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.). Actes du colloque international organisé par le Centre national de la recherche scientifique et l'École française de Rome (Rome, 8–12 mai 1985)*, Rome 1987, 546 ff. ; P. G. P. Meyboom, *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina. Early Evidence of Egyptian Religion in Italy*, Leiden 1995, 85; M. J. Versluys, "Isis Capitolina and the Egyptian Cults in Late Republican Rome", in L. Bricault (ed.), *Isis en Occident. Actes du IIème colloque international sur les études isiaques, Lyon III, 16–17 mai 2002*, Lyon 2004, 421–48.

[55] F. Coarelli, "I monumenti dei culti orientali in Roma. Questioni topografiche e cronologiche", in U. Bianchi – M. J. Vermaseren (a cura di), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano. Atti del colloquio internazionale su "La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano", Roma 24–28 settembre 1979*, Leiden 1982, 59. See also Id., "Isis Capitolina", *LTUR* III (n. 6), Roma 1996, 112–3 and "Isis Capitolina", in F. Coarelli (a cura di), *Divus Vespasianus. Il Bimillenario dei Flavi*, Milano 2009.

[56] K. Lembke, *Das Iseum Campense in Rom. Studie über den Isiskult unter Domitian*, Heidelberg 1994, 85; S. Ensoli, "I santuari isiaci a Roma e i contesti non cultuali: religione pubblica, devozioni private e impiego ideologico del culto", in E. A. Arslan (a cura di), *Iside: il mito, il mistero, la magia*, Milano 1997, 312; Ead., "I santuari di Iside e Serapide a Roma e la resistenza pagana in età tardoantica", in S. Ensoli – E. La Rocca (a cura di), *Aurea Roma. Dalla città pagana alla città cristiana*, Roma 2000, 268. The existence of a temple of Isis is taken for granted also by L. Vidman, "Isis und Sarapis", in M. J. Vermaseren (Hrsg.), *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich*, Leiden 1981, 134. See also Takács, *Isis and Sarapis* (n. 37) 67.

[57] Arata, "Un *sacellum* di età imperiale" (n. 38) 129–62 and, above all, Pier Luigi Tucci (see n. 63).

Much of the skepticism and rethinking concerning a Capitoline Iseum has been prompted by a proposed elimination from the hill of the aforementioned obelisk. This obelisk, now in the Villa Celimontana (Via della Navicella) and known as the Obelisco Mattei, is visible in its Capitoline location in some 16th century drawings.[58] However, it has been questioned as to whether this really was its original Roman location. It has been suggested that the obelisk was originally actually a feature of the *Iseum Campense* and was moved to the Capitolium only in the Middle Ages, either in the 13th century, as a result of a papal commission, or in the middle of the following century during the ascendancy of Cola di Rienzo.[59] In Versluys' mind this provenance has been convincingly proven,[60] but Coarelli is clearly right in rejecting the widespread belief that the case is closed. The fragment inserted in one of the buildings surrounding Piazza San Macuto, identified by Iversen as a missing part of the Mattei obelisk, can in fact belong to any of the several obelisks known to have been erected in the area of the Iseum in the Campus Martius.[61] There must indeed be doubts as long as scholars are unable to cite hard evidence for a translocation of the obelisk.[62]

The scholarly discussion concerning the Capitoline cult of Isis is likely to continue, as there is now new fuel for debate. Pier Luigi Tucci, who has recently made some very important studies analyzing the topographical data pertaining to the hill, boldly identifies existing structures as belonging to an Iseum. A wall found in 1949 close to the lateral entrance to S. Maria in Aracoeli presents certain features, a series of "risalti semicircolari", which according to him correspond closely to specific extant structures in the remains of one of the principal Isiac

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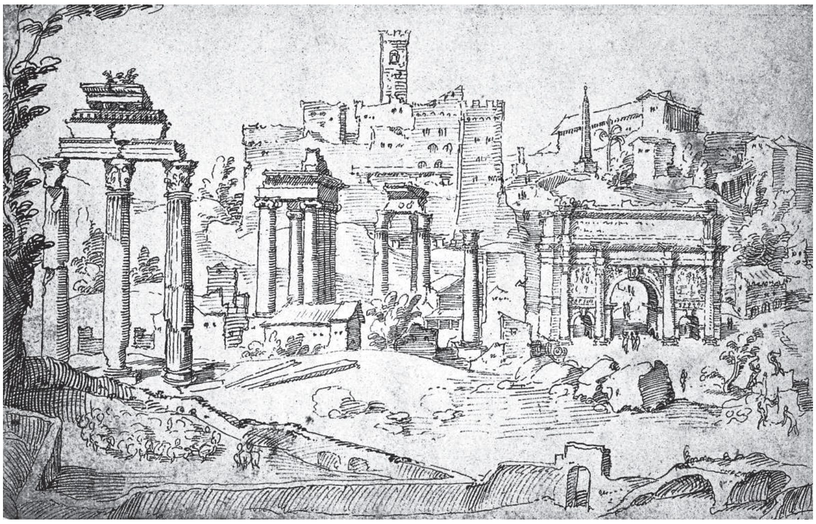
[58] See, in particular, Maarten van Heemskerck's (1498–1574) representation of the ruins of the Forum Romanum against the backdrop of the Capitolium and, for a closer view featuring many details, his representation of the view from the Capitolium towards the Colosseum: Ch. Hülsen – H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck im königlichen Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin* I. *Tafeln*, Berlin 1913, pl. 7 (Fol. 6 r.) and pl. 12 (Fol. 11 r.).

[59] C. D'Onofrio, *Gli obelischi di Roma*, Roma 1965, 214 f.; K. Noehles, "Die Kunst der Kosmaten und die Idee der *Renovatio Romae*", in G. Fiensch – M. Imdahl (Hrsgg.), *Festschrift Werner Hager*, Recklinghausen 1966, 18 ff.; E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile* I. *The Obelisks of Rome*, Copenhagen 1968, 106–9; A. Roullet, *The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome*, Leiden 1972, 9; K. Lembke, *Das Iseum Campense in Rom. Studie über den Isiskult unter Domitian*, Heidelberg 1994, 204–6.

[60] Versluys (n. 54) 422.

[61] Coarelli, "Isis Capitolina", in *Divus Vespasianus* (n. 38) 222 f.

[62] J.-C. Grenier, the author of the entry on the obelisc in the standard lexicon on Roman topography, just notes that there are "[d]eux hypothèses sur son emplacement antique", see "Obeliscus Capitolinus", *LTUR* III (n. 6), Roma 1996, 356.



Heemskerck (Hülsen – Egger), Pl. 7 (Fol. 6 r.)

shrines of the Classical World, that is, none other than the temple at Philae in Upper Egypt. According to Tucci the predecessor of the current Aracoeli church has been built right on top of the Iseum, a circumstance which he interprets as a possible instance of conversion of the pagan cult to worship of the Madonna.[63] Coarelli, noting that there are many analogous cases of "sovrapposizione" of the cult of Mary on that of Isis, voluntarily embraces Tucci's proposals,[64] but it remains to be seen what the reactions will be of the scholars who have entertained opposite views.

An *alienigena religio* practised close to the *Arx*, and next door to Bellona

For my own agenda in the present paper, it suffices to conclude that there is abundant evidence attesting that the cult of the Egyptian goddess was practiced on the Capitolium and, moreover, that this was done in the immediate vicinity of the *Arx*. Neither this particular location nor its relationship with the *pomerium* has been raised as an issue in the scholarly discussion. Söldner comfortably speaks

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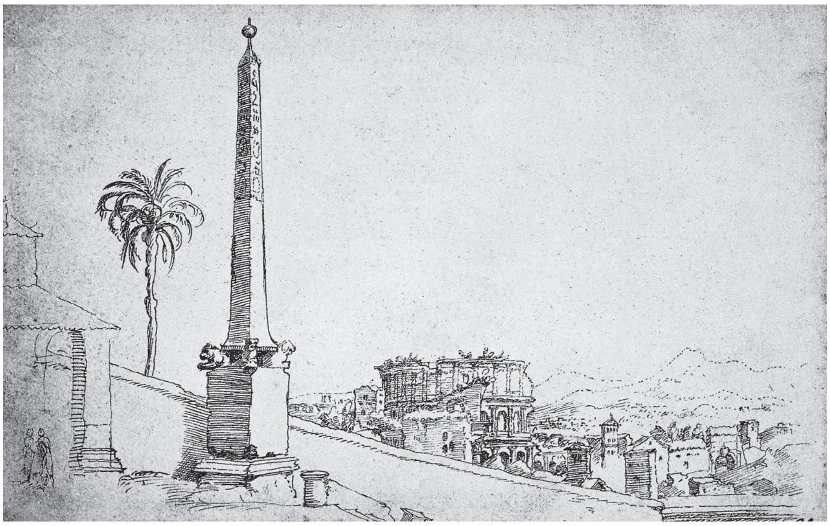
63 P. L. Tucci, "L'*Arx Capitolina*: tra mito e realtà", in L. Haselberger – J. Humphrey (eds.), *Imaging Ancient Rome: Documentation – Visualisation – Imagination. Proceedings of the Third Williams Symposium on Classical Architecture held at the American Academy in Rome, the British School at Rome, and the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome, May 20–23 2004* (JRA Suppl. 61), Portsmouth, RI 2006, 66 ff.

64 Coarelli, "Isis Capitolina", in *Divus Vespasianus* (n. 38) 223.



Heemskerck (Hülsen – Egger), Pl. 12 (Fol. 11 r.)

of "das innerpomeriale Heiligtum der Isis Capitolina" without noting that there is possibly a problem to be dealt with in this very statement.[65] That is, if the shrine, whatever it was, really was situated inside the pomerial perimeter. True, the notions originally associated with the *pomerium* were changing by the early imperial period; a temple was dedicated to Mars Ultor in the Forum Augusti in 2 BC. However, if we accept that the cult of Isis Capitolina was established in the early first century BC, then in my opinion we have a real problem to consider.

That there is an obvious problem with regard to the location of an Isiac shrine on the Capitolium, in the period in question has been recognized also by Versluys. However, he sees no problem in the supposed situation within the *pomerium*, duly referring to Adam Ziolkowski and Eric Orlin, both of whom have questioned the prevailing opinion according to which there was "pomerial rule", which did not permit the introduction of foreign cults inside the *pomerium* before the very end of the Republic. One of his reasons for postulating a private cult, rather than "an impressive public sanctuary for a foreign, exotic goddess like Isis", is the conspicuity afforded by the position on the hill.[66]

In my opinion there are cogent reasons to assume that the cult of Isis Capitolina was practised *extra pomerium* in the republican period. First of all, though

[65] M. Söldner, "Ägyptische Bildmotive im augusteischen Rom. Ein Phänomen im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Religion und Kunst", in H. Felber – S. Pfisterer-Haas (Hrsg.), *Ägypter – Griechen – Römer. Begegnung der Kulturen* (Kanobos 1), Leipzig 1999, 111.

[66] Versluys (n. 54) 442 f.; A. Ziolkowski, *The Temples of Mid-Republican Rome and their Historical and Topographical Context*, Rome 1992, 266–79; E. Orlin, "Foreign Cults in Republican Rome: Rethinking the Pomerial Rule", *MAAR* 47 (2002) 1–18.

not having gone through all of the evidence, I suspect that observations which seem to contradict the existence of a "pomerial rule" (as it has been called) partly derive from a failure to securely locate Roman temples in relation to the pomerial boundary. For instance, as we have just seen here, many scholars take for granted that Capitolium was inside the *pomerium*.[67] Secondly, as has also been shown, there is ample evidence attesting that the Romans did distinguish between domestic and, indeed, foreign creeds. I fully agree with Orlin that the very idea of a "foreign cult" in a Roman context can be problematic, as it is not always clear whether such a term should be used only with regard to cults from outside Italy, from outside Latium, or even all cults from outside Rome herself.[68] However, even if clear-cut and unequivocal criteria can be hard to define, it suffices to observe and recognize that certain cults were regarded as alien by the Romans.[69] A cult expressly characterized as "foreign", in a Roman source, was the worship of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. In 241 BC one of the consuls, Q. Lutatius Cerco, was prohibited by the Senate from consulting the lots of Fortuna at Praeneste, because it was deemed appropriate that the State be administered with ancestral auspices, and not foreign ones.[70] According to tradition, the cult of Fortuna Primigenia was introduced to Rome already in the regal period, by Servius Tullius.[71] Considering her status, attested explicitly several hundred years later, as a foreign deity, it is interesting to note that her temple was, indeed, situated on the Capitolium.[72]

It is safe to assume that the Isiac cult was considered foreign enough in the early first century BC, before it at some point was received into the Roman mainstream. Yet, still Valerius Maximus, writing under Tiberius about events that took place in the 50s BC, speaks of an *alienigena religio* referring to the Egyptian creed.[73] It should also, with regard to the role of the *pomerium*, be remembered that it is *expressis verbis* documented that Octavian banned Egyptian rites within this boundary in 28 BC. Cassius Dio states that he did not allow them to be cel-

[67] Söldner (n. 65) 111.
[68] Orlin (n. 66).
[69] See Fest. 268 L s.v. *peregrina sacra*.
[70] Val. Max. 1,3,2.
[71] Plut. *fort. Rom.* 10, *quaest. Rom.* 74.
[72] See also *CIL* XIV 2852 = *ILS* 3696: *tu, quae Tarpeio coleris vicina Tonanti*. For the recent identification of the Capitoline temple of Fortuna Primigenia, see P. Mazzei, "L'area archeologica della Protomoteca in Campidoglio: ricognizione preliminare e lettura della documentazione attuale come premessa al rilievo delle strutture", *BCAR* 108 (2007) 145–93, esp. 167–70.
[73] Val. Max. 7,3,8. The passage is provided *in extenso* above n. 39.

ebrated inside the *pomerium*, but that he did make provision for the temples of the Egyptian deities; those which had been built by private individuals he ordered their sons and descendants, if any survived, to repair, and the rest he restored himself.[74] In my opinion, this piece of evidence clearly suggests that the processions of the Egyptians gods occasionally had strayed into the city, but that all of their temples were situated outside the pomerial perimeter. Otherwise Octavian would simply not have ordered them to be restored; and there is no allusion to any destruction of temples.

I believe that my hypothesis postulating extrapomerial locations for the practice of the Egyptian cults can be further corroborated by the observation that there is documentation of a shrine of the war-deity Bellona (Ἐνυεῖόν τι) in the immediate vicinity of the Capitoline worship place of Isis and Sarapis. Cassius Dio reports that this was unintentionally destroyed by the magistrates who took action against the shrine of the Egyptian deities in 48 BC.[75] I also note the existence of a funerary inscription, where the deceased, L. Cornelius Ianuarius, is styled as a *fanaticus ab Isis Serapis / ab aedem Bellone Rufiliae*.[76] Whether or not this is actually a reference to the same, rebuilt shrine, is of course impossible to determine, but I do think it constitutes additional evidence attesting that Isis and Sarapis were worshipped at locations which at least originally were situated outside the *pomerium*. No one would, I believe, think of temples of war-deities as being situated anywhere else than outside the pomerial boundary.

Conclusion

It is customary to think of the Capitoline hill as being included within the perimeter of the *pomerium*, the sacred city-boundary. In this paper arguments have been advanced to suggest that such a view is actually untenable, and that a significant part of the hill was augurally associated with the Campus Martius, grounds which were consecrated to the god Mars.

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74 Dio 53,2,4: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ τὰ Αἰγύπτια οὐκ ἐσεδέξατο εἴσω τοῦ πωμηρίου, τῶν δὲ δὴ ναῶν πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσατο, τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ὑπ᾽ ἰδιωτῶν τινων γεγενημένους τοῖς τε παισὶν αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις, εἴγε τινὲς περιῆσαν, ἐπισκευάσαι ἐκέλευσε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς αὐτὸς ἀνεκτήσατο. See, à propos this measure, E. M. Orlin, "Octavian and Egyptian Cults. Redrawing the Boundaries of Romanness", *AJPh* 129 (2008) 231–53.

75 Dio 42,26,2.

76 *CIL* VI 2234 = *ILS* 4181a.

The military functions of the *Arx*, the citadel of the city, constitute alone a strong reason for postulating an extra-pomerial location for that particular area. That this area extended well beyond the fortifications of this citadel, and that it was large enough to contain big crowds is suggested by the documentation of popular assemblies convening there. That these were held *extra pomerium* is suggested by the fact that they had been summoned to deal with extra-pomerial matters. To these two arguments, which I have presented also in earlier studies, were added considerations about the implications of the presence of the cult of Isis on the Capitolium. This exotic foreign cult, expressly characterized as *alienigena*, must have been practiced outside the sacred city-boundary. That all the Roman temples of Isis, still in the 20s BC, were situated outside the *pomerium* is clear from an important piece of evidence pertaining to Octavian's religious policy; if the cult of Isis Capitolina was associated with a temple, which must be deemed very probable, it simply had to be on the outside. An extrapomerial location is also evident from its attested close vicinity to the shrine of the goddess Bellona, who was a war-deity. Finally, it was suggested that also the Capitoline temple dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia indicates that parts of the hill were not included within the perimeter of the sacred city-boundary; though having been brought to Rome already in the regal period, the cult of the Praenestine goddess was regarded as foreign still at the end of the Second Punic War.

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ANALECTA EPIGRAPHICA

Heikki Solin

CCLII. NEUE COGNOMINA

Wieder eine neue Auslese.[1]

!*Absentius*: Kajanto 289 mit einem Beleg, der aber ausscheiden muss, da der Text von Aug. *c. Petil*. 1, 1 anders auszulegen ist (s. *PCBE* 1: *Afrique* 29). Ferner ist der Name kürzlich angenommen worden für *AE* 2006, 1787 (Tituli, prov. proc., 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Ant(onius) Absuntius* unter der Annahme eines Schreibfehlers für *Absent*-. Da der Name *Absentius* sonst nicht mit Sicherheit bezeugt ist, bleibt auch der neue Beleg recht unsicher. An sich wäre *Absentius* morphologisch im 3. Jh. wohl möglich und als Ableitung aus dem in Afrika einigermaßen belegten *Absens* erklärlich (nach Kajantos Rechnungen stammen von den sechs Belegen nicht weniger als vier aus Afrika).

Aburianus: Kajanto 139 mit 2 Belegen (davon einmal *Aburr*-). Dazu *AE* 2000, 386 (Nursia, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *P. Cutio P. f. T. n. Aburiano, VIIIvir(o)*, etc.; ob identisch mit *CIL* VI 3517, wie die Erstherausgeber meinen? – Dagegen muss ausscheiden der in *Rep*.[2] 497 angeführte Beleg als Cognomen des Konsuls 123 n. Chr., der zweifellos *Aburnianus* hieß (s. den folgenden Eintrag).

Aburnianus: Kajanto 139 mit einem Beleg, einem Senatorensohn C. Sentius A. gehörig (120 n. Chr.). Dazu *Cn. Sentius A*., cos. 123 n. Chr., wohl Vater des vorigen (*RMD* I 21 vgl. *PIR*[2] S 387).[2]

Acrianus: H. Solin, in *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero romano. Atti del colloquio internazionale su La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero romano, Roma 24–28 settembre 1979* (EPRO 92), Leiden 1982, 135 = Bricault, *RICIS* 501/127g (Wandinschrift unter S. Sabina in Rom, Personen-

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[1] Mein herzlicher Dank geht an Peter Kruschwitz, der meinen Text einer sprachlichen Durchsicht unterzogen hat, ferner an Olli Salomies, der den Text durchgelesen und mit wertvollen Anmerkungen versehen hat.

[2] Geschrieben steht im Diplom ABVRIANVS, es muss aber ABVRNIANVS verstanden werden.

liste, Ende 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Wenn so zu lesen ist, dann zum Gentilnamen *Acrius*, der nicht sehr gebräuchlich war, so dass ein bisheriges Fehlen von *Acrianus* verständlich ist. Oder ist *Agrianus* zu verstehen (auch dieses Cognomen ist selten; vgl. gleich unten)? Zuletzt fragt man sich, ob der Name griechisch zu deuten sei (aber im Griechischen sind keine Belege eines solchen Namens vorhanden). [Zu *Acrianus* schon *Arctos* 38 (2004) 163.]

Aequa: Kajanto 255 mit fünf Belegen (und sieben für den Männernamen *Aequus*). Dazu *AE* 1994, 521 (Vibinum, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Nummia Equae* (sic); 2006, 605 (Emerita) *Equa*. Im Osten *AE* 1997, 1513 (Satala in Kappadokien, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *[Iuli?]a Aequa*.[3]

Aesontius: *AAA* 5 (1974) 385 = *AE* 1994, 596 (Aquileia, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *have, Esonti*, also Signum, zum Namen des Flusses *Aesontius* gebildet, der auch als Flussgott verehrt wurde.[4]

Agriana: *CIL* VIII 26278 *[---]utia Honorata Agriana ... Munifici filia* (fehlt sowohl im Cognomina- als auch im geographischen Index von *CIL* VIII, wäre aber an erster Stelle als ein zweites Cognomen der Frau zu bewerten, auch angesichts der Verdichtung der Belege auf Afrika, ohne die Möglichkeit ganz auszuschließen, dass hier ein Ethnikon vorliegt). Zu *Agrianus* vgl. den nächsten Eintrag.

Agrianus: Kajanto 139 mit zwei Belegen (von denen ein senatorisch, beide aus Afrika). Dazu *AE* 1987, 1104 = *IAM* Suppl. 880 (Volubilis) *Iulius Agrianus, procurator Aug. n.* möglicherweise zwischen 217/218 und 235 (Lesung etwas unsicher).[5] Vgl. auch oben zu *Acrianus*.

Aquinius: *AE* 1957, 120 (Clupea, prov. proc., christl., spät) Eine Weiterbildung von *Aquinus* oder vom Stadtnamen mit dem Suffix *-ius*.

Aquinus: Kajanto 184 mit zwei Belegen außerhalb des Senatorenstandes. *Arctos* 40 (2006) 132. Dazu noch *AE* 2006, 665 (Hisp. cit., 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Q. Iulius [- f.] Aquinus*, Soldat der legio X gemina; *IGLS* 813 (Antiochia) *Q. Cornelius Aquinus trib. mil. leg. VI Ferr*.

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3 Die Ergänzung des Gentilnamens zu *Iulia* ist die des Erstherausgebers Mitford, veranlasst wohl durch den des Ehemannes, der *P. Iul(ius) Hylas* hieß. Es ist wahr, das in Satala *Iulius* verbreitet war, doch bleibt die Ergänzung notwendigerweise unsicher.

4 Zum Flussnamen V. Vedaldi Iasbez, *La* Venetia *orientale e l'*Histria. *Le fonti letterarie greche e latine fino alla caduta dell'Impero romano d'Occidente* (Studi e ricerche sulla Gallia Cisalpina 5), Roma 1994, 109–113. Zum Signum C. Zaccaria, in *Orbis antiquus. Studia in honorem Ioannis Pisonis*, Cluj-Napoca 2004, 173f.

5 Zur Person vgl. A. Magioncalda, *AfrRom* 16 (2006) 1743f., 1753.

Argentarius: Kajanto 321 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 854 (Liternum, Ende 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *L. Flavius Argentarius Pollio Maximus*, Augustalis; *SEG* LV 1515 = *AE* 2005, 1550 (Elaiussa Sebaste in Kilikien) Ἀργεντάρις. Wie bekannt, war *Argentarius* sowohl als Gentile wie als Cognomen in Gebrauch; hier hat es als alleinstehend die Funktion des Cognomens und muss als solches bewertet werden, zumal alle anderen im letsteren Text genannten Personen ein "echtes" Cognomen führen.

Argutio: Kajanto 249 mit vier Belegen (davon zwei christl.). Dazu *AE* 1903, 296 (Viminacium, im Zusammenhang der legio VII) *Argutio* (der Nom. scheint festzustehen); 2006, 1089*b* (Sirmium).[6]

Aviana: Kajanto 141 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2002, 803 (Hisp. cit.) *Aemilia Aviana* (Hisp. cit., Lesung etwas unsicher); *HEp* 2, 185, 4 (Clunia, Graffito auf Terra sigillata) *Aviane*(?).

Avianus: Kajanto 141 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2006, 676 § 4 (Caesaraugusta); *AE* 1969/70, 633 II, 15 (Nicopolis in Ägypten, 157 n. Chr.) *Flavi Aviani*, centurio der legio II Traiana Fortis.

Belliger: Kajanto 258 mit einem Beleg aus Norditalien. Dazu *AE* 2006, 837 (Gallia Belgica, etwa 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Namen auf *Bell-* sind üblich im Keltischen (vgl. etwa K. H. Schmidt, Die Komposition in gallischen Personennamen, *ZCPh* 26 [1957] 146f); man fragt sich also, ob Adaptation epichorischen Namenguts (auch in dem norditalienischen Beleg) vorliegen kann.

Brumasius: Kajanto 218 mit drei christlichen Belegen. Der Name kommt aber auch in heidnischen Urkunden vor: *CIL* VI 3722*a* (wahrscheinlich Weihung an Mithras);[7] *AE* 1904, 20 (Zucchabar in Mauret. Caes.) *Aemil(ius) Brumasius mil. leg. III Aug.*; 1909, 11*a* (Numidien, dem Text haftet an sich nichts Christliches an). Weitere christliche Belege: *ICUR* 12275. 23115. *IChrMactar* X 2.

Caesario: Kajanto 178 mit Caesars und Kleopatras Sohn, einem Fall, der außerhalb den normalen Namengebungsregeln steht. Der Name kann aber auch aus dem normalen Leben belegt werden: *CIL* VI 2248 = I^2 986 (doch ist die Inschrift kaum republikanisch, sondern muss wohl etwa ins 1. Jh. n. Chr. datiert werden) *[- V]olusius [C]aesario*; *HEp* 10, 834 *Talavi Caesarionis*. Zur Bildung vgl. *Anal. epigr*. 398.

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[6] Auch einer der von Kajanto angeführten Belege stammt aus Sirmium, für die Identität gibt es keine Beweise: in *AE* 2006 ... *vivatis Argutio fel[iciter?]* ist der Kontext nicht ganz eindeutig (es könnte sich auch um den Dativ von *Argutius* [zu diesem Namen *Rep*. 295] handeln, was an sich durchaus möglich ist, angesichts der Datierung des Textes, der kaum vor dem 3. Jh. geschrieben sein kann); und der andere Beleg, *CIL* III 10687 nennt *Fl. Argutio fic(tor)*.

[7] So auch M. J. Vermaseren, *CIMRM* 567.

Celsiana: Kajanto 230 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *ICUR* 12924; *AE* 2006, 1481 (Ancyra, 1.–2. Jh.), Freigeborene, der Mann gehört zur munizipalen Führungsschicht; J. R. S. Sterrett, *An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor*, Boston 1888, 247 Nr. 278 (Kappadokien) Αὐρηλία. Üblicher ist der Männername *Celsianus*, zehnmal bei Kajanto registriert (dazu noch *Arctos* 39 [2005] 163.

Cerva: Kajanto 327 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *ICUR* 6286 vgl. *AE* 2006, 213. 22380 *Cerba*; *HEp* 7, 425 (Carthago Nova) *Cerve coniugi*; *ILJug* 374 (Celeia, 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

!***Cerva*** Männername: *ILJug* 373 (Celeia) *C. Sp(ectatio) Cerve f(ilio)*. Der Sexus dürfte feststehen, die Erklärung ist aber schwierig. In der lateinischen Anthroponymie gibt es eine Anzahl von Männernamen auf *-a*, die aus Adjektiven der zweiten und ersten Deklination gebildet worden sind,[8] mir ist aber kein einziges sicheres Beispiel bekannt, dass von einem Tiernamen neben einem bestehenden Frauencognomen noch ein gleichlautender Männername vorhanden wäre, zumal der maskuline Tiername selbst metonymisch auch als Personenname üblicherweise in Gebrauch war.[9] Bei *Cerva* könnte man höchstens an eine okkasionelle Augenblicksbildung denken. Oder an aber man könnte eine epichorische Bildung in Anspruch nehmen; die Namen *Cerv-* sind ja üblich in den Donauprovinzen.

Cervicla Männername: *Suppl. It*. 10 Hasta 2 (= *CIL* V 7460). Vom Appellativ *cervicula*, das hier metonymisch als Personenname gebraucht wird. Feminine Appellativa auf *-cula* können zu Männernamen werden, so etwa *Cicatricula, Cicercula* und andere.

Cerviola: Kajanto 167 mit einem Beleg.[10] Dazu *ICUR* 14121 (schon in *Rep*.[2] 498). 23496 *Cerbiola*. – Kajanto stellt den Namen zum Gentilicium *Cervius*, ich würde ihn eher in die Sippe *cervus* einreihen.

Cervola: Kajanto 327 mit sieben heidnischen (in *CIL* VI 14694 die Form *Cervula*) Belegen aus *CIL* und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 14122 *Cerbula*; *AE* 1980, 421 (Sassina) *Veturia Cervola*, Freigelassene; *ILJug*. 872 (Nedinum, Dalmatien) *Cervola*; 931 (Dalmatien) *[C]ervola* (die Ergänzung scheint sicher).

Cervolus: Kajanto 327 mit einem Beleg aus *CIL* (muss V 2858 sein). Dazu ein christlicher Beleg: *CIL* VIII 8709 = 20489 *Cerbulu*.

Cervus: Kajanto 327 mit zwei sicheren Belegen (der aus *CIL* II 6090 bleibt unsicher). Dazu *CIL* VI 14684 *Cervi* (in einem Fragment; auch rechts könnte etwas ergänzt werden); *ICUR* 14123 (*Cerbus*).

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8 S. Kajanto 105–7.

9 Zu einem vermeintlichen Fall H. Solin, *ZPE* 171 (2009) 274f.

10 Der von Kajanto aus Marini Vat. 9072 p. 315 angeführte Beleg jetzt *ICUR* 27049.

Clementia: Kajanto 263 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *ILJug* 1856 (Risinium in Dalmatien).

Clementius: Kajanto 263 mit vier Belegen (davon ein christl.). Dazu *AE* 2006, 697 (Tituli, prov. proc., 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

Coeliana: Kajanto 144 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2006, 683 = *HEp* 11, 330 (Carthago Nova, severisch) *Memmiae Coeliane*.

Comitas: Kajanto 256 mit einem (späten und östlichen) Beleg. *Rep.*[2] 498 (spätantike Beamte). *Arctos* 38 (2004) 168 (dort zur Erklärung des Namens). 39 (2005) 163. Der Name ist in der späteren Kaiserzeit besonders im Osten gut belegt; den oben angeführten Belegen füge hinzu etwa *AE* 2006, 1542 (Zela in Kappadokien, 5.–6. Jh.) Κομιτᾶς χαρτουλάριος.

Comitas Frauenname: *AE* 1976 (Saldae in Mauret. Sitif.) *d. m. s. Comitatis; vernacula p(ia) v(ixit) a(nnis) VIII*. Dass ein Frauenname vorliegt, dürfte feststehen. Der Name muss von dem vorigen getrennt und zu *comitas* gestellt werden.

Κομμοδία: *AE* 2006, 1868 (wahrscheinlich aus Mysien, 272/3 n. Chr.) Κομοδία; *SEG* VII 461 (Dura-Europos) ebenfalls Κομοδία. Ein neuer Name aus der Sippe *Commodus* (hier wie so oft im griechischen Osten nur mit einem *m* geschrieben); der entsprechende Männername *Commodius* ist bisher nicht belegt.

Commodiana: Kajanto 256 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 25078 *Comod-*; *IK* 10, 2 *Iznik* 1237 (3. Jh. n. Chr.) Αὐρηλία Κομοδιανή (zur Schreibung mit einem *-m-* vgl. oben zum vorigen Eintrag).

Commodianus: Kajanto 256. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 169. 42 (2008) 218. Dazu noch *CIL* VI 2010 II, 24 *Mindius Commodianus* Priester der Domus Augusta, aus Commodus' Zeit;[11] *ICUR* 26492b *M. Aur(elius) Commodianus Aspasius*; *NSc* 1900, 659 = *AE* 1901, 166 (Sizilien) *ex praedis M. Aureli Commodiani*; *SEG* LV 1383 (Nicomedia, 214 n. Chr.) Αὐρήλιος Ἀντίοχος Κομμοδιανός; *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 6 Αὐρήλ(ιος) Κομμοδιανός; *IGRR* I 1216 (Thebai in Ägypten, ca. 191 n. Chr.) Κλ(αύδιος) Κομμοδιανός Centurio der legio II Traiana.

Costa: Kajanto 226. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 218. Dazu *AE* 2002, 1150 *L. Cossutius L. f. Sab. Costa tr. mil. leg. XV Apol*.

Crassipes: Kajanto 241 Cognomen der republikanischen Furii. Dazu *AE* 1998, 1620 *Iulius Crassipes* Statthalter von Thrakien 138 n. Chr;[12] *AE* 1995, 1711 (Theveste) *L. Castric(ius) Cr[assi]pes* (die Ergänzung scheint ansprechend).

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[11] Der von Vidman im Cognominaindex angeführte Beleg aus *CIL* VI 632 ist kein eigentliches Cognomen, sondern bezeichnet jemanden, der irgendetwas mit Commodus zu tun hatte.

[12] Vgl. B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi praesidum*. Vol. I ex parte retractatum, Göteborg 2009, 63.

Docta: Kajanto 251 mit einem Beleg aus *CIL*; doch bietet *CIL* deren zwei: VI 15415 und XI 7822. Dazu noch *CIL* II^2 5, 1220 *Iulia Docta* (der Stein hat DOCIA, die Änderung ist ansprechend).

Docticius: Kajanto 251 mit einem Beleg (*clarissimus iuvenis*, 471/474 n.Chr.). Dazu *CIG* 3943 = *I. Laodikeia am Lykos* 52 (3. Jh. n. Chr.?).

Doctus: Kajanto 251 mit fünf Belegen aus *CIL*. Hinzugefügt werden kann noch *CIL* XIV 4199 *Fundilia C. f. Rufa, patrona Docti*, vielleicht so zu erklären, dass ein Mann namens *Doctus* den Stein seiner Patronin geweiht hat.[13]

!*Exsuper*: Kajanto 277 mit einem etwas unsicheren Beleg. Jetzt sichergestellt durch *CIL* V 5328 (Comum) *C. Calpurnius Exuper* und *AE* 2006, 842 (Gallia Belgica) *Exsuper Mansueti f.*, die Familie war also in der Namengebung romanisiert.[14]

Exsupera: *AE* 1982, 707 (Lugudunum, 2./3. Jh.) *coniugi carissime Vere Exupere*. Wenn nicht *Exuperia* vorliegt.

Exsuperans: Kajanto 277 mit drei afrikanischen Belegen. Dazu *Epigraphica* 1 (1939) 128, Nr. 6, 10 (Rom, severisch); *AE* 1958, 226 (Solva) *Sabinio Exuperanti*; *ILLPRON* 618 (Virunum) *[---]s Exuperans*; *AE* 1928, 36 (Aquae Flavianae, Numidien, Caracalla) *Aurellius E.*; 1972, 747 (Sitifis) *M. Aurel(ius) Exuperas*; 2001, 2104 (Lambaesis) *Aur. Exupera[n]s*.

Exsuperans Frauenname: *ILAlg* II 7134 (Sila) *Iulia Exupe[r]ans*.

Felicior: Kajanto 273 mit sieben Belegen (von denen vier aus Afrika). Dazu *CIL* VI 35250 *[Fe]licior* (so in der Ergänzung von Vidman im Cognominaindex S. 261); *Arctos* 43 (2009) 187 (Rom); *HEp* 14, 213; *ILAfr* 440 (Aquae Traianae); *ILAlg* I 3193. 3194 (Theveste); *AE* 1989, 793 (Sufetula). Unbestimmter Herkunft *RMD* 148 (109 n. Chr.) *Cornelius Felicior* (ritterlicher Befehlshaber).

Fidelitas: *AE* 2006, 1047 (Brigetio, severisch) *Noviae Fidelitati*, Frau eines Veteranen der legio I Adiutrix.

Fortianus: *AE* 1982, 707 (Lugudunum, 2./3. Jh.) *Fortianus Paternus*. Da *Fortianus* kaum eine Gentiliciumbildung darstellt, hat der Mann zwei Cognomina geführt, ein Phänomen, das in Gallien oft begegnet.

Furnianus: *Rep.* 336 mit einem Beleg aus Afrika. Dazu *AE* 2006, 1333 (Philippi, 1. Jh. n. Chr.), Sohn eines *praefectus IIviralis quinquennalis*.

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[13] Sein Name fehlt im Cognominaindex des *CIL* XIV, so dass dieser Beleg in Kajantos Berechnungen kaum mit inbegriffen ist.

[14] Formen, die auf *Exsuperus* zurückgeführt worden sind, lassen sich normalerweise vorzüglich zu *Exsuperius* stellen, so die zwei stadtrömischen Belege *CIL* VI 31855 und 37538, die im Cognominaindex von Vidman unter *Exsuperus* stehen (außerdem weist der erstere den Genetiv *Exsuperi* auf).

Gaiana: Kajanto 172. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 173. 39 (2005) 169. 42 (2008) 221 mit östlichen Belegen. Ein weiterer östlicher Beleg *SEG* LV 1359 = *AE* 2006, 1390 (Nikaia in Bithynien, 3. Jh. n. Chr.).

!*Galeo*: Kajanto 342 mit sieben Belegen (von denen drei Senatoren gehören, die aber *Galeo* formell als Praenomen führen, wozu vgl. unten). Drei von den Nichtsenatoren gehörigen Belegen (nur *CIL* X 4658 gehört also einem anderen) beziehen sich aber auf denselben M. Tuccius L. f. Tro. Galeo, den möglicherweise aus Fabrateria Nova stammenden Ölamphorenfabrikanten spätrepublikanischer Zeit.[15] Dagegen kommen hinzu eine unveröffentlichte Inschrift aus Capua (oder Cales, vgl. *CIL* X 4658?); *Suppl. It*. 18 Suasa 1 (ca. 4–14 n. Chr.) *[--- Ca]m(ilia) Galeo, tribunus militum*, wahrscheinlich dem Ritterstand gehörig; *I. Termini Imerese* 15 (2. Jh.n. Chr.) *[---]ius Q. f. Qui. Galeo* aus der lokalen Führungsschicht. *Galeo* führen ferner als Praenomen die aus Assisi stammenden Tettieni (der Suffektkonsul 76 n. Chr. *PIR*² T 132 und sein Adoptivsohn E 83), ein Praenomen, das (gegen alle normale Gewohnheit) an ihre Freigelassenen oder die Freigelassenen ihrer Nachkommen übertragen wurde: *CIL* VI 18850; XI 5372.

Garamantia: *CIL* VIII 20453 *P. Aeliae Garamantiae*. Zweifellos Cognomen, nicht Herkunftsbezeichnung. Zur Erklärung vgl. den folgenden.

Garamantius: *ICUR* 24059. Das neue Cognomen, wie auch das vorige feminine Pendant, ist wohl aus dem afrikanischen Völkernamen gebildet worden. Ob der Namensträger etwas näheres mit den Garamanten zu tun hat, steht dahin. Dieses Volk wird oft in der römischen Literatur erwähnt, auch in der Poesie, dazu im allgemeinen von Afrikanern. – Wie das Signum *Garamanti, nica* in *CIL* VI 10058 zu deuten sei, ist nicht ganz klar; ob ein wirkliches, persönliches Signum wie *Genti, nica* oder Herkunftsbezeichnung (der Text scheint anzudeuten, dass sowohl der Geehrte als auch der Dedikant Afrikaner waren) oder aber ein Pferdename vorliegt.[16]

Hispulla: *PIR*² C 329 (Calpurnia, Tante der Gattin Plinius' des Jüngeren); 1296 (Corellia, Tochter von Q. Corellius Rufus cos. 78); H 185 (Gattin desselben Rufus); 186 (von Juvenal erwähnte dicke Frau); T 105 (Terentia, 1. Jh. n. Chr., Nachkomme von Ciceros Freund P. Terentius Hispo). Feminine Form von *Hispo*.

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[15] Zu ihm neuerdings G. Scardozzi, Le anfore di M. Tuccius Galeo dalla valle del Liris, in *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, 59–76.

[16] Einiger Stoff zur Diskussion im Kommentar von 10058, von *ILS* 5296 und in Vidmans Cognominaindex S. 268. 358.

Horatianus: Kajanto 148 mit einem senatorischen Beleg und fünf Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 2006, 1787 (Tituli, prov. proc., 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Caninius Horatianus*; *O. BuDjem* 72 *[--- H]oratianus [---]*.

Hortens[i---] Frauenname: *AE* 1966, 1757 (prov. proc.). Entweder *Hortensiana* oder *Hortensina*, keiner von beiden ist bisher belegt.

Hortensianus: Kajanto 148 mit sieben Belegen (von denen 2 senat., 1 christl.). Dazu *CIL* V 89 (Pola) *P. Coesius Ortensi[a]nus medicus* (die Ergänzung ist ansprechend); Sterrett, *Epigraphical Journey* (s. oben) 155 Nr. 140 (Antiochia Pisid., 3. Jh. n. Chr.) Ὁρτησιανὸς Μάξιμος, also eher Gentilicium.

Indagius: Kajanto 363 mit einem Beleg aus Lambaesis. Dazu *AE* 1968, 644 (ebenfalls Lambaesis).

Insteianus: *Rep*. 345 mit zwei Belegen, von denen einer aus Beroia. Dazu zwei weitere aus dem Osten: *IG* X 2, 1, 203; *AE* 2006, 1279 (Thessalonike, 2. Jh. n. Chr.), ein μυροπώλης.

Insulana: Kajanto 308 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2006, 1565b (Palaipaphos, 2. Hälfte des 1. Jh. v. Chr.) Λικιννίας Ἰσουλάνας (Gen.). Zum Männernamen *Insulanus* zuletzt *Arctos* 42 (2008) 222.

Iunillus: Kajanto 169 mit zwei Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *AE* 1975, 882 (Ureu, prov. proc., 4. Jh.) *L. Iunius Iunillus vir perfectissimus*, Praeses der Provinz Mauretania Caesariensis. Der entsprechende Frauenname *Iunilla* ist wie vorauszusehen üblicher (das Suffix *-illus -a* wurde ja vorwiegend Frauennamen angehängt).

Laberianus: Kajanto 148 mit sieben Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *Ti. Claudius Laberianus*, Zeuge in dem Prätorianerdiplom *RMD* 455 vom Jahre 212 n. Chr. (Identität mit dem in *CIL* XVI 136 genannten *[---] Laberianus* nicht ausgeschlossen); *SEG* LV 1210 (Ephesus).

Laurilla: Kajanto 334 mit vier Belegen. *Arctos* 36 (2002) 112 (Lusitanien). Dazu *AE* 2006, 566 (Conventus Pacensis, Lusitanien, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Sentia Laurilla Tangini f.*

Maiorianus: Kajanto 294 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 177. Dazu *ICUR* 14442 *loca Maio<r>iani*.

Maiorina: Kajanto 294 mit zwei Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *ILTun* 113 (Thysdrus) *Calventia*; *ILAlg* II 7469d (christl).

Maiorinianus: *CIL* VI 32536 *c* I, 46 (severisch) *C. C[---]s Maiorinian(us) Luco Aug(usti)* Prätorianer.

Maiorinus: Kajanto 294 mit fünf Belegen aus *CIL* (4 heidn., 1 christl.). Dazu *IMS* I 153 *Maiorinus principal(is)*; *IG* II^2 13219= 13529 (3./4. Jh., Φ[λάβ(ιος)]); *SEG* LV 1598, 17 (Antiochia am Orontes) τὸ Μαειουρίνου auf einem Mosaik.

Mansuetinus: Kajanto 263 mit einem Beleg. Dazu 17. *BRGK* 78 (Noviomagus) Vater *Mansuetus*.

Μαρίσκη (?): *IG* XIV 2450 = J.-C. Decourt, *Inscr. gr. de la France* 30 (Massilia). Die Deutung bleibt sehr unsicher, die alten Gewährsleute haben MAPIGKHE o. ä. gelesen, was zu Μαρίσκης geändert wurde. An sich ist ein Frauenname *Marisca* neben *Mariscus* wohl möglich.

Mariscianus: Kajanto 334 mit einem senatorischen Beleg. Dazu *CIL* VIII 17293 (die Deutung sicher, im Cognominaindex des *CIL* als korrupt gegeben.

Mariscus: Kajanto 334. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 207. 38 (2004) 178. Dazu *AE* 1939, 312 (Ägypten, 62 n. Chr.) *T. Valerius Pomp. Mariscus*; *I. Beroia* 385 (2. Hälfte 2. Jh. n. Chr.) Μαρίσκος, wohl Gladiator (aus dem Relief zu schließen) wie die in *Arctos* erwähnten. Man kann damit *Mariscus* als einen "nom de combat" ansehen.[17]

Matronilla: Kajanto 305. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 208 mit einem Beleg aus Anazarbos. Dazu noch *ICUR* 16342 *[M]atronilla*; Ineditum aus Capua (christlich, 383 n. Chr.).

Modestianus: Kajanto 263 mit fünf Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *IRCPacen* 134 (Lusitanien) Vater *P. Aelius Modestus*.

Modestina: Kajanto 263, der neben zahlreichen heidnischen Belegen zwei Fälle aus den altchristlichen stadtrömischen Inschriften verzeichnet. Dazu ebenfalls aus Rom *ICUR* 15717. 25375.

Munitus: Kajanto 280 mit einem Beleg. *Arctos* 35 (2001) 210. Dazu *CIL* VI 22694 *Munitus Palpelli*; II^2 14, 8 *M. Valer[ius] Munitus Astur*; *AIJ* 168 (Emona); *AE* 2006, 1089b (Sirmium, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Munidus* (hierher gehörig?).

Mussianus: Kajanto 151 mit drei Belegen aus *CIL* (von denen VIII 3953 *Musianus* hat). Dazu *AE* 2000, 1662 (Mididi in der prov. proc., Senator, dessen Gentilname ausgefallen ist: *Mussianus vir cla[rissimus]*).

Mutata: *Rep.*^{2} 501. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 178. Dazu noch *CIL* VI 29053 *Mutatae Vistiliae ossa* (entweder war Mutata Sklavin einer Vistilia oder aber es liegt Inversion des Gentiles und Cognomens vor).[18]

Mutus: Kajanto 262 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 4886 *Mutus Argutus* (oder *argutus*?) *imitator Ti. Caesaris Augusti*; 34329 (Freigelassener).

Onerata: *Arctos* 39 (2005) 175 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2006, 997 (Noricum, severisch) *L. Septimia Onerata*.

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17 Vgl. den unten in Anm. 45 angeführten Aufsatz von E. Bouley.

18 Vidman meint im Cognominaindex, *Mutata* finde sich "praenominis loco", was nicht stimmen kann.

Orbatus: Kajanto 287 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2006, 1283 (Thessalonike, 234 n. Chr.) Κ. Κιτερέιος Ὀρβᾶτος.

Oriendus: *AE* 2006, 1706 (Uchi Maius, 2./3. Jh.) *Cleius Orendus* (hierher gehörig?). Der Frauenname *Orienda* war schon bekannt: Kajanto 360; vgl. *Rep.*[2] 501 *Oriunna*.

Pacatula: Kajanto 262 mit einem christlichen, späten Beleg. Dazu *ILAlg* II 7160 (Sila) *Ti(---) Pacatula*.

Pacula: Kajanto 262 mit einem Beleg. Dazu (außer der unten anzuführenden senatorischen Roscia) *CIL* II 4975, 68 vgl. *HEp* 9, 672; II[2] 7, 797 *Fabia Pacula M. f.*; *AE* 1987, 681 = *HEp* 2, 209 (Hisp. cit., 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Valeria*; *HEp* 1, 152 (Lusitanien) *Pacula Silvani f.*

!*Pacullа*: Kajanto 176 mit drei Belegen. Der von ihm angeführte Beleg aus *PIR* P 32 gehört der senatorischen Frau *PIR*[2] P 45. Hinzu kommt *AE* 1994, 867 (Emerita).

!*Paculus*: Kajanto 202. Der Beleg in *CIL* VI 22249 hat auszuscheiden, denn er gehört dem Senator *PIR*[2] R 92. Sodann steigt die von Kajanto angegebene Zahl drei senatorischer Belege auf vier (*PIR*[2] R 90–93) für den Männernamen, wozu noch eine (Roscia?) Pacula *PIR*[2] R 99, mutmaßliche Tochter von 92. Dazu kommen noch *EE* VIII 636 vgl. *Arctos* 19 (1985) 196f Nr. 55 (Tarracina) *P. Numisius P. f. Ouf. Paculu[s] iter(um) praef(ectus) pro IIv[iro]*; *EE* IX 634 (Lanuvium) *Caninius*; *AE* 1917/1918, 57 besser 1992, 1871 (Lambaesis) *Postumius*.

Pansinianus: *Rep*. 374 mit einem Beleg aus Antiochia Pisid. Derselbe *C. Iulius Asper P.*, der der lokalen Führungsschicht und vielleicht zum Ritterstand gehörte (2. Jh. n. Chr.), in *AE* 2002, 1460 = 2006, 1495. Aus derselben Stadt kennen wir einen T. Κλαύδιος νέος Πασινιανὸς σουμμαρούδης (Lane, *CMRDM* I 290); man fragt sich ob derselbe Name vorliege, auch wenn Πασινιανός an sich eine Suffixbildung aus dem gut griechischen Namen Πασῖνος (Bechtel *HPN* 362) aufgefasst werden kann.

Patrinia: *CIL* III 2895 (Corinium) *Iulia Patrinia*. Wohl als eine mit dem Suffix *-ius* versehene Ableitung aus *Patrinus* aufzufassen. Freilich gehört die Inschrift der frühen Prinzipatszeit an, während das Suffix sich erst seit dem 3. Jh. n. Chr. entfaltet. Es könnte auch das Gentilicium in der cognominalen Funktion vorliegen,[19] doch ist ein Gentilname *Patrinius -ia* sonst nirgends belegt; andererseits gewann die Kategorie von neuen aus bestehenden Cognomina abgeleiteten Gentilnamen gerade in den nördlichen und Donauprovinzen an Boden.

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[19] So meint G. Alföldy, *Die Personennamen in der römischen Provinz Dalmatia* (BNF Beih. 4), Heidelberg 1969, 261.

Patrinus: Kajanto 305 mit zwei Belegen (und einem für den Frauennamen). Dazu *CIL* III 2280 (Salona); 3585 (Aquincum); 4067 (Decurio in Poetovio); 5944 (Castra Regina); *AE* 2006, 851 (Trier, 6./ 7. Jh.).

Picentina: Kajanto 185 mit sieben Belegen (davon 1 senatorisch, 2 Sklavennamen). Dazu *Suppl. It*. 23 Matilica 7 (Sklavin, 2. Jh. n. Chr.). Der entsprechende Männername 9mal bei Kajanto.

Picentinus: Kajanto mit neun Belegen (davon zwei Sklavennamen). Dazu *AE* 1983, 53 (Rom).

Placidia: Kajanto 262 mit zwei heidnischen und vier christlichen Belegen. Dazu *ILJug* 2151 (Salonae) *Mettia*; *Studia Pontica* III 12a (Amisos, christl.). – *Placidia* oder *Placidiana* (zum letzteren *Arctos* 41 [2007] 100): *Suppl. It*. 8 Brixia 10 *Placidia[e* oder *-nae] lib(ertae).*

Placidina: Kajanto 262 mit drei Belegen aus *CIL* samt einem christlichen. Üblich in Hispanien: *EE* VIII 124; *CIRG* II 71; *CIRPSalamanca* 194; *ERRioja* 58; *HEp* 3, 463; *IRLugo* 62.

Placidinus: Kajanto 262 mit sieben Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *EE* IX 2921 (Asturica) *Sulpicius*; *CIRPZamora* 262 (Hisp. cit.) *Flavius*(?); *AE* 2004, 940 (Tungri) *Placidinus Placidi* (seine Frau heißt *Paterna Paterni*).

Ποπλᾶς: *Rep*. 381. *Arctos* 38 (2004) 181. 41 (2007) 101. Dazu noch *SEG* LV 1515 = *AE* 2005, 1550 (Elaiussa Sebaste in Kilikien, 2./3. Jh.). Der in *Arctos* 41 verzeichnete Beleg Πουμπλᾶς muss Πουπλᾶς gelesen werden: *SEG* LV 681.

Porcarius: *Rep*. 381 mit einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *CIL* XI 5161 *Porcarius* ohne weiteren Kontext (oder Dienstbezeichnung?).

Πριμιγᾶς: *Rep*.[2] 502 mit drei Belegen aus Thessalonike. Dazu ein weiterer aus derselben Stadt: *AE* 2006, 1278 (117/118 n. Chr.).

Primigenes: *Rep*. 383. *Arctos* 37 (2003) 184. 41 (2007) 101. Dazu noch etwa *SEG* LV 1311 (Lydien, 239 n. Chr.) Πρειμιγένης.

Quietianus: Kajanto 262 mit sieben Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *ILAfr* 320 = *ILTun* 839 (Curubis) *M. Manlius C. f. Quir. Modestus Quietianus equo publico*.

Quietilla: Kajanto 262 mit vier Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2001, 562 (Rom) *Postumia L. f. Augurina Quietilla Postumi Bellici et Aniciae Quietae fil*.; *AE* 1992, 1443 (Noricum) *Sept(imia) Quaetilla*; – *Quietilla* oder *Quietina*: *RIU Suppl.* 167 (Pannonia inf.) *Ulpia Quaeti[---]* (der Sohn *Ulp(ius) Quaetinus*).

Quietinus: Kajanto 262 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *I.Paestum* 180 (2./ 3. Jh.) *Nannaeius Quetinus*; *CIL* II[2] 5, 800 *Corn(elius) [Q]uietinus*; *RIU Suppl*. 167 (Pannonia inf.) *Ulp(ius) Quaetinus*.

Quietula: Kajanto 262 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu zwei fragmentarische Belege, die auch zu *Quietulla* (wovon Kajanto 262 einen Beleg aufzeichnet) ergänzt werden können: *CIL* VIII 16086 *Iulia Quetu[l---]*; 17103 *Iulia Quetu[l---]*; diese zwei Belege können sich aber auf dieselbe Person beziehen, wenn es sich sogar nicht um ein und dieselbe Inschrift handelt.

Rulliana: *CIL* II^2 7, 466b (Corduba, 1. Jh. n. Chr.).

!*Rullianus*: Kajanto 154 mit zwei Belegen, von denen der zweite ausscheidet: der Senator *PIR* V 127 hieß *M. Valerius Iulianus* (nicht *Rullianus*) *Agrippa* (obs. *I. Prusias ad Hypium* 22).

Σακρικόλα: *AE* 2006, 1565-1566 (Palaipaphos, zweite Hälfte des 1. Jh. n. Chr.) Ἰουλία Σακρικόλα. Zugrunde liegt *sacricola*, ein (seit Tacitus) selten bezeugtes Wort, bisher nicht als Femininum belegt.[20] Der Frauenname zeigt, dass das Appellativ im Sprachempfinden auch als Femininum gebraucht werden konnte.

Saenianus: s. unten *Senianus*.

Saloninula: *Cahiers de Byrsa* 6 (1956) 110 vgl. Y. Le Bohec, *AntAfr* 17 (1981) 185 Nr. 43 (Karthago) *Fl(avia) Aponia Saloninula* (jüdisch, 2./ 3. Jh.).

Salsula: Kajanto 261 mit acht Belegen. *Arctos* 42 (2008) 226 mit zwei Belegen (aus Rom [chr.] und Afrika). Dazu *AE* 2006, 299 (Nola, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Popilia Salsula educatrix* eines Senators Popilius.

Sedatianus: Kajanto 262 mit fünf belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *ILS* 9491 (Berytus) *L. Careius Adiectus Sedatianus* (in militärischem Kontext).

Senianus: *ICUR* 19301; *AE* 2006, 324 (Brundisium, 2. Jh. n. Chr.) *Senianus Peducei Flaviani filius* (vgl. aber *Arctos* 41 (2007) 102 unter *Saenianus*); *Tabellae Sulis* 17 (wenn nicht aus kelt. *S(a)enus*). Entweder aus dem seltenen Gentilnamen *Senius* gebildet oder orthographische Variante für *Saenianus*.

Sequana: Kajanto 202 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 1996, 1186a (Raetien); es scheint sich um einen Frauennamen zu handeln (nicht um ein Ethnikon).

Sequanus: Kajanto 202 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* IV 2451 *Sequan(us)* Gladiator (der Name ist heute verschollen, es besteht aber kein Grund, an die Lesung zu zweifeln), zu dem ein solcher Name als 'nom de combat' gut passt; *Suppl. It*. 3 Corfinium 65 *T. Peticio C. f. Sequano T. Peticius T. l. Hispanus* (eine Art Namenpaar).

Seriolus: *AE* 2006, 876 (Germ. inf.) *Seriole* (Vokativ). Der entsprechende Frauenname *Seriola* war schon bekannt; Kajanto verzeichnet zwei Belege, ebenfalls aus dem gallisch-germanischen Raum. Liegt also epichorischer Stoff vor? Wenn aber lateinisch, dann soll, nachdem der Männername aufgetaucht ist, erwo-

[20] Zum Wort *sacricola* vgl. Fr. Bader, *La formation des composés nominaux du latin*, Paris1962, 70. Dort hinzuzufügen ist der inschriftliche Beleg *AE* 2000, 795 aus Saguntum.

gen werden, ob der Name eher als Ableitung aus dem Gentilnamen *Serius* aufgefasst werden soll, statt ihn wie Kajanto zu *seriola* "Tönnchen, Krug" zu stellen.

Speratianus: Kajanto 297 mit sechs Belegen aus *CIL*. Dazu *Q. Caecilius Speratianus*, Suffektkonsul 202 oder 203 in dem Militärdiplom Pferdehirt, *I. RGZM* 46; *HEp* 13, 729 (Praefectus equitum); *AE* 1978, 609 (Noricum, Vater *Speratinus*); *ILAlg* I 2142. II 7496a (*Isperatianus*). Auch christlich: *ICUR* 25534.

Speratilla: Kajanto 297 mit einem Beleg aus Pannonien. Dazu *CIL* VI 26677 (2./3. Jh.) Mutter *Sperata*.

Speratinus: Kajanto 297 mit zwei Belegen (ein Beleg aus Noricum, der andere ein Soldat unbestimmter Herkunft). Dazu *AE* 1978, 609 (Noricum, Sohn *Speratianus*).

Speratio: Kajanto 297 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* VI 26678 (kaiserlicher Sklave, 1. Jh. n. Chr.). 26685 (Sklave, etwa flavisch).

Stabianus: *NSc* 1961, 192 Nr. 2 (Pompeii) *M. Melissaeus M. f. Stabianus*. Dass dieser Ethnikonname erst hier als reiner Personenname auftaucht, steht in Einklang mit der Geringfügigkeit von Stabiae in der Kaiserzeit. Auch das Ethnikon selbst ist nur gelegentlich belegt (s. unten 179f).

Stercula: Kajanto 216 mit fünf Belegen aus Afrika (der Männername *Sterculus* ist selten). Dazu *AE* 2006, 1797 (Aquae Flavianae, Numidien, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Valeria Stercula*; *ILAlg* II 7597 ebenfalls eine *Valeria*; 8807 *Aemilia*. Sexus unbestimmt: *AE* 1991, 1648 (Clupea, christl.).

!*Superantius -ia*: Kajanto 277. Die Inschrift *CIL* VI 2993, die den einzigen Frauennamenbeleg enthält, ist das Falsum VI 3613*. So verschwindet *Superantia* aus der lateinischen Anthroponymie.

Tacitianus: Kajanto 263 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *I. Steiermark* 149 (Solva, 205 n. Chr.) *Iul(ius)*.

Talaris: *ILAlg* I 1552 (Thubursicu Numidarum) *Falcius Celsus Falci Talaris fil(ius)*. Man wäre versucht, den Namen als lateinisch zu deuten und zu *talaris* "zu den Knöcheln gehörig" zu stellen (auch der Sohn führt ein lateinisches Cognomen). Kaum liegt eine epichorische Bildung vor.[21] Vgl. ferner Ταλαρις im Namenkatalog (möglicherweise eines Collegiums) *TAM* V 2, 1298 (Hierokaisareia), in welchem bald ein kleinasiatisches, bald ein griechisches, bald ein lateinisches Anthroponym vermutet wurde.[22] Die Entscheidung ist schwierig. Kleinasi-

[21] Nichts Vergleichbares bei K. Jongeling, *North African Names from Latin Sources*, Leiden 1994.

[22] Vgl. die (voneinander unabhängige) Diskussion bei L. Robert, *Noms indigènes de l'Asie-Mineure gréco-romaine*, I, Paris 1963, 286; L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, 483. Beide neigen in erster Linie dazu, den Namen als griechisch aufzufassen, ohne ein

atisch wird der Name kaum sein; meistens wird er zu gr. τάλαρος "Korb" gestellt (Ταλάρις stünde für Ταλάριος). Ebenso gut könnten wir mit einem als lateinisch zu deutenden Namen zu tun haben; in dem Falle ist Ταλᾶρις zu schreiben (soweit man in nichtgriechischen Namen den Akzent weglassen will, wie in letzter Zeit mitunter vorgeschlagen wird). In der Liste wimmelt es von lateinischen Namen, und da man sonst in der griechischen Welt auch sehr merkwürdigen lateinischen Namenbildungen begegnen kann, warum könnte hier nicht ein sonst nur sehr spärlich belegter lateinischer Name vorliegen? – Das Adjektiv *talaris* wird sonst im Latein nicht auf eine Person bezogen, hier könnte aber die Benennung eines Mannes in einer Art Spitzname seinen Ausgangspunkt haben. Neben *talaris* existiert auch *talarius* mit ungefähr identischer Bedeutung; ob aber der auch einmalige, nur durch Suet. *Cal*. 8, 4 aus einem Brief des Augustus (*puerum Gaium ut ducerent Talarius et Asillius*) überlieferte Name *Talarius* dazu gehört, bleibt unsicher. Eher wohl als Gentilname zu deuten.[23]

Taurilla: Kajanto 329 mit drei Belegen. Dazu *I.Lat.Albanie* 133; *AE* 2006, 826 (Gebiet der Parisii, Gallia Belgica, 3. Jh. n. Chr.). Könnte auch als epichorischer Name gedeutet werden.

Taurillus: Kajanto 329 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *RICG* VIII 49 (Arverni) *[---] Taurillo [---]* (nur dies erhalten).

Timavius: *CIL* XIII 8371 (Köln, 3. Jh. n. Chr.); G. Brusin, *Nuovi documenti sepolcrali di Aquileia*, Venezia 1941, 65f (Aquileia, 3. Jh. n. Chr.) *Timavi, ha[ve]*, also Signum, aus dem Flussnamen *Timavus* abgeleitet, der auch als Flussgott verehrt wurde.[24]

Tongilianus: Mart. 3, 52 (vgl. 12, 88). Man hält den Namen üblicherweise für fiktiv (s. *PIR*² T 288).[25] Es handelt sich aber jedenfalls um eine einwandfreie Namenbildung, aus dem Gentilnamen *Tongilius* abgeleitet. *Tongilius* ist einigermaßen in Rom und auch anderswo belegt,[26] ein üblicher Name ist er aber nicht geworden, und man fragt sich, woher Martial den Namen genommen hätte, wenn nicht aus dem Leben.

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lateinisches Etymon (mit Hinweis auf *talaris, Talarius*) gänzlich auszuschließen.

[23] So Salomies, *Rep*. 180.

[24] Zum Namen C. Zaccaria, in *Orbis antiquus*, zit. (s. Anm. 4).

[25] Dort versehentlich *Tongill-*. Der dort angeführten Literatur hinzuzufügen Friedlaenders Ausgabe.

[26] In *CIL* VI 13mal belegt. In Latium *CIL* XIV 3506. In hispanischen Provinzen *CIL* II 3433 (= I² 2270); II² 7, 922. In Afrika *CIL* VIII 8970. Bis nach dem Osten gewandert: *I. Parion* (*IK* 25) 5, 10 Τονγίλιος Κόσμος, ein Netzmeister.

Tranquillina: Kajanto 262 mit der Kaiserin samt zwei heidnischen und einem christlichen Beleg. Dazu *ICUR* 24190. 24191.

Trio: Kajanto 338. Den von Kajanto angeführten zwei Senatoren der Kaiserzeit kommt hinzu der Suffektkonsul 80 n. Chr. Q. Pompeius Trio (*AE* 1998, 419, 10).[27]

Tulla: Kajanto 177 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *AE* 2006, 618 (Emerita, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Sertoria C. [-] Tulla*. Kann auch epichorisch sein.

!*Tusidiana*: Kajanto 157 mit zwei Belegen, die sich aber auf dieselbe Frau Caesennia T. aus dem Ritterstand beziehen (erwähnt im Protokoll der Ludi saeculares von 204 n. Chr.) (vgl. *PIR*² C 177a).

Vegetianus: Kajanto 247 mit zwei Belegen. Dazu *CIL* II 922 *Tapilius*, Vater *Vegetus*; *SEG* LV 1383 (Nicomedia, 214 n. Chr.) ἀγορανομοῦντος Αὐρ. [Β]εγετιανοῦ.

Vegetina: Kajanto 248 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 1997, 1015 (Alpes Poeninae) *Nitonia* (Vater *Vegetinus*).

Vegetinus: Kajanto 248 drei Belegen. Dazu *ILS* 4685 (Alpes Poeninae) *T. Vinelius*; *AE* 1997, 1015 (Alpes Poeninae) *Nitonius*; 1946 (Capera, Lusitanien) *L. Valerius*; 1967, 184 (Civitas Igaeditanorum, Lusitanien) Sohn *Vegetus*; 1993, 903 (Emerita, Freigelassener); 2006, 579 (Conventus Emeritensis, 1. Jh. n. Chr.) *Vegeti[n]us Vege[ti f.*]. Wäre es möglich, hier auch *Vegeti[an]us* zu ergänzen? Auch dieser Name ist nur selten belegt (s. oben).

Votivus: Kajanto 297 mit einem Beleg. Dazu *AE* 2006, 514 (Halaesa, 4. Jh. n. Chr.) Βωτίβοιο (poetischer Genetiv).

CCLIII. FALSCHE NAMEN

Idalius. In *CIL* IV 4787 lesen wir die Namen von drei pompejanischen Lebemännern, die in der Suche nach Frauen sind: *Rarus, Idalius, Verus*; links davon ist ein einzelner, rechts davon zwei Phalli abgebildet. Von einem Personennamen *Idalius* lassen sich in der antiken Anthroponymie äußerst geringe Spuren nachweisen;[28] der einzige mir bekannte Beleg kommt aus einer Proskynema-Inschrift im ägyptischen Theben (doch scheint die Lesung etwas unsicher zu sein).[29] Es drängt der Gedanke auf, hier sei der gute Männername *Idaeus* verkannt worden. Einem in

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[27] Vgl. *PIR*² T p. 105.

[28] *Idalia* in *CIL* VIII 1523 ist Epithet der Venus.

[29] J. Baillet, *Inscriptions grecques et latines des tombeaux des rois ou syringes à Thèbes* (Le Caire 1920–1926) 1410 τὸ προσκύνημα Δημητρίου καὶ Ἰδαλίου.

der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften aufbewahrten mit freier Hand vielleicht von Zangemeister ca. 1877 gemachten Apographon kann man entnehmen, dass die Lesung einigermaßen unsicher ist (Zangemeister fügt dem Apographon *noch zu prüfen* hinzu). Auch wenn L in der Zeichnung klar ausgedrückt ist, wäre man versucht, den Namen IDAIIVS zu lesen (auch in *Verus* ist E durch II wiedergegeben). *Idaeus* war ein üblicherweise gebrauchter Name in der römischen Welt, auch in Pompeji als Frauenname belegt (*CIL* IV 3131; der zuverlässige Zangemeister las in der heute verschollenen Inschrift IDAIA).

Necesse. Dieses bizarre Cognomen will der Erstherausgeber von *AE* 2006, 608 (Emerita) *Tursidia L. f. Necess[e]* festlegen. Zweifellos ist aber das Adverb *necesse* zu verstehen; so richtig die Editoren von *AE*.

Polybe. Diesen Namen liest man in *I. Stabiae* 55: *Viciria(?) / Polybe(?) vix(it) ann(is) / XXXV*.[30] Die nicht mehr auffindbare Inschrift ist von der Editorin aufgrund eines von S. Ferraro zur Verfügung gestellten Photos publiziert. Anhand dieses Photos kann man leicht feststellen, dass der Steinmetz seine Aufgabe nicht gut bewältigt hat; wahrscheinlich war er mehr oder weniger Analphabet. Auf der ersten Zeile hat der Stein deutlich VICIBIA, aber die Konjektur *Viciria* von Magalhaes scheint unumgänglich. Die Vicirii sind in Kampanien einigermaßen bezeugt.[31] Die von der Editorin präsentierte Lesung der zweiten Zeile *Polybe* kann nicht richtig sein, wie man auf den ersten Blick am Photo feststellen kann. Nur der rechte Teil YBE scheint sicher. Was davor hätte stehen müssen, hat der Steinmetz sicher schlecht wiedergegeben. Den vor YBE stehenden Buchstaben kann man mit Magalhaes als L deuten, obwohl der Querstrich nicht gut sichtbar ist. Die Gruppe OL scheint am Photo plausibel, auch wenn im oberen Teil zwischen den zwei ein Querstrich sichtbar ist; auch im mittleren Teil zeigt das Photo einen horizontalen Strich, der aber vielleicht nicht dazu gehörig ist. Das Ergebnis würde man jedenfalls als OLYBE deuten. Davor kann aber unmöglich ein P gestanden haben; stattdessen muss ein L erkannt werden (kaum liegt da ein I vor). Vor diesem L könnte man eine freilich schlecht gelungene (der Oberteil ist offen) Schleife eines P erkennen, von dessen Haste aber nichts erhalten ist. Wenn wir davon ausgehen, dass der Schlussteil, wie es scheint, *-lybe* lautet, dann bleibt nichts anderes übrig als hier den Namen *Calybe* anzunehmen, denn er ist der einzige Name, der mit *-(l)ybe* endet, und freilich ist *Calybe* ein gutes, öfters

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[30] M. M. Magalhaes, *Stabiae romana. La prosopografia e la documentazione epigrafica: iscrizioni lapidarie e bronzee, bolli laterizi e sigilli*, Castellammare di Stabia 2006, 119 Nr. 55 mit Photo Abb. 48. Schon früher von S. Ferraro (ohne Photo) mitgeteilt: *Rassegna storica salernitana* 38 (2002) 344, freilich mit falscher Lesung *Vibia Phoebe*.

[31] Die Belege im Kommentar von Magalhaes.

in Rom belegtes griechisches Cognomen.[32] Möglicherweise hat der Steinmetz die Gruppe CAL falsch durch OL wiedergegeben. Wenn dem so ist, dann kann davor kaum etwas anderes gestanden haben als die Angabe des Herrn der Viciria Calybe, also *P. l*. Es sei noch bemerkt, dass die Existenz eines Namens *Polybe* in der römischen Anthroponymie nur theoretisch möglich ist. Im Griechischen war freilich der Männername Πόλυβος im allgemeinen Gebrauch, aber das feminine Gegenstück Πολύβη lässt sich nicht belegen, und im römischen Westen sind beide vollends unbekannt. Und einen Fehler *Polybe* für *Polybia* möchte man nicht in Kauf nehmen. Die bestattete Frau hieß also allem Anschein nach *Viciria P. l. Calybe*.

CCLIV. VERKANNTE NAMEN

Flaviana. A. Ferrua publiziert *Epigraphica* 29 (1967) 70f Nr. 79 (*AE* 1968, 65) eine stadtrömische Inschrift, deren linker Teil verloren gegangen ist. Die Zeile 5 ist überliefert AVIANE SOROR. Ferrua ergänzt *[fecit] Aviane soror* (so auch *AE*). Nun weist das Cognomen *Aviana* nur ganz wenige Belege auf; Kajanto 141 verzeichnet deren zwei, wozu sich noch ein paar andere gesellen (s. oben 163). Auch in Ermangelung eines Photos oder einer genaueren Textwiedergabe kann man davon ausgehen, dass der Name auf Zeile 5 möglicherweise akephal ist. So würde ich anregen, *[--- Fl]aviane* zu ergänzen, ein überaus verbreitetes Cognomen. Notiere auch die gräzisierende Endung *-e*, die bei einem Namen wie *Flavianus -a* nicht verwunderlich wäre – dies Cognomen war im griechischen Osten üblicherweise in Gebrauch – während von *Avianus -a* man das nicht so erwarten würde.

Ein ähnlicher Fall scheint in *O. Yale* Inv. 37 aus Dura-Europos (publiziert in *YClS* 14 [1955] 190 Nr. 201): –] Ἀουιανοῦ /] . ΙΑΝΟΣ (so die Editoren) vorzuliegen. Auch wenn mir die Umstände des Erhaltungszustandes links unbekannt sind, würde ich hier eher [Φλ]αουιανοῦ ergänzen.

CCLV. TARRACINENSIA

Hier folgen ein paar Bemerkungen zu der verdienstvollen Edition tarracinensischer Inschriften durch P. Longo.[33]

32 14 Belege in meinem griechischen Namenbuch 600.

33 Nuova documentazione epigrafica di età romana da Terracina, *Annali della Facoltà di Lette-*

2 (S. 317f.) (= *AE* 1986, 123). In einer Privatsammlung. Die Inschrift stammt in Wirklichkeit aus dem lukanischen Atina: *CIL* X 334, seit dem 18. Jahrhundert öfters in Atena gesehen. Sie lag noch in 1967 im Grundstück eines Pietro Biasco, wo von Vittorio Bracco gesehen und aufgenommen (*Inscr. It*. III 1, 128). Wanderungen von Inschriften sind auch aus neuester Zeit in Süditalien mehrere bekannt, ein so langer Weg aus dem tiefen Süden nach Lazio lässt sich hingegen seltener beobachten.

9 (S. 323) (= *AE* 1986, 129) lautet in der Lesung des Erstherausgebers wie folgt: *[---]io C. f. Aemi[liano] / [---] Graptia co[niugi]*. Statt *Graptia co[niugi]* ist zweifellos *Graptiaco* zu lesen. Der Steinmetz bedient sich regelmäßig der Trennpunkte zwischen den Wörtern, GRAPTIACO ist aber zusammengeschrieben, wie aus meiner Autopsie 1981 hervorgeht (ich besitze auch ein gutes Photo). Da nun *Graptiacus* ein höchst seltenes Cognomen ist und nur in der fundanischen Familie der Pantuleii bezeugt ist, schleicht sich ein Verdacht ein, der in der Inschrift erwähnte Mann habe etwas mit dem aus Fundi gebürtigen Senator C. Pantuleius Graptiacus (*PIR*^{2} P 96) zu tun.[34] Der aus *CIL* X 6266 (Fundi) bekannte Homonym wird üblicherweise für den Senator gehalten, er kann aber auch einer früheren Generation gehören (so Salomies). Wie dem auch sei, man könnte die tarracinische Inschrift vermutungsweise folgendermaßen ergänzen: *[C. Pantule-]io C. f. Aemi[lia] / [---?] Graptiaco*. Die Aemilia war ja die Tribus von Fundi, so dass ihre Angabe zwischen der Filiation und dem Cognomen sich von selbst ergibt.[35] Schwierigkeiten bereitet aber, dass vor GRAPTIACO mehrere Buchstaben ergänzt werden müssen. Hatte der Mann etwa zwei Gentilicia? Oder wurden in der Inschrift vielleicht zwei Personen genannt, etwa Vater und Sohn oder zwei Brüder, auf diese Weise: *[C. Pantule?]io C. f. Aemi(lia) [et? ---] / [C. Pantuleio C. f.] Graptiaco [---]*. Der Name der Tribus Aemilia wurde verschiedentlich abgekürzt; hier wäre die kürzeste Form AEMI, aber auch AEMIL wurde gebraucht, obschon in Fundi (und Formiae) die alleinige Form AEM (oder AIM) war. Alles in allem ist die Präsenz der Aemilia in der Inschrift nicht sicher, wenn auch möglich. Wahrscheinlich ist jedenfalls, dass von den Mitgliedern der Familie der Pantuleii Graptiaci die Rede ist. Zuletzt sei notiert, dass der Gentilname *Pantuleius* sonst sehr selten vorkommt,[36] dass aber gerade in Tarracina

re e Filosofia dell'Università degli Studi di Perugia 21 = n. s. 7 (1983–1984) 315–341.

34 Zur Herkunft des Senators vgl. O. Salomies, Senatori oriundi del Lazio, in *Studi storico-epigrafici sul Lazio antico* (ActaIRF 15), Roma 1996, 54f.

35 Auf die Möglichkeit, dass in der Inschrift die Tribus Aemilia vorliegen kann, hat mich Laura Buchholz aufmerksam gemacht.

36 Vgl. Salomies, aaO. 55.

eine Pantuleia (leider ist das Cognomen so gut wie restlos verschwunden) belegt ist.[37] Ob sie nun in Tarracina heimisch war oder aus einem nicht näher bekannten Grund in der dort gefundenen Inschrift erwähnt wird, lässt sich nicht bestimmen. Die Inschrift selbst wurde auf einem Grundstück in Tarracina gefunden, ob sie aber lokaler Provenienz ist, bleibt vorerst ungewiss. Dagegen wurde die neue Inschrift des Pantuleius Graptiacus auf dem Forum von Tarracina gefunden, mag also in der Antike dort auch aufgestellt sein. Also eine Ehreninschrift?

26 (S. 333). *Verria L(uci) m(ater)* ist nicht möglich. Ohne Zweifel *Verria L., M. [l. ---]*. Aus den Buchstabenformen zu schließen gehört die Inschrift der frühen Kaiserzeit, vielleicht der augusteischen Zeit an, als die Angabe von mehreren Patronen in der Nomenklatur der Freigelassenen noch üblich war. In *AE* 1986, 138 wird *Verria L(ucii filia), m(ater)* aufgelöst, was nicht viel besser ist.

28 (S. 334). *[--- Ve]veius Comus / Restio / Veveia Fausta uxor / [---] Restiturus*. So der Editor. Man fragt sich, ob nicht eher das Appellativ *restio* vorliegt. Das legt vor allem der Wortlaut nahe. Veveia Fausta ist die Frau der Veveius Comus, weswegen die Erwähnung einer weiteren Person namens *Restio* zwischen den Namen des Ehepaares etwas sonderbar wäre,[38] zumal mit kleineren Lettern geschrieben. In *AE* 1986, 141 (im Index S. 284) wird der Name des Mannes als *Veveius Comus Restio* wiedergegeben. Das wäre an sich möglich (auch wenn es an sich etwas überraschend wäre, dass ein Mann aus den niederen Ständen zwei dazu seltene Cognomina trüge),[39] ich würde aber für das Appellativ *restio* 'Seiler' plädieren. Es erscheint überraschend selten in epigraphischen Urkunden, mit Sicherheit nur in *CIL* VI 9856 *conlegiu(m) restionu(m)* und IX 1940 *L. Pupius Primigenius restio* belegt.[40]

CCLVI. POMPEIANA QUATTUOR

1. Die in einer Tabula pseudoansata aufgemalte Inschrift *CIL* IV 7425 lautet in der Lesung des Editors Della Corte wie folgt: *Primigenius Caeseti(a)es, Stalb-*

[37] *EE* VIII 636; richtige Lesung in *Arctos* 19 (1985) 197 = *Analecta epigraphica* 250. Früher las man *Pantullia*.

[38] Der Editor drückt sich etwas undeutlich aus: er spricht von einer dritten Person namens *Restiturus*, nennt den Ehemann aber *Veveius Comus*, lässt also die zweite Zeile aus dem Kontext aus.

[39] Zum seltenen Cognomen *Restio* zuletzt *Arctos* 42 (2008) 226.

[40] Vgl. H. Solin, in *Epigrafi e studi epigrafici in Finlandia* (ActaIRF 21), Roma 1998, 116f. Nr. 1* (dort noch ein unsichererer Beleg aus *CIL* XIV 4549, 1).

nus / N. Maro(nis?), Chius C. Viri (vel *Vibi?*) *Primigeni*. Die Inschrift ist seit langem verschollen, die von Della Corte verfertigte Zeichnung leistet aber einen gewissen Ersatz, obschon sie mit größter Vorsicht benutzt werden muss. Kopfschmerzen bereitet vor allem der Name des zweiten Sklaven. Statt *Stalbnus* wird in früheren Editionen (wie auch in späteren Erwähnungen) *Stab[ia]nus* gelesen. Nach der üblichen Deutung sollen hier Namen der mit dem Kompitalienkult beauftragten Magistri vorliegen.[41] Das ist ausgeschlossen, weil wir es mit Sklaven zu tun haben; und ob die Inschrift überhaupt mit dem Altar und dessen Kult in Zusammenhang gebracht werden muss, ist zweifelhaft. Ebenso gut kann es sich um die Aufzeichnung der Namen von drei (wie es scheint) Freunden handeln, die aus irgendeinem Anlass ihre Namen auf dem Altar verewigen wollten. Es gibt zahlreiche Zeugnisse aus Pompeji dafür, dass die Lebemänner nicht davor zurückscheuten, auch Heiligtümer welcher Art auch immer durch ihre Geschreibsel zu schmieren. Vor allem beschäftigen uns hier aber die Namen, die von Della Corte und anderen kaum richtig wiedergegeben worden sind. Der erste harte Brocken ist *Stalbnus*, was nichts ist und sicher einen falschen Namen vertritt. *Stabianus* wäre nicht auszuschließen; wenn die Buchstabenreste in der Zeichnung richtig wiedergegeben worden sind, wäre nach B ein I wohl möglich, wonach ein Rest von A sichtbar wäre. Was wäre aber *Stabianus*? Herkunftsbezeichnung des Sklaven *Primigenius Caeseti(a)es* (oder *Caeseti(a)e s(ervus)*?), oder Name des Sklaven des nachfolgenden vermeintlichen N MARO? Stabianer in pompejanischen Graffiti: *CIL* IV 1517. 4109; sonst *CIL* X 1977 (*Grata Stabiana* [ob Sklavin?]) und 3472 (*Memmiae Nereidi ver(nae) Stabi(anae)*, wohl Freigelassene). Als Personenname ist *Stabianus* ein einziges Mal belegt, und zwar in Pompeji (*NSc* 1961, 192 Nr. 2), ist aber an sich eine plausible Bildung, die im südlichen Kampanien erwartet werden kann. Eine andere Möglichkeit wäre, *Stablinus*, d. h. *Stabilinus* zu lesen (aus der Zeichnung zu schließen, bleiben freilich sowohl L wie I etwas unsicher, man muss ja aber damit rechnen, dass Della Cortes Apographon auch sehr approximativ sein kann). Ein solcher Name ist freilich nirgends belegt, stellt aber eine plausible Bildung neben *Stabilis Stabilio Stabilianus* dar (Formen auf *-bl-* sind gut belegt). Wie dem auch sei, man würde hier an erster Stelle den Namen des zweiten Sklaven sehen, dessen Herr am Anfang der Zeile 2 genannt wäre. Er wird *N. Maro(nis)* gelesen, was sehr zweifelhaft bleibt; u. a. ist

[41] So zuletzt W. van Andringa, *RSP* 11 (2000) 59, wo weitere Literatur. Dazu noch R. Marichal, "Le B 'à panse à droite' dans l'ancienne cursive romaine et les origines du B minuscule", *Studi di paleografia, diplomatica, storia e araldica in onore di C. Manaresi* 1953, 353. – Im Kommentar von *CIL* IV 7425 wird besser von *ministri servi* gesprochen, auch dort werden sie aber dem Kompitalienkult angeordnet.

Maro kein Gentilname,[42] auch *Maronius*, der abgekürzt sein sollte, ist nur selten belegt, und beide in unseren Gegenden unbekannt. So frage ich mich, ob hier *N. Marci* gelesen werden könnte. Die Marcii sind in Pompeji gut belegt; ein N. Marcius N. f. Plaetorius Celer im benachbarten Abella (*CIL* X 1202).

Der Rufname des Letztgenannten *Chius C. Viri* (vel *Vibi?*) *Primigeni* bringt keine Probleme; die Vermutung von A. Łoś, der Name *Chius* weise darauf hin, dass der Sklave aus Chios stamme oder verkauft worden wäre,[43] ist natürlich ohne Grund. Ob sein Herr ein Vibius oder ein Virius war, lässt sich aufgrund der Zeichnung nicht mit Sicherheit entscheiden. So wie der dritte Buchstabe des Gentilnamens gezeichnet ist, ließe zunächst wohl an ein R denken, dessen Form nicht weit entfernt vom R des Cognomens bliebe. Doch wäre ein kursives B nicht auszuschließen, dessen untere Schleife unten offen geblieben wäre (dies würde aber ehen auf das Konto des Zeichners gehen). Beide gentes sind gut belegt in Pompeji, die Vibii freilich viel häufiger als die Virii.[44]

2. Die Lesung der fragmentarischen Liste von magistri und ministri compiti *CIL* IV 7807 = I^2 2984*a* lässt sich nunmehr weiter fördern durch die Publikation eines alten Photos (die Inschrift selbst ist seit langem verschollen) auf S. 382 des gerade erschienenen Bandes *Titulorum pictorum Pompeianorum qui in CIL vol. IV collecti sunt imagines* von A. Varone und G. Stefani (Roma 2009). Leider lässt der fragmentarische Zustand bei weitem nicht alles sichern; es wäre schön gewesen, etwa für die Deutung der Termini *Urbul[---]* und *vici* (die in einem Zusammenhang miteinander stehen) neuen Stoff zu erhalten, doch bleibt dieser Punkt so dunkel wie vorher. Aber in der Lesung der Namen kann man an ein paar Einzelheiten weitergehen. Am Anfang des ersten Namens in Zeile 9 kann man am Photo vor P eine schräge Haste erkennen, der den letzten Strich von A oder M vertreten muss. Der Name war sehr wahrscheinlich *Pamphilus*, ein wirklicher Modename, wenn nicht *Hermaphilus*, einigermaßen in Rom belegt.[45] In Zeile 14 sieht man am Photo vor RI eine vertikale Haste (ungenau die Zeichnung, die einen Schrägstrich

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[42] Ein *L. Maro C. f.* bei Schulze, *ZGLE* 189 ändert an der Sachlage nichts.

[43] *ClassWratisl*. 11 (1987) 65.

[44] Die Bezeung bei P. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus*, Roma 1975, 240–2. Castrén selbst plädiert in unserer Inschrift für *Virius*. Den bei Castrén registrierten Vibii können hinzugefügt werden: *C. Vibius N. f. Figulus*, Duovir in augusteischer Zeit; *CIL* IV 4432 *C. Vibius Datus* (neue Lesung); *AE* 1990, 187 *T. Vibius T. l. Philodespotus* und *T. Vibius T. l. Primus*; *CronPomp* 5 (1979) 190 *Vibia Sabina*.

[45] S. mein griechisches Namenbuch 54f mit 9 Belegen. *Pamphilus* aber weist in Rom 172 Belege auf (Namenbuch 134–7). Andere Namen kommen nicht in Frage.

aufweist), die auf ein I oder ein T, dessen Querstrich auf dem Photo unsichtbar geworden ist, erkennen lässt. Der Herr war wohl etwa ein Satrius oder Tintirius oder Virius. Die Satrii sind in Pompeji bestens bekannt. An Tintirii sind in der Vesuvstadt nur vier Namensträger belegt,[46] von denen einer aber insofern bedeutsam ist, als er ein Numerius war, dazu Ädil im Jahre 2/1 v. Chr. (*CIL* X 890), der also zeitlich und gesellschaftlich gut als Besitzer des anonymen Sklaven in Betracht käme. Die Inschrift gehört ja in spätrepublikanische oder frühaugusteische Zeit (Della Corte in *CIL* IV datiert sie unverständlicherweise in die letzte Zeit der Stadt, also in die flavische Periode), wie vor allem die Nomenklatur zeigt, indem im Namen des Herrn das Gentilicium dem Praenomen vorangestellt wird (diese Gewohnheit verschwindet während der augusteischen Zeit aus der normalen Namenpraxis). Unser Fragment ist also ungefähr gleichzeitig mit den pompejanischen Fasti *CIL* IV 60 = I^2 777 (47–46 v. Chr.), jedenfalls nicht viel später. – Noch eine Kleinigkeit: die Schrift setzte auf Zeile 11 nach *[--- co]mpit[i]* noch fort (am Photo erkennt man, dass der rechte Teil der Zeile verloren gegangen ist, sie aber einmal beschriftet war). Es ist also *[--- co]mpit[i ---]* zu schreiben, nicht mit *CIL* I^2 *[--- co]mpit[i]*.

3. Der erste Teil von *CIL* IV 9839 wird vom Editor wie folgt gelesen: *Ferra/menta / perdensa / furatus nulli / credo*. Ich habe das *Gnomon* 45 (1973) 275 als sachlich unmöglich verworfen und aufgrund des nicht guten in der Erstpublikation *Nsc* 159, 82 beigefügten Photos *per genium iuratus* erkennen wollen. Man hat aber auf der ursprünglichen Lesung beharren wollen; so etwa A. Varone, *RSP* 2 (1988) 273. Nach Einsicht eines etwas schärferen, von Varone und Stefani (s. oben) kürzlich auf S. 167 publizierten Photos kann ich meine Vermutung bestätigen: es ist *per geni[um]* zu verstehen. Varone sagt nicht, ob er die Inschrift gesehen hat, sie scheint aber bald nach der Entdeckung verschwunden zu sein. Wenn Varone meint, das A in *perdensa* sei eindeutig zu erkennen, so bezieht er sich wahrscheinlich auf das vom Editor Della Corte publizierte Apographon. Aber auf Della Cortes Kopien ist kein Verlass. Außerdem ist am Photo deutlich GIINI[---] zu erkennen. Ich glaube, das A von *perdensa* ist Della Cortes Erfindung, die er vielleicht aus der vorigen Zeile genommen hat, um ein passendes Attribut für *ferramenta* zu erhalten. Vor allem aber wäre *ferramenta perdensa* schwer erklärlich (vgl. M. Hillen, *TLL* X 1, 1250, 44–48, der sich meiner Lesung anschließt).

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[46] Vgl. Castrén, *Ordo populusque Pompeianus* 229 Nr. 411, wo zwei Namensträger verzeichnet sind. Dazu ein *P. Tintirius P. l. Adiutor* und eine *Tintiria Festa* in einer unveröffentlichten Inschrift (Deposito del Foro inv. n. 17130).

4. *CIL* IV 9895 OR·NICA (links wohl fragmentarisch). Der Editor Della Corte versteht *Nica[n]or*, als hätte der Schreiber zuerst die letzte Zeile und dann den Anfang des Namens aufgemalt. Viel eher ist *[Nican]or, nika* zu verstehen. Der Text vertritt eine gut bekannte Gattung von Inschriften (oder Inschriftenteilen), in denen ein Personenname (oder auch ein Pferdename) von der Akklamation *nica/ nika* begleitet wird. Selbst in Pompeji begegnet derselbe Text *Nicanor, / nica* in 3950 aus reg. I ins. 2 (unser Dipinto wurde an der Wand des Hauses 9 in reg. II ins. 6 geschrieben). Nicanor kann ein Gladiator gewesen sein, und sein Name ein "nom de combat".[47] Akklamationen auf Gladiatoren sind ja häufig in Pompeji. Oder aber wir haben es mit einen Schauspieler zu tun – auch ihrer wurde auf pompejanischen Wänden oft gedacht. Der Name *Nicanor* kommt auch sonst des Öfteren in pompejanischen Wandinschriften vor, auch im Zusammenhang mit der Wahlpropaganda, so ist er rogator in 7570 (auch in reg. II ins., aber im Haus 4-6).[48] Ohne genaueren Zusammenhang erscheint der Name noch in IV 1097*c* cf. p. 202 und 8414. IV 10603 *Nicanor ovas* wurde in Herculaneum geschrieben, so dass man den Zusammenhang mit Pompeji nicht sieht (in Herculaneum sonst *CIL* X 1403 *a* I, 13, Freigelassener). Ob all die Namenbelege sich auf ein und dieselbe Person beziehen, ist ungewiss; *Nicanor* war besonders in Rom populär,[49] lässt sich aber gelegentlich auch sonst in Italien belegen.[50] Doch angesichts der spärlichen Verbreitung außerhalb der Stadt Rom, wo allein der Name modisch wurde, könnten die Namenbelege wenigstens teilweise ein und demselben Nicanor gehören. Es ist ein gewöhnliches Dilemma der pompejanischen Epigraphik, dass es im Mangel eines genügenden Kontextes oft unmöglich festzustellen ist, wie viele Belege eines gegebenen Namens derselben Person gehören können.

[47] Zu dieser Kategorie von Namen bei Gladiatoren vgl. zuletzt E. Bouley, Le nom de combat: Expression de la dépendeance 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 recheche sur l'esclavage antique (Mytilène, 5–7 décembre 2003)*, Bern 2005, 197–216 (etwas unkritisch).

[48] Ob in dem Wahlplakat IV 9899 der Name *Nicanor* vorliegt, wie der Editor meint (mit einer abenteuerlichen Erklärung), bleibt recht unsicher.

[49] Die stadtrömische Bezeugung in meinem Namenbuch^2 119f mit 24 Belegen.

[50] *CIL* IX 4732, XIV 2270, *AE* 1969/1970, 189 (Tarquinii).

CCLVII. BOISSARDIANA

Jean-Jacques Boissard aus Besançon (1528-1602) gilt üblicherweise als ein Schwindler par excellence, der besonders zahlreiche Inschriftentexte selbst auf Stein graviert oder auf Papier gefälscht hätte.[51] Und freilich trifft ein solches Urteil in vielem zu. In Metz zum Beispiel, wo er die letzten Jahrzehnte seines Lebens verbracht hat, hat er seine epigraphischen Kenntnisse und sein Talent als Zeichner und Graveur dazu missbraucht, Inschriften auf Stein zu fälschen und mit diesen Fälschungen die Sammlungen seiner Gönner und Freunde zu versorgen. Dies ist aber nur die eine Seite der Medaille. Wir müssen besonders zwischen den verschiedenen Werken Boissards unterscheiden, in denen epigraphische Kollektaneen enthalten sind. Während die Stockholmer Handschrift *Cod. Holm*. S 68, der erste uns erhaltene schriftlich niedergelegte Reflex (sie trägt das Datum 1559) von Boissards epigraphischer Tätigkeit (wie bekannt, ist ein Teil seiner stadtrömischen und italienischen Materialien im Jahre 1587 während eines Raubzuges der Lothringer nach Montbéliard verloren gegangen), noch wenige plumpe Fälschungen aufweist, enthalten die später bearbeiteten Sammlungen, die Pariser Handschrift *Cod. Paris. Lat*. 12509 und die epigraphischen Teile der *Antiquitates*, erschienen in sechs Bänden 1597–1602, mehr Stoff von Boissards fälscherischer Tätigkeit; aber auch in ihnen überwiegt das Echte. Jedenfalls dürfte feststehen, dass die Stockholmer Handschrift die früheste Fassung von Boissards epigraphischer Tätigkeit widerspiegelt. Freilich wurde sie nicht im Jahre 1559 abgeschlossen (auch wenn sie dieses Jahr auf fol. d trägt), denn viele Indizien zeigen, dass sie erst nach 1583 fertig gestellt wurde.[52] Das ändert aber nichts an der Tatsache, dass im Holmiensis besonders die stadtrömischen Inschriften in ihrer ursprünglichen Form dargeboten werden, oft mit vielen eingehenden Standortangaben versehen, die in den Pariser Handschriften und in den *Antiquitates* fehlen; auch ist der Anteil von Fälschungen geringer. Das heißt, auch wenn Boissard die Stockholmer Handschrift erst nach 1583 fertig brachte, die darin enthalte-

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[51] S. z. B. R. d'Amat, *Dict. Biogr. Fr.* 6 (1954) 833f.: "s'il a été considéré comme un grand antiquaire, il fut certainement un grand imposteur". Eingehend zu epigraphischen Fälschungen J. B. Keune, Fälschungen römischer Inschriften zu Metz und die neuesten Funde in der Trinitarierstrasse. Jean Jacques Boissard, *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 8 (1896) 1–117. Ferner R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* III, Roma 1990[2], 200; Mommsen, *CIL* IX–X praefatio XXXf. Ein ausgewogeneres Urteil gibt Chr. Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Abh. Ak. Heidelberg, Ph.- hist. Kl. 4), Heidelberg 1917, 53.

[52] Dazu vgl. Callmers (s. die folgende Anm.) Ausführungen 51–4.

nen Abschriften geben die ursprüngliche Fassung seiner Arbeit an Ort und Stelle getreuer wieder als diejenigen in den späteren Versionen.[53] Diesen Eindruck vermittelt die Einsicht in die Abschriften der langen stadtrömischen Serien, die im Holmiensis enthalten sind.

Da der Stockholmer Kodex bis jetzt nicht einer eingehenden Analyse unterzogen worden ist,[54] lasse ich im folgenden ein paar Bemerkungen dazu folgen. Eine gründliche Behandlung der Handschrift wäre eine dankbare Aufgabe, zumal sie von den Editoren des Berliner Corpus nur sporadisch und unsystematisch ausgewertet worden ist;[55] etwa auf die genaueren Standortangaben von Boissard (die oft auf wertvolle Weise diejenigen anderer alter Gewährsleute ergänzen) geben die Corpuseditoren nur wenig Notiz.

Die Stockholmer Handschrift ist freilich nicht frei von groben Fälschungen, von denen es sich vor allem in ihrem Anfangsteil wimmelt. Die meisten von ihnen sind auf den ersten Blick als Fälschungen erfassbar; der an der Lesung echter epigraphischer Texte trainierte Boissard wollte vielleicht gar nicht seinen Erfindungen immer den Anschein echten Stoffes verleihen. Man fragt sich zum Beispiel, ob seine Zeichnungen von römischen Kaiserinnen, auf dem Sockel von Unterschriften vom Typ *Sabina Augusta, Lucilla Augusta* begleitet (ff. 25v–27v) als bewusste Betrügerei gemeint waren; man könnte sie auch als eine Art Spielerei bezeichnen. Boissards Art und Weise, solche Monumente zu schaffen, kann auch positiv relativiert werden. Wie man gut an Ligorio beobachten kann, war es charakteristisch für die antiquarischen Bestrebungen des 16. Jahrhunderts, in der Absicht, der Antike zu neuem Leben zu verhelfen, antike Werke neu zu schaffen, von denen man meinen konnte, dass es sie so einmal gegeben habe. Die Grenze zwischen Echtem, einschließlich Rekonstruktionen, und "Produktionen", d. h. "Fälschungen" ist dabei oft fließend.[56]

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[53] So meint auch E. Mandowsky, apud Callmer, 59, post-scriptum.

[54] Chr. Callmer, Un manuscrit de Jean-Jacques Boissard à la Bibliothèque Royale de Stockholm, *Op. Rom*. IV (Acta Inst. Rom. Regni Sueciae 4°, 22), Lund 1962, 47–59 gibt eine wertvolle Übersicht über die Boissards Leben und Geschichte und Inhalt der Handschrift. Zum epigraphischen Befund trägt er nichts Neues bei.

[55] In *CIL* VI ist sie nicht systematisch ausgewertet worden. Aus *CIL* IX–X praefatio XXX erfahren wir, dass sie in Berlin im Jahre 1880 exzerpiert werden konnte. Aber etwa in dem im Jahre 1885 erschienenen Band der stadtrömischen Fälschungen ist sie sehr unvollständig herangezogen worden (dabei sind auch etwa Fehler in der Zitationsweise eingeschlichen). Andererseits wird sie gelegentlich schon im ersten, im Jahre 1876 erschienenen Band von *CIL* VI ausgewertet.

[56] Zuletzt hat gute Beobachtungen zu dieser Relativierung des Begriffes Fälschung geliefert A. Schreurs, Das antiquarische und kunsttheoretische Konzept Pirro Ligorios, *Kölner Jahrbuch*

Nach solchen groben Fälschungen geht es jedenfalls ernsthaft weiter mit einer großen Zahl von Abschriften echter (und auch einiger falscher, aber von Boissard nicht geschaffener) Texte, die er zu einem großen Teil in topographischer Ordnung bietet. Besonders fünf längere Serien stadtrömischer Sammlungen sind hervorzuheben, nämlich die Sammlungen der Kardinale Paolo Emilio und Federico Cesi (ff. 31v–38v),[57] des Kardinals Andrea Della Valle im Palast Della Valle – Capranica (ff. 45–47v),[58] des Kardinals Rodolfo Pio von Carpi (48-60v),[59] der Familie Delfini (ff. 68–75v),[60] und der Gärten vom Papst Julius III in Villa Giulia (ff. 78–85; 96f).[61] Wir geben hier ein paar Bemerkungen zur Sammlung von Rodolfo Pio, die in seinem berühmten Garten auf dem Quirinal aufgestellt war. Auf ff. 48–60v gibt Boissard, so gut wie immer aus Autopsie, den Text von 109 Inschriften, die alle auf dem Stein eingemeißelt waren, wie es scheint. Fälschungen gibt es nur ganz wenige, und sie stammen nicht von Boissard, da sie von älteren Autoren abgeschrieben worden sind. Die einzige Ausnahme ist *CIL* VI 3191* auf f. 54v, die nur bei Boissard überliefert ist; doch scheint auch sie auf dem Stein existiert zu haben (stellt also nicht bloß eine Papierkopie dar), weil sie mit anderen, sicher echten Texten gemischt steht. Boissard hat die meisten Texte der carpischen Sammlung selbst aufgenommen, daran kann kein Zweifel bestehen. Das geht direkt aus seiner Erzählung hervor, wie er sich an einem Abend im Garten einschloss, um seine Studien fortzusetzen;[62] auch die genauen Standortangaben der Monumente lassen auf genaues Studium an Ort und Stelle schließen. Boissards Abschriften sind meistens einwandfrei, auch wenn er nicht

26 (1993) 57–83; Dies., *Antikenbild und Kunstanschauungen des neapolitanischen Malers, Architekten und Antiquars Pirro Ligorio (1513-1583)* (Atlas. Bonner Beiträge zur Renaissanceforschung 3), Köln 2000.

57 Zu dieser Sammlung vgl. Chr. Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten* 1–42.

58 Zu dieser Sammlung vgl. A. Michaelis, Römische Skizzenbücher Marten van Heemskercks und anderer nordischer Künstler des XVI. Jahrhunderts, *JbI* 6 (1891) 225–35; L. Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, *Palazzo Della Valle. La collezione di antichità ed il Menologium rusticum Vallense*, Roma 1956; S. Magister, Censimento delle collezioni di antichità a Roma: 1471–503, *Xenia Antiqua* 8, 1999, 156; Ead., Id., Addenda, *ibid*. 10, 2001, 119f.

59 Vgl. vorläufig H. Solin, La raccolta epigrafica di Rodolfo Pio, in *Studi di antiquaria ed epigrafia per Ada Rita Gunnella*, a cura di C. Bianca, G. Capecchi, P. Desideri (Libri, carte, immagini 2), Roma 2009, 117–52.

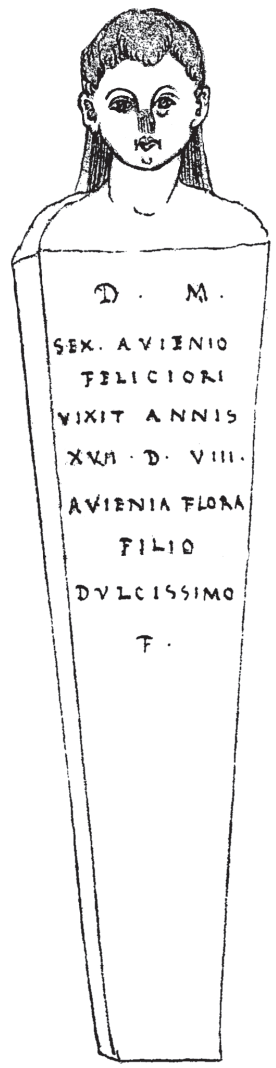
60 Zu dieser Sammlung vgl. S. Orlandi, *Un contributo alla storia del collezionismo. La raccolta epigrafica Delfini* (Opuscula epigraphica 4), Roma 1993.

61 Vgl. R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* III, Roma 1990^2, 26–46.

62 Boissard erzählt die Geschichte sowie sein Begegnen mit dem Kardinal am folgenden Morgen in der Epistula dedicatoria ad Ill(ustrissi)mum Principem Joannem Palatinum (vor dem ersten Teil der *Antiquitates*) f. **2–**3.

immer den Text gut zu verstanden haben scheint; auch Lesefehler fehlen nicht, die andererseits zeigen, dass er die Texte aus den Steinen selbst und nicht etwa aus älteren Autoren wie Smet oder Ligorio abgeschrieben hat. Bei den genaueren Standortangaben geht leider nicht immer deutlich genug hervor, welcher Inschrift Boissard die hinzugefügte Überschrift zuschreiben will.[63]

In der Reihe der carpischen Texte hat sich f. 54v eine nichtcarpische Inschrift eingeschlichen. Sie steht an letzter Stelle des Blattes; vielleicht wurde sie hier eingefügt, um Raum zu sparen, denn die ersten Inschriften des folgenden Blattes 55 (*CIL* VI 8468, 3552, 21099) hätten unten auf dem vorigen Blatt nicht gepasst. Die hohe, aber schmale stelenförmige nichtcarpische Inschrift wurde im Blatt horizontal gesetzt und konnte auf diese Weise unter die anderen, carpischen Texte des Blattes placiert werden. Die Inschrift soll *in hortis bellaianis* gewesen sein, d. h. in den Gärten des berühmten französischen Kardinals Jean Du Bellay (1498–1560),[64] der sich in Rom endgültig 1551 niederließ und in seinem Garten im Bereich der diokletianischen Thermen ein große Sammlung von Kunstwerken, darunter auch Inschriften sammelte. Der Text lautet wie folgt:



D(is) m(anibus).
Sex. Avienio
Feliciori;
vixit annis
XVI, d(iebus) VIII.
Avienia Flora
filio
dulcissimo
fecit.

[63] Um ein Beispiel zu nennen, steht auf f. 53 in der Mitte des Blattes *in corte ubi sunt termini*; oberhalb findet sich *CIL* VI 16273, unterhalb 1236. Es ist zuerst nicht ganz sicher, ob die Überschrift sich auf beide Inschriften bezieht, und sodann ist es schwierig, andere Informationen über den genaueren Standort der beiden Texte in Einklang zu bringen. Ich bespreche diesen und andere ähnliche Fälle in dem in Kürze erscheinenden Buch zur epigraphischen Sammeltätigkeit des XVI. Jahrhunderts.

[64] Zur Person R. d'Amat, *Dict. Biogr. Fr.* 11 (1967) 892–4; zu den Gärten R. Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma* II, Roma 1990^2, 149–53.

Der Schriftträger ist eine Art Hermen-Pfeiler, oben durch einen Kopf mit langen Haaren geschmückt. Die erste Frage, die man sich unverzüglich stellt, ist die nach der Echtheit des Stückes. Bedenken erregt die Form des Schriftträgers, besonders der Kopf. Auch wenn Boissard, selbst ein geschickter Zeichner, seine Zeichnungen weitgehend stilisierte, würde man dem Kopf auf den ersten Blick kaum Echtheit zutrauen. Der Text an sich ist einfach und kann echt sein; andererseits wäre Boissard ohne weiteres imstande gewesen, einen solch einfachen Wortlaut zu entwerfen. Nun bringt Boissard in der Stockholmer Handschrift keine anderen Inschriften aus Du Bellays Garten, außer die absurde Fälschung auf f. 20 (*CIL* VI 3153); in der Edition, soweit ich zur Zeit übersehe, hat er wenigstens noch eine Fälschung, *Iunoni Placidae* cett. (*ad hortos Bellaianos in Quirinali*) eingestreut.[65] Er hätte also ein weiteres Stück aus dem berühmten Garten dem Kodex beigebracht, um so auch seiner Vertrautheit mit Du Bellays Sammlungen Nachdruck zu geben, wobei er den Text hätte frei erdichten können. Nun war die Hermenform in römischen Grabinschriften nicht gebräuchlich, sonst aber gut bezeugt, vor allem in den Hermen berühmter Griechen,[66] aber auch in lateinischen Weihungen, etwa im Zusammenhang mit dem Dianatempel in Nemi (*CIL* XIV 4198, 4201–4203, 4272).[67] Wäre die Inschrift echt, dann könnte man sich die ungewöhnliche Form als Boissards Schöpfung vorstellen: er hat den Kopf und die Hermenform frei erkünstelt. Man kann seine Zeichnungen von Hermen berühmter Griechen auf ff. 78–78v. 171. 172 (darunter auch zwei berühmte Römer) als Vergleich heranziehen, wo er auf ff. 78–78v regelmäßig den Kopf den in Wirklichkeit akephalen Hermen hinzugefügt hat. Auf f. 78v gibt Boissard neben der Herme des Aristophanes (Hülsen [s. Anm. 66] Nr. 7) ein ähnliches Denkmal mit der Inschrift *M. Epidius Eros* (*CIL* VI 29799), mit Ammonskopf (wie er in *CIL* gedeutet wird) versehen; da Boissard der einzige Zeuge ist, kann man nicht genau beurteilen, ob der Kopf frei erfunden ist oder nicht, doch angesichts der Tatsache, dass Boissard sonst in dieser Serie all die Köpfe auf eigene Faust hinzugefügt hat, dürfte er auch den "Ammonskopf" frei erfunden haben.[68]

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[65] Das entnehme ich Lancianis *Storia degli scavi di Roma*², 150 mit der Abbildung der Inschrift aus *Antiquitates* IV 128. Sie fehlt in *CIL* VI*, vgl. aber 3134* aus dem Capitolium mit recht abweichendem Text.

[66] Vgl. den grundlegenden Aufsatz von Chr. Hülsen, Die Hermeninschriften berühmter Griechen und die ikonographischen Sammlungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts, *RM* 16 (1901) 123-208. Die stadtrömischen Texte in Moretti *IGUR*, Band IV (1990), aber unvollständig.

[67] Die Form dieser Denkmäler kann man vorzüglich beurteilen anhand der Photos in *Supplementa Italica. Imagines. Latium vetus* 1 (2005) Nr. 128–132.

[68] Die Wiedergabe in der Stockholmer Handschrift ist nicht ganz deutlich, doch insofern wertvoll, als sie darauf hinweist, dass wir es mit einer autographen Skizze zu tun haben. Eben des-

Ein paar Einzelheiten noch zum Text. Beide, die Errichterin und der Verstorbene, führen den Gentilnamen *Avienius*, der eine spätere Nebenform von *Avienus* vertritt; beide Formen sind einigermaßen belegt, besonders in Rom.[69] Man könnte meinen, dass Boissard den Namen des bekannten römischen Aristokraten und Dichters Rufius Festus Avienus als Vorlage für seine Erfindung gehabt hätte, hier steht aber *Avienius*; Boissard hätte also die "regelmäßigere" mit dem Suffix *-ius* versehene Gentilnamenbildung in den Text gesetzt. Was das Cognomen *Felicior* angeht, ist es nur selten belegt (s. oben 166), und es ist ausgeschlossen, dass Boissard irgendeinen der Belege des Namens gekannt hätte.[70] Sonst ist nichts Besonderes anzumerken; der Text läuft wie eine normale römische Grabinschrift, und der Wortlaut enthält absolut nichts, was ein Stein des Anstoßes sein könnte.

Um das Fazit zu ziehen. Prinzipiell könnte die Inschrift sowohl echt als auch unecht sein. Für die Unechtheit sprechen die Namen sicherlich nicht, im Gegenteil wäre der Gebrauch von *Felicior* (und gewissermaßen auch von *Avienius*) recht überraschend als Geschöpf von Boissard. Für die Unechtheit des Schriftträgers kann die Hermenform mit dem Kopf herangezogen werden, doch, vergleicht man *CIL* VI 29799 auf f. 78v, kann man diesen Einwand als stilisierte Bestrebung Boissards abtun, die Grabstele zu verschönern. Ich würde persönlich mehr für die Echtheit der Inschrift neigen, ohne die Möglichkeit gänzlich außer Acht zu lassen, Boissard hätte durch seine guten Kenntnisse der grabinschriftlichen Diktion und der römischen Namengebung diese echt aussehende Inschrift erfunden. Doch ist die erstere Alternative vorzuziehen.

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halb würde auch ich das Stück als echt betrachten. Leider stehen mir zur Zeit die Fassungen der Pariser Handschrift und der gedruckten Edition nicht zur Verfügung. Ob es sich aber um eine Künstlerinschrift handelt, wie Henzen meint (das geht aus seiner Anordnung des Stückes hervor), bleibt etwas unsicher. Mit der Inschrift der aus Du Bellays Garten verglichen, könnte man vielleicht sepulkralen Charakter erwägen.

[69] *Avienus -a*: *CIL* VI 6944. 12896. 34594. *AE* 1983, 61. *NSc* 1923, 37 Nr. 10 *Avienius -ia*: *CIL* VI 12898. 38063. 38485. Beide Formen in derselben Familie: *CIL* VI 12897 die Geschwister *Aviena Eucumene* und *Aveienius Georgus*. Gen. *Avieni* (der beiden Formen gehören kann): *CIL* VI 33283. 34593. 38062. *AE* 1988, 23. Sonst kommt der Name in beiden Formen in Latium, Campanien, Etrurien, Umbrien, Transpadana, Sardinien, Baetica, Gallien vor.

[70] *CIL* X 4300 aus Capua, wo ein Popidius Felicior vorkommt, ist seit Iucundus bekannt, es ist aber höchst zweifelhaft, dass Boissard die Inschrift gekannt hätte, keiner der von ihm nachweislich benutzten Autoren hat sie.

CCLVIII. ARGIVA RECOMPONENDA

A. Oikonomou-Laniado, *Argos paléochrétienne. Contribution à l'étude du Péloponnèse byzantin* (BAR Int. 1173), Oxford 2003, 54 Nr. 11–12 (mit Photos) publiziert gesondert zwei Sepulkralfragmente, die augenscheinlich zusammengehören. Daraus *SEG* LIII 325 und 326; *Bull. épigr*. 2004, 707, ohne dass die Zusammengehörigkeit erkannt worden wäre. Die beiden Fragmente von 12 fügen sich links von 11 (nur die letzte Zeile von 12 b findet keine Fortsetzung in 11). Der zusammenhängende Text lautet wie folgt:

† Κοιμητήριον
Κυπριανοῦ τριβ(ούνου)
καὶ τῆς τούτου
[γαμ]ετῆς Παύλας
[---]+TAPIA[---].

In 5 vermutet Stroud in *SEG* ein E vor T, was, aus dem freilich etwas unscharfen Photo zu schließen, durchaus möglich ist. Was dort stecken könnte, ist eine andere Sache; Name einer dritten Person oder Berufsbezeichnung? Oder noch was anderes?

Universität Helsinki

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DIG. 34,2,33: THE RETURN OF THE CROSS-DRESSING SENATOR*

Kaius Tuori

1. Introduction

Historians have long argued that exceptions such as rare situations, persons and cases are good indicators of the commonplace, because they bring forth opinions on what is considered normal and acceptable.[1] The legal case that forms the focus of the present work, Digest 34,2,33, is such a curiosity that has elicited lively discussion from both legal and historical scholars.[2] In this quotation in the Digest of Justinian from the fourth book of Pomponius' commentary on Quintus Mucius Scaevola Pontifex, there is a reference that "a certain senator" habitually wears a woman's dinner dress.

In this article, I shall examine law, morality and gender during the Late Republic through the supposed transgressions of this unnamed senator, and in the process I shall be questioning the assumptions on the limits of tolerance for the members of the Roman upper classes. The case is also used to show how much is actually known and how many of the interpretations are assumed by historians.

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[1] See, for example, N. Zemon Davis, *The return of Martin Guerre*, Cambridge 1983; C. Ginzburg, *Il formaggio e i vermi: il cosmo di un mugnaio del '500*, Torino 1999.

[2] E. Brewster, "The Synthesis of the Romans", *TAPhA* 49 (1918) 133: L. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans*, Baltimore 1938, 172; R. Astolfi, *Studi sull'oggetto dei legati in diritto romano* II, Padova 1969, 251; R. Astolfi, "Abiti maschili e femminili", *Labeo* 17 (1971) 33–9; A. Watson, *The Law of Succession in the Later Roman Republic*, Oxford 1971, 88; A. Wacke, "Die 'Potentiores' in den Rechtsquellen", *ANRW* 2:13 (1980) 567–8; B. Albanese, "Volontà negoziale e forma in una testimonianza di Q. Mucio Scaevola", in M. Harder, G. Thielmann (eds.), *De iustitia et iure, Festschrift für U. von Lübtow*, Berlin 1980, 157–8.

Roman dress is a subject of growing interest among ancient historians. The new type of scholarship focuses not only on the dresses and adornments themselves, but also on their social significance.[3]

2. Sources

As is often the case in legal sources, the information we have has been filtered through several quotations. The original text is that of Quintus Mucius Scaevola Pontifex (c. 140–82 BC), a renowned Roman jurist. His original works have been lost, but second century jurist Sextus Pomponius produced a commentary on Quintus Mucius' influential legal opinions. Pomponius' text was then preserved by the compilers of the Digest of Justinian in the early sixth century. The legal issue at stake is that in the case of a legacy, the things that should be included in the bequest are to be determined according to the way the testator would understand them.

> *Dig*. 34,2,33 Pomponius 4 ad Q. Muc.: *Inter vestem virilem et vestimenta virilia nihil interest: sed difficultatem facit mens legantis, si et ipse solitus fuerit uti quadam veste, quae etiam mulieribus conveniens est. Itaque ante omnia dicendum est eam legatam esse, de qua senserit testator, non quae re vera aut muliebris aut virilis sit. nam et Quintus Titius ait scire se quendam senatorem muliebribus cenatoriis uti solitum, qui si legaret muliebrem vestem, non videretur de ea sensisse, qua ipse quasi virili utebatur*.

"There is no difference between men's clothing and men's garments; but the intention of the testator makes for difficulty, if he himself had been in the habit of using certain clothing which is also suitable for women. And so, in the first place, it must be held that that clothing constitutes the legacy which the testator intended, not what is in fact female or male. For Quintus Titius [Mucius] also says that he knows that a certain senator was accustomed to use women's dinner dress, and if he were to leave women's clothing [it] would not be regarded as having expressed an intention in respect of what he himself used as if it were men's clothing."[4]

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[3] J. L. Sebesta – L. Bonfante (eds.), *The World of Roman Costume*, Madison 1994; K. Olson, *Dress and the Roman Woman*, London and New York 2008.

[4] Translation by R. Seager in A. Watson (ed.), *The Digest of Justinian* III, Philadelphia 1985, 155.

The fact that the text speaks of Quintus Titius and not Quintus Mucius has conventionally been interpreted by the editors of the Digest to be a scribal error, because no such author called Titius is known and the main text is a commentary on Quintus Mucius.

The case is an example of the *verba* or *voluntas* dilemma, the classical problem of textual interpretation. Quintus Mucius, departing from previous authors who claimed that one should follow the wording of the text, opts for the will of the author as the determining factor in legal interpretation. Thus, in the case of the said senator, that dress would not be included in his legacy of women's clothing because he used them as men's clothing.

The case is said to be the only text in the Digest of Justinian that contains a purely hypothetical case with real characters.[5] Hypothetical casuistry in itself has been considered vital for the development of Roman law, because it liberated jurists from contemplating solely cases that had actually occurred to ponder cases that might occur.[6] This change from responsive to active reasoning made possible the development of law as a science.

3. Interpretations

Given that Roman attitudes towards cross-dressing, the wearing of the clothes of the opposite sex, could be rather harsh during the Republic, the passage is quite puzzling and has produced a number of theories. Most of these theories wish to prove that unisex clothing was widespread in Rome and that the senator was not necessarily a transvestite.[7] For example, Andreas Wacke highlighted the passage as an example of how modern interpretations confuse our understanding of the Roman world. According to him, the senator was no transvestite and his use of women's dress was no stranger than the "current success of the 'Jeans trousers' both among young women and men." Instead of us the interpreters being Victorian prudes, we should, according to Wacke, see the senator's dress habits as "luxurious snobbism".[8]

However, there are a number of issues with this admittedly simple and elegant solution. Most importantly, the unisex theory fails in respect to what is

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[5] Watson (above n. 2) 88.

[6] B. Frier, *The Rise of the Roman Jurists*, Princeton 1985, 168.

[7] See, for example, Albanese (above n. 2) 157–8.

[8] Wacke 568: "... der gegenwärtig gleichen Beliebtheit der Jeans-Hose unter jungen Damen wie unter Männern."

known of the social significance of clothing. Gender-specific clothing formed aesthetic codes for men and women and, as Olson recently writes, though male and female clothing in Rome were similar in basic design, they were easily distinquishable.[9] Should one use a contemporary example, despite the fact that a suit and a pantsuit are similar in design, they are instantly recognizable.

The scandal caused by the cross-dressing Clodius infiltrating the secret rites of Bona Dea a few decades later could be seen as a sign that during the Republic, such antics like men wearing women's clothes were tolerated only by actors, foreigners and other disreputable characters. As Cicero says, a manly spirit demands a manly dress.[10] Not only women's clothes, but also clothes that resemble them, such as an ankle-length tunic would have been considered effeminate.[11] And indeed, another passage in the Digest (*Dig*. 34,3,23,2) states that women's clothes are those that a man cannot wear without *vituperatione*.[12]

The moralizing interpretation that linked using feminine dress with sexual deviance was common during the Republic. According to Gellius, Scipio Africanus criticized P. Sulpicius Galus for effeminacy because he wore a long-sleeved tunic. Scipio says that men who dress in long-sleeved tunics are also in the habit of being trimmed and groomed, lying in banquets alongside their lovers like women and most likely committing all kinds of immoral acts. The fact that Gellius describes Galus as a *homo delicatus* adds to impression that he was not commonly seen as an embodiment of *virtus*.[13]

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[9] Olson (above n. 3) 10–1.

[10] Cicero contrasts previous demagogues such as the Gracchi who were manly, gallant and distinguished, but ultimately misled, to Publius Clodius who prances to the political stage essentially in drag. Cic. *har. resp.* 43–4: *P. Clodius a crocota, a mitra, a muliebribus soleis purpureisque fasceolis, a strophio, a psalterio, a flagitio, a stupro est factus repente popularis.*

[11] J. Heskel, "Cicero as Evidence for Attitudes to Dress in the Late Republic", in Sebesta – Bonfante (above n. 3) 134.

[12] *Dig*. 34,3,23,2 Ulpianus libro 44 ad Sabinum: *Vestimenta omnia aut virilia sunt aut puerilia aut muliebria aut communia aut familiarica. Virilia sunt, quae ipsius patris familiae causa parata sunt, veluti togae tunicae palliola vestimenta stragula amfitapa et saga reliquaque similia. Puerilia sunt, quae ad nullum alium usum pertinent nisi puerilem, veluti togae praetextae aliculae chlamydes pallia quae filiis nostris comparamus. Muliebria sunt, quae matris familiae causa sunt comparata, quibus vir non facile uti potest sine vituperatione, veluti stolae pallia tunicae capitia zonae mitrae, quae magis capitis tegendi quam ornandi causa sunt comparata, plagulae penulae. Communia sunt, quibus promiscui utitur mulier cum viro, veluti si eiusmodi penula palliumve est et reliqua huiusmodi, quibus sine reprehensione vel vir vel uxor utatur. Familiarica sunt, quae ad familiam vestiendam parata sunt, sicuti saga tunicae penulae lintea vestimenta stragula et consimilia.*

[13] Gell. 6,12,4–5: *Hac antiquitate indutus P. Africanus, Pauli filius, vir omnibus bonis arti-*

Cicero was, of course, in the habit of using the Greek-dress card against Verres, whose misdeeds in *tunica pulla* and *pallio purpureo* he outlines in great detail.[14] It is exceedingly clear that Cicero holds that dressing in a way that may be interpreted as effeminate was simply unacceptable for a Roman man and even less for a nobleman.

In recent years, there has been something of a conceptual revolution regarding dressing and its gendered interpretations. The term "cross-dressing" is used for the act of wearing clothing commonly associated with another sex within a particular society, whereas the term transvestite refers to a person who cross-dresses. However, the word has additional, often sexual connotations. Neither of the terms has any relation to a transgender identity nor being transsexual.[15]

Cross-dressing as a theme was an established part of ancient Greek, and to a lesser degree, Roman culture with manifestations in historical writing, myth and religion. For example, Plutarch mentions how Alcibiades, on the night before his death, dreamt that he was dressed in women's clothes.[16]

4. Solutions

What then should be made of the text? At the outset, it should be noted that the tone of the text is dry and declaratory, devoid of moralization. Nor does the text credit the senator with transgressive or carnivalistic motives, or any motive at all for that matter.

We know little of the clothes that the Romans wore at dinner and there are very few realistic representations of them in iconography. The *cenatoria* mentioned in the text are not known except in some texts and there is uncertainty regarding what kind of dress it was. The altar of P. Vitellius Successus is one of the few examples of a realistic dining scene with people with their clothes on, because most the images of dining are idealized scenes with nude or semi-nude

bus atque omni virtute praeditus, P. Sulpicio Galo, homini delicato, inter pleraque alia, quae obiectabat, id quoque probro dedit, quod tunicis uteretur manus totas operientibus. 5 Verba sunt haec Scipionis: "*Nam qui cotidie unguentatus adversum speculum ornetur, cuius supercilia radantur, qui barba vulsa feminibusque subvulsis ambulet, qui in conviviis adulescentulus cum amatore cum chirodyta tunica interior accubuerit, qui non modo vinosus, sed virosus quoque sit, eumne quisquam dubitet, quin idem fecerit, quod cinaedi facere solent?*".

14 Cic. 2 *Verr*. 4,54–5; 5,31; 5,40; See Heskel (above n. 11) 134–5, 139, for more examples.

15 For discussion, see V. and B. Bullough, *Cross-Dressing, Sex and Gender*, Philadelphia 1993.

16 Plut. *Alc.* 39.

figures.[17] The altar relief depicts a man and a woman reclining on a couch. Brewster suggests that the man's dress would have been an example of the *synthesis.*[18]

Earlier scholars on Roman dinner garments suggested that the *cenatoria* and *synthesis* might be almost identical banquet costumes,[19] but the evidence for that is inconclusive. *Cenatoria* appear in sources very rarely, but they are referred to exclusively as dinner costumes. For example, Martial (14,135) writes that not law courts or going to bail are for them, but rather the work of *cenatoria* is to lie on couches. Petronius also calls dinner garments *cenatoria*.[20] They are also known as costumes worn by the college of Arval Brethren, who did have a suitable dining room at their sacred grove. The claim of the similarity of *cenatoria* and *synthesis* rests mostly in that according to their Acta, in AD 91 the Brethren reclined and dined having donned the *synthesis*, while in the year AD 218 the college wore white *cenatoria* for a similar banquet and in AD 241 again dined in their white *cenatoria.*[21]

Brewster claims that the *synthesis* and *cenatoria* were identical garments worn as dinner clothing as substitutes for the toga and both *synthesis* and *cenatoria* were used by men and women (the identification hypothesis).[22] Wilson suggests that the *synthesis* was a women's dress that was beginning to be adopted by men at the time of Q. Mucius (the transformation hypothesis). That it still carried the stigma of effeminacy, especially to conservatives, would be indicated in the text of Quintus Mucius. Later, by the time of Martial, its use would have been commonplace.[23]

Based on this evidence, it is perhaps prudent to hold the identical nature of *synthesis* and *cenatoria* as not conclusively proven.[24] There are too many as-

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[17] For example, wall paintings in the Casa dei Casti Amanti in Pompei.

[18] M. Roller, "Horizontal Women: Posture and Sex in the Roman Convivium", *AJPh* 124 (2003) 407, fig. c; W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, Berlin 1905, 192, fig. 154; *CIL* VI 29088a.; Brewster (above n. 2) 142. See also M. Roller, *Dining Posture in Ancient Rome*, Princeton 2006.

[19] Brewster (above n. 2); Wilson (above n. 2).

[20] Petron. 21: *lassitudine abiecta cenatoria repetimus et in proximam cellam ducti sumus.*

[21] *CIL* VI 2068 *cum sintes[ibus] epulati sunt*; *CIL* VI 2104 *cenatoria alba*; *CIL* VI 2114. Brewster (above n. 2) 133: "It is unlikely that the Romans, considering the lack of variety in their wardrobe as a whole, had two special costumes for dinners." *Dig*. 34,2,38,1 has a reference to *synthesis*, where the translators have ordinarily interpreted it as a matching tunic and mantle.

[22] Brewster (above n. 2) 134.

[23] Wilson (above n. 2) 172

[24] Brewster (above n. 2) 134 already noted that "we have no knowledge of the latter that would throw light upon the nature of the former".

sumptions and leaps of faith both in the identification hypothesis and the transformation hypothesis and thus I remain unconvinced of this explanation.

Watson has noted that it is not difficult to detect a hint of malice in the text of Pomponius.[25] On the contrary, I would suggest that the text is actually quite neutral and the only interpretation that would be possible with a reading faithful to the text is that the senator was a cross-dresser. Explicitly, the text simply declares that the senator habitually dresses in women's clothes for dinner.

The interpretations presented in the literature by earlier authors can be categorized into three classes. These explanations label the senator as: 1) a queen, or sexually deviant, 2) a kook, or eccentric, or 3) cool, or in the vanguard of fashion.

The first explanation, that the senator might have been sexually motivated in his dress habits, relies on the moralizing aspect that confused cross-dressing with being queer. This explanation is usually linked with passages about traditional Roman mores (*mos maiorum*) and effeminate Greek influences, such as Cicero charging Clodius with effeminacy because Clodius manages to look good in women's clothes.[26] Since Clodius supposedly dressed in women's clothes in order to sneak into a house during the rites of Bona Dea in order to commit adultery, it is usually accepted that Cicero did not pursue the claim that Clodius' cross-dressing had sexual implications.[27] However, Cicero does link cross-dressing with sexuality in his attacks against M. Antonius in the Philippics. According to Cicero, Antonius wore the *toga muliebris* and prostituted himself before forming a stable partnership with Curio and thence taking on the married woman's *stola*.[28] Cicero similarly derides the associates of Catiline as effeminate party boys who immerse themselves in debauchery such as dancing at banquets. They dress in long tunics normally worn by women, not a toga as would be fitting a Roman man, and wield daggers and poison.[29]

A further issue is the significance that we are talking about a dinner dress. Dinner was not simply a meal; for the upper classes, it was a way of presenting

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[25] Watson (above n. 2) 88

[26] Fr. Schoell, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta quae manserunt omnia,* VIII, Lipsiae 1918, xv, fr. 22,24; I. Puccioni, *M. Tulli Ciceronis Orationum depertitarum fragmenta*, Milano 1972, xv, fr. 21, 23; Heskel (above n. 11) 144.

[27] Heskel (above n. 11) 140; On the event, see Plut. *Caesar* 10,8–10.

[28] Cic. *Phil.* 2,44–5: *Sumpsisti virilem, quam statim muliebrem togam reddidisti. Primo vulgare scortum, certa flagitii merces, nec ea parva; sed cito Curio intervenit, qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo collocavit.* See also C. Edwards, *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge 2002, 64–5.

[29] Cic. *Cat*. 2,22–3; Heskel (above n. 11) 140.

social and sexual relations. A pleasant *convivium* consisted of wine, food, conversation, and allusions to sex and dress were an immensely important part of keeping up appearances on such occasions.[30]

The main difficulty of using this moralizing Cicero-based story to explain Pomponius' text is that it is not supported by the text itself. Despite what Watson says, the text has no hints in that direction.

The second explanation, that of the senator being an eccentric nobleman, claims that he was just slightly strange and nonconformist in his choice of dinner dress. Because nobody saw this behavior as threatening, there was no witch-hunt and he suffered no negative consequences. Despite the fact that the nobility is often heard denouncing the use of fine dress and adornment, they possessed both the material wealth and social freedom others did not have to display them.[31]

This brings us to the possible identity of the "certain senator". He could not have been a well known or influential politician, otherwise we might have heard about it in other sources, since late Republican character assassins loved this kind of material. A possibility is a senator in Quintus Mucius' inner circle, making this an inside joke. Considering the fact that Scipio objected the delicate Galus' use of the long-sleeved tunic and considered it as a sign of other depraved acts, we can safely assume that a woman's dress would have raised some eyebrows.

We must also consider the real possibility is that this example is mere juristic fiction. There is an ongoing debate on how much the Digest actually reflects social reality.[32] Though it is difficult to believe that Roman jurists possessed a sense of humor, we should not rule it out.

The third explanation is that this use of female *cenatoria* was a fashion statement by bold trendsetters that later became mainstream. Again, this is an attractive proposition that would have a natural background in the moralizing criticism by conservatives. Unfortunately, we know too little about the dresses to say that such a transformation occurred due to the confusion about women's clothing and *synthesis*. Especially since the transformation hypothesis was created to explain the existence of Pomponius' text and relies exclusively on the same text as its only evidence, its credibility is low.

I am now at the stage where it is customary to present an explanation of one's own. I shall do that with the help of Turner's theory of liminality. The theo-

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[30] Roller (above n. 17) 377–422; B. Gold – J. F. Donahue (eds.), *Roman Dining*, Baltimore 2005.

[31] Olson (above n. 3) 103–4.

[32] J. J. Aubert – B. Sirks (eds.), *Speculum Iuris: Roman Law as a Reflection of Social and Economic Life in Antiquity*, Ann Arbor 2002.

ry, as is well known, operates on the idea about transitional states when a transfer in social settings is taking place. Though the rite of passage is Turner's most often cited example, according to Turner, similar transformations of social roles take place through a state of liminality.[33]

The question that I think is the most essential is: where does one see the transition? The theories that have been presented in previous literature operate around the idea that the dressing in women's clothes is the liminal stage and thus would be dangerous to social norms. Therefore, it has been vital to discuss its social consequences, either negating or defending the notion of sexual subversion and deviance.

My theory is that Quintus Mucius was simply talking about legal categories. The mistake that previous authors have made is to link Cicero's moralistic propaganda to the whole affair. Hence, the three modes of explanation that try to counter the Ciceronian propaganda, not the text itself.

The text simply answers the legal dilemma of the cross-dressing senator, without any moral, sexual or social considerations. It might or might not be a hypothetical case; there is no way of knowing. What is clear is that the case was taken into the legal reasoning process without any moralizing or sexualizing epithets. Jurisprudence as a science prided itself on its separation (*Isolierung*) that allowed it to concentrate on the essentials of the case and to remove external considerations.[34]

Quintus Mucius has been seen by some as the "father of Roman legal science and of the Western legal tradition."[35] What has been shown here is that regardless of whether that is the case, he should be treated as a legal author, not a moralist.[36]

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[33] W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, New York 1970.

[34] On the isolation of Roman law, see F. Schulz, *Prinzipien des römischen Rechts*, Berlin 1934, 13–26; G. Pugliese, "L'autonomia del diritto rispetto agli altri fenomeni e valori sociali nella giurisprudenza romana", in *La storia del diritto nel quadro delle scienze storiche: Atti del primo Congresso internazionale della Società Italiana di Storia del Diritto*, Firenze 1966, 161–91; B. Frier, "Law, Roman, sociology of", in *OCD*[3], 2003, 824: "... the most historically significant contributions of Roman law probably depended less on the specific content of its rules than on its emergence as a more or less autonomous discipline that was insulated by its professionalism from directly contending social pressures."

[35] Frier (above n. 6) 171.

[36] K. Tuori, "The Myth of Quintus Mucius Scaevola: Founding Father of Legal Science?", *LHR* 72 (2004) 243.

5. Conclusions

Transgressions of any sort are exciting and titillate the imagination with scenes of scandal and mayhem. Historical interpretation is by no means free of this temptation, as has been shown by the example of the senator in women's clothes. Pomponius' quotation of Quintus Mucius Scaevola's text from the late Republic uses this example to enlighten the reader on the classical question of inheritance law: whether one should follow the text of the will or the intention of its author, when these diverge. In addition and quite often overshadowing the legal issue, the figure of the cross-dressing senator has led scholars to ponder at length the extent this unnamed senator crossed moral, social and sexual boundaries. An intricate body of scholarship has been created to explain how he was or was not a sexual deviant, an eccentric character, or a fashion icon. All of these explanations rest for their rationale on the bulk of writing by Cicero who denounced his opponents as effeminate because they wore feminine dress. This need to rescue the unnamed senator from Cicero's rhetorical attacks has given us the now reigning school of thought that tries to explain that women's costume was actually the same as men's costumes and thus there is no scandal.

What this study has shown is that it is easy to get lost in the details and miss the vital point. Quintus Mucius was talking of legal categories, the results that would follow if someone, such as a senator, used things in a way that was not customary. Would one follow the intention of the senator, or the common accepted usage? Neither Quintus Mucius nor Sextus Pomponius have seen any need to delve into the social, moral or sexual consequences that this would have, because it would have made no difference to the legal issue at stake.

To put this in a theoretical framework, the previous authors to have written on the matter have wrongly contextualized their liminalities. Cicero's attempt at creating a moral panic for political purposes has nothing to do with Quintus Mucius' legal dilemma.

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DUSTING THE MYTHOLOGICAL COBWEBS

A Survey of Companions, Textbooks and Handbooks on Greek Mythology with special reference to:

The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology. The Cambridge Companions to Literature Series. Edited by Roger D. Woodard. Cambridge University Press, New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-84520-5 (hb), 978-0-521-60726-1 (pb). XVI, 536 pp, 25 ill. GBP 50, USD 94.99 (hb), GBP 18.99, USD 29.99 (pb).

"For we are Coleridge's children: we do, even the Deconstructionists among us, tend to assume organic unity in the things we read."

David Brumble,
Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology, 418

1. Introduction

In 1972 G. S. Kirk could write that "myth has been left in its old and rather cobwebby pigeon-hole" despite fresh insights into society, literacy, the pre-Homeric world and relations with the Near East (*JHS* vol. 94, 74). Nobody would concur to that today. There has been a plethora of handbooks and companions on mythology, starting with Fritz Graf's *Greek Mythology: an Introduction* (1993), Barry Powell's *Classical Myth* (1994) and Richard Buxton's *Imaginary Greece: The Context of Mythology* (1994) all of which many authors in the *Cambridge Companion* refer to for further reading. About the time same were published Carl Ruck and Danny Staples' *The World of Classical Myth: Gods and Goddesses, Heroines and Heroes* (1994), Randy Stewart's *HyperMyth* 4.1 with a link to Perseus (1994). To add to these: Timothy Gantz, *Early Greek Myth: a Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources* (1996), Gudrun Ahlberg-Cornell, *Myth and Epos in Early Greek Art: Representation and Interpretation* (1992) and Suzanne Saïd, *Approches de la mythologie grecque* (1993) which is recommended for use with

Graf. Richard Buxton then had *The Complete World of Greek Mythology* published in 2004. In 2005 appeared *The Penguin Dictionary of Classical Mythology* by A. Maxwell-Hyslop, Pierre Grimal and Stephen Kershaw and *Manuel de mythologie grecque* by Charles Delattre. The following year the 8th edition of *Classical Mythology* by Mark Morford and Robert Lenardon saw the light. Then in 2008 appeared Robin Hard's *The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology* as well as his *Library of Greek Mythology (Oxford World's Classics)*, based on Apollodorus. Roger Woodard's *The Penguin Anthology of Classical Mythology* will be printed in March 2010.

Post-structuralist books began to appear in 1981 with Marcel Detienne's *L'Invention de la mythologie* and Paul Veyne's *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes*? (1983). Claude Calame has brought out *Métamorphoses du mythe en Grèce antique* (1988) and *Poétique des mythes dans la Grèce antique* (2000). In 1999 Bruce Lincoln wrote his seminal work on mythic theory, *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship*. An oral wing is represented by Richard Martin's *The Language of Heroes* (1989) and William Hansen's *Classical Mythology: A Guide to the Mythical World of the Greeks and Romans* (2006). The internet world resembles Calypso's island teeming with seductive sites, but the canny googler can find references to a wealth of mythological literature from Wikipedia and www.theoi.com.

The Cambridge Companion to Greek Mythology (hereafter *CC*) edited by Richard Woodard, which is under review here, appeared in 2007. It will have to take on a new competitor in January 2010, that is the *Companion to Greek Mythology* in the series *Blackwell Guides to the Ancient World*, edited by Ken Dowden and Niall Livingstone.

CC must survive in an extremely tough and competitive market where handbooks, textbooks and companions are churned out in fair quantities every year. As such it will not be "a unique resource" for amateur or professional scholars and readers.

2. Definition of myth

The Achilles' heel of the *CC* is that it lacks a concentrated and extended discussion of the significance of words such as myth or even myth-kitty (444), myth-type, myth and ritual, *muthos* (2, 4, 5, 9, 11, 50, 54, 57–61, 107, 137, 150, 186, 198, 259, 260, 356, 389), *mythos* (5, 210–14, 216, 224, 230, 332), aetiological myth (62, 215, 261–2, 265, 267, 269–72, 274, 278–81, 363, 366, 368), mythic tradition, succession myth (88–90, 92, 95, 204), classical mythology, mythological narrative, mythography (5, 6, 238–41, 243, 245–7, 252, 259, 271, 358, 402, 421), mythic imagination (in relation to misogyny that continues to contribute to the inequity of the world, 390) or of similar concepts such as *ainos* (63–8, 78–9, 107, 211), account, anecdote, saga, fable, *fabula* (cf. 398 fabulation), legend, *logos* (5, 50, 59, 106, 114, 115, 123–4, 134, 142, 149, 210–14, 216–7, 222, 224, 230, 389), *Märchen*, narrative (e.g. 388), story, tale, or theme.

As a result, the book is not entirely "comprehensive" nor is it "integrated". Admittedly no universally accepted definition of myth exists but Burkert's statement that "myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance" gives a good idea of the main characteristics of myth. Even the word "mythology" can confusingly mean either "the field of scholarship dealing with myth" but also "a particular body of myths". We should however bear in mind a *caveat* from Morford and Lenardon: "the impossibility of establishing a satisfactory definition of myth has not deterred scholars from developing comprehensive theories on the meaning and interpretation of myth". The Greek word *mythos* originally meant "word, speech, message" but in the fifth century BC started to acquire the meaning "entertaining, if not necessarily trustworthy, tale". The Romans used the word *fabula*, which was also used in modern discussions until c. 1760, when the Göttingen classicist C. G. Heyne (1729–1812) coined the word *mythus* in order to stress the veracity of myth. Ken Dowden has even suggested that it is the indiscriminate classification of "Greek myth" as "Greek myth" that encourages its use as the basis for large-scale generalised statements about the attitudes of "Greek society" (Vanda Zajko in *CC* 394 with reference there).

Throughout the work, however, in dribs and drabs, there are smaller and shorter discussions of myth and religion. On the first page, Woodard prefaces his Sisyphean task with the *caveat* that "what we call 'Greek myth' is no featureless monolith, but multifaceted, multifarious and multivalent, a fluid phenomenon". For some scholars in fact, such as Georges Dumézil, precious little of Greek myth appears to be inherited from earlier Indo-European periods. Woodard, following in part Jean-Pierre Vernant, discovers primitive Indo-European elements to be present in *Works and Days* as well as in the *Theogony* (3). He "taps into myth" in the same way that Plato "taps into myth" in the *Gorgias* (229). For instance, Calame takes up the challenge of definition: "neither 'myth' nor 'religion' constitutes a category native to Greek thought" (259). To this can be added Clay's comments: "the luxuriant varieties of definitions of Greek "myth" are a symptom of the remoteness of our culture from the culture of ancient Greece" and he is doubtless correct in asserting that "the term myth now carries a pejorative sense in modern languages" (210). Drawing heavily upon Austin 1962 and Martin 1989, Nagy offers "a working definition of *muthos* as it functions within the epic frame of Homeric poetry: a speech-act indicating authority, performed at length, usually in public, with a focus on full attention to every detail". He lays stress on *muthos* as a word describing something in epic, and only refers incidentally to the role of the gods as witnessed in the literature, while Buxton (176) states that "in Homeric epic, and in all subsequent Greek epics down to Nonnus, the gods play a decisive part" with footnote references (n. 20) to Griffin 1980, Kraus 1984, Kullmann 1992, Kearns 2004 and Feeney 1991 on post-Homeric epic. But already in Herodotus the word *muthos* or *mythos* (as Clay has it) had come to describe an idle and unbelievable tale. Clay then (210–11) enters into a discussion of *logos* and *mythos*, concluding (212) that whether a narrative is called *mythos* or *logos* depends on the viewpoint of the teller of the tale (usually Socrates) and his audience. As Plato criticises Greek myth and as he invents his own countermyths, his reader is confronted with constantly shifting perspectives. On the following page, Clay notes Plato's simultaneous dismissal and use of Greek myth (in the *Phaedrus*).

Bowie speaks of the "embourgeoisement" of the gods in Old Comedy (190). Zajko initiates a good discussion on contexts of a myth, and, citing Dowden, emphasises that one task of the interpretation of myth is to measure the extent of its "idealogical distortion" (394). Zajko continues with Csapo's critique of Vernant's structuralism, finally (396) lashing out at her editor: "the special relationship women have with myth because of this potency goes some way towards explaining why the editor of a collection such as *The Cambridge Companion* has commissioned an essay on women and myth but not an equivalent one pertaining to men." (At the time of writing the professor of women's studies at Helsinki University, Tuija Pulkkinen, has announced that the name of the study in future will be "gender studies".)

Much later Strabo will distinguish between two radically different forms of writing: that presented "in guise of myth" and that presented "in guise of history". Carolyn Higbie (238) states that two genres – mythography (stories about the gods and heroes) and paradoxography (stories of the weird or unusual) – developed in the Hellenistic era, out of earlier chronography. Hall cites notions advanced by Georges Dumézil and Claude Lévi-Strauss (332) that "myth is taxonomy in narrative form" and its variation to the effect that "myth is ideology in narrative form", attributed to Lincoln. In the concluding chapter, Winkler lays emphasis on the tradition of imagining alternatives to well-attested and even canonical versions of myth that goes back to antiquity itself. Just to illustrate how far removed such "cinematic neomythologism" can be from acts and contexts of *muthoi* is revealed, for example, by Wolfgang Petersen's comments regarding his film *Troy* (2004): "I think that, if we could consult with him up there, Homer would be the first today to advise: 'Get rid of the gods'."

3. Orchestration of *CC*: Part 1

The sixteen original articles of *CC* are marshalled into three sections but the allocation of articles to each section proves to be problematic. As a result the book presents neither a comprehensive nor an integrated account of ancient Greek mythic tradition. Several authoritative scholars of classical mythology and religion are notably missing from the list of contributors. Part I begins with lyric, epic, Hesiod, tragedy, Aristophanes, Plato and Hellenistic Mythographers, thus neglecting Herodotus, Thucydides, the orators and Pindar, though admittedly Pindar is included in lyric. Part II looks at the relationship between myth, religion, art and politics among the Greeks and at the Roman appropriation of Greek mythic tradition. The ambivalent reception of Greek myth from the Middle Ages to modernity, in literature, feminist or gender scholarship, and cinema, completes Part III. This reviewer would have anticipated some discussion of the confrontation of Christianity with pagan myth, of pragmatics and semiotics, of Black Athena and racism in myth and society and finally of the ways and means myths are diffused and disintegrated.

Every main section is opened by two long quotations of a modern and an ancient version of a Greek myth in Hawthorne's mid-nineteenth-century retellings and Hesiod's or Apollodorus' accounts respectively. Woodard calls this "presumptuous" and "audacious" (1) and sometimes "a bit idiosyncratic" (11). I would have preferred to see more Robert Graves' quotations, not just from *The Golden Fleece*, but also from his *Greek Myths* and *The White Goddess*. Alongside Hawthorne, Charles Kingsley, Thomas Bulfinch and Gustav Schwab (in translation) wrote pivotal works in the nineteenth century to spread knowledge of Greek mythology to Anglophone audiences. From the mid-twentieth century one can mention Edith Hamilton's *Mythology* and Robert Graves' *The Greek Myths*, both reissued in the last decade, though these collections have never been taken seriously by professional classicists. A typical view would be that of Victor Bers in a 1985 article in the *Yale Review* where he claims that these works "deserve a brief *dis*recommendation" (Sheila Murnaghan, *CB* 84.1 [2009] 81).

The first section *Sources and Interpretations* starts with two articles by Greg Nagy on lyric and Homer respectively and a third by Roger Woodard on Hesiod and eastern mythology. Woodard is once again "a bit idiosyncratic" in positioning lyric before epic, but this follows the new orthodoxy whereby Homeric epic has been downdated and lyric has been seen to have many features in common with epic and to function in interdiscursivity with epic. In the archaic period, composition and performance are inextricably linked. Nagy focuses on the transmitted texts works of the Lesbian lyric poets Sappho and Alcaeus. The place of such performance was the sacred ritual space of Messon – the space for the celebration of the *Kallisteia*, a festival featuring choral singing and dancing by Lesbian women – a ritual space that can be "figured … in mythological terms". Nagy emphasises the ritual background of lyric performance which complements the mythological background of the composition. The chapter on lyric contains numerous side-glances to myth and ritual in Homer (e.g. 32–3) and to *humnos* in lyric and epic contexts (39). The chapter ends with the massive shift from east to west in the history of Greek lyric traditions and with nuanced remarks on Pindar's *Olympian* 1. In his chapter on Homer and myth, Nagy makes great play of the expression "the master-myth" of the *Odyssey*, that is the hero's homecoming or *nostos*. At the end of this chapter Nagy takes note of Homer's Indo-European antecedents, while again reminding his readers of the orientalising factor – "the lateral influence of Near Eastern languages and civilisations".

While Nagy already mentions the Near Eastern influence on Greek myth, it is Roger Woodard, in "Hesiod and Greek Myth" (83–165), who concentrates on the east-west interface. The author's knowledge of Near Eastern languages and contexts is impressive: by depicting parallels between Hesiodic and many Oriental and Indo-European myths, he demonstrates with an almost missionary impetus that classicists often if not neglect, at least only superficially take into account-due to their lack of language skills outside Greek and Latin. The so-called kingship-in-heaven tradition of the *Theogony* is one well attested among various Near Eastern peoples of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia and is reported to have existed in a Phoenician form as well. Hesiod's kingship-in-heaven account, though a primitive and core component of the "ancient myths" of the Greeks, was almost certainly taken over from one or another of these Near Eastern cultures and not inherited from the Greeks' own Indo-European ancestors. Though Woodard is right that myths have to be told to make the stories known, he follows his passion too extensively. Many pages of his immensely long essay consist of abundant summaries intended to prove how close to each other Greek and Near Eastern or Indo-European traditions are. What is more, he also cites long passages of leading scholars, especially West and Nagy, conceding to them a source-like status. Certainly, Hesiod is very important for the establishment of the Greek mythical cosmos, and very few could trace him back to the Oriental routes as Woodard can. But if the size of his elaborations had been reduced, his points would have been even better made.

From Hesiod, Woodard's *Companion* jumps three hundred years, regrettably leaping over the hurdles of Herodotus and Pindar, to the topic of "Tragedy and Greek myth" (166–189). He shows how the mighty heroes Heracles, Theseus, Agamemnon and Oedipus experience disruptions and dilemmas generated by heroism, which "almost invariably involve the catastrophic destruction of a household" (167). Buxton also attacks the question of tragedy's distinctiveness within the mythical tradition and here he backtracks to Homer: "In Homeric epic, and in all subsequent Greek epics down to Nonnus, the gods play a decisive part" (176). Buxton casts side-glances to Hesiod, to Pindaric praise-poetry and to Herodotus into the bargain (177), where "the backdrop is a structure of religious assumptions anchored in the mythical past". So too in tragedy "the actions of divinities are highlighted in every narrative genre which retells Greek myths" (176). In the reviewer's opinion, this is something that could have been said 170 pages earlier.

Angus Bowie's essay-title "Myth in Aristophanes" (190–209) is misleading since he surveys the relation between myth and Greek comedy as a whole by beginning with a general overview of Old Comedy. Considering first the few remains of mythological Old Comedy generally – best evidenced by a summary of Cratinus' *Dionysalexandrus*, in which the story of the Trojan War "is reworked so that Dionysus becomes as it were a failed actor in the role of Paris" – Bowie observes that comedy "was a genre in which the gods were not spared mockery, even the god in whose honour the festival was being held". Indeed, from the fragmentary texts mythological Old Comedy looks to be a genre that "could take considerable liberties with mythology" and one that could frequently use a "mythical story for political purpose". Fortunately Aristophanes supplies us with more substantial evidence with his use of mythology. The backdrop of *Lysistrata* is the myth that woman is the source of danger, strife and disruption in society (206), but Aristophanes reverses the negative and positive signs normally attached to men and women. Similarly, Bowie argues, Aristophanes unmasks the constructed nature of mythology in his plays *Birds* and *Ecclesiazusae*, so that it is fair to generalise that his comedies reverse common messages of myths as provided by tragedy in order to produce an "awareness of the dangers of too uncritical or simplistic an acceptance of what some myths may convey" (208).

In the original meaning of the word, "mythology" is tautological, for in Homeric times, *muthoi* and *logoi* meant more or less the same. Diskin Clay, in "Plato Philomythos" (210–236), deconstructs the often supposed dichotomy between the two terms in later times. In reality, the relation was much more complex than a simple opposition between true and false (or, rather, fictive) tales. In Plato, it depends on the perspective of the story-teller if his tale should be considered as *mythos* or *logos*. Plato uses and dismisses myths at the same time. Clay picks examples from the myths of *Protagoras*, *Phaedrus*, the *Republic*, the *Statesman*, *Critias*, the *Symposium*, and *Phaedo,* all with generous quotations. "Plato's real quarrel", Clay claims, "is not with Greek myth; it is with the poetry of the Greek polis and its false and debasing representations of reality".

Certainly, myths appeared in prose texts before Hellenistic times, but the passion for collecting and compiling different myth traditions only arose then, as Carolyn Higbie stresses in "Hellenistic Mythographers" (237–254). For modern scholars these compilations, most typically by Apollodorus, are valuable as sources for older traditions otherwise lost and for specifically Hellenistic aspirations of facing the mythological heritage. Higbie also takes into account Eratosthenes, Parthenius, Antoninus Liberalis, Conon and the Mythographus Homericus.

4. Orchestration of *CC*: Part 2

Audiatur et altera pars. The title of Part Two, *Response, Integration, Representation*, is, in the reviewer's opinion, totally meaningless. It begins with Claude Calame's discussion of "Greek Myth and Greek Religion" (259–285) which explores Greek mythology from structural perspectives. Let it be added that he also contributes to the forthcoming *Blackwell Companion* on "The Semiotics and Pragmatics of Myth". The chapter would have been the perfect opening for Part I and as such for the entire book since Calame introduces crucial structuralist concepts that would be fundamental for the reader. These are based on his own writings and those of Detienne, in a work mentioned above, *The Invention of Mythology* (1981). These relate to the problems that modern concepts of myth and mythology pose and their lack of relevance for Greek antiquity. Calame stresses the importance of the different genres as necessary condition for making myths socially and ideologically active, e.g. in the context of cult institutions. With respect to religion, Calame illustrates the *CC*'s motto of mythic variety: "the ensemble of the myths of the Hellenic tradition is characterized by a certain plasticity that allows the poetic creation of versions constantly readapted for cult and for religious and ideological paradigms offered by a polytheism that varies within the multifarious civic space and time of the cities of Greece" (282).

Beginning with the claim that "neither 'myth' nor 'religion' constitutes a category native to Greek thought", Calame challenges the very existence of what we are given to conceptualize as *Greek mythology* – "unless considered in the form of manuals of mythography, such as the one in the *Library* attributed to Apollodorus". His examination of the relationship of Greek "myth" and "religion" takes the form of five case studies from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, Bacchylides' *Dithyramb* 17, Pindar's 5th *Pythian Ode*, a paean by Philodamus inscribed on a Delphic stele, and Euripides' *Ion*. In each, he observes, "we can see how an individual heroic tale is called upon to legitimate a particular cult practice through an intermediary poetic form that influences both the narrative and semantic characteristics of the account and the religious and political conception underlying the ritual concerned". Calame's conclusion from the fivefold examination – "Supported by poetic genre, this or that episode of the divine and heroic past of the Greek communities is inserted into both a specific cult institution and a form of ritual poetry, most often choral. These poetic forms make from narratives, appearing to us as mythic, an active history, inscribed in a collective memory realized through ritual." And, he continues, "the ensemble of the myths of the Hellenic tradition is characterized by a certain plasticity that allows the poetic creation of versions constantly readapted for cult and for religious and ideological paradigms offered by a polytheism that varies within the multifarious civic space and time of the cities of Greece".

In "Myth and Greek Art: Creating a Visual Language" (286–304) Jenifer Neils begins by reminding the reader that, with respect to myth, "Greek narrative art displays an amazing degree of imagination, ingenuity, and originality" and goes on to expound manageably for the reader the vast domain of Greek myth and art by focusing on two essential – one might say "performative" – elements: "First, what devices did the artist employ for depicting a myth and how did this visual language come about? Second, how did the artist make his chosen theme relevant to a particular audience at a specific point in time?" Special attention is given to the example of a wine cup decorated by the Codrus painter on which are depicted "the seven deeds of the local hero Theseus". Harbingering Jonathan Hall's discussion of Athenian usage of Theseus for political ends (Chapter 11), Neils reveals how, when the symbolism of the object is properly parsed, "this cycle cup does much more than recount some of the deeds of the hero Theseus; it rewrites history by associating Athens's glorious Bronze Age hero with its glorious present. For the Athenians their myths were their history, and they saw no problem in embellishing them for the greater glory of the *polis*".

In "Mythic Landscapes of Greece" (305–330) Ada Cohen conjures up the topographical and nature-related sensibility of Greek culture. Countryside and gender, caves, the underworld, mountains, trees, bodies of water or perceptions of landscape in body metaphors, our sources testify to rich and viable conceptions of landscape, where "vision and imagination, real life and mythology worked in synergy" (327). She compares and contrasts mythic representation in both literature and art, exploring the "intersection of narrative and description in light of common as well as rarely depicted myths in painting and sculpture". Pausanias functions as her most important literary source: "when invoking landmark single trees and groves as noteworthy spatial markers … Pausanias, to whom we owe much of our knowledge of ancient sites and now-lost monuments, did not linger on their greenery or on the flowers and fruits they produced, but on their cultic associations as well as associations with important events of the classical past". The use of landscape in ancient Greek art is surprisingly restricted. Even so, Cohen argues, there is in Greek art "a rich and viable conception of landscape". She concludes that "in all cases artists took for granted their audiences' deep familiarity with the Greek landscape and asked the imagination to fill the voids. This situation is in the end not so different from that of mythical discourse itself, whose multiple versions were the result of traditions colliding with individual tellers' points of view and emphases".

In "Politics and Greek Myth" (331–354) Jonathan Hall offers three case studies whereby he demonstrates the mutability and adaptability of myth. In his comments on Theseus, he argues for his establishment as a Panathenian hero, not under Cleisthenic democracy, but under the Peisistratids. The Cleisthenic democracy usurped a pre-existing figure and endowed him with new significance so that he was remembered as the founder of Athenian democracy. Here, the companion is not only up to date, but even exposes a fresh thesis which deserves to be discussed elsewhere in a more detailed way.

"The fact is that myth meant something entirely different to the Greeks of Pausanias' generation than it had to their ancestors". The political uses of myth that Hall addresses – "myth's capacity to charter and justify changing political circumstances" – are, he argues, grounded in myth's ideological character and its existence as a productive symbolic system (analogous to the system of *langue* and *parole* of Saussurian structural linguistics): "Through the dynamic dialectic between narrator and audience, traditional materials could be reconfigured and modulated to stake claims about the natural order and to advance partisan interests and it is precisely myth's ideological character that made it so effective in the practice of ancient Greek politics." Politics is foregrounded, again, as Hall presents his readers with three case studies: these involve the Spartan and Argive use of "mythical prototypes of alliances to justify their own claims to Peloponnesian hegemony in the mid-sixth century"; the Athenian Pisistratus' capitalizing upon Theseus as "an attractive prototype of the strong, wise, and just leader" and his elevation of "Theseus to Panathenaic status"; and the fifth-century "orientalization" of the Trojans, consequent, chiefly, to the second Persian War.

A. J. Boyle, in "Ovid and Greek Myth" (355–381), stresses the otherness of Greek myth within Roman, especially Imperial culture; myths were no longer part of rituals but discursive elements of intellectual life, and regarded as *fabulae*, fiction. Ovid used Greek myth, for example, as a paradigm for *humanitas* and for comments on Augustan politics. His range of mythological interest is simply vast and his *tour de force* is *Metamorphoses* where he sustains reference to the central works of the entire mythographic tradition from Homer and Hesiod onwards. Ovid's interest in myth is neither religious nor ritualistic, but poetic. Boyle's article contains substantial quotations in the original Latin from *Ars Amatoria*, *Amores*, *Metamorphoses* and from *Tristia.*

5. Orchestration of *CC*: Part 3

For the opening of Part Three, Vanda Zajko, in "Women and Greek Myth" (387–406), contributes a methodologically conscious article which is valuable for reflections on myth as a source for social circumstances in general and on feminist approaches to Greek myth in particular. Her article is one of the most subtle and nuanced in the entire *CC*, exploring "some of the tensions surrounding the descriptions of stories about women as being "pro- or anti-women" and the ideological entailments of such descriptions". One of the issues which Zajko deals with is "the rewriting of myth". At what point does the "rewriting" of a myth create something that is fundamentally different from that myth? Is the result of the "rewriting" still "myth" – still *muthos*? She includes fascinating citations from Judith Plaskow, Lillian Doherty, Margaret Reynolds, Ken Dowden, Eric Csapo, Virginia Woolf, Mary Beard, Adrienne Rich and Angela Carter in order to demonstrate the multifarious ways in which myth has inspired feminist thinking in academic discussion.

In his essay "Let Us Make Gods in Our Image" (407–424) David Brumble's deals with allegoric use of Greek myth in Medieval and Renaissance literature, spoiling his readers with five pages of further reading recommendations.

He demonstrates how Medieval and Renaissance writers devoted more attention to multiple meanings than to organic unity and how readers in those days were much more likely to interpret, comment upon and delight in individual lines and details out of context than careful modern readers are likely to do.

In her contribution "Hail Muse! Et cetera": Greek Myth in English and America literature' (425–452) Sarah Brown traces post-renaissance reception of Greek myth rather in the same vein as Simon Goldhill in his book *Who Needs Greek?* "Mythology was central to the works of Pope, Keats, Pound, Toni Morrison and Carol Ann Duffy, inter alia, but each of these writers figures his or her relationship with the classical past in a distinctive way." She demonstrates that there were competing and oscillating versions of classicism within the English literary tradition. In seventeenth- and eighteenth-century literature Dryden actually translated selected tales from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and of the complete works of Virgil. At this stage the reception of Greek myth relied far less heavily – at least on the surface – on a mediating Latinate culture than had been the case in previous centuries, she claims. During the Middle Ages and renaissance Latin writers were the supreme literary models and Greek language and literature comparatively little known. Pope's decision to translate the *Iliad* reflects the growing status of Greek language and literature, though critics found echoes from Dryden and Milton and Romanisation of Homer's gods. In 1791 Cowper put forward his rival translation of Homer as a more "primitive" and "authentic" verison than Pope's.

Wordsworth and Coleridge, amongst the first generation of Romantic poets, turned away from neoclassicism, but the next generation, notably Byron, Shelley and Keats turned round the fortunes of Greek myth in English literature. Shelley reverses Aeschylus' *Prometheus Bound* into *Prometheus Unbound* though he bases his new work ont he classical source. As a contrast Mary Shelley wrote *Frankenstein, or the Modern Prometheus* where the form and setting are contemporary. In Victorian Britain, Greek culture became naturalised with Thomas Arnold claiming that "the Greeks are virtually our own countrymen" leading to a proprietorial fondness and unwillingness to give up the Elgin marbles (432). Meanwhile in nineteenth century America, southern slave owners frequently gave their slaves classical names (such as Homer or Caesar) and looked to Greece and Rome as important republican role models. Walt Whitman, however, in the States, and the Dickens, Brontës, Eliot and Hardy in England could be classified as "anti-classicist" in their emphasis on humble people and everyday situations, but they also made use of the more familiar classical tradition (436). In E. M. Forster, myth is presented as "anarchic, sensual, countercultural and 'queer' in the broadest sense" (p.439). In the same way Henry James used the concept "ancient Greek" to mean "homosexual" as it was impossible to call a spade a spade at this point of history.

In the twentieth century the use of Greek myths by Modernists such as Pound and Eliot has been characterised as "elitist". In the 1950s there was a movement towardsa more gritty style of writing depicting lower-middle-class life, particularly with John Osborne, which led Philip Larkein notoriously to denounce "myth-kitty or casual allusions in poem to other poems or poets" (444). Brown concludes that "the synthesised tradition of Greek myth has been blessed with a unique *energeia*, retaining its traditional hold on literary culture and exerting influence on new genres and media, - westerns, science fiction, film, animation, and computer games are all in its debt" (450).

Martin Winkler, who writes on "Greek Myth on the Screen" (453–479), is very well qualified to write on *peplums* or *pepla,* gigantic widescreen and colour epics, films set in ancient Greece and Rome, on the basis of his publications, most recently *Troy: From Homer's Iliad to Hollywood Epic* (2006). Printed one year after the *CC* came *Hellas on Screen: Cinematic Receptions of Ancient History, Literature and Myth* (2008) edited by Irene Berti and Marta Garcia Morcillo, which succeeds in correcting the Anglophone bias in Winkler. The phenomenon of contemporary cinematic reinterpretation has been described as "neomythologism" by the Italian film director Vittorio Cottafavi. Television has also been instrumental in reimagining and reinventing antiquity. Winkler allows himself generous quotations from film directors e.g. from Duccio Tessari on how to make a *peplum*, from Wolfgang Petersen on how to treat gods in *pepla*, two quotes from Ray Harryhausen on a chessboard analogy and stop-motion effects, from Vittorio Cottafavi on using Hercules motifs, and finally from Riccardo Freda on credibility in film-making and again from Ray Harryhausen on the massive potential of mythological cinema. Filmmakers follow their own rules, such as the fifteen recommendations made by Tessaru, when they make mythological films and do not consider themselves bound by their sources.Winkler concludes that the survival of classical myth in modern society does not depend on university classics departments but on the presence of myth in popular culture.

6. What is missing from the *Cambridge Companion*

The first chink in the armour I noticed was the absence of chapters by Ken Dowden, Fritz Graf, Jan Bremmer or Simon Price. A quick glance at Amazon.co.uk supplies the explanation: Dowden is co-editing with Niall Livingstone a rival publication *The Companion to Mythology (Blackwell Guides to the Ancient World),* to be published in January 2010, that will compete with (and indeed complement) the *CC.* Fritz Graf and Jan Bremmer will also have chapters in this forthcoming book. A second failing is pointed out indignantly by Vanda Zajko (396) in her chapter on "Women and Myth", that the *CC* lacks a chapter on "Men and Myth". To avoid this complaint and to be more modern, Zajko's chapter could have been entitled "Gender and Myth". A third gap is any discussion of race in connection with mythology on the lines of *Black Athena*. A fourth missing link is a chapter on Herodotus and myth or in general history and myth and how the Greeks envisaged the meaning of myths in history-telling. A fifth *desideratum* would be some treatment of Greek myth and popular culture in cartoons. Sixth on my shopping list would be a chapter discussing Greek myth and Christianity or Paganism, though there is a discussion (407–8) of Nicodemus and Erasmus. Seventh is the lack of a chapter on Pindar. Finally there is a lack of verbal economy (as opposed to verbosity and long-windedness).

7. Comments:

I agree with several of Angela Kühr's points in her review (*BMCR* 2008.08.10). For instance, the reader would be better off by beginning at Claude Calame's chapter 8 on "Greek Myth and Greek Religion" (259–285) with his bread-and-butter suggestions for further reading. That is Buxton, *Imaginary Greece. The Context of Mythology*, Graf, *Greek Mythology. An Introduction*, Burkert on *Greek Religion* and Bremmer on *Greek Religion*. Calame points out that "there exists no story of gods or heroes that does not come to the public in a ritualised discursive form". Mythology and hymnology are basic also to epic (260). This is fundamental to the question of mythology.

Apart from the bibliography and the general index, sections on Further Reading following every article assist the reader in wading through the mire of literature on Greek myth and mythology. Black-and-white reproductions of vase paintings, sculptures, and film scenes in the middle of the book complement the writings of the two art historians.

Kühr is also correct in affirming that "reception" is inherent to myth itself and that reception processes begin when a myth is retold for the very first time. Companions are only supposed to give overviews, after all. But with the advent of the *Blackwell Companion* and in the light of the rise of centauromachy, gigantomachy and Amazonomachy described by Jenifer Neils (*CC* 300), I wonder whether the world will end up in Companionomachy.

CC for the most part lacks original Greek quotations, although Greek characters and transliteration are used inconsistently within individual articles. No Greek (except for transliterated words)is used in Nagy's first two chapters and the first word I found was in Greek characters Χάος on page 86 in the third chapter by Woodard. One bibliographical quibble I have with *CC* is the omission of any mention of *Greek Mythology* by Marilena Carabatea (Athens 1997), which is a very well illustrated guide to mythology with emphasis on architecture.

Looking closely at the subdivision of the volume, one could niggle over the inconsistency that a genre or a representative author is mentioned in the titles of the volume's first part while the contributions themselves normally do not focus on the genre or the author exclusively. The subcategories sometimes seem artificial. Many of the chapters tend to emphasise the author in question, be it Homer or Hesiod, and elaborate on numerous aspects of the author's style and only *en passant* tackle the question of the role of mythology in the author or what the gods signified in the literature in question.

8. How the forthcoming *Blackwell Companion to Classical Mythology* will complement the *CC*

Many of the deficiencies of the *CC* will be addressed by chapters in the forthcoming *Blackwell Companion to Mythology* to be published in January 2010. First of all, the *Blackwell Companion* will have an opening chapter by Dowden and Livingstone on defining myth and a closing chapter by Jan Bremmer on the brief history of the study of mythology. These two chapters will bring together definitions and discussions of myth and mythology and how the concepts have changed in the course of time. This companion with thus begin and end by examining the relationship between myth and other traditional tales – folktales, sagas, legends – and between myth and historical narrative. Secondly there will be chapters by Fritz Graf on myth, Hellenic identity and cultures in contrast and on combating and replacing myth. Further, Ken Dowden will also have chapters on Hesiod, on soteriology or exotic myth, the myth that saves and on initiation, the key to myth. Nick Allen has a chapter on Indo-European mythology and comparative mythology, Alasdair Livingstone on Near Eastern mythologies. Ian Rutherford has a piece on mythology of the Black Land: Greek myth and Egyptian origins. Alan Griffiths writes on myth in history. This time the Platonic slot will be filled by Penny Murray and the chapter on women and myth will be authored by Sian Lewis. Claude Calame deals with the semiotics and pragmatics of myth.

9. Final comments

Acta est fabula – plaudite! Woodard has carried out a labour worthy of Hercules. Vanda Zajko's plea for more investigation into men and myth should be taken seriously. The link between Greece and homosexuality in myth could be further explored whereas in *CC* it is only touched upon on (439). The quotation there from E. M. Forster's Maurice, published posthumously, on "the unspeakable vice of the Greeks" has now been taken up as a major theme in the forthcoming *APA* conference. The differences between Greek and Roman mythology still await further analysis and from a Nordic and Finno-Ugric standpoint, it would be interesting to trace the diffusion and disintegration of Greek and Roman myths into Norse mythology and the Kalevala. Finally in the words of Jenifer Neils (302): We must never underestimate the artistic legacy that remains one of the richest sources for our vast understanding of Greek myth and its role in Greek life."

Stephen Evans

DE NOVIS LIBRIS IUDICIA

Epigrafia 2006. Atti della XIV^e Rencontre sur l'épigraphie in onore di Silvio Panciera, con altri contributi di colleghi, allievi e collaboratori. A cura di M. L. Caldelli – G. L. Gregori – S. Orlandi. Tituli 9. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-7140-366-3. 1538 pp. (3 vols). EUR 170.

The 9th volume of the series *Tituli*, initiated by Silvio Panciera, is (as is made clear in the title) dedicated to the Acts of a colloquium held in Rome in October 2006 with the aim of celebrating Professor Panciera's career when he was on the point of retiring. The publication came out in 2008, a few months (as one learns from the Preface) before Panciera's 75th birthday. From the same Preface (signed by all the three editors of the volume), one learns that there are 56 contributions based on papers delivered during the colloquium and in addition to these, about 40 ("una quarantina") other contributions by scholars apparently not taking part in the colloquium but invited by the organisers to contribute. As there are, then, almost 100 papers, it is no wonder that 1538 pages are needed for this. The level of scholarship is high: the table of contents reads like a complete list of the most eminent modern authorities in the field of Latin epigraphy. However, here and there one observes, among the authors, also names which may be less familiar, at least to the older generation of epigraphists; one assumes that many, if not most, of them will be students of Professor Panciera himself.

The whole is divided into several sections, the names of which remind one of the names of the chapters in the collection of Panciera's own papers, *Epigrafi, epigrafia, epigrafisti* of 2006. After some introductory elements, there are sections on Republican epigraphy, the city of Rome, "Municipia coloniaeque", "Viri feminaeque notabiles", "Milites" and, at the end, a section on "Varia cum artis epigraphicae doctrina et usu coniuncta".

Obviously, it will not be possible for me to enumerate all the contributions, not to speak of offering an evaluation of each of them. But I may be allowed to point out in what follows some contributions which struck me as being of particular interest. F. Coarelli publishes (p. 79ff.) an interesting, but fragmentary, metrical inscription from Falacrinae from the early first century BC, which seems to honour a person distinguished during the Social War (with phrases such as *liberatast Italia*, etc.). F. Zevi and I. Manzoni return (p. 187ff.) to the inscription of the Porta Romana at Ostia, producing a revised text (p. 201). Obviously, there are details in this mysterious inscription which must remain uncertain (for instance, I'd like to see another inscription where *fecit* preceeds *locavit* – an activity one would expect to come before the phase of *facere* –, and in fact a building inscription where you have both verbs, for normally one finds either *locavit* – often with *probavit* following – or *fecit*; however, e.g., the missing filiations show in any case that we must be dealing with a text formulated very much later than it purports to be). S. De Maria and G. Paci publish (p. 654) a dedication by a *familia Abundantiorum* (we have here obviously an new example of a *nomen sodaliciarium*, as studied by I. Kajanto) from Suana to Silvanus, apparently for the first time defined as *deus bonus*. M. L. Lazzarini (p. 871ff.) publishes interesting inscriptions from Croto pertaining to various members of the family of Futii (as for the inscription on p. 870, *CIL* X 110, I am not altogether sure the second *Lollio* must be an error; what if this man was a Lollius adopted by another Lollius?). On p. 937ff., G. Camodeca publishes a new 3rd-century senatorial career from Beneventum, probably (I'm quite sure Camodeca is correct in this) pertaining to a certain C. Egnatius Certus Sattianus. The article also includes a reference (p. 949) to an unpublished inscription mentioning a senator with the unforgettable name M. Casineius M. f. Stel. Vassius Passentilianus Titianus. S. Demougin provides (p. 975ff.) a most useful "mise à jour" of Julio-Claudian knights, with a list of "new" knights (58 numbers; but the correct reading of no. 34 = *AE* 1990, 332 from Falerii Novi is *M. Quinctius Q. f. Hor. Chilo sen(ior)* – rather than *Sen(tino) – tr(ibunus) mil(itum), (centurio) prim(i) pili*). A new proconsul of Baetica, C. Servius Rufus Terentianus, appears in an inscription published by A. U. Stylow (p. 1051ff.). W. Eck (p. 1121ff.) studies the production of military diplomas in Rome (with thoughts, e.g., on the amount of bronze needed and a list of diplomas published after *RMD* V). A. Magioncalda (p. 1149ff.) offers us another "mise à jour", this one being on prefects of the fleets of Misenum and Ravenna on which there is, thanks to the proliferation of new military diplomas, much recent documentation needing to be collected and interpreted.

There are no indices, but, as the editors say in the preface, this is fully compensated for by the fact that the volumes are available as a searchable PDF (at www.edizioniquasar.it/sku.php?id_libro=1703).

It goes without saying that this collection is a must for every scholarly library which also takes epigraphy into account.

Olli Salomies

Studi di archeologia in onore di Gustavo Traversari. Volumi I–II. A cura di Manuela Fano Santi. Archaeologica 141. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 2004. XXXVIII, 993 pp. ISBN 88-7689-200-1. EUR 340.

I presenti studi sono dedicati a Gustavo Traversari, sommo conoscitore di scultura antica, maestro e protagonista di archeologia classica veneziana per decenni, infaticabile promotore di iniziative scientifiche di grandissima portata. Molti e vari sono i frutti della sua inesausta attività organizzativa e di studioso intorno alla formazione e allo sviluppo degli studi archeologici nella Serenissima: missioni archeologiche in Italia e in Oriente, ideazione di numerosi convegni scientifici, continua attività di promozione editoriale (sono da egli fondate la *Rivista di archeologia*, la collana *La Fenice* nonché la preziosa serie delle *Collezioni e musei archeologici del Veneto*). Ma quello che forse di più ha distinto Traversari è stata la creazione, praticamente dal nulla, della Biblioteca di Archeologia di Ca' Foscari di Venezia, con sede nel primo piano nobile del splendido Palazzo Bernardo, sul Canal Grande. Conosciutissima tra i specialisti e considerata la più grande nel suo settore in Italia e una delle più belle in tutto il mondo, la biblioteca è diventata meta obbligatoria per chiunque voglia dedicarsi agli studi archeologici in una struttura ben organizzata e funzionante, che consente di consultare, in un'atmosfera altamente ispirante, i ricchissimi materiali esposti in scaffali aperti oppure, in parte, custoditi in depositi. Mi è ancora vivissima nella memoria la giornata, una diecina di anni fa, quando ebbi l'occasione di visitare la Biblioteca, accompagnato e guidato dallo stesso Traversari.

Sono complessivamente 72 gli articoli stampati nei due volumi, scritti da amici e colleghi di Traversari in nome dell'affetto e della stima verso l'insigne studioso. I contributi, prevalentemente su temi relativi alla scultura antica, testimoniano il legame affettivo e culturale di quanti hanno offerto al grande maestro un dovuto omaggio di amicizia e riconoscenza.

Mika Kajava

Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio. Libro dell'antica città' di Tivoli e di alcune famose ville. A cura di Alessandra Ten. Torino vol. 20. De Luca Editori d'Arte, Roma 2005. ISBN 978-88-8016-709. XVII, 220 pp. EUR 150.

Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio. Libri degli antichi eroi e uomini illustri. A cura di Beatrice Palma Venetucci. Torino vol. 23. De Luca Editori d'Arte, Roma 2005. ISBN 978-88-8016-706. XXXI, 349 pp. EUR 150.

Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio. Libro di diversi terremoti. A cura di Emanuela Guidoboni. Torino vol. 28. De Luca Editori d'Arte, Roma 2005. ISBN 978-88-8016-746. XXXI, 261 pp. EUR 150.

Edizione Nazionale delle Opere di Pirro Ligorio. Libro delle iscrizioni latine e greche. A cura di Silvia Orlandi. Napoli vol. 7. De Luca Editori d'Arte, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-8016-891-1. XIX, 500 pp. EUR 150.

Questa ci voleva: un'edizione integrale della produzione scritta di Pirro Ligorio (ca. 1512/13–1583). Questo pittore, architetto e antiquario era un personaggio che ancora oggi suscita un estremo interesse per molti rispetti. Era napoletano, ma la sua opera centrale l'ha svolta a Roma e poi a Ferrara. Si conosce poco della sua formazione, ma dovette lasciare ben presto Napoli, per giungere intorno al 1534 a Roma, dove si dedicò inizialmente alla pittura, anche se si conosce molto poco delle sue pitture, delle quali un'unica è superstite. Intanto, a partire dal 1540, Ligorio aveva cominciato a dedicarsi alle ricerche archeologiche. L'incarico che segnò un profondo cambiamento nella sua carriera fu quello di archeologo al servizio del cardinale Ippolito d'Este nel 1549: da allora mutò il suo lavoro, non più solamente tecnico, ma anche fondato su una profonda riflessione intellettuale. A partire dal sesto decennio, gli interessi antiquari del Ligorio si affermarono in maniera decisamente preponderante. Le tre piante di Roma sono delle vere ricostruzioni archeologiche, basandosi sulla tradizione scritta degli umanisti, ma anche sulla visione diretta delle rovine. Tra il 1550 e 1560 lavorò all'opera *Delle antichità di Roma,* composta da 10 volumi manoscritti, acquisiti dal cardinale Alessandro Farnese, e più tardi, con altre proprietà farnesiane, finiti a Napoli, ove ora sono conservati presso la Biblioteca nazionale. Una successiva stesura dell'opera, redatta in 30 volumi tra il 1566 e il 1583, per la maggior parte a Ferrara, si trova ora presso l'Archivio di Stato di Torino. Si tratta di un'enciclopedia archeologica in cui vengono riportati monumenti antichi, epigrafi, monete, vite di uomini illustri, storie di paesi e regioni. L'eruditismo di Ligorio suscitava già l'ammirazione degli antiquari di formazione umanistica suoi contemporanei che consideravano il suo caso eccezionale proprio perché Ligorio non era un vero latinista erudito. (D'altra parte un umanista quale Antonio Agustín, mentre lodava la quantità delle sue opere, già espresse dubbi sulla loro qualità.) La sua vigile facoltà di sintesi e la sua fantasia artistica gli permisero spesso di completare monumenti antichi frammentari, di inventarli e di provvederli poi dell'iscrizione adatta. Perciò la fama di Ligorio soprattutto tra gli studiosi di epigrafia classica è sempre stata pessima; in particolare i grandi nomi dell'epigrafia romana tra fine Ottocento e inizio Novecento, quali Mommsen, Henzen, Dessau, Hülsen, l'hanno giudicato molto severamente. E infatti egli ha nei suoi volumi spensieratamente mescolato iscrizioni autentiche ed altre di sua creazione; importante anche notare che ha prodotto epigrafi false sia incise sulla pietra (ne esistono molte in vari musei, soprattutto a Napoli, provenienti per esempio dalle collezioni di Rodolfo Pio e dei Farnese) sia riprodotte sulla carta (di quest'ultima categoria fanno parte soprattutto gli improbabili testi riportati nei libri torinesi). Ma negli ultimi tempi si è cercati di arrivare a un giudizio più equilibrato sull'opera di Pirro. Soprattutto un aspetto mi sembra importante tener presente nel giudicare il lavoro del Ligorio, e cioè che le sue "falsificazioni" devono essere viste nel quadro dei suoi tentativi di rendere vivo il patrimonio antico per i contemporanei, e ciò può essere realizzato anche con l'attività di ricostruzione (di cui esistono numerosi esempi lampanti nella sua opera); il confine tra "ricostruzione" e "produzione" (cioè "falsificazione") è fluttuante come una linea tracciata nell'acqua; in effetti il passo dalle "ricostruzioni" alle "produzioni" poteva essere minimo.

Tenuto conto di quanto detto sopra, come pure della straordinaria importanza di questa personalità molto controversa, la Commissione Nazionale per l'edizione nazionale delle opere di Pirro Ligorio ha reso un grande servizio agli studi umanistici dando l'avvio al progetto di un'edizione critica e integrale della produzione di Ligorio. Finora ne sono stati pubblicati quattro volumi, dei quali tre della serie torinese, e uno di quella napoletana. Ne diamo qui di seguito un breve apprezzamento.

I tre volumi del codice torinese sono usciti nel 2005. Il primo in ordine numerico è vol. 20, che contiene il libro XXII dedicato a Tivoli e a famose ville (di cui vale a ricordare Villa d'Este e Villa Adriana) nei dintorni della città. Tivoli certo era un argomento caro e vicino al cuore di Pirro, essendo lui stato nominato architetto e antiquario del cardinale Ippolito d'Este a partire dal 1549–1550. Il libro qui edito costituisce infatti il risultato di quegli anni di attività svolta a Tivoli da Pirro. Il lavoro da lui compiuto nel Tiburtino portò all'individuazione, dopo secoli di oblio e abbandono, delle più significative testimonianze archeologiche attestate nella zona. Nell'introduzione, l'autrice Alessandra Ten tratta delle questioni di composizione del trattato e della sua tradizione testuale nonché degli aspetti innovativi di Ligorio. Il testo stesso, come pure negli altri volumi, viene restituito di solito in caratteri moderni; dobbiamo quindi fidarci delle trascrizioni dei rispettivi autori. Invece le iscrizioni e gli altri monumenti, come pure le piante vengono riprodotte nella forma originale. Del contenuto di quest'opera è sufficiente dire che è pieno di informazioni pregevoli per la storia di molti edifici della zona. Un vero capolavoro è la trattazione di Villa Adriana che può dirsi una "scoperta" ligoriana. Nel testo vengono riprodotte numerose trascrizioni di epigrafi; tipico del modus operandi ligoriano è la mescolanza, uno accanto all'altro, di documenti epigrafici genuini e falsi (buon esempio le iscrizioni riprodotte ai ff. 5v–6v). Dopo il testo segue un "apparato storico-archeologico", accompagnato da una breve "nota al testo". A fine libro, Antonio Ciaralli presenta una breve analisi codicologica. In definitiva si tratta di un lavoro importante; la nuova edizione nazionale non avrebbe potuto cominciare meglio.

Non meno importante è il secondo volume che contiene i libri XLIV–XLVI del codice torinese. È il volume 23 della serie delle *Antichità* torinese e tratta degli antichi eroi e uomini illustri; temi simili apparivano già nel precedente libro XXII. Particolarmente interessante (e il più lungo dei tre) è il libro 44 per molti aspetti, anche per quanto riguarda gli studi epigrafici. Prima del testo stesso di Ligorio, l'autrice, Beatrice Palma Venetucci (che aveva già in precedenza curato il volume *Pirro Ligorio e le erme di Roma* [1998] che manca [per modestia?] nella Bibliografia), fornisce una lunga pregevole introduzione, dove ella tratta della struttura, del contenuto e della datazione del codice nonché di numerose questioni inerenti ad esso. Interessanti le considerazioni su restituzioni ligoriane, cioè sulle fonti delle sue integrazioni. Sarebbe stato utile aggiungere qualche parola sul problema dei falsi, di cui pullulano i corpora cinquecenteschi, che raccolgono le iscrizioni poste sulle erme; in effetti colpisce il gran numero di falsificazioni tra le erme romane, effettuate soprattutto nel Cinquecento, la maggior parte delle quali risale all'attività di Pirro. Si dovrebbe anche cercare di distinguere tra i falsi "autentici", cioè incisi su marmo e i falsi cartacei, di cui pullula la produzione di Ligorio a Ferrara. – Qualche volta si trovano inesattezze nell'informazione offerta nell'introduzione: così nella nota 20 si rinvia, a proposito dell'erma di Chirone nella collezione di Pio, alla Vagenheim, la quale non menziona nel suo lavoro (per altri versi problematico) neppure un'erma. – Qualche piccolo dettaglio: a p. 166 nt. 3 si afferma che la statua a palazzo Spada fosse ricordata da Ligorio, ma in realtà questa statua, a testimonianza di Aldrovandi, stava nella casa di F. d'Aspra (cfr. per es. *Führer* II^4 774); la città da Ligorio ricordata a f. 578r, non è Brescia (Brixia), come affermato nell'indice p. 339, bensì Brixellum; nell'indice manca il poeta Φιλλύλιος, ricordato al f. 373; sotto la voce Anzio, aggiungi f. 127. 357.

Anche il terzo volume ha il suo interesse, pur trattando di un argomento un po' diverso dagli altri nell'ambito dell'antiquaria. È intitolato *Libro o trattato de' diversi terremoti raccolti da diversi autori per Pyrro Ligorio cittadino romano*. Fu scritto a Ferrara mentre era in corso il terremoto iniziato il 17 novembre 1570. Era il giorno 8 gennaio 1571 quando Pirro scriveva il foglio 23v e ricordava che era il cinquantaduesimo giorno dall'inizio del terremoto. Il terremoto continuò per mesi e mesi, tenendo gli animi sospesi e bloccando la ricostruzione della città. È in quel particolare clima sociale e psicologico, ma anche politico e culturale, che si colloca l'opera di Ligorio: non solo è un trattato su "diversi terremoti", come indica il titolo, ma anche un memoriale di osservazioni e di riflessioni personali, con soluzioni precise per mitigare gli effetti dei terremoti. Nell'Introduzione, l'autrice Emanuela Guidobaldi dà delle questioni inerenti al trattato un succinto prospetto. Prima ancora viene riprodotta una breve presentazione di Enzo Boschi, presidente dell'Istituto Nazionale di Geofisica e Vulcanologia. Sia la presentazione che l'introduzione vengono date anche in traduzione inglese. A fine libro compaiono un "Apparato storico" e "Apparati critici", nonché la solita bibliografia, con indici.

Per i lettori di questa rivista il maggior interesse sarà offerto dal quarto volume uscito, settimo nella serie del codice napoletano, curato da Silvia Orlandi con l'aiuto di un gruppo di studiosi. Con esso, contenente i libri XXXIV–XXXVIII, inizia la parte epigrafica del libro Farnesiano. In effetti, dall'analisi del codice napoletano risulta evidente che i libri di argomento epigrafico (a quelli pubblicati nel presente volume si aggiunga il libro XXXIX, la cui edizione, molto attesa, è di imminente pubblicazione a cura della stessa autrice) furono concepiti come un unico insieme, in cui era prevista una netta distinzione tra epigrafi greche e latine, mentre le iscrizioni sepolcrali latine sono collocate nel libro XXXIX. Dopo l'introduzione compatta e piena di informazioni utili per meglio capire il modo di lavorare ligoriano, segue il testo, una vera miniera per chi s'interessi della storia dell'epigrafia e della trasmissione di iscrizioni urbane. Dopo il testo e le sue appendici (che contengono alcuni passi non riprodotti nel testo stesso) seguono una "nota al testo" a cura di Anna Sereni, un'analisi codicologica da parte di Antonio Ciaralli, la bibliografia e indici.

Ho pochissimo da criticare in questo volume di ottima qualità. Sarebbe stato utile indicare, oltre al numero delle pagine, anche quello dei fogli, come è stato fatto in altri volumi finora usciti e anche riprodurre occasionalmente intere pagine. Per prendere un esempio, a p. XI si constata come "l'andamento del testo di p. 264 si dispone poco elegantemente nello spazio di risulta tra i disegni delle iscrizioni". Un lettore, tuttavia, senza una riproduzione dell'intera pagina del codice non intravede facilmente la poca eleganza di essa. – Un paio di piccoli dettagli: p. 71, nt. 1: quando l'a. scrive "che negli *Epigrammata* del Mazzocchi *CIL* VI 32929 è localizzata in realtà 'prope domum domini dispositi Peloponnen'.", un lettore imprevidente potrebbe credere a un errore da parte di Ligorio che colloca il testo nella vigna di Pio; in realtà l'iscrizione era prima nel posto indicato in Mazzocchi e fu più tardi acquisita da Pio; p. 245, nt. 3: non si può scrivere Φερεντίνον; p. 461: "Lexicon", non "Lexikon", "Patristic", non "Patristik"; inoltre le abbreviazioni praticate in Liddell – Scott sono, con la loro estrema brevità, spesso meno chiare, per cui caldeggerei un sistema meno equivoco, come ad es. quello dell'*OCD*.

Con questo volume, cui spero seguirà presto l'edizione del libro 39, come pure il previsto commentario, abbiamo a disposizione uno strumento di lavoro di estrema importanza. Finalmente possiamo avere una chiara visione del modus operandi di Ligorio epigrafista. Con impazienza si aspetta la pubblicazione non solo del libro successivo, ma anche di altri volumi che certamente desteranno un simile grande interesse. Dobbiamo essere grati alla Commissione promotrice dell'intrapresa, così come anche al benemerito Editore De Luca.

Heikki Solin

Lettres de Chion d'Héraclée. Texte révisé, traduit et commenté par Pierre-Louis Malosse, avec une Préface de Jacques Schamp. Cardo. Studi e testi per l'identità culturale della tarda antichità 1. Helios editrice, Salerno 2004. XIV, 115 pp., ISBN 88-88123-07-5. EUR 18.

L'epistolario del tirannicida Chione, composto da diciassette lettere che egli avrebbe inviato a diversi destinatari (al padre Matris, all'amico Bione, al tiranno Clearco, a Platone stesso), offre un bel esempio di *Briefroman*, una sorta di romanzo fittizio in forma epistolare, che si modella su una lunga tradizione di lettere pseudonime o comunque sulle varie forme della letteratura epistolografica greca. La presente edizione, la prima dopo quella critica di Ingemar Düring (Göteborg 1951, rist. New York 1979), è corredata di una parte introduttiva, una traduzione francese (la prima in assoluto) nonché un saggio analitico sull'autore, sulla cronologia, sulle fonti e altro. Il testo greco segue sostanzialmente quello stabilito da Düring, essendo le divergenze tra le due edizioni, una quindicina in tutto, di carattere poco significativo.

Riguardo all'epoca di composizione del testo, Malosse propone una datazione al IV sec. d.C., in contrasto a quella tradizionale al I o II secolo. Tale ipotesi, certo interessante, è tuttavia destinata a rimanere incerta, in quanto gli argomenti, prevalentemente stilistici, introdotti in favore di una datazione più tarda, difficilmente possono essere considerati decisivi.

A Malosse va accreditato il grande merito non solo di aver reso noto al pubblico questa raccolta di lettere, indebitamente trascurata nel passato, ma anche di averne descritto il contesto storico sia della narrativa sia della produzione. D'altro canto, la natura deliberatamente fittizia dell'opera nonché le sue caratteristiche propriamente letterarie potevano essere sottolineate più marcatamente.

Mika Kajava

Atti del XII Colloquium Tullianum. Salamanca, 7-9 ottobre 2004 (Ciceroniana N.S. XII). A cura di Donatella Fogazza – Salvatore Monda. Centro di studi Ciceroniani, Roma 2006. 247 pp. EUR 50.

Questo volume non entra tra i più importanti della collana. Tuttavia l'argomento cui è dedicato, Cicerone in Hispania, ha il suo interesse intrinseco. È vero che non tutti i contributi hanno direttamente a che fare con la Penisola Iberica. Così i contributi – ottimi si dirà – di Giovanni D'Anna, *Cicerone e Quintiliano* e Paolo Fedeli, *Cicerone e Seneca* sono collegati con il tema generale soltanto per il fatto che Seneca e Quintiliano erano oriundi della Spagna. Per il resto ricordo i brevi appunti di Michael Reeve sulle menzioni di Cicerone nei codici medievali conservati in Spagna nonché la presentazione, da parte di Ermanno Malaspina, della Cronologia Ciceroniana in CD-Rom, un utilissimo mezzo per gli studi tulliani.

Heikki Solin

Nicholas Horsfall: *Virgil, Aeneid 2. A Commentary*. Mnemosyne Supplement 299. Brill, Leiden – Boston 2008. ISBN 978-90-04-16988-3. XL, 629 pp. EUR 177, USD 262.

Beginning with the line "*Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant*", which often has been characterized with various admiring adjectives, the second book of Virgil's *Aeneid* tells, in the words of Aeneas, one of the greatest stories ever told, the Fall of Troy ("*urbs antiqua ruit*"). Its fascination depends on several memorable scenes and fates of individuals: Laocoon's warning and his death, Sinon's fraud, Priam's death, Creusa's appearing and disappearing and, of course, the fascinating war machine, the Horse – which for St. Augustine was "*dulcissimum spectaculum vanitatis*", or which, as James Joyce once noted, made the Greeks the inventors of the tank. Moreover, Book 2 includes some of Virgil's most famous lines and phrases: "*infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem*" (v. 3), "*sic notus Ulixes*?" (v. 44), "*quidquid id est, timeo Danaos et dona ferentes*" (v. 49), "*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*" (v. 354), and others. As such, Book 2 is a challenge to the interpreter, demanding philological acuteness, interest in narrative technique, keen observation of details, full knowledge of Greek and Roman sources and previous studies as well as a capability for aesthetic judgement, not to mention an ear for sound and rhythmic effects.

Book 2 is conventionally divided into three parts. In his commentary, Nicholas Horsfall mainly follows this division: the first part comprises verses 1–249, the second verses 250–558 and the third verses 559–804, although he hints at the possibility of dividing the book into only two parts, "depending on the status of break at 249," as he puts it (p. XV). Vv. 1–13 are an overture to the first part, and 559–566 to the second (third) part. Vv. 769–804 is a coda, corresponding to the two overtures.

Perhaps even more than in his previous commentaries on the *Aeneid* – all of them, by the way, on odd numbers of books (3, 7 and 11) – Horsfall now concentrates on major scenes, giving overviews and summaries, divided into 2–7 paragraphs, of their major problems and how they have been dealt with by previous scholars. I would especially like to mention the presentations of the problems concerning the Trojan Horse (p. 56f.), Laocoon (pp. 77ff.), Sinon (pp. 93ff.), Death of Laocoon (pp. 183ff.), the simile of the sacrifice of the bull at the altar (pp. 200ff.), the Trojans resort to fraud (pp. 303ff.) and the loss of Creusa (p. 498f.), a scene, which, as Horsfall reminds us (p. 533), came to St. Augustine's mind when he recalled his boyhood reading. Very illuminating are also the discussion of vv. 318–369, which, according to Horsfall, offers "some clues to V.'s modus operandi" (p. 270f.), the discussion of the simile of snake in vv. 471–475 (p. 363f.), and the description of Priam's death in vv. 506–558, the last verses (554–558) being the king's epitaph (pp. 389ff.). Discussing the epitaph and some other passages, Horsfall refers to some parallels in Roman history, the memory of which Virgil's text might have evoked in an ancient reader. There are also other passages, which Horsfall interprets as Kreuzung of historical and epic or tragic material. The discussion of Priam's death and his epitaph, which occupies 35 pages, is for Horsfall the climax of Book 2.

Although a great deal has been written about the speeches in the *Aeneid*, Horsfall still offers new approaches and insights as well as making important additions to previous scholarship. Moreover, Horsfall's extensive knowledge of the most different things – from legal discourse (pp. 157ff.) to the chemistry of sulphur (p. 493) and the use of various woods for shipbuilding (p. 60f.), although I missed a reference to box-wood of Cythorus in Catullus 4 – is of great help for the interpretation of details.

An important area in Horsfall's commentary is his way of discussing minor characters and names. Horsfall stresses, e.g., the story of Coroebus and Cassandra (vv. 402–430) and its prooeconomia in vv. 341–343 as "classic Virgilian use of the human interest of minor participants" (p. 270). Of the names discussed by Horsfall, I can mention here only Ucalegon (v. 312). The vv. 311–312, "*iam proximus ardet / Ucalegon*" are related to Horace (*serm*. 1,5,71f., *ep*. 1,18,84) and Juvenal (3,198f.), giving a nice insight into the ways of literary borrowing in antiquity.

It is one of the merits of Horsfall's commentary that he pays attention to some seemingly trivial things, which, however, contribute to Virgil's superb artistry. E.g., the words "*staret equus*" (v. 113) are commented by Horsfall as "Standing is a good deal more than mere being". Indeed, we get an impression of a huge wooden construction, which stands firmly on its feet. Moreover, the verb 'stare' is many-sidedly commented on p. 280f. Respectively, on p. 446, not without humour, Horsfall comments on Virgil's words "*spissis noctis se condidit umbris*": "only to a poet can darkness appear 'thick' in the same way, as let us say, porridge". Horsfall also rightly reminds us that even such a phrase as "*et procul*" (v. 42) is a fine detail: Laocoon shouts his warnings even before he has come up to the crowd (p. 83).

On v. 27, Horsfall notes the use of spondee: "*panduntur portae*". I would like to add that it also gives the reader the impression of immense gates which can be opened only slowly. Reading Horsfall's comments on the famous line "*una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*" (v. 354), one cannot help thinking what an important theme this line offered, together with some Christian notions, to later literature. On the other hand, somehow I also came to think of the Fenni described by Tacitus (*Germ*. 46,3) who had achieved a status where they have nothing to ask for.

Horsfall's commentary is not only a commentary on *Aeneid* 2, but it is also a commentary on previous commentaries. At the same time, his commentary is a critical evaluation of the comments of previous scholars: on the basis of his superb learning, he admires (Austin there excellent [on v. 80]), approves, disputes or rejects ("Williams (R. D.) is quite wrong" [on v. 528]) the views and interpretations of previous critics; he even notes when something is not commented or neglected by them (tacet Axelson [on v. 204]). Sometimes Horsfall gives even a list of evaluations of the views of previous scholars: "Henry is right [on v. 13] to protest that 'begin' is often an inappropriate rendering (Austin wisely followed) and 'undertake' might do better; Hofmann concurs (TLL 7.1.915.71f.); Perret's 'j'essaierai' a welcome protest against the tyranny of the elementary dictionary" (p. 56). I was also delighted by Horsfall's ironic comment on Marouzeau's complaint that the phrase "*Quidquid id est*" is not very elegant: according to Horsfall, it was "good enough for V. and Lucr." (p. 88). There are also other places where Horsfall defends Virgil from the reprehensions of the critics, whether they are ancient or modern (e.g., Virgil's way of mixing themes of flood and fire in the simile in vv. 304–308 was criticized as early as in Antiquity, p. 260). Sometimes Horsfall exerts self-criticism: referring to his own commentary of Book 11, he says: "I should have drawn attention to Axelson's admirable discussion" (p. 103).

Moreover, I cannot help reading some irony into Horsfall's reference to T. Habinek's view, when discussing the different interpretations of the Trojan Horse: "'The penetration of the labyrinthine walls of Troy by the horse is an image of heterosexual intercourse', T. Habinek, The world of Roman song (Baltimore 2005), 255. Greater experts than I (veterinary, perhaps) may wish to consider this view more intimately, especially given her frequently female gender, from Aesch. on /…/." (p. 57).

Horsfall has not limited himself to the commentaries or secondary literature on Virgil and other classics. He has consulted a wide range of other studies, including, let us say, R. Eisler's *Weltenmantel und Himmelszeit* (1910), P. Ducrey's *Le traitement des prisonniers de guerre* (1999), A. Mayor's *The first fossil hunters* (2001) and W. Warde Fowler's (also known for his studies on Roman festivals and religion) *A Year with the Birds* (1931, originally published in 1891).

Horsfall's commentary is also a kind of homage to German scholarship in its use of handy German terms: Kreuzung, Leitmotiv, Mischform, Prodigienstil, Steigerung, Trugrede, and even Strafexpedition. On the other hand, except for a short reference to Herder, Horsfall has not, perhaps wisely so, referred to the German Neohumanists (Winckelmann, Lessing) and their views on Laocoon (the statue and Virgil's literary description), which were important in the discussion of the boundaries between the arts.

The commentary includes two Appendices. The Helen episode (vv. 567–588) is discussed in Appendix 1, including an introductory essay of 15 pages, which gives, among other things, a useful discussion of the editing of the *Aeneid*, traditionally attributed to Varius and Tucca (pp. 554–6). Appendix 2 is devoted to a short discussion of Stesichorus, the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina and *Aeneid* 2 and their relevance to each other. It may not be customary to discuss prefaces in a review, but I enjoyed Horsfall's Preface which tells about the origin and development of his studies on Virgil in a concise form.

With his four commentaries on the *Aeneid*, which comprise nearly 2400 pages, and his *Companion to the Study of Virgil*, Nicholas Horsfall has erected one of the *monumenta aere perenniora* in classical scholarship. These commentaries are indispensable for those who want to immerse themselves into the problems of the details as well as for those who want to have a deeper comprehension of Virgil's aesthetic, literary and moral aims.

H. K. Riikonen

The Early Latin Poetry of Sylvester Johannis Phrygius. Edited, with Introduction, Translation and Commentary by Peter Sjökvist. Studia Latina Upsaliensia 31. Uppsala 2007. ISBN 978-91-554-6947-4. 408 p. SEK 333.

The series of *Studia Latina Upsaliensia* has presented several editions of principal works of Swedish Neo-Latin literature during the last two decades. Peter Sjökvist's doctoral thesis on the early poetry of the Swedish theologian Sylvester Johannis Phrygius (1572–1628), considered one of the foremost representatives of early Swedish Neo-Latin poetry, is a welcomed addition to the series. It focuses on Phrygius' three Latin poems which he wrote when he was studying at several universities in northern Germany (1597–1602). Phrygius' works, like those of several contemporary Swedish authors, many of whom were educated in German universities, were rooted in German academic literary culture. With the poems edited in the present volume, Phrygius became an introducer of certain literary fashions of continental humanism to Sweden.

Although the poems edited in the work, *Ecloga prima*, *Threnologia dramatica* and *Centuria prima*, represent different literary genres, there are good reasons to include them in the same volume. First, the three poems belong to the early phase of Phrygius' literary production, which is in its entirety listed and categorized at the end of the work, and secondly, they reflect the situation of their writer as a young man in search of a respectable career and powerful patrons in the vicissitudes of a turbulent period in Swedish history. After the death of King Gustavus Vasa (1560) there was confusion about the succession to the throne and the situation did not stabilize until Charles IX was crowned King of Sweden in 1607. Moreover, the period was marked by strained relations with Poland as well as by tensions between the Catholic Counter-Reformation and Lutheranism and between the king and the nobility. In the introduction of the present work, the complex historical background is well surveyed, which is indeed essential for the understanding of the poems and their function.

As regards the methodological approach, Sjökvist puts special emphasis on the synchronic perspective in interpreting Neo-Latin texts. The recent emergence of databases of Neo-Latin literature provides a useful tool for this kind of research. The database *Camena – Corpus Automatum Multiplex Electorum Neolatinitatis Auctorum* containing sixteenth-century German poetry has served a particularly useful purpose for examining Phrygius' texts. Due to the limited amount of Swedish Neo-Latin poetry prior to Phrygius, Sjökvist has been able to read through all relevant works by writers such as Henricus Mollerus, Laurentius Petri Gothus and Ericus Jacobi Skinnerus. This of course offers an excellent opportunity for examining the initial history of Neo-Latin poetry in Sweden as a whole.

In the introduction to the poems, the date of composition, the literary genre and the contemporary circumstances of the poems are discussed; in the commentary section, Sjökvist returns to several issues with further details. *Ecloga prima*, printed in 1599 in Hamburg, was written on the death of the daughter of Bishop Petrus Benedicti, Phrygius' patron and future father-in-law. The poem, in dialogue form, combines autobiographical features (one of the interlocutors can be identified as Phrygius himself) with conventional topics of funeral poems. Since Phrygius is not known to have planned to publish other eclogues, the word *prima* in the title of the poem was used to point out that it was, as it indeed was, the first time that the eclogue genre was employed in Swedish literature. The poem owes a great deal to Virgil's first eclogue, which might have been one of the reasons to entitle it "the first eclogue". In any case, Phrygius intended to adapt the eclogue to Swedish conditions by using the original Swedish names (Ebbe and Tore) and by creating a completely Swedish setting for the poem.

Threnologia dramatica, divided into four dramas (or acts), is a funeral poem, or a lament, in honour of King John III of Sweden (1568–1592) written almost ten years after the king's death and published in the *Agon Regius* print in 1620. The principal character of the drama is Duke John, son of King John III, who was the closest legitimate heir to the throne at the time of the composition of the poem. Most of the other characters are mythological figures and personified virtues, with the exception of Phrygius himself who appears in the opening act of the drama. Since Duke John, too, died before the printing of the poem in 1618, Phrygius inserted into a drama a brief dialogue between the late queen and king, lamenting in heaven over their son's untimely death. The adjective "dramatic" in the title primarily refers to the dialogue form, which Phrygius also used in *Ecloga prima* and which was popular in contemporary funeral and wedding poetry in general.

Centuria prima, printed in 1602 in Rostock and dedicated to a young Swedish nobleman, consists of 100 (in fact, of 99) captioned hortatory and admonishing distichs. Although the title of the work carries the ordinal number *prima*, Phrygius is not known to have published any further volumes of emblems or collected sentences. The majority of the distichs are not arranged in any systematic way and there is a general impression that the writer did not add the finishing touches to the work. Sjökvist suggests that Phrygius might initially have intended to dedicate it to Duke John, counting on him rising to power. Phrygius hoped that with the Duke's financial support, he would be able to publish emblems proper, that is, to attach pictures to the distichs. When the Duke stepped aside in favour of his uncle (Charles IX), Phrygius had to orient himself to a new situation and would therefore have had to change the dedicatee. In contrast to the initial plan, *Centuria prima* became a simple print of "nude emblems" (*emblemata nuda*) with headings (*inscriptio*) and distichs (*subscriptio*) but without pictures. Sjökvist justifies this interpretation by the content of the emblems as well as by some issues external to the text.

The texts are largely edited according to the principles earlier established in the series, aiming at presenting the text in its historical form. However, the punctuation is modernized in order to help the understanding. The introduction informs the reader about deviations from the current classical orthography, about morphological and syntactical phenomena and about the vocabulary used.

The commentary is comprehensive and meticulously documented throughout. It intends to establish Phrygius' literary models and sources by finding and identifying allusions as well as relevant thematic and linguistic parallels and echoes from ancient and Neo-Latin literature. Owing to the vast reference material presented, a reader would have appreciated some concluding remarks about Phrygius' literary models and sources and in what way Sjökvist thinks they profiled him as a writer. By consistently taking the political, religious and social contexts into consideration, Sjökvist has opened intriguing aspects of the poems. Several times he has been able to revise ideas stated in earlier research and offer fresh and convincing interpretations concerning, for example, such things as Phrygius' relationship with the royal family, the dating and the dedicatory questions of the poems. One of the features that draw attention in the poems presented is Phrygius' self-expression, which comes out both in respect to his career-building and in respect to the Swedish history of literature. Phrygius wrote himself a part in *Ecloga prima* and *Threnologia dramatica*, complaining about the absence of Swedish literary models and pitying himself as he felt that he was not appreciated in accordance with his merits. Since Phrygius has a special position in the history of Swedish Neo-Latin literature, it would also have been interesting to learn something about his possible impact on future writers.

Raija Sarasti-Wilenius

Wandering Poets in Ancient Greek Culture. Travel, Locality and Panhellenism. Edited by Richard Hunter and Ian Rutherford. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-89878-2 (hb). XIV, 313 pp. GBP 55, USD 99.

Mobility, cosmopolitanism and globalisation in the field of cultural flow and exchange no longer seem to be unique to the modern period, upon perusal of this book. The editors Richard Hunter and Ian Rutherford have here put together a collection of papers on wandering poets that were first presented at a colloquium in Cambridge in April 2005. Three papers are by women, eight by men. The introduction spells out certain themes, such as the holding of international festivals and competitions, which recur in numerous variations throughout the book in varying contexts (festivals on pp. 18, 32, 35, 38–42, 50, 158, 206, 223, 265–6 and competitions, musical and poetic on pp. 6, 18, 59, 187, 195, 203–12, 239). This leads to a certain amount of repetition which is most felt in Sophia Aneziri's article (pp. 217–36 on World Travellers: the associations of Artists of Dionysus) or least to loud resonance between papers in the repeated citations of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, the (wandering) lives of Homer, the case of Thamyris the Thracian (*Il*. 2,599) as compared to Demodocus (*Od.* 8,64), of Peisetairos at Aristophanes *Birds* 904–57 in his confrontation with a wandering poet, the mention of wandering *demiourgoi* at *Od.* 17,382–6 and of Pindar's *Pythian* 2 and 4 and *Paean* 2 and 4. On the other hand appeal to the same sources lends unity to the book and reinforces the dimensions of global cultural flows (so-called "ideoscapes") that were in operation from the Bronze and Iron Ages down to the imperial period (in Aneziri p. 234, borrowing ideas of Appadurai 2003).

The editors furthermore acknowledge their debt to such works as *Wandering in Ancient Greek Culture* by S. Montiglio (Chicago 2005), *Mobility and Travel in the Mediterranean from Antiquity to the Middle Ages*, edited by R. Schlesier and U. Zellman (Münster 2004) and the pioneering work *Poeti vaganti e conferenzieri dell'età ellenistica* by M. Guarducci (Rome

1929). Thus throughout the book the phrase "*poeti vaganti*" is cited *passim* in its Italian form until it emerges on p. 168 that this was the very title of the colloquium. The fundamental archetypes of *poeti vaganti* are Orpheus and Odysseus (pp. 1–3). In time, Simonides, Pindar and Bacchylides wrote songs for patrons from all over Greece. The basic reasons for travel are catalogued (pp. 17–9) as being in order to perform in festivals held at major sanctuaries, to participate in poetic competitions, to enjoy semi-permanent residency in the court of a tyrant or king, to carry out a foreign commission for a song, to travel with a powerful patron or to carry out diplomatic activities and finally to describe a certain locality and delineate local traditions, as e.g. in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*. They might also travel to perform in cities, expecting to get commissions from individuals and cities along the way, just as in Plato's *Ion* (541b8) where Socrates teases a rhapsode with "rhapsodising as he travels around Greece" on his return from the festival of Asclepieia at Epidaurus. The editors cite research on striking parallels from 17th century Japan, from the circulating poets of late Medieval Europe, from modern India and from the movements of the griots in western Africa (see references on pp. 14–5).

Richard Martin (pp. 80–104) even compares present-day vagrant classicists to ancient poets in that "wittingly or not, they have replicated the complicated itineraries, competitive atmosphere, quest for patronage and desire for publicity that were all known to ancient Greek performers" (p. 80). Based on her doctoral thesis and recent publications, Mary Bachvarova, in her article on Hittite and Greek perspectives on travelling poets, texts and festivals (pp. 23–45), extends the agenda of the book beyond ancient Greece to archaic times and from Greece to Anatolia, the Eastern Mediterranean and the east-west interface, in the tradition of West and Burkert. Bachvarova suggests that in the late Bronze Age songs and singers most often travelled in the context of the wholesale relocation of religious cults. In his paper on Thamyris the Thracian, Peter Wilson (pp. 46–79) brilliantly speculates on the potential citharodic, lyric threat of mystery religiosity as a rival tradition to Homer's epic hexameters, using vase-painting and Sophocles's play as evidence. Ewen Bowie (pp. 105–36) deals with wandering iambic, elegiac and lyric poets in whose poetry the target audience often seems to be from outside the poet's polis. There is a certain overlap here with Giovan Battista D'Alessio's article on defining local identities in Greek lyric poetry (pp. 137–67). Ironically local communities seem to have entrusted the task of self-representation to foreign poets (p. 167). Lucia Prauscello (pp. 168–94) concentrates on one particular *poeta vagante*, Timotheus of Miletus, from the evidence of the so-called "forged" Laconian decree transmitted by Boethius (*De inst. mus*. 1,1), of Polybius (4,19–21) in his famous Arcadian passage, of Plutarch *Philop*. 2 and of Pausanias 8,8,50,3. She assesses the process of cultural re-appropriation which his poetry and music underwent in the Hellenistic and early imperial periods in Sparta, Arcadia and Crete.

Andrej Petrovic focuses on the role of wandering poets as local historians (pp. 195–216) and as authors of poems and epigrams written for public monuments. This phenomenon is linked to the ideas of D'Alessio, as is pointed out in n. 70 on p. 213. Sophia Aneziri picks up a fascinating theme, that of the associations of Artists of Dionysus (pp. 217–36) who operated in the Mediterranean world during the Hellenistic and imperial periods. Once again the scope and agenda of the title "ancient Greece" is stretched to its limits. There is plentiful evidence for these guilds from inscriptions of decrees from Hellenistic cities and leagues, decrees of the Senate, and lists of competitors in musical contests. Membership of a guild guaranteed inviolability, security, immunity from taxation, exemption from liturgies, front seats in public assemblies and priority in consulting the oracle (p. 230). The Artists of Dionysus operated as members of a unified world-wide guild within the Roman Empire (p. 233), so that the organisation of the associations reveals a correspondence to their social and political environment (p. 234).

Ian Rutherford chooses to write about Aristodama, an itinerant poetess (pp. 237–48), who figures in two decrees, one from Lamia and the other from Delphi. He has cross-references to Aneziri and Petrovic in n. 10 p. 239, to D'Alessio in n. 15 p. 240, nt. 38 p. 244, n. 40 p. 245, n. 45 p. 246 and to Chaniotis in nt. 41 p. 245. In contrast to Sappho who stayed on Lesbos, Hellenistic poetesses such as Alkinoe, Glauke, Anyte of Tegea and Aristodama herself enjoyed a degree of interstate mobility. By sponsoring Aristodama and also Nicander, Aetolians wanted to construct a pan-Aetolian poetic tradition and to forge a political community through song (p. 248). Angelos Chaniotis (pp. 249–69) lays emphasis on the contribution of orators, historians and envoys towards shaping memory (*mnemopoiesis*) in the Hellenistic world (p. 253). He proposes the neologism "mnemopoetic" to allude both to the constructed nature of Hellenistic images of the past and to the aesthetic qualities of narratives of the past (p. 254).

As a minor criticism I point out that references from p. 11, including the notes, do not figure in the index e.g. to Plutarch's *De musica* 1134b–c. Furthermore the mention of "wandering" in the index points only to p. 16, whereas the concept crops up throughout the book: neither "travel" nor "itinerancy" is indexed either. Quite clearly, however, the cross-fertilisation of the colloquium has led to frequent cross-linking within the book, especially to D'Alessio's article. The style of English used is elegant: Petrovic admits to having his language polished by Lilah Fraser and Alan Sheppard (p. 195), while Aneziri's paper was translated by A. Doumas (p. 217). The editors have done an excellent job: their introduction (pp. 1–22) aptly summarises and points forward to the contents of the book, emphasising the wider context of ancient networks of exchange, patronage and affiliation between communities.

Stephen Evans

John Heath: *The Talking Greeks. Speech, Animals, and the other in Homer, Aeschylus, and Plato.* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 978-0-521-83264-9. VII, 392 pp. GBP 55, USD 90, EUR 77.

In this book, Professor John Heath argues for the superiority of language in the archaic and classical Greek efforts at self-definition. His conclusion is that the lack of articulate speech served as a primary tool for distinguishing and dismissing the various marginal groups in ancient Greece. Furthermore, because non-human animals do not talk, their position was to function as the lowest level of the Others in the Greek world.

The first part of the book includes the chapter "Bellowing like a bull: Humans and other animals in Homer", the main focus being, however, to explore the "evolution of a hero", which, according to H., results from the strengthening of young men's ability in persuasive speech. The two cases are Achilles in the *Iliad* and Telemachus in the *Odyssey*. In the second part of the book, the positions of children, women, slaves and barbarians are discussed in reference to their degrees of incompence in articulate and authoritative speech. The third part contains two chapters: first, H. connects the well-known decrease in animal imagery throughout the trilogy of the *Oresteia* with the increasing emphasis on the power of human *logos*, and secondly, there is a fresh reading of Plato's dialogues, especially the *Republic*, to show how Socrates' dialectical method can be seen as an effort to silence the opponent. Furthermore, H. connects silence as a deliberative choice with the *parrhesia* in the context of the polis.

Thus, the scope of this book is vast and the themes many. I concentrate here mainly on animal topics. H.'s study is valuable for its references to literature on the human–animal issues in antiquity and also due to his attempt to combine some parts of the debate with the modern one. H. regrets – and I agree – that many recent contributions to the human-animal relationship in Western cultural history offer peculiar and even completely wrong generalizations. A more detailed study is needed. It is worth mentioning, that a year after H.'s book came out, Ingvald Saelid Gilhus published her excellent book *Animals, Gods, and Humans: changing attitudes in Greek, Roman, and Christian ideas*.

Although I warmly recommend H.'s contribution to all who study non-human animals in antiquity, there are some difficulties pertaining to certain emphases in this book.

First, I am not really convinced about the validity of the main argument of the book when we are dealing with the situation of the archaic or even the beginning of the classical age. Urs Dierauer (1977) already pointed out that speaking and language as a distinctive human quality was underlined especially by orators and rhetoricians, for obvious reasons. Furthermore, as Richard Sorabji (1993) has shown, there was a vast amount of differences between human and non-human animals, which were recognized by numerous philosophers. Although H. refers to both scholars, he does not enter into real dialogue with their opinions on this issue. He cites Isocrates (*Nic.* 5–6, p. 11 – unfortunately, there is no *index locorum* in this book) and other orators to introduce his argument. Further study is needed, but on the whole, I am more inclined to suppose that the Greeks (at least before the classical period) largely held that there was continuity of linguistic skills, the lowest grade being the "language" of the animals. Although H. refers to the "evocative power" animals possessed for the Greeks, the phrase "the silence of the beasts" is, if not misleading, especially thin in the context of the rich Greek sound world and the famously keen Greek ear. H. handles the Greek views of the communication of animals – sounds and gestures – only in passing, although he briefly reports the current scholarly discussion about the language of animals in the Epilogue. Why not combine this modern discussion with the one in antiquity?

However, this critique does not detract from the main point of this study, because whether it was obvious to the Greeks that animals communicate or even have a language or not, the crucial feature was that their language — as well as the language of children, women, slaves and barbarians – was neither articulate nor authoritative. H. aptly discusses the power structures in the second part of his book. Still, terminological consistency ("speech", "communication", "language", "articulate *logos*"/"authoritative *logos*") would have helped to establish the significance of his more detailed conclusions on the esteem of the articulate language of male citizens in early Greece.

The second terminological problem lies in the use of the words "beast" and "bestial" and the attributes attached to them, which sometimes creates a kind of biblical (demonic) aura around the words. For example, while discussing Achilles' struggle to gain authority, H. seems to show that there is a connection between Achilles' "beastly state" and his inability to speak persuasively. H. argues that after the death of Patroclus, Achilles is the "most bestial"... "his most frequent partners in speech are non-humans: gods, animals, ghosts, corpses, and enemies about to become corpses" (p. 124). Why call this state "bestial" and not, e.g., "liminal"? Are animals known to communicate with ghosts in Greek culture? Moreover, is it not just this liminal state – Achilles' own *experience* of otherness created by his grief and anger – that makes the hero more open to his enemy, Priam, in the end of the *Iliad*? And due to this openness, is it possible for them to find a common ground, both being mortals and living under the cruel oppression of fate? The Greeks sometimes stressed this shared ground for animals and humans as well – in contrast to the immortality of the blessed Gods. The shared ground made it possible to compare human life with the animal world as is carefully done, e.g., in Homer and in the tragedies, especially in the *Agamemnon*.

As always, we have to be very careful with the terms we use of the Others, because our languages are imbued with contempt for them. Although the early Greeks felt an obvious superiority to animals, animals were not, in principle, viewed as corrupt – or "beastly" in its most pejorative meaning – at least not before the Hellenistic period. Animals have their well-directed places in Greek culture and some of them were thought to be "bad", some not. It was the mythical monsters which were mostly viewed negatively due to their hybrid nature. Thus, I would prefer to see also gradation and continuity, not only the bipolarity in Greek thinking about the humans and non-humans – while the binary oppositions, of course, existed, too.

There are also many sentences which strike me as promoting the legacy of Humanism, especially when H. uses the words "nature", "culture", and "civilization" in Greek context (e.g. "nature unharnessed from civilization is rarely a pretty sight in the ancient Greek world", p. 138). The early Greek connotations to the word *fysis* are, of course, not the same as our word "nature".

The word "other" or the Other offers the third terminological difficulty. There seems to be no discrepancy in meaning whether the word is written with a capital letter or not – this may be the editor's fault. While H. is well acquainted with the modern discussion about animal rights and the moral status of animals, the study of otherness (and the different kinds of otherness) is not presented as thoroughly. I especially missed the comprehensive approaches to otherness and alterity made by continental philosophers (e.g., phenomenologists and, of course, Jacques Derrida).

However, on the whole, I find the book well-written – an example of an articulate language – and of high scholarly standards. As a Finn, it was a delight to notice that we Finns seem still to be viewed as people who can cultivate silence (p. 18).

Tua Korhonen

Thalia Papadopoulou: *Heracles and Euripidean Tragedy*. Cambridge Classical Studies. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 978-0-521-85126-8 (hb). XI, 229 pp. GBP 48, USD 80 (hb).

Euripides' *Heracles* is a complex play that has been the subject of many differing views in scholarly discussion. It has been praised as well as reprehended, but in general, its value has been somewhat underestimated by the critics. Although *Heracles* has been studied widely during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a comprehensive reading of the play, which takes into account the diverse contexts of the history of Greek drama as well as fifth-century BC Athenian society has been lacking before Thalia Papadopoulou's *Heracles and Euripidean Tragedy*.

Papadopoulou's thesis in her book is to offer a comprehensive reading of *Heracles*, which explores the literary and cultural background of the play as well as Euripides' dramatic technique by examining it in the context of Euripidean dramaturgy and that of Greek tragedy more generally, and finally, of fifth-century Athenian society. She also illuminates aspects of Heracles as a mythical hero, and it is her aim to show that Euripides' *Heracles* is a far more complex play than it has been previously given credit for, a play that raises important questions of divinity, ancient religion and human values.

The book is divided into four sections: an introduction and three main chapters. The introduction offers a short outline of Heracles in tradition as a background for the analysis of the play. In the first chapter, "Ritual and Violence", the writer examines the central role of the ambivalence of Heracles' character and his *arete* that Euripides uses for dramatic purposes. The interplay between Heracles' virtue and his hubristic excess is the crucial aspect in *Heracles*, not the question of whether the hero is innocent or a megalomaniac conqueror. The central issue in the play is the inherent ambivalence of Heracles and the way in which this ambivalence can be dealt with. Papadopoulou shows that in *Heracles*, Euripides problematizes the nature of Heracles' heroism and its manifestations in the civilized world outside the context of the wild world of his labours.

The second chapter, entitled "Madness and the Gods", focuses on the madness-scene in the play and its interrelated questions. In *Heracles*, the course of the events culminates in the scene where the hero kills his wife and children in a fit of madness. This is caused by the goddesses Iris and Lyssa, but originates from Hera's hatred towards Heracles. Papadopoulou considers Heracles' divine-induced madness and the problem of the role of the divine in Euripidean drama by setting them against the background of other presentations of madness and divine causation in Greek tragedy. She shows that this play contains evidence of Euripides' scepticism of traditional religion as well as of erasure of the traditional gods. Papadopoulou points out that for this reason, *Heracles* is a play of extreme importance in the discussion of religion in Euripidean drama.

The religious dimension in Euripides' plays is a complex and diverse issue, and in *Heracles* in particular, religious problematization is significant. The understanding of the play profits from the consideration of the issues of divine motivation and human response. Human despair, when in an hour of need gods are nowhere to be found, results in criticism of the gods and has its climax when Heracles in his agony, after killing his family, refuses any longer to call them gods. Papadopoulou shows that in Euripides' *Heracles*, humans fail to understand gods because they judge them by human standards - it is not possible for a human being to set moral standards for the gods. However, Heracles' madness has a secular dimension as well. During his insane rage, Heracles is made to horribly misperceive reality when he believes that he is killing his enemies, when it is actually his own family he is slaying. However, as such, his brutal actions reflect the way he would treat any enemy of his even when in full consciousness. Thus, the horrible action that Heracles commits in a mad fit is not alien to his normal self. Papadopoulou argues convincingly that the similarities between the mad and the sane Heracles invite thought about the hero's unstable position between divinity and humanity after his labours. Madness is the reason that makes Heracles choose humanity over divinity in the end.

In the third chapter, "Arete and the Image of Athens", Papadopoulou turns to examining the political undertones in the play and the concept of *arete*. Heracles' madness problematizes the question of his valour, turning the focus of the plot towards an Athenian context: Heracles' mad rage ends as the goddess Athena arrives and casts a stone at him, making him fall asleep. When Heracles wakes up, he is sane again, and has to confront the horrible reality of himself as the murderer of his own family. He decides to kill himself because he cannot stand the guilt and the shame, but the intervention of Theseus, Athens' representative, makes Heracles choose life after all. The political aspect along with the issue of Heracles' *arete* becomes central in this last part of the play.

The question of honour and voluntary death is already presented in the beginning of the play in Heracles' wife Megara's speech. Papadopoulou discusses different aspects of honour and shame in fifth-century Athenian society and their reflections in Euripidean tragedy through detailed analysis of depictions of Heracles as an archer as well as a hoplite. She compares Euripides' portrayal of Heracles to that of Sophocles in *Women of Trachis*, providing an interesting analysis of the differences between the two poets' ways of depicting the hero. Euripides' Heracles chooses to live instead of committing a suicide, which suggests a change in the concept of nobility: archaic values of heroic individuality now give way to solidarity and the value of community, and enduring life in spite of terrible misfortunes becomes a mark of courage. Theseus' role in Heracles' decision is significant. He is determined to help his friend despite the feared possibility of ritual pollution. Euripides' presentation of the friendship between Heracles and Theseus reflects the idea of human solidarity, which supports mortals who are brought down by capricious gods. The portrayal of Theseus also has a wider significance as a representative of the city of Athens. Through the actions of Theseus, Athens alone becomes the city courageous enough to accept a man polluted by murder to live in it.

Papadopoulou concludes her study in a brief chapter where she summarizes her arguments effectively: Euripides' *Heracles* is a play of high quality and complexity, which has great significance in examinations of other Euripidean dramas. In this play, the poet uses the broad ancient tradition of Heracles in developing a portrayal of an ambivalent yet very human hero. Euripides' Heracles has performed many superhuman labours, but when he returns to the civilized world, it becomes uncertain how he is to combine the world of his labours with it. *Heracles* deals in an almost unique way with the issues concerning the religious universe of Euripidean tragedy. The hero's divine-imposed madness and its terrible affect on him question the role of the gods, their justice and concern for humans. At the end of the play, Heracles refuses to call gods the faulty creatures of Olympos, but still maintains his faith in "perfect gods". In his treatment of the issue, Euripides calls into question humans' ability to understand the divine. Euripides' ideology culminates at the end of the play, when human values such as friendship and solidarity turn out to be the strength and support for mortals rather than incomprehensible gods.

Papadopoulou's analysis is detailed and her arguments are carefully considered and convincing. She sets her discussion of the play into the context of Euripidean drama as well as Greek tragedy in general, providing a full and interesting analysis of the play and its reception in antiquity. Papadopoulou has enclosed in her book a number of necessary quotations from the play, which are given both in Greek and in English (translations are the author's). This is a very reader-friendly decision, as one does not have to read with the play in the other hand, and serves both the audiences that can read Greek as well as those who cannot. A wide bibliography and general index complete the study, which is of importance for all scholars and students of Euripidean tragedy.

Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä

Thomas Habinek: *Ancient Rhetoric and Oratory*. Blackwell Publishing, Padstow 2005. XI, 132 pp. ISBN 0-631-23515-9. GBP 14.99.

Habinek's book is about "the ancient partnership of rhetoric and oratory", as the author (hereafter H.) puts it. (p. VI) He further presents two major viewpoints: the one considers rhetoric and oratory from the ancient perspective, the other from the modern point of view. The perspective is defined as sociological ("how rhetoric and oratory operated within the civic life", p. VI).

The book is divided into five chapters, preceded by a rough chronological chart of the events and speeches mentioned in the book, and followed by a brief outline of ancient rhetoric (pp. 101–7). The outline is useful for checking the major characteristics of ancient rhetoric including the central terms and words of the rich terminology. The book ends with suggestions for further reading (pp. 111–20) and an index (pp. 121–32). As the number of pages indicates, this is an introduction rather than a thorough study on the subject. For this reason, the suggestions for further reading are welcome. The few notes are printed as endnotes on pages 108–110.

The book opens with a short preface (pp. VI–VIII) where H. very briefly touches on the question of the origin of rhetoric and oratory, noting that tracing the origin is not a philological quest as such, i.e., the first attestation of a certain term or word cannot be counted as evidence for dating the origin. One has to define the phenomenon in a manner that enables a more profound discussion than a "purely philological" one (p. VI). Naturally, this point is central when discussing the status of the phenomenon in society. This is the subject of the opening chapter, "Rhetoric and the State" (pp. 1–15). H. sketches the historical background of the role of rhetoric and oratory in the ancient Greek and Roman states, describing rhetoric as "the special speech of the state" (p. 2). He draws attention to the "close association between oratory and status as citizen-soldier" (p. 2). To this association is related the exclusion of women from rhetorical practices.

It is rather obvious that rhetoric and oratory serve as powerful tools for outlining a person's gender as well as marking him/her as an insider/outsider since both verbal and non-verbal communication are included. H. states that "rhetoric creates a sense of inclusion among its participants" (p. 4). This notion, which can be applied to many other practices as well, clearly functions in rhetoric effectively as rhetoric is public action for the purpose of managing the affairs of the state and of its citizens. Thus, it is evident that women, slaves and foreigners were considered as outsiders in the realm of rhetoric and oratory. As a rule, they did not/were not allowed to speak publically and could not participate in politics in a visible and active manner.

Chapter 2,"The Figure of the Orator" (pp. 16–37), focuses on some of the best known figures in Greek and Roman oratory, namely Pericles, Demosthenes and Cicero. While this chapter introduces the speakers and how they were presented in the ancient sources, the next chapter 3, "The Craft of Rhetoric" (pp. 38–59), the technical features that were considered essential in good rhetorical persuasion are presented. By the early 4th century, rhetoric was a craft, *techne*, which could be acquired through training and practice. As any other craft, it was also a means of obtaining a livelihood, and basically for this reason alone, rhetoric was not highly valued among the elite. H. takes Lysias as an example, describing and analysing the parts of some of his speeches and how this kind of oratory was criticized by, e.g., Socrates. H. also touches on the issue of manuals/treatises on rhetoric (p. 41).

H. continues on from considering rhetoric as *techne* to the manner in which this craft was used as a means of education, as well as marking the status of a person, in chapter 4, "Rhetoric as Acculturation" (pp. 60–78). The relation between rhetoric and dance and/or drama (acting) is of great interest in this respect. Both are, in a way, representatives of public display where the focus is on gestures and movement. This is naturally less obvious in rhetoric but nevertheless gestures and movements were considered essential in conveying the message in rhetoric as well. Both dance and oratory were understood as powerful means of effecting the viewer, but while, to begin with, rhetoric was approved of as a display of masculinity, dance was considered as harmful display of femininity and, in the case of male dancers, effeminacy. While H. does not elaborate on dance in particular, he discusses the function of rhetoric in building the idea of masculinity and the proper behaving of a male citizen as opposed to women.

The concluding chapter 5, "The Afterlife of Rhetoric" (pp. 79–100), begins with Greek antiquity (4th cent. BC) goes through the (early) Christian thought, the Renaissance, Romantic nationalism and the Enlightenment, ending up with Nietzsche. This is a rather summery chapter, but even as such it sensitizes the reader to the importance of ancient rhetoric and oratory in the Western rhetorical tradition. H.'s book is a welcome overview on a matter that played an extremely important part in ancient Greek and Roman societies. While it is not a comprehensive study, it provides a multifaceted picture of rhetoric, oratory and orators, and the suggestions for further reading guide the reader to follow up the various themes introduced by the author.

Manna Satama

C. W. Marshall: *The Stagecraft and Performance of Roman Comedy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2006. ISBN 0-521-86161-6. XIII, 320 pp. GBP 50, USD 90.

C. W. Marshall has previously written numerous pieces on both Greek and Roman theatre, often concentrating on the performance element of drama. With this book, he aims to "examine a number of aspects of the performance and stagecraft of Roman comedy, with an emphasis on Plautus". Despite a few matters being a little controversial, he impressively delivers what he promises and the emphasis is certainly on Plautus.

Chapters are entitled "The Experience of Roman Comedy", "Actors and Roles", "Masks", "Stage Action", "Music and Metre" and "Improvisation". As one can deduce from the titles alone, Marshall studies his subject from widely different points of view. For example, in the first chapter he examines the business element of Roman comedy, whereas in the last chapter he scrutinizes the nature and praxis of improvisation. The chapters form a working whole although any chapter can also be read separately.

At times, the book expects a lot from the reader's knowledge of Roman comedy and ancient theatre in general, especially in the first chapter in which Marshall writes about such matters as the opportunities for performers, the business element of comedy, the performance spaces, the costumes, the stage properties and the audience. The first chapter is at its most convincing when Marshall discusses the role and the nature of the audience (if you are interested in Marshall's thoughts on the relationship between the performers and the audience in Roman comedy, you might want to make a note that a piece called "Audience address in Roman comedy" is listed as forthcoming on Marshall's website). Marshall is not unique or a pioneer in studying the relationship between the ancient theatre performers and the audience, but his study is certainly a welcome addition to the field. Naturally, because the evidential data is rare, fragmentary and often too open for speculation, Marshall cannot give definitive answers to the questions he is posing. Nevertheless, he is definitely asking important questions.

While the chapter on actors and roles also deepens the examination of the economic side of Roman comedy, it is at its best when Marshall writes about role doubling, the size of Plautus' troupe and the star parts in Plautus' plays. In the chapter on masks, Marshall examines the connection between Greek comic masks and Roman comic masks. The main focus of the chapter is, however, on the differentiation and the meaning of Roman comic masks. Marshall constantly discusses the masks in connection with their role in performance, rather than as subjects per se underlining the synergy the masks have with other elements that make up the performance.

Stage action, the fourth chapter, includes examination of focus, pace, tone and routines of Roman comedy. Marshall is especially convincing when he discusses focus. However, while discussing pace, he makes some suggestions that are not completely persuasive but speculative instead. The examination of the routines gains depth from the examination of improvisation which Marshall provides in the final chapter.

In the fifth chapter, Marshall argues that music and metre were vital in creating dramatic structural units (which he calls "arcs") and that the variation of accompanied and unaccompanied metres was central to this process. He then goes on to illustrate his point by examining the structures of Plautus' plays. The examination of *Captivi*, *Stichus* and *Cistellaria* is especially laudable. Marshall also deserves praise for his comparison of these structural units in performance and act and scene divisions in manuscripts.

In the final chapter, Improvisation, Marshall studies the degrees of scriptedness, the relationship between the text and the script and, in a remarkably fascinating way, the improvisation in Plautus. A large part of the discussion concerns the nature of improvisation in theatre performances in general, not exclusively in Roman comedy. Marshall scrutinizes what "improvisation" really is (attaching much importance to the collaboration between the performers) and how all drama, both ancient and modern, consists of the combination of the scripted and the unscripted. Marshall also demonstrates how the line between these two elements is, at times, blurred. In discussing the improvisation in Plautus, Marshall openly admits the importance of Goldberg's study (1995) yet noting that some of their conclusions differ. Improvisation's role in the progression from an idea to a staged performance (and a written script) is a difficult question to solve. Marshall's thoughts on the matter aid the investigation appreciably.

Throughout the whole book, but especially in the last chapter, Marshall brings thoughts from his personal experience of modern performances of ancient plays. This is obviously a strength as it brings depth to his views on how dramatic performances work in practice. However, in it lies also a danger of seeing more similarities between ancient and modern theatre performances than there might be.

If you found Duckworth (1952), Beare (1964), Beacham (1991), Goldberg (especially 1998), Moore (1998) and Slater (2000) interesting, this book will most likely appeal to you. Marshall's study is also recommended if you only want to read one book about how Roman comedies were performed.

Kalle Knaapi

Gavin Kelly: *Ammianus Marcellinus*: *The Allusive Historian*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-84299-0. XI, 378 pp. GBP 55, USD 99.

Gavin Kelly's *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Allusive Historian* is a considerably revised version of his Oxford thesis submitted in 2002. Kelly's general approach in the book is based on the belief that Ammianus is a far more subtle and manipulative author than has been assumed, and that the elements of his text that do not appeal to modern tastes, namely his digressions, allusions and historical *exempla*, are more meaningful than they have been given credit for. Kelly believes that Ammianus' references to past and contemporary sources convey important political, ideological, historiographical and religious messages. Kelly argues that the selectively shared autobiographical details aim to establish Ammianus' honesty, independence and authority as a historian.

The book is divided into two parts which reflect Kelly's main arguments. Part one, "The elusive historian" (chapters 1–3), examines the autobiographical passages of the *Res Gestae* or passages which have been interpreted as such. Part two, "The allusive historian" (chapters 4–7), surveys the nature, extent, methods and meaning of allusion in Ammianus. At the end of the book are an epilogue, an appendix on the sources for the tsunami of AD 365, a bibliography, a subject index, an index of modern scholars and an index locorum. Kelly defines the key concepts of allusion and intertextuality only in Chapter four although they are frequently used also in the chapters of Part one. It would have helped the reader if these concepts had been introduced at the beginning of the book.

The title of Chapter one, "The bones of the battlefield", refers to the description of the indecisive battle with the Goths in the late summer of AD 377. Ammianus writes (31,7,16) that after this battle at Ad Salices only men of distinction were buried. The rest of the slain were devoured by the dire birds ... *ut indicant nunc usque albentes ossibus campi*. Previous scholars have supposed with varying degrees of certainty that the passage 31,7,16 proves that Ammianus had travelled to see the battlefield of Ad Salices. Kelly doubts this and sees it as an allusion to the battle descriptions of Vergil and Tacitus. He interprets the reference to the battlefield white with bones as an example of implicit criticism of the emperor Theodosius' policy towards the Goths.

The Ad Salices passage characterizes Kelly's general attitude to the autobiographical information in the *Res gestae*. Kelly distrusts information given by Ammianus about himself. Kelly argues that Ammianus used references to earlier authors to manipulate his narrative. He claims that the intertextual sophistication of the *Res gestae* has usually been underestimated. Kelly admits, however, that the allusion to Vergil in the description of the battlefield of Ad Salices does not rule out the possibility that the reference might also be autobiographical.

In Chapter two, "The adventures of Ammianus", Kelly questions in greater detail the assumptions made about the life and the career of Ammianus drawn from the information in the *Res gestae*. He thinks that we know hardly anything certain about Ammianus' life. Kelly concludes that many of the biographical assumptions that have been made about Ammianus turn out to be unreliable or conjectural. He believes that behind Ammianus' naïve self-revelation is a carefully crafted literary *persona*. Kelly, however, is not interested in the veracity of the autobiographical information in the *Res gestae*. He instead stresses the literary function and the selectiveness of the personal observations.

In Chapter three, "The limits of biography", Kelly discusses Ammianus' social background, his years in Rome and his connection to Antioch. Kelly once again questions all the assumptions made on the basis of information given by Ammianus in the *Res gestae*. Kelly is right in claiming that we cannot be absolutely certain about much of Ammianus' life but he is too categorical. Although we cannot be certain if Antioch was Ammianus' hometown or if he came from the curial class, the praise and the detailed familiarity of the city in the *Res gestae* are good reasons to believe that Ammianus spent his youth in Antioch. The commission of *protector*, extensive travelling and the living in Rome to write the *Res gestae* argue for an elite background. The simplest explanation for the letter of Libanios to a fellow Antiochene living in Rome (*epist.* 1063) is that the letter is addressed to the historian Ammianus Marcellinus.

In Chapter four, "Ammianus' intertextuality", Kelly progresses to his main theme: intertextuality and allusion in the *Res gestae*. Kelly's main argument which he expounds on widely in the book is that Ammianus frequently used allusions to earlier authors to manipulate his narrative. Kelly presents many convincing examples of how Ammianus uses allusions in his text, but the allusions spotted by Kelly based on only one word are questionable. Even Kelly himself admits that some may find his opinion in some cases "an allusion overstated". Kelly classifies allusions used by Ammianus into seven types. Some of these types seem quite arbitrary and may not contribute to our understanding of Ammianus.

In Part one, Kelly criticized other scholars for making assumptions about the life of Ammianus lightly and demanded certainty. Kelly should have submitted his own arguments in Part two to equally rigorous analysis. Instead he runs the risk of subjectivity in many of his interpretations.

In Chapter five, "Sources", Kelly argues that the usual distinction between source criticism and intertextuality ceases to be useful in case of Ammianus because of the complexity of his text. Therefore Kelly approaches Ammianus' *Res gestae* both as literature and as history. He examines Ammianus' relationship to his sources through four case studies: the obelisk, the tsunami, Herodian, and Eutropius. Kelly's analysis of the inscription of the obelisk erected in commemoration of the visit of Constantius II to Rome in 357 is excellent. The obelisk was at first destined for Constantinople as can be inferred from the text of the inscription, but Ammianus suppressed all mention of Constantinople and used the obelisk to glorify Rome. This is a clear-cut example of the manipulation of the sources which is common in the *Res gestae*, if we believe Kelly. (The inscription is now preserved only in a 16th century transcription, *ILS* 736.)

Kelly discusses in several sections of the book Ammianus' description of the tsunami of AD 365 in the Mediterranean, and a ship on the southern Peloponnese thrown two miles inland by the tsunami (26,10,15–19). Other scholars have considered this an eyewitness description and as proof that Ammianus had visited the place. Kelly instead believes that Ammianus uses the rotting ship as a methaphor of the decay of the state in his time and as tacit criticism of the imperial policy of Theodosius. It is true that the Ship of State was often used as a metaphor in Antiquity and it is possible that Ammianus used the Laconian vessel near the town of Methone as a metaphor, but it may be also a mere eyewitness account without any hidden agenda. (After the tsunami of 2004 in the Indian Ocean small vessels thrown inland by the disastrous wave were a common sight.)

Kelly does not see anything unusual in Ammianus using Herodian as his source. Kelly does not exclude the possibility that Ammianus and Herodian both used the same unknown source. The use of Eutropius' *Breviarium* as a source, however, puzzles Kelly because Ammianus had no need to use his contemporary's work and especially because Ammianus held epitomes in low esteem. Kelly suggests that one of the reasons why Ammianus used Eutropius as his source is that he exploited the language of Eutropius to make Jovian's death seem bleaker and to give the impression that the Jovian's emperorship was shorter than the almost seven months mentioned by Eutropius.

Chapter six, "The exemplary historian", analyzes the frequent use of *exempla* in the *Res gestae*. Kelly argues that Ammianus did not only use the *exempla* from past times to illuminate the present but he also used the present as exemplary of the future (e.g., the reign of Julian is an example for successive emperors to follow). Kelly believes that the *exempla* are an important part of the *Res Gestae*. Chapter seven, "Julian's monument", explores the role of Julian in the *Res gestae* as the *exemplum* for Valentian and Valens.

Kelly begins the "Epilogue" by citing Ammianus' farewell to his readers (31,16,9). Kelly sees it as an important programmatic statement and refers to this passage twelve times elsewhere in the book. Kelly asserts that this sphragis illustrates in miniature the diversity of allusion and its potential meaningfulness as he has shown in the previous chapters of the book. In the sphragis, Ammianus writes that he has written his history *...ut miles quondam et Graecus* (31,16,9). Kelly suggests that Ammianus wants to express with the word *Graecus* that he is a man of scholarship (opposite both to barbarism and to Christianity) and with the word *miles* he tells to his readers that he, as a former soldier, is also a man of action.

Kelly mentions in the introduction of his book the two most important studies of recent years: John Matthews' *The Roman Empire of Ammianus* (1989) and Timothy Barnes' *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* (1998). Matthews' approach treated Ammilnus as a historian who wanted to describe his era truthfully. Barnes sees Ammianus more as a writer of fiction than as a historian. Kelly can be placed as an intermediary between these opposite views. Kelly has written an important book which questions many long-held views on Ammianus and his *Res gestae.* It will be a necessity for all who are seriously interested in Ammianus but it may not be suitable as an introduction to someone who has no prior familiarity with Ammianus Marcellinus.

Heimo Vesala

A History of Ancient Greek. From the Beginnings to Late Antiquity. Edited for the Centre for the Greek Language by A.-F. Christidis, with the assistance of Maria Arapoulou – Maria Chriti. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-83307-3. XLI, 1617 pp. GBP 140, USD 250.

A History of Ancient Greek is a monumental work, a revised and expanded translation of the Greek Ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Από τις αρχές έως την ύστερη αρχαιότητα, which appeared in 2001. The sheer quantity of scholars involved is impressive: 75 people have contributed, of whom 40 are Greek. "Revising and expanding" has in this case meant that four new contributions have been added – all important – bibliographies have been updated and some minor modifications made. The volume, originally edited by Anastasios-Fivos Christidis, has been dedicated to this editor who died in 2004, before the English translation appeared. There are, in all, some 130 contributions, by "a distinguished international team of scholars", as the publisher rightly claims. The scope of the volume extends beyond the title in some respects: it contains a general introduction to the Language Phenomenon (Part I) and a discussion on the Fortunes of Ancient Greek after Antiquity (Part IX).

The volume consists of nine parts: (I) The Language Phenomenon; (II) The Greek Language: Language and History; (III) The Ancient Greek Dialects; (IV) Ancient Greek: Structure and Change; (V) Greek in Contact with Other Languages; (VI) Translation Practices in Antiquity; (VII) Language and Culture; (VIII) The Ancient Greeks and Language; and (IX) Fortunes of Ancient Greek after Antiquity. Furthermore, three sets of Appendices are included. In the space allowed by a journal, it would be impossible to comment on all the contributions, and I shall mainly provide comments of a more general nature.

First of all, it is praiseworthy that the volume makes a strong effort towards providing the history of Greek in its historical and social context. It is more comprehensive and cross-disciplinary than might be expected: many aspects of the societies which used Greek are also illustrated. Thus, the work brings to mind the Italian enterprise *I Greci: storia, cultura, arte, società* [ed. S. Settis, 1996–2002], an all-comprehensive history of the Greeks. On many occasions, the cross-disciplinarity really works: e.g., immediately after the presentation of the Linear B script (pp. 253–57), when the reader starts to wonder what happened to the society behind the Linear B phenomenon, there is a chapter on the archaeological evidence relative to the so-called "Dark Ages" (pp. 258–65). But when one compares the work to, e.g., *I Greci*, there are also notable differences. Because readability and high accessibility are emphasized in the work, there are no notes, just in-text references to primary or secondary sources. Thus, the work resembles an encyclopedia, but with a more logical organization.

The second, very important point is that the volume provides a modern view of a language that too often has been seen in a monolingual context (for obvious historical reasons). Parts V and VI are dedicated entirely to language contact, bilingualism and translation practices. Part V has contributions on the contacts between Greek and the Semitic languages (in general, and with Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic in particular), Thracian, Illyrian, Phrygian, Carian, Lycian, Lydian, Iranian, Etruscan, Latin, Egyptian and Coptic, the Celtic languages and Indian languages. Some of these are again discussed in Part VI.

There are some points of criticism that could be made here. First, due to the size of the volume, it is not very handy to use. As it seems that the age of the e-book is finally approaching, the publisher should prepare an electronic version (currently – in October 2009 – no such version is available). One of the drawbacks to the printed form is that a printed article might soon become out-of-date – but in this case, most of the contributions seem sufficiently general in order not to lose their value very soon. It must be pointed out, however, that some authors long predeceased the appearance of the translation. The chapters on Linear B script (pp. 253–7) and Mycenaean Greek (pp. 395–404) are both by the late John Chadwick, who died in 1998. However, much has happened in the field of Linear B studies since the mid-1990's, as can be seen from the second contribution's bibliography, and whoever compiled it omitted Ivo Hajnal's work altogether. Moreover, Part I seems superfluous and is intended for a Greek-speaking audience. It is also unclear why some contributions have been included in the Appendices. In my view, almost every one of them (except maybe the longish one on the language of the gods in Homer) should have been included in the main part of the book. At times, the work has been split into units which are too small. For example, it is not clear why Chadwick's chapters on

Linear B script and Mycenaean Greek are separated from each other. In fact, the information on when each contribution was finished should have been given.

The second point concerns the fact that the book is a translation: in many cases, the ancient Greek texts are given as "translated from Modern Greek" (e.g., pp. 425–6, 757). The reader is prompted to ask, why not directly from the ancient version? However, this concerns mostly short epigraphic texts, and it does not seem that such a procedure has caused erroneous translations. In some translations in Part VI, a literal translation is given, "in order to facilitate comparison with the Greek". But why not use, in such cases, the common presentation method of general linguistics, in which each word is translated and the morphology given in an abbreviated form? This method was already used by Geoffrey Horrocks in his *Greek. A History of the Language and Its Speakers* (1997).

In any field of humanities, where several interpretations of phenomena compete for acceptance, it can be useful to present the different theories in a handbook. In this case, there are two discussions on the introduction of the alphabet, by E. Voutiras (pp. 266–76) and C. Brixhe (pp. 277–87). The first one, an introduction to the matter, is followed by Brixhe's fascinating and methodologically more useful account, in which the view, represented by Voutiras that the earliest written documents are practically contemporary with the invention of the alphabet, is challenged. Again in Part III, on dialects, Brixhe's contribution (pp. 487–99) provides new insights.

What follows from the overall approach is that the volume is not a historical grammar, and it is understandable that phonology, morphology, syntax and information structure are not thoroughly covered. What one certainly misses is a contribution dedicated to constituent order, in which information structure would also be taken into account. I. Philippaki-Warburton's and G. Horrocks' excellent surveys on the syntax of the classical and κοινή periods (pp. 590–8 and 618–31, respectively) contain some comments on this matter, but more would be needed; Helma Dik's work is not mentioned in the bibliographies.

Finally, I point out another example of two apparently contradictory views; in this case, the reader can become somewhat confused. On the phonology of classical Greek, the main contribution, by A. Malikouti-Drachman (pp. 524–44), is supplemented by E. B. Petrounias' "The pronunciation of Classical Greek" (pp. 556–70). The contents overlap to some extent because the two contributions have been written with different audiences in mind. If one wants to find out the phonetic value of the enigmatic Greek letter Z in the classical period, the following is given. According to Malikouti-Drachman, the phonetic value of the letter in classical Attic was [zd], and in the fourth century, [z] (p. 533). Petrounias' account is otherwise similar, but contains the additional information "it is possible that up until the beginning of the classical period there also occurred an affricate consonant [d͡z], written with the letter <ζ>: πεζός 'pedestrian'" (here Petrounias refers to Malikouti-Drachman!). According to Petrounias, this affricate then fell together with the cluster [zd]. There are, however, no affricates in the phonological system as presented by Malikouti-Drachman. In all, the reader looks forward to the "definitive" contribution on the letter of Zeus and Zorro.

The criticisms presented here do not detract from the fact that *A History of Ancient Greek* is a most valuable work for both students and scholars and provides a very interesting overview of Ancient Greek in its historical context.

Kalle Korhonen

James Clackson – Geoffrey Horrocks: *The Blackwell History of the Latin Language*. Blackwell, Malden – Oxford – Carlton 2007. ISBN 978-1-4051-6209-8. VIII, 324 pp. GBP 50.

This book certainly was desperately needed and there are several reasons why one cannot but have unusually high expectations of it. The predecessor, L. R. Palmer's *The Latin Language* was published in 1954, more than 50 years ago. The topic belongs to a field or, in fact, fields where considerable progress has been made meanwhile: Latin linguistics, historical linguistics, and sociolinguistics. The authors of this book are both prominent Cambridge classicists with strong linguistic profiles. As a model, they refer to Geoffrey Horrocks' *Greek. A History of the Language and its Speakers* (London: Longman 1997) that undoubtedly is one of the most important studies on the Greek language in recent years.

The book consists of eight chapters (Chapter 1: Latin and Indo-European, Chapter 2: The Languges of Italy, Chapter 3: The Background to Standardization, Chapter 4: "Old" Latin and its Varieties in the Period c. 400–150 BC, Chapter 5: The Road to Standardization: Roman Latin of the Third and Second Centuries BC, Chapter 6: Elite Latin in the Late Republic and Early Empire, Chapter 7: Sub-Elite Latin in the Empire, Chapter 8: Latin in Late Antiquity and Beyond). The first and last two were written by James Clackson, and the four medial ones by Geoffrey Horrocks.

As the authors note in the Preface and as becomes evident by looking at the Table of Contents, language standardization is a major theme of the book, and deservedly so. After all, almost all major questions of language variation and change in Latin eventually come down to the processes of standardization, regardless of whether they concern early or late phenomena. The developments that led to the standardization in the early stage, as well as the processes that later petrified literary (and more generally, written) Latin as a fortress against linguistic change on a perhaps unusually high scale, continue to raise interest and are crucial for a proper understanding in any history of the Latin language. Thus, the ample space and attention devoted to standardization are especially welcome. Another shift in emphasis that likewise can only be praised is from lexical matters to syntactic change, made possible by advances in the publication of the major dictionaries (as explained by the authors on p. vii).

The book starts with a relatively long account of the IE roots of Latin, and the languages of Italy, so that discussion on Latin "proper" starts on p. 77 (of 304 pp. of text in the whole book). For the average classicist, the IE part is very useful, even if, due to the compactness of style, it does require some concentration from the reader. Particularly useful are, naturally, those instances where the inherited material helps to explain irregularities and oddities in the Latin system.

The chapters on the languages of Italy and the earliest Latin evidence contain careful evaluations of different tendencies in the spelling and phonology of the early and difficult texts as well as well-balanced views on much debated topics such as the Italo-Celtic and Latin-Sabellian questions. The authors regularly differentiate between Roman and regional evidence, e.g., in the treatment of final /*s*/ and /*m*/ (pp. 96–7), as well as between elite and sub-elite tendencies.

Concerning the question of how long the vernacular languages of Italy remained alive after the arrival of Latin, attention is drawn to the fact that there must have been a long period of extreme bilingualism with the vernacular languages remaining in use long after Latin was introduced as the language of official communication by the conquerors (pp. 83, 91, 231–2, 234). Regarding Latin inscriptions from outside Rome, it is, as the authors explain, often difficult, or impossible, to make a distinction between what is an established substrate feature, and what represents the outcome of an occasional case of imperfect learning of L2 (p. 111).

The chapter on early Latin includes an excellent description and analysis of the official style and composition in the *Senatus consulta*, with possible influence from Greek models (pp. 150–3). The authors argue against the putative "clumsiness" of the early official records, stressing the fact that these texts in fact show stylistic and syntactic rules already in full operation (pp. 150–4). They further illuminate the importance of native sources for the official and literary styles of Latin (p. 160). The traditional *carmina*, with rhythmical features reflecting the earlier memory-based culture, provided the early writers with a model of elevated language, together with structures in di- or tricola, anaphora, alliteration, assonance and figura etymologica, all of which served to distance written language from ordinary speech (p. 161).

One of the most important contributions, if not indeed the most important, of this book, is tracing the standardization process of Latin prior to the achievements of the classical period and Cicero. The growing need for, and rapid evolution of, a complex official form of the language is placed in the context of imperial expansion and the new responsibilities of the state resulting from this, with a tension between striving for standard and ever-changing spoken varieties (pp. 91, 152–3). This is all the more interesting as careful distinction is made between different genres in the early period, and in all language levels, from orthography to syntax. One might mention in this connection, e.g., the treatment of the Scipio epitaphs stressing their literary nature (p. 140). This is especially interesting concerning word order, and the verb-final style of official texts, as opposed to private and/or literary texts like the Scipio epitaphs. Moreover, spelling reforms may have been introduced at different times in different text types (p. 141). The conception that the language already exhibits stylistic elaboration at this early stage is very important. All too often one runs into the idea that at early stages of the written record, the language would be a reflection of contemporary speech, a view clearly rejected by the authors of this volume.

The sensitivity to genre-specific features is appropriately continued in the exposition of Cicero's style, especially regarding comparison of him and other writers of the classical age. The authors point out the self-evident fact that Cicero never wrote history, and thus the differences between him and the historians derive from this difference in genre and function (pp. 216 and 219). Despite genre-dependent stylistic variation, a certain consensus of the grammatical norm and correctness was retained in imperial prose. Deliberate deviations from this norm (Apuleius, even more so Petronius) occasionally give us glimpses, although not much more than that, of variation of another kind, variation that reflects changes happening in spoken registers (p. 217). Poetry is seen to differ from prose mainly in morphology and syntax (including "routine disruption of normal word order"), although canonized lexical archaisms and Greek influence are conspicuous elements as well (pp. 223–7).

The case studies of sub-elite Latin in the empire (all are based on the work by J. N. Adams) contain an insightful analysis of the famous letter of Chrauttius from Vindolanda (pp. 244–9) together with a highly interesting account of the poem of the *centurio* Iasucthan from Bu Njem (pp. 259–61). Regarding the latter text, the authors analyze the elements that Iasucthan felt poetical language consisted of, as well as his efforts in trying to produce those elements himself. In the words of the authors, "Iasucthan's inscription therefore tells us perhaps more about what spoken Latin was not than what it was" (p. 262).[1]

The space given to syntax is obvious from the start. There is a very good exposition of syntax and style of old Latin (pp. 104–7). Attention is drawn to topic-comment-afterthought structures with much "loose" syntax between the component parts of sentences (p. 105). The authors identify the same markers and resources that appear in the *carmina* and the *Senatus consulta* as producing elevated language in early Latin literary texts (p. 166). The discussion of early literary Latin also contains a balanced account of the language of Plautus and Terence, a prime example of the conscise style and precision of the work in general (pp. 176–7). Newer trends and advances in syntactic inquiry are seen, e.g., in the fact that pragmatics and information structure are given due emphasis in the account of syntactic developments, for example, in the treatment of the passive voice and its changing functions in literary language (p. 214).

The relative unity of spoken Latin, a largely undeniable but not easily explainable fact, is explained as resulting, first and foremost, from both geographical and social mobility that was not confined to the elite classes. This mobility was brought about by such institutions as the army, empire-wide trade, slavery and Roman colonies founded in different parts of the empire (p. 235). One of the principal questions that any book on the history of Latin will need to take a stand on is the status of the written standard with respect to the spoken registers. It was exciting to see how the authors position themselves concerning this topic. Their approach stresses the codification of the classic literary canon, and the classic form of the language that resists changes. The norms of written Latin remained close to unchanged for centuries after the Classical period, and the majority of the population lived their lives unaffected by this written norm (pp. 79–80, 227).

In the same vein, the seemingly sub-elite Latin of the *Peregrinatio Egeriae* (end of the 4th century) is, quite logically, characterized as written in the colloquial style of the educated (and not the uneducated), with pleonasm, repetition and no attempt to build up periodic sentences in the classical manner (p. 286). The reason for this was the author's Christian faith: she felt she did not need the classical models. Centuries later, the literary works of Gregory of Tours were intended for a small elite, and probably were not intelligible to the rest (p. 295). This is, in my view, a realistic conception about the status of written standard Latin in the later period.

I especially enjoyed the account of Latin word order, a theme that has received much attention in recent decades, and continues to be one of the major topics in Latin language research. The authors follow word order matters throughout the book, starting from the inherited patterns of PIE (pp. 26–31), and following the trends and changes in word order through the course of history, up to the Romance developments. In archaic Latin, default (unmarked) is

[1] One should, however, note that the text of *P. Mich*. VIII 469 given on pp. 250–1 is rather optimistic, and there is one strange form, the verb *circumcupiscere* that is not found in any of the editions, in place of *cumcupịṣc̣[e]ṛ[e]*) (l. 11). The dubious text guides the interpretation of, e.g., Terentianus' use of the accusative and infinitive construction in *se eni sitlas et fur[ca] [hab]ere se* (ll. 12-13) where *fụr[ca]* and *[hab]ẹṛe ṣe* follow P. Cugusi's conjectures (in *Corpus epistularum latinarum*, Firenze: Gonnelli 1992, no. 144). This interpretation results in a perhaps too bold statement on uncertain text (p. 256): "Terentianus has repeated the pronoun [scil. *se*] which functions as the subject of the infinitive in order to have it next to its verb. If the accusative and the infinitive were entirely learned, such a repetition would have been unlikely."

SOV, but VO and OVS may also be present for reasons of emphasis or contrast. It is, according to the authors, " … possible that the later rigid SOV system is not a preservation of an archaic state, but rather an artificial "official" order created for the specialized discourse of bureaucratic prose, an artificial order that may never have been a feature of spoken Latin" (p. 30, 281). Attention is drawn to other factors that influence the word order in literary texts: rhythm and meter, antithesis and saliency (p. 281). Word order in the Peregrinatio Egeriae is compared with the emerging Romance patterns (p. 291).

Finally, it may be noted that the book in its entirety is written in a concise and compact style. It is intended, in addition to Latinists, for linguists working on other languages. For a Latinist, it is difficult to rate the book's approachability for non-classicists. The practice of introducing sample texts with glosses and translations (according to the way set out in Horrocks' book on Greek, cf. the reference above) is highly useful: they link the discussion to the material, and keep it on a concrete level, in addition to exemplifying the actual features, and giving them a proper context. The work is written with a truly linguistic (as opposed to stylistic) approach, the presence of which in what will undoubtedly become the standard work on the history of Latin will help to promote a more linguistic approach in Latin studies generally. The chapters have separate bibliographies, and there is no general bibliography (apart from a short list of the most important reference works).

Hilla Halla-aho

Inscriptiones Graecae. Vol. II et III editio altera, Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores: pars V: *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Herulorum incursionem et imp. Mauricii tempora.* Consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum Borussicae editae. Edidit Ericus Sironen. Gualterus de Gruyter et socii, Berolini 2008. ISBN 978-3-11-020621-0. VIII, 218 S. 50 Taf. EUR 278.

Eine hochwillkommene Ausgabe. Johannes Kirchner hatte in seiner Edition von *IG* II/III[2] die Inschriften des ausgehenden Altertums nur recht unvollständig berücksichtigt. So füllt das vorliegende Werk eine fühlbare Lücke. Sironen hat in jahrelanger mühevoller Arbeit an Ort und Stelle und in Archiven, Bibliotheken und Museen alle epigraphischen Urkunden aus der Zeit zwischen dem Einfall der Heruli 267/8 n. Chr. und dem Ende des 6. Jh. aufgenommen und präsentiert sie jetzt auf vorzügliche Weise als Fortsetzung zu Kirchners monumentaler Ausgabe.

Die äußere Anlage der Edition ist die bewährte, die sich in den letzten Bänden der *IG* durchgesetzt hat. Die Ausgabe enthält alle antiken Inschriften (auch die lateinischen), die mit guten Gründen in die Zeit nach dem Herulereinfall datiert werden können, auch diejenigen, die schon bei Kirchner stehen. Man fragt sich aber, ob es nötig war, alle von Kirchner publizierten Texte neu auszulegen. Zum Beispiel hat die erste Inschrift, ein Fragment von Diokletians Preisedikt, eigentlich nichts mit Athen zu tun; außerdem findet sie sich nicht nur bei Kirchner, sondern auch in allen Gesamteditionen des Preisediktes (auch z. B. 13262–64 gehören ins 3. Jh. und sind schon von Kirchner vorzüglich erchlossen). Die Lemmata sind vorzüglich aufgebaut; der kritische Apparat bei einzelnen Texte scheint vollständig zu sein. Dagegen sind die Kommentare nicht immer erschöpfend, besonders bei längeren Texten (z. B. ist die Erklärung von 13249 etwas dürftig).

Einige Details. 13249: ich verstehe nicht, was die Zeichen (Buchstaben?) nach *iustam* in der ersten Zeile des lateinischen Fragments *d* sagen wollen. – 13289: es wäre der Mühe wert gewesen, auf das hinkende Metrum am Ende des ersten Verses mit Spondeus hinzuweisen, der wirklich das Rhythmusgefühl verletzt). – 13399: Statt Ἀνδρέᾳ würde ich Ἀνδρέα vorziehen, da der Name nach κοιμητήριον regelmäßig im Genetiv steht (und in 13396 und 13600 steht Gen. Ἀνδρέα fest); daran ändert nichts, dass in unseren Texten Gen. Ἀνδρέου häufiger vorkommt. – 13436: Sironen vermutet in dem verstümmelten Text die Erwähnung eines *farinarius*. Erhalten ist ---APIN---; der Editor liest φαρινα[ρίου], aber die vor A ersichtliche senkrechte Haste, die er als Φ deutet, kann auch zu einem anderen Buchstaben gehören; und am Ende kann ich von einem A am Photo nichts erkennen. Eher liegt hier ein Personenname vor, etwa der überaus populäre Μαρῖνος (die letzte Haste des M wird regelmäßig als senkrecht geschrieben). – 13494: die Inschrift mag in der Tat mit Sironen als christlich eingestuft werden (bisher dachte man an ein jüdisches Epitaph); doch würden die "nomina minime Iudaica" an sich nicht gegen jüdische Zuweisung sprechen. – 13666 könnte auch zu Constantius gehören. – Das Latein ist im allgemeinen flüssig und verständlich (auf S. 27 als Titel besser "tituli operum publicorum" statt "aedificatorii"; auf S. 101 würde man eher "tituli alibi Athenis reperti" als "inventi" schreiben).

Alles im allem nicht nur ein willkommenes, sondern auch ein wichtiges Quellenwerk, das hoffentlich neue Impulse für die Erforschung der politischen, sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Zustände im spätantiken Athen gibt. Auch für die Namenforschung bietet es viel neues Material (im zweiten Band des Oxforder Namenlexikons sind die spätesten Jahrhunderte der Antike eher stiefmütterlich behandelt worden).

Heikki Solin

M. Segre: *Iscrizioni di Cos.* Monografie della scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente VI.2. Edizioni Quasar, Roma 2007. ISBN 88-7140-325-8. 303 pp., 99 tavv. b/n. EUR 65.

Two volumes of *Iscrizioni di Cos* (one with the texts, another with illustrations) by Mario Segre were published in 1993. This is now the sequel. As the first two volumes were numbered "1" and "2", one would expect this one to have been numbered "3", but in fact there is no number where one would expect to find it and the volume is called "secondo volume" by M. L. Lazzarini in the short Preface on p. 7. In any case, as is well known, the author, a Jew, died as a young man in 1944 in a Nazi concentration camp. Most of what has been published under his name has, consequently, been based on manuscripts Segre left and has been edited by others, this volume by Lazzarini in collaboration with G. Vallarino.

In the shortest of prefaces, nothing is said on the nature of this set of inscriptions, but the texts are all funerary (this is also clear from the prefix "EF" attached to their numbers). Most of them seem to come from the city of Kos and its environs (e.g., "Da demolizioni in città" no. 5, 7, 11, etc.). A number have already been published in the earlier collections by Paton, Herzog and Maiuri (cf. the "Concordanze" p. 300ff.), but the majority of the texts included here seem to be unpublished. Nothing is said on their whereabouts in the 1930's (and the editors do not offer any additional information on this), but the castle of Kos seems a likely place, at least for those which still survive (cf. "portata al castello" in no. 474).

The numbering of the inscriptions stops at 854, but the total of inscriptions must be less, as some numbers (295–6, 309–10, etc.) are missing. Only very few of the inscription are in Latin or bilingual (e.g., 340, 403, 686, 694, 699, 703, 748, 827, etc.); to judge from the Roman names (of which there are, of course, many), most of them would be from the first century BC and AD (but there are also later ones, e.g., 79, 117, 144, 247, 252, 308, etc.; note that also for the Ulpii, Aurelii, etc., only the date "età imperiale" is given). For many, but not for all, a photograph is furnished. In the case of those inscriptions where there is no photo one has, then, to rely on what is said by Segre. In a way this is a problem since Segre clearly was not the most accomplished of epigraphists, although it is true that this affects the interpretations and the commentaries rather than the readings. Obviously, one has to take into consideration the fact that this volume represents the level of scholarship in the thirties; but I wonder if even in the thirties there would have been many scholars who could have produced a reading such as that in EF 748:

Sex[tiae Publii lumi]nis
Σεξτίας Πο[π]λίου Αὐγῆς,

where the Latin version must of course have been *Sex[tiae P. l.* (or perhaps *f.*) *Auge]nis*. And there is much more that one feels unconfortable with. Note for instance the following: no. 35: [Σ]εντία (rather than [Γ]εντία); no. 183: Φαρσυλ[ήιος] (i.e., *Farsuleius*); no. 252: Οὔλπιος Ἄμενπτος (cf. 557; not ἄμενπτος); no. 523: "non capisco il nome", but it is of course *Heiuleius*, cf. 845; no. 617: Φλάυιος (not Φλαύιος); no. 686: *Rupi[lia ---]*; no. 694: Γναῖος (not Γνάιος); no. 798: perhaps Ἀνδ[ετίου] rather than Ἀνδ[ρία] (!), cf. *I. Cos* ED 228; no. 809: [Τ]ιτινίου; I also wonder, e.g., whether θυγρατρός is really the correct reading in 708.

Whatever the scholarly level of this publication, however, it must be noted that is both welcome and useful, and that although the inscriptions are normally of the simplest type, there is much of interest for the student of epigraphic formulas, language, onomastics (to say nothing of the Greek names, note, e.g., apparently the first instances of *Dec(i)mio*, no. 17, and *Flavicius*, no. 586, and only the second instance of *Canilius* in no. 625; or that *Lucius*, Λεύκιος in the case of the father, becomes Λούκιος in the case of the son in no. 610) and social history in general (observe also an Asiarch in 771). In fact, there is so much new material that that a new study of Kos and the people there would be more than welcome.

The editors must be thanked for not only for having made this material available but also for having furnished it with very detailed indices in which, it must be noted, also the earlier volumes are taken into consideration.

Olli Salomies

La ricerca epigrafica e antiquaria nelle Venezie dall'età napoleonica all'unità. A cura di ALFREDO BUONOPANE – MAURIZIO BUORA – ARNALDO MARCONE. Studi Udinesi sul Mondo Antico (SUSMA) 5. Le Monnier università, Firenze 2007. ISBN 978-88-002-0724-9. VI, 384 pp. EUR 28.

Il volume in questione raccoglie le comunicazioni presentate durante un incontro che si è svolto tra Udine e San Daniele del Friuli il 6 e il 7 ottobre 2006. Contiene contributi di grande valore.

Come era da aspettarsi, molto corre intorno alla figura di Theodor Mommsen che pubblicò le iscrizioni latine antiche della Gallia Cisalpina in due tomi fondamentali apparsi nel 1872 e 1877. Ma ci sono importanti comunicazioni anche su altri argomenti. Nel complesso si tratta di un volume di grande importanza per chi si interessa degli studi epigrafici e antiquari non solo riguardo all'area delle Venezie, ma a tutta l'Italia in generale. Non posso che raccomandare la sua lettura a tutti i cultori della storia della scienza epigrafica. Io stesso ho letto i vari contributi con grande cura, interesse e profitto. Purtroppo non mi è possibile, nell'esiguo spazio concessomi dalla redazione di questa rivista, trattare delle questioni emerse dalla lettura del volume, ma per mostrare che ho veramente non solo sfogliato il volume, faccio notare che a p. 189 sg., dove si discute la forma del testo di *CIL* V 1359 (stranamente non viene dato il numero del *CIL*), si conferma, senza dubbio a ragione, la lettura mommseniana *Sabia*; incidentalmente si ricorda anche il nome del patrono di Sabia, *Plaetor*, che viene definito come gentilizio, ma gentilizio non è, bensì cognome.

Heikki Solin

Fabian Reiter: *Die Nomarchen des Arsinoites. Ein Beitrag zum Steuerwesen im römischen Ägypten. Abhandlungen der Nordrhein-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia XXXI. Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn – München – Wien – Zürich 2004. ISBN 3-506-72893-8. X, 367 S., 9 Taf. EUR 58.90.

Trotz vieler Jahre papyrologischer Forschung ist unser Wissen über die Einzelheiten der ungeheuer komplizierten Verwaltung des ptolemäisch-römischen Ägyptens immer noch lückenhaft, und es ist oft schwer, sich ein Gesamtbild über ein Amt oder eine Institution zu bilden. In dieser Hinsicht sind die Nomarchen ein gutes Thema, weil immer noch nicht eine klare Auffassung über alle Aufgaben der Nomarchen und nicht einmal über ihre Anzahl zu bekommen ist. Die vorliegende Studie von F. Reiter (R.) ist bestrebt, die Fragen zu beantworten, die einerseits das Amt selbst und andererseits die Amtsträger betreffen. In dieser Studie diskutiert R. ausführlich und systematisch sämtliche uns zur Verfügung stehenden, die Nomarchie betreffenden Kenntnisse, wobei die Leserin bzw. der Leser sehr genau auch über das Steuerwesen Ägyptens im allgemeinen informiert wird. Obwohl die römische Zeit im Mittelpunkt steht, berücksichtigt der Autor auch die älteren Umstände, und es gelingt ihm, die Entwicklung des Amtes von der Ptolemäerzeit bis zum Jahr 248 (dem Jahr des letzten Belegs für Nomarchen) gründlich darzustellen. Er stellt fest, daß die ptolemäischen Nomarchen einen anderen Status und andere Aufgaben hatten als die Nomarchen der Römerzeit und daß die Tätigkeit der Nomarchen nicht als ein Kontinuum zu verstehen ist.

Im ersten Kapitel fasst R. die frühere Forschung sehr deutlich zusammen. Der Autor hat sich die Mühe gemacht, auch die oft übergangene, in slawischen Sprachen geschriebene Literatur heranzuziehen. Aber obwohl es viele interessante und nützliche frühere Beiträge zum Thema gibt, muß man feststellen, daß eine ausführliche Untersuchung über die Nomarchen des Arsinoites bisher fehlte. Unsere Kenntnisse beruhten vorwiegend auf Forschungen wie Preisigkes *Girowesen* (1911) und Oertels *Studien zur Ptolemäischen und Kaiserlichen Verwaltung Ägyptens* (1917).

Bei seinem Überblick über die Quellen merkt der Autor an, daß das Forschungsmaterial einigermaßen einseitig und chronologisch ungleichmäßig ist. Das Quellenmaterial besteht aus ca. 130 Papyri, die aus der Zeit bis zum 3. Jh. n. Chr. stammen; am besten ist die 1. Hälfte des 3. Jh. dokumentiert; aus dem 1. Jh. stammen dagegen wenige Papyri. Diese Situation stimmt jedoch mit der normalen Verteilung der Papyri im Arsinoites überein, und das Quellenmaterial kann somit als repräsentativ gelten.

Im zweiten Kapitel stehen prosopographische Fragen im Mittelpunkt. R. bietet uns eine Tabelle mit den relevanten Quellenangaben zu allen namentlich bekannten Nomarchen. Die Belege werden zunächst einzeln prosopographisch analysiert (II 1–3); dann wird das "soziale Milieu der Nomarchen" im weiteren Sinn aufgrund der Onomastik besprochen (II 4). Es wird festgestellt, daß die Nomarchen, wie auch die Strategen dieser Periode, hauptsächlich aus Alexandrien stammten und zu den oberen Schichten der Gesellschaft gehörten, was ohne weiteres glaubwürdig ist, obwohl direkte Beweise dafür noch fehlen. Als ein Spezialfall unter den bekannten Nomarchen gilt Apion (S. 41–7), der mindestens 22 Jahre das Amt bekleidete; seine Amtszeit als Nomarch (193–215) ist gut dokumentiert. R. verbindet verschiedene papyrologische Belege miteinander und bringt die in zwei Entscheiden (ποκρίματα) des Caracalla belegten Vorwürfe gegen einen Steuerpächter wegen ungerechter Steuererhebung (*SB* XIV 11875–6) mit Apion in Verbindung. Zu diesen kommt noch ein Register von konfisziertem Land hinzu, das einen Apion erwähnt (*P. Prag. Inv*. III 206b, 342–3). Mit diesen und einigen anderen Belegen bekommen wir das folgende Bild: Der anfangs wohlhabende Nomarch Apion gerät in finanzielle Schwierigkeiten und wird wegen Mißbrauchs bei der Steuererhebung von Bauern angeklagt und später verurteilt, wobei seine Güter enteignet wurden. R. argumentiert überzeugend, daß in diese Zeit (215) auch die bedeutende Änderung im Charakter des Nomarchenamtes fiel: es wurde in eine Zwangspflicht, d.h. in eine Liturgie, umgewandelt. R. zieht die logische Folgerung, daß die finanziellen Ungelegenheiten des Apion und sein Versagen als Nomarch der Anlaß zu dieser Reform waren.

Im III. Kapitel werden die Charakteristika der Tätigkeit der Nomarchen behandelt. Anders als in ptolemäischer Zeit waren die Nomarchen in der Römerzeit nur in Arsinoites, Antinoupolis und Naukratis tätig, also in Orten, die stark von Griechen und Römern bewohnt waren. R. zeigt, daß das Material deutlich darauf hinweist, daß die Tätigkeit der Nomarchen bis zur Liturgisierung des Amtes am Anfang des 3. Jh. nicht, wie bisher üblicherweise vermutet wurde, ein Staatsamt, sondern ein geschäftliches Unternehmen war. Diese Hypothese wird sowohl durch die Terminologie (auf die Nomarchen und ihre Tätigkeit wird oft mit Ausdrücken wie ἀσχολούμενοι / νομαρχικὰ ἀσχολήματα verwiesen) als auch durch die variable Zahl der Nomarchen gestützt: dies spricht für die Möglichkeit, daß, wenn finanziell nötig, mehrere Personen zusammen ein Kollegium für die Amtsbekleidung aufstellen konnten. Am Anfang der Römerzeit waren die Nomarchen also private Unternehmer, die allein oder zusammen mit anderen wohlhabenden Bürgern gute Möglichkeiten hatten, sich zu bereichern.

Der vierte und auch umfangreichste Teil des Buches analysiert die vielen Aufgaben, die zur Tätigkeit der Nomarchen gehörten. R. weist nach, wie sehr der Staat den Nomarchen half, ihre Pflichten zu erfüllen. Neben dem normalen Personal konnten dem Nomarchen auch andere Hilfskräfte, zum Beispiel liturgische Beamte, zur Verfügung stehen. Die Nomarchen waren verantwortlich für verschiedene Abgaben, die in der Studie alle gründlich behandelt werden: gewerbliche Abgaben (IV. 2. A), Landsteuern (IV. 2. B), Verkehrsteuern, Gebühren und Zölle (IV. 2. C). Besonders ausführlich bespricht R. die Bierbrauerei und die dazu gehörenden Steuern. Er zeigt, wie wenig wir von dieser sehr häufig vorkommenden Steuer eigentlich wissen. R. schlägt vor, daß das ptolemäische Biermonopol in römischer Zeit in eine Lizenzgebühr (und also nicht in eine Konsumsteuer, wie üblich behauptet wird) umgewandelt wurde. Es bleibt aber, meiner Meinung nach, immer noch undeutlich, was genau das Verhältnis zwischen ζυτηρά, ζυτηρὰ κατ' ἄνδρα und ζυτική war.

R. bespricht auch das System der Erhebung der nomarchischen Steuern (IV. 3) und analysiert die Belege, die die Erheber erwähnen. Es wird festgestellt, daß die Nomarchen oder ihre Angestellten nicht immer selbst verantwortlich für die Erhebung der Steuer waren. Die Erhebung konnte weiterverpachtet worden (an die ἐπιτηρηταί). In Dörfern finden sich als Erheber auch Dorfälteste (πρεσβύτεροι) und Mitglieder von Gilden.

Diese Studie von R. macht klar, daß es nicht mehr möglich ist, die nomarchischen Abgaben zusammen mit F. Preisigke nur als "lose Steuern" zu charakterisieren. In dem von R. gezeichneten Bild geht es darum, daß die Römer ganz allgemein die Verwaltungskosten in Ägypten vermindern wollten: sie begründeten ein Ressort νομαρχικὰ ἀσχολήματα, das an einen Nomarchen verpachtet wurde. Diesem Ressort wurden Steuern zugeschlagen, die lokal, aber nicht von allen erhoben wurden, wie etwa die Kopfsteuern.

Die Stärke dieser Studie liegt darin, daß sie alle Quellen berücksichtigt und alle Aspekte des Themas behandelt und daraus dann sinnvolle Schlüsse zieht. R. bedient sich sowohl traditioneller als auch moderner Forschungsmethoden. Im Ganzen gesehen kann gesagt werden, daß man diese Studie als eine außerordentlich gut geordnete Schatzkiste zur Erforschung der gesamten Verwaltung Ägyptens betrachten kann. Die Struktur der Studie ist logisch, und die neuen Gesichtspunkte, die R. bietet, sind immer gut begründet. Man braucht kein Wahrsager zu sein, um voraussagen zu können, daß dieses Buch ein Klassiker werden wird.

Tiina Purola

La comunicazione nella storia antica. Fantasie e realtà. Atti del III Incontro internazionale di storia antica (Genova, 23–24 novembre 2006). A cura di Maria Grazia Angeli Bertinelli – Angela Donati. Serta antiqua et mediaevalia XI. Pubblicazioni della sezione di Storia antica, vol. VII. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-7689-220-6. XII, 270 pp., 21 ill. EUR 130.

As is clear from the title, these are the acts of an international colloquium held in Genova in 2006. Most of the participants being from Italy, the majority of the contributions are in Italian; two (by González and Mayer) are in Spanish, two (by Mitchell and Šašel Kos) in English. The subject to be taken into consideration in the colloquium was "communication"; many of the contributions include a reference to this in their titles (e.g., A. Sartori on "La comunicazione epigrafica: realtà e fantasia"). The subject was well chosen, as quite a few things (e.g., a statue or an inscription) can be labelled as "communication", and this is reflected in the variety of the contributions which begin with a paper on Greek myths and legends (by Šašel Kos) and include a paper (by Felle) on quotations from the bible in late-antique inscriptions.

The papers are divided into four chapters, "Storia ed epigrafia greca", "Storia ed epigrafia romana", "Storia ed epigrafia tardoantica" and (suitably) "Comunicazioni", apparently a heading provided for shortish contributions by younger scholars (all contributors are here given the title "dottorato in Scienze storiche dell'antichità") rather than one meant for contributions on subjects alien to the preceding chapters. Providing a description and an evaluation of all the papers is well outside the scope of this review; instead, let me point out those contributions which I thought of as most interesting. S. Mitchell discusses (p. 57ff.) "La comunicazione di ideologie religiose" in the Roman Empire; this contribution includes observations on the inscriptions recording the *interpretatio oraculi Clari Apollinis* and on the question how the text was disseminated. In an interesting contribution, G. L. Gregori examines (p. 83ff.) Republican funerary inscriptions from the city of Rome addressing a passer-by (with *(h)ave*, etc.); this contribution also includes a list of these inscriptions (note no. 17 pertaining to *Erato quasillaria* which is not in *CIL* I², although already published in 1923). Two interesting inscriptions from Aesernia, *AE* 1975, 349 and *CIL* IX 2655 are the subject of a paper by M. Buonocore (p. 153ff.).

There is also much of interest in the other papers included in the volume, including those in the chapter "Comunicazioni". At the end, there is a short recapitulation by A. Donati.

Olli Salomies

The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Pericles. Edited by Loren J. Samons II. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-80793-7 (hb), 978-0-521-00389-6 (pb). XX, 343 pp. GBP 53, USD 87 (hb), GBP 18.99, USD 33.99 (pb).

"It is as if some ever-flowering life and unaging spirit had been infused into the creation of these works." These words, by which Plutarch describes the new monuments of the Acropolis in the age of Pericles, are part of a longer quotation from Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* in Kenneth Lapatin's article in this Cambridge *Companion* (p. 125f.). They could also aptly describe the common view of the Periclean age as the heyday of Athens.

Pericles is one of those political leaders whose names characterize their own period. The Athenian statesman and his times have been described in numerous presentations and analyses, from Plutarch to Nietzsche, often with admiration or even enthusiasm, sometimes with reservation. Giving a clear account of Pericles and the different aspects of the politics and culture of his time, *The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Pericles* does by no means idealize the Athenian politician. Several later ideals such as humanism, democracy, or egalitarianism, often attributed to or connected with Pericles and Periclean Athens, are questioned, at least to some extent. Loren J. Samons, the editor of the *Companion*, warns us against looking at Periclean Athens through the eyes of the twentieth century observer. According to Samons, Pericles was a politician, who "used demokratia as a force to build Athenian power". In leading Athens with this goal in mind, Pericles "defined his age even as he radically altered it." (p. 301)

The *Companion* is divided into eleven chapters, which deal with religion, economy, warfare, art and architecture, groups without citizenship (slaves, foreigners and women), drama, bureaucracy, intellectual history and the conflict between Athens and Sparta. Not surprisingly, the most important topic is democracy. Two of the chapters are devoted to this topic, but the word "democracy" also occurs in the titles of two more chapters. The introduction by the editor of the *Companion* gives a characterization of the Athenian history and society in the age of Pericles, as well as a synopsis of the main sources. The conclusion, also by the editor of the book, summarizes the role of Pericles in the age which often bears his name. The articles also deal with some aspects which are not indicated in the titles. E.g., the discussion of Athenian bureaucracy (J. P. Sickinger's article) is not possible without a reconsideration of literacy and the function of writing.

The main emphasis in this *Companion* lies in economic, social and political development in Pericles' times. Art, architecture, drama and philosophy occupy about one-fifth of the book, but even they are discussed in their social and political context. Vice versa, literature, especially drama, offers material for discussing politics and social life.

Along with the concept of democracy (cf. also demos and demokratia), other key concepts are assembly, council of 500, and (Athenian) empire. While Athens is seen as a combination of democracy and empire (P. J. Rhodes's article), special attention has been paid to the question of Pericles' role and influence in the political process. In his concluding chapter, L. J. Samons emphasizes Athenian power as a pervading theme in Pericles' orations. A clear account of the practices, i.e., political and judicial organs, of Athenian democracy is given by R. Sealey.

An influential person like Pericles is inevitably attacked by his enemies or ridiculed by comedians and satirists. In his biography of Pericles, Plutarch several times quotes verses from old Attic comedies, the works of Aristophanes, Cratinus, Eupolis and Hermippus. Respectively, in this *Companion*, the most often quoted Greek author is Aristophanes. In many respects, comedies may be unreliable as historical sources, but, to be a good comedian or satirist, one has to be an acute observer of one's time. It is obvious that Aristophanes has noted several important and essential features in Athenian society and culture. The references to Aristophanes in the *Companion* are well chosen and illuminating, contributing also to the enjoyment of reading the book. More importantly, the role of drama was essential in fifth century Athens, having, as Jeffrey Henderson reminds us, democracy as its precondition. On the other hand, as Henderson also emphasizes, democracy was not an ideological theme or a didactic project in the tragedies, which discuss matters on a more universal level. It was the task of Old Comedy to discuss political issues more directly; as such, it was "a phenomenon related to democracy, especially to the parrhesia that encouraged other forms of intellectual debate during the Periclean age," as Henderson puts it.

Aristophanes is quoted, e.g., by Lisa Kallet in her article about the Athenian economy. The comedian has concretely shown the place of money and economic activity in the life of the Athenian citizens. A fragment of Hermippus, for its part, tells about the products brought from abroad by a shipowner. Kallet situates the fragment in its historical context. According to her, "the passage is revealing for its inclusion of both raw and manufactured commodities, for the variety of foodstuffs, and for the intermingling of luxury items such as ivory and carpets with essential commodities such as slaves, wheat, timber, and linen for sails and rigging." (p. 83)

Writing about Athenian religion in the age of Pericles, Deborah Boedeker focuses on the right ways to treat the gods and on major beliefs and practices. For her purposes, Aristophanes' *Clouds* offers rich material, which also shows the comedian's eye for details of social life.

The presentation of intellectual climate in the *Companion* is rewarding. Robert W. Wallace draws special attention to Damon, Pericles' fascinating but also enigmatic music teacher, as an influential figure. Wallace sees Pericles' death as a turning point not only in politics but in intellectual history as well. E.g., Damon no longer engaged himself in politics. Wallace summarizes the development after Pericles' death as follows: "This withdrawal from public life into darker, more private moods reflected three developments. Many elite citizens were themselves now alienated from politics; these were years of war and plague; finally, various theoretical positions evolved into more extreme, sometimes even offensive forms, as intellectuals sought fame or notoriety by bolder conceptual innovations." (p. 226) As the representatives of this change, Wallace discusses the speech-writer Antiphon and the politicians Cleon and Anytos.

Although in popular presentations the fifth century BC has been seen as an age of philosophers, sophists, dramatists and the representatives of other forms of high literature, in contrast to the Hellenistic age, one of its traits was polymathy, as Wallace points out. Among philosophers and sophists, there were those whose interests ranged from astronomy to social issues and, as in the case of Hippias and Democritus, to more practical matters.

A modern cultural history cannot be written without taking into account the role which "the others" play in society. Cynthia Patterson discusses this challenging question especially in the light of concrete examples taken from some selected passages in the texts of Greek authors. The readers learn, e.g., of the estate manager Evangelos in *Pericles* 16, workmen on the Acropolis in *Pericles* 12, the fugitive slaves in Thucydides 7,27 and, very briefly, about Pericles' mistress Aspasia. Patterson's semantic analysis of the word *astos* is very important (pp. 167ff. and footnote 38). Respectively, writing about warfare, Kurt A. Raaflaub not only discusses Athens's resources and Pericles' strategy, but also – in the light of deplorably scarce sources – the common soldiers' experience of war.

The last chapter of the *Companion* before the conclusion discusses the causes of the Peloponnesian war. J. E. Lendon offers an alternative view to Thucydides' famous explanation, according to which the cause of the war was the growing greatness of Athens and the fear which it inspired among the Lacedaemonians. Lendon refers to Polybius' explanation, in a later context, of war as a struggle for first place: among the key words in this explanation are *timē*, *hēgemonia* and *hybris* (p. 261f). The difference between Thucydides' and Polybius' explanations can be illustrated by the words "power" and "prestige". As a parallel explanation, Lendon refers to and quotes from Diodorus Siculus' description of the outbreak of a war between Argos and Mycenae in the 460s (p. 262f.). As far as I can see, Lendon's view differs to some extent from the main views of the *Companion*, which emphasize Pericles' struggle for Athenian power and Athens as an empire.

The *Companion* does not include any chapter about the heritage of the Periclean age or presentations of parallels between Periclean Athens and later ages. However, there are some exceptions. One of them, not a very happy one, is Wallace's view of parallel development between the period after Pericles death and the history of 19th and 20th century arts (p. 226). Another exception is Lendon's view of Thucydides and Hobbes as progenitors of "Realism" in the study of international relations (p. 260). Sealey's brief paragraphs on the senses of the word "law" in different languages and the differences between Greek and Roman ideas about legal argument (p. 248) are illuminating. The information about the Tokugawa period in Japan (footnote 22, p. 256) is interesting, although it falls outside the scope of the *Companion*.

The contributors have written extensively on the topics which they discuss in this *Companion*. They have managed to condense their own researches and other recent scholarship into very readable articles. The 43 figures illuminating the article on art and architecture are well-chosen, the pearl being Dexamenos' gem, which, according to Arthur Evans, is the portrait of Cimon. Each chapter is provided with a useful list of further reading. Moreover, there is a general bibliography of over 20 pages.

H. K. Riikonen

Matthew R. Christ: *The Bad Citizen in Classical Athens*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2006. ISBN 978-0-521-86432-9. XI, 250 pp. GBP 57, USD 94.

Matthew R. Christ's book *The Bad Citizen in Classical Athens* is not, despite the title and the pretty cover, a populist work on scandals. Instead, it focuses on studying the tensions between idealistic legislation and the realities of opportunism. Divided into sections on conscription ("The Reluctant Conscript"), cowardice in battle ("The Cowardly Hoplite"), and tax evasion ("The Artful Tax Dodger"), the book aims to prove self-interest, cowardice, and greed frequently made citizens fall short of the ideals impressed upon them by orators and group pressure.

After an introductory chapter on self-interest in Athens, Christ moves on to the avoidance of conscription and desertion in battle. The system of conscription offered many chances for manipulation: One could argue for an exemption which was given, for example, to office-holders or the sick. Alternatively, a man could use connections and bribe the generals not to select him, or simply not show up.

Perhaps the most interesting and insightful section of the book concerns cowardice in battle. Christ explores the psychology of war, the tactics strategists applied to minimize desertion, and how military successes and failures were dealt with in the polis. Familial and friendship ties could be utilized to help hold the line, but in the cases of lost battles, blame was heaped on the individual general rather than the army.

The most extensive – and cleverly named – chapter "The Artful Tax Dodger" explores the development of the *eisphora* and liturgies. Christ shows how especially military liturgies were divided more evenly among multiple individuals as time progressed, no doubt reflecting the discontent and problems caused by heaping considerable financial duties on a selected few.

The author uses an admirably wide range of literary sources: tragedy, comedy, oratory, philosophy and history. Unfortunately, he quite often does not quote or summarize the relevant passages and instead settles for references and footnotes, which require much investment on the part of the reader (to hunt down and read the passages) and make the book heavy going, at least for the casual – or non-specialist – reader.

Another problem with *The Bad Citizen in Classical Athens* is the very limitations set on research by the dearth of evidence. As Christ himself argues, Athenians were keen to uphold their ideals, at least in public, and this leaves the academic to speculate based on what was *not* said at the Assembly and on how much we can trust the speeches of the accused and the accuser in court. Occasionally, this drives Christ to push forward seemingly unlikely arguments. He, for example, suggests Athenians preferred military service to paying taxes such as the *eisphora* since while one might make it out of battle alive, there is no escaping the tax collectors. Without evidence to prove or disprove this claim, the reader is left confused since one of the chapters is devoted to proving how reluctant Athenians were to face battle.

Despite these issues, *The Bad Citizen in Classical Athens* is a worthwhile introduction for anyone interested in ancient legislation, taxation and the clashes between ideals and reality in the upper echelons of society.

Elina Salminen

Nino Luraghi: *The Ancient Messenians. Constructions of Ethnicity and Memory*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-85587-7. XIV, 389 pp., 10 plates and 8 figures. GBP 60, USD 120.

The study of ethnic identity and collective memory has been traditionally a field for sociologists and anthropologists. However, during the past few decades, scholars of ancient history have become interested in the subject within the framework of Greek and Roman antiquity. In his book, Nino Luraghi engages in this scholarly discussion by offering a comprehensive study of the ancient Messenians, their history and the way they identified themselves ethnically in relation to other Greeks, and later, to Romans. Ancient Messenia offers an interesting case study for the examination of the construction of ethnic identity since its history is quite peculiar: the concept of Messenians as an ethnic group is known already from Homeric poetry, but Messenia as an independent polity came to exist only after 369 BC, when Epaminondas liberated from Spartan rule the area of the south-western Peloponnese called Messenia, and its inhabitants living to the west of the Taygetos range. Thus, Messenian identity emerged later than most of the other ethnic identities among the Greek people.

In his work, Luraghi covers the whole history of the Messenians, starting from the Bronze Age and finishing with the third century AD, taking into account the populations both in the Peloponnese and elsewhere in continental Greece, as well as in Sicily. His thesis is to show how the Messenians in different times "construed, interpreted and transmitted, by ways of stories, rituals, and other symbolic practices, representations of their shared past, of what made of them a specific and recognizable group inside the greater community of the Greeks – and also, how other Greeks reacted to those ideas and contributed, for various reasons, to their shaping" (p. 1).

In Luraghi's study of the Messenian ethnic identity, one central feature arises: the opposition to Sparta. The boundaries that separate an ethnic group from another group of the same order, a mechanism of inclusion and exclusion, has a significant role in defining an ethnic identity. For Messenians, separation from the Spartans came to be the crucial feature of their ethnic identity. Hostility between neighbouring *poleis* is not at all unheard of in ancient Greek contexts, but in the case of Messenians, it had more complex and deeper connotations than usual. During the early archaic age, the area of Messenia fell under Spartan rule after one or possibly two wars, in ancient history known as the First and Second Messenian Wars. From the eight century BC until the liberation of Messene by Epaminondas in 369 BC, Messenia remained the western part of the *Lakonike*, occupied by *perioikoi* and Helotized Messenians. Thus, it is natural that Messenians and Spartans shared many cultural features. However, after an earthquake in the Peloponnese in the 460s BC, a revolt broke out in the area of Mount Ithome, around the city of Ithome/Messene. The rebels identified themselves as the offspring of the original Messenians, thus placing a strong mark of an ethnic conflict on the revolt. This rebellion lasted for ten years, but it took another hundred for Messenia to become a free polity. The liberation of Messenia was a result of a favourable historical context, and a part of the Theban scheme to subdue the Spartan polity once and for all. The idea of the Messenian identity came to be the cornerstone of the new polity, of which the inhabitants were the *perioikoi* and helots of western *Lakonike*, as well as probably people from other parts of the Greek world that claimed to be of Messenian origin. The legend of the Messenian exile after the First and Second Messenian Wars and the subsequent return of the original population after 369 BC had a strong part in the construction of Messenian history and ethnic identity. Cohesion came to be the problem for the new polity of Messene: the way that the Messenian past was articulated during the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods clearly reflected the attempt of the *polis* of Ithome/Messene to express its dominance in the area. The opposition to Sparta remained the main characteristic of the Messenian identity for centuries. However, Roman rule slowly changed the function of Messenian identity. During the Imperial period, linking themselves to the tradition of Messenian *epos* was just one of the ways for the powerful families to claim social superiority in the community and in the empire.

The book is divided into eleven chapters. In the introduction, Luraghi gives the theoretical and methodological background to his study. Chapter 2 outlines the historical timespan of the work, focussing on the political and ethnic separation between Messenia and Sparta. Chapters 3 to 10 discuss in chronological order the history of the Messenians. In the conclusion, the author draws the different aspects of his study together by offering a tentative history of the Messenian identity and its main structural elements. By way of examining archaeological, epigraphic and literary sources, Luraghi draws an interesting and detailed picture of the construction of the ethnic identity of the ancient Messenians throughout the centuries from the Bronze Age to the Imperial era. The number of sources for this kind of comprehensive study naturally is abundant, but the writer handles it with neat accuracy, discussing all the various aspects with careful scrutiny, covering multiple fields of studies related to ancient history. Conclusions at the end of every chapter, as well as short introductions to the questions to be discussed at the beginnings of chapters, make the reading experience enjoyable, as they lead the reader on as well as help to keep track of the large amount of historical data received. An extensive bibliography and detailed indices complete this study, which is of importance to every scholar interested in the history of the Messenians, or more generally, in the notion of ethnic identity in antiquity.

Sanna-Ilaria Kittelä

Gary D. Farney: *Ethnic Identity and Aristocratic Competition in Republican Rome*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-86331-5. XVI, 337 pp. GBP 52, USD 95.

Though questions pertaining to ethnicity have always received their due share of attention among classical scholars, it can be noted that the underlying ideologies for such research have undergone profound changes over the decades. There is a tradition going back to a dark age when racial prejudice held sway, not only in war-torn, militaristic societies with poor democratic traditions, but also in the United States; it is less than one hundred years since Bryn Mawr College professor Tenney Frank infamously identified the influx of foreign (that is, eastern) ethnic elements into Italy as a principal cause for the decline of the Roman civilization ("Race Mixture in the Roman Empire", *AHR* 21 [1915–16] 689–708). Subsequent developments have been affected by colonialism, post-colonialism and, increasingly, by recent experiences of multiculturalism and plurality as well as by current identity issues. As for the main areas of focus, in Greek studies there has been a prominent preoccupation with the cultural demarcation lines between a more or less monolithically perceived Hellenicity and an equally non-diversified "otherness" (there are many examples of this before more recent works such as Edith Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian. Greek Self-Definition through Tragedy*, Oxford 1991). More recently, ethnical identities within the Hellenic World have been raised as issues (see, for instance, Jonathan M. Hall's studies *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*, Cambridge 1997 and *Hellenicity. Between Ethnicity and Culture*, Chicago 2002). In Roman studies, much of the attention has been directed towards the romanization of subdued peoples outside of Italy whereas comparatively little has been written on the privileged groups in the geographical and historical core of the Empire, that is, the Italic peoples who had already received Roman citizenship in the republican period.

In this book, Gary D. Farney explores some very interesting aspects of the fact that the Romans descended from different ethnic groups, such as Latins, Sabines and Etruscans, each of which retained a strong cultural identity. These groups made up a single united community, but this was actually a pluralistic construction. This very aspect of ancient Roman society was one of its chief characteristics; the Romans always retained a remarkable receptivity when it came to embracing foreign elements. Few societies in western history can equal Rome's capacity for absorbing diverse ethnic and linguistic groups and forging them into a new superordinate identity. Not only did the Romans continuously subdue new peoples, but the Roman Senate also opened its ranks to the foremost groups within these peoples and made them partners in its imperial ambitions. This meant that the aristocracy of Rome was continually evolving, gradually incorporating the local elites.

Farney shows how the issue of ethnic identity is prominently present in the political culture of the Roman Republic. Focusing on aristocrats with two homelands – "*Duae Patriae*" is the title of the introductory chapter (pp. 1–38, providing the background) – that is, Rome along with a native town (or a town where the family originated), he examines how such individuals related publicly to their specific ethnicity in order to make advancements in the continuous competition for public recognition, important priesthoods and – above all – the political magistracies. This kind of publicized association with a certain ethnic group was, according to Farney, a genuine necessity in the fiercely contested Roman elections. The masses voting in the electoral assemblies would, at least to some extent, have based their judgments of the *candidati* on their group identity, always entailing notions of ethnically imparted virtues and inherited qualities. Much of the discussion is concerned with aristocratic self-representation and family identity advertisement, which are key concepts throughout the study. Identifying ethnic identity as an important element of family identity, and demonstrating how aspiring politicians publicized certain qualities associated with their ethnicity by means of unique advertising schemes (sometimes entailing elaborate manipulation of existing stereotypes), Farney clearly breaks new ground in the study of Roman politics in the republican period.

Following the introductory chapter, the book proceeds with a series of studies focusing on specific identities: Romans born in Latium ("2. *Homo Romanus natus in Latio*", pp. 39–77), Romans of Sabine extraction ("3. *Romanus atque Sabinus*", pp. 78–124), and those of Etruscan origin ("4. *Tusci ac barbari*", pp. 125–78); thereafter follows a treatment of other Italic groups ("5. *Municipalia illa prodigia*", pp. 179–228). The whole study is concluded with a discussion of how the diverse Italic identities finally merged into a distinct Italian identity within the context of Rome's Mediterranean Empire, and how the Romans' experience of Italic groups affected their perceptions of and dealings with other ethnic groups, notably Greeks, Gauls and Germans ("6. *Transferendo huc quod usquam egregium fuerit*", pp. 229–46).

Farney's main problem in dealing with the earlier centuries of the Republic is that the evidence for ethnic self-promotion is both subtle and ambiguous. Moreover, in many cases, the individual family histories extend into a past where tales and legends reign supreme. Often there is not much more to go on than onomastic evidence (ethnic *praenomina* and *cognomina*) or, sometimes very vague, allusions on coins. An important material is constituted by coins struck between the early second century BC and the reign of Augustus which advertise the ethnic identity of the moneyer by means of private types. Such coins provide the name of a moneyer of a known origin along with types or legends referring to that particular origin; typically, this reference was to a famous cult (such as that of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium or that of the Dioscuri at Tusculum) or to a mythical founder or event associated with the moneyer's hometown. This material is presented and discussed at length at the end of the book ("Appendix: Catalog of Coins Advertising the Ethnic Identity of Republican and Augustan Moneyers", pp. 247–95).

At the very end, there is a bibliography (pp. 297–322) and a general index (pp. 323–37).

Farney's effort is a fine work of scholarship constituting stimulating reading with many novel ideas and points of view. It is a most important contribution to our understanding of the history and society of the Roman Republic.

Kaj Sandberg

Luciano Canfora: *Julius Caesar. The People's Dictator*. Translated by Marian Hill – Kevin Windle. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2007. ISBN 978-0-7486-1936-8. XVI, 392 pp. GBP 24.99.

About eight years after its first appearance – originally published in Italian by Laterza (title: *Giulio Cesare. Il Dittatore Democratico*) in 1999 – comes the English translation of Luciano Canfora's biography of Julius Caesar (note that the edition in North America by the University of California Press has a slightly different title). During these years, this work has not only been translated into various languages but has also established itself in Italy as a popular biography on Caesar, especially outside the academic and scholarly world. For instance, I remember this book being available in 2005 as a supplement to *Il Corriere della Sera*, Italy's most prominent and best-selling newspaper, to which Canfora is a regular contributor. Before starting reading this monograph, one would therefore expect to have in one's hands a biography of Caesar with a chronologically organized account of the events of the most crucial period of Roman history, whose target should not be mainly classicists or scholars but rather readers who are not so familiar with the topic. This impression is also strengthened by the scant references to modern literature in the notes, which one notices after a quick look. This is not the case. After some pages, one rapidly realizes that reading *The People's Dictator* implies deep knowledge, not merely of the basic developments of Roman history but especially of ancient literature and historiography.

The main *fil rouge* in Canfora's interpretation of Caesar's life and political career (and, even though not explicitly stated, perhaps the reason for the paradox in the subtitle) is the sliding from a political line in harmony with the traditional experience of the *populares* during the main part of his rise to power, based on seeking general consensus (see ch. 1 about the hostility of Sulla at the beginning of his career and ch. 13 about the significance of the assignation of Gaul and the restoration of Marius' trophies or ch. 19 about the first phase of the civil war), to a sudden change towards solutions more inspired by Sullan remembrances after the dictatorship in 49 (esp. ch. 32, pp. 293–4).

The book is divided into 42 chapters, apparently disposed in chronological order. However, the whole structure of the argumentation follows much more thematic patterns, rather than chronological ones. We find some chapters of historical analysis, where the author anticipates events whose historical account comes later. This happens, for example, in chs. 19 and 20, where one reads about crucial episodes like the surrendering of Corfinium, the battle of Thapsus and the events of Utica, which are mentioned in the main account of the historical events only some chapters later. The effect is that the reader without previous knowledge of the developments in question may be disoriented.

The key for a most fruitful reading of this book is, in my opinion, to consider it more a collection of short essays on different aspects of Caesar's life than a real biography. Moreover, the author's expertise emerges much more in discussing and interpreting various historiography-related issues than depicting a unitary and coherent picture of Caesar's rise to the *de facto* absolute power in Rome. Canfora displays a skillful and competent use of the literary sources and always argues clearly and convincingly on the reliability of the ancient authors, as he wisely guides the reader through their political orientations and interdependences. This is the case of ch. 27 with an interesting report of the different versions given by Dio, Suetonius, Velleius and Nicolaus of Damascus of Octavian's intervention in the campaign in Spain straight after Munda. I especially appreciated chs. 1 and 3 with a useful contextualization of Caesar's first political steps in the ongoing conflict between *populares* and *optimates*, ch. 19 with Caesar's way of relating to the Sullan experience, ch. 24 with the role played by the Jews in the Egyptian campaign and the different accounts of those events given by Josephus and the author of the *Alexandrian War*. Some other interlocutory chapters appear, on the other hand, quite unnecessary for the development of the whole argumentation in the economy of the work. It is the case, for example, with ch. 4, where I do not find any connection between Caesar's acceptance of the pontificate and his deep religious beliefs, or ch. 33 on Cassius' conversion to Epicurean doctrines.

The main problem of the book – assuming that this is not a book for non-specialists – is instead the prevailing lack of quotations from modern literature and the scantiness of scholarly discussion. The only modern scholar whom Canfora regularly and massively quotes (see introduction, p. XII), seems to be Napoleon Bonaparte (*Précis des guerres de César*, Paris 1836). This too often repeated choice of such a prestigious interlocutor sounds a bit suspicious when reading. In the bibliography, one gets to know of Canfora's somewhat negative opinion of Chr. Meier's *Caesar*. It would be interesting to know on which particular issues his view differs from that of Canfora, and this is the case with all the literature quoted in the bibliography at the end. Scholarly debate is mostly missing in both the main body of the text and in the footnotes.

Instead of that, Canfora sometimes seems to prefer some less successful parallels with Italy's contemporary history. On p. 37, at the end of a chapter on the significance of the trade of votes and on the political system of the Roman oligarchic republic, Canfora (without quoting any other modern work on this subject) cites an article by Norberto Bobbio from the Italian newspaper *La Stampa*. As Bobbio is (it seems at least to me) expounding a general theory or rather referring to modern politics in Italy, I do not see any direct relationship between his words and the important topic of the role of the *nobilitas* and the way those families secured control of the political life of the Republic. Moreover, the same sensation is produced in the reader by a too facile comparison, without further explanations or references to such an important topic, between Augustus' and Mussolini's rhetoric in ch. 27 (the blacksmith of Predappio), otherwise one of the most illuminating in the whole book. Similarly inappropriate seemed to me the tone used in describing Caesar's war crimes during the Gallic campaigns in ch. 15.

Some observations on the appendices. At the end of the book there is a very useful and detailed chronological table of the events related to Caesar's life from his birth up to the Ides of March: a practical and easy-to-browse tool, which provides quotations of the ancient sources on each fact. Surprisingly, some of the appendices originally in the Italian version are missing. In the edition by Laterza, one finds five short digressions on specific arguments (most interesting are no. 1 on Caesar as a writer and no. 2 on Pollio's historical work). Additionally, there is a short glossary and a section called "Biografie" with basic facts on some of the persons named in the book. Those appendices would have been of some use for readers unfamiliar with the field of Roman history. Furthermore, I would have left the footnotes as footnotes, as in the Italian edition, instead of placing all the quotations as endnotes after every chapter.

As for the translation, the translators provide an always readable and flowing text and, as said before, the choice of the title (*The People's Dictator*) is much more suitable than the original paradox (*Il dittatore democratico*), whose meaning remains otherwise almost obscure. To conclude, *The People's Dictator* is a series of interesting and well-written essays, rich with sharp intuitions and based on a solid command of the ancients sources. Rather than being a definitive biography of Caesar, this book is, however, a very stimulating interpretation of some aspects of the most famous life in Roman history.

Luca Maurizi

The Cambridge Companion to the Age of Augustus. Edited by Karl Galinsky. Cambridge University Press, New York 2005. ISBN 978-0-521-80796-8 (hb), 978-0-521-80796-8 (pb). XVII, 407 pp. GBP 48, USD 90 (hb), GBP 18.99, USD 34.99 (pb).

Periodization, though clearly indispensable for the orderly study of history, is never easy, always arbitrary and often contestable. However, there are certain periods which virtually stand out in splendid relief. Few eras in western history appear as distinct and self-contained as that of the ascendancy of Octavian/Augustus. As one of the contributors to the volume under review here notes (A. Barchiesi, p. 281), "[t]he Augustan Age … has achieved unparalleled stability among the many constructs of historicism." This is true not merely in political chronology, but also in artistic history. Only rarely does an epoch distinguished by so much momentous change, in terms of administrative and organizational reform, coincide so conspicuously with the *floruit* of so many important names in literature and with such a flowering in monumental architecture and the other arts. Hardly anyone could be better qualified to conceive an overview of those pivotal decades than Karl Galinsky, author of a host of significant studies on Augustan themes, including the acclaimed synthesis *Augustan Culture* (Princeton 1996).

In producing the volume under review here – defining the themes to be covered, engaging suitable writers and editing their submissions – Galinsky has done a first-rate job. Topics are well chosen, accurately reflecting the concerns of recent scholarly discussions. The contributors, an all-star cast of international experts, provide the substance and quality one is entitled to expect from them.

After the editor's "Introduction" (pp. 1–9), describing the scope and aims of the volume and also presenting the topics, the book consists of fifteen chapters grouped thematically into five main sections (Parts 1–5); these are followed by a final section (Part 6) containing one single item.

The two contributions constituting Part 1, *Political History*, provide the chronology and much of the essential historical background for the subject matters treated in the book. Walter Eder, in his entry on "Augustus and the Power of Tradition" (pp. 13–32), covers the various phases in the career of Octavian/Augustus and discusses the nature of his rule. Erich S. Gruen ("Augustus and the Making of the Principate", pp. 33–51) examines – from the point of view of public law – Augustus' power and position, actually a series of *ad hoc* settlements evolving only gradually into the political system which became (and is) known as the Principate.

Part 2 consists of four chapters around issues pertaining to *Intellectual and Social Developments*. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, in a contribution entitled "*Mutatas formas*: The Augustan Transformation of Roman Knowledge" (pp. 55–84), adopts an interesting and very innovative approach in his analysis of Augustus' grip on power. Inspired by Michel Foucault's ideas of the inseparability of power and knowledge, he demonstrates how pervasive the new regime's control and employment of knowledge was, from time-keeping and religion to the organization of civic space. In the two following contributions, dealing with the complex inter-relationships between centre and periphery, the focus is broadened to encompass the entire Roman World. Nicholas Purcell, in his chapter "Romans in the Roman World" (pp. 85–105), deals with an issue which has often been neglected in overviews of Roman history. Discussing the diaspora of mobile, opportunistic Italians outside their homeland – typically serving as agents of commercial enterprise or functionaries in the provincial administration – he provides a most interesting examination of their impact on the individual, local and provincial levels as well as on Rome herself. Greg Woolf, dealing with "Provincial Perspectives" (pp. 106–29), offers interesting thoughts on the cultural reciprocal exchanges between Rome and the provincial elites during the reign of Augustus. The fourth contribution to this section is a paper by Susan Treggiari, "Women in the Time of Augustus" (pp. 130–47), in which there is a good overview of women's legal and economic situation as well as of their roles in domestic and public cults in the late Republic (c. 100–38 BC); this outline is followed by a discussion of the changes which Augustus' reign brought about.

Though covered also elsewhere, Part 3 is specifically dedicated to *The Emperor's Impact*. Somewhat surprising, only two contributions are featured here. Richard Beacham, "The Emperor as Impresario: Producing the Pageantry of Power" (pp. 151–74), is a most stimulating study of the self-representation of the new regime, discussing how Octavian/Augustus represented his actions and policies metaphorically by recourse to the imagery and language of myth and drama. John Scheid's chapter on "Augustus and Roman Religion: Continuity, Conservatism, and Innovation" (pp. 175–93) is a thorough treatment of the first emperor's religious policy which, according to Scheid, was indeed a long-lasting and deliberate program rather than a series of progressive adaptations.

The three chapters making up Part 4, *Art and the City*, are dedicated to Augustan art and architecture as a means for propaganda and imperial self-promotion. Diana E. E. Kleiner, in her chapter "Semblance and Storytelling in Augustan Rome" (197–233), is mainly concerned with the storytelling function of art commissioned by the princeps and with how this element affected artistic conventions, but she also considers at length the role of many of the protagonists of the era (notably Livia and other women). Diane Favro, "Making Rome a World City" (pp. 234–64), deals with Augustus' efforts to make Rome the worthy capital city of its Empire, a monumental conception designed to equal, if not surpass, the famed metropolises of the Hellenistic East. John R. Clarke, in the chapter "Augustan Domestic Interiors: Propaganda or Fashion?" (pp. 264–78), examines interior painting during the age of Augustus. Offering a most valuable overview of recent research, he questions the common view that the imagery of the era expresses Augustan ideals and propaganda and concludes that interior decor, even that of Augustus' own residence on the Palatine Hill, constituted no significant element of the dominant discourse.

Part 5, *Augustan Literature*, provides a series of interesting discussions on the literary output of the era; however, somewhat astoundingly, these are only and exclusively concerned with poetry. For instance, in the entire book, there are only a handful of passing references to the historian Livy (about seven, a figure I reached with the aid of the index). Though the lack of a treatment of Augustan prose is clearly a shortcoming, the four chapters making up this section of the book represent very stimulating reading. Alessandro Barchiesi, in his study "Learned Eyes: Poets, Viewers, Image Makers" (pp. 281–305), offers intriguing thoughts on the relationship between the poetry and the visual arts (including architecture) of the era. Jasper Griffin, in a chapter entitled "Augustan Poetry and Augustanism" (pp. 306–20), discusses the very concept "Augustan" in its conventional usage as a term in Roman literary history, stressing several of its limitations. For instance, he calls attention to the fact that many of the poets we habitually regard as Augustan had made their names before the inception of Augustus' sole rule, and that the plurality of patrons and addressees of these writers reminds us that Augustus never attained "a complete monopoly of the best work produced in his time" (pp. 306 f.). Peter White, in his chapter "Poets in the New Milieu: Realigning" (pp. 321–39), examines the interconnected issues of patronage and of the production and dissemination of poetry under Augustus. The following reflection embodies much of the main conclusion of this chapter (p. 336): "Scholars are probably less close to agreement about the proper framework in which to understand Augustus' relationship with poets than at any time since the debate began." In his own contribution, "Virgil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as World Literature" (pp. 340–58), Karl Galinsky eruditely discusses these two key works of the era, demonstrating that both reflect the cosmopolitanism befitting the new horizons of the Augustan *oikumenē*.

The last chapter in the book, solely making up Part 6. *Epilogue as Prologue*, is "Herod and the Jewish Experience of Augustan Rule" by L. Michael White (pp. 361–87). Dealing, as it does, with the aforementioned centre-periphery relations, this contribution would have been better placed in Part 2 together with the discussions of Purcell and Woolf. However, it is a self-contained paper and most interesting case study of how a local ruler, Herod the Great, skilfully survived the turbulence of the civil wars and the inception of a new political system at Rome.

Each individual chapter is concluded with a suggested reading list, but there is an additional, separate bibliography at the end of the book ("Select Bibliography and Works Cited", pp. 389–99), before the general index ("Index", pp. 401–7). Moreover, the book features numerous illustrations of good quality, both photographs (mostly in black-and-white, but there are also eight colour plates), plans and maps as well as a helpful genealogical chart of the family of Augustus.

Kaj Sandberg

Fik Meijer: *Emperors Don't Die in Bed*. Translated by S. J. Leinbach. Routledge, London – New York 2004. ISBN 0-415-31201-9 (hb), 0-415-31202-7 (pb). VIII, 183 pp. GBP 14.99.

The last days and deaths of prominent or powerful persons have always fascinated people's taste for the macabre. The history of the Roman Emperors is in this respect very rewarding. It offers an endless series of violent or extraordinary deaths, which have been chronicled numerous times from Suetonius and the Historia Augusta to the present day. Even if the death were quite natural, there often have been rumors and suspicions about the real cause of death. The emperors' unusual and painful illnesses leading to death have also been found attractive in people's imagination.

In his book, Fik Meijer tells us about Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Romulus Augustulus in 2–4 page long chapters, showing the miserable fates of each Roman ruler. The most notable exception among all the violent deaths is Antoninus Pius, whose "final hours were in perfect harmony with his reign" (p. 58). Exceptions are also Diocletian, who abdicated from office after a reign of over 20 years, and Romulus Augustulus, who got a pension at the admirable age of fifteen, having been emperor less than a year.

Meijer also quotes the last words of the dying emperors and mentions the places where they were buried or what happened to their bodies. It is one of the ironies of history that the pagan emperor Julian the Apostate found his final resting place in the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople (p. 133). The descriptions of the illnesses of the emperors are not without grotesque features, especially when the description is made by a Christian author, like Lactantius' account of the fatal illness of Galerius (p. 114). A very detailed account is given of the death of Emperor Valentinian. Meijer's short sentences are in accordance with the last reactions of the body of the dying emperor: "His body convulsed; he hiccupped and hacked; he gnashed his teeth and his fists punched helplessly at the air. A short time later he expired." (pp. 136–7)

Fik Meijer's book is very handy as a repetition course for everybody interested in the history and fate of the Roman emperors. Meijer presents the 87 emperors in chronological order; for some reason, Maximinus the Thracian is presented after Gordian I and Gordian II and Diocletian as the last of the members of the tetrarchy. Along with the short biographies, the dates of lifetimes and reigns as well short lists of principal ancient sources are given. It is, however, regrettable that the complete names of the emperors are not given anywhere. The author appeals to readability (p. 6), but the complete names could, of course, have been listed together with the dates, without repeating them every time. The book also contains the family trees of the Julio-Claudian and Antonine emperors, two maps and a selected bibliography.

H. K. Riikonen

HARTWIN BRANDT – FRANK KOLB*: Lycia et Pamphylia. Eine römische Provinz im Südwesten Kleinasiens.* Orbis Provinciarum. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2005. ISBN 3-8053-3470-2. IV, 146 S. mit 155 Farb-, 16 S/w- und 16 Strichabb. EUR 41.

CHRISTIAN MAREK: *Pontus et Bithynia. Die römischen Provinzen im Norden Kleinasiens.* Orbis Provinciarum. Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie. Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2003. ISBN 3-8053-2925-3. VI, 199 S. mit 235 Farb-, 73 S/w- und 1 Strichabb. EUR 41.

Philipp von Zabern's *Orbis Provinciarum* -series is undoubtedly a welcome addition to the regional studies of the Roman Empire. Each one of the volumes in the series includes extensive general information on the province in question, its history, administration, economy, and geographical and cultural peculiarities. Although the written sections of the books tend to be both informative and easily readable, at least an equal value can be found in the very exquisite colour images of the landscapes, maps and illustrations of archaeological and epigraphical remains, which cover at least half of the pages in each volume. Indeed, it is these pictures which give a very lively image of the geographical realities of the provinces and help to understand the regional peculiarities which the plain academic textual analyses often leave wanting. The two volumes of the series reviewed here describe the two twin provinces which covered the northern and southern coastal sectors of Anatolia in the Roman period.

Christian Marek is no stranger to the topic of Bithynia and Pontus. His own extensive research in the area during the past decades covers a wide field of subjects from the history of the region to topographical and epigraphical studies. In his authoritative introduction (pp. 4–29) to the topic, Marek discusses the landscape of Bithynia and Pontus, the sources related to its history and the previous research done on the region. This is followed by a description (pp. 30–43) of the pre-Roman history, with some very spectacular images of the local rock tombs, and the eventual provincialization of the region at the end of the Roman Republic. The next chapter (pp. 44–62) examines the provincial administration during the Principate, the governors of the province and the impact of the extensive road-building program conducted by the Roman army in the region. The high level of regional incorporation into the wider Roman world is vividly shown by the large scale appearance of provincials in all sectors of the Roman army. The different aspects effecting urban settlements are discussed extensively (pp. 63–103), with special emphasis on the functions of the provincial councils (*koina*), the difference in civic rights between the Greek and non-Greek populations, the duties of local officials, the restrictions and demands on the municipal building in the Roman Empire and the popular festive events. The syntheses of local and Hellenic cults are discussed in the next chapter (pp. 104–25), with fascinating reconstructions of the famous mystery cult of Alexander of Abonuteichos and the eventual Christianization of the region. The final chapter (pp. 126–78) examines the social and economic lives of the region, paying close attention to burial customs, identity of the family, local literary figures, professions and shipping. In the conclusion (pp. 179–80), the author draws attention to the difference of regional peculiarities and wider phenomena of the Greek East. The publication also provides an appendix of maps (pp. 181–6) in addition to the usual chronological tables, glossaries and indices (pp. 187–99).

The two authors of the volume covering the twin province of Lycia and Pamphylia, Hartwin Brandt and Frank Kolb, are in equal fashion long-standing authorities on the region in question. Much of the presented information is based on personal research, especially so for the region of Lycia, which was extensively examined by the University of Tübingen's Lycia project 1989–2001 under the leadership of Frank Kolb. The volume begins with an introduction to the previous research (pp. 5–11) on the area and the description of the three distinctive landscapes of Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia (pp. 12–9). This is followed by a description of the historical incorporation of the area into the Roman Empire (pp. 20–4) and the development of the provincial administration of the region (pp. 25–39) with special attention to the Lycian provincial council (*koinon*). The city-states of the province are dealt with at extensive length in the next chapter (pp. 40–82). The focus is on the Lycian towns where the expertise of the authors' lies and which tended to be smaller in size than the towns in the neighbouring regions due to the harsher, mountainous landscape. The remaining ruins of the Lycian and of the most important ones of the wealthy Pamphylian and Pisidian towns are presented in a very vivid collation of images with plans of many of the towns. The rural areas are handled at lesser length (pp. 83–98), but here much of the information draws on the results of the University of Tübingen's Lycia project and as such provides some interesting insights on demographic development. The issues of trade and commerce (pp. 99–104), the different career patterns of the local elite in the neighbouring districts (pp. 105–8) and the local cults and festivities (pp. 109–18) are presented in an informative, although slightly brief fashion, partly due to the scarcity of the evidence. The final chapter examines the development of the three regions – Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia – in late antiquity (pp. 119–32) and is followed by the standard set of chronological tables, glossaries and indices (pp. 133–46).

The series is great reading for the general public and to the scholars who need a quick introduction to regional studies. More advanced academics also profit from these volumes as they provide improved images of some of the latest epigraphical discoveries, and provide very lively images of the regions with their own peculiar landscapes and the demands and restrictions these place on to the development of the local economy, culture and infrastructure. The authors of the series have not contented themselves with the well-established evidence, but instead they have also decided to bring forth some new discoveries , especially so in the field of epigraphy. One can only conclude that the series is not just interestingly informational, but it also provides a refreshingly different approach to the understanding of the regional differentiation of the Roman Empire.

Kai Juntunen

The World of the Herods. Vol. 1 of the International Conference The World of the Herods and the Nabateans held at the British Museum, 17.–19. April 2001. Edited by Nikos Kokkinos. Oriens et Occidens, Band 14. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2007. ISBN 978-3-515-08817-6. 327 pp, EUR 62.

The World of the Nabataeans. Vol. 2 of the International Conference The World of Herods and the Nabataeans held at the British Museum, 17.–19. April 2001. Edited by Konstantinos D. Politis. Oriens et Occidens, Band 15. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart, 2007. ISBN 978-3-515-08816-9. 392 pp, EUR 62.

A most praiseworthy initiative by N. Kokkinos, K. Politis and S. Moorhead gathered at the British Museum in April 2001 a constellation of scholars renowned in Herodian and Nabataean studies. Although the volumes under review appeared only six years later, the information they contain is still one of the most significant and up-to-date contributions to these subjects. The combination of Herodian and Nabataean subjects is particularly welcome. Some contributions – quite rightly – go far beyond the time-period associated with the heydays of the Herodian and Nabataean kingdoms. However, the majority of the papers faithfully portray the rich cultural *milieu* of the Late Hellenistic and the Early Roman periods in Palestine and Transjordan while pointing to clear affinities, interaction and syncretism of both cultures.

The Nabataean volume, which is of particular interest here, is a virtual encyclopaedia of Nabataean studies. Following the introduction on the rediscovery of Petra (N. Lewis), the presented subjects include Nabataean history (R. Wenning), language and script (J. F. Healey), religion (J. R. Bartlett), art (J. Patrich), monumental architecture (L. Tholbecq), dwellings (B. Kolb), Nabataeans in the Roman period (D. Graf), cultural continuity in the Byzantine period (K. D. Politis), trade (F. Zayadine), irrigation and agriculture (J. P. Oleson), animal exploitation (J. Studer), urban development (P. J. Parr), textiles (H. Granger-Taylor), fine ware (St. G. Schmid), pottery manufacture (J. B. Mason), coinage (J. M. C. Bowsher), pastoral nomadism (St. Rosen), and CRM at Petra (Z. Aslan), ending with concluding notes by G. W. Bowersock, who summarizes the most recent discoveries. This catalogue of subjects appears quite exhaustive. However, while some contributions draw upon the material from these regions, the Nabataean cultural "image" would have been more complete with the inclusion of specific presentations on the Nabataeans in southern Syria (e.g., Bostra) and north-western Arabia (e.g., Medain Salih).

The Herodian volume is equally informative. Due to the fact that the world of the Herods – both spatially and temporally – was somewhat more restricted, the contributions have been conveniently divided into major themes: literary and documentary evidence, archaeology, art and architecture, and the Herods in context. In the opinion of the reviewer, both volumes will long remain standard references on the Herodian and Nabataean cultures as well as a model for a conference presenting a combined image of syncretic cultures.

Zbigniew T. Fiema

Stephen Halliwell: *Greek Laughter. A Study of Cultural Psychology from Homer to Early Christianity*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-88900-1 (hb), 978-0-521-71774-8 (pb). XIII, 616 pp. GBP 70, USD 126 (hb), GBP 32.50, USD 58.50 (pb).

Readers of *Arctos* may well remember the conferences, organised over a decade ago by Siegfried Jäkel and Asko Timonen in the University of Turku, entitled "Laughter down the Centuries". The three-volume proceedings of the conferences are included in the wide-ranging bibliography of Stephen Halliwell's massive tome on *Greek Laughter*. In reviewing the first conference proceedings, Stanley Ireland commented (*CR* 46/1 [1996] 188) on the ease with which such studies all too often manage to "kill their subject stone dead" and dubbed symposia as something of a "can of worms". Halliwell's treatment falls into neither category.

His interest in gelastics dates back at least twenty years to talks he gave in Oxford and Boston "where the audiences failed to laugh". His first article on the topic was in *CQ* 41/2 (1991) 279–96 "The uses of laughter in Greek culture" to be followed by, "Greek laughter and the problem of the absurd" (*Arion* 13, 121–46) in 2005. There he pinpointed the key Greek factor of festivity and named the two poles around which Greek views of laughter tend to be concentrated: "a perpetual tension between the spirit of celebratory, playful release and the forces of derisive antagonism" (*CQ* 41/2, 292). In this massive tome, Halliwell has assembled a formidable array of bibliographical tools including an exhaustive list of articles from encyclopedias on carnivals, humour, laughter, *Lachkultur*, *le rire*, ridicule and mocking. The material addressed in the book cuts across the fields of education, politics, law, religion, war, philosophy, sex, sport, drinking and more besides from the violently derisive suitors of the *Odyssey* to early Christianity's imprinting of laughter with the sinfulness of corporeal (even diabolical) disorder and dissolution. The name of David Konstan is habitually associated with work on Greek emotion and, sure enough, his name crops up as "a perceptive critic of the final draft" (p. X). Other relevant works are Donald Lateiner's *Sardonic Smile*, and D. B. Levine's article ("Homeric laughter and the unsmiling suitors" CJ 78 [1982]), references to which are made recurrently in footnotes in the Homer chapter.

His book starts with an introduction on Greek laughter in theory and practice, from which he then goes on to consider the laughter of Homeric gods and men in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. The remarkable images in both songs of collectively "unquenchable" or irrepressible laughter among the Olympians- laughter, what's more, directed by gods against other gods – are the most concentrated testimony to the nature of Greek laughter. A fascinating parallel can be drawn to studies on American laughter where it has been shown that "when laughter is used as ridicule, it functions as a mechanism of social control" (*Laughter: A Socio-scientific Analysis*, Joyce Hertzler 1970). As Halliwell points out much later in his book (p. 245): "Greek ethical, social and educational attitudes, as attested from Homeric poems onwards, frequently express or display reservations about inappropriate and/or excessive laughter." Halliwell's aim is not just to pursue the concept of "humour" per se, but to tackle the wider psychological, ethical and cultural concerns which such behaviour generates within ancient frameworks of perception (p. 7).

He has masterly control of the sources for Homeric episodes of laughter, smiling, ridicule and mockery, chiefly involving the gods on Olympus at the end of *Il*. 1, the Thersites episode in *Il*. 2, Hector and Andromache *Il.* 6, the fighting of the gods in *Il.* 21 and the funeral games *Il*. 23. In text and footnotes Halliwell sustains a sophisticated logomachy with Lateiner and Levine and others on the nuances of (sardonic) smiles and overt laughter. Homeric laughter, he concludes, spans a spectrum of feeling that includes both positive and negative emotions (p. 53). He notes that in the *Odyssey* laughter is mentioned twice as often as in the *Iliad*, often in the form of the suitors' smiles and laughs (p. 53). Depressingly there is extremely litte amiable laughter in either poem.

This leads to chapters on sympotic elation and resistance to death, on ritual laughter and the renewal of life, on aischrology, shame and Old Comedy, on Greek philosophy and the ethics of ridicule, on Greek laughter and the problem of the absurd, on the intermittencies of laughter in Menander's social world, on Lucian and the laughter of life and death and finally on laughter denied, laughter deferred: the antigelastic tendencies of early Christianity. He appends an appendix on the Greek (body) language of laughter and smiles and on gelastic faces in visual art. He stresses (p. 7) that the emphasis is rather on laughing including smiling rather than on humour. Right through the history of Greek literature Halliwell traces the same traits till on the last page (p. 552), he states: "The rarity of depiction of laughter, less so of subtle smiles, is in part a reflection of this larger pattern of artistic choices and cultural preferences – laughter, its potential association with ideas of bodily excess, indecency and shamelessness." The abiding test case of institutionalised shamelessness from alpha to omega is the Iliadic Thersites.

The *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* and *to Hermes* understandably receive a good deal of attention under the category of ritual laughter. There is wide-ranging discussion of vilification, "agorafication", aischrology. Haliwell stresses that one of the main uses of laughter in Greek culture is as an agency for the projection of dishonour onto people or things perceived as shameful (p. 244). He perceives in comedy a function of translating the energy of shame wholeheartedly into laughter institutionalising and in a sense ritualising this conversion of a potential negative force into the celebrations of communal enjoyment. Old Comedy thus manipulates a great polarity present in Greek attitutdes to laughter – a polarity between the ideas of derisive, shame-directing antagonism, on the one hand and reciprocal, ludic gratificaiton on the other. Seen from a wider diachronic perspective, Greek society developed distinctive institutions (including the symposium and certain religious festivals) for the celebration of laughter as a capacity which could bridge the gap between humans and gods; but it also feared laughter for its power to expose individuals and groups to shame and even violence.

This 600-page book covers a vast chronological and textual span, serving as an excellent reference work for sites and occasions for ritual laughter (p. 160 f.) and laughter of all kinds. Halliwell's English prose is a constant delight to read due to its fluency and logicality. It is no surprise to learn, then, that the book has been awarded the prestigious John D. Criticos prize for literature in 2008 just as Halliwell's earlier book, *The Aesthetics of Mimesis,* won the international "Premio Europeo d'Estetica". I have a minor quibble about the value of mentioning sources that have not been accessed as on p. 59 n. 18 "I have not been able to see Zervou 1990." This is a habit Halliwell has practised in all his writings (e.g. CQ 41/2 [1991] 280 n. 3) and I am not convinced that it is necessary. Unseen sources should be simply scrapped and omitted. But *Greek Laughter* is not really intended for those who want to discover why the Greeks found funny or laughed at. There is significantly no discussion of the *Philogelos* and no entry to "jokes" in the index. The main focus is on socio-gelotology (Hertzler's word) as it appears within, and is explored by, Greek literary and philosophical texts. I fully agree with Mary Beard (review *TLS*) that some of Halliwell's discussions are brilliant and refer to her perceptive discussions of the chapters on Democritus and Menander. Halliwell delivers what he promises: a cultural history of ancient Greek laughter, *gelos*, including its negative counterparts, agelastic and antigelastic conduct. Time and again Halliwell derives from his material statements of unremitting clarity even though he resists any universalising theory of laughter (Conybeare, *BMCR* 2009.09.69). He shows irrefutably how laughter was a recurrent object of evaluative reflection in Greek culture.

Stephen Evans

Rebecca Langlands: *Sexual Morality in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-85943-1 (hb), 978-0-521-10900-0 (pb). VIII, 399 pp. GBP 62, USD 116 (hb), GBP 26.99, USD 50 (pb).

Rebecca Langlands argues that Roman morality has been a neglected topic since studies of ancient ethics have mainly focused on Greek philosophers and Christian thinkers. But as we know, Roman historiography and poetry were often highly moralizing narratives and thus literary sources offer ample evidence of Roman moral thinking. In her study, Langlands examines *pudicitia*, a Roman ethical concept that covered sexual morality in particular and regulated behaviour specifically associated with sex. It was also related to other (female) virtues and virtuous acts, from women's control over their bodies to stories about noble female suicides. Sexuality is thus approached from a slightly different angle than has been the case in the bulk of recent research, in which attention has been given, for example, to homosexuality or to male (and also increasingly to female) desire. However, Langlands has also several important predecessors, such as Catharine Edwards' book on the politics of immorality in ancient Rome, R. A. Kaster's research on the sense of shame and other emotions and virtues similar to *pudicitia* (*pudor, verecundia*), and Maria Wyke's discussions of Roman mistresses. Sourcebooks of ancient social customs have earlier collected evidence of Roman moralities. Langlands' decision to concentrate on one single concept allows her to dig deeper into Roman customs.

The rights and wrongs of sexual behaviour formed a prominent theme of several literary genres. Langlands covers a wide spectrum of well-known Roman literature which reflected the issue: Livy's (didactic) historiography (Ch. 2), Valerius Maximus' anecdotes (Ch. 3), Propertius' elegies, new comedy and Ovid (Ch. 4), declamations (Ch. 5) and Roman oratory (Ch. 6), among others. In oratory, *pudicitia* figured as an attribute of a male citizen as well. It was used in invectives to level charges about sexual misconduct and cupidity, and Roman historiography also employed accusations of *impudicitia* when portraying the degeneration of morals. Sexuality thus emerges as a significant factor in political discourse as well. Langlands' analysis proceeds by collecting and citing examples of Roman attitudes and reactions to moral and immoral sexual conduct, and of the public display of *pudicitia*. Langlands shows us, for example, how appearance, dress and various behaviours were read for important signs about female (im)morality. Some of the exemplary stories, such as the rape of Lucretia, are expected and widely referenced; nevertheless, Langlands quotes these passages in full, thus making her research luxuriously accessible also to readers who may not be familiar with these stories or with Valerius Maximus, for instance.

To put it briefly, I found the book pleasant and delightful reading, partly for personal reasons, because Langlands deals with many of my Roman favourites, but also because the book gives a lively and nuanced treatment of its topic. It brings together a large amount of known and less known exemplary stories and does not neglect texts that humorously challenged moral traditions and conventions. The book can be recommended to anyone interested in the interconnections between Roman customs and morals. It illuminates how customs, social relations and public restraint shaped individuals' sexual agency and how sexuality permeated several aspects of Roman society.

Sari Kivistö

Teresa Morgan: *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge – New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-87553-0 (hb). XIV, 380 pp. GBP 58, USD 112.

Ethical issues have never been restricted to philosophy. Several ancient literary genres dealt with complex ethical questions, such as guilt (Greek tragedy) or national morality (Roman historiography). Satires presented warning examples of vices and the wrong actions of human beings. Some of these genres, such as tragedies, were accessible to mass audiences. In her present work, Teresa Morgan has decided to concentrate on miscellaneous wisdom literature – fables, proverbs, gnomai and exemplary stories – that explicitly dealt with moral issues. The concept "popular" here refers to literary wisdom, which may have been written by members of the social elite, but which had a wide popularity among the Roman people in general, travelling "widely both up and down the social scale, and across place and time" (p. 160). Popular thinking also had its impact on philosophers and other intellectuals. Instead of speculating about the role of morality in the lives of ordinary Romans, Morgan mainly concentrates on exploring the moral themes of her sources. She is aware that some of the sources, such as Valerius Maximus on whose learned anecdotes Morgan largely bases her discussion of exemplary stories, cannot be considered popular in the same sense as fables or proverbs, which may often also have been of lowly social origin.

The first part (Chapters 2–5) is devoted to describing the ethical themes – in Morgan's words, the ethical landscape – of the above-mentioned four genres. Quotations are given in English only in order to avoid extending the book beyond readable limits. Morgan shows us that all the four genres addressed several fundamental questions about morality, including the authority of gods or of nature, social relations such as friendship, the virtues of good behaviour, and wealth. Sexual ethics is not discussed in this book; this visible absence might have deserved a brief comment.

Morgan's research raises several important questions about the themes and the uses of popular wisdom collections, and she has covered an admirably wide variety of primary sources. She approaches morality from different angles, dealing with the language of morality (Ch. 7), moral authorities (Ch. 8), time and morality (Ch. 9) and the structuring of the wisdom collections (Ch. 10). The large quantity of source texts also has the slight disadvantage that sometimes Morgan's analysis is somewhat hasty and rushes through large themes in a few pages. Likewise, she does not give any longer quotations of the texts studied, but short excerpts or summaries only. Another minor difficulty that I had while reading the book was that certain themes recur throughout it, treated from different viewpoints in different chapters. This pattern creates structural repetition in Morgan's work, and I could not help thinking that it would have been interesting to see this book structured thematically around some key words, instead of treating the same moral themes separately in every genre. However, this would also have forced Morgan to condense the richness of the issues that she now covers in her work.

In any case, Morgan has given a lot of thought to the arrangement of the book. For example, she postpones her comparison between popular morality and high philosophy to the latter part of her work (Ch. 11 and Appendix 3). This is done in order to assess popular morality on its own terms, without any ready-made notions derived from philosophy. Popular morality was not so much concerned with abstract ethical issues familiar from high philosophy (such as the internal qualities of human beings or the virtues of the soul). Rather than concentrating on the internal life, popular morality emphasised words and deeds, good behaviour as a means of survival. Morgan examines how philosophers such as Seneca or Plutarch sometimes strongly relied on popular examples, proverbs and maxims, not only to illustrate some point they wished to make, but also to build their arguments. This point is perhaps rather obvious, considering the overtly literary and rhetorical qualities of their writings, but nevertheless Morgan's comparison between the moral instruction given in philosophical and in popular texts is interesting. Exemplary stories, rhetoric and history were already closely allied with philosophy prior to the first two centuries of the Roman Empire, namely in Cicero's philosophical oeuvre, which Morgan briefly notes by emphasising Cicero's special fondness for moralising examples and genres. Morgan also challenges some widespread assumptions, such as the common association of exempla with oratory, claiming that, apart from Cicero, the use of examples in oratory was not particularly common.

The conclusion of the volume is very brief, and could be stronger. It is followed by three appendices (Babrius; definition of a miscellany; popular morality and philosophical doctrine). The index is not entirely impeccable: for example, Cicero is discussed on p. 123 but not indexed; "trade" lacks a page number, and Thales is wrongly numbered.

In sum, a great merit of this volume is that it is the first concentrated attempt to discuss ancient popular morality based on literary sources. In this sense, the book is invaluable. It also raises several methodological questions about how to study popular thinking. It identifies a rich variety of moral topics in the texts studied and although this richness is sometimes overwhelming and less attention is given to exploring the actual uses of this literature, Morgan's research provides a generous and solid basis for further studies on ancient popular morality.

Sari Kivistö

Alain M. Gowing: *Empire and Memory. The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2005. ISBN 978-0-521-83622-7 (hb), 978-0-521-54480-1 (pb). XIV, 178 pp. GBP 48, USD 85 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 28.99 (pb).

As historical memory – as opposed to formal historiography and other learned literature dedicated to recording and discussing past events and conditions – is establishing itself as an ever more fashionable subject for research and investigation, there will be many more books of this kind. Current scholarship on ancient Rome is only beginning to address how notions of the past manifested themselves as elements of mainstream culture and of collective (or social) memory as a cultural phenomenon. Therefore, any effort to touch upon such topics constitutes a welcome addition to a slowly increasing bibliography on the subject. This one is concerned with the representation of the Roman Republic in the culture of the imperial period.

Focusing largely on the close interrelationship between *memoria* and *historia* in Roman thought (a distinction which is treated at length in the first chapter, appropriately entitled *"Historia/memoria"*, pp. 1–27), Alain Gowing offers a series of case-studies of the evidence provided by authors writing in the decades between the inception of the reign of Tiberius and the end of that of Trajan (AD 14–117). Studying how the Republic is remembered in the Empire, the author could have said something about the fact that the evolution of the Roman state from a republican form of government to the system which became (and is) known as the Principate is not altogether unproblematic, at least not with regard to its exact chronological demarcation. As is well known, Augustus did his best to disguise the fact that things were changing. However, Gowing does not need a very clear definition, as the Republic of his study is not an exact historical phenomenon, but rather a generic past which was used as a point of reference in thinking about the ever-changing present.

In the second chapter, examining the evidence for Tiberius' reign (*Res publica Tiberiana*, pp. 28–66), the author does consider some of the testimonials found in Tacitus and Suetonius, who provide the fullest account of the period, but, in a display of sound methodology, he bases most of his study on Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus, two contemporary authors. The third chapter ("Caesar, now be still", pp. 67–101) takes us to the middle of the first century AD, to the time of Lucan (*Pharsalia*) and Seneca (*Epistulae* 14 and 86), writing under Nero. In the fourth chapter ("Rome's New Past", pp. 102–31), there is an examination of Tacitus (*Dialogus de oratoribus*) and of Pliny the Younger (*Panegyricus*). In the fifth and last chapter ("Remembering Rome", pp. 132–59), Gowing proceeds to examine how the Forum of Augustus and that of Trajan were designed to display the memory of men and events associated with the history of the Republic.

This slim volume, which concludes with a bibliography (pp. 160–9), an index of passages discussed (pp. 170–3) and a general index (174–8), constitutes an important addition to the study of historical memory, which is attracting ever more scholarly attention but is still an under-studied cultural phenomenon in classical scholarship. Well written, accessible and thought-provoking, it is warmly recommended to anyone with an interest in Roman history (whether republican or imperial) or the (Latin) literature of the Empire.

Kaj Sandberg

Eve D'Ambra: *Roman Women*. Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization. Cambridge University Press, New York 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-52158-1. XXI, 215 pp. GBP 13.55, USD 19.99.

Published as a part of the Cambridge Introduction to Roman Civilization series, this monograph by Eve D'Ambra is designed to give easily accessible information about Roman women's lives for students who have no prior familiarity with the subject. D'Ambra discusses central themes in women's lives, such as religion, marriage, everyday work and relationships. She focuses on ordinary and everyday aspects of women's lives and states as her main interests "plebeian and anticlassical" – "women whose lives were considered marginal and went unnoticed by elites" (p. 40). This is a goal she laudably achieves, due to a great diversity of sources. There are some passages where leaning mainly on literary evidence excludes interpretations about the lower social orders' lives, but in most cases these sources are supported by a great deal of archaeological evidence which makes it possible for the author to offer fascinating glimpses of ordinary citizens' lives – and deaths.

At the beginning of the first chapter, the author describes her main sources and problems related to their analysis. This is rather basic information about the use of ancient evidence, but considering the target audience, the introduction to the baselines of research is certainly helpful. D'Ambra, for example, stresses motives behind different sources by pointing out that "neither the texts - - nor the gleaming statuary - - reflected reality in a truthful or comprehensive way – rather, they provided models of ideal behaviour for elite women to follow" (p. 6). Even though the differences between verbal and visual sources are laudably explained, I feel there could have been more discussion about the motives of different genres of Roman literature. On the other hand, the focus seems to be on archaeological and visual evidence and the deeper analysis of literature is given less attention throughout.

In the first chapter, "Gender and Status", D'Ambra discusses definitions that determined a woman's role in society. This is also a chapter where basic information is given about the society of the Republic and the early Empire. The author commendably describes the social surroundings in which women lived and the norms which dictated their actions. Even though this background information is certainly useful for students not familiar with the subject, it occasionally seems to conceal the viewpoint considering women and their role in the society. I also feel that the author's description of an honorary position available to Roman matrons is somewhat narrow, as she claims that "the trusted woman was defined as an honorary male", and that "esteemed matrons could be depicted with masculine characteristics - - to demonstrate that only exceptional women could acquire the dignity, discipline and high-mindedness of the male ideal" (p. 13). As convincing as this is, I think some attention should have been paid here to occasions where women were esteemed especially as representatives of their gender and honoured for qualities that were considered primarily female. Literary sources provide us with examples of women – for example, Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi – esteemed not only for their courage, determination and independence in the politically chaotic society, qualities usually considered primarily male, but also for their *castitas* and *fecunditas*, feminine virtues that secured some permanence and continuance.

In the second chapter, D'Ambra deals with familial relationships and the institution of marriage. This is the chapter in which the life and death of Roman women shows up as real, touching and relatable to a modern-day reader. The author uses a variety of different sources in order to reveal glimpses of ordinary women's lives, and succeeds laudably as she shares with the reader fascinating descriptions about little girls' playing with dolls, women's daily handwork, even pregnancy and birth control. Archaeological evidence and various illustrations support descriptions and make the everyday life of Roman women accessible to the reader. Only in the very beginning of the chapter, when the institution of marriage is discussed, does the domination of literary sources cause problems, when the author describes marriage as an issue usually of little interest to men, an institution the only purpose of which was to recreate legal offspring. This is a mindset probably most typical of an elite male Roman in the late Republic. We should bear in mind that for lower-class men, marriage was often an extremely agreeable lifestyle, not only because of offspring, but also because of the companionship and help a wife offered in everyday work or in a family business.

In general, this chapter, however, is a balanced survey of Roman women's lives in different social orders. D'Ambra deals with women's learning and their cultural interests, using both literary and visual evidence, e.g., funerary reliefs. She offers interesting interpretations of the lives these women might have lived and makes a distant culture accessible and understandable to a modern-day reader. While discussing wedding ceremonies, along with the appearance of a bride, she brings alive the everyday life of the Romans, which evidently is one of the main goals of the book. In this context, a reader can even note some psychological sensitivity and deliberation usually so rare in historical research, as D'Ambra speculates on young brides' emotional preparedness for marriage. Another fresh and interesting topic is relationships between mothers and daughters, discussed at the end of the chapter. This theme is unfortunately examined only through visual evidence, excluding various descriptions of mother-daughter-relationships available in literature. However, considering the author's emphasis on non-elite women, this choice of evidence might be justified.

Despite its name, "Women's Work", the third chapter of the book does not only focus on work in the meaning we understand it today, but rather on various activities that filled a Roman woman's days. Along with household chores and childcare, this section includes beauty treatment as well as women's relationships and activities with their friends. I find beauty care as a part of Roman women's everyday work an interesting topos. D'Ambra explains her point of view very well by arguing the social importance connected with respectable matrons' looks. Even though literary sources are full of critical reactions to primping, in reality it was a Roman matron's duty to take care of her looks for the sake of her own and her family's social status. D'Ambra presents archaeological evidence of this reality in the form of beauty care equipment, and completes the picture with literary sources. I found this section of the book extremely interesting, and was left hoping that the author had broadened it with the closely linked subject of healthcare and home medication performed by women.

D'Ambra describes women's work at home vividly and in detail. She examines both childcare and household chores of lower-class women and the demanding business of running a *domus* expected from elite matrons. Rich illustrations and a great deal of archaeological evidence open interesting views into a Roman home. D'Ambra also utilizes funerary epitaphs and reliefs when she discusses lower-class women's work as saleswomen in family businesses. She nevertheless stresses that these sources only show the most public part of the women's work and hence do not offer a realistic representation of the nature of the work. The author admonishes her readers to bear in mind that details of Roman women's work often escape the gaze of modern-day scholars.

The last chapter of the book is devoted to women's public activity. While the author discusses both women's ways to public activity and the reactions it caused, I wish she had also given some thought to motives behind women's actions. In this chapter, D'Ambra naturally deals mostly with high-class women. At first, she offers examples of women who became involved in public life and even with political *potestas*. The republican women brought up here, Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi and Fulvia, wife of Mark Antony, are to my mind excellent examples of two different ways of wielding power – discrete, behind-the-scenes activity connected with Cornelia, and a forthright, public role attributed to Fulvia. Their stories are also perfect examples of attitudes towards these different lifestyles. Even though these sporadic examples are very well chosen, I wish there had been deeper analysis on other ways for public role available for women in the republican system. Especially public demonstrations by elite women and women's roles in politically charged trials are occasions I find important to stress.

When it comes to the Empire, the author describes in detail the roles of female members of the imperial family from Livia to the Flavian women. Even though the book is focused on the late Republic and early Empire, I would have welcomed some discussion on the politically active Severan empresses as well. If their public role had been included, it would have offered a productive opportunity for examining a change in the role of the empress over time. In this section, D'Ambra's critical approach to sources is apparent throughout. She stresses the motives and purposes of both vilifying literary sources and embellished public statues of imperial women. These notices are certainly important to point out, considering the target audience without former familiarity with the sources.

In the end of the last chapter D'Ambra deals with religious cults as fora for social activity. She has picked some specific cults of Venus and Diana to be examined more thoroughly in this context, and descriptions of women's roles in these are both interesting and useful in understanding the religious activity of women. I wonder, however, why the author has not chosen any cult of Juno to be examined here, Juno being one of the most important *deae* in the Roman state religion, and especially prominent in esteemed matrons' religious activity. Nor is there any further discussion concerning foreign cults imported to Rome during the Republic – many of which are considered to have been especially connected with women's religious activity. Despite the lack of these topics, D'Ambra's description of women's role in religion is full of essential information. She stresses some ritual activities common to both higher and lower-class women, dispelling the usual idea of religious activity as a function reserved only for elite matrons. She also, once again, emphasizes the importance of a critical approach to sources by pointing out that the examination of any single cult cannot offer a complete picture of women's religious roles and that "we need to look across a wide spectrum of rites in order to get a picture of how Roman religion defined womanhood" (p. 180).

All in all, D'Ambra has succeeded in writing an accomplished guidebook full of interesting details and concrete examples that make aspects of a Roman woman's life easily understandable. The book is written in clear language, which makes it also accessible to readers not familiar with the use of academic jargon. A great number of related illustrations enliven the text. A reader can also find maps showing Italy in the third-second centuries BC and the Roman Empire in the late second century AD – these maps are often referred to while discussing examples from provinces. At the end of the book, there are a glossary of the terms related to the ancient world, a list of Roman authors, and a select bibliography for further reading. The greatest technical shortcoming seems to be the illogical way of using references. Sometimes, when literary evidence has been used, information about the author, oeuvre and passages used are given, but in most cases, one cannot find the literary references at all. This is suitable to the book's purpose to be more of a guidebook than scholarly research, but for a reader who wants to find the source of a certain piece of information or search ancient sources on subjects discussed, this might cause some problems.

Elina Pyy

Emily A. Hemelrijk: *Matrona docta: Educated women in the Roman élite from Cornelia to Julia Domna*. Routledge Classical Monographs. Routledge, London – New York 2004. ISBN 0-415-34127-2. XVI, 382 pp. GBP 22.99.

The education of women is a subject of a very obscure nature in the study of Roman history. Interpretations about the education of women are usually based on rough assumptions and estimates that are seldom supported by reliable sources. Likewise, it is surprisingly difficult to find an inclusive study about educated Roman women, even though that kind of research would be useful for students of both Roman womanhood and elite society. In her monograph, Emily Hemelrijk attempts to respond to this need and answer questions that have far too long remained unasked.

Hemelrijk stresses as her goal to "explain and evaluate the obscure --- role of women in the field of learning" (p. 1). She attempts to examine both the means through which women acquired their education and the nature of that education itself. An effort is also made to find out what aims the education of women served in Roman society and what kinds of attitudes educated women provoked. As a part of forming the general view about women in the field of learning, the author studies different roles women could acquire in literary life – patronesses of literature and female poets are taken under special examination.

Hemelrijk limits her study to the period of time from the second century BC to AD 235. In my opinion, this period seems rather long to be inclusively examined in one study, even though the task has been made easier by the scarce evidence concerning the education of women. I assume it is due to both the scarcity of sources and the long period of time that relatively little attention is paid to the chronological development. The author acknowledges this, and has, thus, made an effort to offer some speculation about the chronological development at the end of chapters where the subjects especially demand it.

In the first chapter, Hemelrijk offers background information about the social position of elite women, and examines their role in educated society. She also clarifies the Roman conception of the life of learning which, I feel, is an extremely important matter to stress. The author explains the attitudes Roman elite had towards literary culture, and highlights the fact that in addition to gender, multiple factors such as family background, social status and wealth, had an impact on what sort of education a Roman could acquire. Concerning women specifically, Hemelrijk explains three factors she finds most important in examining the haphazard nature of women's education – first, the changing familial status of elite women during the course of their lives, secondly, their indirect relation to the leading *ordines*, and thirdly, the norms that prescribed the behaviour of an upper-class woman. She points out that the status and social role of an elite woman developed throughout her life, usually increasing a woman's authority and that this also had an important effect on her opportunities in the field of learning. Hemelrijk concludes that the reasons why it was relatively difficult for elite women to acquire extensive education were the pressures and expectations placed on them by both their class and their gender.

The second chapter is dedicated to opportunities women had for acquiring an education. Since little girls did not enjoy the same kind of three-stage schooling system as boys, the chapter is divided into two parts: education before marriage and studies during it. Hemelrijk attempts to find out how the education of girls was determined by, e.g., their domicile, family background and the age at marriage. As she concludes, it seems believable that due to these conditions, the education provided for daughters varied immensely among the elite families. I would find it important to further discuss the importance of parents' attitudes and values – as we know, there were greatly differing attitudes among the elite concerning literary pursuits and the position of women. These must have had a remarkable impact on the education of daughters.

After marriage, women had various opportunities for completing their education – however, nearly all were dependent on the approval of the husband. Based on literary sources from the imperial period, Hemelrijk claims that at the beginning of the Principate, it had become favourable among Roman men to home-school their wives and thus deepen the harmony in marriage and strengthen the authority of a husband over his wife. If a husband's attitude was favourable, a woman could also hire a private tutor, benefit by attending social events – such as recitations or literary dinner parties – and make use of private libraries. Despite the challenging nature of the subject – there are hardly any sources concerning women's reading habits or library visits – Hemelrijk has succeeded very well, drawing credible conclusions based on information we have about the Roman family and literary life.

In the third chapter, the aims behind the education of women and the attitudes towards it are examined. The author claims that the primary reasons for educating daughters were the prestige expensive education gave to the family and the social role of an elite matron who acquired a highly cultured background. The moral justification that appears in literary sources – the claim that education would make women better wives, help them hold to feminine virtues and raise their children well – seems, according to Hemelrijk, more like a later defense for an already established practice. I agree with the author when it comes to the primary practical reasons, but I still would not rule out the possibility that moral arguments also had a real and remarkable effect on Roman parents' minds when considering the schooling of their daughters. I find it probable that these kinds of value issues were not merely an excuse but an important part of decision-making together with practical concerns.

When examining attitudes towards educated women, Hemelrijk stresses the contradictory nature of the Roman mindset. In practice, the education of women had increased remarkably from the late Republic on, and educated women were usually considered the pride of a family. In theory, however, Romans seem to have feared the influence an education might have on women, and especially on their traditionally appreciated virtues, *pudicitia*, *castitas* and *modestia*. The *puella docta* admired and praised by love poets affected the image of an educated woman, and made people question learned women's sexual morals. Criticism towards educated matrons – accusations of pretence, *luxuria*, promiscuity or unfeminine behaviour – was most vicious in the end of the last century BC and in the beginning of the first century AD. This is why Hemelrijk believes that this attitude had more to do with the changing political and social role of women than with learning itself. I strongly agree with the author, and find it important that she has been able to bring the close connection of education and politics into the discussion.

The fourth chapter scrutinizes the role of women as patronesses of literature and learning. Hemelrijk studies the patronage of women of the imperial family from the time of Augustus to Julia Domna. She has also made a great effort to trace a few women mentioned in literary sources who might be considered patronesses. The attempt is made to examine the motives behind women's patronage, the support they provided and the way they were described and praised by their protégés. It is notable that, even though women's motives were probably very similar to those of male patrons – interest in literary life, pursuit of a reputation as a cultured benefactress and desire to be immortalized in literature – they could seldom provide their protégés with the same kind of social and political benefits as men, and their roles were often limited to financial support and encouragement. Hemelrijk also raises an interesting point when she explains that despite their presumable high intellect, education and interest in society, Roman patronesses are almost exclusively praised for their traditional feminine virtues alone. This formula probably had a lot to do with suspicious attitudes towards educated women's morals, and in my opinion, it is the single most important point concerning the differences between male and female patronage.

The last two chapters discuss women as writers, first examining the field of poetry and then moving on to prose. Hemelrijk concentrates on studying the almost complete lack of works written by women and possible reasons for this. She approaches the subject by introducing four known Roman women poets. Two of these were somewhat well-known elegiac poets with a detectable female viewpoint, while the work of two others was more of a humdrum nature and only preserved as inscriptions. As the author points out, it seems clear that any general voice of women in poetry can not be traced. This also goes for prose – mainly letters – written by women. It seems that the same standards applied to language and style of both women's and men's writings, and women usually filled these demands quite well. The meager amount of women's works left is described as the result of three factors: women's minor activity in writing, their difficulties in getting their work published and the poor preservation of women's writings – the works of women represented the less valued genres of literature and often dealt with everyday themes not considered worth preserving. Altogether, the author analyzes profoundly and in detail the loss of women's writings – a subject that in most studies is overlooked as a self-evident phenomenon.

All in all, Hemelrijk has succeeded in writing an accomplished study about a very little examined yet highly interesting subject. Her handling of the theme is refreshingly versatile compared to the somewhat superficial image of women's education hitherto. She has made an effort to scrutinize the role of women in educated society from multiple perspectives, using a variety of literary sources, and even attempted to trace the voices of women themselves. One must admit that due to the scarcity of sources, and the ambiguous nature of the subject itself, there is very little undisputed evidence to support some of the interpretations, and many of them can – and undoubtedly will – be argued about in the future. In my opinion, this can, nonetheless, be considered one of the accomplishments of this book. As a thorough handling of a controversial subject, Hemelrijk's work will hopefully pave the way for a broader discussion about the intellectual life of women in Roman society.

Elina Pyy

Jacqueline M. Carlon: *Pliny's Women: Constructing Virtue and Creating Identity in the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-76132-1, IX, 270 pp. GBP 45, USD 85, EUR 52.

The Younger Pliny's corpus of 368 letters contains a great deal of information about the upper-class of Roman society in the late 1st and early 2nd century AD: social relationships, the daily activities of the senatorial class and the mechanisms of imperial administration. It is then evident that any published work that examines this formidable source of information in more detail is very welcome. Jacqueline Carlon's book on Pliny's women will surely become an important point of reference for any study on the role of elite women in Imperial times as well as on Pliny's character.

In her work, Carlon has selected 38 letters which either focus on women or are addressed to women or include women prominently. These female characters of the Plinian corpus are classified in five distinct groups defined by family and thematic ties: those associated with the Stoic opposition to the principates of Nero, Vespasian and Domitian (Chapter 1); those connected to Corellius Rufus as Pliny's protégé (Chapter 2); those who receive Pliny's benefaction or loyalty (Chapter 3); those who represent the ideal wife-type (Chapter 4); and those who are portrayed as unseemly (Chapter 5).

Each chapter offers a detailed analysis of these five women-types, as they appear in the Plinian letters, in terms of familial and political connections, prosopography and historical background. The letters are also carefully analysed in their rhetorical structure and diction with particular focus on choice and disposition of key words.

The ultimate goal of Carlon's analysis is Pliny's image as it is manipulated by the Roman author through his letters. Following the more recent scholarship on Pliny's correspondence, in fact, the author argues that the women described in the letters have been carefully selected by the Latin writer as a means of self-presentation. The social position of specific women, the choice of some words for their description, the insertion of anecdotes, and even the arrangement of the letters within the corpus are all intended to reinforce the positive image and role of Pliny in Roman society under Trajan's rule as well as to preserve his *gloria* and to secure his *aeternitas*.

As Carlon's main interest is Pliny's self-representation, her book shows a male-oriented approach when measured against the ideals and aspirations of the male members of the Roman upper class, who alone produced literature. Surely, they cannot be counterbalanced by images of women as they perceive themselves in relation to the male dominant group, as literature written by women is not attested. However, it would be interesting to know in what way and how Roman women may have responded to men's use of female characters for constructing or enhancing their social status and identity by means of other sources (visual arts, for example). Perhaps this area could be explored in future research.

Margherita Carucci

Richard Seaford: *Dionysos*. Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World. Routledge, Abingdon 2006. ISBN 0-415-32488-2. XII, 158 pp., 7 figs. GBP 14.99.

Dionysos by Richard Seaford is part of the series "Gods and Heroes of the Ancient World" targeting the general reader and student. It provides an outline of various aspects of the cult of Dionysus, drawing on sources as diverse as vases from Magna Graecia, Nietzsche, anthropology, and the New Testament. After a brief summary of some of the scholarship on Dionysus over the centuries, Seaford discusses themes he considers important to the understanding of the cult. The section on nature outlines the animal companions of Dionysus as well as the blurring of lines between human and animal, especially among the maenads.

The second chapter discusses communality and Dionysus being more at home "among the people" than in Homer's epics (where he is scarcely mentioned and even then not in a particularly flattering context), which ties in with the epiphanies forming the focus of the next chapter. Sections on the mystery-cult, death, theatre, and psychology and philosophy talk about the chthonic and even morbid aspects of Dionysus on the one hand, and the comfort the good, Dionysian kind of madness could provide on the other. Finally, chapters on Christianity and the heritage of Dionysus discuss how the cult of Dionysus survived through the centuries while metamorphosing into different forms.

The merits of this book include the wide range of sources Seaford draws on. He mentions incised strips of gold bearing instructions on how to navigate the underworld (using the help of Dionysus, who could act as an intermediary between humans and deities), authors ranging from Homer to Clement of Alexandria, as well as wall paintings from the Villa of the Mysteries (where he speculates the winged figure might be a personified Ignorance flagellating an initiand). This, along with the many different aspects and themes introduced, makes *Dionysos* a good introduction to the subject, or a handbook on Dionysus in ancient literature and art.

Perhaps because of the brevity of the work, one is left missing certain cohesion and an overarching argument. Some broad statements such as "for most people in ancient societies life was a struggle to *control* nature" are given as granted, and certain parallels drawn between, for example, passages in the Bible and Dionysus seem forced. Much is made of the *Bacchae* – perhaps too much – as Seaford argues that any case of madness in Greek tragedy echoes the madness of Pentheus in Euripides' play. Regardless of this, *Dionysos* is a pleasant read and makes good points, in particular about Dionysus and the underworld, the cathartic aspects of Dionysian rites, and the importance of the theatre in illustrating myths.

Elina Salminen

Ethne e religioni nella Sicilia antica. *Atti del convegno (Palermo, 6–7 dicembre 2000)*. A cura di Pietrina Anello – Giuseppe Martorana – Roberto Sammartano. Supplementi a "Kókalos" 18. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2006. ISSN 0452-2907. ISBN 88-7689-190-0. XII, 435 p., 19 tavv. EUR 210.

I contributi del volume *Ethne e religioni nella Sicilia antica* coprono la storia delle religioni in Sicilia dalla protostoria fino all'età di Gregorio Magno. Alle utili considerazioni introduttive di Mario Mazza seguono puntuali discussioni sulle epoche prestoriche (Sebastiano Tusa, Rosa Maria Albanese Procelli, Pietrina Anello, Giuseppe Terranova) e su Sicani (Domenico Pancucci), Siculi (Nicola Cusumano) ed Elimi (Stefania De Vido). Soprattutto l'articolo di Cusumano (pp. 121–45) è un ricco e importante contributo sulla questione. Mi limito a un commento che non riguarda direttamente il tema, ma il quadro teorico, legato a *Orality and Literacy* di Walter Ong e, tra l'altro, ai lavori di Jack Goody (pp. 141–2). Questi ultimi vedono la religione nelle culture non alfabetizzate come "ambito di valori indifferenziato" (p. 142 nt. 77). Roy Harris ha pubblicato recentemente una critica interessantissima di questa linea di pensiero, nel suo *Rationality and the Literate Mind* (New York – London 2009).

Di altissima qualità sono anche i contributi sulla religione coloniale dei Greci (Colette Jourdain-Annequin, pp. 181–203) – con un riassunto utilissimo alle pp. 202–3, sulla religione fenicia e punica (Corinne Bonnet, pp. 205–16) e sul culto del sovrano ellenistico (Sebastiana Nerina Consolo Langher, pp. 329–42).

Ileana Chirassi Colombo tratta in modo convincente il tema "La Sicilia e l'immaginario romano" (pp. 217–49). Si sofferma anche sul modo in cui i Romani si confrontarono con il sistema culturale simbolico di culti spesso ritenuti indigeni, come i Palici, il culto di Anna e delle Παῖδες, e di Venus Erycina. Per quanto riguarda la dedica *CIL* X 7013 a *Venus Victrix Hyblensis*, l'interpretazione di Chirassi Colombo mi pare giusta (cfr. anche *Le iscrizioni del Museo Civico di Catania* di chi scrive [Helsinki 2004], n. 237 con relativa discussione). – Per quanto riguarda l'epigrafe catanese del *consularis* Merulus discussa a p. 246 (cfr. *I. Mus. Catania* n. 12), è possibile, ma non certo, che si tratti dell'ultimo *consularis* della provincia. La *hostilitas* indicata nella stessa iscrizione potrebbe riferirsi anche a un altro contesto, non necessariamente ai Vandali.

Nel suo esauriente contributo, Giulia Sfameni Gasparro riprende il tema dei culti "orientali" non appartenenti al contesto giudaico-cristiano in Sicilia (pp. 251–328). Viene discussa in particolare la monetazione. Per quanto riguarda la datazione della dedica lapidaria siracusana di un Papinius *flamen* (*NSA* 1947, 187, qui pp. 268–9), lasciata incerta dall'autrice, si deve dire che per motivi paleografici la datazione proposta dal Coarelli è troppo alta, mentre è molto più verosimile la fine del I o l'inizio del II sec. d.C.

Il resto del volume è dedicato al Cristianesimo e all'Ebraismo, con i contributi di Vincenzo Lombino (pp. 343–93), Clara Gebbia (395–408) e Roberta Rizzo (411–35). (È poco comprensibile perché l'intervento di Antonio Franco sulle popolazioni preelleniche sia stato inserito tra questi ultimi, pp. 409–10). Il contributo di Gebbia comprende una discussione delle epigrafi più significative che probabilmente riguardano l'Ebraismo. Per quanto riguarda l'epigrafe con il nome Ζαχαρίας (p. 397 con nt. 15), non si tratta in questo caso del contesto giudaico. Cito l'acuto commento del Ferrua: "non ha nulla a che fare con gli Ebrei, se non per il nome. Ma uno Zaccaria presso i Cristiani Bizantini non farà meraviglia a nessuno" (*Bollettino storico catanese* 3 [1938] 69 nt. 71). L'epigrafe è stata pubblicata anche da A. Guillou (*Recueil des inscriptions grecques médiévales d'Italie* [CollEFR 222, 1996] n. 211, tav. 196). Sulle epigrafi giudaiche conservate a Catania, vd. anche il mio *I. Mus. Catania* nn. 228–9 e 363–4. Nel contributo di Rizzo sono interessanti le riflessioni sui movimenti migratori dei secoli VI e VII (pp. 427–9). Se si trattò veramente di un "massiccio afflusso di gente" che "dovette ridisegnare il mosaico demografico della Sicilia", si dovrebbero utilizzare anche le fonti archeologiche per saggiare l'entità del fenomeno.

Le mie critiche nei confronti del volume riguardano soprattutto i tempi di pubblicazione: il volume è uscito sei anni dopo il convegno. Inoltre, è incomprensibile, in una raccolta così ricca e piena di notizie e discussioni utili, la mancanza totale degli indici analitici. Per un volume che spesso cita fonti archeologiche, il numero delle illustrazioni è molto modesto.

In ogni caso, si tratta di un volume non trascurabile per le future ricerche non soltanto sulla religione, ma anche su molti altri aspetti della cultura della Sicilia antica.

Kalle Korhonen

Religion auf dem Lande. Entstehung und Veränderung von Sakrallandschaften unter römischer Herrschaft. Herausgegeben von Christoph Auffarth. Potsdamer Altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge (PAwB), Band 28. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2009. ISBN 978-3-515-09347-7. 271 S., 65 s/w Abb. EUR 56.

Collections of papers such as this one are normally results of colloquia and other meetings of a similar nature. As there seems to be nothing to be ashamed of in this, the fact that a certain publication is based on a colloquium (*vel sim.*) is normally advertised on the first page. Here, however, there is no mention of this anywhere on the first pages, but one gets a hint of the truth on p. 15, where a colloquium is referred to as "another" colloquium; it is only on p. 18 that one discovers that the papers published here were in fact delivered at a "meeting" (Tagung) in Erfurt in 2005.

In any case, the point of this collection is to explore rural religion, i.e., mainly rural sanctuaries and other places of cult during the Roman Empire. In the beginning, there is a 20-page introduction by Auffarth. In a German publication of this nature, one would expect the introduction to be a bit on the technical side (with various French philosophers being referred to, etc.), but there is nothing of this in Auffarth's introduction which is well written and most informative. The questions addressed in this book are summed up on p. 17: the difference between "Roman" and "provincial" religion (with observations on *interpretatio Romana*, etc.); the background of the visitors to the sanctuaries; the timing and the calendar of the visits to the sanctuaries, their infrastructure; how the sanctuaries were reached and where the visitors stayed; whether there might have been competition or networking between various sanctuaries. I am not sure all these questions receive an answer, but certainly it can be said that there is much of interest here. The question of the definition of a "rural sanctuary" is dealt with not only in the introduction but also in some of the contributions. Some of these are not very substantial and seem to be summaries of work still in progress. The point of view of the authors ranges from the archaeological to the epigraphical; Roman Greece is well served, whereas some areas (Italy, Gaul, Spain, etc.) are not covered.

G. Schörner examines rural sanctuaries of Saturn in Africa (p. 27ff.), concluding (p. 35f.) that there does not seem to be much difference between urban and rural sanctuaries. K. Matijević studies religion, i.e., inscribed and other monuments pertaining to religion, in the area north of the Mosel around Mayen and Kottenheim with its sanctuary of the *Matronae* (p. 41ff.; the sanctuary does not seem to predate the second half of the first century A.D.). Sanctuaries of *Matronae* are also the subject of the next paper, that of W. Eck and D. Koßmann (p. 73ff.) on the votive altars to be found in the sanctuaries of Lower Germany. The cult of the *Matronae* is now attested in more than 60 places, normally by the existence of inscribed altars dedicated to these deities. In some places, the cult is attested by just one altar, but in other places there are altars in great numbers, the highest number, at least 185 altars, being reached in the sanctuary of Pesch near Euskirchen (west of Bonn). Cologne (p. 78ff.) and Bonn (p. 83ff.) are also well represented. Remarkably, almost all of the dedicants are Roman citizens or at least have names of the Roman type (p. 96). Altars in some rural sanctuaries in Dacia are discussed by A. Schäfer (p. 103ff.), one of them being the "Quellheiligtum" in Germisara (p. 121f.). There is a section also on votive altars close to villas, cities and military camps, and the results are compared to what one can observe in the NW provinces and in Italy.

Moving on to the East and (the reader cannot help feeling) to a totally different world, G. F. Chiai studies rural sanctuaries in Phrygia (p. 133ff.), concentrating on deities with a special relation to the place of the cult (e.g., an attribute derived from the name of the place, Ἀλσηνός etc., this relation being called in German "Ortsgebundenheit"). This is a well-informed and wide-ranging paper which ends with a list of attested local Phrygian deities. The "sakrale Landschaft" in the Peloponnese is the subject of I. M. Felten (p. 161ff.), the result being that one can observe some change in the Roman period mainly in the territories of the colonies of Corinth and Patrae. L. E. Baumer's contribution deals with rural sanctuaries in Attica (p. 177ff.). It seems that their numbers were already diminishing from the Hellenistic period onwards; this is ascribed to the diminishing role of the demes (p. 188). Back in the Peloponnese, C. Auffarth's learned and interesting paper deals with "Sakrallandschaft" and provincialisation in Achaea (p. 191ff.). The paper, in which other papers in this volume are also taken into consideration, in fact illustrates much more than just "religion" and seems to me to be a significant contribution on Roman Achaea in general. As for the expression κατὰ συμφορὰν ἀρχῆς τῆς Ῥωμαίων in Pausanias 8,27,1, the author follows (p. 197) the recent interpretation of the Swedish scholar J. Akujärvi (a reference to the beginnings rather than to the "catastrophe" of Roman rule). A. Hupfloher (p. 221ff.) studies the "Heil-Kultstättten" in the Roman province of Achaea, basing the exposition on Pausanias. One would expect there to be much on Epidauros, but in fact Epidauros is not accorded special attention (and in the Argolid there are in any case 15 other "Heil-Kultstättten": p. 238). At the end of the volume, there is a paper by J. Rüpke on cults in the countryside, the point of view being more general; somewhat unexpectedly, but most appropriately, the paper ends with a quotation from the *Codex Theodosianus* (i.e., 16,10,12, with interesting details on "rural" religion).

At the end of the book, there is a list of illustrations and one of abbreviations, but no index. In spite of this, this is a useful and welcome volume which will be of interest not only to those who study rural cults.

Olli Salomies

Adriaan Lanni: *Law and Justice in the Courts of Classical Athens*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2006. ISBN 978-0-521-85759-8. X, 210 pp. GBP 45, USD 76.

Max Weber argued in his *Economy and Society* that "rational and systematic quality sets off Roman law sharply from all law produced by the Orient and by Hellenistic culture". In Weber's sociology of law, the normative order of a society may qualify as irrational in the sense that adjudication, even if controlled by the human intellect, consists of mere reaction to the circumstances of each particular case evaluated upon the basis of standards other than established rules of decision. This is in stark contrast to a legal order consisting of general rules based on statute or case-law applied to concrete cases according to their legally relevant characteristics. Combined with judicial formalism, the rational law guarantees to the members of the society the maximum predictability of the legal consequences of their actions. Any attention paid in adjudication to extra-legal (social, economic, ethical, political, or religious) circumstances, standards and goals increases the arbitrariness and instability of legal decisions. The highly personalized *ad hoc* Gadi-justice of the Islamic *sharî'ah* courts, and the "technically rational machine" programmed by the Continental law-codes and legal science exemplify the opposite ends of the spectrum in Weber's scheme. In this perspective, Roman law elaborated and guarded by the *iuris periti* – precursor to the modern western law – achieved a "highly formal and rational character, both regarding the substantive rules and their procedural treatment". The "popular justice of the direct Attic democracy", on the contrary, "was decidedly a form of Gadi-justice", and one possible conclusion is that lacking the legal genius of the Romans, the Greeks had no choice.

Weber provides a suitable introduction to the problematics of Adriaan Lanni's book, the elegant argument of which is that "the Athenians could imagine (and, to a lesser extent, implement) a legal process in which abstract rules were applied without reference to the social context of the dispute, but *rejected* such an approach in the vast majority of cases" (p. 4; my emphasis). The more nuanced picture Lanni presents of Athenian justice is based on analysis of legal and extra-legal argumentation in forensic speeches concerning cases tried on one hand by the popular courts (p. 41–74), and by the special courts for homicide (p. 75–114) and maritime (p. 149–74) cases on the other. The study demonstrates that although the law provided a source of argumentation in the popular courts, which tried the vast bulk of cases, the litigants were allowed to introduce whatever information they considered relevant to their cause. The Athenian juries preferred to take into consideration the entire circumstances of the dispute, instead of some narrow, skeletonized facts. This required that the dispute was reviewed in its entire social context, including the parties' conduct leading to the lawsuit, their relationship, merits and character (not to mention those of their ancestors), and the effects of the adverse verdict (especially on their children). In maritime cases, however, the popular courts employed a special procedure that focused on "the terms of the written contract" and discouraged "extra-legal information and argumentation" (p. 173). The homicide courts headed by the Areopagus applied of old a rule of relevancy prohibiting arguments "outside the issue", such as character evidence and (to a lesser extent) emotional appeals to pity.

Why did the Athenians choose to adopt the personalized *ad hoc* determinations in the popular courts (except the maritime cases) over the more formal approach of the homicide courts? As Weber already pointed out, apparently with classical Athens in mind, formal justice was repugnant to democracy "because it decreases the dependency of the legal practice and therewith of the individuals upon the decisions of their fellow citizens". This also seems to capture the essence of Lanni's more developed conclusions. The popular court procedure was the natural result of Athens' democratic political structure committed to direct participation and maximum discretion of the citizens acting occasionally as jurors. Endowed with lay expectations, they took for granted the importance of substantive information in reaching the most just and equitable decisions in individual cases. The composition and political organization is also behind the increased "legalism" of the homicide courts: the jurors were the most distinguished citizens with practical experience of repeated adjudications as life members of the Areopagus council. But Lanni also argues (p. 115–31) that – despite the lack of authoritative rule of decision – there was some degree of predictability in the popular court jurors' reaction to the particular cases because of widely shared, culturally specific, values and beliefs. This is why a more transparent and formal procedure had to be devised for the maritime cases involving foreigners unable to understand or share the informal Athenian community standards the popular courts usually implemented.

There is no doubt Adriaan Lanni's book should be read by anyone interested in Greek litigation. Moreover, this is one of the books concerning ancient law that might be of more than marginal interest to socio-legal scholarship. By raising important questions about formalism, relevancy and predictability in Athenian law, it may inspire similar inquiries into Roman law. It is well-known that the Roman administration of justice relied on legal sources (statutes, senate's resolutions, praetor's edicts, imperial pronouncements, jurists' replies, and their authoritative commentaries) to provide rules of decision. But until the influence of Byzantine bureaucracy, Roman law lacked, as Weber pointed out, many rational and systematic qualities, which only centuries of modern civil law scholarship brought to perfection. It was supposed to guide – with the help of the jurists' advice – the lay magistrate in his decision to deny or grant a legal action, and in narrowing down the relevant legal and factual issues of the lawsuit, according to which the lay judge was to grant or deny, with more or less discretion, the plaintiff's claim. But the magistrates and judges also had to find the facts, and these were embedded in the context of Roman hierarchical society and could be variously characterized. In case of serious offenses, there probably was – like in Athens, as Lanni argues – the certainty of summary treatment for common criminals, while the trials before the juries were nothing less than Gadi-justice. Looking at adjudication from the law in books perspective, Weber was adamant that outside political trials, the supervision of legal procedure by the jurists ensured formal justice. If we had more opportunities for studying Roman law in action, it might turn out that extra-legal considerations loomed large behind judicial decisions, and that prediction of specific outcomes was based as much on jury bias and the sociological structure of the case as the legal rules.

Janne Pölönen

Jill Harries: *Law and Crime in the Roman World*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2007. ISBN 978-0-521-82820-8 (hb), 978-0-521-53532-8 (pb). X, 148 pp. GBP 47, USD 80 (hb), GBP 16.99, USD 28 (pb).

O. F. Robinson: *Penal Practice and Penal Policy in Ancient Rome*. Routledge, London – New York 2007. ISBN 0-415-41651-5. VIII, 255 pp. GBP 60.

Roman law defined "crime" as an offence subject to the public legal process (*iudicium publicum*), while treating some offences as private wrongs (*delicta*) subject to the civil penal process. These processes had in common that they were concerned with "wrongdoing", and condemnation incurred some form of penalty (*poena*), which distinguished them from the civil processes designed merely for the adjudication of disputes. But wrongdoers were also disciplined and punished by the magistrates empowered to use their policing power (*coercitio*) to maintain the public order, and to use their administrative procedure (*cognitio*) to hear and judge criminal accusations. Roman law concerning crimes, procedures and punishments – from the times of the Twelve Tables to the emperor Justinian – is also central to *Law and Crime in the Roman World* written by Jill Harries. The perspective of the book is, however, distinctly socio-legal. Roman law and society histories abound, but the traditional domain of Roman criminal law remains a less charted territory. Thus, in addition to the legislation and legal writings of the Roman jurists, Harries analyses the "extra-legal" sources for competing discourses and counter-cultures, maps out tensions between the legal traditionalism and changing social values, and underlines the role played by the judges, advocates, and litigants behind the legal development.

The two chapters following the introduction are devoted to the "criminal" process, and begin with discussion of the Roman jurists' traditionalist and Rome-centered legal discourse of crime as defined by the Late Republican statutes instituting the standing jury courts (*quaestiones*, also known as *iudicia publica*). Augustus' legislation fixed the list of public crimes that survived five centuries, to the Digest of Justinian: treason, adultery, public and private violence, murder and poisoning, parricide, forgery, extortion, offences related to food-supply, embezzlement and sacrilege, electoral corruption, and kidnapping. In practice, the processes before the *quaestiones* were of no use in the provinces, and were even in Rome superseded under the Empire by the *cognitiones* taking place before the magistrate acting as a single judge. The wide discretion permitted to the magistrates also allowed redefinition of the old offences labelled "crime" (such as corruption of elections that had ceased to exist), and prosecution of new ones as "criminal" *extra ordinem* – outside the *iudicia publica* statutes. Meanwhile, the treatment of the offenders became harsher and was legally differentiated according to their social rank. This included the spread of judicial torture from slaves to freemen and eventually to high-status people. Harries seems to take a too harsh view of the accusers' lot; it is true they faced a penalty for abandoning an instituted accusation, but they were allowed to request a formal *abolitio*.

The rest of the chapters are devoted to the types of legally criminalized behaviour: theft and unlawful damage to person, honour and property, originally treated as private wrongs; then electoral corruption, extortion, treason, sexual misconduct, violence, murder and magic. The social context of crime and its treatment is one important subtheme. Harries suggests the civil penal processes were useless if the offenders had no means to pay, and that the magistrates' policing powers sufficed to deal with most common criminals. The legal treatment of offenders is set against the social attitudes, for example, calls for retribution in the case of thieves (for more popular ideas, Harries might have researched the curse tablets), and the other views and ways of life the law sought to counter – adultery is a fine example. Moreover, the definition of crime and criminal, notably treason's dangerous lack of it, figure prominently in the book. There is a useful discussion of the social process of labelling individuals or groups as deviant, making the likes of Apuleius and the Christians ripe targets for criminal accusation. The consensus of opinion about the criminal easily led to mob justice, and even in public courts, the process was largely about the accused's character. Harries stresses the law itself was open to forensic debate, and the judges applying it were sensitive to extra-legal considerations.

The central argument of Harries' book is that the development of Roman law of crime and punishment was not only dictated by the emperors and the jurists, but also influenced by the social values and the court practice (a similar argument is advanced by C. Humfress, *Orthodoxy and the Courts in Late Antiquity*, Oxford 2007). I believe no one would deny that the demands the litigants made on the courts, and their rhetorical elaboration by the advocates, were constantly pushing the law and its interpretation. But one may ask if it was their purpose to create or change the law by means of litigation (as happens today in common-law systems)? It seems that any influence the Roman litigants and advocates had on the legal system was an accidental by-product of their pursuits of immediate personal interest in courts (not to mention the limited role of precedent in Roman law). However, it is certainly worth exploring how the criminalization of offences and the harshening of penalties were driven by the victims seeking revenge, advocates twisting the rules, and the judges battling crime. Although the law came about piecemeal, and – as Harries points out – not without the heavy influence of the elite rivalry, it defined, together with the relatively autonomous if traditionalist body of legal knowledge maintained by the jurists, the legal standard for the treatment of offenders.

Olivia Robinson's book *Penal Practice and Penal Policy in Ancient Rome* indeed suggests that the treatment of criminal offenders, conditioned by the legal rules and guided by the philosophical theories of punishment, remained surprisingly constant from the Late Republic to the Late Empire. Robinson points out that in all societies, the rules are occasionally perverted by politics, venality and ignorance, and Rome is certainly not an exception. But the differentiation of policy and practice in the book's title does not refer as much to a systematic exploration of the gap between the two as to an in-depth examination of the penal practice in order to find out its governing principles. But Robinson is not after the rules of law but continuity and change in the Roman attitudes to crime and its treatment as revealed by a close examination of six "famous" cases, or groups of cases, the Roman authors found worthy of reflection (trials of Jesus and Apuleius are excluded). Within those cases, the reader is given an adequate – if at times traditional – introduction to the history of crimes, procedures and punishments that one might expect of a more systematic study, which "the doyenne of Roman criminal law" (Harries' expression) has already done in *The Roman Criminal Law* of 1995.

The first six chapters of the book are devoted to the case-studies set out in chronological order: 1. the Bacchanalian affair of 186 BC; 2. the accusation of Sex. Roscius for parricide in 80 BC; 3. the treason trial of Cn. Calpurnius Piso in AD 20; 4. four trials for extortion before the Senate (early 2nd century); 5. the prosecutions of Christians (from 2nd to 4th century AD), and 6. the trials for treason and magic in the fourth century AD. The suppression of the cult of Bacchus undertaken by the Romans in Italy provides an excellent starting-point. A competing foreign cult reached Rome without state sanction, and was celebrated by male and female initiates in secret nocturnal rituals. According to Livy, rumours began to circulate about wine, feasting, promiscuous sex and rape – what was particularly shocking – of young men; then of false witnesses, forged seals and wills, followed by violence, murder and poisoning (nothing short of parricide). When the matter was brought to the consul's attention by a prostitute's testimony, the Senate charged the magistrates with hunting down the members of this "conspiracy" (*coniuratio*) and punishing those guilty of the alleged offenses. Robinson suggests the offences picked up by Livy (many of which were by his time "crimes" subject to trial before the standing jury courts) were the Senate's excuse for suppressing the alien if popular cult, and for regulating it for the future. A threat to both public and private security, the cult's repression was more a political than legal affair.

The treatment of the Bacchants seems as harsh as extraordinary: Livy reports 7,000 were put to death, apparently without regard for due process, citizenship, or rank. But Robinson's book shows death and suffering were common features of the Roman landscape of punishment. Even in regard to citizens, the Roman tradition prescribed beating, drowning, suspending, burning, and strangling to death; the early emperors introduced aggravated methods of crucifixion, burning at the stake, and condemnation to the wild beasts, and the later ones added such as mutilation, amputation and impalement. In practice, however, citizens accused of capital offences were allowed in Republican times to flee into voluntary exile, making the death penalty extremely rare in practice (though Robinson accepts that ordinary criminals, slaves, foreigners and citizens of low station, may have been summarily flogged and executed by the magistrates; technically a matter of *coercitio*). Under the Empire, exile – with or without the loss of citizenship – was regularly inflicted on elite offenders instead of the humiliation and pain in store for the ordinary people.

An important aspect of the book is the legal and philosophical motives for punishment, which in Rome ranged from the reformation of the offender to the safety in removing him from society, and to deterring others by his example; Robinson is certainly right in stressing the primacy of the latter purpose, driven home by the public spectacle of punishment. Roman law and tradition called for penalties fitting the crime, the criminal, and the degree of his guilt with a tilt towards clemency, but there were also proponents of stoic punishment of offenders. The growth of the emperor's authority increased the zeal of criminal repression; a late chapter is devoted to the penal policies endorsed by the emperor Justinian and his legislation. Christianity was a mixed blessing from the offender's point of view. As Robinson argues in the concluding chapter, equality in punishment was not possible in a society at ease with slavery. Some humanity was introduced to the treatment of ordinary criminals through improvement of prison conditions (and the branding of their faces was forbidden by Constantine), but less and less regard was paid to the demands by the nobles for humane treatment. It is interesting to note the tendency in late Roman society, living with the status distinctions, was to assimilate offenders in low rather than high status treatment (compare with J. Q. Whitman: *Harsh Justice: Criminal Punishment and the Widening Divide between America and Europe*, Oxford 2003).

The great advantage of the book is that all the trials are superbly placed in the historical context with many quotations from Roman sources. And Robinson makes a good case for arguing that notwithstanding the Bacchanalian affair, the cases show a remarkable degree of respect for the rule of law and due process, including – perhaps surprisingly – the treason cases and the trials of Christians, even if the evidence comes from hostile sources. The problem is, as the author admits, that the cases chosen are not a representative sample of the "daily diet of courts". Not only are the offences rather exceptional, but also the accused are mostly high-status people, members of a very small and privileged minority. This is mainly the fault of sources, which speak mostly of the ideas and experiences of the ruling classes, though many of the Bacchants and the Christians were ordinary people. If account is taken only of legal procedures and penalties, and extra-legal practices are overlooked, it undoubtedly seems that "taking the legal route to deal with crime" and "expecting the procedures of the courts to settle major disputes" were the norm in the Roman Empire. In all, Harries and Robinson provide not so much competing but complementary histories of crime and punishment in ancient Rome. Either one of them is highly rewarding, but the student is even better off reading both books.

Janne Pölönen

Derek Roebuck – Bruno de Loynes de Fumichon: *Roman Arbitration*. Holo Books: The Arbitration Press, Oxford 2004. ISBN 0-9537730-3-5. XII, 283 pp. GBP 40.

Roman Arbitration is a sequel to Derek Roebuck's *Ancient Greek Arbitration* (Oxford 2001), also published by Holo Books. This is a very timely and promising book for anyone interested in ancient methods of resolving disputes, from students of arbitration to those of Roman law and history. It has been co-authored with French legal historian Bruno de Loynes de Fumichon who wrote his doctoral dissertation on Roman arbitration *ex compromisso* (Université Panthéon-Assas 2002), so the book draws on both the common and the civil law world of learning and experience. With the advent of Roman law and society histories, there is a growing interest in the practical side of litigation and dispute resolution but there has been no comprehensive treatment of Roman arbitration in English on the market. The topic has been covered in other languages, but mostly from a normative Roman law perspective. The authors seek to "describe" arbitration and other dispute resolution practices involving third parties over a period 1000 years, from the times of the Twelve Tables (450 BC) to the Arab conquest of Egypt (AD 640), within the vast territories that came under the Roman rule.

The reader is made acutely aware of the fact that the ways of resolving disputes, and the role played in it by Roman law, may have varied greatly over time and space (p. X). Although all kinds of arbitration attested inside the Roman world are considered "Roman" and included in the study (p. 39), "the distinctive characteristic of Roman arbitration was the ubiquitous availability of the administrative processes to help the arbitrants" (p. 12). The book commences with a dense description of a case of arbitration from the Roman Egypt, documented in the archive of Dioscorus and dated to AD 537 (Prologue: pp. 1–10). It shows how the Greek-speaking citizens of that province had adapted their local ways to the Roman way, by making use of the private arbitration agreement (*compromissum*) protected by the Roman law.

What counts as arbitration is discussed in the chapter "Definition, Method and Language" (pp. 11–21). The adjudicative authority the parties accord to the third party normally distinguishes arbitration from mediation, in which the third party merely helps the opponents to reach settlement. This holds true of Roman arbitration. However, the Roman arbiters also steered the parties toward amicable settlement, and sought, at least, to reconcile them with a mutually acceptable decision. The difference with litigation is that the ordinary Roman judge (*iudex*) was assigned the task of adjudication by the public magistrate (*magistratus*) instead of the private parties. Like the private arbiter, or mediator, however, the judge was not a professional adjudicator, a state officer trained in law, until post-classical times (p. 15). Moreover, their decisions (like private settlements and arbitrations) had to be enforced by the administrative orders of the magistrate. Students used to the idea of Roman litigation perhaps find it odd that the Roman state did not, despite the increased formalism and publicity of the Roman legal process, provide "anything which could be accurately described as a court for civil claims" (p. 12, 195). But in terms of modern categories, the *iudex* seems more like "arbitrator" than a "judge", and was often called to arbitrate.

The authors include Roman practices ranging from negotiation and mediation to arbitration in their study, and instead of forcing those practices into modern categories, they enable the readers to make up their own minds by quoting the sources in translation. In order to avoid confusion between ancient and modern ideas of mediators, arbitrators and judges, key terms like *iudex* and *arbiter*, which both stand for some kind of adjudicator, are explained and kept consistently in Latin. The "sources" are introduced in their own chapter (pp. 38–45), and the original texts (except Greek) are given in separate appendices for the "Legal Sources before Justinian" (pp. 207–11); "Justinian's *Corpus Iuris Civilis*" (pp. 212–33); "Literary Sources" (pp. 234–42); "Architecture and Surveying Texts" (pp. 243–4); and "Epigraphical Sources" (pp. 245–9). The system of reference to the originals, however, is not always as user-friendly as the authors would like it to be (in order to read the Digest text 9.1 cited on p. 16 one has to consult the contents on p. viii to learn where chapter 9 starts, seek the first quotation of that chapter on p. 136 and the n. 1 for the actual Digest *locus* 4, 8, 13, 2, then search appendix B and spot the right text on p. 215).

The description begins with the most ancient and (probably at all times) the most common type of arbitration in Roman society, an entirely "private process whereby the parties ask a third party to help them solve their differences" (p. 13). The Romans called such an informally addressed third party *iudex*, *arbiter* or *disceptator*. This mutually trusted person could be a friend, a neighbour, an expert, a patron, a landlord, even one of the parties to the dispute, and his task ranged from mediation to assessment and adjudication. His decision rested not on the power of the public magistrate but on the respect the parties had, in a social context, for the authority (*auctoritas*), advice (*consilium*) and good faith (*fides*) of the person chosen. The arbiter was expected to decide objectively like any "good man". Hence the name for the whole chapter dealing with informal "Arbitration by *Bonus Vir*" (pp. 46–66), the universal type of arbitration found in most human societies. In ancient Rome, its peculiar feature was that "the law required the arbitrator to live up to its standards of honesty" (p. 46). But there was no action against the arbiter or his award. Since the late Republic, in case the arbitration by *bonus vir* was material to a formal contractual relationship, an unjust decision could be corrected by raising a *bonae fidei iudicium* against the other party concerning the particular contract, e.g., of partnership.

The informal private arbitration by *bonus vir* preceded, but was by no means superseded by, the public arbitration of the state-appointed third party that had emerged by the time of the twelve tables (450 BC). Accordingly, the chapter devoted to "Arbitration by Judex" (p. 67–93) studies the part played by the Roman private judge in legal procedures from the earliest *legis actio sacramento* to the formulary process that emerged from the second century BC onwards. During the preliminary hearings (*in iure*) the magistrate determined the legal issues and the scope of award, and the parties publicly agreed to submit their dispute on those terms to the *iudex* or *arbiter* chosen from the official list (*album iudicium*). The trial took place before the private judge (*apud iudicem*), and once the "litigation" was terminated by his sentence, the interested party could proceed with enforcement authorised by the magistrate. It seems that the third party was called *iudex* if he was appointed to adjudicate severely between conflicting legal claims, and *arbiter* if he was asked to adjudicate with discretion according to what is good and fair; they also did much partition and assessment, even mediation. Nothing is said, however, of the later *cognitio* procedure, in which the magistrate acting as *iudex* took charge of the adjudication (though he might still delegate this task to a private judge) and enforcement, except that there was allowance for resort to a bishop's arbitration.

In the history of Roman arbitration, the public arbitration by *iudex arbiterve* was followed in the second century BC by the emergence of private arbitration by the formal agreement of parties (*compromissum*), guarded by the mutual promise of a penalty for non-compliance, to abide by the award of the third party entirely of their own choosing. The difference with the informal private arbitration by *bonus vir* was that the magistrate protected the parties' contract to submit to the arbitration, and compelled the arbiter *ex compromisso*, once he had undertaken the task of arbitration (*receptum arbitri*), to pronounce the award. The parties were obliged to obey his decision, if they did not want to incur the penalty, even if it was unfair. The magistrate protected the parties, however, since the last century BC, by action/defence against fraud (*actio*/*exceptio doli*) on part of the arbiter, and the same standard of honesty was required of the parties by a *clausula doli* added to the *compromissum*. Unlike in the case of the *res iudicata* by a private judge, either party could seek another decision on the same matter if they were prepared to pay the penalty. This is because the magistrate did not enforce, until Late Antiquity, the arbiter's award but only the penalty of non-compliance promised in the *compromissum*.

The arbitration *ex compromisso* is the only type of private arbitration of legal interest to the Roman jurists, and thus also lawyers and legal historians of more recent times have often thought it was the most important, if not the only, type of private arbitration. The authors rightly protest that the informal arbitration by *bonus vir* may have been the most common form (pp. 12–3), and insist that theirs is not a traditional legal analysis of Roman arbitration (p. 38). In addition to the official arbitration by *iudex*, however, no less than five chapters, about one half of the book, are devoted to a rather systematic (and at times repetitive) textbook account of the legally recognized "Arbitration *ex compromisso*: Introduction" (pp. 94–113); "The Arbitration Agreement" (pp. 114–34); "The Appointment of Arbitrators" (pp. 135–52); "The Hearing" (pp. 153–77); and "The Award and its Enforcement" (pp. 178–92). This scheme compromises the description of practice, but enriches the book with a good deal of the Roman law of arbitration.

In all, the authors succeed in their goal of providing plentiful primary sources. However, the evidence is presented with view to the arbiters and the legal effects of their appointment and awards, so the description tends to tell us more about the role played by the third parties in Roman arbitration than about the role played by Roman arbitration in the resolution of disputes. This is not to say that the book is (including the late John Barton's comments reprinted in the footnotes) not extremely rich in observation and insight, usefully brought together in the concluding chapter (pp. 193–206). The book profits from the authors' knowledge of dispute resolution in other societies, and the frequent comparison of Roman and modern arbitration. The bibliography (pp. 254–69) alone is worth the visit because it very extensively covers the literature from the medieval treatises to the modern scholarship on Roman law and history, though very few of the works are cited, let alone discussed. While readers interested in the historical debate and the current state of research on Roman arbitration will have to look elsewhere, many others are undoubtedly happy with the decision to put aside the "peripheral controversies".

Janne Pölönen

Lucia A. Scatozza Höricht: *Pithecusa. Materiali votivi da Monte Vico e dall'area di Santa Restituta.* Corpus delle stipi votive in Italia 20. Archaeologica 147. Giorgio Bretschneider Editore, Roma 2007. ISBN 978-88-7689-225-7, ISSN 0391-9293. 116 pp. 28 tavv. EUR 95.

Procede con ritmo sicuro e regolare la pubblicazione dell'importante serie del Corpus delle stipi votive che la terra Ausonia ci ha restituito. Nel presente volume si tratta di un caso di grande importanza. Pithecusa era un nodo di scambi importante e meta in Occidente delle rotte mediterranee in cui si incrociavano elementi greci e orientali; a buon diritto una polis che fungeva da intermediaria importantissima della cultura ellenica in Italia. La straordinaria importanza dei materiali messi insieme nel volume aumenta con il fatto che tra di essi si trovano stipi di alta età arcaica, dal VII secolo in poi.

L'impianto del volume è sistematico. Nel catalogo i materiali vengono presentati secondo i consueti criteri di classificazione (busti e teste femminili, maschere, statue, terrecotte, ceramica, arule, rilievi, matrici). Dopo il catalogo seguono considerazioni sulla topografia dell'area di Monte Vico, sui culti attestati a Pithecusa e poi nozioni generali sulla produzione coroplastica e sulla cultura artistica. In Appendice figura uno studio petrografico da parte di H. Kars. Tutto sommato, un volume importante, anche se lo stile del testo talvolta è un po' involuto, a cui speriamo facciano seguito altri della stessa serie.

Heikki Solin

Marina Albertocchi: *Athana Lindia. Le statuette siceliote con pettorali di età arcaica e classica*. Rivista di Archeologia, Supplementi 28. Giorgio Bretschneider, Roma 2004. VIII, 198 pp., 35 tavv. ISBN 88-7689-187-0. EUR 200.

Questo ben documentato studio è dedicato ad un tipo di statuetta fittile di divinità femminile che, a partire dalla metà del VI sec. a.C., si diffonde nei santuari di Demetra e Kore delle colonie greche siceliote lungo la costa meridionale dell'isola, soprattutto Agrigento, Gela e Selinunte. La dea, raffigurata stante o in trono, con un alto *polos* sulla testa e vestita col chitone di una lunga stola che giunge fino ai piedi, ornata sul petto da collane, è convenzionalmente indicata come "Athana Lindia". Tale denominazione risale all'analisi di Christian Blinkenberg, il quale nel 1917 propose di riconoscere nelle terrecotte siceliote la riproduzione della statua di culto di Athana di Lindo. Secondo lo studioso danese, i caratteri iconografici corrisponderebbero alla descrizione della statua d'età arcaica di quella dea fornitaci dalla famosa Cronaca di Lindo. Per decenni questa tesi è stata molto autorevole ed è tuttora ritenuta valida da alcuni studiosi. Tuttavia, a partire dagli anni '80, negli studi sull'iconografia della statua lindia va sempre più confermandosi l'ipotesi che il simulacro del santuario di Lindo non sia riconoscibile nelle statuette siceliote. Secondo Albertocchi, nella maggior parte dei casi, l'immagine originaria doveva piuttosto rappresentare Demetra, dea della fertilità e simbolo della rinascita della terra. Infatti, le statuette provengono, in massima parte, dai santuari di Demetra; inoltre sembrerebbe fondamentale l'osservazione dell'autrice che la creazione dell'immagine divina possa essere attribuita a officine agrigentine: le terrecotte e le relative matrici sono ben presenti negli scarichi di fornaci dei santuari di questa città. Questo non esclude, come fa notare Albertocchi, l'aggiunta di elementi di origine orientale, quali le collane e i pendenti decoranti la stola. Interessante anche la nascita della serie delle statuette dopo la metà del VI secolo, in quanto essa corrisponde al momento in cui cessa l'importazione delle terrecotte di produzione ionica. Il passaggio dall'importazione alla produzione locale è evidente anche nelle stratigrafie di alcuni santuari.

Il catalogo con ben 1724 esemplari offre un nutrito materiale per la classificazione tipologica delle statuette. La veste tipografica del volume è ottima, come pure la qualità delle fotografie. Gli errori di stampa o di altro tipo (anche nelle parole di lingua straniera) risultano relativamente pochi. Non c'è dubbio che il lavoro di Albertocchi significhi un importante passo avanti non solo negli studi sulla coroplastica siceliota ma anche per la comprensione delle manifestazioni della religiosità locale.

Mika Kajava

Alexandre G. Mitchell: *Greek Vase-Painting and the Origins of Visual Humour*. Cambridge University Press, New York 2009. ISBN 978-0-521-51370-8 (hb), XXIV, 371 pp., 48 b/w ill. 108 fig. GBP 55, USD 95.

Until recently, the study of ancient humour has been based on literary evidence: the technical writings of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, who theorize on meanings, causes, and functions of humour, along with a number of humorous passages in less conceptual works provide some information about the mechanisms of laughter in ancient society. However, material evidence too may reveal interesting insights into the use of humour, as Clarke and Mitchell have superbly shown in their latest publications. While Clarke analyses examples of humorous artefacts in Roman society (Clarke, J. R. 2007. *Looking at Laughter: Humor, Power, and Transgression in Roman Visual Culture 100 B.C. – A.D. 250*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press), Mitchell's book is the first comprehensive study of visual humour in ancient Greece.

As a work intended for a wide range of readers interested in visual humour, the book usefully contains a short glossary of technical words and Greek terms, mini-biographies of mythological heroes, and a number of tables that help the reader to easily follow the author's argumentations. The book also contains a rich number of figures representing comic vases; most of them are in the form of vectorised drawings, which are much clearer than photographs. However, the drawings cannot have the immediacy of photographic reproductions which allow the viewer to see the whole context (painted scene and shape of the vase) and perhaps to imagine what a viewer would have perceived of the whole scene when she/he handled the vessel. Moreover, many vases discussed in the book are not accompanied by any type of illustration (either photograph or vectorised drawing), which makes it difficult to follow the author's descriptions.

The Introduction in Chapter One discusses a number of topics under two main headings: theoretical approaches and Greek vases. In the first part, Mitchell presents a quick review of the various approaches to humour (terminology, general theories of humour) and the specific principles relevant to the study of visual humour in his book. The author acknowledges the lack of elaboration of a general theory of humour since his main goal is to understand the techniques of humour in ancient Greek visual art and its social functions. The second part contains basic notions about Greek vases (connoisseurship, provenance, and chronology), past scholarship on Greek visual humour, methodology, and visual humour categories. In the discussion of comic vases, Mitchell rejects the traditional method of explaining irregularities or eccentricities in vase-paintings by turning for an explanation to literary evidence. He rightly argues that images need to be compared to images, because pictures often show their comic effect through comparison to and contrast with the more "usual" pictures. Mitchell's argument is convincing: after all, literary works are the product of the elite class, while vessels were produced for a wider number of buyers from different social classes. However, it would be interesting to compare the comic scenes on the vases with the ones described in more "popular" works, such as Aristophanes' comedies. The comparison between artistic and literary products of the same society and time could suggest whether the comic elements were stock motifs used for a variety of artistic media or were rather specific to pottery iconography.

In Chapter Two, Mitchell analyses examples of visual mockery of the world of men, women, and animals in many aspects of their everyday life, while in Chapter Three he focuses on visual examples of mocked heroes and gods.

In the longer Chapter Four, Mitchell examines the satyr and his central role in Greek visual humour after a brief, introductory incursion into South-Italian humorous iconography. The funny image of the satyr is discussed in a number of scenes selected by theme: gluttony, sexual exaggeration, plays with misused objects, mockery of citizens' duties and leisure and of heroes and gods.

The similarly hilarious image of the dwarf is analysed in Chapter Five, which is mainly devoted to caricature in Athens and at the Kabirion sanctuary in Boeotia. Mitchell interestingly rejects the traditional interpretation of the scenes painted on more than 300 vessels found at the Kabirion sanctuary as mysterious ritualistic representations. The author convincingly argues that the men and women represented on the Kabirion vases do not wear masks, which leads most scholars to identify them as initiates of a mysterious Kabirion cult: they are rather caricatured figures whose facial and body features "are exaggerated to such an extent that their appearance can hardly be taken seriously" (p. 255). Mitchell continues on discussing a selection of daily-life activities and mythological scenes parodied on the Kabirion vases.

In the Conclusion (Chapter Six), a number of discussions are regrouped under two main headings: vases and humour. The first part contains a discussion of comic vases in terms of shape, painters, distribution, and iconography with the support of tables that allow the reader to easily look at and to get an overall picture of pottery production and comic themes in ancient Greece. In this part, Mitchell also suggests a new methodology for analysing visual humour for which he coins the term "visual immediacy", that is "the fact that everything in the picture is happening at the same time and consequently painted in such a way that the viewer must 'read' the picture in an all-encompassing fashion" (p. 298). The author rightly argues that it is the insertion of unusual or subtle details into the normal iconography of conventional themes that makes the scene funny: in order not to miss important details and consequently, the comic effect of the scene, the viewer needs to create a mental picture of the whole narrative. The second part discusses the social function of laughter and humour as a means of social cohesion. Following Bergson's theory on humour, Mitchell states that mocking people behaving improperly (e.g., women gossiping at the fountain, men dressed as women and foreigners) or ridiculing the gods by bringing them down to the level of ordinary mortals serves to curb the fear of the unknown and of exclusion and to reinforce the group's social norms. The theory of social cohesion is a useful comprehensive system of concepts on which other theories of humour are based: the principles of subversion and revelation, of comic relief, and of the feeling of superiority, which are appropriately used throughout the book for explaining the comic characters and effects of the Greek vases. However, the author does not go into the viewer's social status and gender role, which may have influence on the mechanisms of laughter. The difficulty of reconstructing the context of discovery of most vases, as Mitchell correctly points out (p. 22), should not restrain us modern scholars from enquiring about the users of this type of archaeological object. In fact, comic vases were sold in the market to a wide range of buyers (p. 23), may they be aristocrats or less wealthy citizen, men or women. Even if Mitchell is right when he argues that vases were produced for a male-driven society with a very few possible exceptions of certain shapes intended for female use (p. 23 and n. 34), women would have anyway handled the "male" vases for washing or storing them, looked at the scenes depicted on them, and responded to them as a result of their specific gendered gaze and status. Did comic scenes arouse the same feelings in the rich and in the poor? Did female viewers feel a sense of superiority and relief as male viewers did, when they looked at their companions painted behaving improperly?

At the very conclusion of his work, Mitchell states: "It is unlikely that so many and varied comic representations could have been produced under other circumstances than in democratic Athens. It is unlikely to be tolerated in a 'totalitarian' regime or simply a more militaristic one such as Sparta, where power and obedience take precedence." (p. 313). I find this not very convincing argument. Humour cannot be considered a by-product of democracy: as Clarke's study on Roman visual humour shows, the production of comic scenes was possible in an imperial society, too. Humour is such a universal phenomenon across time and space that its visual expression cannot be restricted to democratic regimes alone. As Clarke and Mitchell himself superbly show, we need to reconsider the "serious" interpretations of some ancient images and to see their potentially comical effect: the eye-cups, for example, which are traditionally interpreted as having an apotropaic function, may rather been seen as comical, when they are accompanied by visual puns (pp. 36–46). To ascertain the comic character of some images is a difficult task, as the production and perception of humour are also influenced by the personal, cultural, and social factors of a specific culture. But even members of the same cultural system may not agree with ideas on what is humorous. For example, despite our shared identity as scholars of classical art and archaeology in postmodern times, I find some of the vases discussed by Mitchell not humorous at all: for instance, the scene with Diomedes (pp. 96-8), the image of the greedy Iris (pp. 140–43), or the Nicosthenic amphora (p. 166). Similarly, the apparent lack of visual humour in the totalitarian society of Sparta may due to our difficulties in recognizing the comic effects of some scenes.

In all, this is a pioneering, challenging, and provocative book that gives interesting insights into ancient Greek society.

Margherita Carucci

The Parthenon and Its Sculptures. Edited by Michael B. Cosmopoulos. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004. ISBN 978-0-521-83673-9. XVI, 214 p. GBP 50, USD 88.

This book consists of the non-Elginian papers read in the conference "The Parthenon and Its Sculptures in the Twenty-First Century", and organized in 2002 at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. Parthenon specialists were presented an opportunity to get together and evaluate the state and future of Parthenon studies. The ten writers highlight the Parthenon from four main view points, the traditional formal analysis of the pictorial decoration, the historical and socio-political background, new technology, and the later destiny of the building.

Symeonoglou, by going beyond compositional and iconographical similarities, analyses carving details or execution of ten blocks. Three masters, A, B, and C, each with his own crew, seemed to have worked in close collaboration. The masters could apparently deviate from the master design, having also individual specialized skills, such as carving of drapery and animals, or male bodies and dramatic representation. The third master with his singularly innovative and brilliant command of anatomy, drapery, perspective, movement, etc., was possibly the leading master, and none other than Pheidias, who also carved the three gods of the east frieze. Younger, in contrast to Symeonoglou, democratizes the sculpting process. He gets away from the limiting notion of a master sculptor responsible for the general design and argues for gangs of workers, advancing from prepared sketches, transferring cartoons, repeating figures, making mistakes and then rectifying them.

Neils examines the narrative strategies of the frieze, especially the time-space continuum of the Great Panathenaic procession, an event which spread over a kilometre and lasted an entire day. As a method, this progression in stages of specific moments is better known from other media of Athenian visual arts. A somewhat earlier vase painting depicts consecutive phases of a symposion, and a monumental painting in the Stoa Poikile displayed three phases of the battle of Marathon, as reported to us by Pausanias. The short sides of the Parthenon frieze depicted, according to Neils, the moments before and after the procession, while the procession proper was shown on the long sides. The enigmatic composition of the eastern short side should tie the two entering processions with the central stage with the Olympian gods. This can best be understood by envisioning the gods sitting in a semicircle. Interpretation of the central scene is inspired by scenes of Attic vase painting and reliefs. It is understood as the refolding of the peplos, after the acceptance of the gift by Athena, to be stored until the Kallynteria festival.

Mostratos' article examines the reconstruction of the Parthenon's east pediment, the central part of which suffered considerably, as is well known, from the later constructing of an apse and the even later explosion caused by Morosini. In the author's opinion, the best key to the problem is offered by the Parthenon's west pediment, where two figures of equal status instead of an axial figure are presented. The newly born Athena and her father Zeus are the chosen deities, separated by a flying Nike. Another puzzle is the identification of the many preserved sculpture fragments, the original whereabouts of which in either of the two pediments are unknown. A calm overall scene is proposed for the reconstruction.

Political realities may have shaped the iconography of the large base of the statue of the Athene Parthenos, the subject of which was the dressing with peplos and adorning of Pandora, the first woman, by the goddess herself. This event was often depicted in art and reported about by both Greek and Latin authors. Robertson ponders over the Athenians' reason for choosing this subject, the story of which originates from the Boeotian environment. He explains it convincingly as originally used as a symbol of imperial power, which lived on both in the statue base and the east side of the Parthenon frieze.

Digital photography and image-based software programmes, supported by the examination of the related images both in sculpture and vase painting, may help us to reconstruct the missing pieces of the Parthenon's east metopes. The fascinating article by Schwab examines the potential of current media technologies. New technology is also used to understand the wide distribution and varied uses of Pentelic and other white marbles. At least thirty Pentelic quarries were worked in ancient times. Pike, in his article, summarises the development of the database of the high-resolution marble stable isotope. With its help, the exact marble quarries from which the material for a sculpture or an architectural fragment once was extracted may be identified. This article opens huge new vistas on the whole field of marble studies.

The postclassical history of the Parthenon was the object of St. Clair and Picken's article, in which they come forth with previously little known or unknown 17th-century material. In their article, they present an account of Athens by an anonymous Frenchman twelve years after the Morosinian explosion. We get a glimpse of the Parthenon's appearance, of the nature of the roof, and information on the frieze, which causes new problems for its already perplexing interpretation.

The publication of this book coincided with the Athenian Olympic Games in 2004. Even though the Elginian papers were excluded, the book has not lost now, some years later, any of its topicality, and it can also be understood as a contribution to the efforts to restore the Marbles. The Parthenon is an unclosed Pandora's Box, which inspires specialists from different fields to draw inspiration from it. The results, such as some of the articles in this book, may be contradictory; nevertheless they are all very interesting reading.

Leena Pietilä-Castrén

Susan I. Rotroff: *Hellenistic Pottery: The Plain Wares*. The Athenian Agora XXXIII. The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Ann Arbor 2006. ISBN 978-0-87661-233-0. XXVII, 440 pp, 98 figures, 90 plates. USD 150, GBP 95.

This volume is based on the excavations of the Athenian Agora by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and it is the third and final volume – see Agora XXII for moldmade bowls, and Agora XXIX for other fine ware forms – in the publication of the Hellenistic pottery from the site. For this study, about 1,400 Hellenistic vessels in the category of plain wares that had been entered into the excavation record were divided up by function: ca. 25 % of them were identified as small oil containers (unguentaria), 30 % as cooking vessels and 45 % as forms designed for various uses in a household. These three groups are represented in the book by a catalogue of 847 objects, while some other related classes, such as transport amphorae and terracotta altars, have been omitted for well argued reasons.

It must be said in the outset that like many others ceramologists working in the Mediterranean, Susan Rotroff has also faced the unfortunate fate of a scholar who has "inherited" a substantially large pottery assemblage with evident inherent quantitative bias. As demonstrated by the fine ware / plain ware -ratio, the original study material has been partly discarded due to excavation activity taking place in the first part of the 20th century and the following reduction process dictated both by the lack of storage space and also the belief of scholars that they had squeezed out all the necessary information from the assemblage.

The aims of the study, the construction of both form- and fabric-based typologies, and the definition of respective chronologies, are traditional but nonetheless are goals well worth pursuing. As the majority of the examples used for this purpose pertain to closed contexts like wells, the control over the chronological framework of the study is considerably better than in sites where redeposition and residuality are the two catchwords. The absolute time frame for the Hellenistic pottery in this book runs from the last quarter of the 4th century well into the 1st century BC, slightly beyond the Sullan sack of Athens in 86. The author's main argument for this convention is the Hellenistic character of the late 1st century BC pottery, and one can only agree with her general observation that while the historical and archaeological record are interrelated in a broad sense, the latter often lags behind the former and will rarely exhibit the same nuances.

The study is organized in a clear manner, starting from the introductory chapter providing information on several aspects of the assemblage. Thereafter, the focus is turned to pottery fabrics, the conventional study which has been complemented with instrumental neutron activation analysis (INAA) and Raman laser microprobe (RLM) spectroscopy. The nomenclature used to describe the fabrics thus identified is not overly consistent. However, names like "Classical cooking fabric", "Micaceous cooking fabric", and "Lopas 5 cooking fabric" seem to efficiently describe the pottery in question, which is, after all, the essence of fabric classifications. The author seems to be somehow fascinated by the reflective properties of some minerals, as the definition "sparkling" is used for describing the inclusions every now and then. As this property is not necessarily limited to platy minerals, of which micas are the prime example, or the facets of mineral grains (e.g., quartz) as even the clay matrix can produce such effect under right conditions, the usefulness of the definition can be questioned. However, the overall value of the discussion on plain ware fabrics is high. Moreover, the array of the products pertaining to each fabric is clearly illustrated, and the co-existence of a given form in several fabrics can be easily controlled from respective reference charts. However, a selection of polished thin- and thick-section photographs would have greatly added to the value of the discussion.

Next, attention is turned to the themes of decoration, potting techniques and vessel function. The potting techniques have been described in a concise manner, and the author has been able to suggest a function for a great many forms in spite of relying mainly on vessel shape – other evidence, besides soot, had either not been observed or was long ago scraped/ washed away by the excavators. The section is concluded with a comparison between local and imported material, which have been quantified by the minimum number of vessels both for household fabrics and cooking wares, and the results expressed as percentages in pie-charts. Contrary to the author's expectations, imported wares were well represented in both classes with a quota ranging between ⅓ and ½, but while the ratio remained steady in the former group throughout the Hellenistic period, imported cooking wares started to become more common towards the Roman period. While the percentages themselves may be biased by factors related to assemblage formation processes as well as vessel identification and quantification, the general pattern could well reflect the importance of Athens as a hub of exchange or trade in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The second part of the publication, "Shape studies", takes up a third of the pages in the book and it offers a more profound discussion on each vessel form with a general description as well as other essential information (shape, size, decoration, date and comparanda) plus references to figures, plates and catalogued examples. All this information has been logically arranged and for – probably numerous – scholars solely interested in shape chronologies, the essential information has been compressed into graphic charts enabling the use of a book as quick dating reference.

The third part of the book, the find catalogue provides information on 847 examples in less than hundred pages. It has been executed in a coherent manner and with a sufficient preface spelling out the various conventions and abbreviation used within. The discussion is concluded with a section offering a summary of the deposits from which the material has been derived. This is followed by appendices, which report the results of various scientific analyses – INAA, RLM spectroscopy and thin-section petrography.

After concordances and a general index, the book concludes with figures and plates. The figures are well drawn and the scale of the illustrations that varies by vessel form is clearly indicated on each page. The inconsistency of illustrations, resulting from a prolonged research process that began in the 1950s and 1960s, would have gone unnoticed if it had not been specifically indicated. Virtually all the examples have also been reproduced in scale photographs, an admirable feature that further enhances the value of the work. Hence, as the production value of this book is excellent with well-executed drawings and crisp photographs that complement the well-written text, it will most certainly stand as a standard reference book for those working within the sphere of Hellenistic pottery, especially as previous scholarship on the topic has been rather limited – supposedly due to the gargantuan task now undertaken by the author.

Janne Ikäheimo

Andrew Stewart: *Attalos, Athens, and the Akropolis. The Pergamene "Little Barbarians" and their Roman and Renaissance Legacy*, with an Essay on the Pedestals and the Akropolis South Wall by Manolis Korres. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2004. XXV, 358 pp., 306 b/w ill., 1 map. ISBN 0-521-83163-6. GBP 64, USD 111.

Questa impressionante opera è dedicata alla storia dei cd. "piccoli barbari", cioè delle dieci statue marmoree di dimensioni minori di quelle naturali, rappresentanti figure di giganti, amazzoni, persiani e galli, che furono scoperte nel 1514 a Roma e che ormai sono riconosciute come copie (adrianee?) delle immagini in bronzo originariamente erette sull'Acropoli di Atene come parte della grandiosa dedica fatta dal re Attalo (I o II) di Pergamo. L'identificazione (convincente anche senza dedica iscritta), avvenuta nel 1992 grazie agli sforzi di Manolis Korres, di un numero di blocchi sull'Acropoli con i piedistalli del monumento attalide, è stata una svolta negli studi attorno al suddetto gruppo statuario. Questo fortunato evento ha dato uno stimolo anche al presente volume, in cui si seguono le vicende delle statue attraverso l'epoca romana e il Rinascimento fino ai nostri giorni. La collaborazione tra Stewart e Korres sembra sia stata molto prolifica.

Le repliche delle statue sono notissime ai visitatori di grandi musei: Amazzone morta; Gigante morto; Galata cadente; Galata morente / morto; Galata in ginocchio; Persiano morto; Persiano in ginocchio (cfr. inserto pieghevole p. 358). Ma le stesse figure sono riconoscibili anche in numerose opere di maestri quali Michelangelo, Raffaello, Tintoretto, Tiziano, e altri.

Questo volume è frutto di una minuziosa ricerca devota a tutte le fonti rilevanti, archeologiche, storiche e storico-artistiche. Le analisi di Stewart sono interamente convincenti, piene di profonda dottrina e scritte in uno stile elegante e spiritoso. La qualità tipografica è ottima, come pure quella delle fotografie. Errori di stampa o sviste di altro carattere risultano pochissime (alcune correzioni sono da apportare alle citazioni dei testi greci a pp. 287–8).

Mika Kajava

Peter Stewart: *The Social History of Roman Art*. Key Themes in Ancient History. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2008. ISBN 978-0-521-81632-8 (hb), 978-0-521-01659-9 (pb). XVI, 200 pp. GBP 50, USD 99 (hb), GBP 17.99, USD 34.99 (pb).

As the title itself implies, this new book by Peter Stewart is a discussion of Roman art within the frame of its social context. Questions about the social conditions for the production of art, its circulation and reception by different audiences as well as the construction of gender, sexuality, social class and identity are analysed from a number of contextual approaches that all come under the rubric of New Art History. Emerging in the 1960's, the New Art History was a reaction against the traditional study of ancient art in terms of classification and typological survey. After thirty years or so, the social history of ancient art is still fashionable among scholars and continues to generate new perspectives, as Stewart's book successfully shows. Though the author states that his book "is not a handbook or introduction to Roman art" (p. 173), anyone interested in ancient art from social theoretical perspectives will find in it useful tools for understanding how Roman art worked.

The discussion of the social history of Roman art is presented in five chapters, which all include the consideration of status and class, identity, power, and ideology. Chapter I addresses the neglected question of artistic production: who made Roman art? Artists, patrons, or broader cultural patterns? Given the limited evidence on artistic production, Stewart suggests that in most cases the creation of artwork was dictated not by the specific requirements of one patron, but by "the tastes and requirements of a broader clientele whose attention and favour the artist seeks to attract" (pp. 37–8). Chapter II focuses on some examples of domestic and funerary art that more evidently reflect and construct identity and social status. The author interestingly claims that art did not merely reflect the "reality" of Roman society, but often was used as one's claim to superior status or as an expression of aspirations. Chapter III discusses Roman portraits with particular focus on typology, identification of faces, significance of physiognomy and symbolism of statues. As Roman portraits were commissioned and set up not by the sitters themselves but by the people that wanted to honour or commemorate specific individuals, portraiture shows the active role that art could perform in constructing and maintaining social relationships in public. Chapter IV deals with the power of images. Peter Stewart convincingly argues against the notion of propaganda that is often used to describe the function of political imagery such as the Ara Pacis, Trajan's Column, and the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum. Like the portraits these public monuments also were, in fact, spontaneously commissioned by people rather than being deliberately propagated by the emperor. Though these monuments still celebrate and advertise imperial power and authority, they cannot be described as instruments of propaganda, as propaganda is a concept derived from the experiences of the 20th century. This leads to the question of how Roman viewers understood the visual programmes on political imagery. Finally, Chapter V considers the artistic traditions of the Roman Empire and shows how the Hellenic heritage as well as non-classical traditions of the provinces were used to express different kinds of imperial identity. The book ends with a useful bibliographical essay listing a number of books in two main categories: the ones serving as an introduction to Roman art and the others more specifically oriented to the socio-historical approach to Roman art.

In all, the author's stated aim, "to explain something of what Roman art was intended to do, how it functioned, and how... it was perceived" (p. 4), has been brilliantly achieved.

Margherita Carucci

Edilizia pubblica e privata nelle città romane. A cura di Lorenzo Quilici e Stefania Quilici Gigli. Atlante Tematico di Topografia Antica 17. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2008. ISBN 978-88-8265-459-7. 296 pp. EUR 170.

Il presente volume comincia con contributi su due centri dell'Italia centro-settentrionale (M. T. A. Robino, *Alcune note sulla viabilità di Adria*; L. Quilici, *Sutri, Porta Furia e ricerche sull'urbanistica della città*). Il resto è dedicato all'Italia meridionale. G. Cera nello studio sul cosiddetto Catabulum dell'antica Capua (pp. 73–89) arriva alla conclusione che si tratterebbe della parte superstite di un vasto complesso termale pubblico, realizzato nel corso della piena età imperiale, presumibilmente durante il II secolo d. C.; prima si era pensato ad es. che l'edificio sarebbe pertinente a un complesso di tabernae. Mi sembra che l'autrice abbia colto nel segno.

Con particolare interesse ho letto anche i contributi su due centri del Lazio meridionale, vale a dire Arpinum e Norba. V. Leoni discute la forma antica di Arpinum, cui fa seguito uno studio più breve di L. Bressanello. L'estesa analisi di Leoni mi sembra di grande importanza. Ivi vengono anche ricordate fonti letterarie ed epigrafiche, sulle quali si potrebbe discutere ulteriormente. Tre contributi trattano di varie questioni norbane, offrendo vari complementi alle importanti ricerche condotte dall'équipe della Quilici Gigli. Tutto sommato un volume ricco di materiali e nuove nozioni.

Heikki Solin

Annetta Alexandridis: *Die Frauen des römischen Kaiserhauses. Eine Untersuchung ihrer bildlichen Darstellung von Livia bis Iulia Domna*. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2004. XV, 432 S., 64 Taf. ISBN 3-8053-3304-8. EUR 75.80.

Nel suo libro, elaborato a partire da una dissertazione di Monaco (1996–97), l'autrice propone di studiare le immagini dei ritratti di imperatrici romane da Livia fino a Giulia Domna: buste e statue, ritratti in rilievo, rappresentazioni su monete e cammei. Tra altre cose, vengono discussi il messaggio, politico e morale, delle immagini femminili nella propaganda imperiale, la differenza tra i ritratti "ufficiali" e quelli di "privati" nonché la questione di come l'iconografia di donne imperiali sia stata influenzata dai contesti storico-archeologici.

Alexandridis giustamente afferma che il modo in cui le imperatrici venivano rappresentate in pubblico era in parte controllato dagli imperatori. Risulta invece meno convincente la conclusione secondo cui le immagini di divinità e personificazioni su reversi di monete generalmente non possano essere identificate con le donne che appaiono su obversi delle stesse. Chiaramente alcune rappresentazioni di divinità e personificazioni erano riservate alle donne imperiali in modo da implicare forti e significative associazioni tra le due (vd. Cap. 3.2). Sembra inoltre che l'autrice sottovaluti il ruolo individuale e personale dei titoli onorari conferiti ad alcune imperatrici (cfr. *mater castrorum* usato in contesti politico-militari), considerandoli semplicemente di carattere dinastico.

Tra le molte conclusioni interessanti, Alexandridis fa notare che, col passare del tempo, le immagini imperiali diventano sempre più indistinguibili da quelle delle donne private, e inoltre i vari segni indicanti lo stato socio-giuridico delle imperatrici vengono gradualmente sostituiti da rappresentazioni di virtù femminili. Interessante anche l'osservazione che la sparizione della *stola* verso la fine del I e l'inizio del II sec. d.C. è accompagnata dalla crescente popolarità della spiga di grano come attributo delle immagini femminili, imperiali e altre.

Questo è soprattutto un repertorio da consultare. Il ricchissimo catalogo (pp. 113 sgg.) e le appendici risultano molto utili, anche indispensabili, per chiunque si occupi della ritrattistica delle donne romane. Manca tuttavia un index rerum, come pure è assente una bibliografia generale; sarebbe stato utile anche un elenco completo di abbreviazioni. Sono raramente inclusi libri usciti dopo 2000 (il manoscritto fu completato nel 2002), ma più gravi risultano alcune significative omissioni bibliografiche, soprattutto in riguardo agli studi anglofoni (per esempio, non trovo alcun riferimento al grande lavoro di D. Fishwick, *The Imperial Cult in the Latin West*, voll. I–III, 1987–2005 – esso almeno non figura nella breve lista delle abbreviazioni).

Mika Kajava

Le scoperte archeologiche di Reggio di Calabria (1882–1888), con una inedita relazione di scavo del 1889 di Domenico Spanò Bolani. Volumi I–II. A cura di Francesca Martorano. Archaeologica et epigraphica 1. "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, Roma 2001. 316 pp., 68 ill. ISBN 88-8265-160-6, 88-8265-161-4. EUR 137.

In questi due volumi si ripubblicano le periodiche relazioni sulle scoperte archeologiche reggine fatte negli anni 1882–1888, a firma di Antonio Maria De Lorenzo, prima edite nelle *Notizie degli Scavi* e poi raccolte in tre fascicoli usciti nel 1885, 1886 e 1889, sotto il titolo *Le scoperte archeologiche di Reggio di Calabria nel primo* (e rispettivamente *secondo* e *terzo*) *biennio di vita del Museo Civico*. La ristampa anastatica delle tre dispense, oggi praticamente introvabili, non è solo un'operazione antiquaria, ma offre al lettore un affascinante sguardo sui momenti di nascita dell'archeologia a Reggio. Dalle pagine del testo emerge un autore appassionato, che si dedicò in maniera sistematica all'indagine topografica della città di Reggio, portando inoltre alla luce un gran numero di pezzi sia archeologici sia epigrafici. I contributi di De Lorenzo sono accompagnati, in un volume a parte, da commenti storico-critici scritti, oltre che dalla curatrice, da noti studiosi in materia: Marco Buonocore, Domenico Coppola, Piergiovanni Guzzo e Carmelo Turano. I due volumi, redatti con una piacevole veste tipografica, sono stampati in un formato adeguato da renderli comodamente maneggevoli.

Mika Kajava

Donatella Mazzoleni – Umberto Pappalardo: *Pompejanische Wandmalerei. Architektur und illusionistische Dekoration*. Aufnahmen von Luciano Romano. Hirmer Verlag, München 2005. ISBN 3-7774-2445-5. 415 S. EUR 128.

Das Buch ist aus der italienischen Originalausgabe *Domus*. *Pittura e architettura d'illusione nella casa romana* (2004) von Agnes Allroggen-Bedel ins Deutsche übersetzt worden (zur englischen Ausgabe siehe z. B. die Rezension von J. R. Clarke in *BMCR* 2005.08.32 http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2005/2005-08-32.html; zu den früheren Rezensionen dieser deutschen Ausgabe siehe z. B. S. T. A. M. Mols, *BMCR* 2006.03.48http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2006/2006-03-48.html). Es ist lobenswert, dass mit der Übersetzung eine bekannte Sachverständige in pompejanischer Wandmalerei mit langer Erfahrung beauftragt wurde. Das Werk mit insgesamt 415 Seiten enthält am Anfang den knapp 50 Seiten langen Aufsatz "Domus – Architektur und illusionistische Malerei im römischen Haus" von Donatella Mazzoleni, die als Professorin für Architekturdesign an der Universität Neapel tätig ist. Es folgt der 14 Seiten lange Aufsatz "Das römische Haus – Gemalte Dekorationen und Lebensideal" von Umberto Pappalardo, der als

Professor für Geoarchäologie an der Universität Neapel wirkt und ein bekannter Experte für pompejanische Wandmalerei ist. Pappalardo ist auch verantwortlich für den restlichen Hauptteil des Textes, welcher kürzere Beschreibungen von insgesamt 28 verschiedenen Gebäuden und deren Malereien aus dem Vesuvgebiet enthält. Dank der sachkundigen Übersetzung sind die Gebäudenamen auch in der deutschen Ausgabe hauptsächlich auf Italienisch; d. h. sie sind nicht übersetzt worden, wie man es besonders in der englischsprachigen Literatur allzu häufig sieht.

In dem neun Seiten langen Anhang "Zur Rekonstruktion gemalter Räume" von Ludovica Bucci De Santis ist das Ziel folgendermaßen beschrieben worden: "Gegenstand dieser Untersuchung ist die Erarbeitung eines logischen Systems, um, ausgehend von den auf die Wände gemalten Architekturen zu physischen Räumen zu gelangen, die als eine Fortsetzung der von ihnen ausgeschmückten Zimmern lesbar sind." Auf der Grundlage von Wandgemälden in drei Räumen – zwei bekannten Exemplaren des Zweiten Stils, das erste im oecus (43) der Casa del Labirinto, das zweite im oecus (15) der Villa di Oplontis A (der so genannten Villa di Poppea), und das dritte im Viertem Stil im viridarium der Casa dei Ceii – wird versucht, die in den Gemälden dargestellten Gebäude und Gegenstände mit perspektivischen Zeichnungen so zu sagen "dreidimensional wiederherzustellen". Das italienische Wort *ricostruzione* und dessen an sich richtige deutsche Übersetzung "Rekonstruktion" sind wegen ihres breiten Inhalts in einem so spezifischen und ungewöhnlichen Gebrauch problematisch und teilweise irreführend. Statt des Titels "Zur Rekonstruktion gemalter Räume" würde ein Titel wie "Zeichnerische Wiederherstellungen der gemalten Aussichten in Wandgemälden von drei Räumen" oder "Ein zeichnerisches Wiederherstellungssystem der in Wandgemälden dargestellten Aussichten" den Inhalt genauer beschreiben.

Obwohl der italienische Originaltitel des Werkes (sowie wie der Titel der englischen Ausgabe *Domus: Wall Painting in the Roman House*) nicht speziell auf Pompeji hinweist, ist "Pompejanische Wandmalerei" als Haupttitel der deutschen Ausgabe als eine sozusagen herausgeberische Lösung verständlich, die wohl einen größeren, zahlungsfähigen Leserkreis anzuziehen bestrebt ist. Pompeji ist der wichtigste und bekannteste Fundort von römischen Malereien aus den ersten Jahrhunderten vor und nach unserer Zeitrechnung. Somit wird auch verständlich, dass die Definition "pompejanisch" erstens oft synonymisch für die gesamten Ausgrabungen im Gebiet des Vesuvausbruchs des Jahres 79 gebraucht wird und dass pompejanische Wandmalerei bisweilen auch fast synonymisch für römische Wandmalerei generell gebraucht wird. Entsprechend stammen auch etwa zwei Drittel von den Malereien aus insgesamt 28 Gebäuden, die in diesem Werk präsentiert werden, aus dem Vesuvgebiet, während sich die restlichen sechs Gebäude in Rom oder Umgebung befinden. Von den 22 Gebäuden aus dem Vesuvgebiet befinden sich 14, also exakt die Hälfte der gesamten 28 Gebäude, in Pompeji und fünf in Herculaneum, während die restlichen drei Gebäude zu den berühmtesten Villen des Vesuvgebiets gehören (die Villa di Oplontis A., auch Villa di Poppaea genannt, die Villa di Publius Fannius Synistor aus Boscoreale und die Villa di Agrippa Postumus aus Boscotrecase).

Es ist gut, dass nicht nur eine Auswahl der wichtigsten einigermaßen erhaltenen Malereien aus dem Vesuvgebiet, sondern auch Malereien aus Rom präsentiert werden, wobei man die Ausschließung der Casa di Augusto beklagen muss, obwohl diese Malereien schon in mehreren, ebenfalls sehr gut illustrierten Publikationen erschienen sind. Da die behandelten Malereien aus Rom Eigentum der kaiserlichen Familie waren und auch die Mehrzahl der campanischen behandelten Malereien aus reich ausgestatteten, auch wenn nicht immer aus den größten Häusern oder "halb-öffentlichen" Gebäuden stammen (den Komplexen von Murecine und Palästra in Pompeji sowie dem Collegio degli Augustali in Herculaneum), so hätte dementsprechend ein den Inhalt des Werkes genauer bezeichnender Titel auf Italienisch etwa wie folgt lauten können: *Pittura e architettura d'illusione nelle case romane di rappresentanza*, und auf Deutsch etwa *Römische Wandmalerei und die illusionistische Architektur der römischen Repräsentationshäuser*.

Das Buch ist empfehlenswert hauptsächlich wegen der vielen vorzüglichen und überwiegend in sehr willkommenem Großformat gedruckten Farbfotografien von Luciano Romano als ein reich illustriertes Kompendium von einigen der schönsten pompejanischen Malereien. Allerdings zeigt, wie schon J. R. Clarke in seiner oben erwähnten Rezension beobachtet hat, die Mehrzahl der Photographien Details und nur selten Wandgemälde als Ganzes und/oder in ihrem architektonischen Kontext, obwohl dies in dem einleitenden Artikel von Mazzoleni zum Hauptthema des Buches erklärt wird (auf S. 11): "Das Auswahlkriterium für die abgebildeten Werke besteht in der bezeichnenden Weise, in der sie zeigen, wie der gebaute architektonische Raum einbezogen und durch auf die gemauerten Wände gemalte illusionistische Architektur erweitert wird." Mazzolenis Ausgangspunkt ist ungewöhnlich für eine Studie über eine architektur- und kunstgeschichtliche Gattung wie die römische Wandmalerei, und auch gewissermaßen kontradiktorisch (S. 11): "Indem wir einem methodologischem Modell folgen, das nicht historisch ist, sondern vom linguistischen Strukturalismus abgeleitet, werden wir unsere Aufmerksamkeit auf das Verhältnis fokussieren, das die Erzeugnisse der Architektur und der Malerei miteinander verbindet, und bewusst alles andere beiseitelassen. Von diesem Ausgangspunkt aus wird uns eine metadisziplinäre, architektonisch-malerische Analyse helfen, zum Ursprung dieses künstlerischen Erbes zu finden." Die Fragestellung, Behandlung und Schlussfolgerungen in Mazzolenis Artikel sind schwierig zu verfolgen und blieben in vielen Hinsichten für mich unklar. Was z. B. wird gemeint mit der Äußerung "[W]ir werden dieses Material nicht betrachten, um daraus erneut eine der zahllosen historischen Analysen zu machen, sondern um die ästhetische Wahrnehmung zu aktualisieren". Mazzoleni macht mehrere interessante Beobachtungen, aber ohne diese systematischer zu analysieren und zu beweisen, wie z. B. ob und wie der unterschiedliche Einfallswinkel des Tageslichts zwischen den unterschiedlich nach den decumani oder cardines orientierten Häusern und deren Räumen sich wirklich auf die Wahl der malerischen Dekoration ausgewirkt hat. Mehrere Fragen der vielfältigen Problematik des Realitätsverhältnisses der Malereien werden hier nur kurz, wenn überhaupt, diskutiert, und auch nicht in dem oben erwähnten Anhang.

Eine gewisse Diskrepanz zwischen den bewusst "ahistorischen" Ausgangspunkt von Mazzoleni und den Illustrationen sowie zwischen den kürzeren einleitenden und zusammenfassenden Artikeln von Pappalardo besteht auch darin, dass die Malereien der einzeln beschriebenen Gebäude in grober chronologischer Ordnung präsentiert werden. Der einleitende Aufsatz bei Pappalardo gibt, seinem Titel entsprechend, einen kurzen Überblick über die Lebensideale, die aus den Wandgemälden herauszulesen sind, aber auch über die vier so genannten Stile und einige technische Aspekte.

Die Beschreibungen der Malereien in einzelnen Häusern sind relativ kurz und können schon deshalb eventuelle Interpretationsprobleme nicht eingehend diskutieren. Stattdessen findet man in einigen Fällen mehr allgemeine Beobachtungen. So werden z. B. auf den zwei Seiten des Textes unter der Casa del Frutteto in der ersten Hälfte des Textes die Kontakte mit Alexandrien und die Popularität der ägyptischen und ägyptisierenden Motive im Allgemeinen diskutiert, um die *Aegyptiaca* in den berühmten Gartenmalereien in den zwei Cubicula des Hauses generalisierend zu kontextualisieren. Solche an sich nützlichen allgemeinen Bemerkungen sind schwierig zu finden, da sie unter den Häusertiteln versteckt sind, ohne dass auf sie mit Hilfe von Untertiteln (oder Indices) verwiesen wird. Die Beschränkungen der einzelnen Häuserbeschreibungen sind teilweise irreführend, wie im Falle der Casa del Fauno, wo eigentlich nur das Alexandermosaik erwähnt wird ohne die gesamte Mosaikdekoration des Hauses mit einzubeziehen, welche so einzigartig in Pompeji war. Bei der Beschreibung der Casa dei Ceii werden die in seiner Einzigartigkeit interessantesten Inhalte in den Malereien im triclinium des Hauses nicht erwähnt. Für andere Bemerkungen über Details, wie auch für Addenda in der thematischen bibliographischen Auswahl kann hier auf die oben erwähnten Rezensionen hingewiesen werden.

Lobenswert sind die qualitativ hochwertigen und in ausreichender Größe abgedruckten Farbbilder. Sie sind immer willkommen und nicht nur in Massenausgaben für Touristen, vor allem da die Publikationen wissenschaftlicher Literatur immer noch allzu selten farbige Illustrationen ermöglichen, wobei natürlich zu berücksichtigen ist, dass sich die antiken Betrachter diese Malereien unter völlig anderen Umständen anschauen konnten. Es ist erfreulich, dass in den letzten Jahren die Zahl der Publikationen mit guten farbigen Illustrationen zugenommen hat, wie z. B. der von I. Bragantini und V. Sampaolo herausgegebene Katalog *La Pittura Pompeiana* (Electa 2009) über die Malereien in der erneuten Ausstellung im Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Gut publizierte Bücher werden ihren Wert behalten, obwohl auch die reichlich illustrierten Werke immer nur eine begrenzte Auswahl ermöglichen. Umso willkommener wäre das Ideal, dass man in hoffentlich nicht allzu ferner Zukunft auch für weitere Kreise offene Datenbanken mit farbigen Dokumentationen von Wandgemälden haben würde. Hiermit muss wieder einmal öffentlich das Desideratum unterstrichen werden, dass die schon existierende Datenbank von Farbbildern der pompejanischen Wandgemälde in situ, die sich schon seit mehreren Jahren leider nur im Intranet des Antiquariums von Boscoreale befindet, endlich veröffentlicht werden könnte.

Solche reichen Illustrationen wie in diesem großformatigen Buch, die oft auch viele Details als Megalographien zeigen, sind nützlich, obwohl zu Recht daran erinnert worden ist, dass diese modernen Illustrationen eine Art irreale Welt für sich erschaffen in dem Sinne, als die Wandgemälde selbst weder in Museen oder in situ in solcher Weise mit moderner Beleuchtung so detailliert beobachtet werden können. Gerade deswegen sind solche Illustrationen eine umso wertvollere Ergänzung unserer Beobachtungsmöglichkeiten. Dabei muss man sich der Tatsache gewahr bleiben, dass die antiken Betrachter ihre Wandgemälde in dieser Weise nie haben genießen können. Wie die antiken Betrachter die Wandgemälde zu verschiedenen Tageszeiten, und speziell am Abend, wenn es dunkel wurde, genießen konnten, also wie die Malereien im Licht der Öllampen oder anderen Lichtquellen aussahen, ist eine von vielen immer noch ungenügend erörterten Fragen, die auch in diesem Werk nicht genügend berücksichtigt werden konnte. Es wäre interessant, wenn solche Beleuchtungsfragen z. B. entweder mittels dreidimensionaler Modellierung oder im besten Falle mit richtigen Malereien in einer Ausstellung von Pompeji-Malereien untersucht und in Zukunft hoffentlich auch photographisch illustriert werden könnten.

Antero Tammisto

Verschüttet vom Vesuv. Die letzten Stunden von Herculaneum. Herausgegeben von Josef Mühlenbrock – Dieter Richter. Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2005. ISBN 3-8053-3445-1 (Buchhandlungsausgabe), ISBN 3-8053-3543-1 (Museumsausgabe). XX, 355 S. mit 341 Farb- und 25 Schwarzweißabbildungen. EUR 45.

Es handelt sich um einen umfangreichen, aber dank seiner meist klaren Einteilung kompakten Ausstellungskatalog von der ersten ausschließlich den Funden aus den Ausgrabungen von Herculaneum gewidmeten Ausstellung. Die Verarbeitung des Werks von 355 Seiten mit 341 Farb- und 25 Schwarzweißabbildungen auf erstklassigem Papier ist vorzüglich, wie es von dem für seine hohe Qualität bekannten Verlag Philipp von Zabern auch zu erwarten ist, aber deswegen ist es nicht weniger lobenswert. Auch inhaltlich ist die Verarbeitung gut und klar – abgesehen von den lückenhaften Angaben über die Ausstellungsorte und solchen Daten, welche für die Leser und die zukünftige Geschichtsschreibung nützlich gewesen wären.

Auf der inneren Titelseite (S. IV) sind drei Museen als Ausstellungsorte angegeben (das Westfälische Römermuseum Haltern, die Antikensammlung der Staatlichen Museen in Berlin und das Focke-Museum, Bremer Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte), aber leider ohne Daten, die man auch anderswo im Werk vergebens sucht. Nach einer Suche in Internet erfährt man aus einer Pressemitteilung vom 17.4.2004, die noch 2009 zu finden war, dass die Ausstellung in den erwähnten Museen in den Jahren 2005–2006 zu sehen war (http://www.lwl.org/pressemitteilungen/mitteilung.php?urlID=14570; eingesehen 2009-12-15) und dass die Ausstellung danach in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 2006 noch in der Archäologischen Staatssammlung in München zur Schau gestellt war (vom 14.6. bis 1.11.2006). In einem weiteren Ausstellungskatalog von R. Asskamp & al. (Hrsg.), *Luxus und Dekadenz. Römisches Leben am Golf von Neapel*, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Mainz am Rhein 2007, S. XII steht im Grußwort der ehemaligen Soprintendente per i Beni Archeologici delle province di Napoli e Caserta Maria Luisa Nava, dass die Ausstellung von 2005 bis 2007 zu sehen gewesen war. Entweder blieb die Ausstellung in München bis zum Jahr 2007, oder sie war noch an mindestens einem fünften Ausstellungsort zu sehen gewesen. Auch in dem Katalog der Ausstellung "Luxus und Dekadenz", der von dem großen Erfolg der Herculaneum-Ausstellung inspiriert von teilweise denselben Mitarbeitern erstellt worden ist, sind die Ausstellungsorte von vier Museen in Deutschland und einem in den Niederlanden zwischen 2007 und 2009 sowie danach in Japan ebenso spärlich und ohne genauere Daten angegeben. Es wäre leserfreundlich, die Ausstellungsorte mit so vielen und so genauen Daten wie möglich klar anzugeben.

Den Hauptinhalt, etwa zwei Drittel von den insgesamt 355 Seiten des Werkes (S. 3–253) bilden die am Ende dieser Rezension aufgelisteten insgesamt 19 Aufsätze von 20 italienischen und deutschen Forschern. Fünf Einschübe mit (ins Deutsche übersetzten) Zitaten sowohl aus antiken wie auch aus neuzeitlichen Quellen beleben den Textteil und sind von diesem farblich klar unterschieden. Von diesen ist die Liste (S. 166–7) mit den Namen von 237 inschriftlich bekannten Einwohnern von Herculaneum hervorzuheben, die leider ohne nähere Hinweise oder Diskussion in einem der Aufsätze angegeben ist. Die Vielfalt der Aufsätze und ihrer Themen spiegelt sich auch in der entsprechend vielfältigen Auswahl der Ausgrabungsfunde zum größten Teil aus sieben Gebäuden wider, die in dem eigentlichen Katalogteil im abschließenden Drittel des Werkes (S. 255–4) präsentiert werden: 1) Die Bootshäuser, 2) Das "Haus des Granianus", 3) Das Theater, 4) Die Villa dei Papiri, 5) Die Terrasse des Marcus Nonius Balbus, 6) Das Augusteum, 7) Das "Haus der Hirsche", 8) "Weitere Objekte aus Herculaneum". Dazu kommen neuzeitliche Exponate aus deutschen Sammlungen, die schließlich unter drei weiteren Themen die kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Ausgrabungen für die europäische Geschichte der Neuzeit illustrieren. Alle Exponate sind kurz, aber präzise kommentiert mit einer bibliographischen Auswahl und die meisten auch in einer Farbfotografie wiedergegeben. Als Beispiel erwähne ich hier nur die Serie von vier Stillleben aus den Malereien aus der Casa dei Cervi mit Darstellungen von Wild und weiteren Nahrungsmitteln, welche mich wegen ihrer in mancherlei Hinsicht ungewöhnlichen Vögel interessieren, die im Katalog (S. 294–5 Nr. 7.5.) zum größten Teil richtig bestimmt worden sind als "gerupftes Huhn", "Rebhuhn", und "zwei Drosseln", wobei angemerkt werden kann, das hier genauer drei Singdrosseln zu sehen sind und dass die zwei weiteren "gerupften Hühner" gleichfalls Rebhühner sind. Unter den Tausenden von Vögeln in Wandmalereien sind Rebhühner nur in ein paar weiteren Fällen dargestellt.

Die kompakten Aufsätze geben einen guten Überblick über einige der interessantesten Funde der Ausgrabungen von Herculaneum sowie über die geschichtlichen Hauptlinien sowohl der antiken Stadt als auch ihrer Ausgrabungen. Die zwei ersten Aufsätze von Mario Pagano, Direktor der Ausgrabungen zwischen 1996 und 2000, und Maria Paola Guidobaldi, seiner Nachfolgerin seit 2000, geben respektive einen Überblick darüber, was man von der antiken Stadt Herculaneum und ihrer Geschichte heute weiß, sowie und über die Geschichte der Ausgrabungen. Der Vulkanologe Giuseppe Mastrolorenzo präsentiert den Verlauf des Vesuvausbruchs des Jahres 79 n. Chr. Hier wird das bis heute allgemein vorherrschende Datum des 24. August für den Beginn des Ausbruchs ohne Hinweise auf die Evidenz genannt, die für ein späteres Datum, wahrscheinlich den 24. Oktober, spricht, die 2006 von Grete Stefani erneut vorgeschlagen worden ist (*Archeo* 2006, 110–4); eine Frage, die seit dem späten 18. Jahrhundert diskutiert wird. Die Untersuchungen der nunmehr über 300 dramatischen Leichenfunde von Opfern des Ausbruchs, die seit den 1980er und 1990er Jahren in Hafengebäuden der Stadt gefunden worden sind, werden von Luigi Capasso mit einem Autorenkollektiv präsentiert, und die Konservierung organischer Funde, die in Herculaneum deutlich besser bewahrt sind als in Pompeji, werden vom Konservator Giuseppe Zolfo diskutiert.

Die folgenden acht Aufsätze (Autorennamen in der Inhaltsliste unten) behandeln Einzelthemen der Ausgrabungsfunde und -ergebnisse, wie die Darstellungen des Gründerheros "Hercules in Herculaneum", die Wohnarchitektur innerhalb der Stadt und in der bekannten, in den Jahren 1750–55 mit Tunnelausgrabungen untersuchten Villa dei Papiri außerhalb der Stadt im Lichte ihrer berühmten Statuen- und Papyrusfunde, die Einrichtung der Häuser, erotische Kunst und die Wandmalereien. Schließlich präsentiert Umberto Pappalardo die spannenden Funde und Fundgeschichten betreffend Marcus Nonius Balbus, der als *patronus* der Stadt geehrt wurde; dieser Aufsatz hätte wegen seines "patronalen" Themas besser sofort nach dem Aufsatz über Hercules von Pappalardo gepasst. Die kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Ausgrabungen speziell in Mitteleuropa wird in vier Aufsätzen diskutiert, und in den zwei letzten Aufsätzen befassen sich die Herausgeber Dieter Richter und Josef Mühlenbrock mit der Kulturgeschichte des Vesuv und der Bedeutung auch von Funden anderer Vulkanausbrüche. Alle Aufsätze sind reichlich mit interessanten einzelnen Daten und Beispielen veranschaulicht worden, was hier nur allgemein hervorgehoben werden kann. Da im Artikel von Dieter Bischop über "Antike Wohn(t)räume" als Illustration (Abb. 2 auf S. 125) ein Bild von den hölzernen Mobilienfunden "Rekonstruktion der mit Holzintarsien dekorierten Kline aus dem 'Haus des Gemmenschneiders' (Casa del Gemmario)" gegeben wird, darf hier erwähnt werden, dass für die Ausstellung Domus Pompeiana in Helsinki (Finnland) im Frühjahr 2008 eine genaue Kopie aus Holz von dieser Kline gemacht wurde, und zwar als Diplomarbeit des Restaurators Pekka Enqvist, welche sich jetzt im Besitz des Amos-Anderson-Kunstmuseums befindet.

Als erste ausschließlich den Herculaner Funden gewidmete Ausstellung seit fast 300 Jahren nach dem Beginn der für die Altertumswissenschaften und die Kulturgeschichte im Allgemeinen so wichtigen Ausgrabungen gerade in Herculaneum nimmt diese Ausstellung mit ihrem Katalog eine besondere kulturgeschichtliche Stellung ein. Zu Recht erinnern die Ausstellung und ihr Katalog an die Tatsache, dass Herculaneum als Fundort der frühesten berühmt gewordenen Kunstwerke bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts bekannter war als Pompeji, welches erst danach die "berühmteste Stadt der Antike" und zum Teil synonymisch für das ganze Vesuvgebiet wurde. Dies spiegelt sich auch in der Tatsache wider, dass bis zu dieser Herculaneum-Ausstellung und zwei Ausstellungen der Funde aus Villen in Stabiae in den Jahren 2004 und 2009 alle bisherigen Ausstellungen von Funden aus dem Vesuvgebiet Pompeji-Ausstellungen gewesen sind, auch wenn manchmal mit Funden von den anderen Orten gemischt. Die Geschichte dieser verschiedenen "Pompeji-Ausstellungen", wie die Ausstellungen von Funden aus dem Vesuvgebiet allgemein genannt werden, ist ein interessantes Kapitel der Pompeji-Studien und der Geschichte der Ausgrabungen, die noch geschrieben werden muss. Meines Wissens bleibt auch die genaue Zahl solcher Ausstellungen noch zu errechnen, aber nach meinen Berechnungen haben seit der ersten modernen Pompeji-Ausstellung in Japan im Jahre 1950/51 Pompeji-Ausstellungen an mindestens insgesamt 90 verschiedenen Orten stattgefunden. Von diesen haben etwa die Hälfte in den letzten zehn Jahren seit 1998 stattgefunden, was für die Aktivität in der Pompeji-Forschung symptomatisch ist.

Zu Recht wurde die kulturgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Ausgrabungen in der Herculaneum-Ausstellung und in mehreren Aufsätzen des Katalogs hervorgehoben. Hier scheint der Germanist und Kulturhistoriker Dieter Richter (Universität Bremen), der einzige der in der Autorenliste (S. VIII) als "einer der Initiatoren der Herculaneum-Ausstellung" genannt wird, eine entscheidende Rolle gespielt zu haben. Nach dem Vorwort (S. XI) waren es die Funde der 1980er und 1990er Jahre am Strand von Herculaneum von mehr als 300 Opfern des Ausbruchs von 79 n. Chr. und "das damit einhergehende neue Interesse an Herculaneum, die die Veranstalter zu dieser Ausstellung veranlasst haben. Die erste Anregung dazu kam von italienischer Seite". Die Ausleihung der Exponate dieser Ausstellung wurde möglich, weil seit etwa dem Jahr 2000 einige Säle des Archäologischen Nationalmuseums in Neapel für längere Zeit geschlossen bleiben müssen wegen Arbeiten am Museumsgebäude und wegen der Neuordnung der Sammlungen, wie aus dem Grußwort (S. XII–XIII) von Valeria Sampaolo (Soprintendente per i Beni Archeologici delle province di Napoli e Caserta, seit 2009 Leiterin des Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli = MANN) hervorgeht.

Man muss den verantwortlichen Ausgrabungs- und Museumsbehörden der Vesuvgegend, vor allem dem im September 2009 pensionierten Soprintendente Pietro Giovanni Guzzo mit seinen Mitarbeitern in Pompeji, Herculaneum und Neapel, dafür gratulieren, dass sie diese Arbeiten in Neapler Museum für mehrere neuere Ausstellungen genutzt haben, die hier kurz erwähnt werden sollen. Wie schon oben erwähnt, hat der große Erfolg der Herculaneum-Ausstellung die Herausgeber des Herculaneum-Katalogs Dieter Richter und Josef Mühlenbrock die Anregung gegeben, mit anderen deutschen Kollegen auch die Ausstellung "Luxus und Dekadenz" (2007–2010) zu organisieren. In den Jahren 2007–2008 wurden in der Ausstellung "Rosso Pompeiano" im Museo Nazionale Romano in Rom circa 150 Gemälde aus den Sammlungen des MANN präsentiert, welche zahlenmäßig ungefähr ein Zehntel der

1523 Malereien ausmachen, die in den Jahren 1825–26 aus den königlichen Sammlungen in Portici in das Real Museo Borbonico in Neapel gebracht worden waren. In der oben erwähnten Ausstellung "Domus Pompeiana – Ein Haus in Pompeji" in Helsinki im Frühjahr 2008, mit einen Katalog auch auf Italienisch *Domus Pompeiana – Una casa a Pompei* (2008), in der die Casa di Marco Lucrezio (IX, 3, 5 & 24) und die Funde von deren Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1846–47 und 2002–06 bei der Expeditio Pompeiana Universitatis Helsingiensis präsentiert wurden, konnten sieben von den acht Zentralbildern aus dem triclinium der Casa di Marco Lucrezio erstmals nach ihrer Deportation nach Neapel in den 1860er Jahren wieder zusammen gezeigt werden, und dazu mit Freskenrekonstruktionen der restlichen in situ gebliebenen und zu einem großen Teil zerstörten Malereien. Nach der Domus Pompeiana-Ausstellung wurden die für die Ausstellung gemachten Freskenrekonstruktionen dem MANN geschenkt, wo sie hoffentlich gebraucht werden, wenn die Malereien aus dem triclinium der Casa di Marco Lucrezio in der angekündigten zweiten erneuten Malereiabteilung des MANN als ein Ganzes ausgestellt werden. Im MANN selbst ist nämlich seit dem 30.4.2009 die erste erneute Abteilung der Malereien in 12 Sälen eröffnet worden mit fast 400 Malereien, von denen 312 in einem gut verarbeiteten Katalog von Irene Bragantini & Valeria Sampaolo (a cura di), *La Pittura Pompeiana* (2009) publiziert sind, auch alle sämtlich in Farbfotografien. Besonders muss hier hervorgehoben werden, dass in den Jahren 2008–09 in der Ausstellung im MANN und in deren prächtigen Katalog *Ercolano. Tre secoli di scoperte* (2008) die wichtigsten alten und neuen Statuenfunde aus Herculaneum präsentiert wurden, viele zum ersten Mal seit ihrer Ausgrabung. Diese in mehrfacher Hinsicht historische Statuenausstellung füllte die Eingangshalle des MANN in den Jahren 2008-09 und erinnerte somit bewusst und in einer kulturgeschichtlich eleganten Weise an die frühen Sammlungen in Portici. Es wäre eine ideale Lösung, wenn diese Ausstellung die Eingangshalle permanent füllen könnte. Dank der Eröffnung der erneuten Malereiabteilung und der Ercolano-Ausstellung im MANN wurden im Mai 2009 den 1930 Jahren seit dem Vesuvausbruch von 79 n. Chr. in einer historiographisch illustrierenden Weise gedacht, was noch mit der Einweihung des Virtualmuseums "Herculanense Museum" im ehemaligen königlichen Palast in Portici im Mai 2009 gekrönt wurde.

Wie oben bereits erwähnt, muss man Pietro Giovanni Guzzo und seinen Mitarbeitern bei den Ausgrabungen und im MANN dafür danken, dass im letzten Jahrzehnt die archäologische Forschung im Vesuvgebiet so entscheidend gefördert worden ist, und zwar sowohl mit zahlreichen Ausstellungen als auch mit den über zwanzig internationalen und italienischen Forschungsgruppen bei den Ausgrabungen sowie mit dem Herculaneum Conservation Project, finanziert vom Packard Humanities Institute. Etwas Ähnliches wie das Herculaneum Conservation Project würde man auch in Pompeji brauchen, also ein Pompeii Conservation Project. Die Aufgabe, das so außerordentlich wichtige archäologische Kulturerbe des Vesuvgebiets zu schützen, überfördert die zurzeit verfügbaren Möglichkeiten der verantwortlichen Behörden. Private Stiftungen können eine wichtige Hilfe geben, aber eine ideale, hoffentlich nicht allzu utopistische Lösung wäre es, diese archäologischen Schätze mit den Mitteln der Europäischen Union als deren gemeinsames Kulturerbe zu schützen, welches es ohne Zweifel auch ist.

Die oben gemachten Hinweise auf die Malereien zeigen, dass auch aus dieser relativ kleinen Gruppe von Funden in den Depots des MANN nur ein kleiner Teil je im MANN ausgestellt werden kann. Eine Lösung könnte eine Art "kunsthistorisches Leasingsystem" zwischen den europäischen Museen und dem MANN sein. Die Verleihung von Funden, die sonst in den Depots des MANN versteckt blieben, würde deren Bekanntmachung für die Forschung und das weitere Publikum ermöglichen, und im besten Falle könnte das MANN somit bessere finanzielle Mittel bekommen, um seine zahllosen Schätze hüten zu können. Ein Netz von Filialabteilungen oder mehr permanente Ausstellungen aus den Sammlungen des MANN in verschiedenen europäischen Museen würden dieses gemeinsame europäische Kulturerbe bekannt machen. Valeria Sampaolo als neuer Leiterin des MANN muss man für ihre wohl verdiente Stellung gratulieren mit dem Wunsch, dass das SANP und das MANN die benötigten Mittel für solche Pläne bekommt. Auch diese Rezension muss benutzt werden, diesen Wunsch im Namen der ganzen wissenschaftlichen Gemeinschaft zu unterstreichen. Ausstellungen und deren Kataloge wie der vorliegende sind in vieler Hinsicht sowohl für die wissenschaftliche Gemeinschaft als auch für das weitere Publikum nützlich und sehr willkommen.

Der Inhalt der Aufsätze (S. 3–253; von den Einschüben mit Zitaten von mehreren Autoren wird dem Katalog folgend nur der Titel in Kursivschrift gegeben): Mario Pagano, "Herculaneum. Eine Kleinstadt am Golf von Neapel"; *Antike Quellen zu Herculaneum und dem Golf von Neapel*; Maria Paola Guidobaldi, "Schatzgräber und Archäologen. Die Geschichte der Ausgrabungen von Herculaneum"; *Johann Joachim Winckelmann - Über die Dresdner Herkulanerinnen*; Giuseppe Mastrolorenzo, "Der Zorn des Vesuv. Die Katastrophe des Jahres 79 n. Chr." *Die Briefe Plinius' des Jüngeren über den Vesuvausbruch 79 n. Chr.*; Luigi Capasso & al., "Die Flüchtlinge am Strand. Die Untersuchungen der Skelette aus den Bootshäusern"; Giuseppe Zolfo, "Unter der Asche. Organische Funde und ihre Konservierung"; Umberto Pappalardo, "Hercules in Herculaneum. Ein Heros und seine Stadt"; Emma Maria Pirozzi, "Wohnen in Herculaneum. Hausarchitektur und Gartenanlagen"; Martin Maischberger & Norbert Franken, "Die Villa dei Papiri. Architektur und Skulpturenausstattung"; Agnese Travaglione, "Verkohlte Papyrus-Rollen. Die antike Bibliothek der Villa dei Papiri und ihre Entzifferung"; Dieter Bischop, "Antike Wohn(t)räume. Die Einrichtung der Häuser in Herculaneum"; Angelika Dierichs, "Ein 'höchst unzüchtiges, aber schönes Kunstwerk'. Herculaneums versteckte Erotica"; Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, "'Malerey der alten Griechen' und 'verderbter Geschmack'. Die Wandmalereien in und aus Herculaneum"; *Liste der Einwohner von Herculaneum*; Umberto Pappalardo, "Marcus Nonius Balbus. Der *patronus* von Herculaneum"; Dieter Richter, "Herculaneum im Norden. Die Ausgrabungen als europäisches Ereignis"; *Besucher im unterirdischen Theater von Herculaneum. Eine Auswahl aus zeitgenössischen Reiseberichten*; Uwe Quilitzsch, " 'C'est tout Herculanum!' Herculaneum im Park von Wörlitz"; Peter Schleuning, "Herculaneum in der Musik. Die Oper von Félicien David"; Mico Capasso, "Herculaneum als Konstruktion. Von Goethe zur virtuellen Realität"; Dieter Richter, "Der 'Brennende Berg'. Kulturgeschichte des Vesuv"; Josef Mühlenbrock, "Mensch und Vulkan. Eine archäologisch-historische Spurensuche".

Antero Tammisto

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